

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The results of the present study are discussed under the following headings :

- (1) Mother's Sex-Role Attitudes and Independence Training given to Children of both the Sexes.
- (2) Mother's Sex-Role Attitudes and Sex-Differences in nAch. of Children.
- (3) Independence Training and nAch. of Boys and Girls.
- (4) Expectancy for Success of Boys and Girls.

5.1 MOTHER'S SEX-ROLE ATTITUDES AND INDEPENDENCE TRAINING GIVEN TO CHILDREN OF BOTH THE SEXES

5.1.1 Number of Demands and Early Demands

5.1.1.1 Sex-role attitudes of mothers

Consistent with the hypothesis results indicated that Modern mothers compared to Traditional mothers made significantly greater number of demands (Table 4.1) and early demands (Table 4.3) on their girls. The two groups of mothers

did not differentiate among their boys in the total number of demands (Table 4.1). However, Modern mothers made significantly greater number of early demands on their boys than Traditional mothers (Table 4.3).

The finding indicates that the Modern mother is preparing her daughter for a broader set of roles. The more progressive a mother is, the more she would be concerned to provide daughters with better opportunities in a competitive world. Early and greater number of demands for independent accomplishment provide the girl a sense of freedom, a different outlook towards life. As a result of independence granting, girls are equipped with a clear self-concept and confidence for the broadened role in future.

The difference was also observed in the nature of demands made by Modern and Traditional mothers on their girls (Table 4.4). On the basis of McClelland's¹⁴ suggestion, Winterbottom¹⁰ classified the demand and restriction items into two kinds; caretaking (item no.7,9,12,14,16,17,18) and independence granting (item no. 1 to 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 19, 20) (Appendix III and IV). Caretaking items were defined as "those independent behaviours that when learned would relieve the mothers of some routine responsibilities as well as contributing to the child's growing self-confidence".

Item analysis of demand items indicated that at early age the two groups of mothers differentiated among their girls on 12 of 20 items given in the list, with significantly greater number of Modern mothers reporting these demands than Traditional mothers. Of these 12 items only 2 items were of caretaking variety (item no.12,18), while 10 items were of independence granting kind (item no.1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 19, 20). At later age , differences were observed again on 12 items with significantly greater number of Modern mothers making these demands than Traditional mothers (Table 4.4).

It was found that item no.11 (make their own friends) and item no.12 (to look after one's own possession) were made by Modern mothers on their girls at early age but no difference was observed on these items between the two groups of mothers at later age.

Although in Indian traditional families girls are given freedom to choose their own friends, it is strictly confined to their own sex. Sociologists¹³¹ believe that this provides the girl the opportunity to practise various types of sanctioned female behaviours.

The other two items on which difference between the two groups of mothers had emerged at later age were item no.7 (take part in parent's interest) and item no.16 (Earn her own spending money).

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In a traditional family, a girl is not expected to contribute towards economy of the family, her main responsibility being housekeeping and childcare, Traditional mothers have not checked item no.16. By this very reasoning, the female child is also not given opportunity to take part in parent's interest (item no. 7) as it calls for involvement in many more things than just in household activities. Kalakdina¹³² has noted that the weight of participation in family's decision is minimal for girls, unless she happens to reach the age and status of mother, mother-in-law or grandmother.

The major goal of the upbringing of a girl in Indian traditional family being marriage, she is looked upon as a transitory member of the family. Consequently the girl is inducted into childcare and housekeeping roles early. She is discouraged from showing aggressive modes of behaviour, and the modesty and self-effacement is frequently reinforced. According to Kalkdina¹³² early induction of these attributes gives her a reality orientation to the roles demanded of her during the life span.

Another attribute, according to Ross¹³³, arising out of differential upbringing is the protective caring given to the female child, so as to strengthen the emotional bond between the parents and the girl. 'Mothering' is also

inculcated at an early age, and is enhanced by the existence of many mother surrogates in her environs.

It is likely that in the present study, in families where mothers attitudes is modern, the above-mentioned goals have not remained the primary aim of the girls' socialization. This could be due to the increasing competitiveness in schools and life in general that these mothers realize the importance of independence and competitiveness and press the girl towards it.

In case of boys, the two groups of mothers did not differ in the total number of demands (vide Table 4.1), while there was a difference in the number of early demands made on boys with Modern mothers making significantly more than Traditional mothers (vide Table 4.3). Results indicate that although Modern mothers begin independence training earlier than Traditional mothers the training becomes similar at later age. Traditional mothers are reluctant to grant independence too early in life to their boys, perhaps to ensure the emotional ties between parents and the child.

Item analysis of the demand list showed that at early age the two groups of mothers differentiated among their boys on 9 of 20 items in the list (item no. 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, 18, 19, 20) with significantly greater number of Modern

mothers reporting these demands than Traditional mothers (Table 4.5). Out of these 9 items, only one item (item no. 18) was of caretaking nature. No difference on the nature of demand items was observed between the two groups of mothers at later age.

The finding that the training of the boys of the two groups of mothers does not differ in terms of total number of demands and nature of demands at later age attests to the view that the training of boys is similar in two types of families. One possibility could be that adult life role of boys as perceived by both the groups of mothers is same and therefore boys in both the families are subjected to similar training. The finding points at the possibility that mother's attitudes toward sex-role does not affect the upbringing of boys to the extent it affects the upbringing of girls. In interviews with feminist mothers, Gelder and Carmichael²⁴ have also shown that even these mothers rear up their boys in a stereotyped manner.

5.1.1.2 Sex of the child

The hypothesis that Modern mothers will not differentiate among their sons and daughters in total number of demands was confirmed (Table 4.1). However, significantly more number of demands were made on sons at early age than daughters (Table 4.3).

Comparison between sons and daughters of Modern mothers on the nature of demand items at early age revealed a difference on 4 items (item nos. 1, 3, 6, 7), out of which only one item (item no.7) was of caretaking nature (Table 4.6). At later age the difference was reduced to only 3 independence granting items (item nos. 1,3,6). The result indicates that Modern mothers envisage independence for their daughters at later age than sons.

It appears that Modern mothers are preparing their sons and daughters for a similar kind of future role, hence making equal number of demands on children of both the sexes. Nevertheless, training for independent accomplishment has also been viewed as a "just in case" phenomena. Bettelheim¹³⁴ has stated that a girl is made to go through the same training as boys because she may need it, if she fails to have a successful marriage or motherhood.

The finding that mothers grant independence to their daughters at later age than sons has also been reported by studies done in West as well as in India. Collard¹⁰⁸ using the adaptation of Winterbottom's measure of independence-training found that mothers of girls consider the appropriate age for independence granting to be later than mothers of boys. Similarly Duncan and Duncan¹³⁵ reported that boys were expected to dress themselves, put away their clothes and to run errands to nearby shops at a considerably younger age than girls.

Mehta²⁹ while investigating the attitudes of Western educated Hindu women on the upbringing of children reported that in these families different kinds of behaviours were expected from boys and girls. Although there was no desire to make their daughters completely subservient to men, but at the same time girls were expected not to appear dominant. These mothers wanted their daughters to view themselves as individuals and also be modest, reserved and non-dominant.

This gap between attitudes and practice has been viewed as ambivalence in mothers. Li¹³⁶ has argued that although attitudinal and behavioural changes are taking place, but as in any transitional state there are certain ambivalence and inconsistencies. These inconsistencies can affect the rearing of both boys as well as girls, but are likely to be greater in case of girls due to changes occurring in status and roles of women. Similarly, according to Mehta²⁹, this gap in India is due to a transition from complete orthodox system to a modern family system. Nevertheless, the result of the present study does indicate that Modern mothers are moving in the direction of giving independence to their daughters as that of sons. However, the change is not yet complete.

Consistent with the hypothesis, Traditional mothers made significantly more number of demands (Table 4.1) and early demands (Table 4.3) on their sons than daughters. These mothers visualize their sons and daughters as playing very different roles in society.

Comparison between sons and daughters of Traditional mothers on the two kinds of items at early age revealed differences on five items (item nos. 1, 3, 10, 15, 18), with significantly greater number of mothers report making these demands on sons than on daughters (Table 4.7). Of these five items, only, one item (item no.18) is of caretaking nature. At later age, the difference was increased to 13 demand items in the expected direction. Of these 13 items, 3 items were of caretaking nature (item nos. 7, 16, 18) and 10 were of independence granting nature (item nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, 19, 20). Results indicated that Traditional mothers do not permit daughters independence on caretaking items.

Growing up in a traditional Indian family a daughter compared to son receives more protective caring mainly through prohibitions. Kalkdina¹³² has pointed out that when the young Indian girl reaches puberty, she is restricted even in movements outside the environs of her house, unless escorted. As a result the female child becomes far more dependent individual than is the male child.

Studies^{137,138} of child-rearing done in the more orthodox sections of Indian society have shown that the life of an Indian child, especially girl is characterized by predefined roles and role-specific behaviours. There is a clear cut division of the work allotted to boys and girls. The boys nearly always do all the external work. Whereas, the girls are not given as many tasks outside the home as boys, Raza¹³⁹ has noted that girls in India are functionally trained for their future-in-laws.

Overall findings on demand showed that girls of Modern mothers are differently trained than girls of Traditional mothers in terms of total number of demands, early demands and nature of demands. Training of boys in both the groups remained unaffected, with only difference in early demands made more by Modern mothers than Traditional mothers. The results further showed that Modern mothers do not differentiate among their sons and daughters in total number of demands. However, they make more early demands on sons than daughters. It appears that mothers with modern attitudes socialize their daughters for work and achievement in addition to the role of a homemaker. Whereas mothers with Traditional attitudes rear up their daughters only for the role of a homemaker.

5.1.2 Emotional Consequences of Fulfilled and Unfulfilled Demands

5.1.2.1 Rewards : Sex role attitudes of mothers

Regarding emotional consequences of demand training it was hypothesized that Modern mothers compared to Traditional mothers will be more intensely and frequently rewarding when demands were fulfilled by the girl. Whereas in case of boys mothers of both the groups will be equally intensely and frequently rewarding. The underlying assumption was that in case of Modern mothers, there will be more emphasis on competition and therefore any effort in achieving self-confidence by the girl will be properly rewarded¹⁰.

Both Modern and Traditional mothers did not differentiate among their girls in terms of physical object and verbal rewards. In terms of frequency also there was no difference between the two groups of mothers. In case of boys, there was no difference in the use of physical and object rewards, whereas significantly greater number of Traditional mothers reported using verbal reward than Modern mothers (vide Table 4.8). However, Modern mothers compared to Traditional mothers were more frequently rewarding with their boys. When scores of boys and girls were combined a trend was observed that more number of Modern mothers reported using physical and object rewards while significantly greater number of

Traditional mothers reported using verbal reward (Table 4.9). In terms of sheer frequency Traditional mothers were more rewarding than Modern mothers.

The picture that emerges from the above results is that the two groups of mothers do not differ much in the use of different types of rewards on their children. It appears that the same socioeconomic class to which these mothers belong is determining the pattern of rewards than sex-role attitudes of the mothers. Since mothers in both the groups have similar socioeconomic background, they are using similar pattern of rewards on their children. The patterns of rewards and punishments has been, studied predominantly, within the context of social class. These studies^{30,133} indicate that the nature of rewards and punishments varies from one class to another, and it remains same within a given social class.

The above finding also suggests that although Modern mothers compared to Traditional mothers grant more independence to their girls, they do not encourage them intensely for accomplishing these acts. This could be due to the ambivalence in these mothers, as mentioned earlier that prevents them from encouraging their girls intensely for independent acts.

It was interesting to note that from the three types of rewards, reward through object was given with most ease by both the groups of mothers. This is consistent with the finding of a previous study³⁰ which showed that in Indian society the promise for a reward with good food or clothing proves to be the most effective technique of socialization. Murlidharan and Topa¹², however, showed that physical and verbal rewards were given more often than object rewards. The sample in their study consisted of lower middle class mothers, who on an average had a monthly income of less than three hundred and fifty rupees. They probably could not afford object rewards, for example gifts, clothes etc. In the present study since families in both the groups had monthly income of approximately eight hundred rupees, object rewards could be afforded.

5.1.2.1.1 Sex of the child: Confirming the hypothesis, results indicated that Modern mothers do not differentiate among their sons and daughters in terms of intensity and frequency of the three types of rewards (Table 4.9). In other words, the encouragement given to both sons and daughters for independent acts is same. Traditional mothers also did not differentiate among their sons and daughters on physical object and verbal rewards.(Table 4.9). However, in terms of total frequency of rewards sons of Traditional mothers were

rewarded more than daughters (Table 4.9). It appears that the Traditional mother's concept of training does not include encouragement for independence in girls.

Studies^{137,139} have shown that in Indian traditional families the chief reward for a girl is in being a good girl. A 'good' girl is one who is obedient, follows mother's footsteps, assists her in household activities and looks after youngsters in the family. On the contrary, if she behaves like a boy and shows independence, she is discouraged and is threatened with withdrawal of mother's love. These acts ultimately bifurcate the roles of men and women. However, a change in mother's attitudes toward women's role in society, which is more egalitarian, leads to the narrowing down of the bifurcation by encouraging equally boys and girls for independent accomplishment.

5.1.2.2 Punishments: Sex role attitudes of mothers

It was hypothesized that Modern mothers compared to Traditional mothers will be more intensely and frequently punishing with their girls, when demands for independent accomplishments were not fulfilled. An intense punishment to the girl for not being independent was expected to push her towards more self-reliance. Whereas in families where mothers attitudes reflected traditional role conceptions,

less intense punishments or no punishment was assumed to be instrumental in making the girl more dependent on her parents. In case of boys no difference in the pattern of punishments between the two groups of mothers was hypothesized.

The results did not support the hypothesis as both Modern and Traditional mothers did not differentiate among their girls in the use of physical object and verbal punishments when demands were not obeyed (Table 4.8). There was no difference in terms of frequency of punishments also between the two groups of mothers. In case of boys the hypothesis was confirmed as no difference in the three types of punishments was found between the two groups of mothers (Table 4.8). Similarly, there was no difference in the frequency of punishments reported by the two groups of mothers.

The finding of punishment pattern is similar to the pattern obtained for rewards. Mothers in both the groups are very similar in the use of three types of punishments on their children when demands are not fulfilled. The explanations given for rewards when demands were fulfilled holds true for punishments too.

It is relevant to note here that similar to object rewards for fulfilled demands, both the groups of mothers used punishment through depriving objects with most ease than physical and verbal (Table 4.9). In other words, when a child

fulfils a demand, he/she is given some object as a reward accompanied by the threat that he (or she) would be deprived of it if demands made are not obeyed.

5.1.2.2.1 Sex of the child: The hypothesis that Modern mothers will not differentiate among their sons and daughters in the three types of punishments when demands are not fulfilled was supported (Table 4.9). Whereas the hypothesis that Traditional mothers will give more frequent and intense punishments to their sons was not confirmed as there was no difference in the use of three types of punishments for sons and daughters (vide Table 4.9). The most commonly reported punishment for both mothers was object.

Ross¹³³ found that mothers who call themselves modern use reasoning with children rather than punishment. In her words "this method is commonly found in nuclear families of highly industrialized societies than in traditional societies, because of the need to fit children to adjust to complex and varying pattern of behaviours rather than to conform to clearly established roles." Perhaps what needs investigating is reasoning versus punishment as a technique for socialization.

5.1.3 Number of Restrictions and Early Restrictions

5.1.3.1 Sex-role attitudes of mothers

Mothers who viewed women's role in society in an egalitarian perspective, were expected to be less restrictive with their girls than mothers with confined views about women's role in society.

The hypothesis was supported as Modern mothers imposed less number of total restrictions (vide Table 4.10) as well as early restrictions (vide Table 4.12) on their girls than Traditional mothers. The finding is in consonance with the finding of demands. A complete independence is acquired not by merely making demands but also by being less restrictive.

The two groups of mothers differed not only in terms of number of restrictions but also in nature of restrictions. Item analysis of restriction list showed that at early age significantly greater number of Traditional mothers compared to Modern mothers restricted their girls on 7 independent granting items (item nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 10,15,19). However, similar to demand finding there was no difference on caretaking items (Table 4.13). At later ages the difference between the two groups of mothers was increased to 8 independence granting items. Again there was no difference on caretaking items. Results indicate that Traditional mothers increase their restrictions on girls as they grow up.

In traditional Indian families restrictions are an integral part of bringing up children especially girls. The girls are restricted more so because they have to go to husband's house and exhibit household talents rather than independence. She is considered a liability till her marriage, and after marriage her responsibilities are passed on to in-laws. The chief emphasis in training of girl is on modesty, girls are also expected to be shy particularly in the presence of older family members or strangers. Mencher¹⁴⁰ has found that this is more accentuated after puberty. A woman who asserts herself or appears to be original is spoken of as "too forward and bold" and hence considered unfeminine. Khanna and Verghese¹⁴¹ have noted that in her role as a daughter the girl is willing to abide by certain restrictions because she is a girl. She is conditioned not to exploit few liberties given to her.

However, the above mentioned explanations do not hold true completely in case of Modern mothers where less restrictions were imposed on girls. The findings suggest that perception of future life goal of girls is not the same for the two groups of mothers.

In case of boys the hypothesis was not supported as Traditional mothers compared to Modern mothers were more restrictive with their boys at early (Table 4.10) as well as at later (Table 4.12) ages.

Item analysis of the restriction list showed that at early age there was a difference on 11 items with significantly greater number of Traditional mothers report making these restrictions on their boys than Modern mothers (Table 4.14). Of these 11 items, 3 were of caretaking variety (item nos. 14, 17, 18) and 8 were independence granting items (item nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15). At later age the difference between the two groups of mothers was reduced to 8 independence granting items with no difference or caretaking items (Table 4.14). Thus, result indicates that although Traditional mothers impose more restrictions on their boys than Modern mothers, the amount of restrictions reduces as these boys grow up.

One possibility as to why Traditional mothers impose more restrictions on their boys at early age, could be that in their adulthood, these boys become the major caretakers of the family. Studies have shown that a boy has to share main responsibilities of the family when he grows up. For example, to marrying off sisters, to educate younger brothers and to look after aging parents are some of the important social responsibilities that has to be fulfilled by the boy. For this reason a boy in Traditional family is restricted prior to be given independence so that he grows up to become a family-oriented man, a complete independence to the boy may lead him to break away from the family which is not desirable.

5.1.3.2 Sex-of the child

The hypothesis that Modern mothers will not differentiate among their sons and daughters on restrictions was not confirmed. These mothers reported more restrictions (Table 4.10) and early restrictions (Table 4.12) on daughters than sons. In case of Traditional mothers the result was in the expected direction (Table 4.10 and Table 4.12).

Item analysis of the restriction list showed that at early age more Modern mothers restricted their daughters than sons on 6 items (item nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 14). Of these 6 items only one was caretaking item (item no. 14; vide Table 4.15). At later age the difference was again observed on 6 items (item nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 14) out of which only item no.14 was of caretaking nature. Traditional mothers, on the other hand, restricted their daughters compared to sons on 8 items at early age (item nos. 1, 4, 5, 8, 10, 14, 17, 19) out of which two were caretaking items (item nos. 14, 17). At later age the difference was observed on 6 items (item nos. 4, 5, 8, 10, 14, 19) with one caretaking item (item no.14; Table 4.16).

Thus, results indicate that although girls of Modern mothers are more restricted than sons, they are far less restricted than the girls of Traditional mothers. The finding suggest that the position of the girls of Modern

mothers is somewhere in the middle of girls of Traditional mothers and boys of Modern mothers. The findings of demands indicate that in overall independence they are more closer to their brothers than to the girls of Traditional mothers.

It is likely that it is not a 'change' in women's role that Modern mothers envisage but an addition to the existing one. Lueptow¹⁴² has also noted that socialization for achievement and work in daughters is often done in addition to the socialization for motherhood. On the basis of his survey on American women's motive to marry Scanzoni¹⁴³ has concluded that for most young women pressures toward the traditional role still tend to outweigh pressures toward modern role conceptions. This may hold true even for Indian culture as Modern mother anticipates that in adult life the daughter will play two roles with greater inclination toward the traditional role.

In an investigation of western educated women's attitudes toward child-rearing practices, Mehta²⁹ reported that these mothers defined their daughter's roles as one of serving family interests above all, inspite of the fact that these mothers also encouraged their daughters to be self-reliant and less dependent. According to Khanna and Verghese¹⁴¹ the new Indian woman wants to retain her intrinsic

love for the home, the children, the family and combine with this her determination to play a vital role in the socio-economic status of modern India. Modern mother perhaps perceives both these possibilities and prepares her daughter toward this end, but an element of ambivalence can not be overlooked in their training of girls.

Overall findings on restriction showed that girls of Modern mothers are differently trained than girls of Traditional mothers in terms of total number of restrictions, early restrictions and nature of restrictions. Traditional mothers increase the amount of restrictions as their girls grow up. Results further showed that Traditional mothers not only impose more restrictions on their girls but also restrict their boys more than the boys of Modern mothers. However, the amount of restrictions are reduced as these boys grow up. Comparison between sons and daughters of Modern mothers revealed that despite their modern attitudes, these mothers restrict their daughters than sons. Result regarding Traditional mothers was in the expected direction as these mothers reported more restrictions on daughters than on sons.

5.1.4 Emotional Consequences of Fulfilled and Unfulfilled Restrictions

5.1.4.1 Rewards: Sex role attitudes of mothers

Regarding emotional consequences of restrictive training it was hypothesized that Modern mothers compared to

Traditional mothers will be less intensely and frequently rewarding with their girls when restrictions were obeyed. Whereas in case of boys the two groups of mothers will not differ in the three types of rewards. This was based on the assumption that if a mother rewards the child for avoiding attempt at independence and mastery, she is creating a condition which favours the development of a motive to avoid achievement directed actions and thoughts.

The hypothesis that Modern mothers compared to Traditional mothers will be less frequently and less intensely rewarding when restrictions were obeyed by their girls was not confirmed (vide Table 4.17). There was no difference in the use of three types of rewards used by two groups of mothers on their girls. In terms of sheer frequency, however, Traditional mothers were more rewarding than Modern mothers (vide Table 4.17).

The hypothesis that two groups of mothers will not differentiate among their boys in the use of three types of rewards was partially supported. Although significantly greater number of Traditional mothers gave object reward to their boys, there was no difference in the use of physical and verbal rewards reported by the two groups of mothers. In terms of total frequency of rewards also Modern and Traditional mothers did not differentiate among their boys (vide Table 4.17).

The pattern of physical object and verbal rewards for fulfilled restrictions is very similar to that of fulfilled demands. The finding supports the view forwarded before that pattern of rewards is more of a function of same social class to which these mothers, belonged than their attitudes. However, the result indicates that Traditional mother is more frequently rewarding than Modern mothers. It may be recalled that they rewarded more for fulfilled demands too. Moreover, restrictions in traditional Indian families are encouraged basically to maintain the family system. These early life restrictions are later, expressed in the form of social obligations, that one individual is expected to fulfil at the cost of his freedom. Modern mothers on the other hand are not frequently encouraging because they anticipate that children will lead a life that calls for higher mobility and independence. Parents also anticipate that children might have to break away from home because of employment and will have to take independent decisions to lead their own life style.

5.1.4.1.1 Sex of the child: The hypothesis that Modern mothers will not differentiate among their sons and daughters in three types of rewards was partially supported. These mothers reported similar physical and object rewards on their sons and daughters, but more verbal reward was used on sons than on daughters (vide Table 4.18). Results further indicated

that Traditional mothers did not differentiate among their sons and daughters in the use of three types of rewards and total frequency of rewards when restrictions were obeyed (vide Table 4.18).

It is relevant to note here that the most common reward used by both the groups of mothers was object. This is consistent with demand finding. Very few mothers in both the groups reported using physical reward, which is most intense of the three rewards studied in the present investigation. Studies^{140,30} done on the child-rearing practices of Indian mothers show that intense rewards are seldom used as means of encouraging good behaviours in the child and even in the adult. Parents feel that too intense reward may make the child to take 'advantage of it' and might spoil the child i.e. he (or she) may develop false pride.

5.1.4.2 Punishments: Sex-role attitudes of mothers

It was hypothesized that Modern mothers compared to Traditional mothers will be less intensely and frequently punishing when the restrictions were not obeyed by their girls, whereas the two groups of mothers will not differentiate among their boys in the use of three types of punishments.

The results did not support the hypothesis as significantly greater number of Modern mothers compared to Traditional mothers reported the use of physical punishment on their girls, when restrictions were not obeyed, whereas significantly greater number of Traditional mothers reported the use of object punishment. (vide Table 4.17). In case of boys the hypothesis was confirmed. The two groups of mothers did not differ in the use of physical, object and verbal punishments. No difference was observed, in terms of frequency of punishments reported by the two groups of mothers on their boys.

Thus, the picture for punishments when restrictions are not complied with remains unclear. However, the one thing that comes out of the above finding is that mothers in both the groups use intense as well as frequent punishments when restrictions are not complied with by the child. It is interesting to note that most commonly used punishment reported by the two groups of mothers was physical (Table 4.18), when restrictions were not obeyed by the child, as opposed to the object punishment when demands were not fulfilled (Table 4.9).

It appears that there is a considerable emphasis on intense punishment as a means of restricting children. Earlier studies, have also shown that punishment is a very important means of training children in Indian families.

According to Kalra¹⁴⁴ India is a punishment-oriented society. In his investigation of socialization of need for Achievement, Kalra reported that respondents in both the high and low achievement groups were severely punished during their childhood. The findings indicated that the pattern of punishment does not influence the development of nAch. in the child. Ross¹³³ in her investigation of Hindu families in it's urban setting found that of 262 incidents of punishments mentioned by respondents, 105 (about 40 per cent) were spanking (physical).

5.1.4.2.1 Sex of the child: The hypothesis that Modern mothers will not differentiate among their sons and daughters on the three types of punishments was confirmed. There was no difference in the use of three types of punishments (Table 4.18). In terms of frequency of punishments also there was no difference between sons and daughters.

The result clearly suggests that although daughters compared to sons are more restricted by Modern mothers they are not severely punished for not complying with these restrictions.

Traditional mothers differentiated among their sons and daughters in the three types of punishments. Significantly greater number of these mothers reported the use of physical

punishment on their sons and object punishment on their daughters (Table 4.18). However, in terms of total frequency of punishments sons and daughters were not differentiated by these mothers.

The similarity of the pattern of rewards and punishments used by the two groups of mothers for demands as well as restrictions can not be explained within the rubric of sex-role attitudes of mothers. Either social class or other factors are contributing to a high similarity in pattern of rewards and punishments. Moreover, McClelland¹⁴⁵ in his recent article on child-rearing versus ideology and social factors has nothing to say on the role of rewards and punishments in personality development. This, along with the finding of the present study leads one to conclude that the pattern of rewards and punishments is not associated with parents ideology.

5.2 MOTHER'S SEX-ROLE ATTITUDES AND SEX-DIFFERENCES IN nAch. OF CHILDREN

It was hypothesized that girls of Modern mothers will have higher nAch. than girls of Traditional mothers, whereas the boys of the two groups will not differ in their nAch.

5.2.1 Sex-Role Attitudes of Mothers

The hypothesis was confirmed as girls of Modern mothers had higher nAch. than girls of Traditional mothers (Table 4.20).

The question which naturally follow is that; is this difference in girl's achievement motivation due to maternal sex-role attitudes or a function of background variables such as mother's employment, income, family type (nuclear or combined) and/or number of children? Comparison of the two groups of mothers did not reveal a difference on those variables (Table 3.1). Since the two groups of mothers appear to be quite similar in terms of income, employment, family type, and number of children, any observed difference can not be attributed to these factors.

Many psychologists have assigned a critical and enduring role to parental attributes in the development of child's personality. The most important parental attribute, in this connection, has been masculinity and femininity. Spence and Helmreich¹⁴⁶ investigated the relationship between parental masculinity and femininity and achievement motivation in their high school children. They reported a negative correlation between mother's femininity and daughter's competitiveness, whereas a positive correlation was observed between mother's masculinity and daughter's competitiveness.

The differences in nAch. of two groups of girls can be explained in the differences in independence and Mastery training that they have received. The girls of Modern mothers were given more opportunity for independent accomplishment than the girls of Traditional mothers as more number of demands and less restrictions were imposed on them. Thus, from the present investigation, it is plausible to assume that differences in girl's nAch. is associated with their mothers sex-role attitudes.

Consistent with the hypothesis boys of the two groups of mothers did not differ in their nAch (Table 4.20). The result confirms the initial assumption that mother's sex-role attitude is not associated with boys personality development as much as it is associated with the girls development.

The two groups of boys are same on nAch. despite the fact that Traditional mothers reported giving late independence to their boys. Feld¹⁰⁵ has demonstrated that mothers who expected more independence and Mastery 6 years later than mothers who expected independence and mastery at the time of interview, also had sons with higher nAch. Similarly on the basis of his literature survey, McClelland¹⁴⁵ has concluded that "... it is entirely possible that higher nAchievement may be the consequence of mother's pressure for independence and Mastery at any age or continuously" (p.86).

Another possibility, as to why the two groups of boys do not differ in their nAch. could be that although Traditional mother start late independence training for her boy, she uses more appropriate emotional consequences that adds to a higher nAch. in their boys.

5.2.2 Sex of the Child

The hypothesis that sons and daughters of Modern mothers will not differ in their nAch. was confirmed (Table 4.20). The results further indicated that sons of Traditional mothers had significantly higher nAch. than daughters (Table 4.20).

The finding signifies that mothers with modern attitudes have brought up their daughters in such a manner that daughters do not lag behind in independent accomplishment and hence in nAch. This is evidently not the case with mothers having traditional attitudes toward women's role in society as their daughters had lower nAch. than sons.

It seems plausible that competitiveness, an ingredient of achievement motivation is highly valued in those families where mothers have incorporated masculine roles in their self-concept or exhibit a non-traditional attitudes toward sex-roles. According to Hoffman and Nye¹⁴⁷ these mothers

become a non-traditional model for their children, a circumstance having special significance for their daughters, and resulting into the acquisition of non-stereotypic personality characteristics and orientations.

The non-traditional attitudes of mothers create new expectations for the kinds of adult roles that female children will play. In this connection Lucptow¹⁴² has noted that the end result of these effect is expected to be an increased parental emphasis on achievement, independence, self-reliance and career for daughters, paralleling that traditionally afforded sons.

5.3 INDEPENDENCE TRAINING AND NEED FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF BOYS AND GIRLS

5.3.1 Demands and need for Achievement

Correlations between the number of demands and need for Achievement of boys and girls were positive (Table 4.21). The result is in line with the findings of Winterbottom¹⁰, who reported that mothers of high need for Achievement boys make more number of demands for independence and Mastery than lows. In another investigation, however, Bartlett and Smith¹⁴⁸ have found reverse relationship between number of demands and need for Achievement of children. Murlidharan and Topa¹² found no relationship at all between number of

demands made by mother and the need for Achievement of the child. Since, three contrary relationships emerge, this suggest a need to further probing into this relationship.

The results in the area of early demands and need for Achievement also show interesting variations. In a German sample McClelland¹⁴⁹ found early training to be strongly associated with higher need for Achievement, while in his Brazil sample, he obtained the reverse relationship. Bartlett and Smith¹⁴⁸, however reported no significant relationship between earliness of demands and need for Achievement. Murlidharan and Topa¹², showed a tendency towards curvilinear relationship between the age at which the demands were made and the strength of need for Achievement. The present study indicates a trend of positive relationship between earliness of demands and need for Achievement, as Modern mothers have made greater number of early demands than Traditional mothers.

5.3.2 Restrictions and Need for Achievement

Negative correlations were obtained between the number of restrictions imposed by the mother and need for Achievement of the child (Table 4.23). The finding is in consonance with Winterbottom¹⁰ who reported that mothers of high need for Achievement group impose less restrictions than the mothers of low need for Achievement group. Murlidharan and Topa¹² however found no relationship between the number of restrictions and need for Achievement of the child.

5.4 EXPECTANCY FOR SUCCESS OF BOYS AND GIRLS

It was hypothesized that girls of Modern mothers will expect higher grades in forthcoming examination than girls of Traditional mothers, whereas the boys of the two groups of mothers will not differ in their expectancy estimates.

5.4.1 Sex-Role Attitudes of Mothers

The hypothesis was confirmed as the expectancy estimates of girls of Modern mothers was significantly higher than the expectancy estimates of girls of Traditional mothers (vide Table 4.24). The main effect of Sex-role attitude of mothers was significant, indicating that girl's expectancy estimates are greatly determined by their mother's attitudes. The main effect of sex of the child was not significant. However the interaction effect of two variables was found to be significant (vide Table 4.25). Consistent with the hypothesis, boys of the two groups expected to do equally well in the examination.

5.4.2 Sex of the Child

The hypothesis that sons and daughters of Modern mothers will not differ their Expectancy for success was confirmed. However, the hypothesis that sons of Traditional

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mothers will expect higher grades than daughters was not confirmed. No difference was observed in the expectancy estimate of sons and daughters of Traditional mothers.

Parsons et al¹²³ have suggested that the child's expectancy for success is contingent upon what his(her) significant others expect of him (her). Competitive pressures from peer groups and subtle expression of parents and teachers could be some of the reasons for children to set a high expectancy estimates. However, the element of social desirability can not be ruled out from the present study as the question about their expectancy for success was directly asked to children.

5.5 IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

One area of interest for further research could be to relate women's sex-role modernity with other dimensions of overall modernity such as educational and occupational aspiration, mass-media exposure, urbanism, work commitment and active public participation. It may also be interesting to investigate the relationship between mother's sex-role attitudes and their daughter's career aspiration, masculinity, femininity and intellectual and cognitive capabilities.

The area which has not been explored is the effect of father's sex-role attitudes on the upbringing of girls. A complete understanding of this may come by studying the sex-role attitudes of both mothers as well as fathers and it's effect on child rearing practices. Further, the area which needs investigation is rewards and punishments versus reasoning as a socializing technique.