

ENCULTURATION AND
EDUCATION IN
SHANTI NAGAR

RUTH S. FREED AND STANLEY A. FREED

VOLUME 57 : PART 2
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK : 1981

ENCULTURATION AND EDUCATION IN SHANTI NAGAR

RUTH S. FREED

*Research Associate, Department of Anthropology
American Museum of Natural History
Professor of Anthropology
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Seton Hall University*

STANLEY A. FREED

*Curator, Department of Anthropology
American Museum of Natural History*

VOLUME 57 : PART 2
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK : 1981

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

Volume 57, part 2, pages 49–156, figures 1–13, tables 1–4

Issued September 17, 1981

Price. \$6.95 a copy

ISSN 0065-9452

CONTENTS

Abstract	53
Introduction	53
Acknowledgments	55
A Note on the Transcription of Hindi Words and Nomenclature	55
Enculturation	56
Developmental Stages	56
Surrogate Mothering	57
Nursing	58
Weaning	59
Supplementary Food and Eating	59
Crying, Its Causes, and Control	60
Maternal Care	60
Urination and Excretion	63
Walking	64
Vocalization and Communication	66
Sleeping	67
Cleanliness and Modesty Training	68
Costume of Children by Sex and Age	70
Hair Styling and Grooming	71
Social Interaction	71
Affection and Attention	71
Respect, Status, and Role Behavior	74
Teasing, Shaming, Beating, and Cruelty	75
Friendship	77
Play	78
Imitative	79
Exploratory	81
Testing	82
Model Building	83
Doll-Play Sessions	85
Little Mr. God	96
Young Barber	100
Organized and Commercial Recreation	102
Summary of Play	103
Development of Supernatural Beliefs	104
Imitative Training for Work	108
Education	115
Literacy and Formal Schooling	116
Difference between Cognitive Processes in Traditional and Formal Learning	117
History of Formal Schooling in Shanti Nagar	119
Problems in Transition from Traditional Learning to Formal Schooling	123
Caste Differences in Education	129
Interviews about Schools and Learning	131
Education of Females	134
Schools and Facilities	136

Adult Education Classes (Social Education)	139
Higher Education and Occupational Training	139
Mixing Old and New	145
Differences between Rural and Urban Schoolchildren	147
Conclusion	149
Literature Cited	151
Index	151

TABLES

1. Age (Years) at which Girls Change Costume and Hairdress by Caste.	70
2. Children Participating in the Doll-Play Sessions by Caste, Sex, Age (Years), and Grade in School.	90
3. Males by Age and Education.	120
4. Females by Age and Education.	121

FIGURES

1. Girl with infant astride her hip, watching Chamar Leatherworker men removing a dead water buffalo.	61
2. Basketry cradle suspended from the ceiling.	62
3. Jat women with children.	65
4. Dolls representing adult males used in doll-play sessions.	86
5. Dolls representing adult females used in doll-play sessions.	87
6. Doll representing a girl dressed in a skirt, shirt and headcloth.	88
7. Teenage boy preparing fodder for cattle.	110
8. <i>Dab ki jharu</i> , a light broom made of grass called <i>dab</i>	112
9. Brahman woman, accompanied by seated infant, making brooms from <i>dab</i> grass.	113
10. Slate made of blackened metal.	125
11. <i>Diwat</i> , a wooden stand to hold a lamp (<i>diwa</i>)	126
12. <i>Takhti</i> , a wooden board used by children to practice writing.	127
13. <i>Kalam</i> , a pen made of bamboo; <i>dawat</i> , inkwell; and <i>multani</i> , a clay used to clean wooden writing boards.	128

ABSTRACT

We report observations and inquiries regarding enculturation and education in the context of change primarily due to urbanization in the village we call Shanti Nagar during the years 1958 and 1959. Although the processes of enculturation and education are related, they are contrasted as two types of learning, enculturation being the traditional learning found among family, kin, and community; and education, a newer type, having to do with the attainment of literacy in formal

schooling. Although the study is largely descriptive, comparisons are drawn between the two major types of learning and their function in preparing the individual and community for the modern world. In addition, in this study we describe the problems of changing from one system of learning to another, and indicate the different rates of change occurring historically and during the period of our fieldwork for caste communities, and for the sexes.

INTRODUCTION

The present report is concerned with the processes by which individuals learn their culture in Shanti Nagar (a pseudonym), a village in north India. It covers two subjects, enculturation and education. In so doing, we compare the traditional and earlier way in which individuals in the village were prepared for life with the changes which were coming about in 1958 and 1959 through formal schooling. This report is the fifth in a series about Shanti Nagar that has been published in the *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*.

Additional aspects of the way of life pertinent to enculturation and education in Shanti Nagar have been described in earlier volumes. In the monograph devoted to social organization (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976) we describe the setting of the village, the family, other elements of social organization, role behavior, the caste hierarchy, and political life. In S. Freed and R. Freed (1978) we deal with aspects of economy, technology, and ecology and describe the means by which the villagers earned their livelihood, both in agricultural occupations and urban jobs. The monograph on sickness and health (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1979) discusses concepts of sickness and their relationship to supernatural beliefs. The report that deals with rites of passage (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1980) is perhaps the one most closely related to the present article, for it describes the stages in life through which individuals pass and how these stages and the attendant rites

of passage contribute to the formation of the cultural personalities of the individuals as well as to their enculturation into the symbolic system of Hinduism.

Shanti Nagar, situated about 11 miles (18 km.) northwest of the City of Delhi in the Union Territory of Delhi, was a village of 799 people during the time of our study from 1958 to 1959. Numerous villages surrounded by farm and grazing lands characterized the region. Delhi became more accessible to the people of Shanti Nagar after Indian political independence when paved roads and bus transportation were introduced between the city and the village. The railroad station was about 2 or 3 miles (3 to 5 km.) from the village, and trains provided daily transportation to and from Delhi and Narela, a market town. Narela was more often visited by villagers by bicycle or bullock cart.

The population consisted of 407 males and 392 females; there were 13 castes. The Jat Farmers and Brahman Priests were the two most populous, well-off, and landowning castes, accounting for 56 percent of the people. The low castes (Chuhra Sweeper, Chamar Leatherworker, Gola Potter, Mahar Potter, and Nai Barber) comprised 35 percent of the population. All the high castes including the Jats and Brahmans made up 65 percent. Fifty-one percent of the population was male; 49 percent was female. The population of Shanti Nagar was youthful; the average age being 21.2 years and the median 15 (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, pp. 37-38).

Representatives of the following castes resided in Shanti Nagar: Bairagi Beggar, Baniya Merchant, Brahman Priest, Chamar Leatherworker, Chhipi Dyer, Chuhra Sweeper, Gola Potter, Jat Farmer, Jhinvar Waterman, Lohar Blacksmith, Mahar Potter, Mali Gardener, and Nai Barber. The castes with the smallest numbers, consisting of single households with no more than 11 members, were the Baniya Merchant, Chhipi Dyer, Mahar Potter, Lohar Blacksmith, and Mali Gardener. The Jhinvar Watermen, represented by just two families, numbered only 13 persons (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, tables 1, 25).

Although individuals in all stages of life may learn, relearn, or lose aspects of culture, this study is first concerned with the enculturation and socialization of children. The term socialization is used to refer to the early years of childhood, during which a child learns basic forms of social and cultural behavior and is changed from a human animal with culture-bearing potential to a human, culture-bearing being. The basic aspects of behavior that require socialization are eating, sleeping, excreting, walking, communicating, training in modesty, grooming, independence, and learning the primary rules of social interaction. While all of these aspects of behavior are classified as socialization, they are learned in the mold of the culture within which a child is raised. Thus, socialization is a subsidiary part of enculturation.

LeVine (1973, ch. 4) has written on concepts of socialization, including enculturation as a part of the socialization process, contrary to our approach. He takes a universalistic approach, whereas our treatment is based on the two processes of enculturation and socialization, one within the other. Our adoption of enculturation as the more inclusive term resembles Mead's usage (1963, p. 185). Socialization as here used refers to the turning of an infant into a culture-bearing human being, usually within the first five years of life, in terms of the culture into which the infant is born. Thus, enculturation not only includes socialization but refers to the years beyond early childhood after the

basic human skills have been learned. Enculturation comprises everything that the individual ever learns that is part of the way of life of the society in which the individual is born, grows up, and dies, provided that the individual remains in the society of birth and does not reside for any long period beyond the influence of the natal culture. However, should individuals move from one culture to another or should two or more cultures be in continuous contact, the process of learning the other culture or cultures is known as acculturation. In this study, the concern is with enculturation even though cultural changes occurred in Shanti Nagar because of continuous contacts with urban ways of life and through the changes which were occurring in India and the world. To some degree these changes were reflected in the process of enculturation, particularly through education.

Education is as much a part of enculturation as is socialization because both processes provide the individual with the necessary knowledge to cope with life. However, for purposes of this monograph it is simpler to define education in terms of formal schooling or institutional instruction, wherein the individual learns specific skills starting with the three basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and uses them as building blocks for further, systematic instruction and learning. The process of education is not only oriented around specific, more abstract subject matter than traditional enculturation without schooling, but it places a child in a different setting at an early age. Instead of being taught in an imitative, gradual manner in the home by family members, the child learns from a teacher who employs special pedagogical techniques.

In addition, education provides the individual with opportunities for viewing many different societies and countries through the ability to read, thus serving as a conduit for acculturation without contact. Education also acquaints a child with different types of social interaction and role behavior from those found in the family and immediate neighborhood and subjects the child to dis-

ciplined and regulated periods of learning, often for occupations hitherto unknown in his or her community of birth.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research reported in this monograph is the result of our fieldwork in Shanti Nagar in 1958–1959. We thank the people of Shanti Nagar for their friendship and cooperation without which the work could not have been undertaken. Many other individuals have helped us both in India and in the United States. We have acknowledged their assistance in previous monographs (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, pp. 28–29; R. Freed and S. Freed, 1979, p. 292). The work has been supported by the Social Science Research Council, the National Science Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Voss Fund for Anthropological and Archaeological Research. To all these people and foundations, we are duly grateful. We owe a special debt of thanks to Dr. Owen M. Lynch for the tedious task of reading the manuscript and making suggestions for revision and correction. Mr. Nicholas Amorosi prepared the line drawings.

The organization of the section on enculturation has been influenced by the work of the Whittings and their colleagues and students (B. Whiting, 1963; J. Whiting and Child, 1964; J. Whiting and B. Whiting, 1964; J. Whiting, Child, and Lambert, 1966). Prior to fieldwork, we had read an unpublished paper on the Whittings' methods of studying child rearing. We later learned of the studies of six cultures carried out by students of the Whittings and we refer to the work of Minturn and Hitchcock (1966) and LeVine (1973). Kardiner's theory that customs relating to illness are part of the projective system of a culture, a theory which was adopted by Whiting and Child (1964, ch. 6), has also influenced our presentation of the field data from Shanti Nagar. This monograph does not provide a full description of supernatural beliefs and curing practices as they affect child rearing in Shanti Nagar, but we have covered these subjects in earlier publications (R.

Freed and S. Freed, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1979, 1980; S. Freed and R. Freed, 1964). To some degree, the present study of enculturation has been influenced by the work of A. I. Hallowell, A. Wallace, M. Cole, and S. Scribner. Although we are familiar with the writings of C. Lévi-Strauss, the most celebrated of the neo-structuralists, his work has not appreciably influenced this study, most probably because he was strongly influenced by Durkheim who made little use of psychology. On the other hand, we have used the work of Jean Piaget, and have been greatly influenced by the writings of Sigmund Freud. We strongly believe that holistic ethnography can make a valuable contribution to specialized studies of human behavior in its natural setting; this study of the behavior of children growing up in Shanti Nagar at a particular point in time has been executed in the context of a holistic ethnography, relying both on traditional field methods, such as interviewing and participant observation, and on specialized techniques, such as doll play.

A NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTION OF HINDI WORDS AND NOMENCLATURE

Proper names of persons, castes, organizations, places, major yearly festivals, and geographical features, and of all words contained in Webster's "Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged" have been reproduced in Roman script. Other Hindi words, the Romanized spellings of which many have become more or less standardized because they frequently appear in English publications, have been italicized and spelled in their customary forms without diacritics. English plurals and possessives have been used (except when Webster's gives the Hindi plural), for example, *silwar*, *silwars*.

We have used binomial names for castes. The first word is the usual Hindi designation for the caste; the second, an English word that denotes the traditional occupation of the caste and/or translates the Hindi term. For example, the English translation of Nai is

barber, the traditional occupation of the caste: hence, the caste designation, Nai Barber. Jat does not mean farmer in English, but the Jats are traditionally farmers: hence, the caste designation, Jat Farmer. There were two castes of potters (Kumhars) in Shanti Nagar, the Gola Kumhars and the Mahar Kumhars. To avoid the use of a cumbersome three-term name, we designate the castes Gola Potter and Mahar Potter. When the

same caste is mentioned successively, we frequently shorten the name following its initial use either to its Hindi or English component. When used in this way, the English word is capitalized. When not capitalized, words such as potter, farmer, and priest refer to occupations and not to castes; for example, "Ram Kishan, a Brahman Priest, was a farmer," means that the foregoing member of the Braham caste worked as a farmer.

ENCULTURATION

Since enculturation and socialization are closely linked, children in Shanti Nagar begin to participate in these processes primarily through imitation. The earliest learning consists of two processes, one of which is undirected and the other, directed either by the mother or a mother-surrogate. In the undirected process, the child learns by being in the cultural milieu and repeatedly seeing, hearing, feeling, and otherwise sensing events. The yearly round of economic and festive events and the rites of passage of the life cycle provide continuity and an ordering of the world view of each growing child. From these repetitive activities, the child obtains a psychological expectancy for daily, weekly, and yearly occurrences. These events and their associated symbols from birth onward subliminally stimulate the child's senses in the process of learning culture, which because of its undirectedness resembles imprinting as described by animal behaviorists but it is not inherent. Only the potential for learning culture is inherent. Thus, cultural imprinting or undirected learning is learning from the repetition of sounds, symbols, smells, touch, and any activities that stimulate the senses even before there is conscious understanding of the events in which these repetitions occur. Repetition and predictability of events go hand-in-hand to reinforce this learning process, for they provide a child with psychological expectancy and a sense of organization and continuity from which to bring order and understanding out of chaos and non-knowing.

Directed learning proceeds in lockstep with undirected learning, first between mother and child in a dyadic, slow and repetitive kind of learning emphasizing imitation. Similar learning situations occur through childhood within a family and with any continuing groups to which a child belongs, or between individuals regularly in contact with a child. Any member of these groups may act as a surrogate parent or teacher of the child, and the situation between the instructor and learner-imitator is formalized.

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES

The stages of development in Shanti Nagar are based on the age ranges identified by mothers for the times that children were believed to have learned how to perform specific activities or to have learned that they should behave in a certain manner. These stages do not extend much beyond the tenth to twelfth years; for the upper part of the range we have less data than for the lower. From approximately 10 years of age to the early or mid-teenage years, a period somewhat comparable to the teenage range in the West, the data about what children learned were not as clear as for the ages from infancy to 10 years. This difference in early and late developmental stages may have been due to the relatively early marriage of Indian youngsters and the lack of formal schooling in earlier times. It may also have been due to the fact that many women had a relatively large number of children. The more children a

woman had, the less able she was to provide accurate data for her older children or to pay as much attention to them as to children under five years of age. In any case, there were never any discussions of teenage problems in Shanti Nagar, partly because youngsters, particularly girls, lacked freedom to roam beyond their village, partly because many children did not attend school and were married young, either before or in their teens.

Most mothers in Shanti Nagar agreed about the stages in development from infancy to childhood. They said that boys and girls were alike in development. One young mother, an urbanized woman who had only small daughters, said that girls learned to walk and talk more quickly than boys. Her expression was that "girls are a little quicker in the matter of talking." When asked the reason she said, "Don't you know girls are quick in all respects. They grow soon, develop soon, and are married soon. It is a natural instinct with them." All other informants said that boys and girls were similar in their development.

It does not seem possible that other village women lacked perception regarding the learning abilities of their children especially since many of them were considerably older than the urbanized woman. Perhaps rural and urban cultural differences may have led to the different observations of the urbanized informant and the other mothers. Village children might grow up under cultural conditions that resulted in no learning differences between boys and girls; city children, who learned in an urban cultural milieu, might have shown the differences that the urbanized woman observed while she was growing up in the city. Her opinion was akin to the Western belief that girls mature and learn quicker than boys. The question of whether boys and girls learn at the same or different rates and in different ways has long been debated and probably will not be settled until it is possible to separate the effects of biological and cultural factors. Perhaps this urbanized woman was measuring learning quickness in terms of schooling, in which Indian girls might excel because they might be better able to adapt to the passivity and in-

activity of the schoolroom due to earlier cultural conditioning (Mead, 1968; Harrington and Whiting, 1972; Maccoby, 1973; J. Solomon, 1973; L. Solomon, 1973; Draper, 1975).

The normative stages of development for small children indicated the learning potential that mothers expected them to have by a specific age. Mothers identified six stages. (1) Walking first took place at about two years of age; some informants said from one to two years of age. (2) Talking began from 10 months to two years of age. (3) Children were weaned at about two to four years. (4) Excretion training took place from two to three years of age with most children trained by the age of two years. (5) Eating solid foods began from one to one-and-a-half years of age along with breast feeding. (6) Modesty training was started at about four years of age for girls; for boys, from six months to one year later than for girls and with less stringency.

These stages and ages are not in complete accord with the findings of Minturn and Hitchcock (1966, pp. 105-139) in Khalapur, Uttar Pradesh. Although Khalapur is only approximately 170 km. from Shanti Nagar, the differences between Khalapur and Shanti Nagar may nonetheless reflect regional differences, the Islamic influence in Khalapur, and the focus of the Khalapur study on child rearing in a single caste. Further, the mothers in Khalapur were more restricted by purdah and did not work in the fields as did women of all castes in Shanti Nagar.

SURROGATE MOTHERING

A number of persons, principally women, cared for an infant. In the first days after birth, several women acted as surrogate mothers, thus establishing a pattern that would continue throughout childhood. Such women might include the baby's father's mother, father's sister, and father's father's sister and later an older sister. In addition, the Chuhra Sweeper midwife and the Nai Barber woman bathed the child during its first 40 days of life (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1980, pp. 383-384). Such intimate contact with several senior women early conditioned the

child to accept a variety of mothering figures and to recognize that some of them might, from time to time, exercise authority. The role of child care might partly be assumed by any female or male old enough to do so in the family or lineage. Fathers, fathers' brothers, and older brothers acted as parenting substitutes or caretakers, but usually only when there were no women present. Older siblings at quite early ages were pressed into the service of taking care of younger siblings.

Two early caretakers of a child, the midwife and Barber woman, were not family members and usually were from castes of lower rank than the infant's so that from birth onward a child was exposed to differences in behavior because of caste status. Further, a child would ordinarily be exposed to successive births in its family and lineage and, when somewhat older, could not fail overtly to observe differences in status as manifested by the activities surrounding birth. Since from the moment of birth a child was exposed to the characteristic hierarchical structure of social relations based on caste, age, sex, and the attendant concepts of power, purity, and pollution, attitudes and behavioral norms expressing these structural relationships were probably internalized and imprinted regularly so that at least by the age of nine or 10 a youngster could distinguish between Brahman and Sweeper, or between the role of the male head of the household and the lowest ranking daughter-in-law. Interactions with men, women, and children of different castes increased as the child grew older and would become persistent factors throughout the life of each child.

NURSING

All mothers attempted to nurse their infants and usually were successful. Until the child was able to crawl and sit upright, nursing took place in the arms of the mother. Nursing was on demand when the infant fussed or cried. For nursing in early infancy, the child was clasped warmly in the Madonna position. The mother supported the child's head with her hands and guided its lips to the breast. For the first 40 days of life,

the mother placed the infant at the head of her cot so she could nurse and attend to the baby's other wants when necessary. Thereafter, the child slept on its mother's cot only at night.

As the child grew older and began to walk, the mother might nurse while she was sitting on a cot and the child was crawling, sitting or standing on the floor. She did this by bending down and dangling her breast before the mouth of the toddler. This nursing practice was usually followed by older mothers who had had a number of children and as a result had pendulant breasts, women who were often tired from their work and caring for many children. In this kind of nursing procedure, there was no great warmth, just a convenient method of feeding. The children so fed did not seem to mind, nor did they cry to be taken in their mother's arms. If a mother continued to nurse a child longer than two years, which occurred only with boys, it was because no new infant had been born.

We knew of two families that supplemented nursing with bottle feeding. The bottles were standard baby bottles purchased in the marketplace in the city. They were filled with cow's or buffalo's milk. Since all milk was boiled in Shanti Nagar and there was no refrigeration, the child usually sucked on a warm bottle, but because mothers did not test the heat of the milk on their hands or arms, sometimes the milk was lukewarm or cool. The families resorting to supplemental bottle feeding were well-off urbanized Jats. The babies did not particularly take to bottle feeding and sometimes cried lustily. Once, when one of the mothers was working in the fields, the father who was resting after working in the fields himself attempted to quiet the infant with the bottle, but to no avail. He then hid himself with the baby to its mother in the field.

There was no sterilization of bottles or rubber nipples since heating and boiling water involved the use of scarce fuel. To spend money on bottles and fuel when mother's milk was available was contrary to village practices of thrift and what was considered natural.

When an infant died soon after birth the mother, who was still lactating, might help a sister-in-law with supplementary feedings for her infant. If a mother did not have a good supply of milk as her baby grew older, she supplemented the diet with buffalo milk and started the child drinking from a spoon or a cup. A few women believed that such children were plumper and healthier than breast-fed children, and so they appeared to be. This observed feature may have been due to the inadequate diet of females, the number of children a woman had already borne, and the richness of buffalo milk.

In two known instances of a sister-in-law nursing the offspring of her husband's brother's wife, one mother also nursed her own child, but the other mother was not able to do so. In both cases the woman who acted as wet nurse was older, more dominant, and behaved as though she was considerably superior to the mother who either was not very good at supplying milk or could not. A child nursed by a substitute mother in this way might form attachments to both women. Moreover, in the two cases we observed, the sister-in-law, who was adept at nursing, held power in the household and had the final say about the health and care of the infant. In each case, the real mother acted as though she was inadequate and inferior. Other similar cases were reported as having occurred in the past. These examples support the value placed on a mother's milk and nursing ability (see the story of Jaswant Singh, R. Freed and S. Freed, 1980, pp. 367-368).

There was no attempt at scheduled feedings, perhaps because mothers were almost always near their babies and the villagers were not clock oriented. One of our assistants said that in the City of Delhi, modern middle-class mothers tried to introduce scheduled feedings, but these were educated women who had read about such a system. Scheduled feedings, however, were unknown in Shanti Nagar.

WEANING

There was a difference of opinion about the weaning of children. Some women

weaned their children at two years of age by putting bitter substances or pepper on their nipples; other women nursed their children as long as the children desired the breast. Most children were weaned between two to three years of age. No girl was nursed past the age of two-and-a-half years. Some boys nursed until four years. Other children teased a boy that old if he continued to nurse. A mother who realized that a child was her last infant, had enjoyed her children, and liked nursing might continue to nurse her last child as long as she was able. This was a matter of individual temperament, but the child in time stopped because of teasing by peers.

SUPPLEMENTARY FOOD AND EATING

All systems of infant feeding have a certain amount of scheduling as the number of nursing sessions is reduced when the child begins to take supplementary food and eats with the family. In Shanti Nagar, meals were scheduled at relatively the same times from day to day but there was noteworthy seasonal variation; three meals were common in the summer, but only two in winter. A small child gradually became acquainted with this routine. By the age of one year, he or she participated with family members when sitting next to them at meal times and being given food from their plates.

A child's feeding and nursing behavior was gradually socialized to fit into the daily family routine. As demand nursing, feeding the child whenever it cried, tapered off and fitted into a scheduled meal system, socialization was accomplished almost unconsciously. From the point of view of a mother's routine, scheduled nursing is not too different from non-scheduled nursing, in which infants grow hungry and feed periodically. A mother could usually predict the intervals between feedings. With supplementary and increased amounts of other foods, the nursing periods gradually widened and eventually fitted into the customary family meal pattern. The child in due time accommodated to the family's schedule.

When a child was about one year old,

members of the family would feed the baby small pieces of food from their own plates. These were soft and easy to masticate since most households followed a vegetarian diet. Even families who were not vegetarians rarely ate meat. By the time a child was two years old, he or she would eat practically everything anyone else in the family ate.

It was quite interesting to witness how a child learned to eat by imitating the movements of his or her mother and siblings. If a child did not learn to eat with the right hand by participation and observation, a mother or older sister would manipulate the right hand and restrain the left until the child understood and did what was required. One of the earliest lessons taught a child of one-and-a-half to two years of age was to distinguish between the right and left hand and their distinctly separate usages. At the age of two, the child was able to tear off a small piece of bread, using only the right hand, and then pick up cooked vegetables with the piece of bread. By the age of two, the child was supposed to have learned that the left hand was the dirty hand and should not be used for eating. Since most children could speak by this age and joined with their siblings in eating, they could recognize the word "dirty" and knew the restraints placed upon them if they persisted in using the left hand. Although we judged that the Indian style of eating required considerable manipulative skill, we observed a girl, not quite two, tear her chapati solely with her right hand and pick up her vegetable with the piece of chapati held in the right hand.

CRYING, ITS CAUSES, AND CONTROL

Infants did not cry a great deal, perhaps because they were usually carried about by someone and their needs were quickly attended. When they cried, it was because they were hungry, suffered some physical discomfort, or were ill. When they were hungry, they were generally nursed immediately. Mothers always "sh, sh'd" their children to stop them from crying. If an infant still cried as it grew older its mother would say,

"Look out, the spirit will get you." The young infant might not understand the words a mother used, but came to understand her tone of voice which served as a deterrent. When the child learned to understand the words, there were then two deterrents, the tone of voice and the fear of the spirit. It was considered important that tears should be repressed. Mothers said that a crying baby invited the evil eye or a ghost who would carry him or her off. The thought of spirits diverted the child and stopped its crying. Although children were considered to be susceptible to the evil eye, they themselves were believed able to cast a strong spell. Villagers said that a child under 10 months of age who cast the evil eye could cause even the strongest person to die. This belief fostered the idea that a child might have greater power than an adult; it also provided adults with a belief that children could protect themselves from malevolence.

The repression of crying was part of the encouragement of stoicism as necessary conditioning against the troubles and physical discomforts of village life. Physical discomfort among infants was most often a rash, which worried mothers because they suspected rashes of being one of the dread poxes or typhoid. A mother gave a sick child as much attention as was possible, but infants' and small children's illnesses were regarded as something to be expected so they were seldom treated by curers unless many children in the family had died, the child was an only son, or the family had more than the usual money and time to consult a curer. For mild discomfort not much was done. Since children did not wear diapers, they did not suffer from chafing because of not being changed when wet. Physical discomfort was, in any case, considered to be the norm of everyday life. The attitude that nothing much could or should be done about such discomfort fitted the child for village life.

MATERNAL CARE

Young mothers carried their infants with them when they went to the fields to work or when visiting. The older a mother and the



FIG. 1. Girl with infant astride her hip watching Chamar Leatherworker men removing a dead water buffalo.

more numerous her children, the more she delegated child care to the infant's siblings. When a mother was working in the fields and her child cried, she nursed it. We observed a typical occasion of females caring for a child while they worked in the fields. A one-and-a-half year old girl sat on the grass eating green peas; her older sister of five years stripped the peas from growing stalks and handed them to her. When the mother and her three daughters had finished cutting fodder, the five-year-old sister put the baby in a position to defecate and then carried her home. The two older sisters and the mother did not wait for the baby to finish but set out for home, each carrying a large bundle of fodder on her head. The five-year-old was considered quite competent to care for the baby by herself.

When children were held in the arms, the back and neck were supported; but by six months this support was not necessary so the child's legs were slung astride one hip of the mother with one of the mother's arms used to support the child at the lower back. By this time the child was strong enough to take this position. In this carrying position, the child seemed almost weightless. The mother through positioning and body contact communicated to the child that this carrying procedure required the child to cling strongly with its legs and arms. The child's cooperation made carrying easy for the carrier. Carstairs (1958, p. 64) states that in this position a child learns to grip with its knees. The statement did not apply to children under one year old in Shanti Nagar.

Infants in Shanti Nagar were small-boned

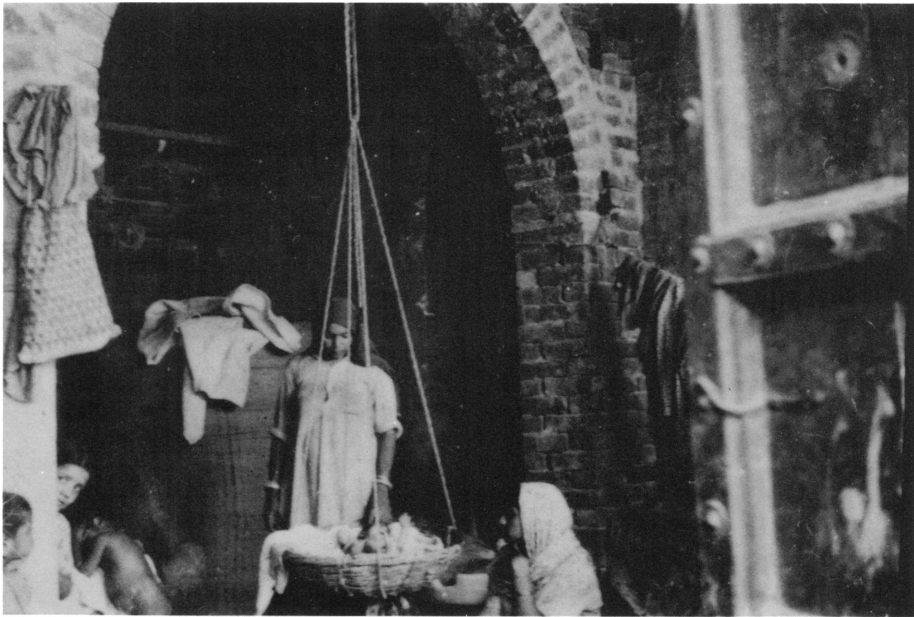


FIG. 2. Basketry cradle suspended from the ceiling.

and lighter than the average child in the United States. This conclusion is based on observation and carrying a number of children under the age of two years. In the City of Delhi, there were European children who furnished an observational comparison with Indian children. These children were large relative to Indian children. Moreover, village children appeared to be thinner than the children of affluent, urban Indian families, a judgment again based on inspection.

When a mother worked around the house, she placed her infant in a circular basketry cradle which was suspended from the ceiling by ropes. When a gentle breeze blew, the cradle swayed and to some degree the breeze kept the flies off. Mothers tried to keep flies off the face and particularly the eyes of a child by applying kohl around the eyes and by placing a netting over the face. The suspended cradle served another purpose, relative protection from rats. If a rat tried to descend the rope to the cradle, the mother could frighten it away. Rats, however, were reported to have bitten sleeping infants. They, as well as flies and mosquitoes, were

part of the everyday discomforts that children became inured to while growing up.

Women with babies were expected either to take them everywhere or to be close by to feed them. As a result, the growing infant became a part of the mother's way of life and of the people with whom the mother came in daily contact. In the early stages of a child's life, adult males were of less importance than adult females. Female relatives and siblings were the individuals who most often acted as substitute mothers, caretakers, and communicants with the baby. Males generally were gentle with babies, but this trait depended on individual temperament.

Mothers differed in the degree to which they cared for their children. Some mothers gave their first and second children more attention than later children. Some older women who had many children tried to give all their children attention, but there was considerable delegation of child-care chores to siblings. A few young women expressed definite dislike for their first children or were not interested in having children, but recognized that this was their "fate." They were

in the minority although there may have been others who silently agreed but did not say so because the idea was contrary to the ideal role behavior for females. Some women who had borne many children, several of whom had died, and who had other family problems seemed so exhausted by life that it was not possible to know what they thought about their children.

The ideal in Shanti Nagar was that a woman's function was to marry and bear children, preferably sons. As Mandelbaum (1970, pp. 88–89) has indicated, throughout India a married woman's status improves in her husband's household with the birth of her first child, especially a son. This ideal persisted in Shanti Nagar, although sometimes problems were encountered in fulfilling it (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1980, pp. 347–350). Despite this much touted ideal pattern of motherhood, Mandelbaum (1974, pp. 70–74; quote on p. 74), in a general observation about Delhi village life, states that "a good many of the older village women and a few of the younger have obtained abortions, generally by crude means," even though induced abortions were overtly condemned. Although we have no information from 1958–1959 on induced abortions, we know of two sisters, ages 18 and 19 years, who did not want to bear children at these early ages and expressed dislike for children. Both young women were pregnant at the same time as their mother, who died shortly after childbirth. After the birth of their own children, the two women came back to Shanti Nagar for a while and helped their father with his work in the fields. It was at this time that they expressed their dislike for children.

URINATION AND EXCRETION

Socialization for handling bodily wastes was begun by the end of the first month after birth. Mothers with a number of children might start sooner. When a child was about a month old, its mother periodically dangled the baby between her knees. She held the infant in an upright walking position under its arms and said "Se, Se" repeatedly to

have the child urinate. This act, a form of conditioning, was performed at least every two hours or whenever the child seemed restless or uncomfortable. Training was initially for urination, but later the same procedure was used for defecation. The shirt, the only garment an infant wore, was very practical for purposes of elimination. One Jat family in the winter months dressed an infant girl in shirt and knitted Jodhpur style pants with a hole in the bottom for elimination. This suit was the ultimate in stylish infant wear. No other infant had one.

Any woman who carried an infant around was periodically seen to hold it between her knees. As a woman held the infant and said, "Se Se," she also shook it a bit so that, as mothers said, "The child will understand" what was wanted. This matter-of-fact procedure was characteristic of many of the instructions given infants and small children, instructions performed repeatedly until the child was conditioned to act as its caretakers desired.

The adult position for defecation was the deep squat, a characteristic body position for resting and performing a variety of tasks in the household, workshop, and fields. Adults did not lose the ability to assume this position and could hold it for long periods. However, an infant cannot control its limbs well enough to squat until it is about one-and-a-half years of age. Then a mother would put a child in the squat position to defecate. By the time a child was two years old, most mothers in Shanti Nagar claimed that the child knew what to do and that there no longer was a need to worry about the formation of this habit. A mother also taught the child how to clean itself with water using the left hand; an older sister might take over this function from the mother. Most mothers said that by the time a child was two to two-and-a-half years old the child could and did clean itself. A few mothers indicated that some children took until the age of three.

Small children were allowed to urinate and defecate in a gutter near their house while being trained. Adults had to go to the fields. There were no latrine facilities in or near

houses; the villagers considered them dirty. Since village lanes were kept clean, only infants were allowed to defecate within the village. Their mothers cleaned up after them, disposing of their feces outside of the house and courtyard where they were removed by the Chuhra Sweeper woman who served the household. If a small baby made a "mess," the mother, no matter what her caste, did not fuss but cleaned up and showed no sign of disgust. It was simply what one did in taking care of a child.

It was not unusual to see a mother hold a child for elimination both inside and outside of domiciles. When they expected that the child would defecate, they placed the child outside; for urination it did not matter. Apparently, a child's urine was regarded as similar to water and not particularly dirty. These rules applied only to infants. No other people urinated or defecated inside a house unless they were ill.

Here is an example of what happened in the compound of the Chuhra Sweeper quarter when a child defecated on the ground. The men who saw it put ashes over the feces, picked them up, and disposed of them outside the village. The senior man in the group said, "Get the jungle out of here." (Informants used the euphemism "jungle" when referring to feces because one went into the fields and bushes, that is, the jungle, when defecating.) Although we never saw high caste males perform such an act, the females of these castes cleaned up when necessary, or regularly if they did not have a Chuhra Sweeper woman serving them.

In the socialization of urinating, excreting, and eating, the right hand only was used to eat and the left hand to clean after defecation. This enforced distinction taught a child that certain activities were more polluting than others and could not be mixed. The taboo, normally fixed by the age of two or two-and-a-half years, was instilled through repetitive teaching enforced by the manner of the mother. There was a certainty and firmness in this cultural system of child training. It followed the pattern of an adult firmly stating or showing what should be done without any question of whether there was an alternate

way, and a child learning that this was "the way" and following without question. Although such a method of teaching may foster authoritarianism, it provides security for a child.

WALKING

It was rare to see a child crawl with its four limbs and stomach to the ground. In this respect, our findings are in accord with those reported for the Rajputs of Khalapur (Minturn and Hitchcock, 1966, p. 112). Infants, however, were often placed on the ground and allowed to slide about on their bottoms. From this position, they gradually began to pull themselves upright to try to walk. We regularly observed an 18-month-old girl who pulled herself up a flight of stairs and entered an upstairs room if the door was open. Unable to climb onto a cot, however, she signaled by raising her arms to the cot that she wanted to be lifted onto it.

Parents regarded walking and talking as abilities that children learned naturally. They did not make special efforts to teach them to walk, although occasionally with her first child a mother might help it or catch it when the child took its first steps. In almost all households or courtyards there were always a number of children of diverse ages, who took an interest in a small child trying to walk. Older siblings would enjoy playing with a toddler and encouraged walking by standing at a slight distance and extending their arms as encouragement and a safety precaution.

Children of from one year to 18 months of age would pull themselves up from a sitting position on the floor or ground by means of furniture (cots, stools, or whatever was in the vicinity, including people). When they fell down, they usually did so on their bottoms without hurting themselves. They did not cry but rather waited a while and tried again. Whenever this happened, no one ran to help or placate them and little or no attention was paid. This was part of the "hardhood" training which prepared children for the physical needs of their life.

Women of all castes indicated that walking



FIG. 3. Jat women with children. Two of the children are seated in typical postures.

occurred at approximately two years of age, although a few informants said that their children were quick and walked at 10 months or one year. One Chamar Leatherworker woman said that her children walked at two-and-one-half years. She said, "We are poor and cannot feed our children well so they remain weak."

Children two years of age would stand at the edge of a roof, and no one worried about them. At no time did any child or person fall off a roof, although one boy of about nine years of age broke his arm climbing a tree. Children appeared to achieve balance and an ability to cope with their physical environment adequately by the time they were two or three years old.

Children did, of course, have accidents. For example, one small boy of about one-and-a-half years of age, while moving about, was badly burned when a hookah fell on him. The burns took a long time to heal and were

further complicated by a pulmonary illness so that at the age of five he was retarded. His family had a wooden walker to help him walk, but did nothing about implementing his speaking ability. His condition was aggravated because he was the only son of a man who was one of six brothers in a large and competitive joint family; his father clearly showed his disappointment in having a retarded son. The attitude toward individuals who had disabilities was that this was the way that it was meant to be; therefore it was unusual for parents to believe that anything might be done.

Although we might expect the father or adult males of the household to feel guilty that the child was injured because of their hookah, their attitude was that it was the women's business to see that the child was taken care of, and that children between one-and-a-half and two-and-a-half years of age usually did not harm themselves. In a case

such as this, the mother was more apt to accept guilt than the father because it was placed on her; but in this instance, the father carried guilt too. He was cool toward the child and avoided him, which is one of many ways of expressing guilt, but also of showing disappointment.

All villagers could and did say "What happens in this life is a result of past actions." When a father and son or mother and son were involved, this could have two implications since what happened to the son would also affect the parent and thus be the result of both of their actions in past lives. But people seldom thought in this way; the defect in the child was attributed to defects in the child's past lives, not in the parents' past or present lives.

VOCALIZATION AND COMMUNICATION

The ability to communicate was also believed to come naturally to a child. Mothers and siblings talked to children constantly from birth onward, and a child was almost always in the presence of speaking and communicating adults and children. When mothers or siblings instructed small children in any activity, they manipulated them into position for carrying out the activity. At the same time, mothers or surrogates talked to the children about what was being done. They seemed to expect them to understand even before they began to speak.

As children grew older mothers and siblings instructed them verbally which was consistent with the belief that children could understand before they began to speak. If children did not understand immediately, and children seldom did, the procedure was to repeat the instructions over and over again at the same time showing them what to do or manipulating them to perform a task. Mothers simplified their verbal and physical instructions and repeated them often so that children eventually came to understand the combinations of sounds and gestures, thus learning the lexicon and structure of the language along with related emotions and social interactions.

Lewis (1977, p. 27) has pointed out the possible significance in situational differences for young children in learning to vocalize and eventually talk. His experiments, conducted in the United States, indicate that when an infant or small child is held on the lap a great deal it is less likely to vocalize at those times and is more likely to vocalize when out of the mother's arms and lap. If this is so, the process of vocalizing and eventually speaking may have gone through two stages in Shanti Nagar, the first stage being one where the child was most often in the mother's arms or lap and received stimuli from the mother to repress crying. A mother, however, had very little time for holding an infant on her lap. The second stage, which became a matter of necessity when the mother worked both in the house and field, was one where the child was left either in the cradle basket, or on the ground or floor, at which time it began to vocalize. The effect of having numerous siblings and surrogate parents pick up the child, carry it, and talk to it very probably offset the earlier stage where the child learned to repress the vocalization called crying.

Some mothers did not remember the ages at which their children began speaking, or they took it for granted that all children spoke by two years of age; some indicated that children began talking at one year of age. An urbanized informant, whose children were all girls, said that all her children spoke at one year of age (cf. Appleton, Clifton, and Goldberg, 1975, pp. 108-117). A Nai Barber woman said that her children, who appeared to be very bright, began speaking at 10 months but that they were quicker than most children. One of her daughters had in fact gone farther in school than was customary among girls. Whether these Nai Barber children were actually brighter than others or whether their family and community life subjected them to a better learning situation is a question. The Nai Barbers, both males and females, served many families, knew just about every event that transpired in the village, and were excellent gossips. They regularly chatted with all the members of the households which they served. A Nai Barber

woman when visiting might bring her small children with her. Thus, in the case of this woman, there may have been a stimulus situation which contributed to the early speaking and learning abilities of her children.

The question asked the mothers was: When did the child or children first begin speaking? It did not ask how well they spoke. The range of ages was 10 months to two years. Although 10 months may seem early, there is evidence that infants begin making recognizable phonological sounds even earlier. However, the sounds are usually not identified as speech until an adult or older sibling recognizes them as such. Berko and Brown (1964, p. 526) indicate "Most phonological learning occurs in the first three years of life . . ." Irwin (1964, pp. 491-495) reviews a number of studies of speech formation, ranging from infants six months of age and upward. He also reports that orphanage babies show a paucity of speech mastery compared with children living in their own homes, the reason being attributed to lack of adults or other children to serve as models of communication. It is, therefore, not too surprising to have a range from 10 months to 2 years in Shanti Nagar, with the lowest age in a family known for talkativeness.

SLEEPING

Small children first slept with their mother on her cot. Early in a marriage a husband and wife slept together. After the first child arrived, they slept separately. If the husband wished to have coitus with his wife, he let her know quietly and she came to his bed. Children became aware of parental activities because normally the mother slept with the youngest child; other children up to five years old might sleep nearby. In families that could afford them, there were separate sleeping chambers for adult males. Even in these families the women had one joint sleeping section and only shared their husband's bed at his request. The separation into male and female sleeping quarters sometimes occurred in one building, sometimes in two. Usually a separate men's building also contained the

cattle shed. Among the well-off landowners, the men's sitting room-cum-cattle shed was often the finest and newest building, where male visitors were entertained. Women did not sleep, visit, or linger there. Poor families, mainly those of the lowest castes, more often had dwellings which were small, one or two rooms at most. In such cases, a separation between male and female sleeping quarters was not feasible; but separation on cots was. A mother in such a household would have one or more of her children sleep with her on her cot. The husband would usually sleep alone, although he or his father might take a small boy to sleep with him on the occasion of a new birth in the family. A grandmother might do the same with a small girl. This arrangement helped a child to become accustomed to sleeping apart from the mother and perpetuated the separation of male and female activities.

If a household was small or there were no opportunities for privacy, a husband and wife might resort to having their sexual relations in a secluded field or at home in the daytime when no one else was there. At such a time the doors and shutters of the building were closed so that it looked as though no one was home.

The normative value expressed by many men and women in the village was that sexual relations between a husband and wife should not be known to anyone either inside or outside of the family, except when a newly married couple first cohabited. A man and woman were circumspect about sexual relations and never spoke about their activities before senior family members. Despite such discretion, our data on doll-play sessions indicate that children at an early age were both curious and somewhat knowledgeable about their parents' sexual behavior. In the doll-play sessions, which we describe subsequently, children placed male and female dolls together in what can only be described as a position for coitus, which suggested that the children were aware of the physical activities of their parents. They also indicated through the use of adult euphemisms such as "sleeping," that their parents were having sexual relations.

Cultural practices correlated with modesty training, sleeping arrangements, and articles of clothing contributed to children's understanding of adult sexuality. Crowding increased the likelihood of children witnessing the primal scene. They understood that when a wife removed her head cloth before her husband, it was a departure from her obligatory modest behavior. Since children in Shanti Nagar were taught to be quiet in the presence of adults, especially males, they often would fade so quietly into the background that they were able to listen and learn without much awareness of their presence by adults. They obviously learned more about adult life than their parents realized.

There were no night garments and most people in Shanti Nagar slept in their clothes although some of the outer garments were stripped off depending on the weather. If, for example, a man wore a suit to work in Delhi, he would shed his workaday clothing and put on a dhoti (loin cloth), a pair of shorts, or old trousers, and might or might not wear a shirt. He would then sleep in these garments. A woman would usually sleep in her skirt, under which she wore no slip or panties. She might wear a bandeau or brassiere, under her shirt. She would not wear her headcloth but would place it over her breast, more for modesty than warmth. Children slept in their clothes too. On cold nights everyone wrapped themselves in quilts.

In the summer many families slept outside in a courtyard, compound, or on a rooftop; at such times, they might group all of the beds together. In the wealthier families, the men's house would have an open courtyard where the men would place their cots and sleep. Male guests were always bedded in the men's house; women guests, almost always relatives, would sleep with the women. Small children would be expected to sleep with the women. Gradually a small boy would begin to sleep with the men so that by the time he was eight or so he would be sleeping with his father or grandfather in the men's quarters. In some very poor families, children sometimes slept on the ground or floor. These sleeping arrangements were

characteristic of male and female activities, that is, the segregation of the sexes. This segregation which the children early recognized prepared them for the separation of male and female activities in adult life and also familiarized them with the covert sexual patterns of behavior.

As Minturn and Hitchcock (1966, p. 114) have noted in Khalapur, it was also true in Shanti Nagar that mothers discouraged children after infancy from napping or sleeping during the day. In fact mothers would awaken infants and other children who fell asleep during the day for various reasons. For example, the wife of the village tailor woke her infant of two to three months of age because she had to gather fodder and wanted to nurse the baby before doing so. The father, whose shop was in the house, then watched the baby. Another woman woke her one-and-a-half to two-year-old daughter during the afternoon when she had fallen asleep so that the child would sleep soundly during the night and not awaken the mother. This same woman became upset when a 10-year-old daughter, who was suffering from a bad cold and exhaustion, fell asleep in our quarters in the late afternoon and slept until early evening. When the mother found the girl, she shook her awake, beat, and scolded her, partially because the child had fallen asleep during the day and partly because the woman was afraid that her daughter had either wandered away from home or perhaps drowned in one of the village ponds, a particular obsession of this woman.

CLEANLINESS AND MODESTY TRAINING

Although children might play in the village ponds and sometimes take off their clothing when so doing, such nakedness was against modesty training. Mothers of small children cautioned them to stay away from the village pond for fear that they would drown; they were forbidden to bathe there, or at wells, although boys of about eight or older might help bathe water buffalo in the pond. The pond was looked on as exclusively for ani-

mals. Bathing, daily when possible, was supposed to be done at home with a pitcher of water with which one cleansed oneself, starting from the head and gradually working downward. On the average, the villagers in Shanti Nagar were clean both in their persons and in their village. The ideals of cleanliness and daily bathing were set early in life. Moreover, the bathing pattern reinforced concepts of ritual pollution; bathing from the head downward without immersing oneself in a tub was symbolic of the purity/pollution attitude toward the parts of the body. The lower parts of the body and bodily emissions were polluting; the higher parts of the body were pure. The well-known Hindu analogy of the high and low castes being comparable to the respective higher and lower parts of the body and related concepts of purity and pollution conditioned bathing practices which children learned early. The emphasis on cleanliness was such that families where the mother and children were not clean were objects of gossip and criticism.

Children started bathing themselves at about three years of age. We once saw a boy of about three-and-a-half bathing himself as a form of play. He kept on throwing water over himself for a couple of hours. In between he would pretend to grind salt with a little dish he had in which he placed earth (the pretended salt). This was woman's work but boys of this age copied their mothers from whom they were not yet separated. For special occasions, mothers supervised children's bathing or at least did the final touches.

Females were more modest than males in their toilet and bathing practices, a difference that was early trained into girls. Both males and females were expected to go to a waste spot in the fields or bushes to urinate and defecate. When females did so their bodies were always well covered by their long shirt or skirt. At this time daughters-in-law, but not daughters, covered their faces with their headcloth for modesty. Males, on the other hand, never wore headcloths and did not have to cover their faces. When males bathed, they were careful to keep their gen-

itals covered but they could expose the rest of the body. Females could expose very little of their bodies and therefore had to find a secluded place to bathe.

Males had more leeway about modesty than females which was expressed in the training stages of small boys. Boys did not have to be as modest as girls because of the belief that an immodest girl was inviting the attention of males and would come to a bad end, such as being raped. The danger was increased once a woman was married, as were the strictures of modesty rules. The rules implied that for an unmarried girl, a daughter of the village, the danger was somewhat less than for a married woman because of fictive kinship, and clan and village exogamy.

Modesty training was also reflected in children's dress. Most infants wore little shirts which barely covered their buttocks and genitals; they went without shoes while they were babies and children, although a few wealthy families had begun to put more clothes on children and to copy urban modes of dress. Thus in the village, one saw an occasional baby bonnet or an infant dressed in knitted *silwar* pants with an opening for urination and defecation. The greatest efforts in modesty training and changes in costume symbolic of modesty were found among female children. Boys simply wore a shirt and added a pair of shorts when three or four years of age. Girls began to wear panties under their shirt at the age of two or three years. When boys started school they might wear long trousers.

Modesty behavior was firmly sanctioned by mothers and other women for girls. When a four-to-five year old girl started wandering around the streets naked after her mother died, it was a strange sight. The villagers realized that the family had problems and so said nothing, but had it not stopped shortly thereafter something would have been done. In fact, a sister of the widower came to help with the family, and other arrangements were made to see that the children in the family were taken care of.

Mothers said that they strictly enforced

TABLE 1
Age (Years) at which Girls Change Costume and Hairdress by Caste

Change	CASTE OF INFORMANT						
	Brahman	Brahman	Jat	Lohar	Nai	Chamar	Chuhra
Panties	3	.5	3	2	2	2	4
Trousers and long shirt	5	8-10	6-7	7-8	6	8-9	8-9
Headcloth	8	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	9-10	12-13
Long hair	6	3	7	6	6	—	When child can comb hair

the wearing of clothes and that as the children started "putting on clothes, they became modest." Occasionally when young children lapsed, the mothers spoke to them harshly and they soon learned. By the time a girl was eight years old, she was customarily modest and might even express a desire to wear a headcloth ahead of time both for reasons of modesty and because other girls did. Boys, eight to 10 years old, also had to be modest and were cautioned not to play in the pond in the nude.

COSTUME OF CHILDREN BY SEX AND AGE

For girls, there was a sequence of changes in costume that occurred from approximately two to 12 years of age: (1) the wearing of panties under the shirt; (2) the adoption of a costume that consisted of pajama-like trousers (*silwar*) and a shirt; (3) the use of a long scarf (*dupatta*) worn over the head. The hair of a girl was allowed to grow long when she was approximately five or six years of age. Table 1 summarizes the testimony of six women, two of whom were Brahmans, regarding these changes.

This information was comparable to our observations in the village. The differences among informants depended on their age, caste, and degree of urbanization; the actual physical development of the girl was also an important factor. For example, with regard to allowing a girl to grow long hair, the Brahman informant in the second column, table 1, who reported the earliest age, was urban-

ized, young, and followed customs that she had learned in the city. She also dressed her children in "frocks," a word used in India for Western-style dresses for little girls, which were sometimes worn by small Indian girls in the City of Delhi. She had started this practice before her daughters began school; then at school age she dressed them in the *silwar*-and-shirt costume that was customary for urban and rural schoolgirls.

All the mothers who sent their girls to school or who intended to do so allowed them to have long hair before they started school or else at six or seven years of age. The Chamar Leatherworker and Chuhra Sweeper women had not yet started sending their girls to school. Therefore, the Leatherworker informant had nothing to say on this subject. The Sweeper woman indicated that she let her daughter grow her hair long when the child was able to comb it herself because as a Sweeper woman she had to work hard every day and had little time to groom her daughter.

Panties were the first modesty item of clothing. Most of the time small girls simply wore shorts similar to those of small boys. Again the modern urbanized mother dressed her daughter in panties at six months, but said that the child frequently wet them and so sometimes she left them off. Still the child wore them permanently by the time she was two to three. Three mothers, the Lohar Blacksmith, the Nai Barber, and the Chamar Leatherworker, dressed their girls in panties at the age of two, whereas one Jat and one Brahman woman did so at age three. Only

the Chuhra Sweeper waited until the child was four years old, which might have been a matter of economics. Full pajama-like trousers were an enveloping modesty-type of garment appropriate for a closely watched older girl. They were long, very full, and over them was worn a *kamiz*, a long dress-like garment partially slit on the sides that reached almost to the knees. This costume, adopted between the ages of eight to 10 years, hid most of a girl's body. Most informants indicated that the range in age was related to the size of the girl and the way she was developing physically. However, younger girls adopted this costume if they entered school between five to six years of age. All of the high-caste mothers, who hoped to send their daughters to school even if they did not succeed in so doing, dressed the girls in the *silwar* costume between five to eight years of age. The more conservative high-caste families and the poorer and low-caste families who were not educating their daughters waited until the girls were eight to 10 years of age.

As for the headcloth, one Brahman woman put it on her daughters at eight years of age; the other high-caste women did so at from 10 to 12 years of age. The later age was more consistent with the reason for putting the headcloth on a girl, for it was a sign that she was maturing physically and should no longer mingle freely with boys. The urbanized mother said that her daughter would see other girls wearing the headcloth and ask for it earlier than usual, in which case she would give it to her. The Jat woman said that some girls developed at an early age so that they wore the headcloth earlier, but that the customary age was between 10 and 12 years. The Chuhra waited the longest, possibly due to the cost of providing another article of clothing since Chuhra were poor.

HAIR STYLING AND GROOMING

Of the three adult male Nai Barbers, two worked in barbershops in the City of Delhi. The older of these two summarized the general practice in the village regarding haircutting for children. Infants and young children

had their hair clipped close to the head by the male or female Nai Barbers. Girls' and boys' hair was clipped close to the head by the male Barber every 20 days to two months, giving both sexes the same appearance. This style persisted for girls up to the age of six years, rarely older. Parents began having a girl's hair washed and set by the Nai Barber woman at least by the age of 10 years, although some families started as early as five years. Clipping remained the custom for males for a considerably longer period, sometimes until they went away to school or worked in the city, or permanently if they remained in the village. Clipping was more frequent in hot weather.

After the hair had grown, girls wore their hair parted in the middle and plaited in two braids hanging down over the shoulders. Mothers said that they had their children's hair clipped for hygienic reasons: to keep their heads free of lice and to enable them to wash their heads more easily. Wealthy families or families who were copying urban customs had the hair of a boy cut at an early age rather than clipped close to the head. Before a girl started school, a few Brahman families paid the male Barber a fee of brown sugar and wheat when the girl's hair was clipped for the last time before letting it grow long, thus marking the passage from childhood to student, or if she did not go to school, from child to young girl. Teenaged females wore their hair in a braid hanging down the back.

SOCIAL INTERACTION

Since S. Freed and R. Freed (1976, pp. 63-93) describe the structure of family and kinship together with associated role behavior, social interaction is discussed here in terms of enculturation, that is, the ways in which social interaction is learned while growing up, and in some cases the situation in which it is learned.

AFFECTION AND ATTENTION

Overt signs of affection in Shanti Nagar were directed chiefly to small children and infants. Mothers would kiss infants on the face and hug them, but would more often

show affection to toddlers. This warm, overt behavior in public ceased by the age of two to three years, after which the adult standard of behavior applied, for adults never kissed or hugged in public, whether married or not. We never saw anyone, including a mother with an infant, kiss another person on the mouth. This behavior was characterized as sexual and tabooed in public and in the presence of members of the family. Unmarried teenage girls did not display much affection to small children, perhaps because they had to act as their caretakers from an early age. Siblings older than 3 or 4 years rarely displayed affection among themselves. A teenage male or mature man might show affection to a small brother, a sister of four or five years, or young nieces and nephews. Affection was not shown overtly to boys and girls once they were old enough to go to school although relatives might be fond of the children.

Signs of affection and words of love were not a part of life among school-age or older children, either between themselves or between them and their adult relatives. A display of overt affection to small children by adults was one of the few ways that a young unmarried male could release some of his inhibitions regarding displays of affection. With regard to displays of affection, the people of Shanti Nagar seemed more inhibited than caricatures of people from the Victorian era.

Older men could be quite gentle with babies. One day at a Gola Potter household, a woman had to leave the house to collect grain in payment for a pot. When she left, her baby started crying. Its grandfather came over, wiped its face, and said "Enough, enough, we'll get some pipe bowls" (which were made by potters). The baby stopped crying immediately.

An effective technique to calm a child who had been injured was to punish the inanimate object that had caused the pain. For example, when a small girl fell and hurt herself, her mother used a stick to beat the place where she had fallen. The child then stopped crying and the mother consoled her. The

mother said that this technique was good with children.

Relatives were generally quite permissive with young children. In a family we knew well, a little girl two years old with three sisters and two brothers was given her way most of the time. She was not scolded or spanked. Whenever she cried, her mother nursed her unless she was busy, in which case one of the other children would try to distract her so that she would stop crying. Sometimes she would bite one of her sisters; when she did, they did not hit her or do anything except pull away or stay out of her reach. Whenever she wanted to be picked up, placed on a cot, or carried, her siblings generally indulged her. Her 11-year-old brother would give her attention, pat and hug her. No one said no to her or spanked her, but her mother instructed her firmly and she usually minded. Once or twice we said no to her and she would pout and sulk for a bit.

This pattern was followed until a child was about two or three years of age or until another child was born, at which time it abruptly ended. In this same family, the next to youngest child, a girl about four years old, was sadly neglected and no one in the family paid much attention to her. Perhaps the firmness with which a child was treated when she was instructed by a mother and when she was controlled by older siblings militated against a too traumatic break when the early permissive pattern ended. This persistent and implacable training pattern eventually achieved its goal.

After a child was two to three years old the training was no longer permissive. A Jat woman visiting Shanti Nagar, her village of birth, said that her son was becoming spoiled because there were only two children in the family so he received too much attention. She said a servant in the household contributed to spoiling the boy.

The transition out of the favored infant stage may not have been especially difficult for children. Parents made an effort to ease this change by having a grandparent or some older adult of the same sex as the children give them attention. For example, before the

birth of a new infant, a child might begin sleeping with one of these relatives rather than with the mother. This transition began the process of a child's separation from the mother as part of the passage from dependence to independence. It also soldered ties with the extensive kin group. Rather than classify this experience as traumatic, fostering sibling rivalry, it may be better to view it as the means by which a youngster learned that the world did not revolve around it. Further, the discontinuity provided the first step in the age-grading experience which in India is correlated with authority and respect, for individuals in India learn early that for long periods of their lives they are under the authority of their elders. A child that has been separated from its mother because of the birth of another infant may well be the elder sibling who becomes its caretaker. In a society of generally large families, each child goes through a number of stages, adjusting to changing relations with its mother and siblings as it grows older and the family becomes larger. The child thus learns a series of statuses and roles in a pattern adaptive to the social structure.

In most families, older children displayed affection to infants and small children. Sibling rivalry was most apparent between the youngest child and next older sibling. Not much was done to ease this rivalry, which was the result of the new infant's getting the attention that the next older had formerly received. If the older of the children was a boy, he would not suffer as badly as a girl. Boys tended to be surer of themselves because they learned very early that both parents valued them more highly than girls. The majority of children had siblings because parents wanted more than one child. Thus, most children underwent sibling rivalry.

Older siblings did not display affection overtly to each other. In some cases, there were open shows of rivalry between brothers and sisters who were close to each other in age, between brothers and brothers, and between sisters and sisters. In later years, brothers and sisters were considered to have great love for each other. This belief was

fostered because brothers were expected to take care of sisters, especially to give them expensive presents at marriage and regularly thereafter. These presents served to maintain family prestige, to insure the good care of a wife by her husband's family, and were, in a sense, a woman's share of the property of her natal family.

Had brothers failed in this responsibility, it is possible that some of the sisters would have sued for equal inheritance of family land under the new land inheritance laws of 1954. Despite the idealized pattern of strong affection between brother and sister, in fact, they fought when they were youngsters, and may well have fought more often in later years had they not been separated when the sister left her natal village for her husband's village at the time of her marriage.

Affection between children and parents seemed to be both inhibited and restrained although it was expressed more openly toward mothers by teenage girls, especially when they married or were going permanently to their husband's home. Small children were not particularly restrained, but mothers did not openly demonstrate affection toward their children once they were past infancy. Where fathers and children had a warm relationship, the children sometimes called the father *chacha* (father's younger brother), because this relationship was supposed to be warm, whereas the term for father implied respect. As girls grew older, they tended to be shy in speaking with their fathers; if they wanted something from them, they usually relied on their mothers to intercede for them. Girls under 12 years of age did not have this restraint.

One mother described the behavior of her children toward her and her husband: "These children are not shy. If my oldest daughter [22 years of age] is in need, she might talk with her father; otherwise she won't. She would always be careful not to say anything bad in the presence of her father or me. A girl this age usually won't talk with her father. The younger children [12 years and younger] can joke with their fa-

ther, but this girl can't because she is grown up. Her brother, 19 years old, jokes with her a lot but not in front of his father because his father is older. He, too, doesn't joke with his father; it is not right for him to joke and laugh with him because he is grown up. He can joke and laugh only with boys his own age." As youngsters approached marriageable age and early adulthood, there was greater restraint, a semi-avoidance pattern between father and daughter and a respect-deference pattern between father and son.

RESPECT, STATUS, AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

Children learned status and role behavior early through associating with a large number of relatives in the joint family or with the lineage members who lived nearby. In addition, relatives from other villages gathered to celebrate events of the life cycle. From interaction with somewhat distant relatives, family members, and people of other castes, children learned whom to respect, who was dominant, and with whom one showed affection and joked. By the time that a child was 12, he or she knew the rules. Although they often could not consciously state them, they acted them out daily. First, they recognized that males were dominant over females and that in most instances females gave way to males, except mothers with sons who were not yet grown. There was some slight ambivalence, for sons were supposed to respect their mothers. They might be fond of them, but the general attitude toward women and the fact that sons succeeded to their fathers' dominant role led them to accept the common saying that women were foolish. When mothers were skilled in human relations, their grown sons might defer to them in family affairs. The restraint-deference pattern which existed between older sons and fathers was not as much in evidence between sons and mothers.

Some sons who finished higher secondary school and went on to college found it difficult to talk with their mothers and to accord them the respect warranted by village custom. For fathers the same difficulty might

occur, but far more males were literate than females. Fathers who were nonliterate were less apt to understand sons who were attending school. Just sitting and reading seemed to them idling, something that should be done after household and farm work was finished. This attitude was illustrated by a nonliterate Chamar Leatherworker father who much preferred one of his sons who helped him in his business to the other who was more studious. Formal education led to conflicts in enculturation. Parents who were nonliterate were not as well informed as their children on some subjects, a circumstance that potentially undermined respect. To the extent that parents are significantly less educated than their children, there may be future problems with regard to obeying and respecting the authority of parents.

Respect behavior was taught early. A child was supposed to learn to respect both mother and father, to bow to them in the morning and touch their feet as though they were deities. In fact, this act was probably done only occasionally; it took place more often when a son was older and had been away for a while, but some teenage Brahman males said that they did it regularly in the morning. This show of respect appeared to be more common in Brahman and Baniya families. A woman when returning to her husband's or to her parents' home performed this show of respect to her mother-in-law or to her parents when she first greeted them. Children witnessed this behavior and in due time followed these formal procedures. Schooling was changing the behavior of low-caste as well as high-caste boys who were beginning to follow a kind of standardized Hindu etiquette imposed by the teachers.

Children of all castes were expected to defer to older siblings. In fact, this occurred primarily with those siblings who were separated by a number of years. Children also gave respect to older brothers and sisters as well as to their mothers and fathers. Children learned early that grandparents deserved respect, but it was tempered with affection because grandparents were generally indulgent and, in joint families, provided them with

more gifts, food, and attention than their parents. The grandmother might be in charge of the keys to the family food supplies. This power over access to food often resulted in strong ties of affection between her and her grandchildren. The mother's parents also provided affection for their grandchildren and were happy to have them visit along with their daughter. Such visits were a treat to both mother and children and reinforced the ties with the mother's parents.

As boys and girls grew up, they were more and more segregated for social activities from members of the opposite sex, and through this segregation became familiar with the patterns of ranking and of segregation which were a part of the values of the caste system inculcated in individuals in Shanti Nagar. Dominance, ranking, and segregation, behavior essential to the perpetuation of the caste system, were thus reflected in family and kinship. It was no wonder then, that a young girl of 12 years would draw herself up proudly before a Chuhra Sweeper man and say, "I am a Brahmani," when he did something of which she disapproved. Back of this pattern was the anxiety that if one did not follow these rules of customary behavior, one's own rank and prestige would be endangered. In Shanti Nagar, the different castes lived in close proximity, dress and appearance were similar, and differences in wealth did not entirely correspond to the ranking of castes. Caste status, therefore, depended upon a system of belief that was constantly reinforced by adherence to the rules of social interaction.

TEASING, SHAMING, BEATING, AND CRUELTY

Adults used teasing, shaming, and physical punishment to train and discipline children. Parents had the right to hit, spank, or beat children. Fathers did not generally discipline small children physically, but as boys grew older fathers could and did beat them. Fathers would physically punish daughters only for grave offenses. Boys were often beaten with sticks. This custom was fol-

lowed by schoolmasters. Any adults might reprimand children by slapping or rapping them on their head or hands with their knuckles.

Shaming was handled differently for boys and girls. Older boys might be shamed by their father, sometimes publicly. Older male relatives or caste members might also discipline boys. The public shaming of girls from the age of 12 onward was never observed, but mothers watched them closely and admonished them whenever they did anything considered unseemly or did not carry out their share of household and field work. An older sister might correct a younger brother, but boys past the age of 12 years were more often disciplined or reprimanded by their father or another adult male in the family or lineage.

Teasing began early among siblings. Parents teased very small children, then older siblings learned the custom and used it both as a form of fun among themselves and as a means of expressing hostility against their siblings. Although children within a family fought among themselves as well as with other children, they were usually reprimanded by an adult for doing so. Within a family, therefore, they often resorted to teasing, biting, pinching, or scratching in a way which might not be noticed by adults.

A form of teasing was seen occasionally between an elderly male and a small boy—never a small girl. For example, an old man might play with a small boy by tickling the child to try to get the boy to hug him. Some small boys seemed to like to play with their grandfathers, especially if they had been put to sleep with them when the mother had a new infant and if the grandfather had a pleasant disposition. But if the man did not usually play with the child or if the child was afraid of him, then the child was reluctant to hug him. Tickling was a form of teasing and children often did not like it, so that it was not a very successful means of obtaining affection from them. However, when adult males simply played with boys, they would laugh and play in return.

Uncles and great-uncles were more apt to

display affection overtly to children than was a father. Different males commented that it was always this way. Men loved their brothers' children. Their affection could be more openly displayed because they did not have to discipline the boys if they were bad. A boy's respect for his father restrained a display of affection between father and son. The relationship between father and son, however, was not always as stringent and certainly not as unaffectionate as described by Carstairs (1958, pp. 45, 67-70).

Another relationship in which teasing took place was between a small boy and his older brother's wife. In one Chamar family, for example, a bride, 15 years of age, had some young brothers-in-law who kept her company and teased her about becoming her husband someday, as they had junior levirate rights. This sort of teasing-joking behavior was acceptable and everyone enjoyed it. Since the boys were young, the new wife, who was lonesome for her own brothers and sisters, could accept and enjoy their company and teasing.

Teasing sometimes masked an attempt to gain the attention of a person and at the same time was a means of displaying affection or at least interest which ordinarily might not be displayed in other ways. On the other hand, teasing-shaming expressed aggression and hostility. Between siblings it was a demonstration of sibling rivalry of which the youngsters were unaware. In a few instances of teasing of young boys under five by old men, an element of sadism seemed present. An example of the latter was witnessed between a small boy of four and his grandfather's brother, a man of about 50 who had no children. This man would tease, tickle, and try to get the boy to hug him in a way that was a form of minor torture to the child who was uncomfortable, squirmed, and tried to elude his tormentor. The man could not gain the attention of his sisters-in-law in the joint household in which he lived because of conflicts within the joint family so he attempted to obtain affection and attention from the child. At the same time, he may have been letting out his suppressed hostility

to the adult family members against the child.

The interactions between a number of siblings on one occasion better illustrate many of the aspects of teasing as a means of displaying hostility, affection, and in particular sibling rivalry. One hot evening a family of six children, one brother 12 years of age and five sisters ranging in age from 22 to two years, were sitting on the roof near our house. The 11-year-old girl, who usually was quiet, was in a perky mood and was teasing her older sister of 22, who had slapped her during the day. The older sister did not take teasing very well and was upset by it. The younger girl was clearly taking her revenge for the slapping incident.

The conversation veered to a younger sister, six years of age, who had just started school. We asked if the teacher beat her when she was naughty. The answer was "no," but that the teacher said she was a "dirty girl" and made her stand in the corner. "Dirty girl" had a connotation of doing something that one should not do in school. The subject caused the oldest sister to become angry and she gave the 11-year-old girl a hard whack between her shoulder blades. When the girl started to cry, the mother reprimanded them all and said, "Why must you fight when we're having a pleasant conversation."

Earlier we had asked the children which one of the sisters they liked best. The oldest girl and the six-year-old girl said that they liked the baby best. The brother and sister, 12 and 11 years of age, said that they liked all. One four year old, who had not yet overcome her sibling rivalry toward the baby said that she did not know. Then they all joked about how plump the baby was and that she ate all of the time—eight pieces of bread a day.

There followed a little competition when we asked about the songs sung by village women on the occasions of births and marriages. The 11-year-old girl, who was quite bright, said she knew all of the songs and would sing them to us. Then the 22-year-old and six-year-old girl wanted to sing also.

They said that even the baby knew some of the songs.

After the singing, the mother, the youngest girls, and the boy went downstairs to bed. The two sisters who had been involved in the teasing and whacking remained. The oldest girl was unhappy about having hit her younger sister, but she said that she was justified in doing so because the latter should treat her with respect because she was older. When she did not do so, she was supposed to hit her. After this explanation, she went downstairs; finally the 11-year-old went too. No further words were exchanged between the two sisters.

This family interaction deserves further explanation. Of the two sisters involved, the 11-year-old was the brighter and apparently realized it. The 22-year-old sister was married but was staying in her natal village and had not gone permanently to her husband for a number of reasons. There was a great deal of village gossip about the girl. She was dark and neglected her physical appearance so that the term "dirty girl" disturbed her because of her difficult situation. The younger sister was aware of her sister's problems. When they did not get along, she defended herself by teasing her older sister in terms that she knew would hurt.

These interactions between siblings underline the use of teasing-shaming techniques between siblings who hold different positions in their family pecking order due to age and sex. The 11-year-old sister used the technique to retaliate to the physical punishment imposed by the oldest sister, which in turn caused the oldest sister to hit her next younger sister again. Although her subliminal anger was because of the gossip about her in the community, it was directed against the 11-year-old sister, her overt tormentor upon whom she could impose physical punishment. When the subject arose as to which of the sisters was the best liked, all siblings preferred the youngest except the sister closest to her in age. Her answer that she did not know whom she liked caused discomfort among the other children so they joked about the baby eating all of the time. By referring

to the amount of food eaten, they may have subconsciously recognized that in a family of many children, mainly girls, not only was there less food for all but the next youngest to an infant could no longer be indulged in her eating proclivities. This shift of indulgence had occurred for all the siblings except the boy with the arrival of each new infant. In the singing of songs, all the girls competed with each other except the next to youngest who had not yet learned this pattern of behavior to channel aggression toward the baby, her usurper. The behavior of the boy is noteworthy, for he did not compete with or tease any of his sisters. As a son among many daughters, he was highly valued and his position was so secure that he had not encountered the more severe trauma experienced by the next youngest sister to an infant. As a male he did not sing songs sung by females.

FRIENDSHIP

Friendship among children tended to replicate the patterns of friendship found among adults (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, pp. 118-120). Girls generally played with girls even at an early age except for occasions when they played with brothers or male cousins within or near their own dwelling. As both sexes grew older, they played apart. Girls did not venture as far from their houses as did boys so that they tended to play with girls in their own family or with girls who lived in the immediate vicinity of their home. Often they were restricted to playing with castemates because houses close together generally belonged to members of the same caste. However, interspersed between Brahman and Jat households were households of the Bairagi, Lohar, Jhinvar, and Nai castes. Their children played with both Brahman and Jat children. Small children of the Mali Gardener caste, represented by one family, lived at the outskirts of the village and seldom interacted with other castes. On the side of the village where most of the low castes lived, the Chhipi children played with Jat and Gola Potter children; the Chamar children played almost

entirely within their compound, as did also the Chuhra children. These restrictions were for small children whose mothers watched them.

On the other hand, as the boys of all castes grew older, especially those who went to school, they played together. In the age range of nine to fourteen years, boys from the following castes were observed walking and playing together: Brahman, Jat, Nai, Gola Kumhar, Chamar, but not the Chuhra. The Chuhra seemed the most excluded from social interaction with other castes. The pattern generally seemed to be that on-going relationships, which sometimes became friendships, were either within the same caste or between castes who were thrown together because they lived nearby or between boys who attended school together.

Because girls had not yet started to attend school in great numbers and because of the greater restrictions on them, they generally did not form friendships with castes who did not live in their immediate vicinity. There were, however, five girls who together attended school in a village some miles away. Three were Jats, one a Brahman, and one a Nai; they were friends as a result of this daily interaction.

As girls grew older, whether or not they attended school, they tended to chat and gossip when they went to the fields to work. In fact, a number of girls who worked in adjoining fields, if they were on friendly terms, would arrange to go there together. When song sessions were held, these girls would go together and would be the active singers. When one of them married, or when one of them had a brother who married, they would attend the various ceremonies of the wedding.

After these girls married, they would get together in their village of birth with their unmarried friends when they visited their parents. Unfortunately, these reunions were short-lived, and, as time went on, few and far between. Girls were married into many different villages, and only rarely would they visit their natal village at the same time as their girlhood friends. Only occasionally would two friends be married into the same

village. Most women could not write and had no means of keeping in touch with friends in other villages; they might not see each other for years once they were married. Thus, for females, there was a discontinuity in friendship. Their early friendships were formed in their parents' village and might fade away with marriage; their later friendships would be formed in their husbands' villages. Males, on the other hand, reported friendships formed in their childhood that lasted for life (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, pp. 118–119).

PLAY

A series of cultural activities seems ultimately rooted in the organic play impulses, which are most developed in the young of mammals—especially among the carnivores and the primates. These cultural activities include, first of all of course, organized games and sports of all kinds; in addition, such expressions of play and relaxation and humor as may be more loosely standardized in the folkways. Definitely to be included, as nourished at least partly from the same organic root, are science and the arts and fashion—the sciences and arts perhaps more so in proportion to fashion as they are less colored by utilitarian purposes. (Kroeber, 1948, pp. 390–391)

The subject of play as a research concern has been relatively recent, occurring in this century. Norbeck (1971, p. 48; 1976, p. 1) attributes this lack of scholarly interest in play to the Protestant Ethic and its negative influence or sanctions against enjoyment, pleasure, or doing something simply for its own sake. One of the earliest studies of play was carried out by Köhler among chimpanzees at the Anthropoid Station at Tenerife from 1913–1917 (Köhler, 1948, pp. vii, 311–316). In 1944, Huizinga published *Homo ludens* which together with Kroeber's (1948, pp. 28–29, 60–61, 355–357, 390–391, 579) discussions of play stimulated an appreciation of the importance of this activity, not only among non-human primates but also among human beings. Others contributing to the study of play have been Piaget, Caillois, and Sutton-Smith (Mouledoux, 1976, pp. 38–43). Recent studies of play as a subject of anthropological concern led to the formation of

the Association for the Anthropological Study of Play (Salter, 1976, p. v).

There is a variety of ideas contained in the concept of play. The word, play, in English has 15 or more definitions and subdefinitions, verbs and nouns. Hindi, an Indo-European language, as is English, similarly has a number of related meanings for the concept (Morris, 1969, p. 1005; Pathak, 1946, pp. 265, 963). The most general ideas behind the word are entertainment, amusement, recreation, and to some extent a nonseriousness of purpose. These general ideas do not indicate the probable significance of play in the development of culture or the individual or in the inventiveness of the human species. Nor do these terms indicate that the play forms of children appear to be rudimentary to those achieved in maturity, all of which are characteristics attributed to play (Mouledoux, 1976, pp. 40–42).

Norbeck (1971, p. 48) states:

For all forms of life, play may be defined as voluntary, pleasurable behavior that is separated in time from other activities and that has a quality of make-believe. Play thus transcends ordinary behavior. Human play differs uniquely from that of other species, however, because it is molded by culture, consciously and unconsciously. That is, human play is conditioned by learned attitudes and values that have no counterpart among nonhuman species.

More recently Norbeck (1976, p. 7) indicates that no consensus exists with regard to what is included in play. From our point of view, Kroeber's definition of play, quoted above, has most influenced the analysis of play in Shanti Nagar, but we agree with others who have tried to define play, or the subfield of sport, that research on play is best served by a broad definition. Kroeber's definition as a working definition deserves attention, for it incorporates the cultural, psychological, and biological aspects of human beings, and their close relatives the nonhuman primates, thus placing play in the realm of anthropology and the behavioral sciences.

Various categories or types of play have been proposed. For example, Roger Caillois uses four basic types: competition, chance, vertigo, and mimicry; Piaget has used the

category of exercise play (Mouledoux, 1976, pp. 39, 42). These categories fit into Sutton-Smith's (1971) more comprehensive categories of play: imitative, exploratory, testing, and model building. These four types will be applied to the play situations found in Shanti Nagar, which we regard as part of the process of enculturation.

IMITATIVE

Imitative play usually begins with the parent imitating a small child; then the child imitates the parent. Later the child imitates other people without the parent stimulating the imitative play. Sutton-Smith has defined stages of imitative play by the ages of children; but since his stages are derived from studies of American children, we have abstracted the main characteristics of the development of imitative play in a manner applicable to Shanti Nagar. Imitative play begins in early infancy, consisting of the repetition of sounds and movements. As the child grows older and better able to control these sounds and movements, this play is more readily initiated by the child. However, the child continues to learn by copying parents and siblings, then others. Since parents and older siblings in many societies are authority figures, the child in imitative play comes to abide by these authority figures (Sutton-Smith, 1971, pp. 55–56). In general, these characteristics of imitative play apply to the children of Shanti Nagar.

In Shanti Nagar imitative play was most often initiated by mothers, later by other adults and siblings. Mothers provided gestures and noises for small infants to imitate in the earliest stages of learning. This type of play inculcated learned patterns of behavior in a child through rhyming, patting, repetition, and acts copied from the child's observation of sleeping, eating, and washing—the last three of which are basic to socialization. Many of these acts were learned within the family or through those kin most often encountered. Our information on the earliest imitative play is limited. Such data may best be collected by watching a series of infants from birth onward and photograph-

ing the processes of imitative play introduced by the mother or mother surrogates. It was not possible to gather such detailed data given the orientation of our field study, that is, urbanization, and the length of time which would have been necessary to study all aspects of child rearing. For imitative play, however, we have three examples.

The first two examples are counting rhymes and patting, both repetitive. Counting rhymes were used by adults with infants and small children. The following counting rhyme, also, employed the device of tickling. The repetition of terms provided reinforcement for learning the sounds and lexicon of the language, for realizing there were five digits on the hand, for learning the terms of kinship in one's family of orientation, and for learning the products of the cow—important in the Hindu religion and in a dairy and grain economy. The rhyme went as follows:

The mother said:

“The cow was lost.

Here the cow was tied.

The nail is for the cow (refers to thumb of right hand of infant which the mother holds)

This is for the father, (index finger)

This is for the mother, (middle finger)

This is for the brother, (ring finger)

This is for the sister.” (little finger)

The mother then touched the ridge of her palm and said,

“Fair cow, here the cow gives milk.”

She touched the wrist of the child on whom she was counting the rhyme and said:

“Here the cow gives dung.”

She touched the forearm of the child and said, “Here the cow gives urine.”

Then she reached under the armpit of the child, tickled it, and said,

“Here we have found the cow.”

The cow comes first in the hierarchy of importance; thereafter the members of the nuclear family are listed in order of importance. However, at the beginning, the cow is lost and the nail to which the cow was tied is counted first (the thumb). At the end the cow is found. In between counting the members of the family and the products of the cow, the mother touched the ridge of her

own palm to indicate that the cow gave milk. By using her own palm, the analogy to herself giving milk was expressed. For the rest of the counting (fingers representing the members of the family and the other products of the cow) the child's right hand and arm were used. When the mother started with the products of the cow, although all the products of the cow are considered to be pure, the analogy from lower to higher was drawn in contrast to the immediately preceding ranking of the cow and the members of the nuclear family which progressed from higher to lower. Thus, the cow gives dung at the wrist, urine at the forearm, and the cow herself is found at the armpit of the child, the highest part of the arm. The tickling and the repetitious patting or tapping to emphasize each item reinforced the child's memory for the sounds and meanings. This counting rhyme emphasized ranking based on sex, kinship, age, and purity, all of which were important in the culture.

The second imitative example, a palm-patting, counting rhyme, emphasized the importance of one's mother's brother in providing gifts at festivals and life-cycle events, and taught the child the role of the mother's brother and the terms for important material products of culture, such as food, clothing, and money. It went like this:

We are enjoying the curd,

Mother's brother brought parched rice and sugar candy.

Then there was a string of lines describing what the mother's brother brought: money, clothing, assorted foods, occasionally toys, or whatever the festival or rite of passage demanded.

The final example of purely imitative play characterizes a small child's observation and copying of adult acts, in this case washing. Children early observed the washing of animals, other children, and themselves. A boy of three to four years old was seen trying to wash a calf. He had a container of water, poured a few drops on the calf, and then rubbed the water over the animal. Fortu-

nately, the calf was very young and docile. As an imitation of an adult washing an animal or a mother bathing an infant, the child's play served as training for later tasks that involved cleanliness so that an element of model-building play was present.

In lieu of toys which few children possessed, children would play with animals, just as the little boy washed the calf. One day we witnessed a group of children watching a pigeon who could not fly because of an injury. They tried to help it fly and were very gentle with it. When they found it would not fly, they fed it some gram and other grains. This play might be classified as imitative, trying to have the pigeon do what it is supposed to do, fly; or it might be considered exploratory, seeing whether the pigeon would fly if they helped it.

Children did not display brutality to animals any more than did most adults. Both males and females were fond of their cows and water buffalo. Families with dogs generally did not kick or beat them. Although men were supposed to beat their wives and children to discipline them, beating people unjustly or excessively and hurting and killing animals were not acceptable in the village's value system. Children aged 10 to 12 years expressed beliefs that indicated killing animals was a sin. This attitude was village-wide although there were individual and caste exceptions. The Chuhra Sweepers, for example, killed and ate animals—fish, pigeons, pigs; and a few Jat Farmers were known for hunting and killing wild animals and for excessive cruelty.

The village children had few toys although villagers purchased some in the markets of towns and cities. Usually toys were sent as gifts to the children of one's daughters. When such gifts were about to be sent, the villagers might display them. Most of these toys were dolls or very simple gifts such as a toy cart, but never any games which might teach different skills. Toys were generally used in imitative play.

Children would sometimes make their own toys out of a clay dish or pot. For example, one small boy and his sister took a round

clay dish and inserted a string into a hole in the dish to pull it along behind them. They called it a train. Mothers sometimes made dolls out of bits of cloth or paid to have them made by women in the village. When a family sent a gift of dolls to a daughter's child in her husband's village, the family purchased the dolls from women skilled in making them rather than having the daughter's mother make them from rags. In turn, daughters-in-law in Shanti Nagar received similar dolls for their children.

EXPLORATORY

Independence training very probably starts with two types of play, imitative and exploratory. Early independence training occurred in Shanti Nagar at about the age of one-and-a-half to two years when small children first began to move around and later pulled themselves erect to walk and explore their environment. At this time, older siblings attempted to involve them in simple forms of play, sometimes teasing them, usually in fun rather than in a hostile manner. A child generally had greater opportunity for exploratory play when its mother bore another infant. Then the child was left in the care of older siblings who carried it around with them, allowed it to observe their own play, or played with it depending on the circumstances. Exploratory and imitative play also occurred when a child was alone. Although we observed a few instances of play by a single child, most probably every child by the age of one-and-a-half to two years had moments of exploratory and imitative play.

Exploratory play in its inception is so simple that it is difficult to observe and record. Although exploration should be separated from exploratory play, it is not a simple matter to do so. Moreover, exploration, necessary for the development of independence in a child, is closely linked to exploratory play. The first kinds of exploratory play may be observed when an infant becomes aware of its body and begins to explore it; this kind of exploration may later be turned to animals, other children, and adults. It eventually

leads an infant to make distinctions between animate and inanimate objects and between animals and humans. The foregoing examples of imitative play with the calf, the pigeon, and the imitative-inventive play with the "train" demonstrated a degree of exploratory play.

When children of one to two years begin to walk and talk, they experiment with these new activities. When they find that by making specific sounds they can obtain specific, predictable responses, they repeat the sounds, and no doubt listen for additional sounds in order to elicit additional responses which please them. Finding that they can move around by themselves, they then explore all kinds of places that they could only look at before learning to move around and then walk. They sometimes try to see how far they can go—often to escape their caretakers. In Shanti Nagar when children of one-and-a-half to two years of age were left by themselves, they pulled themselves up stairways, tried to climb upon beds and go through open doors, and gradually succeeded in these activities. When they could stand erect and walk, they even went to the edge of roofs and looked down. We were the only persons who seemed disturbed by these exploratory activities of two-year-old children on roof tops. By such explorations, children tested their taste, smell, touch, motility, and noise-making ability.

Another type of exploratory play was sexual. We once observed a small boy, 18 months old, who was asleep on a cot in a room in which the males of the household were sitting and talking together. There were many flies on the sleeping child's face, but no one paid any attention to him. Another Jat from a closely related household came in, saw the boy, and spread a cloth over him to protect him from the flies. Shortly thereafter the boy awoke and began to play with his penis. Two of the men, one of whom was the stepfather of the child, remarked on what the child was doing but said nothing to him. An older boy would have learned not to play with his sexual organ, and if he did so, would have been admonished and told to stop.

There was a taboo on masturbation because of both Sanatan Dharma and Arya Samaj injunctions against wasting semen. Saraswati's influence was puritanical and Victorian; he said:

Male and female students should avoid wine, flesh, scents, garlands, metallic medicines, company of opposite sex, all acids, violence to creatures, rubbing the parts of the body and unnecessarily touching the sexual organs, the use of collyrium in the eye, shoes, umbrella, lust, anger, greed, attachment, fear, sorrow, jealousy, malice, dance, vocal and instrumental music, gambling, prattling, and recrimination, lying gazing at opposite sex, dependence and injury to others. They should always sleep singly, and should not allow their vital fluid to flow out. If a man wastes his semen through lust, he brings to naught his vow of Brahmacharya. (Saraswati, 1956, p. 76)

In all probability, not many villagers had read this passage, but the taboo on masturbation after infancy and early childhood was strong. (For a discussion of the influence of the Arya Samaj in Shanti Nagar, see R. Freed and S. Freed, 1962, pp. 269–270; 1966, pp. 675–677.) Carstairs (1958, pp. 72, 263) found that his male informants in Rajasthan masturbated when they were children, but did so secretly because they knew masturbation was strongly disapproved by their elders.

Genital play between girls was also tabooed. For example, when a girl of six thought no one was around, she encouraged her two-year-old sister to rub her stomach and sexual organs through her clothing. The older girl giggled and the younger was encouraged by the giggling. When a married sister came on the scene, they stopped abruptly.

TESTING

Exploratory play often leads to testing play, that is, seeing how much and what one can do with one's body, speech, and mind. Much of testing play among children is at first kinesic, but it also includes games and sports. As a result, testing play may be com-

petitive. Many games involve the interaction of a group of children so that through these interactions children gain an understanding of social relations (Sutton-Smith, 1971, pp. 56–58).

The testing of abilities is a means of learning muscular coordination and may become a kind of competitive play between children. One child tests its competence against the skill of other children. This testing usually occurs in games, such as hide-and-seek and tag. Such games are categorized as approach-avoidance play and are part of learning different types of social interaction. Approach-avoidance games not only teach social interaction but also control or channel aggression. When these games are played by both sexes together, they provide the beginnings of male and female adult behavior, sexual and otherwise. For example, females may be chased by males, or vice versa, sometimes with different skills and methods of approach and avoidance.

The most characteristic approach-avoidance game played in Shanti Nagar was a form of hide-and-seek. It was observed in families where children of both sexes could play together up to the age of about 12 to 14 years.

The game started with counting to determine who was "It." The child who was "It" hid its eyes and counted while the others ran off to hide. When the counting was finished, some players may not have reached a hiding place so "It" tried to tag them. Usually the smallest children were caught first because they could not run fast enough to hide in time. When older boys, 10 to 14 years, played outside of the family, they were more evenly matched so that the game provided them with the opportunity to test their motor skills and ingenuity in finding hiding places. Outside of the family, girls of 10 years were not supposed to play hide-and-seek with boys, but some girls continued to play until their parents caught them doing so and admonished them. Since girls of 10 years were at the age when their fathers might arrange marriages for them and since males in their village were tabooed for this purpose, the

prevention of these approach-avoidance games was necessary. As girls grew older, they sometimes would rough-and-tumble with other girls in the fields. This play closely resembled wrestling and might occasionally occur between castes.

Boys between the ages of six to 14 years often played together in groups based on adjacent living quarters or on age and school grade. Much of this play was relatively unstructured and might be made up as they played. They would tag one another, run and chase, trip one another, test each other at tree climbing, and run in and out of courtyards providing that they did not disturb adults. By the ages of 10 through 14 years, boys preferred to play away from their homes so that their parents would not stop their play to see that they studied or worked.

Kabaddi, a game played by boys ranging from approximately 11 years upward and by teenage males, could be quite rough. It was an approach-avoidance game. A player of one team advanced into the territory of the opposing team and tried to touch someone and return to his own territory before the defenders could capture him. This game involved intercaste interaction and contact, for members of all castes played together (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, pp. 107, 116, 137).

MODEL BUILDING

Sutton-Smith (1971, p. 58) states that model-building play is difficult to observe in small children but that it becomes obvious about four years of age when children play "house," have tea parties, build with blocks, and act out scenes with trucks and in cities. Model-building employs elements of childhood experience which children put together using their imagination. This "putting together" is the basis for later adult planning. Thus, model-building play consists of previous experiences imitated or acted out and put together, often in fantasy or story form. It may consist of games or sports which require imitation, testing-competition, and planning in a strategic sense, such as card playing, checkers, chess, or in Shanti Nagar,

pachisi. Model-building play characteristically uses abstract building blocks from the cultural setting. Such building blocks would include the formulation of different groups as a result of observing them or of membership in them, in particular the acting out of episodes of family life, of life-cycle rites such as marriage ceremonies, of festivals, of political and economic activities, and of events observed in school or community.

Although men played pachisi, a strategic gambling game, no children were ever seen playing it. Boys of varied ages would watch the men while they played in open courtyards, and no doubt themselves learned to play by watching (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, fig. 14). The boys, following their fathers, would as young adults play in mixed caste groups. Games such as this, played outdoors, allowed for mixed caste activities, just as working in the fields did. Children were never observed playing cards and probably did not own any, as they had little or no money with which to buy cards.

These games of strategy and risk—pachisi and cards—were not played by women. Unlike boys, girls did not watch men playing although they might pass through the courtyard where the men sat playing. There were a number of reasons why females were not encouraged to play these games. First, they would have had to mix with males in social interaction at the adult level, which was not permitted. Second, females were considered to be unable to think on the same level as males, so males did not believe they would be able to learn these games. If females had learned to play them skillfully, the cultural myth about women having “little brains” would have been jeopardized. A third possible reason reflects a double standard in village life. The men were the primary advocates of puritanical and Victorian ethics, especially those of the Arya Samaj, but often their advocacy was in terms of women. For example, men believed that if women were idle and were allowed to have mirrors and lipstick they would come to a bad end. They were against gambling, drinking, and the cinema. Some men, however, who went to the City of Delhi engaged in these activities; but

men still said that if women went to the cinema, they would see behavior that would encourage them to be bad. Playing cards or pachisi would be harmful because women's characters were weak and they were foolish.

With the spread of education to females and probably the gradual incorporation of women into the urban job market, the present division of game-playing activities may change. The types of games that men played were adaptive for the skills they needed as agriculturalists and workers in the city, as well as in the political activities of the village. With education for both sexes and all castes, other games will probably be added to the roster of activities for children of both sexes to prepare them for an adult world which, for most of them, would be more complex than the world of their parents.

Girls younger than 10 years of age played with little rag dolls dressed like their mothers in a wide skirt, shirt, and headcloth. We observed a group of four girls and one boy, living in contiguous houses, who were playing with three dolls dressed in adult female costumes. The children ranged downward in age from eight to three or four years. All but one child were Brahmans; the other, a four-year-old girl, was a Bairagi Beggar. These children customarily played together. Two of the Brahman Priest children were real sisters; the other boy and girl were classificatory siblings.

One child began the play by saying, “The doll is going to get married.” Another child replied that she was preparing tea and announced that when it was ready she would serve the people present. The children combined a number of marriage rituals in one and did not follow the normal sequence of events. They gave the dolls ritual oil baths which occur before a wedding, at which time two of the children sang the appropriate song for this occasion. The Bairagi girl then put the headcloth on the doll to indicate that she was a wife. Then they all had tea and stopped playing for a while.

The final scene consisted of the principal wedding ceremony, the circumambulation of the sacred fire. They placed two dolls on top of a little brick house representing the wed-

ding pavilion and fireplace, which bride and groom circle. The children then tried to recite the *Gayatri Mantra* (the well-known Vedic prayer to the Sun used in daily worship and at ceremonies). They were able to repeat the first three words, but the rest of the hymn was garbled.

When the children realized we were observing them, they invited us to the ceremony. One girl offered us a sweet; a younger child told us that the clothes (the bride's trousseau and gifts to her conjugal affines) were inside the house. The youngest child said there were four dolls, instead of three. The doll who was to be married belonged to the leader of the group who named it after her mother and said that she was beautiful and five years old. (The child's mother and grandmother had both been married at that early age.) This girl's sister then identified one of the other dolls as Dhan Putti, a common female name. Although our intrusion on the scene broke up the play session, it revealed to us the potential for studying the model-building type of doll play.

DOLL-PLAY SESSIONS

From the observation of the children playing with dolls, we decided to set up a modest program of doll-play sessions. In the analysis of the doll-play data, we have made use of the following studies: the doll play of Pilaga Indian children analyzed by Jules Henry and Zunia Henry (1974, 1948, 1944); Levy's (1939) study of doll-play situations and sibling rivalry among children; Roheim's (1941) doll-play sessions with children on Normanby Island; Ritchie's (1957, pp. 105-159) description and analysis of doll play in cultural context; and Landy's (1960) experiences with doll play among the Puerto Rican children of Valle Cana. We set up our play situation in order to avoid some of the problems and criticisms that previous such studies had encountered. For example, we did not use plasticine or detachable parts for sexual or other parts of the bodies of dolls in order to avoid stimulation of the children's imaginations. We allowed any children who

wandered into the play room to play with the dolls, and we tried to avoid any stimulation or skewing of their play by our activities.

We were primarily interested in what the activities of the children told us about their culture and enculturation; we were only secondarily interested in psychological or psychoanalytical findings regarding the children. Due to the relatively few children participating, the short time during which we conducted these sessions, and the few sessions per individual child, in-depth analysis of the data from the psychological point of view is limited since we are not trained psychoanalysts. However, it was apparent that in the sessions children displayed aggression, competitiveness, hostility, and compulsiveness in some of their activities, and that there was a fair amount of anxiety and tension during some of the play sessions. There were indices of orality, sibling rivalry, the Oedipus complex, and the normal curiosity of children about anatomy.

For doll-play sessions, we had a number of rag dolls made by the Chhipi Dyer woman (figs. 4-6). There were four large dolls representing adults, two dressed as males, one in a dhoti, the traditional dress of the agriculturalists in the village, and one in trousers, the dress of males who commuted to work in the city; the other two large dolls were dressed as females, one in the traditional skirt, and the other in the more modern *silwar* suit. These four dolls depicted adults of older and younger generations which could and were readily so identified by the children, but the youngsters were flexible in using the dolls to represent members of their families or the various actors delineated in group sessions.

Four small dolls were dressed as children. Two males were in trousers, usually worn by boys; and two females were dressed in skirts, not customarily worn by children. However, the dolls were so small that the Chhipi Dyer woman found it easier to provide the females with skirts rather than *silwar*. In any case, the children distinguished between adults and children because of size and recognized the sexes because of costume. In some play situations, when a child

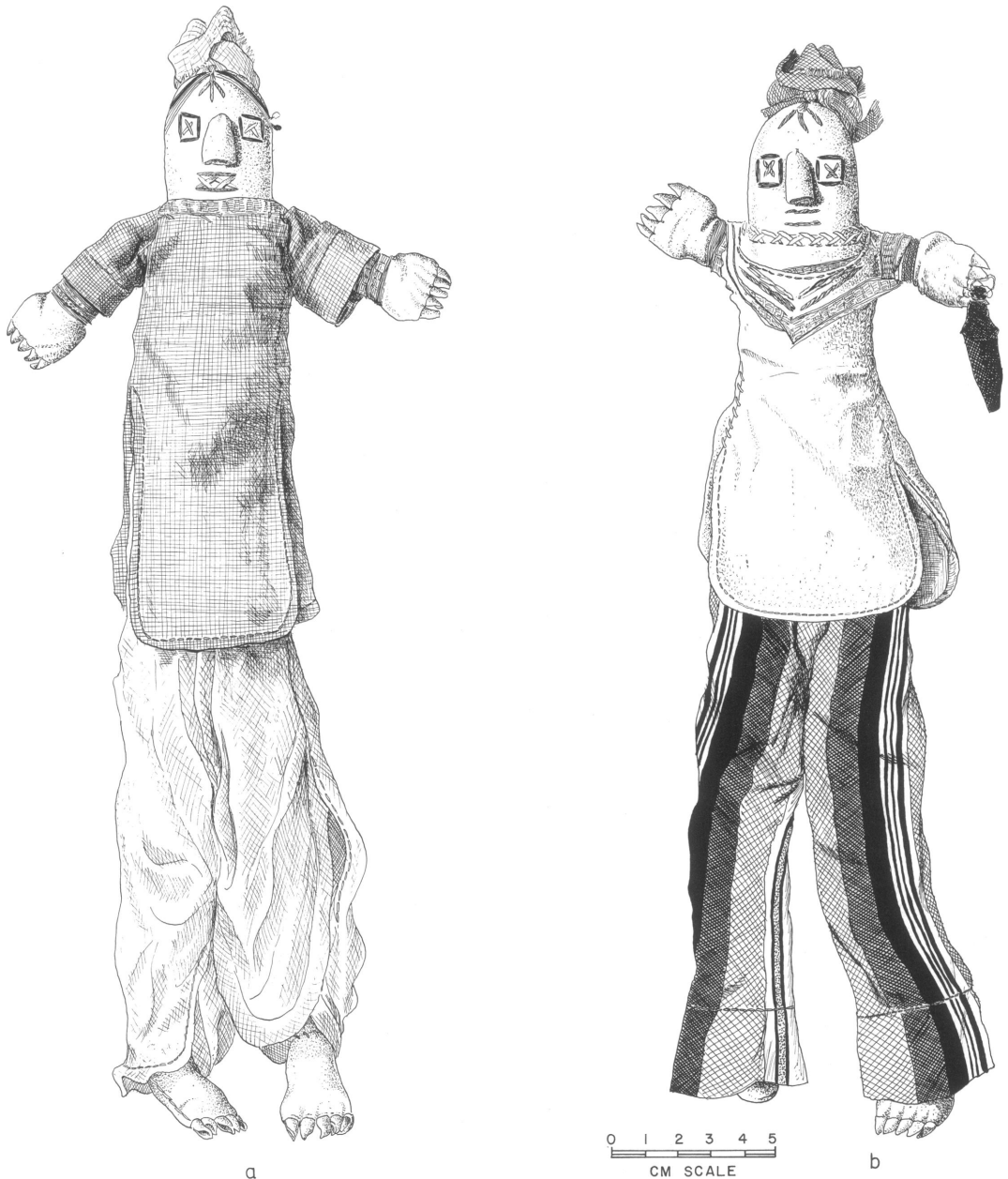


FIG. 4. Dolls representing adult males used in doll-play sessions. The doll at left (a) wears the traditional village costume of dhoti, shirt, and turban. The doll at right (b) wears trousers, shirt, and turban and carries a bag.

had more siblings of one or the other sex than there were representative dolls, the child chose any one of the four small dolls

to represent the sex needed and so indicated in the play session.

Because of the criticisms which were



FIG. 5. Dolls representing adult females used in doll-play sessions. The doll at left (a) wears the skirt, shirt, headcloth, and anklets of the older traditional woman. The doll at right (b) wears the more modern *silwar*, shirt, and headcloth generally associated with younger females. Both dolls have a braid at the back of the head (not visible in the illustration) and are embellished with nose ornaments.

leveled at the Henrys' (1944) study of Pilaga Indian children, the dolls presented to the

children in Shanti Nagar were rag dolls, the bodies of which had no biological sexual fea-



CM SCALE

FIG. 6. Doll representing a girl dressed in a skirt, shirt, and headcloth. Girls more frequently wore *silwar* than skirts.

tures with one exception; the Chhipi Dyer woman was a realistic artist so she formed small breasts on the adult female dolls and emphasized them with ornaments. Since children were accustomed to seeing the breasts of nursing mothers every day, we observed no effects in the play sessions resulting from this bodily feature, other than the children's identification of the dolls with breasts as mothers. Children tended to recognize sex based on costume. The tailor woman provided additional details of costume which stimulated the children's imagination. For example, the females wore the proper ornaments of married women as well as headcloths. The male who wore the dhoti wore a turban; the gentleman with trousers carried a bag in his hand, characteristic of men who commuted to the City of Delhi and who often brought home items purchased in the markets. All of these details attracted the interest of the children, and girls in particular commented on the details of dress and jewelry worn by the adult female dolls, indicating their knowledge of clothing and ornament.

We prepared a separate room for doll play. The floor was covered with a mat and the dolls were spread out on it. To these items, we added a set of tin doll dishes and one large, blunt knife.

Our female assistant, Uma Mehra, who had an M.A. in psychology, had worked for a psychiatrist in the City of Delhi conducting doll-play sessions with children. We provided her with background reading on doll-play studies by anthropologists and explained that the play sessions were experimental and that we were more interested in what they would reveal culturally than in the psychological profile of any one child. We instructed her to let the children play together or separately with the dolls, dishes, and the knife. She was not to discipline them, comment, or show any visible emotions; she was to efface herself and keep her personality out of the session as much as possible. If the children entered the room, looked at the dolls, and just stood, she could tell them that they could play with the dolls and other items. If the children started to pick up the knife and

strike the dolls but hesitated, she could tell them that they could do so. During the play, she recorded verbatim what was said in Hindi and as much detail as possible of their physical activities. Later she translated the sessions. At first one or the other of us sat with her and recorded sessions. Later the sessions were done solely by Uma Mehra because the children became so accustomed to her presence that they tended to ignore her during the play.

Although the room was not entered by most of our visitors, the effect of other adults on the children was worth noting. If adults from the village came into the room or stood at the threshold of it, the children repressed their activities, especially if they were inspecting the limbs and bodies of the dolls underneath their clothing. This repression seldom occurred when we or the research assistant were present during the sessions. The children occasionally watched what we would do in regard to their activities, but once they found out that they could do as they wanted and that we did not seem to pay attention, they tended to ignore us. Their activities with the dolls differed depending on their age, sex, and whether they were playing alone or in a group.

The children who played with the dolls did so freely; we did not impress any children into playing. Whenever children came into our quarters, they either saw the dolls themselves or we pointed to them. Children were not invited from different parts of the village to play nor were appointments made to have children play with the dolls. We did not have a random sample of children but rather a small opportunistic sample. Furthermore, we conducted doll-play sessions only from October 7, 1958, through November 18, 1958, because our assistant married and left our employ. Thereafter, we were too busy completing other projects to hold further doll-play sessions.

Our methodology has been outlined because of the many criticisms and problems arising from doll-play sessions and projective testing. The sessions, especially group sessions, could not always be described as including the process of projection although in

TABLE 2
**Children Participating in the Doll-Play Sessions
 by Caste, Sex, Age (Years), and Grade in School**

Se- rial No.	Caste	Sex	Age	Grade in School ^c
1	Bairagi Beggar	F	4	—
2	Baniya Merchant	M	11	6
3 ^a	Brahman Priest	M	12–13	5
4 ^a	Brahman Priest	F	11	5
5 ^a	Brahman Priest	F	5	1
6 ^a	Brahman Priest	F	4	—
7 ^a	Brahman Priest	F	2	—
8	Brahman Priest	M	16	8
9	Brahman Priest	M	4	—
10	Brahman Priest	M	6	1
11	Brahman Priest	M	4	—
12	Chamar Leather- worker	M	12	9
13	Gola Potter	M	13	9
14	Nai Barber	M	9	5
15 ^b	Nai Barber	M	11	2

^a Children 3 to 7 were siblings.

^b Dropped out of school.

^c Children 4 years of age and younger were generally too young for school.

the group sessions there was imaginative association. As Landy (1960, pp. 162–164) has pointed out, it is not always possible to distinguish between projective responses and those which reflect the real-life situation. Many of the details in our doll-play sessions were reflections of real-life situations. Older children were more constrained by their peers in group sessions than when playing alone. To some degree, our data resemble those reported by Ritchie (1957) on the Maori in Rakau, except that ours are condensed, without quantification or ratings, to provide descriptive data and analysis about play and growing up in Shanti Nagar. Some of the sessions did not lend themselves to analysis; others taken together provided substantial data that could be psychoanalyzed at considerable length. We restrict the discussion of these sessions to what was most apparent regarding enculturation and limit the amount of psychoanalysis.

During the period that these doll-play ses-

sions were held, 15 children participated. Although all of them took part in group sessions, only four children played alone for a sufficient period to warrant conclusions about psychological processes, sibling rivalry, and interest in the sexual organs of the dolls.

Of the 15 children, 10 were males and five were females (table 2). Nine of the children were members of the Brahman Priest caste, in all probability because our quarters were in the midst of their dwellings. Of the nine Brahman children, all but two were either patrilineal cousins or siblings. The siblings, of which there were five, and the two cousins lived in adjacent dwellings and often played together. The other two Brahman children came from separate households and lineages and lived at a somewhat greater distance from our quarters. All the Brahman girls were sisters, and the only other female in the group, a Bairagi Beggar four years of age, lived next door and regularly played with them. In addition to the Brahman Priest and Bairagi Beggar castes, four other castes were represented by five children, all males: one Baniya Merchant, two Nai Barbers, one Gola Potter, and one Chamar Leatherworker.

The children ranged from two to 16 years of age. The two-year-old, a Brahman girl, provided very little information as she did whatever her caretakers told her to do in playing with the dolls. The oldest girl, 11 years of age, was reluctant to participate in sessions and did so only with young children. The 16-year-old boy played only once and was anxiety stricken by the strange situation of playing with dolls and miniature tea cups to the point of disassociating himself by sitting on a cot after a while and by leaving while the other children were still playing. At a later time, he joined in imaginative group play for one short session.

The boys ranged in age from four to 16 years and generally could be divided into two groups. Boys of six or under either played by themselves, with the girls, or tried to be accepted by the older boys but were rejected. The boys above six years of age who consistently played together ranged in age

from nine to 13. There were six of them and from two to six might play together at a time. These boys were accustomed to playing with each other since all but one of them attended school and played together after school although not in their homes but in the fields. Only the older of the two Nai boys, who did not attend school, acted out sessions by himself. There were two reasons why the boys played inside our house with the dolls: one of them, a Brahman boy, had recently broken his arm and was limited in his play, and three of the boys, a Nai, a Chamar, and a Gola Potter, liked to talk with us and visited whenever they could. It is from this mixed group of older boys that we learned the most about how children of these ages viewed their culture. It is also probable that such older children have reached a stage in their development where they are better able than younger children to put elements of their culture together.

Since boys of these ages did not play with dolls, their group doll play is best described as a kind of token playing in their minds. They would pick up a doll, hold it in their hands, give it an identity, and then among them they would improvise events around the character ascribed to the doll (cf. Levy, 1939, p. 207). The dolls were the stimuli for their dialogue. Although they sometimes moved the dolls around, their activities could not be defined as playing with dolls or acting out a play but rather as talking out a cultural scene or event. In their descriptions about what adults did, there were some inaccuracies. Apparently, they lacked knowledge of various details of the cultural scenes which interested them and filled in with their imaginations.

The group play concerned festivals, historical personages, wrestling, and legal activities. The festivals that they acted out were those which had occurred immediately preceding the doll-play sessions: Kanagat, for remembering ancestors; Akhta, when the village was exorcized and fumigated to get rid of cattle disease; and Budh Ki Duj, observed for a holy man, at which time the children attended a fair where there was wrestling (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1964, pp. 84, 86-87).

The details of these festivals were better known to one of the Brahman boys, who was a leader in the play, than they were to the Gola Potter boy, the other leader in the sessions. He was about a year older and more advanced in school than the Brahman boy. When the Brahman boy tried to initiate and lead the play, the Potter boy would often use his superior general knowledge acquired in school to take the lead away from him. Thus, when the Brahman boy mentioned festivals and the good food eaten at them, the Potter boy listed famous historical personages. The Brahman boy could not compete with this information; the only other boy able to contribute a bit was the Baniya Merchant, age 11 years. These verbal play sessions were a form of testing play, that is, the youngsters were competitively testing their knowledge against each other.

In this play group all the boys except the Gola Potter deferred to the Brahman boy, who acted as host; the Chamar Leatherworker, after a few attempts at this kind of play, extricated himself from the sessions. Twelve to 13 years old and treated by his father as a young man, he was working part-time, attending school, and contributing to his family's income. He was also a member of the lowest ranking caste represented in the group. It was obvious that he felt ill at ease in the doll-play situation. In addition, Chamar Leatherworkers avoided situations whenever possible where they had to defer to higher castes. The Gola Potter boy, who was quite bright, apparently did not see any reason for deference and so competed openly with the Brahman boy. The Brahman was somewhat at a loss as to what to do regarding this behavior. The younger Nai boy was almost completely submissive to the Brahman leader, who bossed him most of the time. However, in a cultural scene where the Brahman boy would not let the Nai boy do anything on his own, the Nai performed the tasks demanded by the Brahman but picked up the knife and tentatively held it in his left hand while tapping the point against his right hand for a considerable period of time.

In the analysis of doll play, using a knife hesitantly or to hit objects or dolls is gener-

ally interpreted as hostility or aggression. Thus, the Nai boy's handling of the knife may be regarded as a display of hostility or indirect aggression toward the Brahman boy, an emotion due perhaps to the lower caste position of the Nai boy and to the fact that the adults in his family served the family of the Brahman boy. Although the relationship between the Nais and the families that they served seemed overtly friendly, it is possible that some Nais disliked the men they barbered and privately expressed their dislike, and even hostility, to their own family members. The Nai Barber boy was old enough to realize that he and his family were in an inferior social and economic position to the Brahman boy and his family, which could easily lead to partially suppressed displays of hostility on the part of Nais when Brahman boys chose to emphasize their superior position.

One of the themes repeated in these group sessions was the breaking of legs and arms. At first the broken limb was identified as a leg, and only occasionally, as if by mistake, was a broken arm mentioned. The Brahman boy had broken his arm while climbing a tree. The arm had been set and reset by a bonesetter and was causing the boy trouble. No one in the village had recently broken a leg. Broken limbs were mentioned in the contexts of both wrestling and legal cases. The boy with the broken arm did not bring up the subject; the one who most often brought it up was the Gola Potter boy who, when the Brahman boy initiated a subject or took over leadership, identified dolls as being involved in a law case in which one individual injured or killed another. This behavior is consistent with the competitive behavior between these two boys described earlier and with the Nai's hostile feelings toward the Brahman boy.

Although it is possible to interpret the discussion of broken limbs as symbolizing castration of the male (S. Freud, 1962, p. 163), such discussions were more probably stimulated by the actual event, that is, the broken arm of the Brahman boy. However, the boys displayed anxiety, compulsiveness, and repetition regarding this theme, which because

of their ages may have indicated anxiety regarding their sexuality and fear of castration. An additional cause of anxiety was that at least three of the boys were playing together when the Brahman boy broke his arm in a fall from a tree. The boy's father had forbidden that he climb trees and moreover had ordered him to study after school and not play because he was failing in school. Thus, the boy was disturbed because of punishment from his father, another type of castration. The other boys were also somewhat worried because although the Brahman boy had said that he had been injured while climbing a tree there was reason to believe that the three boys had been doing something for which they thought they would have been severely punished.

The boys' descriptions of law cases, another theme repeated in the group sessions, emphasized physical injuries to people and cows and the resultant damages that could be obtained. The cases might be settled by a panchayat (village council) or they might go to the courts. With considerable satisfaction, the boys observed that police handcuffed the culprits and took them to the police station. When the cases went to court, one person would be acquitted and that person would receive a sum of money, sometimes very large. The amounts varied from 100,000 rupees to as little as 2 rupees. The amount of damages did not appear to be related to the injuries incurred but rather accrued to the person depicted by the boys as the most aggressive in pressing the case. Both males and females were named in these cases, but there were more males than females. The major case in which females were the principals depicted one woman pushing another into a well and drowning her. In talking out these legal cultural scenes, the boys became quite excited.¹

Another theme, cooking and eating good food, was correlated with festival events. Such events were led by the Brahman boy

¹ For law cases and other disputes occurring in the village with which the boys may have been familiar, see R. Freed (1971); S. Freed and R. Freed (1976, pp. 169-188).

because Brahmans observed more feasts than other castes and because all castes would take food from them. As a result, the Brahman boy could then boss all the other children. Scenes having to do with food included its preparation; carrying water, usually by the youngest Nai boy, or, if present, by the four-year-old Bairagi girl because her grandmother served in this capacity as a member of a caste from whom all castes could take water; and inviting guests, one of the services of Nais. The children would name the guests, including us and our assistants. When we were told that we were being served food at these feasts and we pretended to eat, the children were discomfited. Apparently we intruded on their "make-believe" and were not carrying out the everyday behavior expected from adults. However, the children treated us as generally different from their parents and did not react negatively to us (cf. Landy, 1960, p. 164).

When referring to festivals, the boys' immediate and only interests were the preparation and serving of festive food. A festive meal differed from the rather simple daily menu, providing better and more food than usual, especially sweet dishes. Therefore, the children were interested in the food more than the content of the festivals. We infer that the pleasant association of good food with festivals reinforced their celebration since adults when mentioning a festival immediately referred to the special food. Festivals were the major form of recurrent recreation both in terms of good food and breaking the daily routine.

Older boys tentatively picked up dolls in these sessions but rarely examined them closely unless they were alone except for the monitor. They usually put them down quickly. This behavior could be interpreted as cultural conditioning against playing with dolls but the quickness with which they put them down may have indicated guilt about the associations which went through their minds. Their thoughts about the dolls more probably stimulated the anxiety that arose when boys of different ages and castes played together with dolls and utensils in an unusual situation inside a house owned by a Brahman. In ad-

dition, obvious aggression, hostility, and competition were shown by the ways in which individuals vied with one another to identify, name, and initiate cultural scenes, and also in the way in which the knife was handled.

Toward the end of these sessions, a specific repetitive pattern of behavior tended to occur: the boys took water out of a container and carried it back and forth in a smaller container. We interpreted this ritually compulsive activity as reflecting anxiety which gradually built up during the session due to the unusual play situation in which the boys found themselves. As a result, we terminated the sessions shortly after the boys fell into this behavior pattern. Several cultural as well as psychological factors need to be considered to understand this activity. First, playing with dolls was not appropriate for boys. Second, multicaste groups of boys playing inside a house were uncommon. Third, the dolls stimulated the boys' curiosity and imagination as shown by their repression and demonstration of guilt in examining the anatomy of the dolls underneath their clothing. Fourth, in Shanti Nagar there were rituals and events during the birth rite of passage in which water symbolized birth. During a childbirth, boys and adult males were banned from the women's section of the house or dwelling, especially the delivery room (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1980, pp. 347-364, 401-403). Despite this restriction, the event of a birth in a family could not be and was not concealed so the boys could not help but be concerned and disturbed by the secrecy surrounding the delivery room. Whether or not one accepts Freud's later repudiated theory that the trauma of birth causes anxiety, a more acceptable interpretation based on the doll-play sessions and the cultural background of Shanti Nagar would be that the dolls stimulated the thoughts of these boys with regard to the opposite sex, birth, and the participation of mothers and fathers inasmuch as the fathers, too, were barred from the delivery room. If the boys would normally repress such thoughts and if other aspects of doll play were disturbing to them, they would experience anxiety (Freud,

1962, pp. 281, 318–320, 412–418, 435–437). However, this fourth psychological factor is speculative.

During the play sessions, the children used a few terms of abuse, which were correlated with sex: for example, a male doll would be quoted as saying to another male doll, "You raper of your sister"; a female doll, to another female, "You widow you." Thus the children used specific forms of abuse between dolls of the same sex, similar to behavior heard and seen between adults. Such epithets are usually considered a mild form of hostility toward siblings (Levy, 1939, p. 213), but in the context of these play sessions, the youngsters were aping adults and had already learned the correct role behavior of their sex when using these terms.

The roles of the sexes differed in the play sessions. Since there were fewer girls than boys and only one, the 11-year-old girl, was older than six years, there were no girls' sessions comparable to those of the older boys. The girl of 11 did not sit, play, or talk with the boys over six years of age when they played together. She held herself aloof from most of the play sessions, especially when the dolls were first introduced. Displaying little emotion, she sat with her younger sisters and helped them with the dolls, but as though she were a mother, or at least too old to play with dolls. In one of the last sessions, she brought her two-year-old sister to play. She kept the little girl very busy with the dolls and tea cups, showing them to her and pointing out the differences among the dolls, but herself acting in a restrained manner. Then she became involved in compulsively arranging and rearranging the cups, dishes, and other utensils while explaining that sometimes she did this kind of work in her family.

During the play, her elder married sister came into the room and was asked to leave by the monitor of the session, at which this 11-year-old child giggled, probably because of the rivalry with her elder sister who outranked and bossed her. In discussing her work in her home she indicated that she fed the males separately from the females, as was the custom, thus emulating her mother

and grandmother. The two-year-old was playing with a male child doll and for the first time spoke, saying "That boy dry, not wet." Her elder sister laughed and repeated what the child had said for the monitor's benefit, indicating her self-consciousness and awareness that the play sessions were being recorded. Then she hugged and kissed her little sister, patted her stomach at the same time and said, "Fat Dhan Putti." They looked at each other and smiled, after which the elder sister kissed the child's cheek and gently slapped her forehead because the little girl had placed a small bag which was used for the doll-dishes in her mouth. Both children then left the session, but some time later returned.

In their succeeding session, they played with a six-year-old unrelated Brahman boy, quite babyish and not yet in school. The elder sister became annoyed with him because every time he became upset, he jumbled the dolls. In general, when their play aroused unpleasant thoughts, the children jumbled the dolls to dispel the upsetting ideas. The 11-year-old girl liked everything to be orderly and was compulsive about arranging the dolls and dishes. When somewhat later her baby sister began to cry, she took her home.

Shortly thereafter, this 11-year-old Brahman girl returned, most unusual behavior, for she had resisted imaginative play although she did neatly arrange the dolls. On this occasion, she was alone except for the monitor. First, she picked up the small teapot and pretended to pour water into the cups, making rhythmical sounds as she did so. Then she sat looking into space with her hands on her forehead. When the monitor asked her what happened, she replied, "Nothing"; then she laughed and said, "How small the dishes are." She continued to play with them, humming and singing, and appeared to be happy. Then she was called away and said, "I won't come back." The girl had apparently wanted to play but repressed her desire until she could be alone because to play with dolls or dishes would have been unseemly at her age.

When girls played they usually selected one doll, especially an adult female. They

made the doll dance, sing, and arranged its clothing. Whenever children of either sex played by themselves, they arranged the dolls in sleeping patterns comparable to those of their family. One six-year-old girl separated all the male dolls from the female dolls so that the sexes slept apart from each other, as was the custom.

The group play of the boys showed more imagination than the play of the girls, quite possibly because the boys were older, went to school, had more freedom, and stimulated one another by their testing-competitive behavior. However, age is such an important factor that any apparent differences between the girls, only one of whom was over six years old, and the boys must be treated with the greatest circumspection. Nonetheless, it is worthy of note that the girls tended to play by themselves more than the boys. Girls may have learned repression earlier than boys. All the children displayed some aggressiveness and competitiveness. Often these two personality characteristics were intertwined in specific behavior.

The girls displayed interest mainly in household, children, mothers, and articles of clothing worn by the dolls; they did not show much interest in males. Girls regularly gave way to males. If a boy picked up a toy, all but one girl would let him, even if he took it away from her. If boys interfered with the girls' play or sat with them for long, the girls usually left the play sessions.

The one exception, a four-year-old Brahman girl who had recently been superseded by a new infant in her family and who usually looked as though she could not understand why no one paid attention to her, joined in a doll-play session with two boys of her own caste, four and six years of age. She took the lead in the play and was quite noisy and excited throughout. First she identified the dolls by kin terms, then she named the small dishes, after which the boys joined in this activity. Whenever the boys tried to take over the leadership or took dolls or dishes away from her, she screamed and had her own way. There was competition and testing between all three children. The girl became extremely excited, sang, and babbled, hurl-

ing terms of abuse at the boys and dolls, such as "you son of an owl." Then she placed the dolls with their heads one on top of the other. At this point the four-year-old boy looked very anxious and began to cry. Then the girl and the older boy hurled the dolls back and forth at each other, after which the girl put the dolls to sleep. Thereafter, the three dispelled the anxiety engendered by this scene by compulsively fetching and carrying water until the monitor stopped them.

The stimuli that the dolls provided to the three children's imaginations possibly resulted in sexual excitation. Roheim (1941) has described comparable scenes in doll play among the Normanby Island children who threw the dolls at each other in aggressive, sexually-excited play, and also a scene where the dolls were placed on top of each other, the latter episode representative of sexual behavior. In Freudian theory, as indicated above, the head may be a symbol for the opposite end or opening in the body (S. Freud, 1962, pp. 80, 186-187; 1967, pp. 391, 394-397).

In this play session the three-to-four-year-old girl's role behavior would have been improper for an older girl. However, at her age, parents were not overly concerned about boys and girls playing together, for as they said, "What harm can they do to each other." It was only as children learned modesty behavior, and especially when they went to school at six, that parents began to separate the sexes. This early separation was an important factor in the maintenance of the familial incest taboo, and the rules against marrying within one's lineage, clan, and village of birth. Another aspect of this girl's behavior was that it was relatively unpredictable compared with that of other children her age, but somewhat similar to that of her mother who fought a great deal within the family and with her next door neighbors, her sister and her sister's husband.

During a month and a half, 20 doll-play sessions were held, as many as four on some days and none on others. The detailed record of these group sessions has not been presented; rather we have described the main themes, outlined differences by age, sex, and

caste, and offered some of the more apparent interpretations of the play sessions. Although some of these interpretations are psychoanalytic, the main focus has been cultural, because the principal subject under discussion is enculturation. For the researcher familiar with a society and its culture, doll-play sessions hold a wealth of information regarding the way in which children become socialized and enculturated.

Since the principal focus of our research in Shanti Nagar was the effect of modern urbanization upon village life, we present in the next two sections the doll-play sessions of two boys whose family lives had been affected by the fact that their fathers worked in Delhi. Because of urban employment, the two men were absent a good deal of the time from the village and were also exposed to modern ideas and practices. Both their absence and exposure to urban ways were reflected in the doll play, and other behavior, of their sons. For example, one of the boys, a Brahman six years of age, demonstrated a strong need for the attention of older males, in effect father surrogates; the other boy, a Nai Barber 11 years old, showed evidence that he felt undue pressure because he had to assume most of the work for village clients that his father would have performed had he not been in Delhi much of the time. Although to some extent both boys showed similar emotional needs because of the absence of their fathers, they also developed markedly different personalities, partly as a result of the urban orientation of their fathers. The additional economic burden thrust on the Barber boy appeared to make him more responsible and independent than most boys of his age. The Brahman boy, on the other hand, was overprotected which reflected his mother's anxiety that he might die. He appeared to be babyish for his age. His mother had been sterilized after having had two sons, a step that was quite modern and deviant for a village woman at that time, and should she lose her sons she could have had no more. A family with no sons was considered most unfortunate. That the couple should have risked sterilization was in all probability partly due to the husband's exposure to modern urban ideas.

LITTLE MR. GOD

The Brahman boy, six years of age, who had recently started first grade provided one of our more interesting studies regarding enculturation and the ideas that went on inside the head of a child this age during doll play. Because he was named after a god as was customary, we called him Little Mr. God. Although his grandfather had been poor, his father managed to obtain an education and became a bookkeeper in a firm in the City of Delhi. In one generation, he changed the family position from poverty to one of relative prosperity.

At the time of the doll-play sessions, Little Mr. God's family consisted of father, mother, a brother 10 years of age, and the patrilineal grandfather, said to be 95 years old, who lived in the family cattle shed rather than with the rest of the family. This practice was not unusual for old men so that they could avoid their daughters-in-law, especially when the husband was often absent. However, this old man was said to have had an unsavory past, which resulted in his being somewhat of an outcaste in his community. Although he was given food by his daughter-in-law and ate at the wedding feasts of other families, he was never seated with his own caste community at such affairs, but ate by himself. The family departed from traditional village patterns in this and other ways.

Our census gives the age of Little Mr. God's father as 30 and his mother's as 32, but there is some evidence to indicate that both parents were about 40 years old. Thus, the mother probably bore her first son when she was about 30 or more years of age, considerably older than the average woman at her first childbirth. Another clue to this woman's age was that she went around the village without covering her face with the traditional headcloth (*orhna*), behavior permitted only to unmarried women or women past the menopause. Village women commented on this behavior but tolerated it because they said at her age it made no difference. Originally, she had been unable to bear children so her husband and she consulted a physician in the city, an unprecedented occurrence for a village wife at that time. As a result, she bore two sons, after which the

husband and wife decided that the wife should be sterilized. This step constituted another deviance from the village pattern then, since it was generally believed that to be sterilized was tempting fate inasmuch as children often died before reaching maturity and reproducing.

Because the woman knew she could have no more children, she was overly protective about the health of her six-year-old son. At the slightest indication of illness, she would borrow our thermometer to take the child's temperature, fever being considered a sign of serious illness. Comments in his doll-play sessions indicate that she constantly hedged him in due to her worries about his health. None of her behavior regarding the boy was generally characteristic of village women, although this is not to say that they never worried about their children. It is not surprising under these circumstances that the small boy had babyish ways compared with other boys of the same age. The fact that his father was generally absent from the village, or when present was too busy to give the child much attention, probably contributed to his overall behavior and his relative inability to interact with other boys. The play sessions reveal these features of his behavior as well as his desire to be included in the play of older boys and his craving for attention from adult males, as surrogate fathers.

The first time Little Mr. God entered the playroom and saw the dolls, he counted them saying, "They are seven." He then said, "I had fever and blisters and mother took out the pus. See two brothers are quarreling; I interfered and took everything they were quarreling about and ate it." Counting (incorrectly, since there were eight dolls) was a form of showing off, displaying his ability in spite of his smallness and age, in front of two older boys present in the room. The fever and blisters reflected his mother's constant anxiety about his health.

He mentioned two brothers quarreling (which we take to be his older brother and himself), but he spoke about them as though he were viewing a scene in which he became the stronger brother, taking whatever they were quarreling about and eating it. Through this oral means, he disposed of the anxiety

engendered from remembering the quarrel, and possibly from seeing himself as fighting back. Next he said, "I am not in the habit of asking money from anybody," which has at least two interpretations. First, it is the sort of statement his father might have made. Second, our male research assistant every now and then gave this boy a few paise for sweets, a custom of adult males to small children whom they regarded with affection. The boy probably was delighted to get the money, but due to his father's position, may not have been able to ask for it, as did other children in the village.

The boy picked up two dolls, a male and female, representing his mother and father. He put the two face-to-face in a kissing position and said, "Now the female doll is going to sleep." Then he threw the father doll down on the floor and placed the small male doll (himself) beside the mother doll, after which he left the room. In Shanti Nagar and India generally, kissing between adults of the opposite sex never occurs in front of anyone because it is considered a prelude to sexual relations, as is borne out by the boy's succeeding statement and actions. The actions indicated that he did not want his father to be next to his mother in bed or otherwise, but rather that he wanted to be there. Immediately leaving the room indicated that Little Mr. God was disturbed by these thoughts and so left them.

Shortly thereafter he returned and two older boys, nine and 12 years of age, joined the session. Little Mr. God was selfconscious with them present and stood pressing himself closely against the wall. Then to catch their attention, he said, "Look there is a male doll standing up" (one was propped up in standing position against the wall). They did not respond to him so he tried to tell them about the other dolls. Still no response.

Feeling inadequate and diminished by their lack of attention, he said, "I am quite powerful; I can fight anybody. Look the mother doll is going to sleep." He then spread her headcloth over her (customary when a female sleeps when other people are around). He placed the mother doll in sleeping position with her face down, and put a male child (himself) into a sleeping position

with the mother doll. Then he jumbled the dolls to dispel whatever came to mind.

Immediately he went out of the playroom but came back within a minute. Children called to him from the other room, but he did not join them. Instead he said, "I am going to run the rail" (his description of playing with our typewriter). He turned a couple of somersaults and then began quarreling with the two boys who had returned to the playroom. Next he said, "You talk nonsense and your mother too. One day I will jump in the pond, then my mother will come running and shouting. I will shave my head but will keep my moustaches." These sentences have meaning in the village context. The mothers in the village were concerned about small children drowning in the village pond, especially since a girl five years old had recently met this fate. One can easily imagine how Little Mr. God's mother, an anxiety-driven woman, would regularly caution him against playing near the pond for fear he might drown. From his statement it is highly probable that when he could not get his way he would threaten his mother with jumping in the pond. Since the children with whom he was trying to play did not respond to him, he was indirectly threatening them too.

His comments about drowning and then shaving his head but not his moustaches (which he did not have, of course) show that he did not understand the meanings of the words "drown" and "death." It was customary for an adult male to shave his head, but not his moustaches, when his father died. This boy undoubtedly had learned that such an action was related to death, but he did not realize that if he were dead he could not mourn himself. In other words, he did not understand what death meant. However, he had learned the words and customs regarding death, probably from a death in his lineage, which he visualized from past experience. This type of cognition is characteristic of a child of six years as Piaget (1930, pp. 241, 246; 1963, pp. 59–60, 194–195, 204–206) has amply illustrated in working with children from about six to 11 years of age to find out the development of their thought processes, especially how they learn to distinguish be-

tween animate and inanimate forms, the internal world of their minds and the external world, and how life and consciousness are comprehended at around 10 to 11 years of age. Also worthy of note is that in mourning this small boy followed the masculine role, that of his father, thus indicating masculine identification, even in wanting to take his father's place in his mother's bed. However, in this society, a boy under six years would generally sleep with his mother unless a younger sibling was born and replaced him in his mother's bed. The father would only occasionally sleep in the same bed with his wife, thus physically displacing the child.

The next action in the play was precipitated by the nine-year-old Nai boy who went into another room and called Little Mr. God to join him. He shouted to the boy, "Your father has brought *peras* [a candy], come out." The little boy retaliated, "Yes, my father will bring *peras* at night and give them to your mother. Isn't it bad?" In this exchange, the Nai was teasing the Brahman boy, but the small boy replied with an insult. He declared that his own father, a married man, gave sweets to the Nai boy's mother, a married woman. Such interaction between married men and women would be looked on in the village with suspicion as the forerunner of sexual favors. How well Little Mr. God understood the nature of the insult is debatable, but it would seem possible that his father may have given some sweets to the Nai woman, and that such an action precipitated a quarrel between husband and wife in the Brahman family, which both children may have witnessed. Following his accusation, Little Mr. God picked up the father doll and said, "Take your daughter away," referring to the Nai woman and repeating the command several times. Then he said, "Oh, it is a guava. I am going to eat it." He put the male doll in his mouth and simulated devouring it. Next, he said, "I am going to smoke," and pretended he was smoking. His mother called him and the session ended.

Notice the double orality, eating and smoking, to allay the anxiety that Little Mr. God's and the Nai's statements about the Nai woman aroused in him (see Erikson,

1950, pp. 74–76), which was heightened by whatever happened in his family regarding the Nai woman. There is a question as to whether “eating his father” showed aggression against the father as in Freud’s (1946, pp. 183–185) myth of *Totem and Taboo* or, as has also been pointed out by Freud, identification with the father. It might have been an attempt on the part of a small child, struggling with still unclear concepts, to ingest his loved one and thus bring him closer.

The next day Little Mr. God came to play again. He arranged the dolls in a row against the wall with the male dolls to the left and the females to the right. A child of this age would have left and right drummed into him early because all eating is done only with the right hand from infancy. However, this array may have no meaning other than segregation of the sexes which was customary. Next he picked up the knife and pretended to sharpen it. He then took two small male dolls, representing his brother and himself, and put them between the father and grandfather dolls. He mumbled to himself, then lifted the shirt of the father doll and examined it where the genitals would be. Abruptly he pressed the shirt down, sat still for a few seconds, then muttered to the grandfather doll. Next he went into the adjoining room to see if anyone was there, came right back, and scattered the dolls to break up his disturbing thoughts. He sat still for a while looking at the monitor out of the corner of his eye and then went into another room where he watched the male research assistant who was typing, which ended the session.

Later group sessions in which Little Mr. God participated consisted not only of play and other interaction with children, both boys and girls, but also of occasional periods when he was by himself. The following incidents are pertinent in the contexts of enculturation and personality development. Once when the boy was by himself he said, “Yesterday I was sleeping with my father. I like to. At night I sleep alone; I have an old broken-down bed.” Since husbands and wives slept in separate beds, and often in different buildings if they had both a *ghar* (women’s house) and a *baithak* (men’s sit-

ting room), children to about the age of six years slept with their mothers. At about five or six years, if they were boys, they might sleep with their grandfather or even their father; rarely by themselves. However, in this case, the grandfather lived in the cattle-house and so the boy had his own bed, but occasionally slept with his father.

Another time when this child was playing with two older boys who generally teased and fought with him, they rapped his knuckles, hit him with our fly swatter, and told him he was not true to his salt. Little Mr. God then turned away from them and addressed the mother doll, “You should cover your face, the children are around. The male doll is going to sleep. No, no, it is going to walk.” The statements may seem incongruous or nonsequiturs to the treatment by the two older boys, but they are best interpreted as the boy finding himself in a situation of stress because of the two older boys, similar to his encounters with his older brother, but at the same time wanting to play with the dolls. The stressful situation seemed to have brought to mind a scene between his mother and father, quoted by him, which indicated that the parents wanted to have sexual relations but because the children were present they could not so the father went for a walk. The child must have sensed the tension between the parents and the prompting by the father of the mother to be careful of her behavior in the presence of the children. At the same time, both parents wanted the children elsewhere.

On another occasion, Little Mr. God came into the room when no other children were there, picked up the mother doll and moved it between his legs, put it down suddenly, left the room abruptly, returned, stood the doll up and hit it lightly, took off its headcloth, and twisted it between his hands. When another child entered the room, he left and returned only when it was empty. Again he picked up the large female doll and moved it between his legs. Then he took a small male doll (himself) and sat quietly for a while. With these activities, the boy appeared to have again taken his father’s place with his mother, shown his desire to possess

his mother and his anger at her either because he could not do such things to her or because of what she did with his father—more probably for both reasons because of his frustration in such circumstances. After these activities, he left the room again, returned immediately, picked up the knife and announced, “I am going to kill all of the dolls” (perhaps to dismiss them from his mind). But he hit only the father doll.

The 11-year-old Brahman girl came in and he asked her politely if she wanted to eat. Then they played together with the doll dishes. Finally, he said, “The *karahi* [a round brass cooking pot] can be my cap. My father wears a cap like this in Delhi” (identification again with the father). Then he jumbled all the dolls and left.

Little Mr. God showed jealousy and feelings of inadequacy due to his older brother and transferred these feelings to his encounters with older boys (cf. A. Freud, 1967, pp. 29–39). He loved and admired his mother and father, but at the same time had conflicts about them and their activities that they kept from him so he also hated them, as shown in his hostility toward them. This conflict between love and hate appears to be a part of growing up for a child this age. Other aspects of Little Mr. God’s behavior are best understood in terms of both culture and psychology: death and customs regarding death; the sleeping arrangements of children and adults; the anxiety of his mother about his health and how he took advantage of her; and throughout all the sessions a regular identification with masculine role behavior and his father. The last point seems unusually prominent in a small boy, but Shanti Nagar is a community in which the line between masculine and feminine role behavior is drawn very early. Little boys are highly valued and males are dominant.

YOUNG BARBER

The Nai Barber caste was represented in the village by three related families. A nine-year-old boy from one of these three families often teased and tormented Little Mr. God in the doll-play sessions. An 11-year-old boy from another Nai family also participated in

the sessions. It is he whom we call the young barber. He earned this name because he had just begun to shave the village patrons of his father. It was quite a sight to see this slight boy carrying his barber’s bag to the homes of his patrons and the looks on their faces as he shaved them with a straight-edged razor.

The young barber’s family consisted of father, mother, and four male children whose ages ranged from seven months for the baby through three and five years for the middle children to 11 years for the young barber. The father worked in a barbershop in the City of Delhi and came home twice a month, at which time he cut the hair of his patrons. Since men were customarily shaved twice a week, the young barber had to take over this task. The family was dependent on the father’s earnings in the city and on payments in cash and kind from village patrons. The mother carried on the regular hereditary tasks of a female Nai Barber, washing and setting the hair of her female patrons, bathing new mothers and infants, and performing ritual services at births and weddings. The father also functioned as a Nai at such rituals of his patrons (for details, see S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, pp. 98–99, 125–126; R. Freed and S. Freed, 1980, pp. 383–384, 389–392, 396, 417–418, 423–424, 453–456, 471, 517–518). Although the family was landless, it owned a water buffalo, which had to be milked, bathed, and fed. The mother, therefore, was overworked with the care of her children, household, buffalo, hereditary patrons, and occasionally paid agricultural work.

Because both his mother and father were very busy, the young barber not only shaved his father’s patrons but also helped his mother with her many chores, ran errands for her, and had dropped out of school. He only occasionally had time to play with other boys and to visit us. It should be noted that although the many responsibilities of the young barber were burdensome, yet until the age of six he enjoyed the almost complete attention of his mother because he was the only child and his father worked in the city. Due to his responsibilities, he showed more independence than most boys of his age. For

example, when he suffered an eye infection, he asked us what to do. We told him that for one rupee he could buy a tube of penicillin eye ointment in a pharmacy in the City of Delhi, wrote the name of the ointment and the address of the store for him, and gave him directions for going there by bus. He made the journey and obtained the ointment.

In the young barber's play session, he came into the room where the dolls were spread out, picked up a male doll, looked at it, and asked, "Where did you get it?" Without waiting for an answer, he then handled all the small male and female dolls. He draped the headcloth around the head of the mother doll and then put her down, after which he jumbled the dolls and looked around curiously. Next he chose a doll, probably representing himself, and tried to make it stand against the wall. He placed the father doll at its side. Then he stood the mother in front of the small doll (himself), thus representing his nuclear family before the birth of his younger siblings. When he placed his brothers (using two male and one female small dolls) next to the father, they all fell down. He sat and looked at them for a while before again arranging them in a row against the wall: three boys (omitting the baby), his father, the baby, and then his mother. Next he picked up the father, pulled up his shirt, looked at his face, turned him around, looked at his face again, and then looked at all the dolls. Then he piled them on top of one another.

He looked at the knife and picked it up, examining it carefully. He then picked up the father doll, placed the knife on him but did not strike him, and put the doll down. However, he struck his three siblings lightly and tried to cut the legs of one of his brothers. He proceeded to sharpen the knife on the palm of his hand, as a barber would his razor.

After looking at the dolls representing his brothers, he picked up the father doll again and started to strike it with the knife but was selfconscious, repressed himself, looked at the monitor, and put the doll down. Instead he struck his own hands, after which he again took the father doll and placed the

knife near its face and then its back, but did not strike it. After putting the father down, he placed the mother next to the father's side, and slashed in the air with his knife. Small bags in which the dolls were stored when not in use were lying on the floor; the young barber looked at one of them and then at all the dolls. He next handled the father doll roughly, put it down, picked up the knife and slashed with it, after which he looked at the monitor and placed the father on a cloth bag. He tried to cut the father with the knife, could not, and sharpened the knife on his palm. He tried to cut the doll representing the baby lengthwise (he used one of the small female dolls for the baby), repeating this attempt again and again. He threatened to strike the father doll with the knife a number of times but was hesitant. He took the father in his hand and tried to cut the head, arms, and legs.

The doll representing the father was dressed in trousers and shirt, usually worn to the city, and carried a bag. The young barber fussed with this bag. From time to time it fell down, and each time he replaced it in the hand of the father. He shoved the two small dolls dressed as girls into a bag, went out of the room knife in hand, and then returned. All of this time although wielding the knife he had not struck the dolls but tapped them or attempted to cut them.

The monitor told the young barber that if he wanted to strike the dolls he could do so as much as he liked. He then struck the dolls quite hard with the knife and threw them down. He was happy while so doing. Then he struck the father doll quite hard, but was ambivalent about the mother doll. First he wrapped her head in the headcloth, and then struck her gently. Then he grabbed her, put her headcloth in a bag, and left her lying uncovered. He did not strike any dolls again but put them all in storage bags and went out of the room, thus ending the session.

The analysis of this play session reflected the difficult and unhappy life of the young barber. The analysis of the boy's actions in order of occurrence showed him identifying his family members through the dolls, first setting up his nuclear family as it was for the

first six years of his life. Twice he showed his wish that his mother and father would be together, first with him, and then with all four children. In handling the dolls, he revealed the usual curiosity of children regarding the anatomy of the sexes. When he first began to play with the knife, he repressed his hostility toward all the family members. Hostility was first shown to siblings, then father, and last mother. He was self-conscious in showing aggression toward the father or mother and inhibited in his activities with the knife. He would have liked the siblings to disappear (putting them in a bag). Once he even punished himself by striking his own hands.

When this boy arranged his mother and father together lying down, he did not try to replace his father by putting himself next to his mother's side, as did Little Mr. God. Instead he slashed with his knife in the air. But thereafter he let out his anger on his father and the baby whose birth had decreased the attention he received from his mother.

Throughout the session, the young barber handled the knife as though it were a razor. Since the occupation of barber was hereditary for Nais and they generally ranked lower in the caste hierarchy than their patrons, it would be interesting to learn what a barber thinks while he is shaving his patrons, especially if he does not like them. The young barber appeared to equate the knife and a razor and used the implement to express his unhappiness and aggressive impulses.

Whenever the bag, symbolic of a barber's kit, fell from the hand of the father doll, the young barber replaced it, thereby indicating that he wanted his father to resume barbering the family's patrons and performing the other responsibilities of a father which had become too heavy for an 11-year-old boy.

That the young barber had learned repression was indicated by his restraint with the knife and his consciousness of the presence of the monitor during the doll-play session. When she told him he could strike the dolls as much as he wanted, she released his inhibitions and he struck the dolls and threw them down. Finally, he struck his father quite hard, showing that he believed his fa-

ther to be at the heart of his problems. However, he was gentle with his mother even though he struck her, protecting her with her headcloth. The first six years of his life had forged a strong attachment to her.

Several interpretations may be placed on his actions at the end of the session when he removed the mother's headcloth, put it in a bag, and left her lying on the floor. The first is that by removing the cloth, he symbolized that she was not a married woman, that is, not her husband's wife. The second is that she was ready for intercourse with her husband or, by substitution of son for father, with the young barber, who had already assumed some of the husband's role. The last may simply be that the boy often saw his mother sleeping that way, exhausted from a day's hard work.

ORGANIZED AND COMMERCIAL RECREATION

Organized and commercial recreation for children was unheard of and practically unthinkable. Although adults occasionally visited a cinema or circus in Delhi, women and children could not attend these events unless men took them. A few young educated males took their wives to the cinema, and urbanized members of the Chuhra and Chamar castes, who did not appear as imbued with puritanical ethics as the higher castes, took both children and wives to the cinema. A few teenage males went to cinemas if they could obtain the money from their fathers or grandfathers.

In the area around Shanti Nagar, the only commercial recreation was an occasional fair, itinerant musician, or entertainer. Fairs took place once or twice a year and usually were related to a religious festival, such as Budh Ki Duj (Old Man's Second), celebrated for a local holy man (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1964, p. 86). Grandfathers would take children to such an event where sweets would be sold and there would be a ferris wheel and wrestling. The young children liked the sweets and ferris wheel; the older boys and men preferred to watch the wrestling.

Except for *kabaddi* and tug-of-war, which

adults sometimes organized for children, organized games and sports did not occur. Physical exercise in school, especially for girls, was criticized by parents as a waste of time. They said that household and agricultural work was plenty of exercise and no more was needed. Parties or celebrations exclusively for children, to which the children were the invited guests and at which they might play and have special food, were not the custom. Birthdays were not celebrated in the village although a young Jat father, born and raised in Shanti Nagar but serving in the Air Force in Delhi, gave a birthday party for his four-year-old son. Living in an urban environment, he had been exposed to the custom, probably copied from a European model since the Indian army had been greatly influenced by British customs and training.

We were invited to the party which took place in the military quarters in New Delhi. The father invited many of his military colleagues, including his sergeant whom he treated with great deference. In addition, he invited two male Jats, his sister, and one male Brahman from the village. All the men were educated; the Brahman, a police officer, was studying for his master's degree in psychology. The adult males from the village were similar in age and education. Food was served on a large sheet spread on the floor; it consisted of tea, sweets, and hot spicy lentils, which Delhi residents served as Americans serve cocktail snacks. These items were bought in the market place. All the men wore western style dress: trousers, bush shirts, socks, and shoes. The women wore the *silwar* costume or saris but did not cover their faces.

Although the birthday boy, dressed in modern red overalls, enjoyed himself, the people who really understood what the party was about and celebrated the most were the adults. In this respect, the festivities were closer to village custom where there were no festivities in which mainly children participated and played together.

The growing number of young men going into military, police, and government service was learning considerably more about life

beyond the village. When they kept their wives and children with them, the wives and children became accustomed to new ways. A wife would have greater freedom than she would when living in the village under her mother-in-law and father-in-law. Few joint families allowed a young wife and children to live in the city with her husband; but this Air Force family provided an index of change. This kind of celebration and the guests struck a new note, for a birthday party was a different event from village celebrations and the guest list consisted of friends, colleagues, and peers, rather than relatives and members of the village community. In this party more money was spent on a child than was customary, even to the extent of buying him toys.

Organized recreation for youngsters was against the work ethic of the villagers. When at a Block Development meeting of a number of villages, including Shanti Nagar, it was proposed that a youth club be founded in a large centrally located village, the suggestion fell flat. No one took it up or was in any way interested for the following reasons. First, parents did not want their children to roam from village to village; second, as soon as children were able to do chores they became a part of the work force of a family; third, with children attending school the family work force was lessened; fourth, only boys in the teenage group would be allowed to go, if anyone went; finally, it was expected that children would get into mischief if they were away from the village and family at an early age.

SUMMARY OF PLAY

In the process of growing up in Shanti Nagar, boys and girls begin to play separately and differently. Differences in play due to sex and age are important in the development process physically, psychologically, and socially. Play is more than entertainment; it involves independence training, creativity, sexual differentiation in role behavior, development of thought patterns, personality traits, political skills, risk-taking, the ability to plan, and adjustment to het-

erosexual adult life. The typical interactional caste patterns appear to be set in childhood. The data from Shanti Nagar indicate that the values of ranking, prestige, and segregation are introduced from the first days of infancy, as are the characteristic patterns of interaction with members of different castes. More data on the early phases of social stratification and hierarchical values would be valuable transculturally. Another aspect of play that warrants research is the development of cognitive patterns of thought at different stages of growth. Doll play, other contrived play, and learning situations are a means of studying these problems.

The four types of play classified by Sutton-Smith (1971) were present among the children of Shanti Nagar: imitative, exploratory, testing, and model building. In some areas of play, the children of Shanti Nagar were far more limited than middle and upper class children in, for example, American society, or urban middle and upper class Indian society. They were most limited in early exploratory play promoted by parents; there was little of this either physically or verbally. Older siblings offset these limitations beginning when an infant was about one-and-one-half years of age. On the other hand, because the children of Shanti Nagar were present during many adult activities, they had excellent examples all through their childhood for model-building learning by playing house, acting out life-cycle rites, festivals and feasting, and by mimicking political and legal activities. Models of adult roles, male and female, for all ages were ever present. The isolation of children from adult activity, so characteristic of American life where a child may, for example, never observe the economic role of the father, was generally not yet a feature of the traditional way of life of Shanti Nagar. However, as urban employment increases, children may to a greater extent be deprived of the opportunity to observe adult roles. In this regard, their situation may begin to approximate that of urban children in India and the West.

Imitative and exploratory play, the two earliest forms, may have limitations for independence training for individuals whose

formal education might place them in urban situations less authority oriented than the village. From the point of view of using toys as instructional aids, parents had only begun to buy toys for children not so much to stimulate their learning capacity or to help them to learn but principally to show affection. The games that children played in the village did not emphasize strategy and the maximization of benefits in situations of risk, qualities important in terms of future participation in a modern industrializing nation. Such games of strategy that existed were played mainly by adult males. Not only would these games train one for participation in business and industry but also in agriculture, for farming is a complicated business that requires an expert appraisal of risk versus benefit (Sutton-Smith, 1971, pp. 58–59). There was a paucity of games of strategy. However, testing and competitiveness were certainly present, qualities which are a part of modern nations and most probably of other developing nations in addition to India.

DEVELOPMENT OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS

Since beliefs regarding religion, curing, and magic, all of which come under the category of the supernatural world, contribute to the formation of a world view or cosmology and also to the formation of ethics and values, we outline briefly the effect of these beliefs during enculturation primarily through festivals, rites of passage, and specific family practices. More data on these subjects can be found in earlier publications (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1962, pp. 262–274 on Mother Goddess worship; 1964 on religious and other festivals in the calendar year; 1979, pp. 302–327 on concepts of sickness and health, curers, and curing practices; 1980, on rites of passage; S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, pp. 135–143 on ceremonial interaction; 1978, pp. 106–135 on the economic aspects of ceremonies).

The earliest conditioning with regard to supernatural beliefs started at birth and influenced the individual throughout life. It took place in the context of recurrent reli-

gious events and curing practices that evoked supernatural aid. Features of such events that contributed to the implanting of supernatural beliefs were gossip, story-telling, recitation of prayers and hymns, songs, and drawings symbolizing deities and supernatural beliefs. None of this conditioning was consciously taught. Children participated in or observed these events because they were present when they occurred. In general, children were not barred from observing any religious activity.

Children acquired the more overt forms of the supernatural belief system regarding deities, spirits, ghosts, and myths through repetitive, spontaneous, visual, oral, tactile, and olfactory events. This learning was primarily evidenced by mastery of the vocabulary for these different aspects of Hinduism. Until about the age of 12 or 13 years, however, there was little or no cognizance of the more abstract aspects of Hinduism. From that age youngsters of both sexes might participate in some of the religious events more actively rather than as passive observers or participants. For example, they might help their parents prepare some of the food for a ceremony, assemble the necessary materials, and draw or mold some of the symbols. Such active participation led to a deeper understanding than passive observation. During a child's early years, the supernatural belief system was imposed in a very simplistic way with little explanation or understanding of its structure and meaning. The process might be compared to learning a language with the sounds coming first and then gradual incorporation of lexicon, meaning, and structure.

Most learning at all stages was by observation, imitation, and repetition. It began during the period of socialization and passed beyond it into the later enculturation of a child and even into adulthood. A major difference between language learning and religious learning was that when children learned to speak they used the knowledge immediately. But children under 12 were not encouraged or asked to do anything in the way of religious works. Such tasks were carried out by adult males and females and only

around 12 to 13 years of age did youngsters become active participants in some of these functions.

Another aspect of learning religious beliefs was that they were abstract and villagers seldom explained abstract ideas to children. Instead the attitude of parents was that the children were born Hindus and, therefore, were expected to be religious simply by taking part in religious activities. However, there were the regular religious story-telling sessions (*kathas*) throughout the year. In these sessions, parts of the two epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, were recited; in the process the various deities and values of Hinduism were discussed. These sessions were held by adult males but children were present and thus were exposed to relatively sophisticated discussions of Hindu philosophy and tradition. In addition, Brahman women told stories related to specific festivals at the time they occurred. Not all children heard these stories or shared in these events as each caste had its own set of religious festivals and its own way of celebrating the rites of passage, but basic themes appeared in all of them. Because of exposure to concepts pertaining to the supernatural, children eventually came to hold beliefs similar to those of their parents. However, those children who attended school were beginning to absorb Pan-Indian concepts of Hinduism that fostered a nationalistic spirit and a standardized, textbook approach to Hinduism.

The strong emotional ambiance of many ceremonies and other occasions when religious concepts were invoked would enhance the absorption of religious knowledge. Children were soon aware that adults frequently looked to religion both in troubled and happy times. For example, shortly after a death the surviving adults of the family might believe that the deceased had become a ghost. In addition they mourned for one year during which time the soul of the deceased journeyed to the land of the dead. During this time, the mourners did not celebrate festivals, and they reduced participation in and celebration of life-cycle rites. Thus, the child would understand that death and possibly the ghost contributed to deprivation of this

source of recreation, good food, and other pleasant activities. Good and bad times were best remembered in contrast to each other and in contrast to everyday events.

Illness, death, and other disturbing occasions in a family and kin group affected the children even though they might not fully understand the events. The adults called upon supernatural beings to help them at such times so that the supernatural beings then might be coupled with these events in the memory of the children. So it was with happy celebrations as well. The belief that supernatural aid can protect one from the hazards of life was impressed upon children from their birth.

From birth to about five years of age, a great deal of anxiety existed about a child's survival. For this reason, a child often wore iron amulets on wrists and ankles as protection against the evil eye, ghosts, and illness. For example, a Lohar Blacksmith boy of four years wore iron amulets to protect him from the evil eye, and more particularly from the ghost of his mother who had died when he was an infant. His grandmother said that protection was necessary because a mother never left her child. The family was afraid that her ghost would come to the boy in his sleep or sometime when he was wandering around the village alone and would then take him away. The reason they believed that she had remained a ghost for such a long period was that she had died an unnatural and untimely death. She had arisen from her childbearing bed too soon and so had taken ill and died. The belief was that she was particularly vulnerable at this time and had herself been attacked by the ghosts of two dead women.

The ornaments placed on children to protect them reinforced beliefs about ghosts and the evil eye. At birth, a necklace with a silver moon, golden sun, and other amulets was hung around the children's necks to protect them (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1980, pp. 277-278, fig. 5). The iron amulets that children wore on wrists and ankles served the same function. Some families provided a locket with a protective mantra prepared by a professional priest. Children were aware that

they wore these charms; they also saw them put on infants and came to understand the reason. Although they then supposed that they were protected from harm, they also believed in ghosts and the evil eye.

Adult males, especially those who were educated and were followers of the Arya Samaj, at times disparaged some of these ideas; they said that it was the women who followed these beliefs and simply shrugged their shoulders about what women did along these lines. Since small children were under the jurisdiction of the women, the males did not interfere; therefore, these beliefs were early learned and perpetuated.

Much of the supernatural world was described realistically in the stories and songs of the women. When these myths were related, it was as if they had just occurred, and the beings in them were depicted as ordinary people living in a nearby village even when they were kings and queens or deities. There were a number of reasons for the reality of myths. First, the villagers believed that supernatural and human beings could be reborn. Second, the most important places in the geography of the Epics and Puranas, from which these stories derived, took place in the nearby Punjab, in and around the Delhi region, and across the Jumna River in Uttar Pradesh. Third, deities, kings, and queens were described as having the same emotions and frailties as everyday people, were similar to parents as authority figures, and were imbued with supernatural power. (See the story of Jaswant Singh in R. Freed and S. Freed, 1980, pp. 367-368.)

Since children generally see their parents as much larger and more powerful than they are, it would not be difficult for them to identify their parents with kings and queens and supernatural personages in the myths told in the family and village setting. S. Freud (1962, p. 160; 1967, pp. 389-444) has pointed out this identification in the interpretation of dreams, that is, in the dreams of children, parents appear as kings, queens, and other exalted personages, and the children as princes and princesses. Because the tales are in settings similar to Shanti Nagar, village children who heard them might come to be-

lieve that the events in the stories could happen to them. These ideas were further fostered by the Hindu concept that a deity could be anywhere and was much a part of everyday life, exemplified by Tagore when he said, "The mother goddess is everywhere, even in the cooking pot" (Avalon, 1913, pp. xix-xx, lxxi, cxliv-cxlv; 1920, p. 263; Morgan, 1953, pp. 11, 48, 83, 84).

Women propitiated mother goddesses for the welfare of children. They were oriented to the female deities because of their linkage with the welfare and health of children (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1979, p. 306) and the separation of male and female activities at a relatively early age. Women believed that female deities better understood the problems of mothers and children than did male deities. Females, who remained close to their mothers, were more apt to retain this belief than males who began to sleep in the men's quarters from about the age of six years and who were exposed to conversation more directly related to male deities and the worship of Bhagwan (God) than to female deities. This difference especially characterized Arya Samaj families.

The emphasis on separate male and female activities and the superior status of males contributed to the sexes having somewhat different perspectives and interests in religion at maturity. When boys slept in the men's quarters, they began the process of identification with their fathers and other males and learned the preferred point of view of their masculine oriented world. Even though they may have continued to believe in ghosts, mother goddesses, and spirit possession, they generally tended to follow the beliefs of the elder males who, especially in the high castes and in families that followed the precepts of the Arya Samaj, reshaped their earlier enculturation in religion. However, the religious symbols and beliefs taught early in life were tenacious and might surface during times of trouble.

Membership in a specific caste affected a child's exposure to religious beliefs, as did sex and adherence to the Arya Samaj or Sanathan Dharma point of view. Some ceremonies were more closely identified with spe-

cific castes than with others. For example, when children were asked to tell the story told at the festival of Hoi, which women observed for the welfare and protection of children, an 11-year-old Nai Barber boy could not tell it. He never heard his mother tell the story, for she went to a household where a Brahman woman told it. The right to tell the story was reserved for Brahman women. When the child was small, he might have been taken to hear the story, but by the time he was able to understand the words and pay attention enough to remember, he would no longer accompany his mother. Since as a Nai Barber he would not be required to tell the story, there were no incentives for him to remember it. However, his general acquaintance with the festival impressed some facts on the boy's memory. He knew that it was a time when married women fasted but that married men did not.

Food associated with a given festival served to recall events. For example, on Amla worship, a holiday on the eleventh of the bright fortnight in the month of Phalgun (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1964, p. 89), women made offerings of unrefined brown sugar (gur) and a specific fruit (ber) to an amla plant growing in the garden of the Mali Gardener. The Mali, in turn, gave the ber to Brahman Priest and Gola Potter children. They enjoyed eating the fresh fruit, which reinforced the memory of the occasion.

Children acted out the rites of marriage in doll-play sessions and referred to death, even though the younger children might not understand it. We never saw them act out birth scenes, perhaps because children did not witness them and were barred from the birth chamber, although they would be aware of a birth in their household. Marriages were happy events which children enjoyed; they liked the food and were interested in the gifts which were exchanged and from which they usually benefited. There was more excitement during a marriage than was customary in daily life.

Since a number of people died every year in the village, all children quickly became acquainted with death. When a person died, the corpse was immediately burned at the

village cremation grounds, and children might watch from a distance. Women and children were customarily not supposed to be present at a cremation but the rules for children were not stringent. Children hovered on the peripheries of a cremation out of curiosity and some afterward told us what they had witnessed and their attitudes toward death. They emphasized that one should be stoical and not cry; moreover, women and children should not go to the cremation grounds for fear that they would lose emotional control. The second reason quite possibly stemmed, as far as women were concerned, from the practice of suttee which was extensive throughout northern India until the advent of the British. Women were banned from cremations because the men said that they were "too fragile" to bear them. However, the crying and wailing of the women also upset the men.

Although children knew about ghosts, they did not appear to be unduly apprehensive of them. This attitude may have been due to the psychological and sociological connection between the ghost of a specific person and an individual who was close to or part of the household or neighborhood of the ghost. Children who had not been sufficiently involved with a person who died would not be afraid of its ghost. Fear of a ghost seemed to be related to what the individual who was involved with the ghost felt, such as anxiety or guilt. The actual relationship between the deceased and a living individual would have contributed to emotional attachments, which in turn might be displaced on the ghostly personality of the deceased. Spirits and ghosts were used to frighten children in the socialization process; therefore, enough general fear of ghosts existed to make the technique effective (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1980, pp. 526-535).

On the other hand the situation might parallel Mead's (1967, pp. 213-237) findings among children in New Guinea. They did not believe in ghosts although their elders held seances and believed in them, which might indicate that the degree of involvement of living and dead persons and age may be significant in the expression of fear of a ghost.

IMITATIVE TRAINING FOR WORK

Two kinds of training for adult work were present in Shanti Nagar: the kind learned principally from family and lineage members, and the kind learned in school. The villagers regarded both kinds of training as the means by which an individual learned to earn a living. If the villagers did not believe that going to school helped a son to find a job, or a daughter to marry more advantageously, they did not send their children to school. Very few villagers were interested in knowledge for the sake of knowledge. The attitude was that school could offer no new knowledge about the essentials of living. Therefore to change any basic village value through formal education may take some time. Because of their attitude toward school, older males found the young adults who adhered more closely to village training for adult roles and work more congenial to them than those few who showed evidence of book knowledge and interest in new ideas.

Boys who followed their fathers, providing there was sufficient land in the family or the opportunity to work for a landowner, learned to plow when they were 14, 15, or 16 years of age. Those boys who did not go to school or who dropped out of school early were the most apt to farm. In general, in 1958 and 1959 the least educated boys carried on the farm work. Wealthy families with large landownings often arranged for some sons to be trained for diversified employment in the military, police, or teaching services, some of which required college levels of education, while a son who learned slowly in school or who found urban employment uncongenial took care of the agriculture.

Boys who dropped out of school early were expected around 10 years of age to help the men with their work. They accompanied the men to the fields where one of the first tasks they learned was to fill the hookah so that the men could rest and smoke. As a result of this field interaction with male adults, a boy learned various aspects of cooperative agricultural tasks with members of his family and lineage, and the hierarchical assignment of tasks.

Gathering fodder was learned by both males and females before five years of age as a mother and her children usually carried out this activity. In some families, the men gathered fodder and carried it home; but in most families the women and children performed this work. Sometimes a boy would be responsible for this task before he learned to plow. Then he had to learn to cut up the fodder with the fodder cutter and feed it to cattle. Depending on the number of males and females in the family, their age and education, gathering and cutting fodder was done by both males and females, often by teenagers. Thus, a young girl would have learned the process before she went to her husband. Planting was primarily carried out by male adults, but, in the case of some crops, tasks might be allotted to women and children. For example, they helped sow sugarcane by placing the seed in the furrows. Weeding was performed by men, women, and teenage youngsters, as was most harvesting.

A boy's attainment of agricultural skills depended on his size, ability, and how many adult men there were in his family. If there was only one, it might be necessary for a boy to learn everything as soon as possible. Village men estimated that the process of learning to plow took one year, at the end of which a boy would have had experience with all the principal crops.

In Jat villages, such as Shanti Nagar, males and females of all castes have always worked in the fields; when husbands worked in the city, their wives and children took over some of their agricultural tasks. The demographic and employment situation of a family partly determined the age at which a boy or girl started to help with a task. For example, a joint family of Brahmans divided into three independent families. One of the new families consisted of mother, father, eight-year-old son, and a two-year-old daughter. The father worked in a nearby town and lived at home but was to be transferred to a more distant location so that he would have to live away from home and would not be able to take care of his land. As a result he gave up his position as a clerk.

Because the family separation left him the only adult male in his family, he needed his son to help him with tasks not ordinarily entrusted to someone so young. Assuming a task usually assigned to older boys, the young boy acted as a guard at night to watch sheaves of harvested rice that were stacked in the family's fields. He not only learned the chores involved in agriculture but also about the cooperation between the males of a family and lineage.

The eight-year-old boy was supposed to be in the first grade at school, but in families that needed workers, it was not unusual to take children out of school. Parents often did not appreciate the consequences of such interruptions in education. Since agricultural tasks did not have to be taught every single day and once taught did not require a great deal of repetition, it was difficult for non-literate parents to realize that a child had to go to school consistently in order to learn and keep up with his class. In the case of this particular boy, his father had studied in adult education classes given in the village and learned to read and write in a relatively short period of time so that he could get a clerical job. Thus, he could not understand why his young son should attend school regularly for a long time.

The age at which crafts were learned appeared to vary considerably. Whether the observed differences were related to the crafts themselves or represented only family variation is unclear because in Shanti Nagar each craft was represented by only one or two families. Tailoring, for example, appeared to begin at an early age. One day we were in the village shop when the shopkeeper's 11-year-old son was with him because of a school holiday. The shopkeeper, who also was a tailor, stopped his sewing machine to smoke his hookah, whereupon the boy competently took over the sewing.

Learning to make pottery also started early, but a child helped only with the simpler tasks such as transporting and preparing the clay. It was not until he was considerably older that a boy learned to throw a pot on the potter's wheel. Female potters did not



FIG. 7. Teenage boy preparing fodder for cattle.

learn to throw pots but they helped to mix the clay and they decorated pots.

Another craft was basketry, which was plied primarily by members of the Jhinvar Waterman caste. Only one of the Jhinvars, a man over 60 years old, made baskets. Most of the baskets were relatively crude (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1978, pp. 98–101, figs. 54–59). Although the craft did not appear to be difficult to learn, none of the basketmaker's sons, the oldest of whom was 26 years old, had as yet mastered it. However, since the elderly Jhinvar could alone supply most of the baskets the villagers needed and have a surplus to sell in surrounding villages, the fact that his oldest son was not engaged in the trade was in all probability because he could use his time more profitably in other occupations. There seemed to be nothing about the basketmaker's craft that could not be mastered by a young man in his late teens.

The men in all households from time to time restrung the cots on which everyone slept and sat. This skill was passed down by fathers to sons at the time that they were restringing a cot.

The blacksmith's craft was passed on from father to son much as was pottery making.

Children observed their fathers at work, handled their tools, and assisted to the extent that they were able; young boys could manage some of the simpler tasks such as running errands and working the bellows. But the heavy work of the blacksmith required strength as well as skill. Boys did not do too much of it until their mid-teens. (For further details on crafts see S. Freed and R. Freed, 1978, pp. 85–102.)

The instruction of boys and girls for work in the fields and in the household was not looked on as a training period. This learning experience was similar to the way in which infants and small children were socialized. The parents regarded these experiences as the way in which a person grew up, and they expected both boys and girls to be able eventually to perform these "natural" tasks.

A difference in attitudes about males and females was that a male learned to enable him to earn a livelihood; a female learned to enable her to be a good wife and mother. The fact that every female in Shanti Nagar from the age of four or five years contributed something to the family's coffers was simply not mentioned or considered. The women themselves liked to think that they were tak-

en care of and did not need to work for a livelihood as did the men. This outlook was partly fostered by the fact that women were often not told how much land the family owned and how much could be obtained from it, although they eventually might learn. Males were not expressly taught either, but by working with their fathers and other males, they learned sooner than did women who went to their husbands' villages to live. Women were generally in a poor position to learn about family economic affairs because they did not handle much money, engage in large transactions, or have much to say about money in the family except when they were old. This lack of experience was fostered by the belief that females were not intelligent, had lesser status than males, and were inclined to be foolish. Because females left their parents' home to go to their conjugal affines where their status was low, their participation in important family financial matters was minimal. Despite poor training in financial matters, however, non-literate villagers, whether male or female, generally could add and subtract and knew the cost of the necessities that they bought in the village shop.

Children went to the village shop to buy items at the instruction of their elders. These items were always inexpensive, such as spices or hot sweet potatoes, paid for or charged to the household account. Children did not have allowances for their own personal expenditures except when a boy was away at school or when a girl went permanently to her conjugal affines. Her natal family then sent her money along with other gifts at festivals and life-cycle events. These sums might run from 5 to 10 rupees. Children were interested in money. Boys sometimes asked us for money. No girls asked. We saw fathers and uncles occasionally give a coin or two to a small daughter or son. In the winter season when the shopkeeper cooked and sold sweet potatoes to children, considered a great treat, the children begged their mothers for money to buy this delicacy.

Because adults were frugal, children came to regard money and its equivalent highly and when they became adults were sparing

in their expenditures. Whenever there was any transaction in a family where agricultural or dairy products were exchanged for money or kind, these items were pegged at the current market price, with which the adults were acquainted, and the persons involved in the transaction would make use of a balance and carefully weigh the products.

People did not trust each other regarding money, property, and commercial transactions, a distrust that was communicated to children. For example, one of the first things that a child witnessed when taken to the fields with adults was that they locked the house doors. No one left a house empty without locking the doors. In one case, where a woman had just borne a baby, the household members regularly locked the doors when they went to the fields for fear someone might steal something even though the new mother and baby were in the house. Children witnessed the disputes that took place at the harvest when farmers paid their workers in sheaves of wheat. Farmers accused the harvest laborers of deliberately making some sheaves larger than others and choosing the bigger ones as payment. Farmers complained of being cheated. Children lived in an atmosphere where cheating, exploitation, greed, and occasionally theft were more or less routine. They soon learned to be on their guard.

Despite the fact that children were able to carry on small commercial transactions, it was doubtful that they were aware of the costs of cattle, houses, and overall family expenses. As indicated in doll-play sessions, the most experienced boys in the group, when talking about commercial transactions, overestimated the cost of large items. The high estimates may have been due partially to the competitive play situation as well as to lack of knowledge. In discussing adult transactions, the children did not seem to understand how cattle and other costly items were evaluated.

Children of all ages were constant, quiet listeners to adult conversations. As they grew older, the males tended to listen to males; and the females to females. In the process, they learned a great deal about

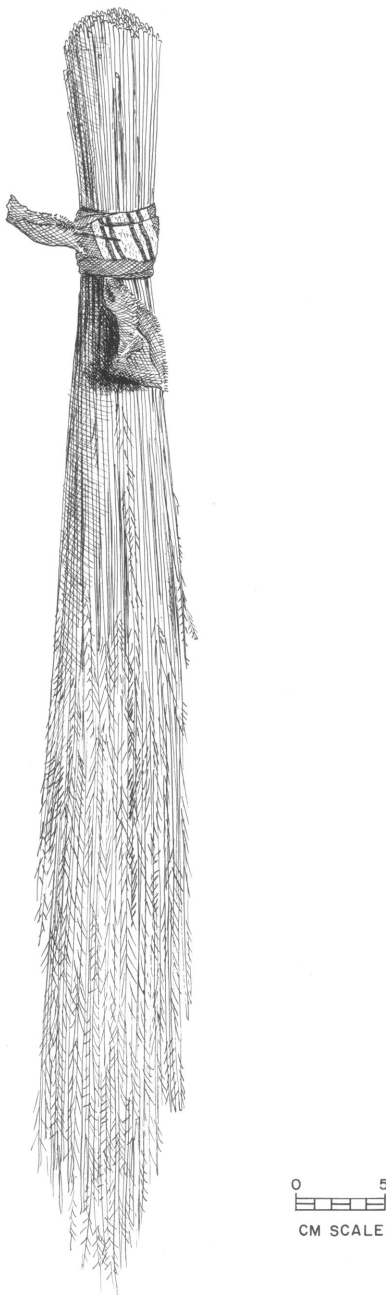


FIG. 8. *Dab ki jharu*, a light broom made of a grass called *dab* (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*). Women made the brooms at home from *dab* that children brought from the fields. Grass brooms were used for sweeping in the house. A more sturdy broom made of bamboo (*bans ki jharu*) was

everyday life and how to perform their own male or female roles. Small children imitated their mothers until four or five years of age. As boys spent more and more time with boys of their own age or with adult males, they less and less imitated their mothers. Older males became their role models. Females, with rare exception, remained under the training of older females. This is not to say that both boys and girls during the process of growing up were not influenced by or did not interact with members of the opposite sex. But it was obvious when boys learned from adult males that they learned more about the world beyond the village and the control of family affairs than did girls. It was not surprising therefore that males were dominant over females, and that females were considered inferior to males and foolish. Girls learned female role behavior earlier than boys learned male role behavior because from the beginning they were taught by their mothers. Boys learned some of their male role behavior from their mothers, but to some degree they also picked up some female role behavior from them.

The household training of a female might begin as early as two years of age. For example, a two-year-old girl would be instructed by her mother to hold the tail of her shirt in such a way as to be able to carry lentils to a nearby container, into which she slowly and carefully poured them. She might spend half an hour working with her mother in this task whenever her mother cleaned lentils. She would, as soon as she was able, be asked to lift and carry various objects to her mother or any adult person in the household. These small tasks were not thought of as work, but adult women instructed small children in them carefully and patiently. There was the attitude that after one or two sessions the child would know.

One of the daily chores which a girl might be assigned at the age of five years was

←

used for heavier sweeping, such as cleaning under cattle. Bamboo brooms lasted five or six months and cost 60 paise. AMNH 70.2-6480.



FIG. 9. Brahman woman, accompanied by seated infant, making brooms from *dab* grass.

sweeping the floor. Some children started earlier because they wanted to, but they did not have the physical potential until about five. The household broom in Shanti Nagar was a short handled bundle of straw which was used in the deep-squat position. Thus, the size of the broom was not considered a major deterrent to the child but rather the muscular coordination and strength needed to make effective sweeping motions.

Around six or seven years of age, a girl was taught by her mother to embroider and sew a little. At first she might sew rags into clothes for a doll; then as her sewing improved, she embroidered. By the time a girl was 10 years old, she would be embroidering pillowcases for her trousseau.

At the age of 11 a girl started to make dung cakes which were used as fuel. This was woman's work and was considered a pleasant occupation, for a woman could sit on the ground and pat dung into shape. This work

was usually done outside where cattle were kept and afforded a woman one of her few chances for privacy. Before she began to make dung cakes, a girl between the ages of seven to 12 years learned to follow the family's cattle through the village lanes and pick up their dung. She used a stick or straw to mark the dung that she could not collect at the moment so that she or a family member could gather it later. The dung was placed in a shallow, large burden basket and carried on the head to the area where a family made its dung cakes.

Girls of all castes collected and carried dung. Boys did not do this work unless there was a shortage of females in the household. Some families had their Chuhra Sweeper woman perform this task. In some of the wealthy Jat households a male servant might pick up the dung. Children learned early that the more cattle the family had the more dung there was and that dung was considered a

form of wealth. This attitude was reinforced by the celebration of a festival known as Cowdung Wealth (Gobardhan) (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1964, p. 88).

When a girl was around 11 or 12 years of age, she began spinning and cooking. Although the girl learned to cook the simplest unleavened bread, there was nonetheless a belief that each family had its own way of cooking bread and that certain kinds of bread were to be cooked in a special way. A daughter-in-law learned the specialties of her husband's family from her mother-in-law. The basic culinary principles were relatively simple, and the girl caught on readily as she had already learned from observation, cooking, and eating in her own home. There were no great differences among families or nearby villages in the kinds of foods that were cooked. Differences in women's culinary skill appeared to be due more to the amount of time that women had to cook and the provisions that a family could afford than to differences in their ability or knowledge.

For a short time, a female social worker worked and lived in the village to teach embroidery and sewing. She taught rather fancy sewing so that only teenage girls were interested, primarily for sewing items for their trousseaux. The social worker also taught weaving. For example, in one of the Bairagi households a girl learned to weave crude mats to be used on beds. This program was part of an attempt to restore cottage crafts. It was not too successful because the village was oriented toward professional craftsmen. Possibly it was scorned because weaving was often equated with low-caste status.

A more successful program was the instruction of teenage girls in the use of the manually powered sewing machine. Girls wanted to have a sewing machine as part of their dowry, for they then could sew clothes for themselves, their husbands, their children, and other kin. Although tailoring and sewing on a machine commercially was a male occupation, this new skill for females which involved the use of a machine was looked on very favorably by the family into which a girl married, for much of the money formerly spent for tailoring could then be

saved. This change resulted in a shift in the sexual division of labor. Some males who were troubled by unemployment reproached girls for doing a man's job. The trend, however, will probably go in the direction of females sewing the family's clothing because the villagers realized the economic savings involved. An added factor was that women might have better fitted clothes, for under the old system, a male tailor never measured females. He was simply given a rough approximation of their measurements. Moreover, females may introduce new styles and have more attractive as well as better fitted clothes. Skill in using a sewing machine would also reduce the cost of gifts, primarily clothing, which had to be sent in yearly festivals, for rites of passage, and throughout the life cycle to married daughters.

Winnowing, pounding and grinding grain, gathering fodder, milking, harvesting, weeding, and hoeing were also female tasks. They were learned by females from childhood through their early teens so they would be skilled when they went to their husbands' houses around 15 or 16 years of age. Winnowing was carried out by females standing long hours on a winnowing stool in the threshing grounds, shaking their winnowing basket so that grain and chaff would be separated by a light wind as they fell to the ground. Pounding grain with a mortar and pestle required a certain height and strength generally possessed by teenage girls and adult women. Grinding grain in a hand mill was the task of a married woman in her husband's house; but girls learned it from their mothers by watching and occasionally relieving them. Males in a household openly resented it if the daughter of a household was found grinding. The expression used was "When the wives are there, why should the husband's sister grind." One old woman said that she learned to grind when she was a little girl because her mother died. When she was married, she immediately started grinding in place of her mother-in-law. A new wife took over the grinding from a senior woman. Most women were glad to rid themselves of the task, for it was arduous and required rising early.

Not only did going to the fields with one's mother and other senior people in the family introduce children to agricultural work, it also expanded their knowledge of village etiquette. One's fields might adjoin the land of people who did not live nearby and with whom one might not ordinarily interact in the village. As youngsters went back and forth from the village to the plots of land on which they worked, they encountered a range of different people and learned the behavior expected of them from adults. For example, a young woman went to the fields with her mother to gather fodder. On the way they encountered an old man going in the opposite direction along one of the narrow paths that divided fields. The mother stepped off the path for the man; the daughter held her ground. The mother as a daughter-in-law of the village gave way to men older than she; but a daughter did not.

Boys in the village were taught to respect the village girls. This behavior was reinforced by fictive kinship, which in turn reinforced village exogamy (S. Freed, 1963, p. 88). One adult male said, "Among Jats, there is the custom that if a boy gossips about girls or refers to them impolitely, the family will beat him and even threaten his life." He also said, "In my family it is the custom to treat every girl in the village as a sister. Among Jats respect for women is important. The custom started when Muslim rulers sometimes tried to take Jat women. When this happened, the Jats would band together and fight. This is why so many Jats live near Delhi. They were the only ones brave enough to fight the Muslim rulers."

Teenage girls and married women among the high castes believed that they were protected and did not work as hard as low-caste

women. Although high-caste women worked longer and harder than high-caste men, they believed that the men worked harder because they had to plow. They did not measure the work which they did in the house, fields, and with children against the hours that men worked. Both men and women believed that women were secluded to protect them. Only those girls who were born in a town or city but married into Shanti Nagar realized how much their activities were limited. One or two girls and young married women with experience of urban living said as much. The belief of high-caste women that men worked harder than they and that women were protected was reinforced by comparing their lot with that of low-caste women and also by a generally uncritical acceptance of social myths.

However, the substantial economic contribution of women and children was not lost on all men. One day we were recounting to one of the most educated village men a discussion that we had recently had with colleagues in Delhi who were engaged in economic research. In describing their method, they remarked that they had assigned weights to the economic contributions of men, women, and children: a man was weighted one, a woman two-thirds, and a child one-half. We commented that we had suggested a revision: a woman should be weighted one, a man two-thirds, and a child one-half. Our village friend smiled and said, "You're still wrong. A child is one, a woman two-thirds, and a man one-half." Although an exaggeration, his laconic observation revealed that perceptive villagers were quite aware of the economic value of women and children.

EDUCATION

The term education is used here for learning that generally takes place in school. It implies formal teaching, beginning with three primary skills: reading, writing, and arithmetic. Reading and writing are basic to the

process of education. In much of the world today, education is an extension of enculturation because it prepares children for a society in which the skills taught through formal schooling are necessary. Although

education is an extension of enculturation just as socialization is the early part of the process of enculturation, education introduces an element of change in culture which socialization and the earlier, traditional form of enculturation without formal schooling lacked. In applying the concept of education to growing up in Shanti Nagar, it is, therefore, necessary to indicate its background and to show the steps by which education has been and still is gradually becoming incorporated into the culture of Shanti Nagar.

In this section on education, we compare traditional learning and education and point out the problems in changing from a family-oriented, traditional type of dyadic learning to a formal school setting and a more abstract type of learning. Taking caste and sex into account, we then delineate the kinds of schooling available to the population of Shanti Nagar and indicate the selectivity and motivations which propel youngsters into the schools. We compare rural and urban school children in the Delhi region and conclude with a discussion of the evolving system of learning in which the old and the new combine.

LITERACY AND FORMAL SCHOOLING

In general, the initial motivation for learning seems to be to earn a livelihood. Gradually, a second stage is reached: learning to learn. The development of the learning-to-learn stage as a supplement to the learning-to-earn orientation is useful as individuals attempt to adapt to rapidly changing conditions.

Standards of literacy vary. The most often used index is the ability to sign one's name. This index usually means that individuals can read somewhat, but it does not necessarily follow that they can read fluently or that they can write beyond their ability to sign their name (Schofield, 1968, p. 324). Here, however, the definition of literacy is expanded to include a competence in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The reason for this expansion is that individuals learn these skills in formal schooling based on a system

of instruction beginning with reading, progressing to writing, and ending with arithmetic. Formal schooling constitutes a change in the conditioning and application of the cognitive processes of individuals who previously experienced only informal traditional learning. Formal learning applies the cognitive processes of generalization and abstraction to the solution of theoretical problems. Informal traditional learning emphasizes imitative behavior in concrete situations.

In analyzing the shift from informal, traditional learning to formal schooling in Shanti Nagar, there may be a gradual shift from learning to earn to learning to learn; but the important factor in learning has been the incentive to earn through learning. This incentive has brought about a series of successive and related stages in the achievement of literacy and then higher education, a progression which, until relatively recently, has been tempered by the persistence of ideas deriving from the earliest stage of literacy in ancient India when literacy was confined to an elite. To some extent, this elitist attitude delayed the spread of literacy to the masses (Goody and Watt, 1968, p. 40).

Early literacy as found in the Harappan Civilization (*ca.* 2500 to 1700 B.C.) of north-western India and eastern Pakistan and probably during the Vedic Age (*ca.* 1000 to 500 B.C.) was in all likelihood a specialty learned by select groups of individuals in order to perpetuate traditional religious knowledge or to keep records for merchants and rulers. The Harappan script, yet to be deciphered, is represented by many seals found both in the Indus Valley and in Sumerian sites. No written material has survived from the Vedic Age. It is only in Asoka's time (beginning *ca.* 269 B.C.) that two scripts occurred which seem to be quite well adapted to the expression of Indian sounds. (Basham, 1954, pp. 15, 19, 394–398; Fairservis, 1975, pp. 278–282; Tyler, 1973, pp. 17, 37–38; Wheeler, 1966, pp. 10, 40, 72.) It is clear that writing existed in India millennia ago but it apparently was limited to elite classes of specialists.

The limitation of literacy to specific occupations militated against others learning to

read and write. Literacy was considered a special, professional skill linked primarily to priests, rulers, and merchants. As it expanded in later centuries from its early beginnings, literacy included within its folds the beginnings of science and philosophy which were associated with the roles of scholar, statesman, philosopher, and priest; but it still was confined to a professional literati and, with the growing strictures of caste, became limited by ascription to specific castes. Non-literates often endowed this educated elite with esoteric and mystical powers.

The ascription of literacy to a select few lasted until the introduction of the British system of formal schooling in India in the last part of the nineteenth century, the first step in transforming Shanti Nagar from a non-literate to a literate community. The British system of schooling gradually brought about a penetration of formal schooling into all segments of Indian society. The effect of this system on Shanti Nagar suggests a general model for attaining mass literacy applicable to the nation at large. Relatively recently, anthropologists and psychologists have raised the question of whether literacy has changed thought processes (Gough, 1968, pp. 70–72; Radin, 1966, pp. 261–266; 1957, pp. 59–62; Redfield, 1953, pp. 7, 36, 37, 43, 50, 65; Scribner and Cole, 1973).

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN COGNITIVE PROCESSES IN TRADITIONAL AND FORMAL LEARNING

Tandon (1968, chs. 1 and 2) describes the introduction of Western schooling in India by the British and relates it to the many changes which occurred not only in his family and in the Punjab but by implication throughout India. He notes the dedication of English schoolmasters to their calling and pupils and their pioneer work in adapting courses of study and textbooks from the English model to Indian conditions. This system of schooling still remained in the Western tradition of learning. The British also introduced the concepts of discipline and regular attendance at school and at work. These new orientations were considered es-

sential for formal schooling, which would in time link the villages with urban centers and the modern world. What is there about this system of learning that differs from traditional, informal learning?

In the study of human capacities, anthropologists have long recognized that human beings everywhere have the same potential. Current research, however, indicates that there may be differences in cognitive responses due to differences in learning, that is, traditional learning and formal schooling may result in different cognitive responses (Cole and Scribner, 1974, pp. 118–121; Scribner and Cole, 1973). Traditional learning is usually acquired without formal teaching. A skill such as plowing or cooking is customarily taught by “acting-out” interactions between the instructor, often a parent or older sibling, and the learner, and by the learner observing and imitating in the context of actually performing the task. Formal schooling, on the other hand, requires more than the ability to observe and imitate. The basic cognitive skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic, which build on each other in sequential teaching and learning, result in a cognitive orientation toward abstraction and generalization that provides the capability and framework for the solution of problems which learners then can use in future learning.

These two types of learning occur under different circumstances. Traditional, informal learning occurs in a non-school situation which is supervised by parents, kin, and elders, and is dyadic or takes place in a small group. The learning processes are imitation, identification, cooperation, empathy, but primarily observation and then execution by imitation. This system of learning occurs in the context of the culture of a small community and builds on its referents. It is carried out for specific purposes, such as cleaning lentils, gathering fodder, or picking up dung; it is organized around daily life; and it is the responsibility of the group—usually elders—to which the individual belongs. Language and linguistic referents in this situation are learned in the context of everyday life as a result of interaction with one’s fam-

ily, kin, and elders and are "thus more deeply socialized" (Goody and Watt, 1968, p. 29).

In formal schooling, students receive oral and written instructions and indicate their learning through the same abstract media. The language of such instruction is usually a standardized regional language that is often somewhat different from the local dialects spoken by the students. Both the instructions of teachers and responses of students are abstract, much more so than in traditional learning which takes place in a context where the referents such as plows, pots, food, and fertilizer are present and can be seen, handled, examined, and used. Language in formal schooling is based on written material and abstract concepts and becomes the almost exclusive means of exchanging information. Schooling differs from informal learning, for it starts with abstract words and proceeds to the referents, while both the word and referent are simultaneously present in informal learning. If this first step in abstraction is not understood by students in formal learning, they may be incapable of going further and fail. They may mime the words without understanding the referents. In view of this difference in learning, those students who in their home life have acquired some knowledge of the language of formal schooling through the experiences of their parents may be better prepared and have a better chance for success (Scribner and Cole, 1973, p. 557).

In Shanti Nagar, the content and methods of schooling were largely divorced from the rest of village life. The teachers, for example, were not members of the community (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, p. 208). Children, accustomed to learning from their parents and other kin, had not encountered the role of a teacher in previous learning situations, a role especially strange to them if they were the first individuals in their family to attend school. School learning was out of the context of everyday village life, for children studied subjects for which they had little or no early learning experience. Their early learning was directed toward immediate action; their formal schooling focused on becoming adept in the use of symbols which

would not be applicable practically in their life for a number of years. If students acquired the ability to continue with this system of learning, it led to ever higher levels of abstraction. They learned to abstract and generalize in order to solve problems; then they advanced to the development of generalized patterns of solving problems. They became able to recognize a problem as belonging to a class of problems and thus solve it. When they reached this stage, they were learning to learn. Populations that have not been subjected to formal schooling may fall short in these cognitive skills. They may not perform cognitive tasks in the same way and with the same meaning as populations that have been subjected to school learning (Scribner and Cole, 1973, pp. 556–557).

The steps by which basic literacy is achieved not only promote effective literacy but lead to higher levels of literacy. Learning to read without learning to write results in low-level literacy, indicative of a student who may have studied for only one year. Although occasionally a facile and habitual reader may develop in such a short period of time, most students rarely learn to learn, that is, to acquire patterns of learning and problem solving. The cognitive skill of writing indicates that students have studied further than one year. If students can write more than their name and can also read beyond just spelling out words for minimum understanding, they are considered literate (Schofield, 1968, pp. 317, 323–324).

The quality of learning received by teachers and imparted to students affects student performance. Those teachers who attain literacy merely as a means of teaching reading and writing but are not habitual readers themselves, as may be the case with many who become teachers for status and economic reasons, probably will turn out students who appear to have learned the cognitive skills but who may not become readers any more than their teachers. To be a reader requires a cultural setting conducive to reading: available books, newspapers, magazines, a time and place to read, a value placed on reading not just for earning but also for learning and for pleasure, and a re-

alization that through reading one may acquire new and interesting experiences. If in a family and kinship setting parents and grandparents can read, do read, and provide the opportunities, materials, and encouragement for children to read, then the children should read and read well. Three generations of readers in a family may provide "real" readers, while a first generation of readers may only learn minimal cognitive skills (Mead, 1971, pp. 68–70, 75).

Formal schooling is more compatible with urban than rural society. Urban society is generally less kin based and more impersonal and abstract than rural society. It accords with a system of learning that provides knowledge of many different ways of life and a cultural framework for adaptation to a wide variety of urban situations for different classes of students. Reading is the key to formal schooling, which to many people implies opening a door to occupational specialization. The carrot which makes it possible for children who have been raised in an informal, traditional learning situation to adapt to formal schooling is "learning to earn," with the motivation supplied by the parents and reinforced by the value system of a society with a short supply of land and an excess of people dependent on the land for their livelihood. At least, this situation was characteristic of Shanti Nagar. Through learning to earn, the students learn to learn.

HISTORY OF FORMAL SCHOOLING IN SHANTI NAGAR

The stages through which Shanti Nagar passed in the process of gradually introducing formal schooling combined the earlier ascriptive model of literacy which was widespread in medieval India among Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas, possibly even wealthy Shudras (Gough, 1968, pp. 70–72) with the system of education introduced by the British. The first stage provided limited schooling to predominantly well-off, high-caste males. The length of school attendance of these males thereafter gradually increased, initially through grade school (five classes), then through higher secondary

school (11 classes), and ultimately to occupational and university levels although the progression was slow and by no means universal even within this select group. During these successive stages, middle- and low-caste males gradually began to acquire formal schooling, especially after the Independence of India (1947), through subsidies from the Government of India. Formal education of females occurred only after a number of males had acquired sufficient education to be active in urbanized and educated milieus where the ability of a wife to read and write was an adaptive mechanism or a status symbol. As was to be expected, the higher and wealthier castes first provided limited education for their daughters. Thus, although the British system of education introduced a new system of learning to the masses, the older tradition of ascription of learning to males of specific castes allowed those castes to attain education at all levels earlier.

In 1958–1959, India had laws for a system of universal education, but did not have the means to enforce them. S. Freed and R. Freed (1976, pp. 46–54, 55–56, 160, 208, 210–211, tables 6–24) describe briefly the school system for Shanti Nagar as of 1958–1959, and provide demographic data on literacy by age, sex, caste, landownership, and urban experience. These data validate the model of change from traditional learning to formal schooling as described below, as for example, by the inverse correlation of literacy with age. Data regarding the education of males and females in Shanti Nagar are given in tables 3 and 4.

In Shanti Nagar, the introduction of a school for all castes took place around 1900. One Chuhra Sweeper 60 years of age said that he went to the village school when he was a boy. A few men 60 to 70 years old studied anywhere from the first to the fifth grade. Since these statements were made in 1958 and 1959, the men first attended school about the turn of the century. No females attended school at that time.

Only two of nine men over 70 years of age were literate. They were both Brahmins and neither had studied in a village school. The oldest, 90 years of age, had studied to be a

TABLE 3
Males^a by Age and Education
 (Figures in parentheses are row percentages.)

Age	Illiterate or Not in School	Literate or in School	Matriculate ^b	Higher Secondary ^c	College	Total
0-4	79 (100)	—	—	—	—	79
5-9	24 (39)	37 (61)	—	—	—	61
10-19	5 (05)	75 (80)	7 (07)	6 (06)	1 (01)	94
20-29	19 (41)	16 (35)	3 (06)	5 (11)	3 (06)	46
30-39	17 (46)	15 (40)	3 (08)	0	2 (05)	37
40-49	18 (67)	5 (18)	4 (15)	0	0	27
50-59	13 (72)	5 (28)	0	0	0	18
60-69	9 (60)	6 (40)	0	0	0	15
70 and older	7 (78)	2 (22)	0	0	0	9
Total	191 (49)	161 (42)	17 (04)	11 (03)	6 (02)	386

^a Eight servants and 13 others whose education is unknown are omitted.

^b Includes males who have completed 10 grades and have taken, but not necessarily passed, the matriculation examination.

^c Males who have completed 11 grades.

Source: S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, table 6.

priest at a religious school in a large nearby village; then he had studied at Varanasi (Benares). His literacy was a result of his religious training and in this sense was completely traditional. His success as a priest and his literacy had influenced his entire family so that in four succeeding generations some of the men in the family went to school and became literate. It was only in the fourth generation, however, that this family began to educate its girls. The oldest literate female in this large extended family of five generations was nine years old and in the third grade. She represented a fourth generation of family literacy and attended school in Shanti Nagar. Another girl of six years was in first grade in the City of Delhi.

This family claimed that its fortune was made as a result of the abilities of this old priest. Family members inferred that he had special powers and had brought good fortune. However, the fortunes of this family may have improved because its members early took to literacy and some of the males took urban-oriented jobs so that the family land was not the only source of income. The family stayed together as a corporate, economic unit and purchased a building in Delhi that yielded regular rental income and in

which those members who worked in the city also lived.

The head of the family was 60 years old, had studied through the third grade, had worked for 17 years as a compounder (pharmacist) in a suburb of Delhi, and then as a vaccinator. He was currently farming, primarily directing the younger males and husbanding the family's assets. This family had only 1.7 hectares (4.2 acres) of land; yet it had prospered. Its 20 members, 11 males and nine females, lived as an extended economic unit. Of the nine females, six were unmarried daughters and three were wives. One wife and her three young daughters lived in the family's building in Delhi. She took care of her husband and children and the other male members of the joint family who lived and worked in Delhi.

The men who worked in Delhi, their jobs, earnings, and education were as follows. One brother of the head of the family, aged 40, had studied through the ninth grade and was a retired army lieutenant with a pension of 85 rupees a month. His non-literate wife and most of his children lived in Shanti Nagar. Another brother of the head of the family, 35 years of age, who had studied through the second grade, worked as a watchman in

a mill. He earned 85 rupees per month and free housing from the mill. A 30-year-old son of the head of the family, who had studied through the seventh grade, was a peon in a factory and earned 85 rupees a month. He lived with both of his father's brothers and his wife who kept house for all of them. A son of the retired army lieutenant lived with his father and the rest of the family. He was 19 years old, had failed his higher secondary examination, and was an apprentice in an ironwork shop where he received no pay. Five children, three of whom attended school, also lived in the building in Delhi. The other children were too young for school. Another male member of this family, 21 years of age, had studied through the seventh grade and daily commuted by train from the village to Delhi. He worked in the post office and earned 85 rupees per month. In this family, there were no non-literate males. It was highly probable that all the boys and girls who lived in Delhi would attend school and become literate.

This family provided an excellent example of the growth of literacy and its correlation with culture change, namely, that for adult men, education and urban experience were positively correlated, and that a child was more likely to be literate if the head of its family was literate (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, p. 51).

The other literate male in the over-70-years bracket was about 78 to 80 years old. He was a widower with no surviving children so he had ceded his land in his natal village to his brothers and their children and lived in Shanti Nagar with his sister. He had learned to read and write when he was an adult serving in the army. He studied privately with another soldier who taught him. He, too, was an urbanized individual, for he had served in the army in Delhi at the time of the 1911 Durbar and in France during World War I; later he joined the police. In his sister's family, there was also a tradition of literacy and urban employment. His sister's deceased husband had studied to the fifth grade and had been a small entrepreneur. His sister's son, 42 years of age, was a matriculate and reader in a court in Delhi,

TABLE 4
Females^a by Age and Education
(Figures in parentheses are row percentages.)

Age	Illiterate or Not in School	Literate or in School	Beyond Village School	Total
0-4	72 (99)	1 (01)	—	73
5-9	47 (78)	13 (22)	—	60
10-19	40 (58)	24 (35)	5 (07)	69
20-29	36 (80)	8 (18)	1 (02)	45
30-39	35 (92)	3 (08)	0	38
40-49	25 (100)	0	0	25
50-59	20 (100)	0	0	20
60-69	6 (100)	0	0	6
70 and older	3 (100)	0	0	3
Total	284 (84)	49 (14)	6 (02)	339

^a Forty-one whose education is unknown, nine whose age and education are unknown, and three illiterates whose ages are unknown are omitted.

Source: S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, table 7.

where he earned 170 rupees a month. The sister's son's children, including the girls, all went to school except for those who were too young, and his oldest son was in his fourth year of college. Again, the only females who were literate were young. The oldest literate female, a daughter, 22 years of age, had studied through the fifth grade and was married to a college student.

Both of these examples were Brahman families. The Brahmans, because of their original priestly orientation, had a tradition which valued learning; it was, therefore, not surprising that the two oldest literate males in the village were Brahmans. As one Jat Farmer commented, "If a Brahman is not educated he is only as good as a Chamar." But in answer to this comment, a very strong follower of the Arya Samaj, also a Jat, said, "This is a country of Aryans and there are no castes. Any person who is learned is a pundit." This idea from the Arya Samaj contributed to the increasing demand for education in Shanti Nagar. Education was seen not only as a means for getting ahead and as a leveling influence between castes but also, from the point of view of Arya Samajis, as a means of taking away the power of Brahmans and Baniyas, twice-born castes.

A Jat Farmer in recapitulating his family's history affirmed the development cycle in education. According to him, his grandfather, the first person in the area to read and write, was the government accountant for the village and acted as a scribe for the villagers. He sent his sons to school. This family had a wealthy grandmother who came from the City of Delhi and financed the education of this informant's father's uncle up to the tenth class. As a result, he obtained a position as an officer in the canal department. He was said to have owned an automobile and seven horses. In keeping with Arya Samaj tenets he was a strict vegetarian and was healthy, religious, and punctual in his duties, qualities which the informant considered contributed to his success. Our informant's father never went to school, but he learned to read and write Hindi, Urdu, Moondi Hindi (written by Baniyas and usually learned in a Baniya school formerly), and English. He took lessons from his educated brother in the evening after farming all day. The educated father's brother of this informant provided an education for other males in the family, one of whom had been educated up to the B.A. and LL.B. but died young. Another son, still alive, also received the B.A. and was a major in the army.

Since all of these men were successful, our informant's father attributed their success to their education and began to provide education for all family members. He was the first to educate the girls in the family. The major, about 50 years old, lived in a suburb of Delhi and sent his daughters to school through the seventh and ninth grades. His son attended the University of Delhi. Most of the younger women living in the village household had gone to school up to the fourth or fifth class but not those over 40 years old. Two males in this large extended family were studying for the B.A. and M.A. The informant stated that the whole family had decided to give the children a good education and if necessary to send them abroad for education.

This family had taken an additional step in the educational cycle and was sending the boys to highly rated private boarding

schools, which emphasized training in English. Our informant maintained that his family had abandoned "bad" customs like the giving of a large dowry and other heavy marriage expenditures. Instead they were spending their money on education. He said, "We want to make ourselves right, happy, and healthy." This was an excellent example of a strongly Arya Samaj family, which was imbued with the spirit of progress and also a kind of puritanism. With these traits went hard work and discipline.

The informant for this family was the steward, so to speak, of the family's funds and activities in Shanti Nagar. He had done less well in school than his brothers, having failed at the matriculate level. He had attended first the village school and then a private school for boys. At the private school, he had a schoolmaster who, according to him, was very mean and beat him. This treatment along with poor teaching killed his motivation to study.

Apparently over 60 years ago, at least one Chuhra Sweeper attended the village school, but he and possibly a few other low-caste men were exceptions, for our data indicate that the low-caste males were the last males to make the transition to formal schooling. According to village informants, youngsters who were in the scheduled or backward castes in 1958 and 1959 were eligible for scholarships. The government took care of their school expenses in non-tuition schools and paid their family a regular sum of money once the children reached the third grade. This payment was supposed to offset the loss of the child's work in the family. These scholarships became effective in India after 1947.

The scheduled castes in Shanti Nagar consisted of the two lowest castes, the Chamar Leatherworker and the Chuhra Sweeper. The backward castes, categorized as having the least education among the non-scheduled castes, were the Bairagi Beggar, Jhinvar Waterman, Mali Gardener, Lohar Blacksmith, Chhipi Dyer, Nai Barber, and Gola and Mahar Potters. Not all youngsters in these castes attended school. The castes which did not receive these scholarships in

Shanti Nagar were the Brahman Priest, Baniya Merchant, and Jat Farmer.

Before Independence in 1947, the odds were against the low castes entering and continuing school. At that time, they were still subject to begar, compulsory service for landowners. Any youngster among the low castes who attended school might be called upon to help his family serve the landowning castes. In addition, the high castes did not want their children attending school with the low castes and did not favor the education of members of the low castes or of females. In any case, then and at the time of our study, many families could not afford to let their children go to school; others saw no point to an education.

Although government support was of some help, the scheduled and backward castes did not have a tradition of literacy. Moreover, poverty either contributed to their not attending school or to dropping out. Males in these two blocs of castes were going to school; but almost none of the females were going. Only two Chuhra Sweeper females, for example, both daughters, had gone or were going to school. Among the Chamars, no daughters had been educated thus far, but one 15-year-old wife had gone to the fifth grade. Educational differences between high- and low-caste families were related to a family's ability to bear the cost of educating a child, which included the cost of losing the child's labor, the extent of access which the low castes had for obtaining jobs, and the ability of the family to understand the process of education. This last factor depended on the family's tradition of literacy; if both parents were non-literate, they would not have knowledge of what school meant.

Even among the higher castes, families differed regarding which children were to be educated. A family head with a fair amount of land but who was not oriented toward learning might decide that one son would farm and another go to school, usually depending on which son applied himself more to his studies. Among all castes there was a belief that some children had the temperament to learn in school and others did not.

A high-caste boy who did not care to go to school would most likely be taught agricultural work.

PROBLEMS IN TRANSITION FROM TRADITIONAL LEARNING TO FORMAL SCHOOLING

For the most part, non-literate parents did not understand the cognitive and behavioral differences between learning in and out of school. In their own learning, they had received little or no teaching in structured, abstract situations that are basic to schooling. They were unaware that the learning situation based on observation, imitation, and participation with which they were familiar and which they regarded as "natural" might not suffice for success in school. Children learned in a situation of family interaction with little conscious instruction except for specific skills such as cooking, plowing, and sewing. Even these skills were taught gradually and "at one's own sweet will" as the villagers expressed it. Once learned these skills did not require abstract, problem-solving, cognitive skills of the kind encountered by those who learned to read, write, and calculate. Conversations with parents of children who were taking the first steps toward literacy indicated that school learning was regarded as simply copying what the teacher demonstrated in front of the students, for this method of informal learning was characteristic of their own methods of instructing their offspring.

Possibly the most difficult concept to convey to non-literate parents who worked on the land was the relation of a time schedule to formal schooling. This difficulty was most evident in the way in which a youngster was started in school. Except for those families in which education had become a tradition, parents did not necessarily start the child at the age of five years. Many of them did not keep track of birth dates, exact ages, could not read a calendar, and did not know the schedule of school days and vacations. Even though they expressed interest in sending a boy to school so that he would be able to earn, they did not realize that the child

should start at the beginning of the school year and attend regularly thereafter. This lack of knowledge and understanding was reinforced by ignorance regarding the subjects taught in school, both of which were strengthened by the belief that some children had the ability to learn in school and others did not. This belief circularly reinforced the lack of knowledge about schools in that parents would attribute a child's failure solely to his ineptness; it would not occur to them that they might be partly at fault. Parents started children in school at no regular time, much less the year in which the child became five years old, the legal age at which children were first sent to school. They did not make the child go to school anymore than they saw to it that attendance was regular; and they allowed a child to drop out and start again as much as a year or two later. For example, one mother thought her child was enrolled in school, but all he did was occasionally sit in the village meeting house, the site of the school, and watch the children who were enrolled. Another mother started her boy in school a number of times, let him drop out for a period of three years, and then when he was nine years old proposed to start him again in the first grade.

The established temporal patterns of family life were relatively different from the time schedule for schooling. While urban workers adapted to a time schedule similar to that of school, they were dominantly literate and all males. Children of early school age were subject to the instructions of their mothers and only later to their fathers, both of whom often were non-literate. The established pattern with children was to have them perform numerous tasks which the mother or father did not have the time or inclination to carry out. Parents who were non-literate, therefore, did not hesitate to keep children home from school because they wanted them to run errands or perform some other chore. The older the children, the more the parents used their services and took them out of school. Since adult females could not travel outside of the village without chaperonage unless they were past the menopause, mothers frequently sent their sons, 11 years of age

or older, on errands to other villages, a town, or even the City of Delhi. These errands interrupted regular attendance at school and contributed to students dropping out of school. Such parents were unaware that regular attendance was necessary in a learning process that taught symbols which were sequentially and logically related.

Several cases of parents keeping children from school to work or failing to adjust the family routine to the school schedule came to our attention. For example, a young Gola Potter boy who was doing well in school was often called upon by either his mother or father to run errands because he was capable. When a younger brother was ill, he was sent to a nearby village for some medicine instead of going to school. Not only were the parents non-literate but they were members of a caste which had only recently and hesitantly begun to send children to school.

Such a casual approach to education was not confined to the low castes. In high-caste families, even those with literate heads, a non-literate mother would not comprehend the learning process and its relation to regular attendance. In the family of a wealthy Jat Farmer, there were two adult sons. The older, 32 years of age, had not been sent to school but had recently studied in the adult education class held in the village in order to learn to read and write. His younger brother, who had failed at the higher secondary level and later served in the police, was quite urbanized and ambitious. In relating incidents in his life history, he said that one of the reasons that he had not done too well in school was that his mother never had his food ready for him on time so that he was always late getting to school and often missed entirely. This was a legitimate complaint. The middle-aged and older women of the village who had never gone to school did not realize the importance of being on time and of attending and studying regularly. Never having experienced an institutional learning experience, which was totally abstract and non-applied, they were incapable of visualizing the behavior patterns necessary to motivate the children to be successful at studying and continuing in school. This

point of view also applied to non-literate fathers or heads of families who had jurisdiction over children.

The learning situation for primary school-children was comparable to that of frontier children in America, who attended a one-room school, where all grades were taught, and who studied at night by candlelight in farmhouses of one or two rooms. However, Indian children in the first five grades did not have a long walk from their house to school. They either attended the village school or walked a half-mile to the crafts-oriented school in a nearby village.

The policy of beating children to discipline them and make them study, especially boys as they grew older, was similar to the "spare the rod and spoil the child" adage, possibly derived from Calvinistic and British influence. Male parents, in particular, advocated beating their sons if they did not follow the schoolmasters' instructions. However, two of our male informants who supported this policy said that one of the reasons they had dropped out of school was because their teachers had beaten them. In any case, punishment was at the discretion of the teacher. Parents did not interfere with teachers since they themselves advocated corporal punishment when children misbehaved. In an investigation of the factors that contribute to success and failure in formal schooling, it would be interesting to know the degree to which severe beatings contributed to students' leaving school prematurely.

The physical setting of the village school in Shanti Nagar was not an especially good environment for the formal learning process. The school (first through fifth grades) convened in the village meeting house consisting of three walls and a roof that projected slightly over a raised platform surrounded by a low wall and reached by steps. Thus, one long side of the meeting house was completely open to the view of passers-by. Students, grouped by grades, sat on the floor of the meeting house facing a blackboard against one wall. Three teachers taught the five grades: one female for the first three grades, and two males for the fourth and fifth grades. Thus, the female teacher had the more dif-

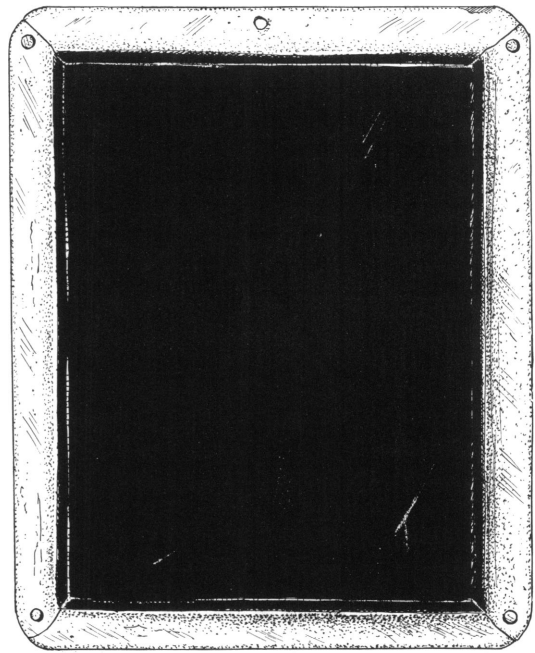


FIG. 10. Slate made of blackened metal (both sides) with a metal border painted red. Children used slates to practice writing and arithmetic. Slates were more economical than paper because the chalk writing could be wiped off with a damp cloth and the slate used repeatedly. Slates were made of both iron and slate, which was relatively fragile; metal slates were common because they were unbreakable and safe for children to use. Slates were purchased in shops and cost 90 paise. AMNH 70.2-6474.

ficult job in terms of numbers of students and grades, during a period in schooling when individual attention to a child was most important. Lessons were learned by rote; children recited them in unison within a grade. The meeting house was located at the intersection of two lanes where there was a great deal of activity which sometimes distracted the children. The meeting house was not designed specifically as a school with a library, desks, and chairs. It provided only space for holding the classes.

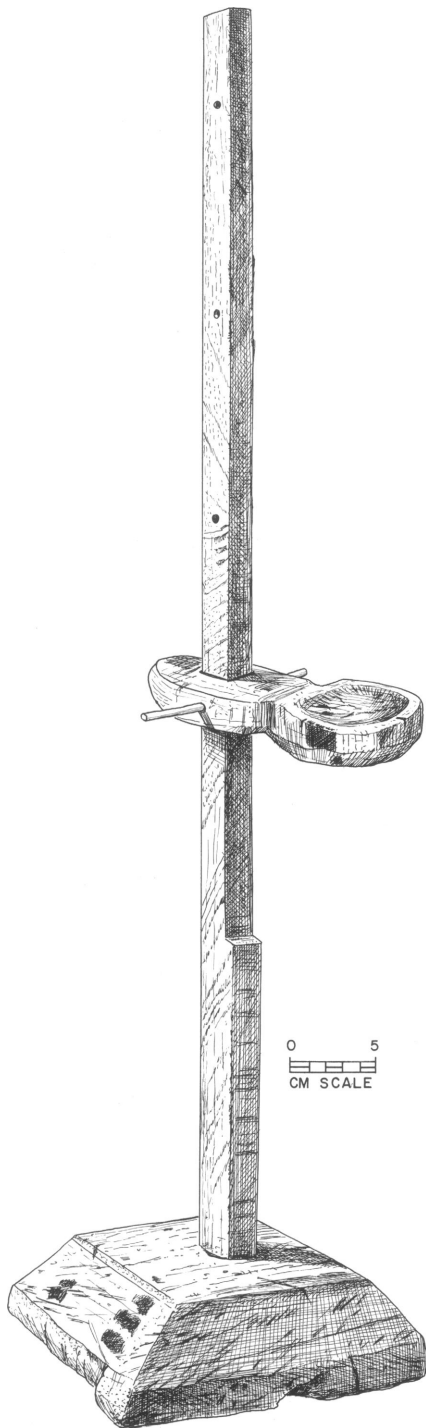


FIG. 11. *Diwat*, a wooden stand to hold a lamp (*diwa*) which burned mustard oil. Convenient and

Although theoretically the school was for all castes, low-caste boys walked to another village about half a mile from Shanti Nagar to attend the basic school which, reflecting the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, was craft-oriented and provided training from first through eighth grade. It was, however, held in low esteem by the high castes and by the low-caste boys themselves. They knew that the crafts which they were taught were correlated with their caste position, and they did not want to spend time in school learning them. They wanted to learn to earn but for a position of higher status and better income than that traditional to their caste. That young children of five and six years were expected to walk to the next village to attend school further impeded their starting school on time and attending promptly and regularly. It especially militated against girls attending, for they might have to walk there by themselves.

Studying at home was often difficult since many houses were crowded. Domiciles were not designed for living and sitting indoors a great deal. Children did not have private rooms. Electricity had not yet been extended to the village. Villagers generally retired shortly after it grew dark so that students could not stay up late to study because rooms would be used for sleeping. Studying was more often carried out early in the morning before school than at night, for most village families preferred to conserve the fuel required for a light by which to study. Conditions were especially difficult for students studying for their matriculation (tenth grade)

←

portable, it had the added advantage of avoiding the blackening of walls by the smoke of the burning oil, which could occur if a lamp was placed on a wall shelf. *Diwats* were made by village carpenters and cost Rs. 3.00. Of the four components represented in the drawing, the American Museum of Natural History has only the base, pole, and shelf. The peg attaching the shelf to the pole was added by the artist to show the stand fully assembled. In 1958–1959, *diwats* were being replaced by barn lanterns that burned kerosene. AMNH 70.2-6514abc.

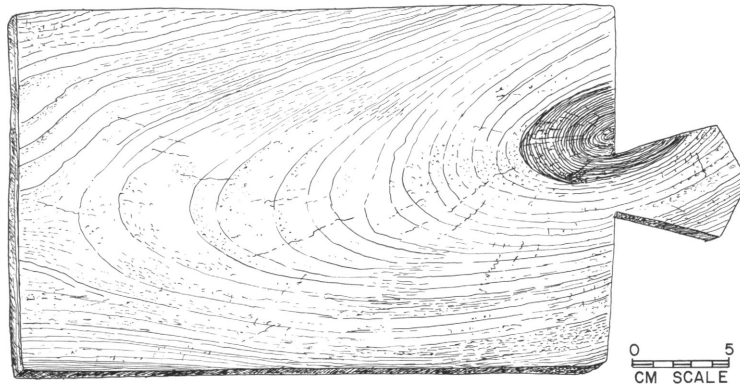


FIG. 12. *Takhti*, a wooden board used by children to practice writing. Children wrote in ink using a bamboo pen. The board was cleaned with clay (*multani*), dried in the sun, and used repeatedly. Schoolteachers claimed that practice with a pen and *takhti* improved handwriting. A *takhti* cost 75 paise. AMNH 70.2-6464.

and higher secondary examinations (eleventh grade).

Children arose early to study, but because of morning chores they could not always prepare their lessons. At the lower grades, parents did not take schooling seriously unless the male head of the family was ambitious for his children to do well in school, a sentiment more frequently encountered among the literate, urban-employed family heads than among the non-literate more traditional family heads. In general, the attitude was to allow children to attend school if the family could manage without their help and afford the expense. Consequently, girls who helped their mothers more than boys were likely to be kept out of school. Besides, girls were not looked upon as potential earners. If children did well in school, parents might permit them to continue.

Some parents set stumbling blocks to studying because they thought that if a child spent many of the daylight hours in school, there had to be something lacking in the child if additional study at home was necessary. This was part of the belief that some children were meant to go to school and some were not. Behind this ignorance of the parents was the additional factor that the kind of learning situation to which non-literate parents had been exposed had always been within family

and lineage, had been very gradual, and applied directly to what the family did every day. It was not a sustained, abstract learning experience with little direct applicability for many years. It was understandable and "natural" whereas schooling, somehow, was not. Thus, non-literate parents had a kind of subconscious animosity to a process which they little understood. Another factor that hindered boys from going very far in school was the attitude of some non-literate fathers, who felt threatened by sons who were learning subjects totally mysterious to them.

Parents often cited the cost as the principal reason for not sending children to school. In one family of the Jhinvar Waterman caste, no adult had gone to school. They had begun to send a 10-year-old boy to school, who had started and stopped once before. In order to send him to school they spent Rs. 2.50 per year and said that it was very difficult to find the money. In addition, the boy did not want to go to school, and the mother said that neither the school nor the teacher was any good. However, because the Jhinvars were officially classified as a backward caste, this child would have been eligible for scholarship funds when he entered the third grade, an incentive for them to send him. Under the circumstances it would be surprising if this boy went very far in school.

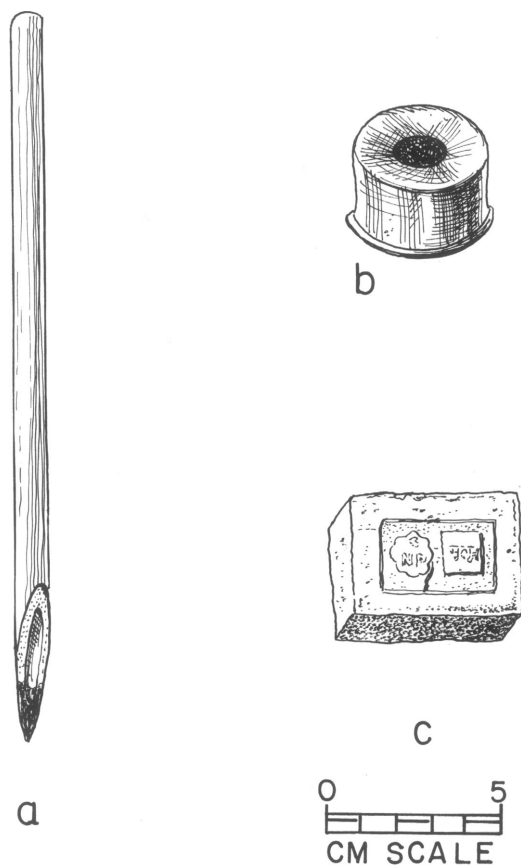


FIG. 13. *Kalam* (a), a pen made of bamboo that was used by children in the primary classes but not in later grades. The pen was sharpened with a knife. Pens cost 7 paise for two but they were included free of charge with the purchase of an inkwell and a *takhti*. AMNH 70.2-6470.

Dawat (b), inkwell. Made of metal, inkwells were available in the village shop and cost about 10 paise. AMNH 70.2-6471.

Multani (c), a clay used to clean wooden writing boards. Available in the village shop, clay cost 1 paisa for two pieces. AMNH 70.2-6475.

Among the Chamar Leatherworkers, one of the highly respected men had taught himself to read. He said that he went to school for one month when he was a child, and then God helped him so that now he could read quite well. And so he could. This man at the

age of 15 had been apprenticed without pay to a Delhi shoemaker for five years. When we knew him, he was an independent entrepreneur who made fine shoes to order for a special clientele. Because of his life experience, he taught his younger brother to read rather than send him to school. Therefore, he shared the common idea that the ability to read was inherent. He expressed his belief thus: "Intelligence is given by God; effort is needed, but whatsoever God has written is a person's luck. So will it be. Luck is determined by God. When a child is in the mother's womb, then God writes on the child's skull what the child will be and whether he will be happy or not." He said that this belief was verified, for "When a person dies, he is burned and then on the second or third day after death, his bones are picked up and one can see God's writing on the skull."

This Leatherworker was a self-made man whose image of himself was one that he wanted to impose on other members of his community. He used traditional ideas to reinforce his opinion about learning. In a discussion which he dominated among a number of Chamar Leatherworkers on the subject of education, the following four widely held ideas were expressed. First, the people in ancient India were the wisest who ever existed. Second, after comparing educational facilities in the world, many people came to India to study. He qualified this statement by saying that England was the leader in education. Third, India was very advanced at the time of the epics. This opinion was based on the belief that in the two great epics of India, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, some of the fabulous acts of the gods were in fact due to advanced scientific technology. This belief was voiced in many places in India and had been fostered not only by the Arya Samaj but also by educational policies designed to strengthen nationalistic feelings in India. Fourth, there was a multiplicity of languages in India and language changed every few miles in contrast to America where there was only one language. The fact that India had many languages was taken as an advantage

and a proof that India was an ancient and very sophisticated nation which was able to function despite or because of the many languages.

This Leatherworker then lashed into a criticism of the son of one of the men present. He was the man's oldest son, 13 years of age in the ninth grade. The boy had been silently listening to the discussion of the men. The self-instructed Chamar Leatherworker said the youngster was a complete failure. He did not work or have a job, was not capable of getting a job, and did not know how to sit, talk, or live. The boy looked miserable, was close to tears, and left. His father did not defend him but rather agreed with the criticism. However, he hit another of his sons on the back rather hard a few minutes later; this 12-year-old boy, also in school, smiled and went away. The father was non-literate and respected the opinion of the self-made Chamar, especially since he would have preferred that both boys work as well as be literate. The younger of the two boys (they were half-brothers as their father had two living wives) helped his father deliver and sell milk in the city and attended school less regularly than his older brother. Both boys were passing in school, but the older boy, who had been so shamed in public, was considered to be doing well in school.

In general, education conferred an advantage in marital negotiations although opinion on this point was not unanimous. For example, in another session in the Chamar compound, a man was receiving advice from the leading Leatherworkers about the negotiations for the marriage of his son. The father of the boy pointed out that his son was being educated and that, therefore, he had demanded that the girl's father give a larger dowry and spend more for the wedding ceremony than he would for an uneducated boy. The self-educated Leatherworker, however, said, "The boy is doing no one but himself a favor by getting educated" and indicated that the demands made by the father of the boy were improper. He then commented that the boy was not intelligent but was clever, talked straight, and did not dissemble.

CASTE DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATION

A Brahman Priest family which was educating both its boys and girls typified the attitude of many high-caste families toward education although this family was willing to make greater sacrifices to educate girls than was then common. The family was joint, consisting of two brothers married to two sisters, and their offspring. The four parents ranged from 40 to about 55 years of age; only the youngest wife could read and write. She had learned in an adult education class in the village. She had two sons, ages 18 and 16 years, both in the tenth grade. Her sister had two daughters, 20 and 13 years of age. The 20-year-old daughter had studied through the fourth grade and was married to a school-teacher; the 13-year-old girl was in the seventh grade and would continue in school as long as possible. Because they were educating the children, there was a shortage of labor in the family and the youngest wife, who was small and frail with a heart condition, was the one who often had to draw and carry water from the well. Most women in the village would not have made this sacrifice, but rather would have had the 13-year-old girl take over this task. These two married sisters looked on their children as part of one family, as though the sons and daughters belonged to all of them. Because of this attitude both the boys and girls were receiving an education.

Parents might be helpful in one way and not so helpful in others, for in this same family, during our stay, the 18-year-old boy was married. The marriage preparations might divert a young groom's mind from school work, and a new bride might be even more diverting. But on the other hand with an educated son as a bridegroom, the family would receive quite a good dowry from the girl's family. In addition, when she came permanently the boy's family would have another worker, all of which would be helpful.

Among the backward castes, the Nai Barbers appeared to have entered into the cycle

of education more than most of the others. One of the three Nai households was sending both boys and girls to school although none of the adults over 20 years of age had attended school. One girl, 12 years old, was in the seventh grade, and the family said they "would make her a teacher if she could do it." This household served half the high-caste families in Shanti Nagar. Each of the other two households served 25 percent of the high-caste families. The adult males who headed these last two families worked as barbers in the City of Delhi. The older of the two owned his own shop. He was educating his three sons, 18, 10, and 8 years old, but none of his daughters. His oldest son had gone to the matriculate level and was studying to be a pharmacist. In the third family, the head of the household stopped school at the sixth grade, had a falling out with his older brother, separated from him, and then worked in a shop in Delhi. As a result, his wife was left with the household work and her duties as a female barber; their 11-year-old son (the oldest of four sons) shaved his father's village clientele. This family was behind the other Nais in the cycle of education, primarily because the oldest son had quit school in the second grade to carry out his father's services in the village. All the adult male Nais, however, had had urban experience. In general, the Nais seemed to be on the way toward literacy for both males and females.

The five Bairagi households were quite ambitious about educating their sons and obtaining work for them in the city. Two young males, 19 and 20 years of age, had gone through the tenth and ninth grades, respectively, and both worked in the Delhi courts as orderlies. Two more boys were in the tenth grade. Only one female, however, had gone to school. She was eight years old and in the second grade. None of the wives were educated.

The Lohar Blacksmith family had started educating its boys but not its girls. The oldest son of the village blacksmith, 24 years of age, was not sent to school, but rather was

trained to help his father (also non-literate) in the shop. The next son had failed in the eighth grade and worked in the blacksmith shop. Two younger boys, 15 and 9 years of age, were in the eighth and first grades, respectively. No females had gone to school.

In one of the two Jhinvar households, a man 26 years of age had gone to the first grade; his younger brothers 15 and 13 years of age were in the tenth and eighth grades. None of the females had been educated, nor were there any plans to do so. However, in a conversation with the senior woman in this household, she indicated interest in the fact that a woman could earn her own way when she learned how much our female interpreter earned and when she realized that her employment was due to her education. All members of the other Jhinvar family were non-literate; this was the family which was trying to have a nine-year-old son start the first grade again.

The single Mahar Potter family had educated their sons to the level of college because the 50-year-old head of the family was wealthy, lived in Delhi, and realized the necessity of an education. He and his wife had recently attended adult education classes. He could read and write, but she could not. One of his sons was a headmaster in Jaipur, Rajasthan; the other two worked in offices in Jaipur and in Delhi. The wife of the Delhi worker had studied two or three grades.

The Gola Potter caste, on the other hand, was backward. Three of its 12 households had no members with an education. In the other nine, none of the adults over 25 years of age had gone to school. In one family where all were non-literate but one boy, the boy was taken out of school in the third grade in order to take care of a younger child while the older people worked. Although he was 15 years old, his parents planned to send him to school again. This situation was not unusual in Shanti Nagar. Apparently, the parents did not understand that a child forgot a lot if he was not studying regularly. None of the adults seemed to think anything of the fact that the boy would be older than most

of his classmates, nor did they understand that stopping and starting could destroy motivation.

The head of the Chhipi Dyer family had gone as far as the third grade. He was sending his nine-year-old girl to school and she was in the second grade. This family was quite modern to be sending their little daughter to school; as yet, however, they had no son.

Among the Chamars no male over the age of 20 years had gone to school, except for the one month claimed by the self-made man referred to previously. He was in his forties; his younger brother, 25 years of age, had learned to read from him. Another man, 27 years old, claimed that he had learned to read and write but never had gone to school. A number of boys and young men up to 20 years of age had studied in school or were presently studying, but so far none was a matriculate or a graduate of higher secondary school. Only one female had gone to school, completing the fifth grade. A new bride, she was married to a teenage husband who was still going to school. She came from an all-Chamar Leatherworker village in a quite urbanized area. Her father and father's brother were educated and had jobs in military service and as a bus conductor, respectively. The family also owned 1.2 hectares (3 acres) of land. The urbanized character of her village and the education and urban employment of her father and uncle probably account for the fact that she was in advance of the female Chamars of Shanti Nagar, both in education and in her general outlook on life.

The Chuhra Sweepers differed from the Chamar Leatherworkers in that a number of adult males ranging in age from 21 to 65 years had gone to school. Most of them had studied from three to six years (i.e., a maximum of six grades). One man could read and write although he had never attended school. He had sent two daughters to school. Some of the older males had gone to school in Pakistan when it was part of India and when they or some member of their family served there during World War II. Although the Chuhra

Sweepers were the lowest-ranking caste, they had an older tradition of education than the Chamar Leatherworkers and some of the castes classified as backward. They also were the first to educate females among the scheduled and backward castes of the village with the exception of the Nai Barber. One of the reasons for this interest in female education might have been that Chuhra Sweeper women were eligible for government training as midwives and were known to make a good living. Since Sweepers did not own land, training as a midwife was a way for a woman to escape removing dung, the traditional work of Sweeper women, and to earn more than the traditional village midwife who lacked government training. Although a number of older males had gone to school, no Chuhra male had passed the matriculation or higher secondary examinations and none had gone long enough to be qualified for other than menial jobs.

INTERVIEWS ABOUT SCHOOLS AND LEARNING

Two interviews with Gola Potter and Chamar Leatherworker boys indicated their attitudes, knowledge, and problems in attending school. The Potter boy, 13 years of age and in the ninth grade in the higher secondary school at Pehlampur Banger, was capable, responsible, and intelligent. He said that he would like to finish at least the tenth grade (matriculate), but that his father could not afford more than nine grades. He thought that he would have been able to go further in school had the joint family not recently divided; the separation caused financial difficulties. He had an older brother (one of those who had separated from the family), 23 years of age, who had encouraged him in his studies, but who himself had gone only as far as the fourth grade when he suffered a facial paralysis.

Because of his caste status, the Potter boy received 40 rupees a year when in the ninth grade. The following year when he would enter the tenth class, he expected to receive 50 rupees. When he was in the fifth and sixth

grades, he had received 30 rupees for each year. From the first through the fourth grades, he did not have a scholarship. Scholarships were not paid at that age because they were based on the potential earnings of a child to his parents. From grades two through four, however, he had to pay into a fund in school. This money paid for items needed in games and other school activities. He had paid nothing in the first grade. When he was in the second and third grades, he paid 7 pice per year. In fourth grade, he paid 2.5 annas per year; and in fifth, 3.5 annas. When he passed into ninth grade, he attended higher secondary school and did not pay a fee for going to school, but paid 3.5 annas a month for recreational facilities. Boys who did not have a scholarship paid Rs. 6.25 per month. Although in this government school everyone had to pay a fee, he said he did not because he was poor.

When asked how he liked the schools he had attended, he answered, "Whichever school I go to I try to adjust to it and like it." On the subject of presents for teachers, he said that students gave a tea party for the teacher when they had passed eighth grade (the last class in the craft school). Each of the children contributed 8 annas for the tea party. Some children, however, gave sweets to the teachers when they passed.

In discussing the subjects that he was studying, he said, "I like Hindi because it is my mother tongue, and English because I enjoy learning a new language." It is possible that he was trying to please us by mentioning English, although he was usually frank. He also said that he liked the stories which were told in the history class and that he had just started studying British history. An urban informant told us that the rural schools were behind the urban schools in this respect. When asked whether he had ever heard of Mohenjo-Daro or Harappa, ancient archaeological sites in Sind and the Punjab, he said that he had not studied geography.

When asked how he felt about different castes, he answered, "I would eat at any caste although my father doesn't. But I would not marry a Chuhra Sweeper because

my father would not allow this. Whatever my father says, I abide by. But in schools no one pays attention to caste. People say Chuhras eat meat and that is why they are bad, but Jats also eat meat." He then asked, "Why is meat-eating bad?" and himself answered, "I don't think it is bad, it is good for some and bad for others. In this country there are lots of grains and fruits, so we should eat them rather than meat. In countries where there is not enough grain, then they can eat meat. Since I can get enough grain, others must also be getting enough so they should eat grain and not meat. No one in my family eats meat, fish, or fowl."

This Gola Potter boy was realistic about what he had to do and the status of his family. He was trying to raise his status as were most of the Gola Potters. In this regard, many Gola Potters emphasized that the old Brahman priest in the village served them and that they were vegetarians. These points were important, for vegetarianism lent prestige as did the services of a Brahman priest who would not serve the lowest castes, the Chamar Leatherworkers and Chuhra Sweepers. The Potters ranked in the same caste bloc with Nai Barbers and Mahar Potters, below which were the Leatherworkers and Sweepers. The Potters were careful to emphasize their superiority to these two lower castes. In their own caste bloc, they were not as progressive as the Mahar Potters or the Nais; the sole Mahar Potter family was wealthy and the Nai Barber children attended the village school. The Gola Potter children did not.

The higher secondary school which this Potter boy attended at Pehladpur Banger enrolled students of all castes so he had friends who were not Potters. When the boys were required to buy a textbook on agriculture, he and a Brahman Priest classmate, both living in Shanti Nagar, purchased and used the book jointly. It cost Rs. 5. He said that this was the only book he had bought jointly with anyone although sometimes four boys banded together to buy one book.

In addition to walking some distance to school where he did well, the boy helped his

mother milk their water buffalo and cow in the morning. He knew how much these animals cost and how much milk they gave. He said that his father planned to sell their buffalo when next it gave a female calf; then they would buy three or four cows instead. This would give them calves every year which they could sell for 100 to 150 rupees, and at the same time they would have milk to drink. A good cow, according to him cost 200 to 250 rupees and gave 6 to 10 seers of milk a day. A good buffalo cost 600 to 650 rupees and might cost as much as Rs. 800. Buffalos gave up to 14 or 15 seers of milk a day. This familiarity with the cost of cows, buffalos, and how much milk they gave was generally not as well known by Brahman boys, for example, or by boys who were taking purely academic subjects. Boys in the Brahman and Jat castes who were going to school often had few chores in the house or fields, providing their family had already experienced education and had been in a tradition of it for a number of generations. This was not so with girls in the same families; girls were fully familiar with taking care of children and household tasks and were less apt to be dismissed from chores than boys.

Our second informant was a Chamar Leatherworker boy, a year younger than the Potter boy and in the eighth grade at the crafts school. He received a scholarship from the government amounting to Rs. 40 per year. The government also paid for his books. He considered the school entirely a government school although a wealthy man in the village donated money to the school as did other villagers. The Chamar boy studied Hindi, English, science, and mathematics, and took physical exercise. He also took craft work but said he did not like it, at which point two adult Jats interrupted to question him quite sternly. As a result, the boy then said that he and his friends liked craft work, such as weaving. The interview was interesting because it indicated the kind of pressure brought to bear on low-caste children.

A few weeks after the foregoing interview, the same boy told us that he had not gone to school that day because he had to go to the

market town of Narela to buy a maund of rice (for Rs. 34) for a wealthy Jat for whom his father worked. He believed that his family would receive from one to four seers of the rice; he was not sure of the exact amount. He said that this was the first time he had ever gone to purchase rice for the Jat, but that now he cleaned his tractor for him, took his wheat to the mill to have it ground, and brought gasoline from a nearby town. He had started doing such work about 10 days previously. This interview provided an example of the pressure from a father's employer which caused boys of backward and scheduled castes to drop out of school. In this case, the pressure existed because the boy's father owed the Jat Rs. 1000, which he had borrowed to pay a debt he had incurred in a lawsuit. To pay the debt, the father would work as a laborer for the Jat Farmer; his son would be called on for numerous errands and gradually drop out of school.

In contrast to the payments that low-caste boys received for going to school, a Jat woman described the costs of school attendance for the children of her household. Her family was quite well off. The younger children, who were attending the village school, paid a fee of 2 annas (less than 2 cents) a month. They started school at 7 A.M. after a breakfast of curd, butter, and bread. Because the school was only a few steps from the house, the children came home during recess. An older boy, 13 years of age, went to school in Sonapat where he paid Rs. 7.44 (\$1.57) a month. The oldest boy, 20 years of age, was studying to be a physical training instructor at Lucknow in Uttar Pradesh, where he boarded; he paid Rs. 200 (\$42) tuition for the school year. He had failed his higher secondary examination three times. Jat and Brahman families, which were determined that boys should have a higher secondary certificate, pressured them to take the examinations until they passed. If they finally could not pass, then they were given some kind of technical training, such as physical education instructor in the case of the 20-year-old Jat boy. In poor families, especially among the low castes, the families could not afford

special education so a boy simply went to work at whatever was available.

EDUCATION OF FEMALES

Education for girls and education at the college level for boys were the most recent developments in the educational process in Shanti Nagar. Many families and some castes had no educated females. We estimate from our census data (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, table 7) that females in the village of Shanti Nagar and the surrounding region first started school in the 1930s. Nine females in the age range 20 to 29 years and three females in the interval 30 to 39 years were given as literate. There were no literate females older than 39 years. The three literate females in the 30 to 39 year range were two Brahman Priests and one Jat Farmer, all daughters-in-law of the village. Each of them had learned to read and write in the adult education classes which were held in Shanti Nagar shortly before the period of our field-work.

The nine literate females from 20 to 29 years of age were four Brahmans and five Jats. One Brahman, 20 to 22 years of age, had studied to the fifth grade; another, 22 years old, to the fifth grade; a third, 22 years of age, had studied six months and could read and write; the fourth, 28 years old, had attended the adult education class for two years. One Jat, 20 years of age, could read and write a letter; two others, 20 and 22 years of age, had studied to the fifth grade; a fourth, 26 years of age, had attended adult education classes for a year; and the fifth, 28 years of age, had studied to the sixth grade and knew a little English.

Of the 12 literate females from 20 to 39 years of age, all but one were daughters-in-law of the village since by 20 years of age daughters had usually gone to live permanently in their husbands' villages. They were divided equally between Brahmans and Jats; females from no other caste were represented.

The age of the oldest woman who had been educated as a child suggests that females first began to be educated in this region in the 1930s. She was 28 years old in 1958; there-

fore she may have started school around 1935 because the legal age for starting school was five years. Any older literate women received their education in recent years in adult education courses. The fact that nine females 20 to 29 years old were literate, four of whom studied through the fifth grade, and the considerable number of females under 20 years of age attending school indicated that the 1930s were the crucial years in the change of attitude of villagers toward sending daughters to school.

A few more females of Shanti Nagar in the 20 to 29 year range may have been educated than we reported above because we confined ourselves to females resident in the village. For example, one Jat family where all the males were well educated informed us that one of the brothers in the family, 27 years old, who taught military school in Bangalore, had a wife who had studied to the eighth grade. She was in her twenties. This female was not included in our table because her husband separated from the joint family in Shanti Nagar and they lived in Bangalore. Such cases usually involved females who were married to well-educated men living away from Shanti Nagar because of their work.

The change to educating girls stemmed from a combination of influences. The most important of these was the progressive increase of learning in a number of Brahman and Jat families from about the 1890s to the 1930s. Once a family became oriented toward education, the number of individuals attending school in each generation increased; moreover, they tended to study longer. If, for example, a man had gone to school and had reached the fifth grade, his son aimed at finishing higher secondary school, or at least becoming a matriculate (tenth grade). He might not achieve his goal, but he would go beyond his father. The grandson then would be expected minimally to pass the higher secondary examination and perhaps to go to college or to take occupational training. In a number of families where the males were matriculates or had finished higher secondary school, girls were being educated.

From the historical data and census figures

on families, it is safe to say that literacy produced more literacy. The atmosphere in the homes where literacy existed was more conducive to education than in those where it did not. For example, one father who was educating all his sons and daughters mentioned that when he had the time to help his 11-year-old daughter with her homework at night, she did better in school than in a year when he was too busy to do so.

As females become educated, they should be better able to help their children. The delegation of this task to women was becoming urgent for two reasons: (1) men who were educated held time-consuming jobs and had relatively little time to spend with their children; and (2) teachers required assistance and cooperation by parents outside of school hours for a child to be sufficiently motivated, to do well, and to continue in school.

Another influence leading to the education of females was the Arya Samaj. Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1956, pp. 110–113) advocated the education of girls at all levels and in all realms of knowledge, including religion and the reading of religious texts (a position unacceptable in orthodox Hinduism because the ritual status of females was affected by menses and childbearing). Since the major impact of the Arya Samaj occurred in Shanti Nagar in the 1920s and 1930s there might well have been a connection between the Arya Samaj and the education of both boys and girls. Even so, there was resistance to educating females primarily because of the marriage system and the seclusion of women. The seclusion of women would prevent an unmarried daughter from leaving her home to work; a married woman lived with her husband. In either case, parents would receive no income from a daughter's job to compensate them for the cost of educating her. Furthermore, females traditionally were considered less able and intelligent than males. Among adult males there was often open disparagement of the mental abilities of females.

Since Saraswati was a product of the nineteenth century, he taught that males and females should be separated early and go to different schools (Saraswati, 1956, p. 59). The villagers also believed that it was dan-

gerous to allow boys and girls to be together, that girls needed to be guarded and secluded, and that it was risky to have male schoolteachers for girls. These ideas proved to be stumbling blocks in the education of girls so that very few girls went beyond the fifth grade, the highest grade in the village school. Even the fifth grade was considered dangerous, as a male was the instructor. To complicate further the education of females, at the time of our study there was an insufficient number of educated women to act as teachers in rural schools for girls. However, the Second Five Year Plan of Delhi Union Territory (India, 1957, pp. 182, 185) called for schools for girls in order to get more females into the educational system.

Five girls under 15 years of age had gone beyond the fifth grade. They attended a middle school for girls about an hour's walk from the village, but usually they went by bicycle. One was a Brahman; three were Jats; and one, a Nai Barber. The youngest, a Jat, was in the sixth grade, the others in the seventh. These youngsters had started in school at six years of age and had steadily attended and studied. One of the Jat girls was not a daughter of the village but was related to the family of another of the Jat girls and lived with them. Her mother, a schoolteacher, felt that the girl was better off living with her relatives. It was not unusual to send a child to a relative in order to attend a specific school. This Jat family planned to send their own daughter as far in school as she was capable of going. Her father, who had studied only in the adult education class, wanted her to go to college. Villagers commented on how dangerous it was for these young girls to go so far to school; but some said that they might send their daughters past fifth grade if there were a school for girls in Shanti Nagar. Before we left the village, a cornerstone was laid for a girls' school, which was opened in 1960.

A third influence in the education of females was a mixture of related historical and political factors: Indian political independence, the exodus of part of the Muslim population, and an interest in economic and social "progress." To what degree the exodus of Muslims from this part of rural northern

India had lessened the anxiety of Hindu parents about their daughters being molested by Muslims, thereby contributing to an increase in the education of females, was difficult to ascertain. This occasionally expressed anxiety might never have been a significant factor. However, there was a tendency in the rural population to lessen the seclusion of females. This tendency may have been due to the shift of a part of the Muslim population to Pakistan. Nationalistic pride had resulted both from what India had achieved in recent decades and also from the inculcation of pride in Indian history taught in the schools. As males gradually were educated, they became aware that India was behind many modern nations with regard to education and that part of this lag was due to the lack of education of females. However, the reason most often stated for sending a girl to school was that educated males wanted an educated bride.

The problems involved in the education of girls were both similar to and different from those in the education of boys. Girls were rarely educated unless there was a tradition of education already established in the family. The process of educating girls was hindered because village girls were not considered "to be working for a living" either as unmarried daughters or as wives even though they worked hard both in the fields and the household. Thus, the need to educate girls from the point of view of the villagers' value system was not nearly as strong as the need to educate boys who "had to earn" either on the land or in a job. Both the incentive of the parents to educate their daughters and the girls' motivation to learn were less than for males. Females were told from infancy that they would be sent to their husband's family to cook, work in the fields, bear children, and raise them. They did not have a choice as far as the village value system was concerned. Under these adverse circumstances, it was surprising to find that girls who were sent to school did well.

If in the future the villagers become aware that a young literate working wife would be able to bring in more income than a non-literate son, then they might try to arrange fam-

ily life to take advantage of her earning potential. The joint family was particularly well adapted to enable one of its members to exploit somewhat novel situations. Large joint, usually wealthy, families in the City of Delhi furnished a model for how best to adapt to and benefit from the educated working wife. Such families were oriented toward education and well paying professional jobs. They had a sufficient number of servants to free a young woman from household work; and there were usually several women in the household to take care of children. Shanti Nagar was nowhere near an accommodation of this sort, any more than were most middle-class working couples in the City of Delhi, where a young working wife had to please both her husband and his relatives if they were living in a joint family household. What was most advantageous to females in Shanti Nagar who were attending school was that they were in families in which the tradition of school learning had existed for several generations so that their parents and grandparents were amenable to the education of females, and they had the benefit of a supportive home environment for formal learning.

SCHOOLS AND FACILITIES

Schools were classified by the number of grades and the subjects taught. For example, in the village of Shanti Nagar, the basic school taught grades one through five, and the subjects were academic. The term, basic, was used to indicate that the school was for the beginning grades. The school to which most of the low-caste boys first went was both a middle school and a craft school, but villagers most often identified it as a Gandhi school because this type of school was started as a result of Gandhi's attempt to revive cottage industries. We refer to this school as a craft school, although this terminology was not used in the village. The school taught classes from the first through the eighth grade, but the curriculum did not contain all academic subjects even though it provided the basic subjects. Because the school went from the first to the eighth grade, it was de-

scribed as a middle school. The only other middle school in the area was a girls' school, located a few miles from Shanti Nagar. Higher secondary schools contained grades 6 through 11. Students who passed the tenth grade and the matriculation examination were called matriculates; many students, especially those who planned to go to college, also completed the eleventh grade and took the higher secondary examination. The government was gradually phasing out the craft and middle schools and substituting technological training in higher secondary schools, which were to be called senior basic schools (India, 1957, p. 187; R. Freed and S. Freed, 1968, pp. 5-6).

Males, but no females, from Shanti Nagar attended higher secondary schools, of which there were a number in the region. The Jat Farmer population subsidized a private higher secondary school in a large nearby village; and there were three government, public higher secondary schools in Pehladpur Banger, Kanjhawala, and Sonepat. The school in Pehladpur Banger was the closest to the village and most of the boys who went to higher secondary school except the Jat Farmers' sons attended it.

Two men of Shanti Nagar were schoolmasters. One taught at the Gandhi craft school and the other in the higher secondary school at Pehladpur Banger. Some expenditures were incurred in all schools; therefore, schools were classified as either tuition paying or non-tuition paying. We refer to the former as private schools and the latter as public in accordance with American usage.

Educated and urbanized male villagers recognized a rough gradient when evaluating schools and educational facilities. Village schools were considered inferior to urban schools. The Gandhi-type school was rated low because of the crafts taught there, the lack of a full academic curriculum, and the attendance by low-caste boys. Girls' schools were held inferior to boys' schools because females taught the girls and males the boys; however, in the local middle school for girls, all the teachers had been educated in the City of Delhi and the girls received a good education. The villagers' rating was based on the

sex of the teachers, and not on knowledge of their teaching ability. Although the private boys' school was considered good, the public higher secondary schools were thought to be just as good and in some cases better. The facilities and buildings in all the schools at the middle or higher secondary levels were better than at the basic school in Shanti Nagar.

Boys were sometimes sent away to schools which their fathers considered better than those close to Shanti Nagar. Often they were located where the boy might live with relatives, but sometimes if the boy was 15 years of age or older he might board in a youth hostel. Occasionally a father would send a boy to a school in the City of Delhi, either having him stay with relatives or having him commute daily. These fathers were ambitious and had some knowledge of schools through reading and their own experiences. Since sending a boy away to school, whether public or private, cost more than sending him to school in the area around Shanti Nagar, not many parents did so.

Education beyond the eleventh grade was either for a technical occupation, such as pharmacist, radio technician, military or police training, or in college or university. No rural areas in Delhi had nursery schools or kindergartens.

To attend all but the local village school, students walked from 10 minutes to an hour. Such travel tended to result in tardiness and absenteeism. If the distance to school was greater than a few miles, a student did not live at home but boarded at the school or lived with a relative. From the point of view of a beginning student whose family members had never attended school, the village school provided the least traumatic means of making the transition from traditional to formal school learning. The low-caste boys who attended the Gandhi middle school, however, had to walk to the nearby village from the time they first started school.

The female teacher for the first three grades in the basic school in Shanti Nagar at times had to borrow money from one of the wealthy Jat Farmer households. It was reported that she sold bamboo pens, which she

brought from Delhi, for one pice (less than half an American cent) to the schoolchildren. The implication of this comment was that she made money on the sales. More probably she sold pens so that the children would have the necessary equipment. This school was primarily for high-caste children although the Nai Barber children attended it.

The Gola Potter, Chamar Leatherworker, and Chuhra Sweeper boys first went to the Gandhi craft school and then to the higher secondary school at Pehladpur Banger, which children of all castes attended. High-caste adults stressed the benefits of the Gandhi craft school to the lower castes, but in fact most members of all castes believed that craft education was useless because through education they hoped to obtain other kinds of jobs. Those children with an academic education sought urban work with better salaries and more prestige than could be earned as craftsmen. The result of the high-caste attitude toward the craft school was that low-caste boys attended it. Although no low-caste girls went to school, one Sweeper family said that their younger daughter attended the village school in Shanti Nagar. We never saw her there; in fact, she helped her mother with her sweeper work. The boys who attended the craft school knew that crafts were not highly regarded and were more often associated with low castes than high castes.

In a visit to the craft school, we found that many of the skills being taught were sufficiently simple so that they could be learned better in the traditional home setting. Moreover, the cottage crafts which were taught in the school were not particularly in demand. The teaching of science was limited. Some of the instruction seemed pitched below the abilities of the children: for example, one teacher showed us jigsaw puzzles of historical persons which the schoolmasters were teaching the boys to fit together. These puzzles were for boys in the fifth grade and higher but could have been assembled by six-year-old children. The idea was to combine history (the faces of famous personages) with the ability to fit parts of a puzzle together.

There was evidence that educators had realized that the teaching of cottage industries

was an anachronism in a developing nation. The craft-type Gandhi school may have been a stopgap for political and other reasons until such time as India could train enough teachers and build and equip junior and senior basic schools. These goals were part of the Second Five Year Plan of Delhi Union Territory (India, 1957 pp. 175–209). The overall plan for change involved upgrading schools such as the village schools and combining academic and technical education in one school. The emphasis was to be on better academic and technical education rather than craft education.

The government planned to provide primary and senior basic schools for girls, facilities which were sadly lacking in the area. This was one of the ways by which they planned to educate rural girls beyond the fifth grade. The middle school for girls that was attended by five girls from Shanti Nagar would be phased out and become either a primary school for girls or a higher secondary school.

The private higher secondary school, to which many boys from Shanti Nagar went, was founded, supported, and attended mainly by Jats. Students had to pay tuition. A Chamar, the father of a boy receiving an annual government scholarship of Rs. 30, said he was very hurt that the Jat private school charged Rs. 10 a year. Apparently this charge made it impossible or difficult for him to send his son there. Occasionally the school awarded a boy a scholarship if he could not afford the fee.

The school had a somewhat antiquated science laboratory, but it did have one. A good science laboratory in this area would have been quite difficult to equip as there were no facilities for electricity, gas, or running water inside the buildings. Under the circumstances, the science facilities were the best that could be expected. After 1959, electricity was supplied to this region and should result in better laboratory and classroom facilities.

The higher secondary school was the pride of the Jats. Many of the Jats in Shanti Nagar had attended the school and sent their sons to it. Boys from all castes could attend. The

school was run by a board of Jats; the president of the school board was elected by the voters of several villages served by the school. One of the young men in Shanti Nagar was president of the board and had a number of ambitious plans regarding the school, for example, to have a fruit garden planted from which the school would profit. There was some competition between the private Jat school and the public higher secondary school at Pehladpur Banger. Sometimes boys in Shanti Nagar from both schools would form teams with their schoolmates for a Tug-of-War.

ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES (SOCIAL EDUCATION)

A number of adults showed enough interest in education to attend the adult education classes that were given in the evening in Shanti Nagar for a period of two years. Separate classes were held for men and women, and for the high and low castes. Some of the men who attended did so because they originally had learned to read and write Hindi in the Urdu (Persian) script. After Independence, Hindi written in the Devanagari instead of the Urdu script became one of the official languages of India. Men, therefore, wanted to learn the Devanagari script. The adult women who studied had never learned to read or write and welcomed the opportunity to do so. One of the men said that it was difficult to study after working all day, adding that he also felt foolish because the teachers were quite young. However, all but one of the adults, well known for her lack of concentration, learned to read and write and some of them continued reading books and newspapers after attending the classes.

The adult education classes, referred to by the government as Social Education, were held in the early 1950s. The Second Five Year Plan for Delhi (India, 1957, pp. 193–194) stated that “Thousands of adults who could not read and write have been made literate during the last five years.” These people were classified as neo-literate, that is, they needed additional practice to maintain their literacy. The kinds of books necessary

for neo-literates were not available, but the government planned to encourage the publication of books specifically for them.

Although most neo-literates primarily were interested in being able to read a little and to sign their name, a few became virtually addicted to reading. To see a person lolling around reading in Shanti Nagar was a rare sight indeed, but there were a few who spent their leisure time reading for pleasure. One father brought light fiction home to his daughter, 22 years of age. A mature adult male became very interested in reading and spent a great deal of his leisure reading in a chair outside his doorway. Other than these two, we saw no adults reading in public view. Reading was still regarded as a skill by which one passed in school and eventually obtained a job. When the population realizes that reading opens the mind to many subjects and experiences, the attitude toward education will have truly changed.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING

Young males who passed at the matriculation or higher secondary level often could not afford further education, but they and their families realized that more training would provide them with a better job. Sometimes they could not go on to college because they lacked academic qualifications. In such cases, they had a variety of choices open to them, providing someone in the family had the right connections or “access” as they called it. Some young men in Brahman, Jat, and Nai families studied to be pharmacists. Other young men sought appointments for training as bus conductors, or in the police or military services. Interviews with such young men and their families revealed how they obtained urban employment and their problems of adjusting to two somewhat different worlds: village and city.

One Jat, 32 years old, who had failed at the matriculation level, said that his family considered the right thing for him to do was to seek service. The principal of the school he attended had a brother in government ser-

vice and he said to him, "Take these boys into your office and teach them to work." This man then worked there for a number of years and returned to agriculture when the family increased its landholdings. This experience reflected the attitude that working in a job was a learning experience, readily understood by all parents, whether literate or not, and comparable to the traditional pattern of non-educational learning.

Most commonly, village men with urban jobs worked as clerks; laborer was the second most common urban employment. Twelve of the 37 villagers in service worked as clerks in stores, factories, or for the government. The average of their salaries was approximately 132 rupees (\$27.73) per month. As a group, the clerks were well educated. All were literate, and only one had less than an eighth grade education. Nine had attained the educational level of matriculate or higher and two had college educations. Literate men also worked as laborers. Of the eight village men who worked as laborers, one was a matriculate failed, three were literate, and four were non-literate. The pay for laborers was much lower than that of clerks, an average of 76 rupees (\$15.97) per month.

Special training, after completing matriculation or higher secondary school, could lead to a rather good job. One young man's family arranged that he be given training for the position of bus conductor in the City of Delhi. When he completed his training, he was expected to receive from 100 to 115 rupees (\$24.16) per month, a moderately good salary by the standards of the time.

One Brahman lineage had a relative with a high position in the police. As a result one man of the village, 24 years of age, had become a head constable in the Traffic Department. This young man continued his studies while in the police and received an M.A. degree in psychology from a college in Delhi. He hoped to continue his studies and become a college lecturer. He earned Rs. 145 (\$30.46) a month and was being promoted rapidly. The family to which he belonged was ambitious and educated the males as

well as possible. His younger brother, a college graduate, was a school teacher in higher secondary school and earned Rs. 155 (\$32.56) a month.

In another family of the same lineage, which was not as oriented toward education as the head constable's family, an 18-year-old male, who had failed his matriculation examination, was able to obtain a police appointment after contacting all relatives in a position to help him and through "much bribery," as the head of the family explained. When a man was considered for police training, the Delhi Superintendent of Police sent an inquiry to the police station nearest to where the man lived to ask about his caste and family and to learn whether he had a police record. This young man had to undergo a training period in the City of Delhi, his first real urban experience. In two interviews, one when he was in the middle of his training period and one after he had finished it, he recounted his experiences and opinions about police training and service. The interviews reveal a general enthusiasm for urban living and a growing dissatisfaction with aspects of village life, especially parental authority.

He said that he was happy because the police had first class living quarters. "The amount of care given to new recruits is not given even to the President of India," he said. The police had a big barracks, a lot of grounds, and a garden. A total of 4000 to 5000 men lived there, both recruits (750) and trained men. Men cooked the all-vegetarian meals. There were about 20 messes that served from 100 to 200 men each. From each mess, one recruit by rotation bought the vegetables needed for the mess. He went with a constable in a car to purchase the food supplies. All the cooking was supervised by two constables. The men were served and ate at tables. (In the village, most families ate sitting on the floor.) Each recruit took his turn serving his comrades under the supervision of the head constable. Among the recruits and trained men were Hindus of many castes, Muslims, and "even" Christians. (The "even" was the informant's contribu-

tion.) His inspector was a Christian. He said about him, "Whoever wishes the country well is good."

The second interview occurred after this young man had completed his training and had begun his work as a policeman. Because he wanted us to see how well off he was in police service, he invited us to visit him at the barracks where we were given tea and visited a temple to Hanuman which was maintained by the men. The temple was important to the young policeman because Shanti Nagar had no temples or images of deities owing to the influence of the Arya Samaj. This temple provided a new religious experience for the young man, one aspect of the urbanizing effects of police training and service.

The Police Lines were clean, neat, and well maintained. Each barracks housed about 100 men on two floors. On a floor, there were showers at one end of the corridor and latrines at the other. Each man was provided with a string cot but had to furnish his own bedding. In the grounds around the barracks and camp, there were grass and flowers. There was also a recreation center with a common eating hall with chairs and tables. A canteen with small tables and four chairs and a juke box which played cinema music allowed friends to sit together in off hours. There were drapes at the windows, pictures on the walls showing Indian scenes, and flower vases with artificial flowers attached to the walls in both the canteen and recreation center. All of these amenities were far beyond anything that the usual villager had experienced unless he had been in police or military training. Even when a man worked in the city, he seldom had access to all the facilities provided in the Police Lines, such as electricity and running hot and cold water.

While we were in the canteen, another villager, in the same lineage as this young man, joined us with a friend. Since he was older than our informant and also an officer, our informant became shy and quiet. The tea with sugar and hot milk was accompanied by *samosas* (a spicy hot stuffed pastry), chut-

ney, and carrot halwa (a sweet made of milk, sugar, and carrots). In the canteen, service was cafeteria style, but our young host served us, as was customary in the village with senior people.

Both the officer and our host wanted to take us to the cinema, which started a discussion of different films. This conversation revealed that both of them were familiar with the current showings and liked the generally popular mythological stories and the sentimental melodramas of common domestic situations. For example, they discussed *Do Behnen*, a story of the conflicts and problems of two sisters, one modern and one traditional, and also *Lajwanti*, a drama about the trials of a wife. Part of the attraction of films to these two males was that they saw attractive women who were not relatives in surroundings that were very Indian. Normally the village women with whom they were regularly in contact were either the equivalent of sisters to them or were their wives or someone else's wives, whose faces they often did not see. The officer and his wife got along very poorly; he did not like her because she was uneducated and did not take care of her appearance. The young policeman was not yet married and was afraid he might get a wife who was ugly. His family had arranged for his marriage and he was nervous about the coming event. In fact he did not want to be married immediately. Also the girl to whom he was engaged was only 13 or 14 years of age. The officer, who was about to leave for officers' training camp, would not be allowed to take his wife with him, but considering their dislike for each other this was no hardship. In any case, Indian men expected to have long periods of separation from their wives and their natal family when they entered service. It was not customary for village women to accompany their husbands and live away from their own and their husband's family. However, one or two wives, who had gone to school and whose husbands were officers stationed where there were billets for families, had accompanied their spouses, possibly indicating a trend.

After the officer left, our young informant told us that his relative had not advanced as rapidly as he should have for the eight years he had served in the police because he did not have "the right access," and had been in the Traffic Department. He said, "It takes access, luck, and hard work." In his case, the kinsman who interceded on his behalf was a gazetted officer, who had considerable influence, and was also his mother's brother, a relative who traditionally is expected to help his sister's sons.

According to our informant, police service offered opportunities and training in two branches: the Delhi Armed Police, and the Delhi Police. The first service resembled to some extent a military unit. There were also different divisions in police service. For example, our young informant, who was in the Delhi Armed Police, was also in the Criminal Investigation Division. There was a Traffic Department, a part of the Delhi Police, which he considered harder work. The traffic police were identified by white and blue uniforms. He said that a man could stay in this division only three years or he would develop a bad disposition. The Security Division, part of the Delhi Armed Police, provided guards for the prime minister and other important personages. A man could serve in this division for seven years. Once one became a gazetted officer, stationed permanently, one was set for life. The young man planned to restudy for his matriculation examination as it was necessary for advancement. If he passed, he would receive points. Accruing points as well as having access were necessary to get ahead.

At the time, he had a job answering the telephone which he did not like because he just sat and took messages all day long. He liked transporting criminals by train because when he arrived in another city he did not have to wear his uniform and could see the sights. He was looking forward to visiting Agra and other famous cities in the area through such assignments. While he had been in training and stationed in Delhi, he had seen the sights in Delhi, had visited all of the Brahmans from Shanti Nagar who

were living there, and had also visited their places of work.

One of the traditional customs that he had preserved was obtaining his clarified butter (ghee) from home. Males who went to college or into service customarily did so. This custom was partially due to the belief that one could be sure of the purity of ghee only if it came from one's own family. Moreover, large establishments often cooked with Dalda, a commercial vegetable oil, which people regarded as unhealthy and which was said to have a relatively unpleasant taste. In general, villagers were suspicious of cookery in a strange establishment.

As a result of living in Delhi, this young man cooked his own food when he returned home. Sometimes he cooked at the barracks, where he had an electric hot plate. He had come to prefer his own vegetables to those cooked by his mother or his elder brother's wife, who was urbanized and a better cook than his mother.

He liked living in the city better than in Shanti Nagar and did not like to go home. When he was in the village he had to work hard because he was still subject to the authority of his father and had to help him in the fields. He said that he did not want to work in the fields because his skin got dark from the sun. (A fair skin for both males and females was highly regarded.) He liked all the city recreations, especially the cinema. In everything except his devotion to clarified butter from home, he was rapidly becoming an urban man. He said he ate no food that was not cooked in clarified butter from home. If he ran out of his own ghee, he just drank milk. In his case, habits regarding the purity of food died hard.

There was a great deal of visiting between males of the same caste who were working in Delhi. His older brother, who worked in a factory in Delhi and commuted from Shanti Nagar, often stayed the night with him in the barracks where the police were apparently lenient about visitors. When this brother stayed overnight, another male member of the lineage who was commuting brought his food to him from his wife. High-caste people

were greatly concerned about the purity of food.

Realizing that he would soon earn Rs. 100 a month, this young police trainee said that he planned to keep Rs. 40 for himself, all that he needed, and use the other Rs. 60 to send his youngest brother, about five years old, to a school in Model Town, a suburb of Delhi, which was close to the police barracks. He also thought that he would like to send the daughter of his oldest brother there, as he was very fond of her. He believed that the children would benefit from the urban school and he could have the children admitted through the influence of his mother's brother who lived in the area.

This plan would not come to fruition, if at all, until the children had reached the age of six years. It was unlikely that either of their mothers would part with them at this early age since they would have to live in the suburb to attend the school. They were too young to commute and it was doubtful that any male in Shanti Nagar would have the time to take them by bus to the school. Of more consequence, however, was the fact that this young man was still a member of his father's household; his father, like most household heads, would expect him to give all his earnings to him and receive an allowance in return. The fact that he was interested in spending the money in his own way, despite his family's having paid bribes to help him into the police, was an indication of change. That he wanted these two small children of whom he was fond to attend an urban rather than the village school was an index of the value placed on urban schools. It was also a sign that he thought that if these children could live in Model Town and go to school there, they would do better in school because they would not have to work in the house and fields as would be the case if they lived in Shanti Nagar and attended the village school.

The second example of an on-the-job learning situation in young adulthood was that of a Brahman, 20 years old, who was in military service. This young man was home on leave in order that his family could ar-

range his engagement. He had completed a year of training for work as a clerk in military service while stationed first in Bangalore and then in Hyderabad. This training period marked the first time that he had been away from home. Before entering military service, he had passed his higher secondary examination. His English was rather good and no doubt had improved during military training. While he was home he said that he was bored and restless because he was disciplined and busy during the days in service. He said, "I like a schedule to live by."

He outlined the training by dividing it into three periods. The first was devoted mostly to physical drill and a general adjustment to military life, during which time he learned discipline and military regulations. After the adjustment period, he began the second phase, occupational training. He took classes related to clerical work, accounts, and typing. The physical training and military drills continued along with the occupational training. The final phase was devoted to occupational training with a minimal amount of military training.

The government supplied living accommodations and uniforms. He ate in a mess where there was no differentiation by caste. The food was divided into vegetarian and non-vegetarian. He described a diet that was more plentiful and varied than was customary in Shanti Nagar: "We have a much better diet than at home. Early in the morning we have our first meal consisting of 6 *puris* (bread), vegetable, and tea with milk and sugar. At 10:00 A.M. we have tea with *pakoras* (a spicy bread snack made of flour ground from dried peas stuffed with green pepper which was fried in oil or a butter substitute). The noon meal consists of chapatis (bread), three vegetables, and curd. In the afternoon, we again have tea. The last meal in the evening is the same as that at noon except that it includes a glass of milk." When we asked him whether the military food was cooked in clarified butter or Dalda, he laughed and said "Dalda." He did not seem to think it mattered. He added, laughing, that he got plenty of clarified butter

when he was at home. He had never eaten meat and had no inclination to do so.

In his free hours, he studied for his F.A. examination (an examination that students took after one year of college after which they might leave school or continue for two more years to obtain a bachelor's degree). He planned to take evening courses during the following year. He said that there was plenty of time during the day and evening for him to study and take these courses and that others in service did so. When asked whether he smoked or drank, he said he did not but that some in service did and he had no objection to people drinking as long as they did so in moderation. This informant was an alert, intelligent, healthy looking young man with a good sense of humor. Although he was home for his engagement party, he was not particularly interested in it or the girl since, of course, he had not seen her. However, he mentioned that she had been educated to either the fourth or fifth grade.

In interviews with the few males in the village who were aiming at a B.A. or, in two cases, an M.A., it was obvious that they had no guidelines to help them adjust to the scholarly and social life at the level of these institutions. In one case, the father of a boy working for his B.A. was only a matriculate and yet was very ambitious for his son. The pressure on the son to pass his B.A. examination was so strong that for fear of failure he cheated and was caught. The system of waiting until the end of the college years to take a comprehensive examination for the B.A. resulted in many youngsters not studying regularly. In the village, an authoritative father might make children study but when they went away to college they were on their own for the first time and did not discipline themselves. When final examinations came, they knew they had not learned very much and tried to cram. Lectures were described as dull with poor explanations and students were not required to attend them. Further, the students had no earlier experience of taking notes and reviewing them. For subjects such as chemistry and biology, laboratory conditions were often inadequate and much of what they learned was by rote rather than

by experiment. There was little or no personal attention given to students, whereas in village life one passed from parents to a teacher as surrogate parent. Professors did not fill this role.

When boys studied at home, their fathers, if they were at all ambitious for their sons, helped them or at least regularly checked their grades and progress to see that they were studying. This authority structure could be oppressive and often produced a reaction; a young boy away from home for the first time reveled in his freedom and neglected his studies. Such boys (and girls too) were not accustomed to self-discipline for study; when the aims of their study were not clearly defined, they were insufficiently motivated. If the lectures and instruction did not stimulate or hold them, they did poorly. Many of the rural students did not dress in the same fashion as urban students and were poorer than their urban peers so that the problems of keeping up with their age-mates in appearance, dress, and activities could become unbearable.

In comparing interviews with young men in police and military training with information from young men who had studied in college, we found that the discipline and applied knowledge which was learned in the military or police together with the considerably better accommodations and food provided a more satisfactory training and urban enculturation than did going to college. As the young policeman said, for whatever course of study they pursued they received points which would contribute to their advancement. The additional factor of importance for young men who had always been under an authority figure was that there was recognized authority and discipline so they followed a regular program. For those young men who were studying at college without a specific goal in mind or without general knowledge of how to profit from a college degree, there was no motivation in terms of future employment. In addition, they lived rather poorly in youth dormitories on funds which their parents supplied.

Some of the men who were studying for a B.A. or an M.A. were in military or police

service where they studied at their own pace. They could work at their job and take examinations when they felt they could pass. The young men who attended college were under more pressure, for they had to finish successfully a course of study within a specified period. Since most students were not trained to be independent and self-disciplined, the pressure of college work was often difficult to manage. Young men who were in the military or police seemed to be more successful in taking their examinations and advancing to another level of study than those who were not. This difference may be attributed partly to the effect of peer influence. Groups of males followed the same training program and could help and advise each other better than their parents could counsel them. The educational advantages of service in the military or police were due partly to their regulatory, disciplinary effect and partly to the strong motivation they inspired, for men knew that they would be promoted every time they advanced educationally. For the inexperienced village male, this work-study program subject to authority and discipline proved better suited than the freer life of the college student with its inherent time pressure and lack of immediate monetary or job rewards.

Young men of the village who were studying for or who had taken a teaching degree were more secure in what they had done than those few who were studying or planning to study for the B.A. The future teachers had a carefully structured academic program which was not nearly as abstract or as open to choice with regard to what courses to take and when to study as was the B.A. program. Moreover, the teachers had a clear occupational goal at the end of their course of study.

This evaluation of advanced training beyond higher secondary school is consistent with the slowly changing process of enculturation and education in Shanti Nagar. The traditional type of enculturation for earning a living was still dominant although many of the high-caste families had adjusted to the requirements of formal education at advanced levels. For most village families, however, the patterns and values of learning

necessary for formal institutional education had not yet been established and were far from superseding the traditional point of view which was reinforced by the authority of the family head over young family members. Consequently, individual motivation and initiative in learning did not develop so that when a young man was suddenly in a situation where he had considerable freedom of choice he was unable to benefit from any previous experience in making decisions.

The traditional enculturation into the social system of Shanti Nagar was slow and did not require consistent application to abstract learning chores. It left most choices not to the young person who was learning but to the parent or head of the family. This system did not adequately prepare a young person for competent decision-making when faced with choices that had never been experienced. Thus, the enculturation of a youngster in Shanti Nagar, although including institutional education, had not sufficiently incorporated self-motivation, self-discipline, and the seeking of knowledge. As youngsters continue to study at increasingly higher levels, however, traditional enculturation may gradually adapt to prepare for the freedom of choice that students encounter at higher levels of education. Then the value of learning to learn should become increasingly appreciated.

MIXING OLD AND NEW

Literacy brought about a mixture of old and new. The village had the custom of holding *kathas* which were sessions for the reciting of stories from the religious literature, principally parts of the two great epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. Such recitations were formerly related largely from memory by learned Brahmans, but during our stay the stories were read aloud by a young Brahman schoolteacher. The availability of inexpensive Hindi editions of religious Sanskrit literature combined with the increasing literacy of villagers was a new element in the intellectual life of Shanti Nagar. At the time of the festival of Dusehra, the village held such a story-reading session, the

Brahman schoolteacher presiding. As he read, the audience chimed in occasionally and chanted the ends of familiar lines. The reader explained the text, and the audience commented on his explanations, asked questions, or simply expressed agreement. The reading started early in the evening and lasted until ten o'clock at night. Mostly men and children (girls and boys) attended. People would stretch out on cots and even fall asleep as they listened. The reading was held in the house of a Brahman. Those people who attended were neighbors and included Brahmans, Jats, and Nais. Anyone was welcome to come and listen. After completing the serial reading of the Ramayana with commentary, which would require many sessions during a period of approximately a year, the villagers planned to have an equally long reading of the Bhagavad Gita, the best known part of the Mahabharata.

The stories in the epics are interesting and present moral lessons that continue to be of basic importance in village life. During one of the readings, a villager presented his interpretation of the Ramayana, an explication that was characteristic of the village system of values and morals:

"Ram Chandra, Lord Ram, set up the rules for husbands and wives, parents and children. These rules are in the Ramayana. Ram's father, Dasharath, had three wives. They all had children. The eldest wife's son was Ram. The two younger wives had other sons; and the youngest of the wives had Bharat as her son. Her name was Kaikeyi. She had obtained a promise from Dasharath that whatever she wanted, he would give her.

"When Ram grew up, as the eldest son, he was to be crowned king. Everybody wanted him to be the king, but on the day of the coronation, Kaikeyi asked Dasharath to fulfill his promise to her. He asked her what she wanted and she answered, 'Exile Ram and crown my son Bharat as king.' Dasharath agreed to her demands and said that Ram should be exiled for fourteen years and that her son would rule.

"As Ram was preparing for exile, his mother asked him not to leave because she was his mother and had as much claim on him as his father. Ram answered, 'My father is older than

you and you accept his orders just as I do so I can't flout his directives.'

"Ram's wife, Sita, said, 'I'll come with you because I know how much trouble you will have in the forest and I'll try to help you as much as I can.' He said 'Don't come with me. You are the daughter of a king, and in a forest there is trouble and there are wild beasts who roar and threaten.' She replied, 'No, I'll come.'

"They started out. Ram's brother Lakshman also came. Dasharath loved these two sons very much. He went to the top of his house and watched his sons departing. When they were out of his sight, he fell down and died."

The man who furnished us with this short version said that to tell the Ramayana took 14 to 15 days (of full time reading), but this example illustrated how a son should obey his father and also showed the rules of behavior for a husband and wife.

Other villagers when commenting on a tale such as this said that it was always the women who caused trouble. In this case the youngest wife, Kaikeyi, was at fault for extracting the promise from Dasharath which set the plot in motion. These stories were not only part of the oral tradition in Shanti Nagar, they were taught in school and were seen in the cinema. Although children and adult females rarely went to the cinema, males attended. Literary and visual reinforcement increased the villagers' knowledge of these tales from the great tradition of Hinduism, thereby contributing to a cultural process that Srinivas (1952, p. 30) identified as Sanskritization in his study of the Coorgs.

The effect of schools and films on village ceremonial life was illustrated by an interview with Chuhra Sweepers on the occasion of Hoi, a festival honored by all castes in Shanti Nagar for the health and long life of children. It was primarily celebrated by women; the story of Hoi was customarily told by Brahman women. We asked the Sweepers if they knew the story. A Sweeper man said that the woman who usually told it was sick. However, one of the man's sons then rattled off a story so quickly that no one could follow it. Another of his sons retold it, but it was the story of Nag Panchami, Snake

Fifth, a festival not celebrated in Shanti Nagar. There was some basis for the association, as both festivals are for children but celebrated at different times. After the son finished his recital, a small boy said that the story he had told was from a film. In the film, the children had witnessed the worship taking place. The boy who told the story, however, said that he had learned it from his eighth grade book, and that his teacher said that it was also the story of Hoi. This interview provided an excellent example of how mass education and communication (film, radio, newspapers) may in time Sanskritize, combine, change, and standardize ceremonies and beliefs in Shanti Nagar.

Although some individuals in the village, both males and females, read fiction in magazines and newspapers, the kinds of stories which were most often discussed and told were from the great tradition of Hinduism, some learned directly from Hindi translations, some from schoolbook versions, some from films, and most from the oral tradition of the village. Specific stories were told by women, usually of the Brahman caste, at the time of a festival; other stories were related on occasions, such as *kathas*, by men. Children who had attended school sometimes recited stories learned from their schoolbooks.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN SCHOOLCHILDREN

We investigated the differences between rural and urban schoolchildren in the Union Territory of Delhi regarding their choices of occupational goals and the reasons for the choices (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1968). Eleven hundred twenty-eight children in grades 4 to 8 inclusive, attending nine schools, four in the City of Delhi and five in the region around Shanti Nagar, wrote essays on the topic "What kind of work I want to do when I grow up, and why." The essays revealed differences in values and occupational goals between the rural and urban children due partly to different family backgrounds and partly to differences between urban and rural schools.

The schools differed considerably with re-

gard to the background of the students, the competence of the teachers, and facilities. The principal differences were between the rural and urban schools; the urban schools were generally better. However, the four urban schools themselves also differed: two were attended by predominantly upper-class students and two by middle-class students. One of the schools was considered the best and most modern in Delhi. The fathers of the children who attended the two upper-class schools were generally well educated and held important positions in business, government, and the professions. The upper-class children benefited not only from better schools than the other children but also from a family background where advanced levels of education were normal and a tradition of book learning was well established. The other groups of children in the study had families of lesser educational accomplishment.

The population of children was classified by social class (urban upper class, urban middle class, and rural), sex, and grade (grades 4 and 5, and grades 6 through 8). There were striking differences between the urban and rural children in occupational choices and the reasons for them. The principal difference was in the greater popularity of occupations involving modern science and technology among the urban children which was consistent with the good to excellent instruction they received in urban schools, their relatively sophisticated family backgrounds, and the varied urban environment to which they were exposed.

In writing their essays the children expressed themselves freely; the answers were classified by occupational choices and reasons given. The occupational categories were: Arts, Business, Education, Government, Housewife, Medicine, Military, Miscellaneous Service, Other Professions, Science, and Worker and Artisan. The reasons were: Dharma (ethical or right behavior), Family, God and Fate, Nationalism, None, Own Village, Prestige, and Self. The way in which these essays were classified was worked out on the basis of our knowledge of the Delhi region, the schools, and the ways in which the children expressed themselves

in the essays. Here we refer only to the main choices as they apply to concepts contributing to change in education and in village life generally.

For boys, we found that "nationalism"² as a reason for choosing a specific occupation came first for all groups. If the essays were divided by social class and by location of school, urban upper-class boys chose nationalism first, with "self"³ next, and then "dharma."⁴ Middle-class urban boys chose nationalism, "family"⁵ and then self. Rural boys chose nationalism, family, and dharma. In splitting the grades, we found that boys in the lower grades (four to five) were not as greatly concerned with nationalism as those in the upper grades and inferred from this fact that young boys gradually were imbued with nationalism in the educational process. This same finding also held for girls. Nationalistic feelings were obviously inculcated in the schools. Girls tended to be similar to boys, except for those girls in the urban upper class who selected as their first choice dharma, next, a tie between self and nationalism, and then family. Urban middle-class and rural schoolgirls selected nationalism, dharma, and family, in that order.

Although in the minds of the villagers, schooling, albeit a new kind of learning, was a way to get a job and to earn, the youngsters in the rural schools were unsophisticated about job choices compared to those in the urban schools. The relatively greater sophistication of the urban boys was shown by the higher percentage electing careers in technologically advanced occupations. For example, 27.3 percent of the urban boys but only .6 percent of the rural boys chose science. On the other hand, the responses of

34.1 percent of the rural boys but only 5.1 percent of the urban boys were classified as "miscellaneous service," a category which included responses that mentioned no specific occupation but declared that the respondent wanted "any service" or responses that gave reasons or moral exhortations instead of mentioning a specific type of job. Rural boys favored careers in education (19.9 percent) much more than urban boys (1.8 percent), perhaps because a schoolteacher's salary was relatively impressive by village standards but somewhat parsimonious in an urban setting. In general, the choices of both rural and urban boys reflected their respective social environments and the schools they attended (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1968, table 2).

For girls, medicine (47.9 percent) was the first choice and education (37.6 percent) the second. Only 8 percent of the girls chose other specific occupations. Among the urban upper-class girls, medicine (60.9 percent) was the first choice; among the rural girls, education (74.3 percent). The relative emphases on medicine and education were almost reversed between city and countryside; 59 percent of the urban girls chose medicine, but only 13.3 percent of the rural girls, whereas 74.3 percent of the rural girls chose education, but only 25.8 percent of the urban girls (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1968, tables 10, 11). These differences in choice were realistic; for most of the rural girls, teaching was one of the few occupational opportunities open to them. It was also one of the few occupations in which they had females as role models. Although some girls in rural areas knew that women were nurses and government trained midwives (both of which would be included in the medical category), neither these nor other medical occupations were very familiar to them. Thus their choices were indicative of their knowledge of occupations and the possibilities open to them.

Males generally had a broader occupational outlook than females because they had role models in their fathers, uncles, and older brothers who provided them with clearer ideas as to what an education meant in terms of a future job or profession. For the children

² Examples of statements classified as nationalism are: I will serve the country, protect the country, make progress in the country, make the country first among the nations, sacrifice life for my country.

³ Examples of statements classified as self are: I will live comfortably, make money, travel, study abroad.

⁴ Examples of statements classified as dharma are: I will serve God, build temples, serve saints.

⁵ Examples of statements classified as family are: I will gain special treatment for my family, serve my family, support my family; my family is poor.

of Shanti Nagar, however, there were few college men and those few were still struggling to make the adjustment from rural schools to urban schools and universities.

In rural areas, educated fathers were more likely to send children to school than uneducated fathers. An educated father was more important for daughters than for sons with regard to their attending school; 77 percent of the fathers of the rural female students were literate, whereas the comparable figure for rural male students was only 42 percent. Moreover, the fathers of female students in the rural areas were generally better educated than the fathers of male students; for example, 11 percent of the fathers of rural female students had studied at the college level but only 2 percent of the fathers of boys (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1968, p. 34). That the educational level of the fathers of female students was higher than that of the fathers of male students suggests that considerable parental education is generally necessary to overcome resistance to the education of females. In general, advanced levels of education in a family require several generations, a process that started a number of decades ago for males in Shanti Nagar but had only recently begun for females.

A positive correlation of an individual's education and the education of his or her family head was shown in the census data from Shanti Nagar. Forty percent of the literate males but only 18 percent of the non-literate males had literate family heads (S.

Freed and R. Freed, 1976, table 22). Sixty percent of the literate females but only 42 percent of the non-literate females had literate family heads (S. Freed and R. Freed, 1976, table 24). These data show that under the then current conditions in Shanti Nagar, education begets education.

The difference between rural and urban boys regarding the reasons of "family" and "self" is of particular interest, for it is in accord with the belief held by many anthropologists and sociologists that considerations of family are weaker in the city than in the countryside. Twenty-nine percent of the rural boys against only 12 percent of the urban boys gave family as the reason for their occupational choice. The situation was the reverse with regard to the reason, self: 26 percent of the urban boys and only 11 percent of the rural boys selected this reason (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1968, p. 24). In conjunction with the relatively greater frequency with which the urban boys chose occupations that involve advanced technology, their emphasis of the self at the expense of the family supports the notion that individualism may be as consistent with an industrialized urban society in India as it is said to be in the West. This trend was not as clearly marked among the girls. Although the urban girls emphasized the reason, self, considerably more than the rural girls (18.5 percent against 3.8 percent), family was equally important to urban and rural girls (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1968, table 14).

CONCLUSION

In this study we have compared the two processes by which children learned to become adults in the village of Shanti Nagar. The first process of traditional learning was universal for all the children of Shanti Nagar and will continue to be so for children under five years of age. The second process was formal schooling, the basic content of which was reading, writing, and arithmetic. Orig-

nally confined mainly to high-caste males, it had expanded by 1959 to include members of all castes and females. The content of formal schooling had also grown to include higher education and occupational training although the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic were then by no means universal.

The primary motivation for going to school

was to improve one's way of life by learning to earn a better living than would have been possible without education. Learning was to earn and not to learn. Villagers mentioned other reasons for formal education in addition to the main goal of learning to earn: to marry one's daughter well, to achieve social mobility through a new occupation and possibly move into another region or community in India, and to raise one's prestige. But these motives were dependent on learning to earn, at least for males.

Regardless of what the people who are involved in change may think about the introduction of new ways and the goals which they may have as a result of them, they seldom realize how a new way of life or a new process of learning may eventually change their individual lives or the way of life of the community. Proof of this statement is readily apparent from the attitudes of non-literate parents regarding traditional learning and formal schooling. Despite such attitudes and because of the goal of learning to earn, children eventually learn to learn and in the process change their lives and that of the community.

A basic difference between the two systems of learning concerned the two milieus in which the child learned. The old way fostered the traditional social structure in which family, kin, caste, and local community provided the main actors for life's drama; it was essentially imitative and dyadic and was often centered in social interactions or play situations with children of about the same age. These play situations reflected the traditional way of life which was agricultural, authoritarian, and male dominated, and in which males and females carried out many of their activities separately. The new system of learning took place in a formal institution, the school; the teachers were strangers to the community and to the child. This teaching was not dyadic, and in the village schools it was often by rote recitation *en masse*. The school acquainted the youngster with the impersonality that was characteristic of the city with which, if the students were successful in school, they would cope when they sought urban employment.

Although females were at the beginning of the educational cycle in 1959, their presence indicated change in the direction of industrialization and urbanization, for the males who had been educated wanted educated brides who could participate in the new way of life of their husbands. Moreover, mothers who have been educated will be better able to assist their children in their studies. Since 1959, females have proceeded quickly through the educational cycle and are attending college and completing their bachelor's degrees, as we have learned through correspondence. With this increased education of females, there should be a change in their occupations in the direction of the occupational goals of urban schoolchildren in the City of Delhi. Should females work in the city or teach in the countryside after marriage, this shift from secluded housewife to employee will result in greater individualism and independence of females, as has been the case in other parts of the world. It may also change the marriage system and the quality of family life.

At the time of this study, the rites of passage in Shanti Nagar (R. Freed and S. Freed, 1980) showed little evidence of adapting to the new stages in the life cycle brought about by education or of incorporating new rites related to these stages. The only attempt to celebrate the stages through which a youngster passed consisted of a family's distributing sugar candies in the village when a young family member passed his higher secondary examinations or obtained a job. This custom was based on the tradition of making a vow to distribute sweets should a person be successful. When the sweets were passed out, the rite confirmed the success of the offspring and validated his new status and associated role behavior. Nothing was done by parents when children started school, with the exception of a few families in an advanced phase of the educational cycle who provided their children with new clothing at the beginning of each school year. A family did not ceremonially mark a child's passage from fifth to sixth grade, when the child left the primary or village school for the middle or higher secondary school. Some prepara-

tion or rite of passage for these transitions from school to school and into the first job or training period might be useful in accommodating parents and children to the formal learning system. If the amount of ritual associated with the traditional rites of passage is reduced in the years to come, the gradual incorporation of new rites centering around the formal learning pattern may prove useful as young rural people move from the village community into the wider world of college, city, and nation.

On the other hand, formal schooling in India could profitably incorporate some aspects of traditional, imitative learning for students in the first few grades, especially a dyadic relationship with the teacher. This type of teaching, however, depends on having a sufficient number of teachers, which was not then economically feasible. For this

reason, educated mothers could provide a necessary educational bridge for the beginning child until nursery and kindergarten training become generally available and there is a greater number of teachers. As formal learning becomes established in most village families, it will in all probability become better integrated with the traditional pattern so that both are recognized and used in the home. Then children in Shanti Nagar may not only find the educational process more satisfactory, but may learn more easily, learn to earn, and also be motivated to learn to learn. In the case of a few families, this last stage may be reached quickly; in other cases, not at all. In general, however, three educated generations should be sufficient for the transition from non-literacy to learning to learn.

LITERATURE CITED

- Appleton, Tina, Rachel Clifton, and Susan Goldberg
1975. The development of behavioral competence in infancy. In Horowitz, Frances D. (ed.), *Review of child development research*, vol. 4, pp. 101-186. Chicago, Univ., Chicago Press.
- Avalon, Sir George (Sir George Woodroffe)
1913. *Tantra of the great liberation*. London, Luzac and Co.
1920. *Shakti and Shakta* (2nd ed.). London, Luzac and Co.
- Basham, A. L.
1954. *The wonder that was India*. New York, Grove Press, Inc.
- Berko, Jean, and Roger Brown
1964. Psycholinguistic research methods. In Mussen, Paul H. (ed.), *Handbook of research methods in child development*. New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., pp. 517-557.
- Carstairs, G. Morris
1958. *The twice-born. A study of a community of high-caste Hindus*. Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Press.
- Cole, Michael, and Sylvia Scribner
1974. *Culture and thought: a psychological introduction*. New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Draper, Patricia
1975. Cultural pressures on sex differences. *Amer. Ethnol.*, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 606-616.
- Erikson, Erik H.
1950. *Childhood and society*. New York, W. W. Norton and Co., Inc.
- Fairservis, Walter A., Jr.
1975. *The roots of ancient India*. Chicago, Univ. Chicago Press.
- Freed, Ruth S., and Stanley A. Freed
1962. Two mother goddess ceremonies of Delhi State in the great and little traditions. *Southwestern Jour. Anthropol.*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 246-277.
1964. Calendars, ceremonies and festivals in a north Indian village: necessary calendric information for fieldwork. *Southwestern Jour. Anthropol.*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 67-90.
1966. Unity in diversity in the celebration of cattle-curing rites in a north Indian village: a study in the resolution of conflict. *Amer. Anthropol.*, vol. 68, no. 3, pp. 673-692.
1968. Family background and occupational goals of school children of the Union Territory of Delhi, India. *Amer. Mus. Novitates*, no. 2348, pp. 1-39.

1979. Shanti Nagar: the effects of urbanization in a village in north India. 3. Sickness and health. *Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. 55, pt. 5, pp. 285-354.
1980. Rites of passage in Shanti Nagar. *Ibid.*, vol. 56, pt. 3, pp. 323-554.
- Freed, Stanley A.
1963. Fictive kinship in a north Indian village. *Ethnol.*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 86-103.
- Freed, Stanley A., and Ruth S. Freed
1964. Spirit possession as illness in a north Indian village. *Ethnol.*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 152-171.
1976. Shanti Nagar: the effects of urbanization in a village in north India. 1. Social organization. *Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. 53, pt. 1, pp. 1-254.
1978. Shanti Nagar: the effects of urbanization in a village in north India. 2. Aspects of economy, technology, and ecology. *Ibid.*, vol. 55, pt. 1, pp. 1-153.
- Freud, Anna
1967. Psychoanalysis for teachers and parents. Low, Barbara (translator), Boston, Beacon Press.
- Freud, Sigmund
1946. Totem and taboo: resemblances between the psychic lives of savages and neurotics. Brill, A. A. (translator), New York, Vintage Books.
1962. A general introduction to psychoanalysis. New York, Washington Square Press, Inc.
1967. The interpretation of dreams. Strachey, James (translator, ed.), New York, Discus Books, publ. by Avon Books.
- Goody, Jack, and Ian Watt
1968. The consequences of literacy, *In* Goody, Jack (ed.), Literacy in traditional societies. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp. 27-68.
- Gough, Kathleen
1968. Implications of literacy in traditional China and India. *In* Goody, Jack (ed.), Literacy in traditional societies. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp. 69-84.
- Harrington, Charles, and John W. M. Whiting
1972. Socialization processes and personality. *In* Hsu, Francis L. K. (ed.), Psychological anthropology. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc., pp. 469-507.
- Henry, Jules, and Zunia Henry
1944. Doll play of Pilaga Indian children. *Res. Monogr. No. 4*. New York, Amer. Orthopsychiat. Assoc.
1948. Doll play of the Pilaga Indian children. *In* Kluckhohn, C., and H. A. Murray (eds.), Personality in nature, society and culture. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, pp. 236-251.
1974. Doll play of the Pilaga Indian children. New York, Vintage Books, Random House.
- Huizinga, Johan
1970. *Homo ludens*, a study of the play element in culture. Boston, Beacon Press. Originally printed in 1944.
- India
1957. The second five year plan of Delhi Union Territory. Delhi, Directorate of Public Relations, Delhi Administration.
- Irwin, Orvis C.
1964. Language and communication. *In* Mus- sen, Paul H. (ed.), Handbook of research methods in child development. New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., pp. 487-516.
- Köhler, Wolfgang
1948. The mentality of apes. Winter, Ella (translator), London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Kroeber, A. L.
1948. Anthropology. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co.
- Landy, David
1960. Methodological problems of free doll play as an ethnographic field technique. *In* Wallace, A. F. C. (ed.), Men and cultures. Selected Papers Fifth Internatl. Congr. Anthropol. Ethnol. Sci. Philadelphia, Univ. Penn., pp. 161-167.
- LeVine, Robert A.
1973. Culture, behavior, and personality. Chicago, Aldine Publishing Co.
- Levy, David M.
1939. Sibling rivalry studies in children of primitive groups. *Amer. Jour. Orthopsychiat.*, vol. 9, pp. 205-214.
- Lewis, Michael
1977. A new response to stimuli. *The Sciences*, vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 18-19, 27, 32.
- Maccoby, Eleanor E.
1973. Sex in the social order. *Science*, vol. 182, pp. 469-471.
- Mandelbaum, David G.
1970. Society in India. Vol. 1, Continuity and change. Berkeley, Univ. Calif. Press.

1974. Human fertility in India: social components and policy perspectives. Berkeley, Univ. California Press.
- Mead, Margaret
1963. Socialization and enculturation. *Current Anthropol.*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 184–188.
1967. An investigation of the thought of primitive children, with special reference to animism: a preliminary report. In Hunt, Robert (ed.), *Personalities and cultures: readings in psychological anthropology*. Garden City, New York, The Natural History Press, Doubleday, pp. 213–237.
1968. Male and female, a study of the sexes in a changing world. New York, William Morrow and Co.
1971. Early childhood experience and later education in complex cultures. In Wax, Murray L., Stanley Diamond, and Fred O. Gearing (eds.), *Anthropological perspectives on education*. New York, Basic Books, Inc., pp. 67–90.
- Minturn, Leigh, and John T. Hitchcock
1966. *The Rajputs of Khalapur, India*. New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc. Six Cultures Series, vol. 3.
- Morgan, Kenneth W. (ED.)
1953. *The religion of the Hindus*. New York, The Ronald Press Co.
- Morris, William (ED.)
1969. *The American heritage dictionary of the English Language*. Boston, American Heritage Publ. Co., Inc., and Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Mouledoux, Elizabeth C.
1976. Theoretical considerations and a method for the study of play. In Lancy, David F., and B. Allan Tindall (eds.), *The anthropological study of play: problems and prospects. Proceedings of the first annual meeting of the association for the anthropological study of play*. Cornwall, New York, Leisure Press, pp. 38–50.
- Norbeck, Edward
1971. Play. *Nat. Hist. Mag. Special Sup.* (December), pp. 48–53.
1976. The study of play—Johan Huizinga and modern anthropology. In Lancy, David F., and B. Allan Tindall (eds.), *The anthropological study of play: problems and prospects. Proceedings of the first annual meeting of the association for the anthropological study of play*. Cornwall, New York, Leisure Press, pp. 1–10.
- Pathak, R. C. (ED.)
1946. Bhargava's standard illustrated dictionary of the Hindi language (Hindi-English edition). Varanasi, India. Bhargava Bhushan Press.
- Piaget, Jean
1930. *The child's conception of physical causality*. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd.
1963. *The child's conception of the world*. Paterson, New Jersey, Littlefield, Adams and Co.
- Radin, Paul
1957. *Primitive man as philosopher*. New York, Dover Publications, Inc.
1966. *The method and theory of ethnology: an essay in criticism*. New York, Basic Books.
- Redfield, Robert
1953. *The primitive world and its transformation*. Ithaca, New York, Cornell Univ. Press.
- Ritchie, Jane
1957. *Childhood in Rakau, the first five years of life*. Victoria Univ. College Publ. in Psychol., no. 10. (Monogr. on Maori Social Life and Personality, no. 3.) Dept. Psychol., Victoria Univ. College, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Roheim, Geza
1941. Play analysis with Normanby Island children. *Amer. Jour. Orthopsychiat.*, vol. 11, pp. 524–529.
- Salter, Michael A.
1976. Winds of change. In Lancy, David F., and B. Allan Tindall (eds.), *The anthropological study of play: problems and prospects. Proceedings of the first annual meeting of the association for the anthropological study of play*. Cornwall, New York, Leisure Press, pp. 5–7.
- Saraswati, Swami Dayanand
1956. *The light of truth*. Upadhyaya, Ganga Prasad (translator), Allahabad, The Kala Press.
- Schofield, R. S.
1968. The measurement of literacy in pre-industrial England. In Goody, Jack (ed.), *Literacy in traditional societies*. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp. 311–324.
- Scribner, Sylvia, and Michael Cole
1973. Cognitive consequences of formal and informal education. *Science*, vol. 182, pp. 553–559.
- Solomon, Joan
1973. Roles people learn. *The Sciences*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 23–28.

- Solomon, Lewis C.
 1973. Women in doctoral education: clues and puzzles regarding institutional discrimination. *Res. in Higher Educ.*, vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 299-332.
- Srinivas, M. N.
 1952. Religion and society among the Coorgs of south India. London, Oxford Univ. Press.
- Sutton-Smith, Brian
 1971. Children at play. *Nat. Hist. Mag. Special Suppl.*, vol. 80, No. 10, pp. 54-59.
- Tandon, Prakash
 1968. *Punjabi Century, 1857-1947*. Berkeley, Univ. California Press.
- Tyler, Stephen A.
 1973. India: an anthropological perspective. Pacific Palisades, California, Goodyear Publishing Co.
- Wheeler, Sir Mortimer
 1966. Civilizations of the Indus Valley and beyond. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.
- Whiting, Beatrice
 1963. Six cultures, studies of child rearing. New York, John Wiley and Sons.
- Whiting, John W. M., and Irvin L. Child
 1964. Child training and personality: a cross-cultural study. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press.
- Whiting, John W. M., Irvin L. Child, William W. Lambert, et al.
 1966. Field guide for a study of socialization. New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc. Six Cultures Series, vol. 1.
- Whiting, John W. M., and Beatrice B. Whiting
 1964. Contributions of anthropology to the methods of studying child rearing. In Mussen, Paul H. (ed.), *Handbook of research methods in child development*. New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., pp. 918-944.

INDEX⁶

- Akhta, 91
 amla, 107
 amulets, 106
 animals, treatment of, 81
 Appleton, Tina, 66
 Arya Samaj, 82, 84, 106, 107, 121, 122, 128, 135, 141
 attendance in school, 109, 123–125, 127, 129, 130, 131, 133, 135, 138
 Avalon, Sir George, 107

baithak, 99
bans ki jharu, 112
 Basham, A. L., 116
 basketry, 62, 110
 begar, 123
 ber, 107
 Berko, Jean, 67
 Bhagavad Gita, 147
 Bhagwan, 107
 Brahmacharya, 82
 Brown, Roger, 67
 Budh Ki Duj, 91, 102

 Carstairs, G. Morris, 61, 76, 82
chacha, 73
 chapati, 60, 143
 Child, Irvin L., 55
 cinema, 84, 102, 141, 146, 147
 Clifton, Rachel, 66
 clothing for children, 63, 68, 69, 70–71
 Cole, Michael, 55, 117, 118
 cow, 80, 81, 133
 curing, 60, 104–105

dab, 112, 113
dab ki jharu, 112
dawat, 128
 dhoti, 68, 85, 89
diwa, 126
diwat, 126
 Draper, Patricia, 57
 dung cakes, making of, 113–114
dupatta, 70
 Dusehra, 145

 Erikson, Erik H., 98
 evil eye, 60, 106

 fodder, gathering of, 108–109, 110, 114, 117
 Fairservis, Walter A. Jr., 116
 Freud, Anna, 100
 Freud, Sigmund, 55, 92, 93, 95, 99, 106

 games, 83–84, 102–103, 104, 139
Gayatri Mantra, 85
ghar, 99
 ghee, 142
 ghost, 60, 105, 106, 107, 108
 Goldberg, Susan, 66
 Goody, Jack, 116
 Gough, Kathleen, 117, 119
 gur, 107

 Hanuman, 141
 Harrington, Charles, 57
 headcloth, 68, 69, 70, 71, 88, 97, 101, 102
 Henry, Jules, 85, 87
 Henry, Zunia, 85, 87
 Hitchcock, John T., 55, 57, 64, 68
 Hoi, 107, 146, 147
 Huizinga, Johan, 78

 illness, 60, 65, 97, 101, 106, 131
 India (author), 135, 137, 138, 139
 injuries to children, 65, 91, 92
 Irwin, Orvis C., 67

kabaddi, 83, 102
kalam, 128
kamiz, 71
 Kanagat, 91
karahi, 100
katha, 105, 145, 147
 Köhler, Wolfgang, 78
 Kroeber, A. L., 78, 79

 Lambert, William W., 55
 Landy, David, 85, 90, 93
 LeVine, Robert A., 54, 55
 Levy, David M., 85, 91, 94
 Lewis, Michael, 66

 Mahabharata, 105, 128, 145, 146
 Mandelbaum, David G., 63
 mantra, 85, 106
 masturbation, 82
 Mead, Margaret, 54, 57, 108, 119
 midwife, 57, 58, 131, 148
 military service, 143–144, 145
 Minturn, Leigh, 55, 57, 64, 68
 Morgan, Kenneth W., 107

⁶ This index also serves as a glossary. Each Hindi word used in the text, not listed in Webster's *Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged*, has its own entry. The reader should refer to the listed pages, usually the earlier ones, for a definition.

Morris, William, 79
 mother goddess, 104, 107
 Mouledoux, Elizabeth C., 78, 79
multani 127, 128

Norbeck, Edward, 78, 79
 nursing, 58–59, 61, 68, 72

orhna, 96

pachisi, 83, 84
pakora, 143
 panchayat, 92
 Pathak, R. C., 79
pera, 98
 Phalgun, 107
 physical punishment, 75–76, 125
 Piaget, Jean, 55, 78, 79, 98
 police service, 140–143, 144, 145
 pollution, ritual, 58, 60, 69
 Purana, 106
puri, 143

Radin, Paul, 117
 Ramayana, 105, 128, 145, 146
 Redfield, Robert, 117
 religion, 104–106, 107, 141
 retardation, mental, 65
 Ritchie, Jane, 85, 90
 rites of passage, 56, 80, 93, 104, 105, 107–108,
 114, 150–151
 Roheim, Geza, 85, 95

Salter, Michael A., 79
samosa, 141

Sanatan Dharma, 82, 107
 Saraswati, Swami Dayanand, 82, 135
 Schofield, R. S., 116, 118
 scholarships, 119, 122–123, 127, 131–132, 133, 138
 school fees, 127, 128, 132, 133, 137, 138
 schools, 136–139, 147
 craft, 125, 126, 136–137, 138
 village, 119, 125, 135, 137–138
 Scribner, Sylvia, 55, 117, 118
 Srinivas, M. N., 146
 separation of sexes, 67, 68, 75, 77, 83, 84, 93, 94,
 95, 99, 103–104, 107, 135, 139
 sewing, 109, 113, 114
 sexual relations, 67–68, 72, 97, 99
silwar, 69, 70, 71, 85, 87, 88, 103
 socialization, 54, 59, 79, 105, 108, 116, 118
 Solomon, Joan, 57
 Solomon, Lewis C., 57
 sports, 102–103
 storytelling, 105, 106–107, 145–147
 studying at home, 125, 126–127, 135, 144
 Sutton-Smith, Brian, 78, 79, 83, 104

takhti, 127, 128
 Tandon, Prakash, 117
 teacher, 122, 125, 135, 137–138, 139, 145–146, 148
 toys, 80, 81, 84, 103, 104
 Tyler, Stephen A., 116

Watt, Ian, 116
 Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, 116
 Whiting, Beatrice, 55
 Whiting, John W. M., 55
 wrestling, 83, 102

