

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Parental ethnotheories or parents' cultural belief systems as the term suggests are the set of ideas or theories that parents have regarding children. The parents derive these ideas from the interaction with cultural factors and first hand experiences with children. Results of the present study would help to understand the parental goals regarding children, strategies parents follow which help the child attain these goals and the sources of their information. The results would also help in examining the existence of form of self in the ideas of the parents.

This chapter focuses on the results and discussion of the data. Data was obtained from 80 individuals (both mothers and fathers) through interview schedule, adjective checklist and the rating scale. The main variables of the study are religion, gender of the parents and gender of the child. The findings have been logically grouped and organized for conceptual clarity. The results are presented as follows:

- Geographical profile of the community and the socio-demographic profile of the respondents.
- Parents understanding of the term 'sanskar' and their own 'religion'.

### **Section I**

- Developmental goals desired by parents in their children at present and in future.
  - 1) Age at which parents started thinking about their child's development and rearing
  - 2) Parents reactions when child began school
  - 3) Characteristics parents liked in their children
  - 4) Characteristics parents disliked in their children
  - 5) Characteristics parents' desired in their child when he/she grows up
  - 6) Characteristics parents do not desire in their child when he/she grows up
- Child rearing techniques followed by parents.
  - 1) Practices parents followed to help the child achieve these goals
  - 2) Parental expectations from children and self
  - 3) Conflicts in the ideas of the parents
- Sources of parents ideas.

### **Section II**

- Gender and Religion as variables influencing the ideas of the parents.

### **Section III**

- Existence of self in the ideas of the parents.

## **Geographical Profile of the Community and the Socio -Demographic Profile of the Respondents**

The community selected for the present study named 'parshuram ka bhatta' is located in the sayajigunj area of the city of Vadodara. This community has many sub-communities. There are 151 houses and 755 population residing in the community (information obtained through Vadodara Municipal Corporation). The group of people living in the community is differentiated as per religion and caste. Most of the people residing there are Maharashtrian Hindus, Gujarati Hindus and Gujarati Muslims. There is an area – wise distribution in the community. Mostly Gujarati Hindu families live in one area and in the adjoining areas the Gujarati Muslim families live.

### **Physical Environment**

Various economic groups of people live in the community. Depending on the economic status, the facilities in their houses, hygienic practices vary. The houses in the community are located in both the sides of the main road. They are very near to each other/ compact sited within the lanes. There are both *kaccha* and *pucca* houses located in the community. Many *kuccha* houses have aluminum or asbestos roof. In general, the houses have one to two rooms. In one room house the kitchen utensils, '*chulah / angeethi*' the beddings and other household materials are placed within the same setting. Respondents have to move out for use of toilet facilities in the open areas. In two room houses there is a separate kitchen and bathroom. Television is seen in few houses and majority of the families have a two wheeler. The houses get affected adversely by the rains. Different grocery shops and STD shops are there in the community. People do not have to go far-off for their daily needs as the market is near by. There is a *balmandir* in the community. There is lot of open space but still the children play on roads. The drainage and sewage system is not proper. There are open manholes in the community.

### **Social Environment**

Through observation it was revealed that the mothers are simultaneously involved in household chores and child caring and rearing. Fathers either remain out of home or are more involved in playing and talking with children. If the

mother is not around the child either plays on his/her own, with peers, goes to neighbours place or is attended by other family members. However people do not prefer to send their children to neighbourhood homes. In majority of the families the household is a joint set up; grand parents stay together. Child is very rarely found to be alone. The people in the community greet each other during festivals.

Pictures (Figure 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11) were clicked and are presented after taking confirmation from the respondents.

The socio-demographic profile of the respondents is presented in Table 3.

The respondents who are the part of the study are the permanent residents of the community. As mentioned earlier there was an equal representation of sample with respect to gender of the parents (40 fathers and 40 mothers) and religion (40 Gujarati Hindu and 40 Gujarati Muslim). Parents of children of two to four years constitute the sample; majority of the parents have boy child. Parents belong to low socio-economic status families. Majority of the parents have the education between 7 to 12 grades. From the total 15 parents who were illiterate; majority were Hindus. From the 34 parents who were unemployed; only one father was unemployed. Majority of the parents have the income between 1500/- to 2500/- per month. Most of the parents reside in joint families.



**Figure 5.** Physical environment of the community “parshuram ka bhatta, sayajigunj area, Vadodara”



**Figure 6.** Houses in rows

**Figure 7.** One room houses





**Figure 8.** Two room house



**Figure 9.** Physical setting of one room house (*pucca*)



**Figure 10.** Physical setting of the one room houses (*kaccha*)



**Figure 11.** Mother performing dual task (child care and cooking)

**Table 3**  
**Socio-Demographic Profile of the Respondents**

**N=80**

VARIABLES	GUJARATI HINDU		GUJARATI MUSLIM		TOTAL
	FATHER	MOTHER	FATHER	MOTHER	
<b>Religion</b>					
Gujarati Hindu (GH)	20	20	-	-	40
Gujarati Muslim (GM)	-	-	20	20	40
<b>Gender of the parents</b>					
Father (F)	20	-	20	-	40
Mother (M)	-	20	-	20	40
<b>Education of the parents</b>					
Illiterate	6	7	1	1	15
1-6 grade	3	6	3	6	18
7-12 grade	11	7	14	11	43
12 + to graduate	-	-	2	2	4
<b>Occupation of the parents</b>					
Self employed (auto drivers, lorry, florist, electrician, carpenter, provision store, sewing work, groundnut seller)	12	1	7	1	21
Daily wage earners ( <i>datun</i> sellers)	2	1	2	-	5
Employed in service (maid, municipality cleaners, railways, electricity board, garage, colour work, cable work)	5	4	11	-	20
Unemployed	1	14	-	19	34
<b>Family income per month</b>					
Rs. 1500-2500		32		24	56
Rs. 2501- 3500		4		8	12
Rs. 3501- 4500		-		2	2
Rs. 4501-5000		4		6	10
<b>Family type</b>					
Nuclear	20		12		32
Joint	20		28		48
<b>Gender of the target child</b>					
Male (B)	22		24		46
Female (G)	18		16		34
<b>Age of the target child</b>					
2-3 years	26		16		42
3-4 years	14		24		38
<b>Ordinal position of the target child</b>					
1	20		28		48
2	4		6		10
3	12		4		16
4	4		4		4
5	-		2		2

The results on parents' understanding of the term 'sanskar' and their own religion are presented, to provide a context for the other results that follow.

### **Parents Understanding of the term 'Sanskar'**

The parents were asked to respond to the term 'sanskar'. Out of 80 parents, four parents responded that they did not understand this term. The other parents (n=76) explained the term sanskar broadly at individual, societal and cultural level and with specific respect to their context and child rearing practices. Out of 332 responses mentioned by the parents, 95.48% (317 responses) revealed the components that constituted sanskar and 4.5% (15 responses) described the way it developed.

#### **I Components of Sanskar**

Parents mentioned that sanskar was the trait possessed by an individual. It was one's own positive traits and habits "*Sabhyata (ache gun), saari budhi- achayi*". They used cultural terms like; sanskar was "*tarbiyat in Urdu, lalan - palan in Gujarati, aadate in Hindi*".

According to few parents sanskar was possessing socially desirable behaviour. It was what society expected and the child did; how one behaved with elders. It also meant having good thoughts and helping children seek positive/ good company. One respondent said that it was a virtue of elite people "*Bade logo ki maryada*".

According to parents the components that constitute sanskar (Table 4) are;

- socially valued skills (speaking politely, respecting all).
- ⇒ gender appropriate traits (Boys and girls possess different sanskar. They should indicate gender appropriate behaviour).
- personality traits ( honesty, punctuality)
- ability traits (thinking ability)
- school related traits (progress in studies)
- religious traits (namaz /prayers)
- traits desirable after marriage (take care of in-laws and parents)
- good habits (not having vices, keeping good company)

Note: Please refer broad definition of the traits (Appendix E).

**Table 4**  
**Components of Sanskar**

**N=76**

COMPONENTS	HINDU FATHER (n=18)		HINDU MOTHER (n=19)		MUSLIM FATHER (n=20)		MUSLIM MOTHER (n=19)		TOTAL
	BOY (n=9)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=10)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=7)	
Socially valued skills	21	29	23	30	36	27	32	30	228
Personality traits	5	3	4	5	5	4	6	10	42
Ability traits		1		4	5	1	2	3	16
School related traits	1	3	1	2	2	3	1	1	14
Religious traits	3			1		1	3	2	10
Traits desirable after marriage	1								1
Good habits		3		1	1		1		6
									317

## II Ways through which it Developed

Parents understood sanskar as developing contextually, mainly within home. It was the “family atmosphere and the traditions of the home”. Mainly parents were responsible for their children’s behaviour as the children viewed parents as their models. According to parents, sanskar was good rearing “*Uski achi parvarish ho*”. It was what parents taught to their children; inculcated good taleem and habits right from the birth of the child or when the child was young. Sanskars were inherited and developed through elders. One of the parent said that she did not want her child to develop traits like stealing and rag picking which according to her were the sanskars of slum children “*jhopar patti ke sanskars*”. Parents felt that if the child did not possess good sanskars then they would be blamed as they had not brought up the child in a desired manner. Also the child with no sanskar or negative sanskar would get spoilt, would not be liked by anyone and would be isolated by all. Thus sanskar developed within home, parents were responsible for development of sanskars in children. It was a result of good childrearing; environment and were also inherited.



## Parents Understanding of their own Religion

Religion is an important aspect that influences the psyche of an individual. The parents were asked to respond for their respective religion. One of the Muslim parent defined religion as being secular, religious and obedient.

*“Ek bano nek bano*

*Sabko sath lekar chalo*

*Khuda ki bandagi karo*

*Ma-baap ke faramdaar raho*

*Guru ki agaya ka palan karo”*

Religious practices (43.55 %) and parent- child relationship (27.5%) emerged as the key dimensions of religion (Table 5).

- **Religious Practices**

Religious practices were similar for people of both the religion, the only difference being in their way of implementation. These practices constituted of *daily rituals* and *special events*.

Some actions which were integrated as part of their daily rituals consisted of believing in god and praying, reading scriptures/ *namaz* (five times) regularly “*Bhagwan pe vishwas; allah-malik ki ebaadat karte hai; ilm jyada ho*”, offering things (coconut, flowers, fruits), visiting temple/mosque, keeping fast/roza and consider ‘*saawan/roza*’ month pious. Parents responded that one should be religious (dharmic) and respect dharma. Hindu parents believed in Karma (Bhagwat Geeta) and read Ramayana and Mahabharata. Their daily practices “*parampara*” mainly consisted of taking bath in river, not cutting the girls hair when she grows up (after 16 yrs) and practices to be followed during menstrual periods (“*M.C*”) and delivery by women. Muslim parents read Quran and Kalma (while sleeping/ waking put both the hands on face and remembering allah), sent children to *Madarsas* -separate Muslim school, taught children Quran and visited ‘Mecca’ (*Haj padhna*). They mentioned that the individual should follow the rules of Islam “*Muslim sariyat ke hissab se chalna - neeti niyam*”. Fasting was another aspect of religion. The Hindu respondents said that during fast they

abstained from non-vegetarian food, drank water and ate fruits and cereals.

Muslim parents said that they could eat non-vegetarian food, but not drink water and cannot gulp the saliva.

The special events that parents practiced were meeting people during festivals and following rituals of marriage.

**Table 5**

**Parents Understanding about their own Religion**

**N=80**

RESPONSES	HINDU FATHER (n=20)		HINDU MOTHER (n=20)		MUSLIM FATHER (n=20)		MUSLIM MOTHER (n=20)		TOTAL	%
	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)		
Religious practices	13	22	15	14	17	11	28	32	152	43.55
Parent-child relationship	5	13	4	5	19	18	11	21	96	27.50
Gender prescriptions	2	7	2	7	2	4	15	24	63	18.05
Being secular	2	8	4	2	1	1	1	1	20	5.73
Good habits			1	3	3	1			8	2.29
Good citizenship	4					2		1	7	2.00
Knowing self		3							3	.85
									349	100

Parents from both the religion said that their respective religion told them about their identity and ancestors. One of the Hindu parent said that their identity was revealed by putting god's tattoo on hands '*matrima*- blue tattoo done with pin'. A Muslim parent said that their identity was revealed by Quran. Parents also said that one should not take wrong advantage of dharma like, doing magic and putting *tabeez*.

• **Parent - Child Relationship**

It can be elicited from the responses that in both the religions the parent - child relationship was given marked importance. Both parents and the child were considered responsible towards each other. The children should consider parents

as god “*hamare ma-baap hamare bhagwan hai*”. They should respect, serve, obey and be good to them. An example cited by a Hindu parent was ‘*Ram going to exile for 14 yrs for the parents*’. Parents also responded that the religion taught them to practice good child rearing. For parents child rearing was equivalent to prayers “*Bachho ki parvarish karna ibadat hoti hai ma-baap be liye*”. According to them religion meant that they should respect children, not be strict and not beat them. They gave good sanskars, helped them in studies, spent time and took care of them and the family.

- **Gender Prescription**

Parents described that their respective religion prescribed different gender norms. These differences were evident in the areas like social expectations and behaviour, ability traits, education and safety/precautions. There were different prescriptions for adults and children.

Parents from both the religion said that it was necessary that the woman should create a peaceful environment and happy home. The wife should serve her husband and help in not creating problems with in-laws after marriage and the husband should take care of outside matters. Specifically, the Hindu parents focused on the practices followed by the women during menstrual periods and delivery. She should not give anything to others, touch utensils and cook food and has to remain aloof.

Both Hindu and Muslim parents displayed more social and safety concern for girls as compared to boys. They said that the girls should not visit neighbours and move out of the home much. They also believed that the girl should study less and concentrate more on household chores whereas for boys there were no barriers. They could do anything (go anywhere, talk to all) and should earn a living.

Specifically, Muslim parents (more mothers) said that the girls should not wear jeans, dance, talk to strangers “*paraya mard*” and go out to work. They expected that girls should wear *burqa*, put *naqab*, *duppata* and wear decent full clothes. Boys on the other hand should cover their head with caps and have beard. They said that as per their religion they had certain expectations from their children like make the boy child *hafiz* (Maulana) and the girl child *halima*.

One of the Muslim respondent said that both boys and girls should learn wrestling and karate for self protection. One Hindu respondent said that there was no difference between boys and girls except in some villages where girls had to cover their face with “ghoongat” that is a veil.

Besides all of the above, parents were positive about their own religion and also displayed respect for other religions (that is being secular 5.73 %). Parents from both the religion said that god was one but had different forms and one should believe in others’ god also. As one of the Hindu parents said, besides going to temple one could also go to the Darga. Parents (13) said that all were one “*manav dharam ek samaz-hindu muslim sikh isayi sab hai bhai bhai*”. One should also celebrate ones own and others religious festivals.

At the same time three parents said that because of religion there also existed a caste bias. People did not accept harijans’ food and they had to continue with the work like sweeping roads as they were solankies “*hum solanki hai to jharoo marna hamara dharam hai*”. The Muslim parents sent children to separate Muslim school where the subjects like Persian and Islam were compulsory taught.

Parents also said that their religion told them to possess good habits (2.29%) and become good citizen (2%). Interestingly few responses (.85%) emerged where parents said that the religion helped them knowing self “*Apka andar kya achaiya hai wo sikho*”. They said that the religion told them to believe in Karma (Bhagwat Geeta) and hardwork which was key to success.

It was interesting to understand the ideas of parents from low socio economic status on sanskar and religion. According to parents sanskars were positive traits possessed by an individual. It developed contextually and home environment and parents were most responsible for development of sanskar. Parents were mainly accountable for child’s behaviour. Religion was not an “ideal” set of ideas, but was a way of life for these set of parents. It constituted of religious practices. It gave them prescriptions to live life. Parents talked about their own behaviour with children and vice-versa, gender prescriptions, good citizenship and knowing self.

## **SECTION I**

### **Developmental Goals Desired by Parents in their Children at Present and in Future**

This section focuses on the developmental goals that parents desired in their children when they are young (today) and grow up in future. It encompasses:

- Age at which parents started thinking about their child's development and rearing
- Parents reactions when child began school
- Traits parents liked in their children
- Traits parents would desire in children when they would grow up as adults
- Traits parents disliked in their children
- Traits parents would not desire in children when they would grow up as adults

#### **Age at which Parents Started Thinking about their Child's Development and Rearing**

As shown in Table 6 all the parents started thinking about their child's development between conception to three years of age. Out of eighty, forty parents (50%) started deciding about their child between birth to one year and 30% thought about it when children were one to two years of age. Only one respondent (Hindu father of a girl) said that he did not remember the age at which he started thinking about his child and had left things on fate. Irrespective of gender and religion, parents started thinking about children's future during a similar age period (*"Bhagwan ne diye hai ladka ho ya ladki, dono me koi fharak nahi hai"*).

The age of birth to one year was mentioned by both the parents; more mothers (22) mentioned this age group than fathers (18). One of the mother said, she told her spouse that for the good upbringing of their children they should start thinking from the very initial period. Another mother mentioned that as their child was born after a long wait of eight years, they would take extra care of her from an early age. The fathers started thinking about their girl at an earlier age as compared to boy. The reasons were personal and socio-cultural. Socio-cultural reasons like; girls get married and go to another house and had to follow

traditions of in-laws; fathers therefore felt more responsible for them. Moreover they felt that in today's world the boy would not necessarily listen to them (personal reason).

**Table 6**

**Age at which Parents started Thinking about their Child** **N=80**

RESPONSES	HINDU FATHER (n=20)		HINDU MOTHER (n=20)		MUSLIM FATHER (n=20)		MUSLIM MOTHER (n=20)		TOTAL
	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)	
Before birth	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	4
Birth to one year	5	5	5	4	3	5	6	7	40
One year to two year	4	2	5	4	4	0	5	0	24
Two year to three year	2	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	10
Three year	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Not thought	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
									80

### **Parents Reaction when Child Began School**

Two to four years is the transition period and the child's interaction begins to extend beyond the home. At this point of time both the child and parents come across varied experiences. Opinion of parents was sought on their feelings when their child started school; as feelings of parents at this stage would have an impact on their interaction with their own children. The parents expressed themselves in two ways (Table 7);

- 1) parents' own feelings, and
- 2) parents' concern about their child's behaviour/ feelings



**Table 7**  
**Parents Reactions when the Child Began School** **N=80**

RESPONSES	HINDU FATHER (n=20)		HINDU MOTHER (n=20)		MUSLIM FATHER (n=20)		MUSLIM MOTHER (n=20)		TOTAL
	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)	
Parents' own feelings	11	16	14	15	16	10	13	11	106
Parents' concern about children behaviour/ feelings	2	10	5	12	12	9	14	9	73
									179

- **Parents' Own Feelings**

Out of total 179 responses; 106 (59 %) responses were with reference to parents own feelings. Parents expressed both happiness (62 responses) and sadness (32 responses). They expressed their happiness by cooking good food, making the child wear good clothes and giving blessings to the child to become a good human being when he/she grew up. Besides this they would meet the child in school during recess, play with the child after he/she returns from the school and help in studies. The parents distributed sweets when the child began school and came first in the class.

On the other hand some responses of parents also reflected feeling of sadness. They felt lonely and missed the child. Some parents (4) said that initially they would feel bad but later would get used to it. They understood that even if they felt bad, they had to send their children to school.

- **Parents' Concern about their Child's Behaviour/ Feelings**

Parents (73, 40.78 %) were concerned about their child's capacity to learn, social behaviour, safety and future.

a) Capacity to learn

The parents were concerned about their child's intelligence and whether the child would study or not. The parents expected that the child should concentrate and study nicely, clear all exams and come first in the class. One parent specified that child should study independently so that parents would not have to put

conscious efforts “*Jyada hame bhaar na dalna pare-hame mehnat nahi karni pare unki parahi ke upar ya teacher kuch bole*”.

b) Social behaviour

The parents were also worried about the child’s behaviour in the school with peers and teachers; they were concerned that their child would be mischievous and get involved in bad company and habits. They did not want the child to make friends with the classmates who do not go to school regularly, fight or play on the road while going to school. They were also concerned that their child should obey the teacher and no complaint should be reported about the child.

c) Child’s safety

The parents were worried about the child’s safety like; he/she should not be hurt/ beaten by anyone, should not cry and sit in the class. They were also worried about the environment (eve-teasing, accident) outside the home. The parents responded that the child should go and come home directly from school. The parents said that if required they would go with the child and bring the child back as they did not trust others.

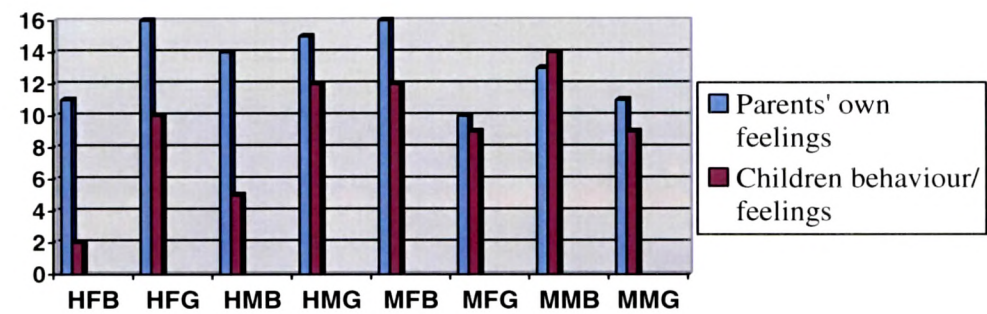
d) Child’s future

The parents were concerned about planning for the child’s future. The parents expected the child to study, progress in life and fulfill their dreams. They were also worried whether the child would work or not.

Two parents responded that they did not feel concerned and had no tension as there would be teacher in the balwadi “*balwadi me teacher ke saath hogi – ma baap se jyada darja ustad ka hai*.”

As shown in Figure 12, parents’ emphasized their own feelings with reference to their child going to school followed by behaviour of children. Muslim parents (44 responses) displayed more concern for the child and his/her behaviour as compared to Hindu parents (29). More mothers expressed concern for the child (40) than fathers (33). More parents of girls (40) expressed concern about their child than parents of boys (33); with Hindu parents indicating least concern for the boys. Specifically parents displayed concern for the girls’ social behaviour

“kya karegi; kidhar jayegi- bolegi school par kahi bhi chali jai; koi galat jagah par nahi jaye” followed by their safety “tension rahegi mahhole ke hissab se; koi bacho ke saath cher char na kare”. For boys the concern was regarding the child’s capacity to learn and his future.



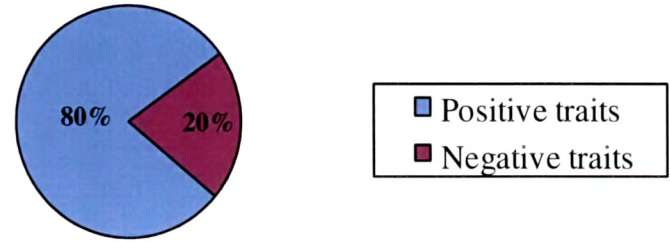
**Figure 12.** Parents reaction when the child moves out of home to school (N=179)

**Note:** Refer Appendix F for abbreviations

**Traits Parents Liked in their Children and Desired when they would Grow up as Adults**

**Traits Parents Liked in their Children**

Parents mentioned more positive traits that they liked in their children as compared to the negative traits that they disliked. Out of 1423 responses mentioned by the parents, 1133 responses (79.62%) indicated the positive characteristics that parents liked and 290 responses (20.37%) represented the negative characteristics that they disliked in their children (Figure 13).



**Figure 13.** Positive and negative traits of children (N=1423)

When asked about the traits they liked, parents started with a positive note about their children “*Laakh rupay ki allaud hai hamaari; sabse pyara apna bacha hi hota hai; khud ke bache ke baare me jitna batao wo kam hai*”. Parents said that their child was very good “*saari laage che*”, lovable “*bahu wali che*” and different from other children.

Out of 1133 attributes (responses) mentioned by the parents, the maximum traits described socially appropriate skills (666) followed by personality characteristics (226) of the child (Table 8). Seventy nine responses revealed that the parents even liked the negative traits of their children. A small number of attributes (13.31%) described were related to ability traits, school related traits, good habits and religious traits. Eleven responses revealed that the parents liked all the habits/ traits of their child “*sabhi tareh se achi hai, aadat sabhi achi hai*”. One father said, “he does not like his child at all” but mentioned few positive traits of the child. He said that he hated boys and added that since he himself had not taken care of his parents his child also would not take care of him; but because he was the only boy child, he had to love him.

**Table 8**

**Traits Parents Liked in their Children**

**N=80**

TRAITS LIKED	HINDU FATHER (n=20)		HINDU MOTHER (n=20)		MUSLIM FATHER (n=20)		MUSLIM MOTHER (n=20)		TOTAL	%
	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)		
Socially valued skills	79	72	101	87	76	77	107	67	666	58.78
Personality traits	25	30	20	28	29	29	34	31	226	19.94
Negative traits	16	16	7	8	12	8	11	1	79	6.97
Ability traits	4	7	2	6	6	6	11	7	49	4.32
School related traits	1	6	1	9	3	6	8	12	46	4.06
Good habits	1	6	6	3	4	2	10	6	38	3.35
Religious traits	2	3	1	3		1	3	5	18	1.58
All traits	1	2	2	1	1		3	1	11	.97
									1133	100

- **Attributes of Socially valued skills**

Parents liked when their child displayed *relational quality* with them, siblings, grandparents, relatives and neighbours. They appreciated that the child ate together, understood others likings and loved all. They admired when their child obeyed, displayed responsible behaviour, showed concern and tried to help them; did not betray and not do any thing that would hurt them. The children displayed interrelatedness by expressing their feelings towards the parents and other members. Children spent more time with parents after they returned home and would get close to them even when scolded. They gave compliments, emotionally blackmailed parents- “battered them up”. The child did not stay and sleep without the parents and missed them in their absence. They also participated in *daily routine and recreational activities* with parents. They expressed their needs and demands. The child accepted willingly whatever they gave, though stubborn sometimes the child got convinced through love and affection. Parents liked that the child used *socially competent language* and did not use slang language and knew how to talk to elders, teachers. They valued that their child displayed *socially appropriate behaviour*. The child had basic manners like sitting quietly at others place and possessed table manners also. They also liked that the child showed respect- said ‘namaste’, did salam, wished everyone during ‘Id’.

- **Personality traits**

Having *values* like being honest, peaceful, responsible, independent, happy and following routine were the personality traits that parents admired in their children. They liked that the child woke up with a smile, was outgoing and naughty. Few parents said that they liked that their child displayed *good behaviour* like played alone, talked less; was not stubborn and naughty, did not fight, beat and cry and take things of others. Parents appreciated that their child was particular about his/her *physical appearance*. The child did not wear torn clothes, liked wearing matching accessories along with clothes and did fashion and ‘*sringar*’. They also focused on the *physical features* that the child possessed like fair complexion, good voice, face and smile. They said that their child was good looking and beautiful, looked fine when wore good clothes and dressed up. One of the respondent said that he liked that his child carried himself nicely and

followed current trends of the society “*aajkal ke mahhol jaisa*”. Another respondent said that the child liked to call oneself Salman and Sharukh.

- **Negative traits of children**

Parents mentioned that they liked even the negative traits that their child possessed. They said that they liked these traits as the child ‘was young and did everything innocently with love’. They said that they liked that the child was naughty, cried, displayed anger, beat and lacked spoken ability. The parents liked to pamper the child.

This was apparently a contradiction to the positive traits of good behaviour that they admired. At the same time it reflected that the parents accepted children as they were and understood that some behaviours were atypical of the age, would go away as children grew older and were accepted at this stage.

- **Ability traits**

*Ability traits* like child being active, clever, identifying his things, doing his/her work perfectly, taking interest and helping in household chores was liked by the parents. The *cognitive abilities* of children that they liked were being intelligent, imitating, possess good memory and grasping power. They admired that the child could think analytically and possessed *verbal ability* i.e. the child could speak and communicate clearly. One of the mothers mentioned that the child’s trait of learning social behaviour from the context on his own was the trait she liked “*maholl dekhkar catch up karta hai -.bachoo ki baatcheet ka dhayan rakhta hai*”. The parents said it felt good that their child participated in *extra curricular activities*. The child liked doing ‘garba’, dancing, singing, listening to music, playing cricket match, flying kite and acting.

- **School related traits**

Parents said that they felt happy that their child was *good in academics* and *exhibited good behaviour* in the school. They liked that the child indicated interest for school, was intelligent (good mind, brilliant), knew counting, did lessons by own self and correctly, did home work regularly, did not cry while going to school or tuition and did not do any mischief in the school (fighting, not listening to the teacher).



- **Good habits**

Good habits of their children like waking up early in the morning, *following daily routine* activities and not moving out without wearing sleepers were liked by parents. Other good habits that the child possessed were *eating habits* and *maintaining hygiene and health*.

- **Religious traits**

The parents appreciated that the child took interest in *religious activities*, read Kalma on waking up and before sleeping, prayed, knew 'Gayatrimantra', knew all Gods, asked to take him/her to temple/darga, had respect for religion (brings duppata for self and mother for Fatiya-azan (namaz) and went to madarsas.

### **Characteristics Parents would Desire in their Children when they grow up as Adults**

The traits that parents desired in their child when he/she grew up are presented in Table 9

- **Possess socially valued skills**

The parents mentioned socially valued skills that they expected in their child with reference to themselves and children.

They expected (*relatedness traits*) that the child should take care of parents (*palle pose/ pallan poshan*) even in oldage (*jaisa humne uski parvarish ki hai wo bhi hamari burape me kare*). He/she should keep pleasant relations with them, fulfill their expectations, take their opinion or help if required, be able to empathize with parents- especially their child rearing efforts and follow the path as taught by them. According to them the child should be frank about his/her interest in profession, and get married as per their choice.

It was the parents desire that the child as an adult should exhibit *socially accepted behaviour* like possessing good manners "*sabhyata se rehe*" (knows how to talk/ sit with others), wear decent clothes (*dhake hue kapre-burqa-cap*;

Bhartiya riwaz- saree/dress), do household chores and service, have fun with children of same age group; not get involved in “love affair” and follow the fast life of today’s generation.. One parent responded that the girl should be like ‘Shobha’ and boy should be like ‘Karan’ (role model in television serial – *kyuki saans bhi kabhi bahu thi*). A respondent said that the girl should move away if something obscene is being shown in the television. If her uncle or any male person is sitting in the television room then she should sit far away from him.

The child when grew up should reside in good society and not be biased about caste. He/she should show responsible and polite behaviour, be helpful to others and speak nicely with all (*socially competent language*).

Parents responded that the child should behave such that it would be praised by everyone in the larger family (*kutumb*), he/she should achieve what his parents could not and prove his worth to the whole world, people should take interest in talking to the child and he/she should set good examples for others. The child should manifest exemplary behaviour so that no one complaints.

**Table 9**  
**Traits Parents’ Desired in their Child when he/she Grew up** N=80

TRAITS DESIRED	HINDU FATHER (n=20)		HINDU MOTHER (n=20)		MUSLIM FATHER (n=20)		MUSLIM MOTHER (n=20)		TOTAL	%
	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)		
Socially valued skills	7	16	11	11	27	18	25	24	139	30.7
Engage in professional life	8	3	11	3	13	5	13	3	59	13
Ability traits	3	11	4	10	5	10	8	7	58	12.8
Provide financial support to family members	6	0	13	8	6	2	9	2	46	10.2
Gendered norms	3	5	3	7	3	8	4	7	40	8.8
Personality traits	3	3	3	2	7	5	6	10	39	8.6
School related traits	8	4	4	6	3	5	3	3	36	7.9
Traits desirable after marriage	4	4	1	5	3	0	4	9	30	6.6
Religious traits	-	-	-	-	0	3	-	-	3	.7
Good habits	-	-	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	.7
									453	100

- **Engage in professional life**

Parents wanted that their grown up child should work and achieve something.

The child should:

- *have a good career*
- *earn good salary*
- *progress in life*

Parents expected that the child should not be a labourer. They wanted the child to take up professions like military, teaching, engineering and medicine. The child should be independent and responsible towards parents and the spouse.

- **Possess traits of ability**

Parents desired that the children should have a view about one's life and future. They should live and enjoy life as per his/her own wishes. Parents expected children to pursue a career of their choice, with good salary. The child should learn with concentration, be hard working, competent, perform good work and have fame. The child should also be independent and aim for the best. They should learn skills which were *socially approved and gender appropriate*. They wanted the child to select professions like clerk, peon, doctor and teacher and did not want them to follow the profession of parents ("*Jaise ma baap ne kiya waisa na kare -jhaaro*"). They should possess *cognitive ability* (analytical thinking-understand people's mal intentions, differentiate between right and wrong, not imitate negative behaviour of others). The children should progress in life, fulfill own wishes, work hard to cope with problems and 'make a name' for self and parents. A respondent said that there was a traditional belief in their caste (*caste ki puraani maanyata*) that children didn't get job easily so studying was useless and they taught them varied skills.

- **Provide financial support to family members**

*"Aaj hum use paal rahe hai kal wo uthkar hamara kare- humne uski parvarish ki hai to wo humara dhayan rakhe"*

Parents wanted that when the child grows up he/she should be responsible towards self and the family members. He/she should take care of parents during old age "*parents ko palle/ palan poshan kare*", keep them happy and not create

any problem. The child should financially support the family. The child should maintain a balance between the job and family responsibilities. One of the parents mentioned that the child should learn to take responsibility on his/her own without their guidance.

- **Gendered norms**

Parents desired the girl to be full of virtues "*sarva gun sampan*". She should be good in studies, talented, display socially desirable behaviour, possess good personality and liked by everyone. As an adult she should help her mother, take initiative in cooking and doing other household chores. She should learn skills like *mehndi*, sewing, embroidery and get involved in professions like fashion designing, interior designing and beauty parlour. Preferably the girl should remain more at home and not work; if at all needed, she should be engaged in homebound work (maid servant, tailoring) as she would get married and go to in-laws place. One respondent said that the girl earn if parents have problem to support them and the girl said that '*I'm like a boy*' for parents. Out of the majority a different response was that she should do both household and outside work. Also girls should study less and have girl friends only. One of the parents said that the society criticized if the girl went to school and got higher education so the girl child was not given educational opportunities. Another respondent said that the girl should study so that she could write a letter incase she came across any problem after marriage. Few parents said that in their culture the girls were married off at the age of 15- 16 years (attain puberty) and should take care of both parents and in-laws.

For boys the expectations were different. They were free to do anything they liked and should be concerned with their own parents not the in-laws. The boys should raise the generation "*ladka peedi badhaye*". Preferably he should not indulge in household work; if at all, only when required (lives alone or wife is not at home) and has time. They should help in chores like shopping and that which required physical labour like picking heavy. The boy should join classes or learn work/skills to be a mechanic, electrician, wire man, tailor, computer expert, sports person and driver. He should study more, go to college and get married at the age of 20-21 years. The parents expected that the boy should have "good character" regarding money matters and women.

One respondent said that if his son would study well and performs well in his profession then he would get him married late. Another respondent mentioned that if the boy was good in studies then he should not do household chores otherwise he can involve himself in the same profession of his parents that is garland making, which can be done at home. And few respondents (Muslim parents) said that the boys should do all kind of domestic work, the girls should study and does service also and in today's world girls studied more than boys.

- **Possess traits desirable after marriage**

Parents wanted that as an adult the child should get married in good family, as per their wish and possess following traits that were desirable after marriage:

- a) Maintain healthy and compatible relation with spouse
- b) Provide care and support to the parents
- c) Be responsible towards in-laws
- d) Take care of self, family and home
- e) Be concerned for children's education and future

The child should take complete responsibility of self, family and the home after marriage and start one's own family. He/she should follow the traditions of in-laws, respect them and display good behaviour with all.

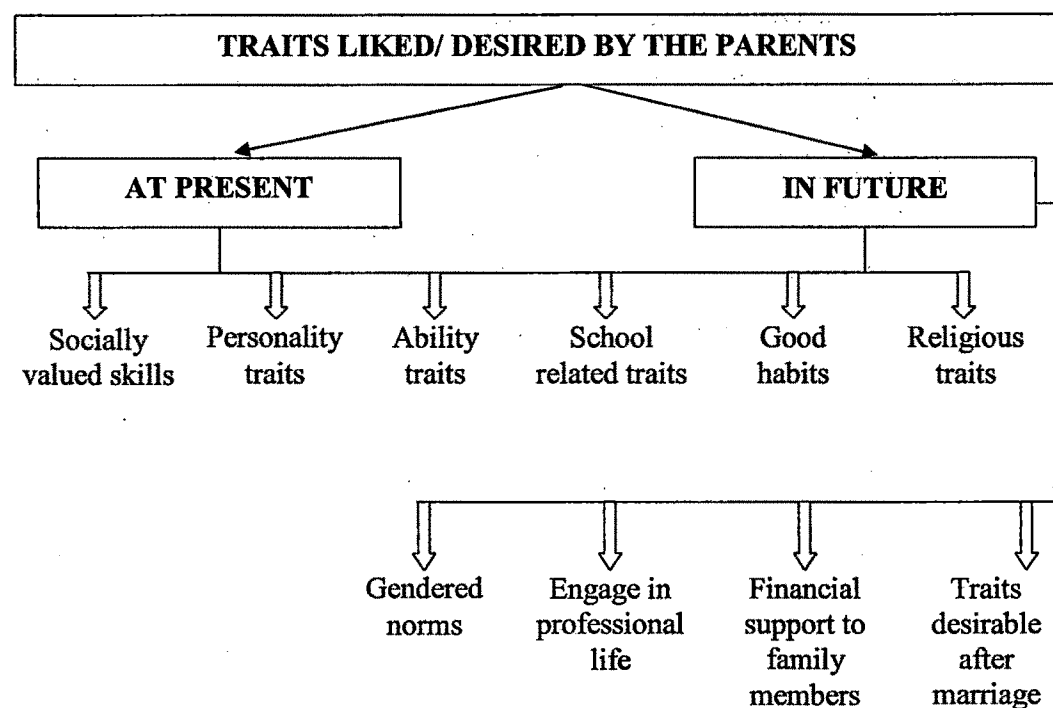
Parents mentioned that a married girl was accepted only if she stayed with in-laws. She should maintain parents' prestige and everyone should praise her virtues even though she was from another place "*larki ka vyavhar(behaviour) shaadi ke baad hota hai*". The girl should work only if the in-laws want and permit, and not hurt them at any cost. If the girl faced any problems with in-laws, she should not share it with her own parents. The parents said that, after marriage, the girls had no responsibility towards her own parents. She should keep in mind that she was 'daughter in law' and no one should complain for her. The boy should maintain a balance between parents and wife. He should support his family and children by doing job. Two parents said that the boy had no responsibilities towards his own parents after marriage.

The parents also said it was their (children's) prime duty to take care of their own children, teach them and think about their future and make it secure for them.

- Besides these the parents desired that as an adult their children should possess good personality traits. Parents said that he/she should have self respect and good values/behaviour; thus be a good human being. The child should withstand difficult circumstances, not share ones pain with others, be mature, follow right path and accept one's fault. The child should be jolly, simple but also be fashionable. He/she should also be good in academics as it will lead to a better job and better future, be religious and possess good habits (save money, not indulging in vices, remain clean, eat good food).

Thus one can interpret that the parents liked and desired that their children should possess socially valued skills, personality traits, ability traits, academic traits, good habits and religious traits both at present and in future (Figure 14). The traits that parents specifically wanted in their children as adults were building a career, at the same time be responsible towards family members and prepare oneself for married life. The parents also expected that their grown up children should perform gender stereotypical roles.





**Figure 14.** Developmental goals parents liked and desired in their children at present and in future

Overall the results indicate that there exists a linkage between the ideas of parents regarding the traits they like in their children at present and the traits they desire for their children as adults. Though the traits that parents mentioned were similar for major aspects; however few differences emerged within each aspect, except in following religious practices. Parents emphasized on adults' gender stereotypical roles and activities specific to that age. These differences reflected parents understanding about change in their expectations with change in age of children (Table 10).

**Table 10**

**Developmental Goals Parents Liked / Desired in their Children at Present and in Future**

<b>TRAITS LIKED</b>	<b>TRAITS DESIRED IN THE CHILD AS ADULT/ GROWN UP CHILDREN</b>
<b>1) Socially valued skills</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traits of relatedness</li> <li>• Socially competent language</li> <li>• Socially accepted behaviour</li> </ul>	<b>1) Socially valued skills</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traits of relatedness</li> <li>• Socially competent language</li> <li>• Socially accepted behaviour</li> </ul>
<b>2) Personality traits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Physical appearance</li> <li>• Physical features</li> <li>• Possess values/good behaviour</li> </ul>	<b>2) Personality traits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Simple as well as fashionable</li> <li>• Withstand difficult circumstances, not share ones pain with others, follow right path, accepts one's fault</li> <li>• Possess values/good behaviour</li> </ul>
<b>3) Ability traits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cognitive ability</li> <li>• Verbal ability</li> <li>• Extra curricular activities</li> </ul>	<b>3) Ability traits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cognitive ability</li> <li>• Socially approved and gender appropriate skills</li> <li>• Vision about one's life and future, perform good work, competent, have name-fame, convince others</li> </ul>
<b>4) School related traits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Good in academics</li> <li>• Good behaviour</li> </ul>	<b>4) School related traits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Good in academics</li> </ul>
<b>5) Religious traits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Religious practices</li> </ul>	<b>5) Religious traits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Religious practices</li> </ul>

**6) Good habits**

- Following schedules
- Eating habits
- Maintain health and hygiene

**6) Good habits**

- Save money, not indulging in vices
- Eating habits
- Maintain health and hygiene

**7) Engage in professional life**

- Good career
- Earn good salary
- Progress in life

**8) Provide financial support to family members**

**9) Possess traits desirable after marriage**

- Healthy and compatible relation with the spouse
- Care and support to parents
- Responsible towards in-laws
- Concern for children's education and future
- Care for self

**10) Gendered norms**

- Gender appropriate traits
-

The differences emerged with respect to the specific characteristics that parents appreciated in their children when they were young and that they desired when the children grow up. The parents gave age appropriate responses. The socially valued skills that the parents admired in their children presently were ate together with family, displayed love towards parents, spoke socially competent language and possessed basic manners. They desired that the child as adult should possess social skills like fulfilling parents expectations, follow their profession, be matured and do house hold chores. Similarly the ability traits parents liked in their children when they were young were being active, intelligent and participating in extracurricular activities. The ability traits they desired for their adult children were ability to think about one's life and future, be hardworking and have name and fame. The differences in responses were also evident with respect to the personality traits that parents liked in their children at present and that they desired in their grown up child. The parents liked that their child did fashion/ '*sringar*' when young. They desired that their child when grew up should be fashionable but at the same time look simple and decent.

#### **Traits Parents Disliked in their Children and Do Not Desire in them as an Adult**

The parents disliked if their child did not possess the traits they liked/ desired in them. There were common traits that parents disliked presently in their children and did not desire when their child grows up (Table 11).

**Table 11**

**Traits Parents Disliked in Children and Did Not Desire in them as Adults**

<b>TRAITS DISLIKED</b>	<b>TRAITS UNDESIRED IN THE CHILD AS ADULT</b>
<b>1) Lack personality traits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self oriented</li> <li>• Destructive behaviour</li> </ul>	<b>1) Lack personality traits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self oriented</li> <li>• Destructive behaviour</li> </ul>
<b>2) Exhibit socially improper behaviour</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack relatedness traits</li> <li>• Socially incompetent language</li> <li>• Socially unaccepted behaviour</li> </ul>	<b>2) Exhibit socially improper behaviour</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack relatedness traits</li> <li>• Socially incompetent language</li> <li>• Socially unaccepted behaviour</li> <li>• Peer related concern</li> </ul>
<b>3) Possess bad habits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unhygienic</li> <li>• Bad eating habits</li> </ul>	<b>3) Possess bad habits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unhygienic</li> <li>• Bad eating habits</li> <li>• Involved in “bad activities”</li> </ul>
<b>4) Lack school related traits</b>	<b>4) Lack school related traits</b>
<b>5) Lack religious traits</b>	<b>5) Economic concern</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financially insecure</li> </ul>
	<b>6) Lack of understanding about personal safety</b>
	<b>7) Not being considerate about family prestige</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Involve in bad profession</li> <li>• Bring bad name to parents and in-laws</li> </ul>

**Traits Disliked in Children**

Out of 80 parents, nine parents responded that they did not find any negative traits for their child. They did not dislike anything as he/she was the only child, too young and above all it was their own ‘sanskars’ that he/she carried. Additionally five parents said that they did not find any negative trait in their child (“*apne bache ki har ada achi lagti hai; uski sab burayian achchi lagti*”).

hai”) but did mention their children’s negative traits. The parents (71) mentioned 290 attributes that they disliked in their children. These traits can be grouped as (Table 12);

- Lack personality traits (self oriented negative traits- stubborn, disobedience, spending money and destructive behaviour-throwing stones, beating, pinching)
- Exhibit socially improper behaviour (replying back, possessive for parents, wearing indecent clothes)
- Possess bad habits (spending money)
- Lack school related traits
- Lack religious traits

**Table 12**

**Traits Parents Disliked in their Children**

**N=71**

TRAITS DISLIKED	HINDU FATHER (n=17)		HINDU MOTHER (n=19)		MUSLIM FATHER (n=17)		MUSLIM MOTHER (n=18)		TOTAL	%
	BOY (n=10)	GIRL (n=7)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=6)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=7)		
Lack personality traits	30	19	32	24	29	5	55	14	208	71.7
Exhibit socially improper behaviour	5	7	11	5	8	1	10	5	52	17.9
Possess bad habits	7	1	3	2	1	1	6	2	23	7.9
Lack school related traits				1	2	1	2		6	2
Lack religious traits							1		1	.34
									290	100



### Characteristics Parents Did Not Desire in their Child when he/she grew up

The traits that parents did not want in the child when they grow up are presented in Table 13

- Exhibit socially improper behaviour (social concern- use slang language, lack relatedness; peer related concern- sits in group on road side, roams, going for movies and hotels; gender norms- girls study more/ say no for household chore and do service, boys- do house hold chores)
- Possess bad habits (bad eating habits, indulging in vices, involved in gambling and theft, watch movies and wasting money)
- Lack personality traits (rude, gossip, overconfident, fight, lie, fashionable)
- Not being considerate about family prestige (bring bad name to family before and after marriage, involved in bad profession –maid work)
- Economic concern (take job where salary is less, waste money)
- Lack of understanding about personal safety (move out in the night, go to the market alone, doing friendship with stranger)
- Lack school related traits (bunk college, cheat in exams, not good in studies)

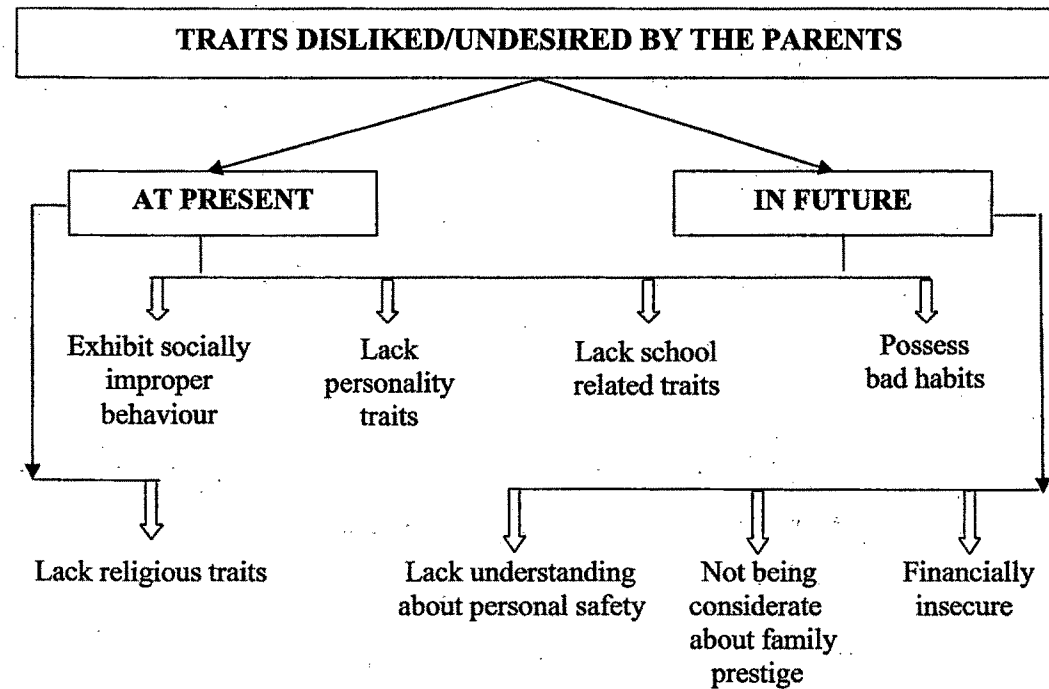
**Table 13**

#### **Traits Parents Did Not Desire in the Child when grew up**

**N=80**

RESPONSES	HINDU FATHER (n=20)		HINDU MOTHER (n=20)		MUSLIM FATHER (n=20)		MUSLIM MOTHER (n=20)		TOTAL	%
	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)		
Economic concern	1			1	1	1	2		6	2.1
Not being considerate about family prestige	2	1	4	1		2	1		11	3.8
Lacks personality traits	3	9	9	5	6	9	17	10	68	23.7
Exhibit socially improper behaviour	11	17	14	22	13	12	12	12	113	39.4
Possess bad habits	15	5	20	4	21	1	13	3	82	28.6
Lack school related traits	1					1			2	.7
Lacks understanding about personal safety	1			2	1	1			5	1.7
									287	100

Thus there was continuity in the traits not liked by parents in their children and which they did not desire the child to have as an adult. At the same time with increase in age their expectations changed (Figure 15). Lack of understanding about personal safety, not being considerate about family prestige and financial insecurity were also thought to be not desired from children as adults.



**Figure 15.** Traits parents disliked and did not desire in their children at present and in future.

Parents have mentioned age appropriate responses with respect to the traits they desired and like wise for the traits they undesired in their children. The parents did not want that their child today and as an adult should exhibit socially improper behaviour. Traits like sibling rivalry, not sharing, eating at others place were not appreciated in young children; and getting engaged in love affair and love marriage and friends with other sex individuals were not encouraged in children as adults.

## Child Rearing Practices Followed by the Parents

This section focuses on the following:

- 1) Practices parents followed to help the child achieve developmental goals
- 2) Parental expectations from children and self
- 3) Conflicts in the ideas of the parents

### I Practices Parents Followed to Help the Child Achieve Developmental Goals

The responses of the parents could be grouped into two ways. They emphasized the traits they wanted to encourage in their children and strategies they followed (Table 14). The traits they wanted to encourage were the same as mentioned in earlier section like encouraging the child to possess socially valued skills, personality traits, academic skills, ability and religious traits and good habits. The other set of responses reflected the specific inputs given by the parents based upon their understanding about what best they can do for their child's development.

**Table 14**  
**Traits Parents Encouraged and Practices they Followed** N=80

TRAITS PARENTS ENCOURAGED	REARING PRACTICES FOLLOWED
1) Routine activities (hygiene, health overall development) 45.53%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Developed habit of washing hands before every meal, bath early and regularly</li> <li>- Served nutritious food, gave massage, refered doctor, kept 'mannat'</li> <li>- Toilet-trained the child, took care of child's safety, fulfilled demands</li> </ul>
2) Attain socially valued skills (23.70%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kept account of child's social circle</li> <li>- Motivated him/her to be family oriented</li> <li>- Developed basic living skills</li> </ul>
3) School related traits (9.38%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sent the child to balwadi and school</li> <li>- Met teacher and helped in studies</li> </ul>
4) Personality traits (8.68%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Encouraged the child to display good values/behaviour</li> </ul>
5) Ability traits (7.98%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Stimulated the child to learn skills, participate in extracurricular activities</li> <li>- Motivated to be self-dependent</li> </ul>
6) Good habits (2.81%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Developed habits like waking up early in the morning</li> <li>- Told the child not to involve in bad activities and company, regarding money matters</li> </ul>
7) Religious traits (1.87%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Asked to pray, visit temple/dargah, go to Madarsas</li> </ul>
Total responses – 426	

The parents said that the child's development and rearing should be proper, for that they would take good care of the child "*Uska vikas/parvarish achi terah hona chahiye, usko uski jindagi ke baare me batayenge, dekh rekh karoongi*". They provided real life experience, as per the context (mahhol) to their children. They taught the child 'good things' and gave general knowledge. One of the mothers said that she played multiple roles (mother and friend) for rearing her child as per the situation and took care of him according to family standard. The specific practices that parents used are presented in Table 15.

**Table 15**

**Child Rearing Practices Followed by the Parents**

**N=80**

PRACTICES FOLLOWED	HINDU FATHER (n=20)		HINDU MOTHER (n=20)		MUSLIM FATHER (n=20)		MUSLIM MOTHER (n=20)		TOTAL	%
	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)		
Rearing styles	16	9	17	8	22	10	24	13	119	59.2
Gave quality time to children	4	7	9	3	7	5	10	1	46	22.9
Create environment conducive to develop		5	7	3	4	4	5	3	31	15.4
No conscious efforts	2		1			2			5	2.5
									201	100

- **Rearing Styles:** The parents followed combination of rearing styles to guide the child. Their responses could be grouped into three ways:
  - a) Parents guided the children by showing affection, giving advice, praising and motivating the child. They said that if shown love, the child understood quickly and would not be stubborn.
  - b) They also beat, scolded and threatened the child. One mother said that if she showed hatred "*nafrat bhi denge to acha banega*" towards the child then he/she would become good as excess of love would spoil the child.

c) They coaxed the child with money/ gift. The parents gave excuses '*patate hai*' and substituted other thing for the thing demanded by the child.

- **Gave quality time to the child:** The parents tried to spend more time. They participated in children's daily routine, educational and recreational activities.
- **Create environment conducive to develop:** Parents said that they made conscious efforts for better development and rearing of the child. They resided in good locality and worked hard to earn money. They did multiple jobs (private and other jobs) to progress in life and saved money. They took good care and thought about their child.

There were parents (5) who said that they did not make any conscious efforts nor did anything for their child's development and rearing. They said that the child was too young to understand and would develop when he/she grew up.

#### **Differences in rearing practices for boys and girls**

Differences were observed in the rearing practices for boys and girls. The strategies that parents followed were in accordance with the traits they encouraged in the boys and girls. They said that the girl should study less, not work outside home, get married, live with in-laws, do house work and should not mingle with boys. Parents encouraged skills like cooking, sewing, henna for girls. They wanted boys to have a good career and emphasized on his studies, extra-curricular activities and computer. Two parents said that they loved and cared more for their daughter than son. Another parent said that he considered his daughter as a 'boy' and not as a 'girl' and reared her accordingly (made her do daring activities- jumping, sports, take care of her health, studies).

## **II Parental Expectation from Children and Self**

Out of 80, 63 (78.8%) parents responded that they were satisfied with their child's development and rearing; 11 (13.8%) parents said that they were not satisfied and 6 (7.5%) parents gave neutral response. Irrespective of whether the parents were satisfied or not they had certain expectations from self and their children.

## 1. Parental Expectations from their Children

The expectations that parents had from their children perfectly matched the traits they liked/desired and disliked/ did not desire in their young children and children as adults.

## 2. Parental Expectations from Self

There were seven parents who said that they did not have any expectations from self. Among them few said that they were satisfied with what god had given to them and they would nurture the child accordingly; they already had a good income and were happy; whereas, few parents had no expectations as they had low income. One of the respondents said that he had no expectations from self and he tried to provide best to his family as per his potential. Seventy three parents said that they were happy as they were responsible for wellbeing of the family. The specific expectations that they had from themselves were (Table 16);

- a) Good child development and rearing
- b) Providing for a better future for children and support to all in the family

**Table 16**

### Parental Expectations from Self

**N=73**

EXPECTATIONS	HINDU FATHER (n=18)		HINDU MOTHER (n=17)		MUSLIM FATHER (n=19)		MUSLIM MOTHER (n=19)		TOTAL	%
	BOY (n=10)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=9)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=8)		
Good child development and rearing	14	5	14	8	15	12	12	6	86	46.2
Providing for a better future for children and supporting family members	18	11	14	16	16	7	15	3	100	53.7
									186	100

- **Good Child Development and Rearing**

Good child rearing and development was the primary expectation of parents from self “*vikas achi terah hona chahiye/parvarish/develop/ palan poshan / dekh reh/ acha rakh sake*”. Parents wanted to develop / nurture the child with love and care. They would

- ⇒ help the child to be independent
- ⇒ teach the child about etiquettes and desirable behaviour
- ⇒ try to understand the child’s wishes, complain and interest that varied with age and made him/her happy accordingly
- ⇒ take care of child’s health

One of the respondents said that their child learnt by observing his parent’s behaviour towards their own parents. Another respondents said that he would give practical knowledge (see the quality of the product first and then the price, take as per the budget) to his wife for good child rearing purpose.

**Academics:** Parents gave major importance to academics. They wanted their children to attend government and then good private English medium school. They wanted their child to receive best education for which they would spend as per need like fees, tuition, books and transportation. Few parents favoured sending child to hostel while few did not. A few parents mentioned that they would send their child to good college and also abroad. The parents let the girl child study up to lower grades and help the boy get a “good job”. One respondent said that the girl had to ultimately do household chore so there is no point in teaching her “*ladki ko jyada parake bhi chuleh me hi gusne ka hai to use parake kya karne ka hai*”.

**Inculcate religious traits:** Only Muslim parents focused on religious traits. They desired that they would make the boy Hafiz and the girl Halima as in Islamic religion Hafiz / Halima had a respectable image. It paved the way for them (parents) to the heavens as the sins were washed away.

- **Provide for a Better Future for Children and Support to the Family**

Parents wanted to have their own good house with facilities like drainage, no water and light problems and situated in good surroundings. They feared for safety of the present house during heavy rains. They (18) wanted to shift to a good place as everyone gets “spoiled” in this slum. The parents said that the children should not regret that they have raised them in this slum. Parents (3) desired to have a separate home (nuclear family). They (3) wanted to stay in joint family with all the members in peace and happiness and celebrate festivals together. One respondent said that the child’s development would be shaped according to them and partly by other family members.

Parents wanted to earn more so that they could buy good food, eatables and store it and possess amenities. They displayed concern regarding child’s future. They utilized their money mainly for their children’s benefit. For example, buying policy on child’s name, saving in bank for child’s studies, health, marriage and for future career. They wanted to spend money on child’s clothing, toys and for recreational purpose. They wanted to have good shop and service so that they could buy vehicle, television and jewellery for their children. One of the parent said that if they had more money then the child’s future would be secure even after their death. If needed the parents would even sell their property and utilize the money for child’s advantage. The parents would work hard and try to earn more money. They would compromise by cutting down on wanted expenses to make child’s future bright.

There were parents (11 respondents) who were dissatisfied with their child’s development and rearing and had certain expectations from self same as mentioned above “*hamara bhi mann karta hai unhe acha rakh sake*”. The parents displayed more concerned about their child’s future. They were worried about the child’s health and place of residence. They revealed that the child’s development and rearing depends on them “*hum siksha denge to bacha bigde ga nahi- hamare par nirbhar karta hai- hum jo karta hai wo bacha karta hai*”. They left the things to god and fate.



Majority of the parents of boys (63.5%) than girls (36.5%) have displayed more expectations from self. More parents of girls (65.9%) displayed dissatisfaction regarding their child's development and rearing than parents of boys (34.1%).

Parents expected more from boys (78.7%) than girls (21.3%). Only fathers showed dissatisfaction if their child did not possess these traits.

### **III Conflicts in the Ideas of the Parents Regarding Child's Development and Rearing**

The ideas of the caregivers influence the child's development and rearing in totality. However in making decisions concerning their child, individual differences could exist in the perceptions of the caregivers. The parents were asked about the differences that existed in their ideas and strategies they used to resolve these differences. Out of 80 parents; 11 (13.75 %) parents mentioned that they had conflicts and 69 (86.25%) parents said that they had no conflicts regarding the child's development and rearing. The results described below are based on the responses of 11 parents. Of these 11, 9 parents responded that the conflict was mainly between the spouses. Two respondents (Muslim mothers) mentioned that the conflict occurred between them and their mother-in-law. The reasons for the conflict were regarding:

- a) routine activities (36.36%; 4 responses)
- b) discipline (27.27%; 3)
- c) studies (18.18%; 2)
- d) future (18.18%; 2).

A routine activity of the child was the main issue on which the ideas differed; activities like child's clothing, hygiene, hair and eatables. The mothers wanted the child not to wear new clothes in the home as they become dirty, bathe regularly, cut hair and eat everything. But fathers and mothers-in-law did not want the mother to force the child for anything.

The specific child rearing practice or the disciplinary technique that parents use was also a cause for initiation of the conflict. The father and mother-in-law did not want the mother to beat, threaten, frighten or scold the child. Mothers on the other hand were concerned that if not disciplined the child would become stubborn.

Parents differed in their ideas related to school and child's future. A father said that he wanted that child should study but the wife had financial concern. Father expected the child to earn and give the money to him but mother wanted the child to save.

Majority of the parents resolved the conflicts by either remaining firm for ones own decision (23.1%) or considering others decision (23.1%). Making the other person understand, fighting and negotiation was less practiced by the parents. The mothers' either remained firm, considered others decision or withdrew and the fathers ignored.

### **Sources of Ideas of Parents about Child Development and Child Rearing**

The primary sources of parents' information were family (24.5%) and self (23.8%). Parents learnt about child care through their own parents, relatives and in-laws. Conversation between the spouses about the child also emerged as a source. Parents' own self "*jimmadaari ka ahasas apne man se aya; apni budhi*" and experiences that they had, emerged as an important factor "*Mere halat; annubhav se seekha; hummare par beeti hai; automatic shaadi ke baad jab bache hue to socha- aajata hai*".

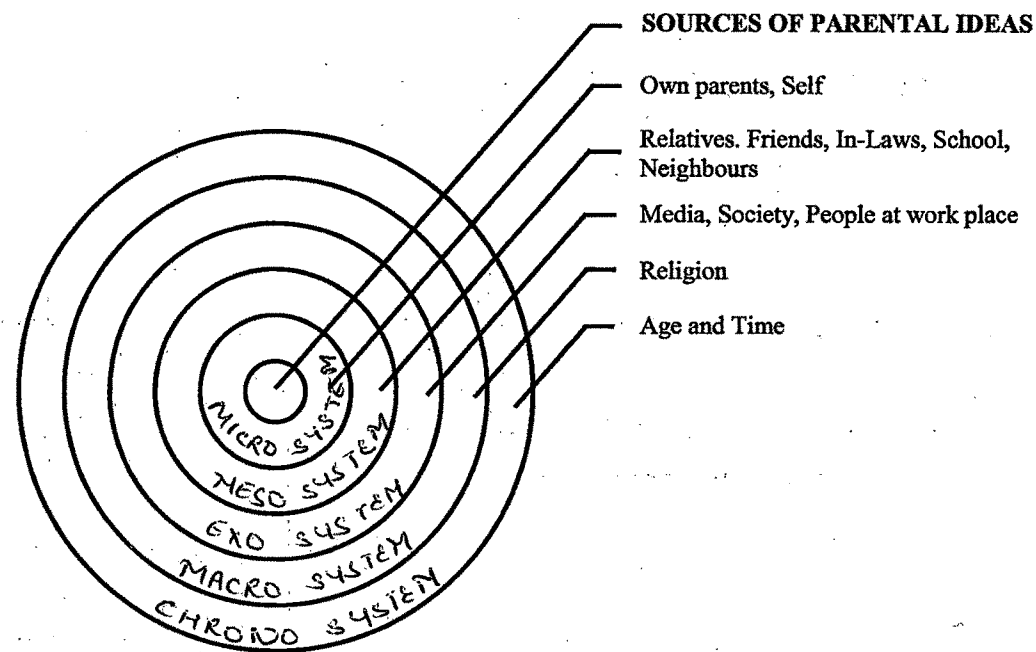
Parents reported that they got information from the immediate environment (18.5%) that included people at work place, friends and observing others. School (9.3%) of the parents emerged as an institution through which they got information. Teachers, books, school friends were also important sources. Society and neighbours (9.3%) also emerged as channels through which parents learned about their child's development and rearing "*Is jhopar patti , mahhole (context ) se anubhav milta hai ki apne bachoo ko kaisa rakhna hai; log gaali dete hai, peeta hai, larte hai, hum nahi chahte ki hummare bache kuch asa kaare*". Parents mentioned media (7.9%) as a source of information. Television serials like "*kyuki saans bhi kabhi bahu thi, kahani ghar-ghar ki, kavyanjali and ruke-ruke se kadam*" provided knowledge of child care to parents. They also mentioned news papers "*divya bhaaskar, sandesh and Gujarat samachar*" and movies like, "*bhagban and dharkan*" as the sources. The parents also learnt with

age and time “*umar aur wakt*”. (5.3%). Religion (1.3%) was also mentioned as a source of information by parents. One respondent said that religious books played a pivotal role in the source of information. Another respondent said that she leaves the things on god. Interestingly one mother mentioned ‘doctor’ as a source while focusing on the practices she followed for rearing her child.

Hence it could be concluded that family and self are the key sources through which parents learnt about child development and rearing. However aspects like the immediate environment, school, society, neighbours, media, age, time and religion also shaped the ideas of parents. It can also be interpreted that the parents mentioned both independent and interdependent sources of information. Self, time and age constituted the independent sources. And family members, neighbours, society, school and immediate environment were the interdependent sources. Media and religion can be both independent and interdependent sources.

Mothers mentioned their family (25) and self (22) more as the source of information than fathers (family-12; self-14). Their responses also reflected the intergenerational continuity. They said that they learned about their child through their parents specifically their own mothers “*Mane jo kuch seekha apni maa se seekha; maa –baap ne hume ache sanskar diye; jassi ma-baap ko aadat wasi humko adaat*”. Fathers have mentioned that their own “general knowledge” (40 responses; mothers- 24 responses) was their source of information that they got with time and age, society, school and the immediate environment that is work place, friends and observing others.

It would also be interesting to reflect on these sources with respect to Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological system (Figure 16).



**Figure 16. Sources of parents' information**

Bronfenbrenner's ecological approach comprises of five systems; which play an important role in the development of the child. The sources of information of parents have been categorized into the five systems of the ecological framework. The categories are own parents and self (micro system); relatives, friends, in-laws, neighbours and school (meso system); media, society and people at workplace (exo system); religion (macro system); age and time (chrono system). These sources influence the ideas of the parents; development takes place in this multilayered context. The process of development and socialization of children is fostered by various factors at each level and interaction between these factors at same and different levels.

The results based on this section indicate that the parents play a very crucial role in their child's development and rearing. The parental ideas influence their own behaviour and expectations towards their children. This gets reflected in the childrearing practices parents adopted for their children. The strategies that parents use are in line with the traits they encouraged and the traits they did not want in their children. There also exist consistencies in the ideas of the parents with respect to the traits they desire in their children at present and in future.

### **Parental Ideas and Level of Analysis**

Based on Rosenthal and Roer- Strier (2006) level of analysis, the traits that parents liked/disliked in young child and they desired/ did not desire in children as adults are also presented with reference to levels of self, family, interpersonal relations and society (Table 17).

- Self; it represents personality traits, school related traits, ability traits, religious traits and habits.
- Family context; relatedness with immediate family members, relatives, in-laws.
- Interpersonal relations; relatedness with other than family members – peers, neighbours, friends of parents.
- Societal context; socially valued norms/ appropriate skills.

The form of self that existed in parental ideas was based on what they felt is the best for their child; their expectations; and how the society/ others would react. Qualitative analysis indicated that the parents responded at individual, family, others (relatedness with other than family members) and societal level (socio-cultural norms).

As mentioned earlier the parents' responses were developmental in nature that is age appropriate. However irrespective of the age of the child, parents mentioned the traits which represent child's "self" and his/her relatedness with "others". Self-oriented traits included; good looking, have good career, stubborn, over confident and so on. Others-oriented traits included; celebrating festivals, obeying, fighting, bring bad name to the family and so on. On one hand where parents wanted their child to be independent on the other hand they also expected that the child should display the traits of interrelatedness. Thus for parents independence and inter-relatedness with family members and others were main accomplishments for children.

Table 17

**Level of Analysis and Traits Parents Liked/Disliked in Young Children and Desired/Undesired in Grown up Child/ Child as Adult**

TRAITS LEVELS	TRAITS LIKED (YOUNG CHILDREN)	TRAITS DISLIKED (YOUNG CHILDREN)	TRAITS DESIRED (GROWN UP CHILD)	TRAITS UNDESIRE (GROWN UP CHILD)
<b>SELF</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Good looking</li> <li>• Good in studies</li> <li>• Danced, played sports</li> <li>• Prayed</li> <li>• Followed schedules</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stubborn</li> <li>• Disliked studying</li> <li>• Did not like going to <i>Madarsas</i></li> <li>• Asked for money</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be Mature</li> <li>• Have good career</li> <li>• Good in household chores</li> <li>• Have name and fame</li> <li>• Save money</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Over confident</li> <li>• Bunk college</li> <li>• Waste money</li> <li>• Indiscipline</li> </ul>
<b>FAMILY CONTEXT</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Obeyed</li> <li>• Demanded things</li> <li>• Loved them</li> <li>• Enjoyed</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Beat</li> <li>• Fought</li> <li>• Possessive towards parents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fulfill their expectations</li> <li>• Take their opinion</li> <li>• Keep pleasant relations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bring bad name to the family</li> <li>• Fight with spouse/ in-laws</li> </ul>
<b>INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shared things</li> <li>• Get along well</li> <li>• Played</li> <li>• Sat on their lap</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Snatched things</li> <li>• Fought</li> <li>• Went to their place at odd hours</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do social work</li> <li>• Maintain good relations</li> <li>• Not hurt others</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Go for movies with friends</li> <li>• Sit on road side</li> </ul>
<b>SOCIETAL CONTEXT</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Displayed respect</li> <li>• Celebrated festivals</li> <li>• Had respect for religion</li> <li>• Possessed table manners</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Roam without wearing clothes</li> <li>• Used slang language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wear decent clothes</li> <li>• Possess good manners</li> <li>• Talk with respect</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Get engaged in love affair/ love marriage</li> <li>• Friends with other sex individuals</li> </ul>

**Note:** Parents have not talked about the ability traits that they disliked/ undesired in young and grown up children and religious traits only in grown up children.

However based on quantitative analysis, if one focuses on the traits that parents liked in their young children and the traits that they desired and did not desire in children as adults, it is clearly evident that majority of parents have emphasized on the socially appropriate skills that the child should possess followed by other traits (for the traits parents disliked, they have focused more on lack of personality traits in the child). This shows that the parents gave more importance to relatedness of the child with family members and others; which represents interdependent self in the parental ideas.

Thus based on qualitative analysis both independent and interdependent self existed in the ideas of the parents and based on quantitative analysis more interdependent self prevailed in their ideas.

## **SECTION II**

### **Gender and Religion as Variables Influencing the Ideas of the Parents**

The ideas that parents had about their child's development and rearing were based on their own gender, expectations regarding the gender stereotypical roles to be performed by boys and girls and the religion they belong to. Described below are the similarities and differences that emerged in the parental ideas. The results that showed maximum variation are presented.

#### **Gender of the parents**

Both fathers and mothers mentioned the traits they liked (1133 responses)/ desired (453 responses) more than the traits they disliked (290 responses)/ did not desire (287 responses) in their young child and the child as an adult. More mothers (1168 responses) than fathers (995 responses) mentioned the traits. Both the parents liked that their young child possess socially appropriate skills and personality traits and the absence of these traits in the children was disliked by the parents.

Socially appropriate skills were also desired by the parents in their child as an adult and the absence of this trait was undesired. There was consistency in the ideas of the parents with respect to the traits they wanted in their child today and in future. However the preference varied with the age of the child.

#### **Gender of the child**

Parents (mainly mothers) of boys mentioned the traits (they liked/ desired and disliked / did not desire in their young child and the child as an adult- 1190 responses) more than parents of girls (973 responses). Remarkable difference emerged in the traits parents disliked in their young boys (202 responses) and girls (88 responses). Socially appropriate skills were the trait which mothers valued more for young boys and were concerned if he would lack personality traits.

Though less difference, parents desired that as an adult, the boy should engage in professional life and provide financial support to the family. The girl when grows up should possess traits of ability (house hold skills). Parents would not like if boys possess bad habits.

Also parents mentioned the child rearing practices for boys (128 responses) more than girls (73 responses).



## **Religion**

Parents from both Hindu and Muslim religions liked that their young children and their children as adults possessed socially appropriate skills followed by possessing personality traits. They disliked and did not desire if there was an absence of these traits.

Muslim parents mentioned more traits they desired in their child as an adult than Hindu parents. They emphasized more on the socially valued/ appropriate skills the child (as adult) should possess.

Thus gender and religion as variables influenced the ideas of the parents. More mothers than fathers focused on the traits; and practices they followed. Gender of the child emerged as a more prominent variable that influenced the ideas of the parents regarding their child's development and rearing. Parents of boys have mentioned more traits than of girls. Young boys were expected to possess socially valued/ appropriate skills; and as an adult possess socially valued/ appropriate skills as well as provide material support (engage in professional life and provide financial support) to the family. Whereas girls were expected to maintain social norms (possess house hold ability skills). With respect to religion, more similarities than differences emerged in parental ideas.

**Note:** For the above presented results please refer the Tables from 1 to 10 and Figures from 1 to 6 in Appendix G

### **SECTION III**

#### **Existence of Self (independent and/or interdependent) in Parental Ideas**

The data for this section has emerged from three sources; (1) rating scale, (2) adjective checklist and (3) interviews with parents. The first essentially yields quantitative data and the other two yields qualitative and quantitative data.

- **Independent Construal of Self:** preference is given to one's own internal attributes, traits, abilities (Kitayama and Markus, 1995).
- **Interdependent Construal of Self:** focus is on the shared duties, obligations and social responsibilities (Kitayama and Markus, 1995).

The results obtained from rating scale and adjective checklists are described separately. However the final conclusion is presented together.

#### **Rating Scale**

The rating scale had 27 items (11 items indicating independent self and 16 interdependent self). Each item was rated on a score of 1 to 5 by the parents. The score of one represented that the respondent did not agree with the statement/item at all. The score of five represented that the respondent displayed 100% agreement for a particular item. Mean score was computed.

Results revealed that most of the items on the rating scale were rated high followed by moderate and low rating. Majority of the items (traits) that were rated high by the parents indicated the concept of interdependent self (Table 18, 19). Items were grouped together into categories of independent self and interdependent self. The mean ratings of the categories were then compared. Results showed that mean score (4.25) of items indicating interdependent self was higher than the mean score (3.79) of the items indicating the independent self. This was found to be significant at .000 level (Table 20). Thus overall parents encouraged more interdependent self than independent self in their children.

**Table 18**  
**Mean Scores for each Item in Rating Scale**

N=80

ITEMS	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION (S.D)
1	4.32	1.05
2	4.73	.59
3	4.59	.81
4	4.14	1.08
5	1.50	1.09
6	3.76	1.26
7	4.70	.72
8	3.55	1.26
9	4.49	.80
10	4.50	.89
11	4.55	.86
12	4.29	.97
13	4.09	1.36
14	4.02	1.19
15	4.63	.82
16	3.54	1.40
17	3.67	1.42
18	4.34	1.18
19	4.09	1.39
20	4.26	1.17
21	3.56	1.64
22	2.99	1.55
23	4.40	.89
24	3.65	1.54
25	4.80	.62
26	3.89	1.61
27	4.84	.58

**Table 19**  
**Number of Items and Levels of Ratings**

ITEMS	HIGH (3.90-5)	MODERATE (2.70-3.89)	LOW (1.50-2.69)	TOTAL
Number of items indicating independent self	6 (54.54%)	4	1	11
Number of items indicating interdependent self	12 (75%)	4	-	16
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>27</b>

**Table 20**  
**Significance Difference between Construal of Self Existed in the Ideas of the Parents**

CONSTRUAL OF SELF	N	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM	MEAN	S.D	SIG (2-TAILED)
Independent self (Individual level)	80	2.27	4.64	3.7977	.4929	.000
Interdependent self (Family level/ Others)	80	2.94	5.00	4.2563	.5124	

### **Gender of the parents**

Results revealed that there was significant difference, at .059 levels, between mothers and fathers with respect to interdependent self (Table 21).

Interdependent self prevailed in the ideas of mothers more than the fathers. The mean ratings of the mothers were high on the items that showed interdependent self like, "it is my child's duty to look after me in my old age, I should be able to rely on my child's help in old age and I have the right to get something in return for the sacrifice I made for my child".

### **Gender of the Child**

There also existed a significant difference, at .004 level and .002 level, between the parents of boys and girls and the construal of self that existed in their ideas (Table 21). Independent and interdependent self was expressed more by parents of boys as compared to parents of girls. However interdependent construal of self was reflected more in the ideas of the parents of boys. The mean ratings of the parents of boys were high on the items that represented interdependent self like "my child's behaviour should be oriented towards his/her family values, my child should rely on traditions, my child should be ashamed to refuse my request, it is important for my child to get along with me at any cost, my child when grows adult should live close to me in order to be able to support me and my child should give importance to my point of view".

### **Religion**

No significant difference was found in the parental ideas with respect to the religion (Table 21). However significant difference emerged with respect to interactional effect between religion and gender of the child and gender of the parent. As shown in Table 22, Muslim mothers of boys expressed more independent and interdependent self than of girls, significant at .050 and .010 level. Though not highly significant (.078 level), Muslim fathers of boys expressed interdependent form of self more than of girls. No significant difference was found to exist between Hindu mothers and fathers and boys and girls (Table 22, 24).

The result revealed that irrespective of variables of gender and religion more traits of interdependent self exist in the ideas of the parents; significant at .009 level (as compared to independent self- .063 level) (Table 23). Parents emphasized on child's roles/behaviour towards their (child) own family members. With respect to the variables of gender and religion, interdependent self exist in the ideas of the parents; specifically in Muslim mothers of boy child (Table 25).

Thus interdependent self existed in the ideas of the parents. This was found highly significant for gender of the child. There was interaction effect of gender of the parent, gender of the child and the religion with reference to promoting interdependent self. Similar results were obtained through quantitative analysis of in-depth interviews. Parents desired socially valued skills/ behaviour in their children followed by other traits.

Table 21

t-test for the Equality of Means between Construal of Self in the Ideas of the Parents

VARIABLES	CONSTRUAL OF SELF	HINDU (n=40)	MUSLIM (n=40)	FATHER (n=40)	MOTHER (n=40)	BOY (n=46)	GIRL (n=34)	2-3 YRS (n=42)	3-4 YRS (n=38)
<b>INDEPENDENT SELF</b>									
Mean (S.D)		3.8614 (.5317)	3.7341 (.4484)	3.84 (.49)	3.75 (.49)	3.93 (.43)	3.61 (.52)	3.74 (.55)	3.86 (.42)
t		1.157		.782		2.991		1.140	
Degree of freedom (df)		78		78		78		78	
Sig. (2-tailed)		.251		.437		.004 ***		.258	
<b>INTERDEPENDENT SELF</b>									
Mean (S.D)		4.3266 (.4807)	4.1859 (.5390)	4.15 (.50)	4.36 (.51)	4.41 (.41)	4.05 (.57)	4.24 (.52)	4.28 (.51)
t		1.231		1.913		3.255		-.359	
Degree of freedom (df)		78		78		78		78	
Sig. (2-tailed)		.222		.059 *		.002 ***		.721	

Table 22

t- test for Equality of Means between Gender and Religion Influences and the Existence of Self in Parental Ideas

VARIABLES	HINDU FATHER (n=20)		HINDU MOTHER (n=20)		MUSLIM FATHER (n=20)		MUSLIM MOTHER (n=20)	
	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=11)	GIRL (n=9)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)	BOY (n=12)	GIRL (n=8)
INDEPENDENT SELF								
Mean (S.D)	4.1240(.4051)	3.8283(.5501)	3.8760(.4815)	3.5556(.6156)	3.8106(.4910)	3.5114(.3886)	3.9318(.3006)	3.5455(.5234)
t	1.385		1.308		1.444		2.105	
Degree of freedom (df)	18		18		18		18	
Sig. (2-tailed)	.183		.207		.166		.050 *	
INTERDEPENDENT SELF								
Mean (S.D)	4.3295(.3954)	4.1806(.5559)	4.5284(.4956)	4.2222(.4720)	4.1979(.3860)	3.7891(.5966)	4.5781(.2797)	3.9766(.6417)
t	.700		1.404		1.870		2.890	
Degree of freedom (df)	18		18		15		18	
Sig. (2-tailed)	.493		.177		.078		.010 **	

Note: P- value \* - 0.05, \*\* - .01, \*\*\* - .00

Table 23

**Analysis of Variance between Gender and Religion Influences and the Existence of Self in Parental Ideas**

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	df	Sig.
Independent self	HFB	11	4.1240	.4051	2.026	7	.063
	HFG	9	3.8283	.5501			
	HMB	11	3.8760	.4815			
	HMG	9	3.5556	.6156			
	MFB	12	3.8106	.4910			
	MFG	8	3.5114	.3886			
	MMB	12	3.9318	.3006			
	MMG	8	3.5455	.5234			
	Total	80	3.7977	.4929			
Interdependent self	HFB	11	4.3295	.3954	2.925	7	.009
	HFG	9	4.1806	.5559			
	HMB	11	4.5284	.4956			
	HMG	9	4.2222	.4720			
	MFB	12	4.1979	.3860			
	MFG	8	3.7891	.5966			
	MMB	12	4.5781	.2797			
	MMG	8	3.9766	.6417			
	Total	80	4.2563	.5124			

Table 24

**Analysis of Variance for Interactional Effect between Gender and Hindu Religion and the Existence of Self in Parental Ideas**

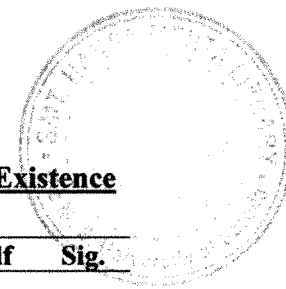
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	df	Sig.
Independent self	HFB	11	4.1240	.4051	2.056	3	.123
	HFG	9	3.8283	.5501			
	HMB	11	3.8760	.4815			
	HMG	9	3.5556	.6156			
	Total	40	3.8614	.5317			
Interdependent self	HFB	11	4.3295	.3954	1.071	3	.374
	HFG	9	4.1806	.5559			
	HMB	11	4.5284	.4956			
	HMG	9	4.2222	.4720			
	Total	40	4.3266	.4807			

Table 25

**Analysis of Variance for Interactional Effect between Gender and Muslim Religion and the Existence of Self in Parental Ideas**

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	df	Sig.
Independent self	MFB	12	3.8106	.4910	2.213	3	.103
	MFG	8	3.5114	.3886			
	MMB	12	3.9318	.3006			
	MMG	8	3.5455	.5234			
	Total	40	3.7341	.4484			
Interdependent self	MFB	12	4.1979	.3860	5.271	3	.004
	MFG	8	3.7891	.5966			
	MMB	12	4.5781	.2797			
	MMG	8	3.9766	.6417			
	Total	40	4.1859	.5390			

Note: P- value \* - 0.05, \*\* - .01, \*\*\* - .00



### **Adjective Checklist**

From the list of 40 adjectives (Refer Appendix D for description) that was provided to the parents' (80), 50% and above parents desired that their child developed traits of performing well in school (59, 73.8%), being religious (56, 70%), hardworking (54, 67.5%), happy (49, 61.3%), obedient (47, 58.8%), intelligent (46, 57.5%), punctual (45, 56.3%), caring (42, 52.5%) and respectful (41, 51.3%).

The traits that parents did not desire were bad habits (54, 67.5%), inappropriate behaviour (52, 65%), stubborn (51, 63.8%), lazy (47, 58.8%), disobedient (45, 56.3%), careless (43, 53.8%), dominates (43, 53.8%), unsocial (41, 51.3%) and lack of academic skills (40, 50%).

The parents had their own reasons for desiring and not desiring the above mentioned traits in their child. The reasons that the parents' mentioned were further categorized into independent self, interdependent self and both independent and interdependent form of self (Table 26).



**Table 26**     **Reasons mentioned by the Parents for the Traits they Desired/ Undesired in their Children and the Existence of Self in Parental Ideas**

EXISTENCE OF SELF	TRAITS DESIRED	TRAITS UNDESIED	TRAITS BOTH DESIRED/UNDESIED
<b>INDEPENDENT SELF</b>  <b>(INDIVIDUAL LEVEL)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Would be independent</li> <li>• Have good future</li> <li>• Progress in life</li> <li>• Lead a happy life</li> <li>• Able to solve one's own problems</li> <li>• Have an identity of self "<i>uski khud ki pehchan hogi</i>"</li> <li>• Fulfill one's own wishes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Would not be successful</li> <li>• Would be left alone</li> <li>• Would not possess positive traits (would be lazy, dominate)</li> <li>• Would not follow good path (indulging in vices and harming self)</li> <li>• Would spoil one's life</li> </ul>	
<b>INTERDEPENDENT SELF</b>  <b>(FAMILY-OTHERS / SOCIETAL LEVEL)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Child would care/ take the responsibility of the family</li> <li>• Would be liked / respected /praised by everyone</li> <li>• Child should live the way parents want</li> <li>• Others will praise the parents for giving good "<i>sanskars</i>" to their child</li> <li>• Parents become confident for their child</li> <li>• Child should follow the societal norms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parents won't like</li> <li>• Would not be able to fulfill parents ambitions</li> <li>• Others will blame the child</li> <li>• Parents name gets spoiled</li> <li>• Child should think about others first and then self</li> <li>• Would not be able to face the society</li> </ul>	
<b>BOTH INDEPENDENT / INTERDEPENDENT SELF</b>  <b>(INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY-OTHERS / SOCIETAL LEVEL)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Would bring name/ identity to parents and self</li> <li>• Would take care of parents and self</li> <li>• Good for child, parents and others</li> <li>• Child could make others understand the things</li> <li>• Would be able to stay in the society only if he/she is intelligent</li> <li>• Child should go according to the time, otherwise people would make fool of him</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Development won't take place as should be; society would view the child as an anti social "<i>uska vikas jasa hona chahiye nahi hoga...samaz anti social ki terah se dekhega</i>"</li> <li>• Would have bad effect on him; society would view him negatively "<i>uspar bura asar parega; saamaz bhi use burri nazar se dekhega</i>"</li> <li>• Not good for self and parents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The child should do fun but not irritate others</li> <li>• Parents would pamper the child and both of them will feel happy</li> </ul>

There were few parents who just responded to the traits they desired/undesired in their children and did not mention the reasons for the same. Percentages, for the form of self that existed in the ideas of parents, were calculated "based on the number of the parents who had mentioned the reasons" for the specific trait (s) they desired and undesired in their children (not from the total sample of 80 nor from the number of parents who have desired/undesired a specific trait). It was very interesting to note that all the traits could be categorized into independent self, interdependent self and both (Table 27).

**Table 27**  
**Existence of Form of Self in the Traits Parents Desired and Undesired in their Children**

TRAITS	INDEPENDENT SELF (%)	INTERDEPENDENT SELF (%)	INDEPENDENT / INTERDEPENDENT SELF (%)
<b>DESIRABLE: 40% and above</b>			
1) Good in academics (32)	46.9	25.0	28.1
2) Religious (26)	50.0	30.8	19.2
3) Hardworking (24)	54.2	25.0	20.8
4) Happy (22)	59.1	27.3	13.6
5) Obedient (21)	38.1	38.1	23.8
6) Intelligent (20)	60.0	15.0	25.0
7) Punctual (17)	47.1	17.6	35.3
8) Caring (15)	26.7	46.7	26.7
9) Respectful (14)	28.6	7.1	64.3
<b>UNDESIRABLE: 40% and above</b>			
1) Bad habits (25)	36.0	36.0	28
2) Inappropriate behaviour (24)	37.5	41.7	20.8
3) Stubborn (25)	40.0	36.0	24.0
4) Lazy (22)	36.4	27.3	36.4
5) Disobedient (16)	18.8	43.8	37.5
6) Careless (15)	46.7	13.3	40.0
7) Dominates (16)	25.0	43.8	31.3
8) Unsocial (14)	35.7	42.9	21.4
9) Lack of academic skills (12)	41.7	25.0	33.3

The traits that parents desire and did not desire in their children are described; along with the reasons they mentioned for the same. Only those traits are described which have scores 40% and above with respect to the form of self. More independent form of self existed in the reasons given by the parents for the traits that they desired in their child. Independent and interdependent form of self was reflected in the reasons given by the parents for the traits they did not desire in their child (Table 27).

#### **Traits parents' desired in their children**

The independent self was reflected in the ideas of the majority of the parents who desired their child to be intelligent, happy, hardworking, punctual and good in academics (Table 27). The parents said that if the child possessed this trait (s) then it was good for them, child will feel that the life is easy, he/she would progress well, be able to think for self, they would develop their own identity, lead a happy life and be independent. 'Religious' as a trait reflects interdependent self; as the parents are ultimately praying to god for child's wellbeing. However based on the reasons mentioned by the majority of the parents it emerged as a trait that reflects independent self. Parents said that if the child is religious then he/she will be honest, progress in life and understand good and bad. Parents wanted their child to be caring as he/she will take responsibility of home, care for others and everyone will respect him/her. Hence interdependent self existed in the reasons mentioned by the parents. They wanted their child to be respectful as to develop both independent and interdependent form of self. Parents said that by being respectful the child would create one's own and parent's identity, be a good human being and help parents.

Further analysis was done with respect to the variables of gender and religion; and age of the child; for the form of self, that existed in the reasons mentioned by the parents for desiring specific trait (s) in their child (Table 28)

Note: Chi-Square is not calculated for the traits 'respectful' and 'caring' as the sample size is less than 20 (For chi-square the dependent variable should have sample size of more than 20).

- P- value \* - 0.05, \*\* - .01, \*\*\* - .00

No significant results emerged with respect to the variables of gender of parents and religion.

There was a significant difference at .005 level between the reasons mentioned by the parents for the boys and girls; to possess trait of intelligence. More number of boys are expected to be intelligent to become independent in life, whereas for girls it is to develop both independent and interdependent traits of self. The girls should be intelligent to progress in life and to make the parents proud "*jeevan me aage bare; apne ma-baap ki pehchan bannaye*".

There was a significant difference at .009 level, .001 level and .013 level between the reasons mentioned by the parents for the young and older children to be happy, hardworking and good in academics respectively. Independent form of self existed in their ideas for older children (3-4 years) for both these traits. The parents want elder children (3-4 years) to develop these traits to become independent and for young children (2-3 years) interdependent self was reflected in parental ideas "*doosre kahenge ki bacha acha hai*". Thus developmental differences were reflected in parental ideas.

Hence gender of the child and age of the child emerged as variables that influenced the ideas of the parents.

**Table 28**  
**Traits Parents Desired in their Child (%)**

TRAITS VARIABLES	FATHER			MOTHER			BOY			GIRL			2-3 YEARS			3-4 YEARS			HINDU			MUSLIM		
	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B
RESPECTFUL ( 14)	25	12.5	62.5	33.3	-	66.7	40	-	60	22.2	11.1	66.7	-	20	80	44.4	-	55.6	33.3	-	66.7	27.3	9.1	63.6
Total	8, 100%			6, 100%			5, 100%			9, 100%			5, 100%			9, 100%			3, 100%			11, 100%		
INTELLIGENT (20)	63.6	27.3	9.1	55.6	-	44.4	90.9	9.1	-	22.2	22.2	55.6	57.1	14.3	28.6	61.5	15.4	23.1	66.7	11.1	22.2	54.5	18.2	27.3
Total	11, 100%			9, 100%			11, 100%			9, 100%			7, 100%			13, 100%			9, 100%			11, 100%		
P value	4.983						10.572						.073						.337					
df	2						2						2						2					
Sig.	.083						.005 ***						.964						.845					
HAPPY (22)	80	10	10	41.7	41.7	16.7	64.3	28.6	7.1	50	25	25	27.3	45.5	27.3	90.9	9.1	-	50	30	20	66.7	25	8.3
Total	10, 100%			12, 100%			14, 100%			8, 100%			11, 100%			11, 100%			10, 100%			12, 100%		
P value	3.540						1.390						9.436						.851					
df	2						2						2						2					
Sig.	.170						.499						.009 ***						.653					
HARDWORKING (24)	50	20	30	57.1	28.6	14.3	53.8	38.5	7.7	54.5	9.1	36.4	11.1	66.7	22.2	80	-	20	44.4	44.4	11.1	60	13.3	26.7
Total	10, 100%			14, 100%			13, 100%			11, 100%			9, 100%			15, 100%			9, 100%			15, 100%		
P value	.918						4.408						14.942						3.082					
df	2						2						2						2					
Sig.	.632						.110						.001 ***						.214					
RELIGIOUS (26)	50	27.8	22.2	50	37.5	12.5	43.8	43.8	12.5	60	10	30	38.5	38.5	23.1	61.5	23.1	15.4	50	40	10	50	25	25
Total	18, 100%			8, 100%			16, 100%			10, 100%			13, 100%			13, 100%			10, 100%			16, 100%		
P value	.442						3.583						1.392						1.170					
df	2						2						2						2					
Sig.	.802						.167						.498						.557					
PUNCTUAL (17)	50	12.5	37.5	44.4	22.2	33.3	44.4	22.2	33.3	50	12.5	37.5	36.4	27.3	36.4	66.7	-	33.3	50	33.3	16.7	45.5	9.1	45.5
Total	8, 100%			9, 100%			9, 100%			8, 100%			11, 100%			6, 100%			6, 100%			11, 100%		
GOOD IN ACADEMICS (32)	41.2	17.6	41.2	53.3	33.3	13.3	52.6	31.6	15.8	38.5	15.4	46.2	23.5	41.2	35.3	73.3	6.7	20	50	25	25	45	25	30
Total	17, 100%			15, 100%			19, 100%			13, 100%			17, 100%			15, 100%			12, 100%			20, 100%		
P value	3.232						3.671						8.676						.107					
df	2						2						2						2					
Sig.	.199						.160						.013 **						.948					
CARING (15)	37.5	50	12.5	14.3	42.9	42.9	37.5	50	12.5	14.3	42.9	42.9	12.5	37.5	50	42.9	57.1	-	33.3	44.4	22.2	16.7	50	33.3
Total	8, 100%			7, 100%			8, 100%			7, 100%			8, 100%			7, 100%			9, 100%			6, 100%		

• CODES:I-Independent self; IT-Interdependent self; B-Both Independent self and Interdependent self; P- value-Pearson Chi-Square; df-Degree of freedom

### **Traits parents did not desire in their children**

Independent form of self was reflected in the reasons mentioned by the parents, for the child to be stubborn, careless and lack in academic skills (Table 27). The parents said if their child possesses these traits then he/ she won't be successful and be left alone. Interdependent form of self was reflected in the reasons mentioned by the parents, for the child to be disobedient, unsocial, dominating and display inappropriate behaviour. The parents said if their child possesses these traits then no one would respect him/her, mix up with the child, child won't be able to fulfill parents' ambitions, he/she is like a burden for others and others would blame the parents.

Further analysis was done with respect to the variables of gender and religion; and age of the child; for the form of self, that existed in the reasons mentioned by the parents for not desiring specific trait (s) in their child (Table 29).

Chi-Square was calculated only for those traits (dependent variables) having sample size more than 20.

Results revealed that there existed a significant difference at .034 level, between the reasons mentioned by the Hindu and Muslim parents, for the child to be stubborn. Independent self existed in the reasons mentioned by the Hindu parents. They said if the child is stubborn then he won't be able to think logically and won't be able to progress in life. Interdependent self existed in the reasons mentioned by the Muslim parents. They said if the child is stubborn then no one will like the child.

Based on the percentages calculated it was revealed that there were no similarities in the ideas of the parents for the traits they did not desire in their children with respect to the form of self; and gender, religion and age of the child.

### *Gender of the parents*

Gender difference emerged in the ideas of the parents for the traits that they do not desire in their child. For majority of the traits independent self was reflected in the reasons given by the fathers (child would destroy his/her life, would be

left alone and not good for the child). Whereas interdependent self existed in the reasons given by the mothers (others would say that parents did not take care of the child and the child won't be able to fulfill parents' ambitions).

#### *Gender of the child*

With respect to the gender of the child, all three (independent self, interdependent self and both independent and interdependent self) forms of self were reflected in the reasons given by the parents, for the traits they did not desire in boys and girls. However the responses/ reasons varied as per the traits. The parents of both boys and girls did not want them to be careless. Independent self existed in the reasons given by the parents for the same (not good for the child, child won't progress).

For other traits differences emerged in the reasons given by the parents and the form of self that existed. Interdependent self existed in the reasons given by the parents of girls. They said if their girl possess these traits then their (parents) name gets spoiled. Independent and interdependent self existed in the reasons given by the parents of boys. They said if their boys possess these traits then the child ruin his future, not good for the parents, it affected the related person and child is like a burden for others.

#### *Age of the child*

Independent and interdependent self existed in the reasons given by the parents of elder children. Both independent and interdependent self ("*bura baccha ban jayega aur kissi ko bhi bacha acha nahi lagega*") existed in the reasons given by the parents of young children.

#### *Religion*

There were no similarities in the ideas of the parents from Hindu and Muslim religion. For majority of the traits independent self was reflected in the reasons given by the Hindu parents. Whereas interdependent self existed in the reasons given by the Muslim parents.

Thus no similarities existed in the ideas of the parents for the traits they did not desire in their children with respect to the form of self; and gender, religion and age of the child.

Table 29

**Traits Parents Undesired in their Child (%)**

TRAITS VARIABLES	FATHER			MOTHER			BOY			GIRL			2-3 YEARS			3-4 YEARS			HINDU			MUSLIM			
	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	I	IT	B	
LACK OF ACADEMICKILLS (12)	33.3	33.3	33.3	50	16.7	33.3	50	33.3	16.7	33.3	16.7	50	25	25	50	50	25	25	50	50	-	50	40	30	30
Total	6			6			6			6			4			8			2			10			
UNSOCIAL (14)	50	37.5	12.5	16.7	50	33.3	33.3	44.4	22.2	40	40	20	28.6	57.1	14.3	42.9	28.6	28.6	25	25	50	40	50	10	
Total	8			6			9			5			7			7			4			10			
CARELESS (15)	60	10	30	20	20	60	50	-	50	45.5	18.2	36.4	25	25	50	54.5	9.1	36.4	60	-	40	40	20	40	
Total	10			5			4			11			4			11			5			10			
DOMINATES (16)	25	37.5	37.5	25	50	25	12.5	50	37.5	37.5	37.5	25	25	41.7	33.3	25	50	25	33.3	33.3	33.3	20	50	30	
Total	8			8			8			8			12			4			6			10			
DISOBEDIENT (16)	11.1	44.4	44.4	28.6	42.9	28.6	20	-	80	18.2	63.6	18.2	22.2	33.3	44.4	14.3	57.1	28.6	33.3	-	66.7	15.4	53.8	30.8	
Total	9			7			5			11			9			7			3			13			
INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOUR (24)	40	30	30	35.7	50	14.3	42.9	35.7	21.4	30	50	20	36.4	36.4	27.3	38.5	46.2	15.4	40	40	20	35.7	42.9	21.4	
Total	10			14			14			10			11			13			10			14			
P value	1.280						.549						.548						.046 *						
df	2						2						2						2						
Sig.	.527						.760						.760						.977						
STUBBORN (25)	33.3	31.7	25	46.2	40.8	23.1	33.3	40	26.7	50	30	20	43.8	37.5	18.8	33.3	33.3	33.3	63.6	9.1	27.3	21.4	57.1	21.4	
Total	12			13			15			10			16			9			11			14			
P value	.472						.694						.694						6.782						
df	2						2						2						2						
Sig.	.790						.707						.707						.034 *						

- Chi-Square is calculated only for those traits (dependent variables) having sample size more than 20
- CODES: I-Independent self; IT- Interdependent self; B-Both Independent self and Interdependent self; P- value- Pearson Chi-Square; df- Degree of freedom
- P- value \* - 0.05, \*\* - .01, \*\*\* - .00



Along with these, there were few traits that were rated as both desired and undesired by the parents. These were naughty (11.3%), stubborn (3.8%), restless (3.8%), anger (3.8%), dominates (1.3%), moody (1.3%), active (1.3%), responsible (1.3%) and dependent (1.3%).

Thus on the basis of above results one can conclude that there were more commonalities in the ideas of the parents for the traits that they desired in their child and more differences emerged in the ideas of the parents for the undesirable traits. Independent form of self existed in the reasons given by the parents for the traits that they desired in their child whereas for undesirable traits the reasons showed independent and interdependent form of self. Gender of the child and age of the child emerged as variables that influenced the ideas of the parents for the traits they desire in their children. Religion differences emerged in the ideas of the parents for the traits the parents did not desire in their child. All three form of self was found to be existed in accordance with the traits (reasons mentioned by the parents to desire or undesired specific trait (s) in their child).

Overall on the basis of results obtained from rating scale and adjective checklist one can conclude that;

- Analysis revealed that the parents responded at individual, family and societal level.
- The results of rating scale (Table 30) showed that more of interdependent self existed in the ideas of the parents. Significant difference was found with respect to the variables of gender of the parents and gender of the child, for the form of self that existed in the ideas of the parents. Interdependent self existed in the ideas of the mothers more than fathers. Interdependent construal of self was reflected more in the ideas of the parents of boys than parents of girls.

No significant difference was found in the parental ideas with respect to the religion. Significant difference emerged with respect to interaction effect between the religion and gender of the child and gender of the parents. Interdependent self exist in the ideas of the parents; specifically in Muslim mothers of boy child.

- Results of adjective checklist showed that independent form of self existed in the reasons given by the parents for the traits that they desired in their child and independent and interdependent form of self for the traits parents did not desire in their child.

There was more consistency in the ideas of the fathers and Hindu parents; of boys and girls. Independent self was reflected in the reasons mentioned by them for the traits they desire and did not desire in their children.

Independent self existed in the ideas of the mothers for the traits they desired. Whereas interdependent self existed in the ideas of the mothers for the traits they undesired in their children.

Independent self existed in the ideas of the parents for the traits they desired in their boys and girls. Whereas independent and interdependent self existed in the ideas of the parents for the traits they undesired in boys whereas for the girl child the reasons reflected interdependent self.

Independent self existed in the ideas of the Muslim parents for the traits they undesired in their children. Whereas interdependent self existed in the ideas of the Muslim parents for the traits they undesired in their children.

**Table 30**

**Form of Self in the Ideas of the Parents**

	FATHER	MOTHER	BOY	GIRL	HINDU	MUSLIM
<b>RATING SCALE</b>		IT	IT			
<b>ADJECTIVE CHECKLIST</b>						
a) Traits Desired	I	I	I	I	I	I
b) Traits Undesired	I	IT	I, IT	IT	I	IT

**CODES: I-Independent self, IT-Interdependent self, IIT-Both independent and interdependent self**

The results on the rating scale and adjective checklist supported the results on ideas of parents about child development and child rearing obtained through interviews. The parental responses were contextual and situational in nature. Gender of the child emerged as a more prominent variable that influenced the ideas of the parents. All three form of self was found to be existed.

### **Highlights of the Results**

Overall the results obtained are as follows;

- Parents explained the term sanskar broadly at individual, societal and cultural level and with specific respect to their context and child rearing practices. According to parents sanskars were positive traits possessed by an individual. They understood sanskar as developing contextually, mainly within home.
- Religious practices and parent- child relationship emerged as the key dimensions of religion. Parents described that their respective religion prescribed different gender norms and pave the way to lead their life.

#### *Developmental Goals Parents' Want Their Child to Achieve*

- Conception to three years was the deciding period for the child's development by all the parents. Fifty percent of the parents started thinking about their child between birth to less than one year. The fathers started thinking about their girl at an earlier age as compared to boy.
- Parents' have emphasized their own feeling when their child began school followed by behaviour of children. Muslim parents displayed more concern for the child and his/her behaviour. More mothers expressed concern for the child. More parents of girls expressed concern about their child; with Hindu parents indicating least concern for the boys. Specifically parents displayed concern for the girls' social behaviour followed by their safety. For boys the concern was regarding the child's capacity to learn and his future.
- Parents mentioned more positive traits that they liked/ desired in their young children/ children as adults as compared to the negative traits that they disliked/ did not desire in them. There existed a linkage between the ideas of parents regarding the traits they liked in their children at present and the traits they desired in their grown up child; and similarly for the traits parents disliked and did not desire. This reflects parents understanding about change in their expectations with change in age of children.

*Practices Parents Followed to Help the Child Achieve Developmental Goals*

- The childrearing practices that parents followed were in line with the traits they valued in their children. Majority of the parents followed various rearing styles and gave quality time to children.
- Majority of the parents were satisfied with their child's development and rearing. Primary expectation that parents had from self was to make the child's future bright and support family members; and to rear their children for optimal development. The expectations that parents had from their children were similar to the traits they liked/desired and disliked/did not desire in their young children and in children as adults.
- More parents mentioned that they had no conflicts with spouse/other family members regarding their child's development and rearing. Few parents who had conflicts were mainly between the spouses. The conflict was related to routine activities, discipline, studies and future of the child. Majority of the parents resolved the conflicts by either remaining firm for ones own decision or considering others decision.
- The main sources of parents' information were their family members and self.
- Gender of the child, more than gender of the parents and religion, influenced the ideas of the parents. Parents expect boys to provide emotional and material support to the family and the girls to possess home bound ability skills.
- Independent and interdependent self was reflected in the ideas of the parents.

## **Discussion**

The results can be summarized and presented with reference to different perspectives for parental ideas, child development and rearing and construal of self.

### **1) Developmental perspective**

Expectations of parents were in accordance to age of the child.

### **2) Cultural/ Contextual perspective**

The ideas of the parents for child's development and rearing were in context to the age and gender of the child, gender of the parents, religion, socio-economic status, and physical (climate, space) and social environment (family, neighbourhood and larger society).

Parents wanted their children to perform gender stereotypical and socially appropriate roles.

Religious differences and similarities were evident in parental expectations and rearing practices.

### **3) Construal of self**

The responses of the parents were contextual and situational in nature. Parents wanted their child to possess independent, interdependent self and both independent and interdependent self.

As mentioned in the review, this study derived its theoretical basis mainly from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological approach; Super & Harkness's (1986, 1996) developmental niche; Levine's (1977, 1988) universal parental goals. These stated that development took place in context. The process of development and socialization of children was fostered by various factors individually and in interaction with each other, in same and other settings. The ideas of the parents on child socialization, values, goals and form of self were based on these factors. The study also take into account Kitayama and Markus's (1995); the two construal of self.

In light of these aspects the discussion focuses on the two main points;

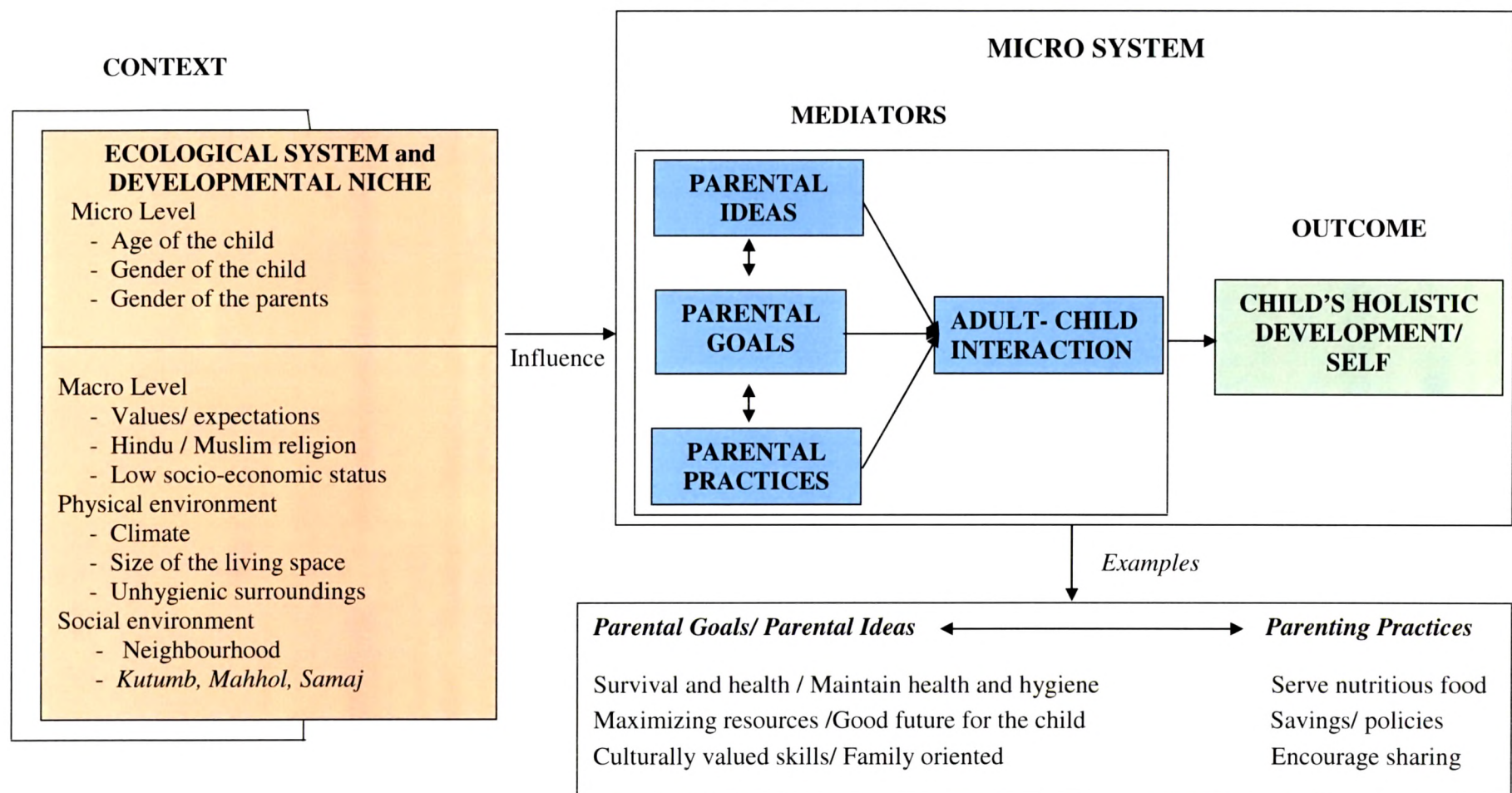
- I Relevance of studying parental ethnotheories/ ideas in context; factors influencing the ideas of parents regarding their child's development and rearing.
- II Existence of self in the ideas of the parents.

### **I Relevance of Studying Parental Ethnotheories/ Ideas in Context**

Parental ethnotheories or the parental ideas cannot be studied irrespective of the context. The context provides the basis for shaping the ideas of parents. The community where present research was conducted constitutes of parents of two to four years old children from Gujarati Hindu and Gujarati Muslim low socio-economic families. The conceptual framework presented in the review, helps to illustrate the results and understand the three linkages: variables, child rearing practices and child development. Drawn from the theories, variables that functioned for the study and on the basis of data and factors that emerged an attempt has been made to describe the parental ideas and child's development in context; bearing in mind the earlier framework which has been modified (Figure 17).

The descriptions (Table 31) given by the parents revealed that there existed certain factors that influenced the parents to decide and achieve the goals for children; and that had an impact on the parental ideas and practices they follow to help the child achieve the developmental goals. These are the factors at ecological level and the factors that constitute the child's developmental niche. This include; age and gender of the child, gender of the parents, expectations that parents had from themselves and their children, religion, socio-economic status (low socio-economic status; lack of amenities-wealth, land, home, shop, vehicle), climate and residential location (the surrounding physical and social environment) and the larger context (*Kutumb, Mahhol, Samaj*).

The ecological system and the developmental niche in totality provides a context, that influenced the goals, ideas and practices of the parents regarding their child's development and rearing that in turn had an impact on the child's holistic development.



**Figure 17.** Modified conceptual framework emerged from the study; Parental ideas and child development in context.



Table 31

**Parental Goals and Descriptions**

PARENTAL GOALS	PARENTS' DESCRIPTIONS
Survival and health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Makan toot jata hai....pani aa jata hai-sadak par pade hai ladki ko lekar". "Barish mein pani badh jata hai-jab tak government yaha rehne degi hum rehenge-lekin agar wo ghar tod denge to hame jaana padega-raaste par sadak par rehna padega-hamaare paas koi aasra nahi hai-government se asha hai ki woh acha makan de-ya jameen de- hum waha jhopda band sake-chota aashiyana bannayenge".</li> <li>- "Bhagwan se dua maagenge ki woh do waqt ki roti dein".</li> <li>- "Hame uski bimaari ka dar lagta hai-chinta hoti hai ki agar who jyada beemar padh jaai to hum jyada paise nahi kharch kar paayenge".</li> </ul>
Maximizing resources and promoting skills and capabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Gareeb ke ghar to aawak nahi rehti- hum paise se chawal, tel, mahine ka annaj bhara dete hai- hum chahte hai ki paise bacha sake- bache ki padahi, shaadi, swasthya mein kaam aaei".</li> <li>- "Faltu kharche me katawti karenge..jiske bina chal sakta hai wo chalaenge".</li> <li>- "Bache ki madad karenge ki woh kuch bane kuch kare aur apne paero par khada ho sake. Hunar seekhe, paise-naam kamaye".</li> <li>- "Mehnat majduri ki kammai se jeevan chalayen".</li> </ul>
Desiring culturally/socially appropriate values/behaviour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Bahar walo ghar walo ke liye ye achi taleem ho".</li> <li>- "Kissi ki bahu beti par kharab niyat na ho". "Maan mariyada me reha-rakhe-Sharam lihaz rakhe".</li> <li>- "Ma-baap ke budapa ka sahara bane".</li> <li>- "Manav dharam ek samaz-hindu muslim sikh isayi sab hai bhai bhai"</li> </ul>

### **Parental Goals**

Reflecting back to the universal parental goals proposed by Levine (1977, 1988) one can notice them existing in the ideas and practices of the parents. The goals that the present set of parents focus on are;

- survival and health of the child,
- maximizing resources and promoting skills and capabilities in children for their (child's) economic security in future, and
- desiring culturally/socially appropriate values/behaviour in children

The goal that parents formulated for their children depends on the context.

Though overall the parents aimed for these three goals, it was clearly evident during the interview that the parents with very low income (56 parents, 1500-2500 per month) stressed more on the first goal followed by latter two goals. The parents depended on climate; mainly rains as it affected their earnings; especially for the daily wage earners, florists and groundnut sellers. Few parents showed fear that their house would get destroyed in the rains and in near future they would be devoid of the living space/ shelter as the place they were residing in presently is a government property and they were asked to shift from the place. The other set of parents (with comparatively higher income) were secure about the home. All the parents were worried that the unhygienic surroundings, their low income and bad eating habits of the child would lead to health problems. The parents expressed sadness that they were unable to provide their children basic necessities. They aimed to possess more resources. The parents aspired to possess amenities like land, house, vehicle, shop and wealth to keep their child and the family happy. The parents also wanted their children to be good in academics and possess skills for financial security. Along with these goals the parents aimed for inculcating culturally appropriate behaviours/ 'sanskars' that the child should possess, for which they made conscious efforts. Thus the goals that the parents emphasized for their children are; basic survival, hygiene, health, possessing amenities for better and secure life, helping children to have a good career and nurturing them based on the cultural/ societal norms.

If one focuses on the goals desired by the parents in the middle and upper middle class urban Indian context, as mentioned in the review, it was revealed that there were expectations between parents and children to provide emotional support to each other and express the feelings of belongingness to the family. At the same time there was a decrease in the material and physical aspects of the relationships with increase in the economic independence and individual achievements (Srivastava, 2000). The study by Srivastava (2002) revealed that the parents (mothers and grandmothers) from middle class families mentioned various developmental characteristics of their three year old children. The parents wanted that their children as adults should pursue good career and be family oriented. The boys were expected to perform stereotypic roles (learn for the family and give to parents) and girls to balance traditional and contemporary roles (manage their career and household properly). According to Patel (2001) the middle class mothers value goals related to interrelatedness and cognitive development of the child. Thus based on these researches one can say that the goals that middle class parents had for their children are ensuring high standards in career and inculcating culturally appropriate values in children.

The present set of parents from low socio-economic status focused on the survival and health of the child for which they desired to possess amenities like home and wealth. As mentioned by these parents they were still dependent on their children; specifically on boys, for material and emotional support during old age (though they are residing in an urban setting). The middle class parents aspired for amenities like toys and study material for their children and did not emphasized on the survival of the child. The responses target parents showed that the socio-economic status (low) had more impact on their ideas than the urban setting. Hence clear differences can be marked with respect to the goals desired by parents from low and middle socio-economic status. Both low and middle class parents wanted their children to possess culturally/socially appropriate values/behaviour.

Differences were seen in the ideas of the parents from past to present. Earlier parents expected that ultimate goal of their child should be to accomplish familial roles. He/she should support and care for parents and bring good name to the family (Kakar, 1979., Blustein, 1982., & Seccombe, 1991). For the

present set of parents the goals are both family and individual oriented. They desired that their child should have responsibilities towards ones own family and at the same time achieve career goals and this held true more for boys than girls.

### **Factors Influencing the Goals and Ideas of the Parents**

#### *Age of the child*

The parental goals and ideas were in accordance to the age of the child. The parents were asked to respond for their young children (2-4 years) with reference to both for present and future. Parents wanted their children to possess personal as well as social goals. Two to four years as mentioned earlier is a transition phase; the child develops in context of home and the society. The developmental traits that parents desired for their young children were performing well in academics, participating in extracurricular activities and express relatedness towards parents and others. As the child would grow older the expectations of parents would broaden. They expected more mature and responsible behaviour from the child. The child should be committed towards self and the family by making good career, giving earnings to parents, bringing good name to the family and keeping in laws happy after marriage. Thus the expectations of the parents changed in accordance to the age of the child. Their responses were developmentally appropriate.

#### *Gender of the parents and gender of the child*

Gender distinctions are evident in present study. Gender and the parents and gender of the child framed the parental ideas. Mother emerged as a primary caretaker. Overall responses of the mothers were more than fathers for the developmental goals they wanted in their children and the rearing practices they followed. Interestingly it was also observed that mothers talked about the positive traits that their child possessed and their relation with them with pride and happiness.

The parents differentiated between boys and girls based on the social reasons rather than their sex/biology. The differences between boys and girls were evident in the ideas of the parents with respect to gender roles, education, career

choices and related rearing practices. Boys and girls were expected to perform set of stereotypical roles in all the above mentioned dimensions. The girls were expected to perform the traditional roles (Table 32), to be full of virtues '*sarva gun sampan*' and parents focus was limited to the girls' roles and responsibilities towards home. Many parents mentioned that their daughter should take care of home and her family, do job only if in-laws permit and not tell her parents if she faced problems at in-laws place.

Few parents took so much for granted the household chores done by the females that they did not mention them and when asked about it as a leading question or a probe they responded very simply/naturally (*haan ghar kaam to karna hi hai, woh to hai hi-* noted in the mnemonic codes by the researcher). Girls were expected to perform more social roles as a daughter (helping mother in household chores), daughter-in-law (following their traditions), wife (*ardhangini*-husbands happiness is the main satisfaction) and mother (nurturing the child). The boys were expected to be career oriented, get involved in outside work and take care of the parents. They were thus expected to perform both stereotypical (traditional) and contemporary roles. This was a major difference between the data of the earlier middle class groups and this group.

The socialization and the child rearing practices were in accordance with the traits parents expected in boys and girls. Girls were socialized and reared to be more home bound whereas boys were expected to perform more outside work and also be responsible towards the family. Altogether parents of both boys and girls practiced amalgamation of rearing styles. They guided the children by love, motivation, beat, threaten and substitute the things. They expected their child to be obedient and disciplined at the same time they were practical, loving and respond to the child. They tried to fulfill those demands which they thought were good for the child and possible to fulfill, and ignore others. Thus the parents followed authoritarian and authoritative parenting style and practiced control/obedience /autonomy on the child as per the situation.

**Table 32**  
**Gender Matrix**

NORMS	BOYS (Stereotypic traits)	GIRLS (Stereotypic traits)
1) Socially appropriate skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raise the generation “<i>Ladka peedi badaye</i>”</li> <li>• Does service</li> <li>• Indulge in house hold chores; which required physical labor, shopping, money matters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Get married and follow traditions of in-laws</li> <li>• Preferably does not do service, if required then it should be home bound</li> <li>• Indulge in house hold chores like cooking, cleaning</li> </ul>
2) Ability traits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Become skilled in mechanical work like repairing electric objects, vehicles</li> <li>• Learn computers and driving</li> <li>• Play sports</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Learn skills like <i>mehndi</i> and <i>rakhi</i> making, sewing and embroidery</li> <li>• Expertise in house hold chores</li> </ul>
3) School related traits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Study more</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Study less</li> </ul>
4) Engage in professional life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tailoring, electrician, garage, computer work</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interior designer, beauty parlour, sewing work at home, maid work</li> </ul>
5) Traits desirable after marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Responsible towards own parents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Responsible towards in-laws</li> </ul>
6) Financial support to family members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic security to parents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic security to in-laws</li> </ul>

- In the norms mentioned few responses / categories overlapped

These results were similar to the study done by Kakar (1981), Kapadia (1998), Bhogle (1999). All these studies indicated that there was a connection between gender and personal and social identity of male and female. There were very specific and determined cultural traits that defined women and men. They were expected to possess and perform stereotypical traits and roles. The differences between men and women were also evident in the kind of activities they were involved in, their interests, social relations, ability traits and so on. Family which was considered as the main source for fostering gender differences was also the basis of an identity of women and this continues inspite of the social changes. Achieving goals of the family was equal to fulfillment of her personal goals.

Thus there was less impact of social change on the ideas of the parents (respondents) of girls. Irrespective of the changes in the Indian families like shift from joint to nuclear families, impact of education and employment the roles and responsibilities of the girl child has not changed for this set of parents from low socio-economic status. The reason might be that the parents are still apprehensive about their daughter's security and the social issues that could arise due to the outcome of negative impact of urbanization (odd hours and long duration of job and working/ friends with different sex individuals).

The reflection of social changes on ideas of the parents was seen in the responses of the parents like the child should not follow the fast life of today's generation "*aajkal ke mahhol ke hissab se nahi rahe*", the child should carry oneself nicely and live according to the current trends of the society "*aajkal ke mahhol jayse*".

One of the striking response that revealed the consequences of low wages, the ignorance of women and the plight of girl child, was given by the mother; who said that "she was made fool by her husband. He told her that they will get money if they get the child (girl) aborted; but later nothing was given to them".

#### *Influences of Sanskar and Religion on the Psyche of the Indian Parents*

##### *Sanskars*

In the ideas of the parent, sanskars emerged as central to the overall development of the child. The parents understanding of the term sanskars was possessing social values and also having traits of achievement and ability, individualistic

qualities and following religious practices. Interrelatedness traits were reflected in the sanskars; obedience, respect and care for family and others. These traits coexist with the present-day requisite of competence and achievement.

Family emerged as a main source through which the sanskars are inculcated in children. Parents followed practices in line with the sanskars they desired in their children.

### *Religion*

The responses given by the parents were based on their religion and matched with their description/ understanding about their own religion. For these set of parents religion prescribed a way of life. The parents focused on the developmental traits, rearing practices and gender prescription in context. There were common and varied ideas and practices that were followed by Hindu and Muslim parents. It was seen that for many aspects the ideas of the parents from both the religions were common but difference was in the way they put it into practice. The commonality was reflected in aspects like praying, fasting, celebrating festivals and helping children to achieve the developmental goals. The differences were in type of schooling (the Hindu parents sent their children to balwadi/ balmandir; Muslim parents sent their children to balwadi and *Madarsa*); everyday rituals/ religious practices (Hindu parents did *surya namaskar*, took bath in river and purified things and family members with water; Muslim parents read *namaz* everyday and on fridays went to *Majid* ); specificity in age with reference to specific activity (Muslim parents said that by five years of the age the child should start doing *Roja* and between the age of three to four years the child should be sent to *Madarsa*); dressing pattern (few Hindu parents said that the girls should not wear jeans; Muslim parents said that the girls should wear *burqa*, *naqab* and boys should cover their head with cap; and eating habits (Muslim parents than Hindu parents cook non-vegetarian food regularly). In spite of the differences parents said that one should have respect for other religions and all are one as god is one. Through general observation of the community it was found that both Hindu and Muslim parents had pleasant relations with each other. They greeted each other during festivals.



### *Physical and social environment*

Size of the house influenced the physical and social development and safety of the child. Most of the families resided in one room houses which affected the child's playing space in the house. The parents did not like their children to play with neighbours as they would get spoilt. The children thus wandered around the main road which increased their risk of safety and child's health also got affected.

It is very important for the child to experience a good natural environment or out-of-doors spaces. It promotes good living and development (Wilson, 1996).

'Kutumb, parivar, parampara' were the terms more associated with Indian families. The parents responded in context to their larger family (*kutumb*), immediate neighbourhood, society at large (*samaz*).

Issues like education of the girl child (*"In our society (samaj), home (kutumb) girls are not educated more. Even though, the change is happening at the faster pace, we still won't let the girl go to school"*); values and traits the child should possess (*"Bacha asa hona chahiye ki kutumb me naam ho uska", "kissi ko apna bacha acha lage –na lage, wo gande shabd-aadate na seekhe isiliye pados me nahi bhejte"*) were influenced by above aspects. The parents also responded in context to the broad social environment (*mahhol*) *"bacha ko aajkal ke mahhole ke hissab se rehna chahiye; ache kapde pehne, acha khaye, mann mariyada me rehe"*.

### **Parental Ideas and Practices**

There also existed a linkage between the ideas of the parents and the rearing practices they followed. Early years were crucial for child's development and that was clearly reflected in the ideas of the parents. As mentioned in the results section, majority of the parents started thinking about their child's development and rearing between birth to one year. Few parents mentioned that, earlier they instilled the values in their child the more 'adaptive' the child would be in practicing them in his/her daily life. So the ultimate goal of parents was to prepare their child for future life. For this, the parents took initiative to instill good values in their children from the early years so that they could imbibe 'sanskars' when they grow older.

Few interesting responses where parents' understanding about their child's development and in turn the rearing practices they followed was reflected were; *"Child should play in mud as it leads to good health-child when play freely falls and hurts self- if they are playing alone then they stand up themselves as they experience a strength/ energy from within-and if the parents are present then they start crying and become stubborn-then I bring him back, clean him and divert his attention", "Mujhe acha lagta hai ki meri ladki ghar par rehti hai- par ma chahti hoon ki wo pados me jaye to uska vikas acha hoga-uski umar ke bache ho to uske liye aur bhi acha ha- iskeliye mai use apne saath bahar le jata hoon", "Mein apne bacho ke behaviour, aadato ko dekhta hoon-phir sochta hoon aur uske hissab se unko develop karta hoon".*

## **II Existence of Self**

The interpretation for the existence of the form of self (that parent's desire in their children) in the ideas of the parents was based on their responses which were in line with the broader Indian cultural context and with specific context to religion and gender. Qualitative and quantitative analysis revealed parents wanted that their child should be independent at the same time display interrelatedness with others. However there are various angles/perspectives to it. The parents' responses are influenced by;

### **1) Situations**

Few examples are presented which shows the differences in the ideas of the parents with varying situations.

One of the parents mentioned that their daughter should know how to read and write because if she faced any problem at in-laws place she could write a letter to her parents (interdependent self). Another parent said that the girl should study so that if she had to travel to another town she could read where the bus/train is going and go on her own (independent self). As responded by many parents, the boy should work to have an identity of self and to get name and fame

(independent self). Parents also mentioned that the boy should work for providing financial support to the family and would be praised by all (interdependent self). There were responses also where the parents have talked about the child to be both independent and interdependent in a common aspect. Like, the child should possess positive traits to bring good name to self and the family; should not possess bad traits as he would not be able to succeed in life and others would blame the parents that they have not given good 'sanskars' to their children.

Thus the responses/ ideas of the parents and the form of self that existed in these ideas were situational and reflected both independent and interdependent self.

## **2) Gender of the Child**

Majority of the parents wanted the girls to possess home based ability traits like expertise in household chores-cooking, cleaning, and other traits like *rakhi* making, *mehndi*, sewing and embroidery. The parents wanted these traits in girls so that she became independent "apne paaro par khadi ho sake"; at the same time they wanted these traits in her so that she could develop traits of relatedness with family members and in-laws. The parents also said that she should not work outside home and study less as finally she had to go to in-laws place. These examples also showed that the parents decide the girls living without considering her choice and decision. Thus on one hand parents are promoting independent traits in girls and on the other hand restricting her independence by limiting her just to the family.

Majority of parents of boys said that they should possess ability traits like have good career, earn money and learn computer, driving, tailoring to be independent and be praised by all. The traits of independence and interdependence were evident. Similar results were obtained through rating scale. Though the existence of traits of interdependence was significantly high in the ideas of the parents but they expected boys to possess traits of independence and interdependence more than girls.

The parents also liked the negative traits of boys more than girls; indicating more acceptance of boys' traits and habits in various situations than girls.

### **3) Gender of the Parents**

More mothers than father have focused on the developmental goals and the child rearing practices. This showed that mothers were more involved with children; family oriented. Mainly mothers of boys mentioned more traits that they liked and disliked in their child than parents of girls. The socially appropriate skills that the boys possessed were liked more by mothers than fathers. This showed that mothers want the boys to possess traits of interrelatedness.

Even the results based on the rating scale showed the existence of interdependent self in the ideas of the mothers of boys. The mean ratings of the mothers were significantly high on the items that showed interdependent self like, it is my child's duty to look after me in my old age, it is important for my child to get along with me at any cost and my child when grows adult should live close to me in order to be able to support me.

One can say that the mothers (women) seem to be more dependent on boys (men) in life.

### **4) Religion**

As per the results parents from both Hindu and Muslim religions wanted the child to have relatedness qualities and one's own individual qualities. Muslim parents emphasized more on the socially valued/ appropriate skills the child as an adult should possess. Thus more interdependent self existed in the ideas of the Muslim parents (specifically mothers).

The data from the three sources complemented each other and provided an overview. Irrespective of the variables of gender and religion; through qualitative analysis of the in-depth interviews it was revealed that parents mentioned the traits which represent child's "self" and his/her relatedness with "others" and through quantitative analysis of the in-depth interviews it was revealed that parents mentioned the traits which represent more interdependent self in the child. The results of rating scale showed that, more of interdependent self existed in the ideas of the parents. Whereas results of adjective checklist showed that independent

form of self existed in the reasons given by the parents for the traits that they desired in their child and independent and interdependent form of self for the traits parents did not desire in their child. The reason might be that the form of self that reflected in the ideas of the parents was in accordance with the traits. Interestingly if the child possessed the positive/desired traits then the parents praised/gave credit to the child (as a separate identity) and aspired for his/her good future. Whereas if the child possessed the bad/undesired traits then the parents blamed the child (self) and responded in context to the family and the society (others).

These results were similar to the study done by Tripathi, (1988)., Giri and Misra (1995)., Sinha, J.P., Sinha, T.N., Verma, J., & Sinha, R.N, (2001)., & Misra & Sachdeva, (2005). Preference for one form of self is not found to exist. There is existence of independent, interdependent and both independent and interdependent form of self in the ideas of the parents. The responses were contextual and the presence of self in these responses depends/ varies with varying situations.

### **Conclusions**

Parental ideas in link with the parenting practices emerged as key determinants of child's development.

There also existed linkages in the ideas of the parents for the traits they expected in their children today and in future. The responses that parents gave were developmental in nature.

Gender of the child, more than gender of the parents and religion, emerged as a variable which shaped the parental ideas. The differences were evident in the expectations parents had from their young boy and girl child and when they grow up. The girls were expected to perform gender stereotype roles whereas the boys to perform both traditional and contemporary roles.

The responses that parents gave were situational and contextual. All three forms of self (independent, interdependent and both independent and interdependent) existed in their ideas. The parents in Indian context wanted their children to have an autonomous and relational self.

### **Reflections**

The following were the experiences the investigator came across while doing the actual data collection.

- 1) Fathers with very less income were not hesitant in talking about practices during menstrual periods/ delivery.
- 2) Few subjects were very co-operative and blessed the investigator.
- 3) During interview, one or two parents responded for few questions and were not interested in responding for the other half. The interview had to be cancelled and again a new subject was selected.
- 4) Confidentiality of the interview could not be maintained in few cases, where the subject belonged to the joint family and had limited space to reside.

### **Scope/ Strengths**

- 1) This is a basic research which contributes to the area of early childhood care and development. The researcher has made an attempt to explore various factors that influence the parental goals, ideas and practices and the self construal.
- 2) Methodologically, the data was collected from multiple sources and then qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed which makes the research more authentic.
- 3) Ethical issues were taken care while interviewing the respondents.

### **Implications**

- 1) It is essential to build enough rapport not only with the subjects but also with other people residing in the same community.
- 2) It comes out very clearly from the research that the parents from low socio-economic status have aspirations for children that differs from those mentioned by parents of middle or even high socio-economic status. Irrespective of the social class, parents make continuous efforts to help their child achieve the developmental goals which according to the researcher can also be called as 'survival and adaptive goals'.

- 3) Parental ideas, child rearing practices, gender differences and the construal of self should not be studied in isolation. Without focusing on the theoretical concepts and existing factors (context) that have implications on the above aspects; the issue remain incomplete.
- 4) For the low socio-economic families both independence and interrelatedness or interdependence holds importance. One can make a judgment based on this research that in Indian context the self is both independent and interdependent or autonomous-relational. The Indian culture is both individualistic and collectivistic.

#### **Recommendations**

- 1) Intervention programs to reinforce the positive practices of parenting for holistic development of the child and can be planned.
- 2) From the methodology point of view; the research was conducted in a natural setting, responses were elicited through in-depth interviews. However more objectivity could be attained by observing the parent-child interactions (observed practices) in daily life situations, though this demands more time and immense efforts by a researcher.
- 3) An attempt has been made by the researcher to explore the influence of religion on the ideas of the parents. However it needs to be explored more by framing specific questions.

#### **Limitations of the Study**

- 1) The study is cross-sectional in nature; and so limits itself to a defined sample characteristic. A longitudinal study can provide more exhaustive findings- linkages for developmental pathways.
- 2) The study focuses on a specific culture; so extrapolating it with ideas and practices of parents from other cultures is not feasible and advisable.