

Perceptions and Goals of Late Adolescents in Rural South India

- A research amongst three generations -



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PREFACE

Thinking about a subject doing research on, in my mind I had the intention to study part of another culture than the Western culture because of my interests in developing countries. So, making the decision to do research on perceptions adolescents living in rural South India have about menarche, marriage and reproduction, I could follow this intention, fortunately. Experiencing the culture has helped me understanding different ways of thinking about concepts any human being is facing.

This study would not have been a success without the support of all people who were involved both professionally and personally. First I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Inge Hutter, who supported me by showing trust in my work. She learned me a lot, not only about the culture of India before my departure but in a scientifically way too. I feel respect for her way of criticism, she always encouraged me at the moments we had discussions about my project. Her critics had a positive impact on me, she always motivated me.

I was sure that a visit to India should be part of my research period, and so I stayed in Dharwad, Karnataka State for three months. Some persons I am really grateful to. Let's start with Professor Khan, he always gave me the feeling that he would like to 'let me feel home' and I appreciated that a lot. My gratitude is also to Ms N.V. Rajeswari, working at the Population Research Centre in Dharwad, for her guidance and comments during my fieldwork period. Even back home she was helpful to me. Furthermore important people who made this study possible are Sir Kulkarni and Nirmala Madam, both working at the PRC, and helping me with the interviews. While waiting for respondents we had interesting conversations about differences between India and the Netherlands. But what to say to the respondents in Navalur; without them this study would not be succeeded: thanks a lot. I am happy that I could experience an Indian ladies hostel for three months. Though I had difficult moments especially in the beginning, the girls of the hostel made me feel comfortable all the time. I even felt home in the guest room and that's why I felt a little bit sad when I had to leave! And you Channakki, you made my period in India unforgettable by helping me achieving one of my goals: taking me on tour around the State of Karnataka and so experiencing many more characteristics of the Indian culture: I remain grateful to you!

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family, friends and Hugo of course, for showing interest in what I was doing. Especially during my stay in the ladies hostel in Dharwad, you all had faith in me and let me know that in many ways!

Marloes Hammenga, January 2005

SUMMARY

The adolescence stage has implications for further life, and therefore this research deals with adolescents aged 16 to 19 living in rural South India and their perceptions on menarche, marriage and reproduction and the goals they would like to achieve in future life. Moreover, this study focuses on changes over time concerning perceptions and emphasizes the importance of different generations to clarify these changes; the focus is on adolescents, parents and grandparents. To observe these perceptions and goals and the changes over time a small-scale research has been carried out in Navalur. The results of this study have been analyzed applying the process-context approach and the social theory of Coleman (1990). Variables like age, level of education, religious backgrounds and marital status are taken into account while analyzing the results. Unfortunately, generalizations based on the findings of this research can not be made due to the sample design. However, the results suggest that a little change over time concerning perceptions and goals is taking place due to effects adolescents living nowadays are confronted with.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In India, adolescents aged 10 to 19 account for 21.4 percent of the total population (National Youth Policy 2000, p. 3). Internationally, the period of adolescence is defined as “the period between ages 10 and 19” (WHO 1983). But, it should be noted that the period of adolescence, thus the transition into adulthood, is much more variable as to age and the markers of this change; in addition, “legal conventions and social traditions for identifying adult statuses vary from country to country” (Hurrelmann and Hamilton 1996, p. 6). Schlegel and Barry (1991) conclude that the length of adolescence is not arbitrary but results from a complex of factors in the cultural manipulation of biological characteristics. The adolescence period is a transition stage between childhood and adulthood with “gradual yet dramatic transitions, socially, physically as well as psychological” (UNFPA 1995, p.3). An adolescent is a person who is in this adolescence period.

The adolescence stage has implications for further life, and therefore the reproductive health status during adolescence has implications for future adult reproductive health. The WHO (1995, p.13) validates too that “the behavioral patterns established in adolescence, highly influenced by the adult world, are of immense importance to an individual’s life span and to public health as a whole.” Therefore, there is an increasing attention towards adolescents and this is primarily due to recognition of the increased significance of this group as a proportion of the total population. Because of the high importance of this group of people, as can be concluded from above, this research deals with adolescents living in rural South India particularly. This research is related to the project undertaken by PRC Groningen and IER Dharwad titled ‘Perspectives of reproductive health in South Karnataka’ funded by IDPAD.

In particular, the focus is on the perception late adolescents, so adolescents aged 16 to 19 (NCERT 1999), have about menarche, - first menstruation -, marriage and reproduction. Menarche, marriage and reproduction are three demographic concepts playing an important role in the Indian culture. Although the event of menarche takes place before the period of late adolescence, in this study this event is of high importance for the reason that menarche is an important event in the life course of an adolescent followed by the events of marriage and reproduction. Therefore this study deals with the period of late adolescence and their perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction.

India is changing and with that, contexts and perceptions change too. This study focuses on changes over time concerning perceptions and emphasizes the importance of different generations to clarify these changes. Therefore, this research is viewed from a dynamic perspective for two reasons. Primary, the concept of historic time plays an important role; the focus is on cohorts and so on the perceptions parents and grandparents had when they were in the adolescence period. Second, the changes over time related to the contexts of the research area are of great importance, realizing that the context has constraints and possibilities as worked out more detailed in the theoretical framework.

Theoretical framework

The adolescent, or individual, and his/her perceptions are of high importance in this research as described above. The focus on individual behavior is called the micro-approach. The process-context approach, as worked out in detail at the Population Research Centre in Groningen, the Netherlands by Willekens (1990; 1992) and De Bruijn (1992; 1993; 1998), encounters its emphasis on the individual. The process-context approach is defined as “*the individual reproductive health behavior at a given moment in time, is seen as the outcome of*

processes involving a series of individual decisions and actions taking place within a social, economic, ecological, cultural and political context” (Willekens 1992 and Hutter 1998). Moreover, within this approach the individual is placed in its context, which has constraints and possibilities for its behavior. Another element of the process-context approach discussed in this research is the change in time: the focus is on the dynamic perspective. In this research the process-context approach is linked with the theory of Coleman (1990). In a way, the process-context approach and the theory of Coleman are intertwined: the theory of Coleman deals with the interaction between the macro and micro level; and therefore concentrates on the influence of the contextual and individual background at the behavior of the individual, or on the perceptions and goals adolescents have. Both the process-context approach and the theory of Coleman form the basis of this research.

Research questions

Based on the subject of the research explained above, the main research question is:

What perceptions do late adolescents have about menarche, marriage and reproduction?

To answer this main research question, the following research questions are formulated. The adolescent is the key actor of this research, so first the research questions concerning adolescents are mentioned, followed by the contexts and generations.

Which goals does the adolescent want to achieve in the future?

What is the educational and occupational background of adolescents?

What are the differences between girls and boys concerning the perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction; goals they want to achieve in the future; and the educational and occupational background?

What is the role of the physical, economic, social and cultural context on the educational and occupational background and behavior of adolescents and what are the changes over time within these contexts?

What are the differences between the perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction; goals; and the educational and occupational backgrounds of the adolescents comparing to that of their parents and grandparents when *they* were in the adolescence period?

The outcomes of two studies, done in the past, form a basis for this research project. First, a study done by Ishwaran (1968) between 1955 and 1965 in Navalur, though he called it Shivapur; and second a study done by Hutter (1998) conducted between 1989 and 1994 in villages around Dharwad. The research done by Ishwaran has been used to describe the educational and occupational backgrounds of adolescents living in Navalur and the context of this village during the 1960s. The outcomes of the research by Hutter have been used as background information on menarche, marriage and reproduction, the educational and occupational backgrounds of the adolescents and the context they live in, during the 1990s. Finally, the outcomes of both studies have been used to compare it with the perceptions and the educational and occupational backgrounds of the adolescents living in Navalur nowadays and the contexts they have to deal with.

Methodology

In order to obtain answers to these research questions in-depth interviews have been undertaken. The reason for doing in-depth interviews is to get in-depth information on some particular topics.

Study Population

To describe the situation in rural South India, a fieldwork project has been carried out for three months in a rural South Indian village called Navalur. The physical, economic, social and cultural contexts of Navalur have been studied as well perceptions and goals of adolescents, parents and grandparents of both sexes who are living in this village. Navalur is geographically located between the twin-city Dharwad-Hubli in Dharwad *taluk*, Dharwad District in the state of Karnataka, India. Nowadays Navalur is a semi-urban area because of its location between the two cities, this explains the relatively high total number of inhabitants around 16.000.

Overview of the contents

After this introduction chapter the theoretical framework is described more elaborately in chapter 2. This chapter focuses mainly on the process-context approach and the theory of Coleman (1990). The perceptions and the goals adolescents want to achieve, characteristics of the educational and occupational backgrounds of adolescents and the context are described here. At the end of this chapter the conceptual model is described where the link between the process-context approach and the theory of Coleman can be observed. The methodology is outlined in chapter 3: the definitions and the way the concepts are operationalized are mentioned here. Besides this, the process of doing research in Navalur is described. In chapter 4 the context and individual background are described by giving a general overview of the research area and analyzing the physical, economic, social and cultural context and the changes within these contexts over time. Chapter 5 contains the analysis of the most important part of the research: the perceptions adolescents at the age of 16 to 19 have about menarche, marriage and reproduction and moreover the focus is on the goals they would like to achieve in future. These perceptions are compared with that of other generations, i.e. parents and grandparents. Finally, in the last chapter we answer the research questions posed and put forth the recommendations.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter deals with the theoretical framework adopted in the research project. The process-context approach forms the basis of this research and is linked with the theory of Coleman (1990). Both theories are reported extensively. Next to these the gender approach which is, in this study, principally outlined by Major (1993), the theory of Maslow (1970) and the cohort perspective described by Glenn (1977) and Becker (1992) are mentioned in this chapter. Outlining these theories is a prerequisite to understand and therefore place the results of this study in a good and clearly way. In Indian life differences between the two sexes are a big issue and present everywhere in life, therefore the gender approach is mentioned throughout the whole chapter.

2.1 Theories

According to Willekens (1990; 1992), De Bruijn (1992; 1993; 1998) and Hutter (1994) the following elements are of special importance to the process-context approach:

- the individual: or adolescent;
- the context;
- the interaction between the individual and the context;
- change in time.

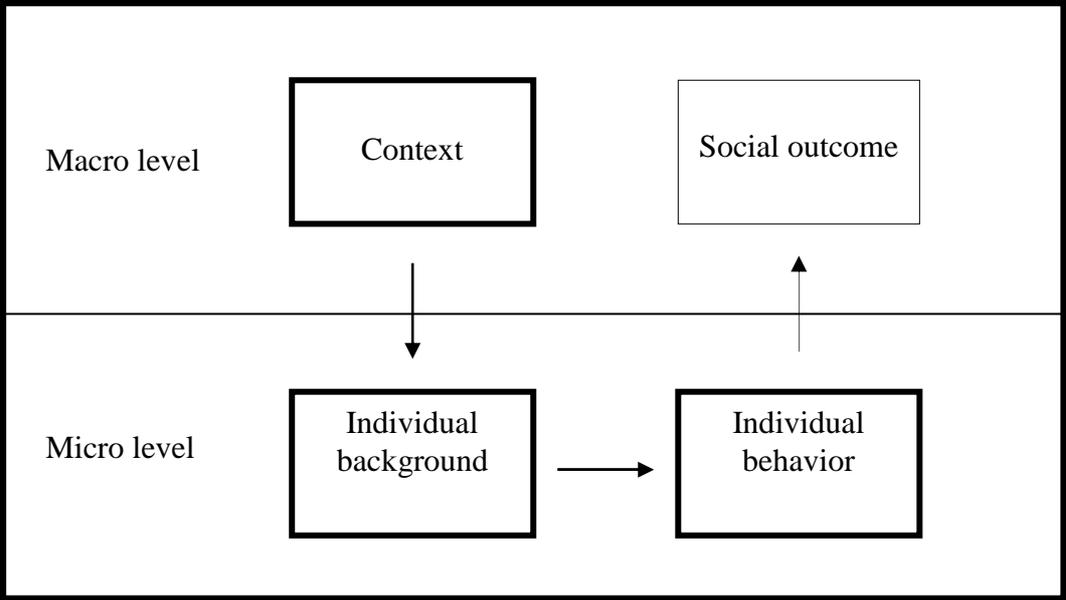
The process-context approach encounters its emphasis on the individual. In this research, the focus is on the processes behind a particular demographic outcome: the adolescent with his/her perceptions and goals. Moreover, within this approach the individual is placed in its context with constraints and possibilities for its behavior. As mentioned before, India is changing and with that, contexts and perceptions are changing too and therefore generational differences in India are becoming increasingly important (www.unfpa.org). This study focuses on changes over time concerning perceptions and pretends the importance of different generations to clarify these changes. Therefore the dynamic perspective plays an important role too: the focus on the dynamic perspective is twofold. First, the concept of historic time plays an important role; coming down that the focus is on cohorts or generations and so on the perceptions parents and grandparents had when they were in the adolescence period. Becker defined generation as “the grouping of a number of birth-cohorts characterized by a specific historical setting and by common characteristics on an individual level (biographical characteristics, value orientations and behavioral patterns) and a systems level (size, generational style and specific organizations).” (Becker 1992, p. 580) However, the term generation is frequently misused. Technically it is a structural term derived from the parent-child relationship and should be reserved to that usage. Sometimes it is correctly used as an identification of cohorts. Glenn (1977) defined a cohort as “any group of individuals linked as a group in some way, usually by age” (Glenn 1977, p. 5). Therefore, cohort analysis is a method for investigating the changes in patterns of behavior, perceptions of attitudes of such groups. The cohort perspective is mentioned throughout the whole chapter, as is the gender approach. Second, the changes over time related to the contexts of the research area are of great importance; therefore, the contextual background, i.e. the physical, economic, social and cultural context, and the educational and occupational background the adolescents have to deal with are described elaborately in this chapter.

The process-context approach is linked with the theory of Coleman (1990). In a way, the process-context approach and the theory of Coleman are intertwined: the theory of Coleman

deals with the interaction between the macro and micro level; so the third element of the process-context approach, i.e. the interaction between the context and the individual, is pointed out (see figure 2.1). Except for the fourth element of the model, the social outcome, all elements will be mentioned in detail in this research.

The sequence of this chapter can be traced back to the interrelated relation between the process-context approach and the theory of Coleman. So, taking into account the model of Coleman outlined in figure 2.1, the starting point, and therefore the main objective of this study, is the individual behavior, subsequently influenced by the background of the individual and by the contextual background or the macro level. First, in section 2.2, the adolescent and its perceptions about menarche (2.2.1), marriage (2.2.2) and reproduction (2.2.3) as well as the changes over time concerning the backgrounds of these demographic elements are described. The concept of historic time is mentioned here. At the end of this section (2.2.4) the goals adolescents want to achieve are outlined on the basis of the theory of Maslow (1970). Both the process-context approach and the theory of Coleman assume that these perceptions and goals, or individual behavior, are influenced by the individual background, or in this study the educational and occupational backgrounds of adolescents. For that reason, characteristics of the individual backgrounds are outlined in section 2.3. The individual background is for its part influenced by the macro level or the contextual background. And therefore section 2.4 deals with the physical, economic, social and cultural background and additionally the changes within these contexts are outlined elaborately; so the second part of the time perspective will be mentioned in this section.

Figure 2.1 Micro and macro levels in the social theory



Source: Coleman (1990)

2.2 The adolescent; perceptions and goals

In this section the focus is on late adolescents, thus adolescents aged 16 to 19. Special attention is paid to the demographic concepts late adolescents deal with: menarche (2.2.1), marriage (2.2.2) and reproduction (2.2.3). In this section, an overview of the important events of menarche, marriage and reproduction as well as the goals they would like to achieve are given. Outcomes of studies done by Ishwaran (1968) and Hutter (1998) try to give

background information about menarche, marriage and reproduction during respectively the years 1950s and 1960s as well as the 1990s. In part 2.2.4 the goals adolescents want to achieve are explained on the basis of the theory introduced by Maslow in 1970.

2.2.1 Menarche

The research conducted between 1989 and 1994 by Hutter indicates the importance of the demographic concept of menarche in Indian society. In India menarche –first menstruation– marks the physiological start of the reproductive career; marriage marks the socially accepted start of the reproductive career. The two events are closely related to each other. However, in this part background information of menarche is given, marriage will be handled in the next part. “Traditionally, in Indian society menarche indicates maturity” (Hutter 1998, p. 83). This can be illustrated by the Kannada word for menarche, i.e. *dodakke*, which can be literally translated as ‘becoming big, grow up’ (Janssen 2000, p. 13). Menarche and its ceremonies and values change over time as is described in the following sections. It seemed that there are but a few changes over time regarding menarche.

Ishwaran (1968) described just little about the celebration of the first menstruation of the girl; he described it more from a distance, although he observed that during the celebration of the first menstruation the girl is the center of attention for the whole community for a week. “The womenfolk of family and neighborhood bath her daily and rub her body with oil, they sit about her in the evening singing hymns, and they pray with her and rejoice with her that she has become a woman” (Ishwaran 1968, p. 39). Hutter (1999), on the other hand, wrote more detailed on this topic.

The background information related to menarche outlined below is based on studies done by Hutter and colleagues during the 1990s and early 2000 in the area around Dharwad. In the early 1990s more than half of the female respondents reported that they reached menarche at the age of 12. This result may be biased as menarche is supposed to take place around the age of 12 and probably that is why many women gave this particular answer. Focusing on differences between educational levels, “literate women reported a slightly higher age at menarche, 13.1 against 12.7 for illiterate women”. Menarche often is celebrated as a ‘rite de passage’, indicating a major change in the life course, and is therefore often involved with a special ceremony nowadays but also for many decades ago. During this ceremony special food and care are provided to the girl who reaches menarche. “During the first 5 days after the onset of the first menstruation, the girl is sitting apart from the rest of her family. She is literally said to ‘sit outside’ (*horage kuditaale*). In reality it means that the girl sits in a corner of a room, or in a separate room of the house. Often a curtain is fixed around the place where she sits, in order to protect her from negative influences, either from other people, the evil eye or evil spirits. She is considered to be polluting”. Hutter mentions that regarding menarche two ceremonies can be discerned: the *sannu soobhana* (the small *soobhana*), which consists of the removal of the pollution and cleaning of the house. It depends on the income of the family if a second ceremony is practiced: the *dodda soobhana* (the big *soobhana*). This ceremony usually takes place some days after the first ceremony. An outcome of the study done by Hutter is that “the ceremony is more often celebrated among Hindu respondents (78 per cent), but still 57 per cent of all Muslim respondents and one of the two Christian respondents conducted a ceremony at the time of menarche”. The duration of staying home with the family of the girl after her menarche depends on the socio-economic status of the household. A close relationship between menarche and marriage can be observed as Janssen (2000) indicated. She adds, “menarche also indicates that a girl is ready for marriage or when the marriage had already been performed in early childhood, the girl is now ready to move in with the husband” (Janssen 2000, p. 14).

As indicated above menarche and its ceremonies and values have not changed much over time. This research points out whether this pattern of few changes can be continued nowadays.

2.2.2 Marriage

The second demographic concept this study deals with is marriage. This part focuses on changes in characteristics about marriage over time and besides this three types of marriages are outlined here: arranged, love and consanguineous marriages. It seemed that regarding menarche just a few changes could be noticed. Coming to the concept of marriage, a lot of changes over time can be observed.

1960s

According to Ishwaran (1968) the mean age of marriage in the village of Navalur during the 1960s is 14.5 years for girls and 20 years for boys. In those days child marriages are forbidden, but in that area 6 child marriages took place between 1955 and 1965. Ishwaran gave the following reasons for arranging a child marriage: saving marriage costs, fulfilling the wishes of a widowed mother, fulfilling wishes of a widowed sister or earning a name in the community. At the time Ishwaran did research “the bridegroom should be older than the bride, and marriage should take place at puberty or as soon after as possible. The closer the distance between marriage partners, the better. The maximum distance from which a partner may be chosen is roughly 25 to 35 miles” (Ishwaran 1968, p. 29). He stated that “marriage is universally arranged and love-marriages are exceedingly rare” (Ishwaran 1968, p. 58.) According to Ishwaran (1968) during the 1950s and 1960s close kin relationships, or consanguineous marriages, are of high frequency.

Since 1990

To get background information about the concept of marriage, outcomes of other studies done in Karnataka State and Dharwad during the 1990s have been consulted. Most data is based on studies published by IDPAD and NFHS during the 1990s, realizing that these studies are done among female respondents in the area around Dharwad and Karnataka State respectively. However, some background information concerning males is outlined, based on studies done by Ramesh and colleagues (in Hutter *et al.* 2002), who did research among male respondents in the area around Dharwad during the 1990s too.

The National Family Health Survey, conducted between November 1992 and February 1993, published the median age at first marriage of 16.2 for females living in rural Karnataka (NFHS, 1992-93, p. 53). According to the NFHS-2, conducted in the years 1998 and 1999, the mean age at first marriage for women living in rural Karnataka is 19.4. The reason, given by the National Family Health Service in 1998-99, for this increase could be a rise in female education and a higher participation of women in the labor force. And so women make a shift in their priorities; as they used to attach most value to marriage, nowadays they attach more and more value to education and a possibly working career. The mean age at first marriage for men is also increasing, but less rapid. In India men marry women who are five years younger than themselves.

Although in 1978 the government of India has fixed by law the minimum age of marriage: for girls at the age of 18 and for boys of 21 years, child marriages has still taken place in the 1990s. Child marriages are often conducted to avoid dowries and huge expenses for the wedding.

The male respondents interviewed during the fieldwork done by Ramesh and colleagues (in Hutter *et al.* 2002) think that 20 – 23 years is the ideal age for marriage for boys, according to them the ideal age for marriage for girls is 18 years. These respondents

have the opinion that “the later the age at marriage, the better will be the maturity of body and mind, the better will be the ability to deal with any family matters”. What perceptions females have about the ideal age at marriage for boys as well as girls is not yet studied.

Bongaarts and Potter (1983) define marriage as “all relatively stable sexual unions in which socially sanctioned childbearing occurs” (Bongaarts and Potter 1983, cited in Janssen 2000, p. 14). During the 1990s, still many of the marriages in India, and thus also in Karnataka are arranged by either the parents or other relatives. Both girls’ and boys’ marriage could be arranged. These marriages are defined as arranged marriages. As the families and especially the men, make the arrangements and agreements regarding the wedding and dowry, the future husband and wife hardly meet. They may see each other from a distance during special rituals conducted in order to confirm the established relationship between the two families. In general, arranged marriage consequently causes very young ages at which girls, living in rural areas, predominantly marry. Marrying at a young age does not automatically imply that these young girls move in with their husband right away; the effective marriage may be postponed for months or even years. Once the effective marriage has started a ceremony is celebrated which is called *gauna* in Hindi and *osage* in Kannada (Karnataka). And so, “the age of the girl at the conduction of *osaga* is thus the mean age at effective marriage” (Janssen 2000, p. 14). Only from the moment the girl starts living together with the husband, so when the effective marriage has started, she is actual ‘at risk’ of childbearing. Therefore, as mentioned by Janssen (2000) the real onset of the reproductive career is the consummation of marriage, or effective marriage. According to Kunjakkan (2002) arranged marriages are common in India and it is the best type of marriage. He states, “no one can risk marrying a woman that was running around with other men, as there is no guarantee that her body is still unpolluted. There is nothing more unholy than a son born of a polluted woman giving oblation to his ancestors” (Kunjakkan, 2002, p. 21). Next to arranged marriages, love marriages exist. There is not much written about this type of marriages, assumed may be that this type of marriage used to occur seldom.

Within the concept of marriage different types of marriages are distinguished; two of them, i.e. arranged and love marriage, are described above. Another type of marriage is consanguineous marriage, occurring especially in South India. In rural Karnataka the percentage of consanguineous marriages is 38 per cent following the data published by the NFHS in 1998-99, meaning that 38 per cent of the total number of marriages in rural Karnataka are marriages whereby the husband and wife are kin members. In the study population of pregnant women during the early 1990s, 43 per cent of these respondents were married to a kin member (Hutter 1998) and so 57 per cent were not. These marriages were converted to so-called new relationships. A girl entering a new relationship with a husband from another village will not meet her husband and family-in-law before the wedding. After marriage the girl gets familiar with her family-in-law and faces the suffering of getting accustomed to a totally strange family. It seemed that most of the consanguineous marriages of this study population were conducted between cross-cousins (26.8 per cent), either on father’s side or on mother’s side. Another 12.7 per cent were maternal uncle-niece marriages, or a marriage between a woman and her mother’s brother. According to Hutter (1998) it could be more advantageous to have a consanguineous marriage than the so-called new relationships, because the girl is familiar with her family-in-law from childhood onwards as they belong to their father’s or mother’s family.

Regarding marriage in general it is common that the parents of the girls pay a dowry to the family of the husband, the size of the dowry depends on the socio-economic status of the families concerned. In the area of rural South India “the dowry mostly consist of money and gold, but it may also contain luxury items” (Hutter 1998, p.92).

Concluded can be stated that in contrast to less changes regarding menarche, changes in the marriage system during the last decades have been noticed. These changes refer to different aspects: the age at marriage, the change in types of marriage and the dowry to be paid. However, the focus of this research is on possible changes in perceptions regarding marriage and its characteristics late adolescents living in rural South India have nowadays.

2.2.3 Reproduction

Next to menarche and marriage, reproduction or births of children is an important demographic concept this study deals with. The births of children are measured on the basis of the total fertility rate (TFR). In rural Karnataka the TFR has declined over the twentieth century. Throughout the twentieth century the age at first marriage increases for different reasons mentioned above and as a consequence of this the TFR has decreased during the past decades. It is even expected that the Indian population will reach replacement level in the period 2011 – 2016 (Planning Commission of India 1992; Eight Five Year Plan 1992 – 1997 in Hutter 1998).

Table 2.1 Total fertility rate in India

	Total Fertility Rate
Early 1990s	3.09
Late 1990s	2.25

Source: NFHS 1992-93 and NFHS 1998-99

Reproduction in the life of an Indian woman is of great importance; when an Indian wife becomes pregnant her position as a wife changes dramatically. Kunjakkan (2002) mentioned “the prospect of becoming a mother implies so many things to a Hindu wife” (Kunjakkan, 2002, p. 24).

An important element of this research is the perception adolescents have about reproduction, including the total number of children they wish to have, the presumably preference for a specific sex and the reasons behind. According to Hutter *et al.* (2002) the ideal number of children males want to achieve is 3 or 4, females on the other hand refer to have 2.7 children. The desired number of children in India reflects son preference. “The major reasons for having a son are security in old age and the continuation of the family line” (Jejeebhoy and Kulkarni 1989, cited in Hutter 1998). The preference for a son is very strong for the males; they prefer at least two sons, if not, at least one. The rationale for two sons is that if one dies, the other one at least will survive; and if both survive, they can help each other in difficult times in the future. On the other hand, couples have a preference for daughters too. Parents have the opinion that a girl looks nice in the house and is a help in the household; girls take care.

Linking reproduction and education the following can be stated. In Karnataka State the size of the family varies with the level of education of the father and of the mother as can be concluded from tables 2.2 and 2.3. The higher the level of education for females as well as for males, the lower the ideal number of children (NFHS 1998-99).

Table 2.2 Ideal number of children for females by education, rural Karnataka, in 1998 – 99

Education	Ideal number of children
Illiterate	2.9
Literate, < middle school complete	2.5
Middle school complete	2.2
High School complete	2.1

Source: NFHS, p. 118

Table 2.3 Ideal number of children for males by education, rural Karnataka, in 1998 – 99

Education	Ideal number of children
Illiterate	3.0
Literate, < primary school complete	2.8
Primary school complete	2.7
Middle school complete	2.6
High school complete	2.5

Source: NFHS, p.118

The fertility rate declines over time, as can be concluded from above. The work of Caldwell (1976) plays an important role in explaining this development in fertility; he introduced the ‘wealth flow theory’. He expects a transition from joint families to the more ‘Western’ or nuclear families (Caldwell 1976). Caldwell assumes that the turning point in fertility transition is posited to be the stage of ‘wealth flow reversal’, meaning that the significance of children is changing. Children were seen as an economic asset to the family, but become an economic burden. To the extent children are still wanted, it is for non-economic reasons. Caldwell concludes that a “change in the family is associated with a shift in cultural orientations toward acceptance of nuclear-family models and behaviors influenced by the media and formal education” (Caldwell 1976 cited in McNicoll 1994, p. 18).

The three important demographic concepts and its backgrounds playing a role in the stage of late adolescence have been described above, and with that the changes over time regarding these concepts too.

2.2.4 Goals

As every human being has goals they want to achieve, assumed can be that adolescents have them too wherever they live. But, the ways to attain goals can be very different and depend on the contextual and individual situation. However, Maslow (1970) introduces the theory of human motivation and he introduces five basic needs: physical well-being, safety, self belongingness and love, esteem and self-actualization. Physiological needs can be defined as being in a healthy stage, the need for food and sexual desire. Once a person met this need, the focus is on the kind of need one step higher in the hierarchical classification; safety or security and protection. Going one step further, one can focus on the third need: self belongingness and love, or affection. The upper two types of needs are esteem, or a desire for efficacy and autonomy or social status, and self-actualization, whereby self-actualization can be defined as independency. Maslow arranges these needs thus in hierarchical order, by adding that “the ones higher up in the hierarchy only become prominent, once the lower needs have been met to a sufficient degree” (Maslow 1970 cited in De Bruijn 1999, p. 100). As mentioned in the introduction part, one of the research question deals with the goals the adolescent want to achieve: do they pay a lot of attention to work and money, do they give more importance to social and family life or do they have the wish for self-actualization?

Besides this, because of the time component, the older generations have also been asked about their goals they wanted to achieve when they were aged 16 to 19.

2.3 The educational and occupational background of the adolescent

Taking the social theory of Coleman (figure 2.1) into account it is assumed that the individual behavior (part 2.2) is influenced by the individual background. For that important reason, characteristics of these backgrounds are outlined in this part and deal with the educational and occupational background of the adolescents living in rural South India nowadays; the differences in these backgrounds between female and male adolescents (i.e. the focus on differences between both sexes) and the change over time regarding these educational and occupational backgrounds; whereby the focus is on education and work.

For decades, gender segregation is present in the lives of adolescents meaning that differences between sexes are observed everywhere in life; for instance in household activities, education and work. Gender is defined as “*the attributes, behaviors, personality characteristics and perceptions associated with a person’s biological sex in a given culture; may be based on biology, may be learned, or may represent a combination of biological and cultural determinants*” (Byrne 1996, p. 175). According to Major (1993 cited in Byrne 1996) gender roles influence what men and women do within home and outside this place, gender also affects perceptions and behavior. This difference between boys and girls can be traced back to their childhood as the pattern of socialization is similar to both sexes until the boys and the girls are about five years old. Between five and ten boys and girls are directed to different channels or disciplines and instructions. Major (1993) highlights that over the last decades, in rural South India gender segregation has decreased when focusing on education and labor participation as indicated by the following background information.

Ishwaran (1968) stated that during the 1960s girls did not enter the primary school; the parents sent them to school only under compulsion. During that time lower class families were not enthusiastic about schooling for their sons either, because their help is needed at home and they had the opinion that schooling did not make a man more able to earn a living. The tasks of the young girls were washing and cooking as soon as they were physically able to help their mothers with these tasks (Ishwaran 1968). In earlier times boys were more allowed to follow education than girls. But the total number of girls attending school increases over years, as does that of boys but less strong.

Nowadays, the level of education still differs between girls and boys at the age of 15-19 years in rural Karnataka; boys are higher educated than girls (see tables 2.4 and 2.5).

Table 2.4 Level of education for females aged 15-19 (percentage) in rural Karnataka, 1992-93 and 1998-99

Level of Education	1992-93	1998-99
Illiterate	50.9	36.0
Literate, < primary school completed	8.0	7.3
Primary school completed	17.2	17.2
Middle school completed	13.7	18.2
High school completed	9.5	17.8
Above high school	--	3.5

Source: NFHS 1, p. 33; NFHS 2, p. 21

Table 2.5 Level of education for males aged 15-19 (percentage) in rural Karnataka, 1992-93 and 1998-99

Level of Education	1992-93	1998-99
Illiterate	26.4	21.3
Literate, < primary school completed	10.0	6.0
Primary school completed	16.3	17.1
Middle school completed	21.7	28.5
High school completed	24.4	21.1
Above high school	1.3	6.1

Source: NFHS 1, p. 33; NFHS 2, p. 21

According to the National Family Health Survey (1998-99) mothers give the following reasons why girls do not attend school; according to them it is because of the high costs of studying and the fact that girls are not interested in studies. Finally, it seemed that almost 16 percent of girls and 6.7 per cent of boys do not attend school because they are required for household work. Furthermore, the type of educational and occupational background of adolescents depends upon the economic status of their parents. Hurrelmann (1994) states “attitude of the family plays a significant role in the personal development of the adolescent.” Parents who are uneducated, and in keeping with this, are of a lower social status do not give their children any support for their studies; they expected them to help carry small household responsibilities. On the other hand, it is often noticed that the children of educated and disciplined families are more sensitive and serious about education. Out of the survey done in 1987-88 can be concluded that the Labor Force Participation Rate (LFPR) of the 15-19 age group is relatively high, with more than half of the male population engaged in productive activity. The last survey period of 1993-94 witnessed a decline in the LFPR, which can be attributed to the increase in numbers attending an educational institute (www.unfpa.org).

2.4 The context

The second element within the process-context approach that simultaneously is an important basic element of the model of Coleman is the macro-level. The macro-level deals with the contextual background of the individual; this could be the population, the society, institutions or social systems. According to De Bruijn the context is defined as ‘*a structure of institutions which embody information about opportunities and restrictions, consequences and perceptions, rights and duties, incentives and sanctions, models, guidelines and definitions of the world*’ (Bruijn, B. de, p. 22). McNicoll (1994) defined institutions as “clusters of behavioral rules governing human actions and relationships in recurrent situations”. Institutions operate at the macro and micro level. Although institutions may have particular relevance to a single domain, in general they incorporate several domains and therefore they are intertwined as Greenhalgh expresses, “the role of religion being a major meaning-giving cultural system cannot be appreciated if its social implications are not fully acknowledged” (Greenhalgh 1995, cited in De Bruijn 1999, p. 139). Institutions comprises two types of rules; formal and informal. Formal rules consist of laws and constitutions. Informal rules, on the other hand, are norms and codes of conduct. The concept of institutions is designed to analyze the structure and meaning of the entire social environment of individual actors. Hence the main focus is on institutions operating at the social and cultural macro level and therefore mentioned in part 2.4.3 and 2.4.4. Three types of institutions are mentioned here: the family, the religion and caste-system. It is the context together with the institutions the individuals are struggling with, because “the context has a structuring impact on behavior, since it draws people into commonalities, dependencies and interdependencies” (De Bruijn 1999, p. 21).

This part deals with the environment the adolescents live in: the physical (2.4.1), economic (2.4.2), social (2.4.3) as well as cultural (2.4.4) context and its changes over time.

2.4.1 The physical context

As mentioned in chapter 3, in this research the physical context is operationalized as the umbrella term of facilities, infrastructure and means of transport. At the time Ishwaran did research, one public primary school and one private primary school were located in Navalur. “The language of the public school was Kannada. The private school was open to Muslims only; its language is Urdu” (Ishwaran 1968, p. 3). Traditionally there are no formal recreational activities as such in Navalur, but each street puts on religious festivals. Ishwaran wrote little about the physical context. But Hutter (1998) adds that in general, most of the villages around Dharwad have a traditional composition as can be concluded from the research done by Hutter (1998): certain groups of people are represented in certain areas. In some villages a concentric pattern can be discerned: the higher caste groups are located in the center of the village, the lower caste group at the outside. In other villages each caste is concentrated in a specific street. According to Hutter (1998) most of the houses built in the area around Dharwad are built of mud and stone, the roof consisting of tiles. Buses are driving to these villages to transport people to the bigger city, Dharwad or Hubli. Primary schools are built in almost all villages in the research area (Hutter 1998, p. 58).

2.4.2 The economic context

At the time Ishwaran did research, he concluded that “the economy of Navalur remains traditional, in spite of its proximity to an urban centre, its access to means of communication, and its governmental and monetary ties with the nation and the outside world” (Ishwaran 1968, p. 12). An outcome of the research done by Ishwaran is that within the economic context of Navalur the most important source of income consisted of agriculture. Concluded by him, work is thought of in terms of seasons, work is not formally organized, and there are no fixed hours. Another, but less important source of income in that time, are the non-agricultural activities. Within the non-agricultural activities there are around 20 occupations, “from the priest’s down to the untouchable” (Ishwaran 1968, p. 130). According to Ishwaran (1968) the occupations are viewed hierarchically, but all are regarded as important, necessary and meaningful.

During the 1990s, in the villages around Dharwad the most important source of income consisted of agriculture too. Agriculture consists of cultivation of land owned by the households only. Other primary sources of income during the 1990s are traditional occupations related to caste group but also more modern oriented occupations like services. Services include people working in government jobs like teachers, nurses, railway employees and workers in development services (Hutter 1998, p. 63). The most important difference within the economic context between the 1990s and some decades ago is that in former times, caste groups are associated with a specific occupation; nowadays a less closer link between the type of work and caste may be observed.

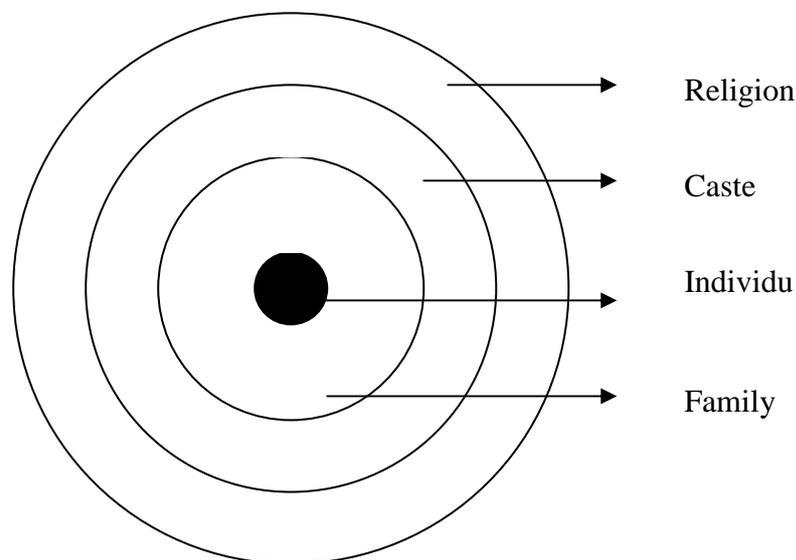
2.4.3 The social context

As mentioned the economic and physical context and its changes above, the social and cultural context and changes within these contexts are described below. The social context consists of the family and their influences on the behavior of the adolescent, and thus on their perceptions and goals. Focusing on the social context the focus is on social institutions. McNicoll (1994) identifies social institutions as “constitute sets of relatively coherent rules that construct reality and provide behavioral guidance” (McNicoll 1994, p. 128). These social institutions comprises two types of rules; formal and informal. Formal rules consist of laws

and constitutions. Informal rules, on the other hand, are norms and codes of conduct. These are unwritten rules, regularly formed by the family. Regarding the family, two broad categories can be discerned: a nuclear and joint family. A nuclear family constitutes of a husband and his wife living with their unmarried children. A joint family consists of one or two parents, or sometimes without parents, living with their sons and their wives and children (Hutter 1994).

Basis of part 2.4.3 and 2.4.4 is the model introduced by Ishwaran (1968), see figure 2.2. This model describes the influences of the social and cultural contexts on the educational and occupational background of the individual as stated before. In this study the focus is on three institutions, the family, religion and caste-system, and its influence on the adolescent. In the time Ishwaran (1968) did research, he concluded that the influences of these different institutions were not the same: the role of the family was more prominent in the lives of individuals than the role of the caste and religion as can be concluded from figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 Influences of institutions: family, caste and religion on the individual background during the 1960s.



Source: Ishwaran (1968)

At the time Ishwaran researched, the families in rural Indian villages were large: “the larger the family, the greater the prestige” (Ishwaran 1968, p. 55). In that time authority was widely dispersed within the family. Ishwaran (1968) described the daily routine within the household as follows: the mother makes the day-to-day routine decisions; she has the practical responsibility for the care and disciplining of her children. The mother speaks often, possibly with less effect. The father speaks seldom; at times he does he speaks with force and with effect. Within a household hierarchical relationships can be observed, children will learn this and adopt these hierarchy. Besides hierarchy, gender segregation is a classic characteristic of Indian families. Boys begin to adopt their role in late childhood and accompany his father to his work. Together they will go into the field, from now on boys are allowed to perform more tasks of a responsible man. Girls, begin their specialization of roles earlier in life than boys do. As mentioned above, the tasks of the young girls are washing and cooking as soon as she is physically able to help their mothers with these tasks (Ishwaran 1968, p. 60).

Parents are expected to, and for the most part do provide a full range of support to young children and adolescents; a home, food to eat, health care, other physical necessities and emotional, moral, social support. As Hurrelmann (1994) expresses “the family, in one form or another, is the basic unit of all societies.” It exists not only objectively as the recognized basic social unit but also subjectively in the minds and imagination of all peoples and individuals. It is widely regarded as a useful and a positive institution essential for the emotional care and development of children and it provides love, care and protection. According to Hurrelmann (1994) “Indian adolescents are fully dependent on their families. Indian families remain conservative in their culture and traditions, even today” (Hurrelmann, 1994, p.197). The family plays a big role in the life of the children. Regarding the role of the family at the time of marriage, it seems desirable to marry one’s father’s sister’s child, or mother’s brother’s child. Nowadays family organization in India still tends to be characterized by hierarchy, this says that “it is clear within a family who should pay respect to whom: fathers are dominant over their sons, men over women etc. The young wife finds herself at the bottom of the hierarchical system” (Boserup 1990, Caldwell et al. 1982, Dyson and Moore 1983, ESCAP 1987, Koenig and Foo 1992, Malhotra et al. 1995, Mandelbaum 1970 cited in De Bruijn 1999, p. 215). “The position of the women in the household is thus very vulnerable and very dependent, economically and socially as well as emotionally. This relatively powerless position of wives extends in many areas of decision making.” (De Bruijn 1999, p. 215) The social environment is seen as the major contextual ingredient in the explanation of individual behaviors and the resultant outcomes at the societal level. The educational and occupational background of the adolescents living in rural South India (see section 2.3) are influenced by the social environment, i.e. the family, that play an important role as social institutions constitute sets of relatively coherent rules that construct reality and behavioral guidance.

2.4.4 The cultural context

In this research the cultural context consists of the influence of institutions too, namely the caste-system and the religion on the educational and occupational background of adolescents. In ancient India a social system has developed in which people were divided into separate close communities. These communities are known as caste. The origin of the caste system is in Hinduism, but it affected the whole Indian society. The caste system in the religious form is basically a simple division of society in which there are four castes arranged in a hierarchy and below them the outcast. But socially the caste system was and still is more complicated, with much more castes and sub-castes and other divisions (www.adaniel.tripod.com). Kunjakkan (2002) remarks that the caste-system is the very centre of Indian social system, social life, thought and action. Caste consciousness is predominant in every aspect of Indian life. “It is the guiding principle, which exerts its influence directly or indirectly, overtly or covertly in every action, transaction, activities, personal, private, or public. Caste is all comprising” (Kunjakkan, 2002, p. 189). The caste has their influence in the life of adolescents, either negative or positive. “Formerly the influence of the caste was restricted to the local level” (Ishwaran 1968, p. 27). The caste influence was limited. In the long run caste is expanding in influence and significance over wider areas. “Its formal and economic functions are suffering a corresponding decline, in this way caste is becoming more open” (Ishwaran 1968, p. 27). The caste determines different things: social etiquette, payment for services, family life, political life and religious life. One example given by Ishwaran is that if equals meet each other, they fold their hands and raise them to their face. If a high caste man meets a man of a low caste, the low caste man folds his hands and bows deeply, the high caste man on the other hand will not give any greeting. Within the caste there are a lot of rules; for instance, one must marry within one’s own caste. “Each group had its separate rules, customs,

regulations, rites etc. They had their own marriage rules. One group must marry within the group and not outside of it. No intercaste marriage was allowed” (Kunjakkan, 2002, p. 191). According to Hutter (1999), in the area around Dharwad Lingayat and Marahta are the dominant caste groups nowadays with percentages of respectively 28% and 20%. Within these castes are sub-castes. All castes have their own rules. As described above, the caste-system is of great importance in Indian life and is present in every single domain of life: it is embedded in religion.

As institutions refer to more abstract constructs, it refers to the religion. McNicoll (1980) states “religion in general can be interpreted as an institution that situates man in a larger cosmology” (McNicoll 1980, cited in De Bruijn 1999, p. 127). According to Ishwaran (1968) religion is deep-rooted in Indian villages. The majority of the population living in rural South India adheres to the Hindu religion. “Hinduism is present everywhere in daily life, a few decades ago and even nowadays. Hinduism is not so much a religion as much as a way of life” (Hutter 1998, p. 70). Examples of this are: “daily baths, daily *pujas* in the God’s room in the house, the abundant festivals, and the visits to the temples” (Hutter 1994, p. 82). Besides Hinduism, a small proportion of the population of rural South India is Muslim or Christian. Hinduism has still a very penetrating influence in Indian society; in educational and occupational background it serves as a main source of information about how to understand the social environment and individual lives and how to act in ways that harmonize with human nature of divine destination. Regarding the rules for men and women, there are some differences between the two sexes. “Men visit different temples and worship different gods than women, husbands are depicted as the providers and wives as caretakers, a wife should adhere to the scriptural ideal of being a *Pativrata*, one who follows her husband’s will and authority in all respects” (Mandelbaum 1970, p. 39, ESCAP 1987, p.62, Karve 1965, p. 30 cited in De Bruijn 1999, p. 213). Kunjakkan (2002) mentions that “a *pativrata* is a wife who believes ‘*Pati Pratyaksha Daivatha*’ (Husband is a living God). The life of *pativratas* is to be of service to her husband and she should be a good mother to their children” (Kunjakkan, 2002, p.19).

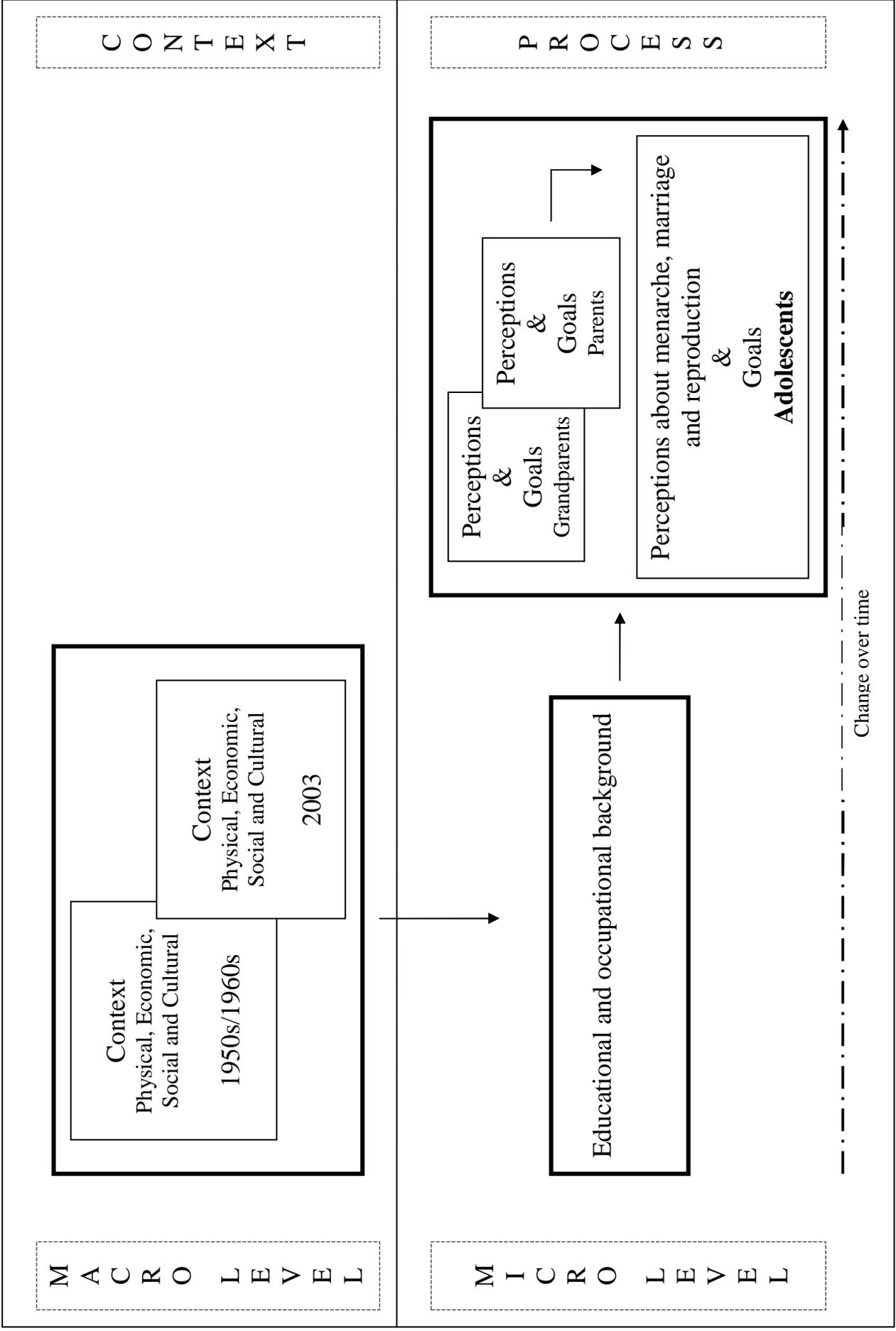
Having described the individual behavior, the background of the individual and the contextual background or the macro level; the conceptual model of the research can be drafted.

2.5 The conceptual model

Basis of the conceptual model (figure 2.3) is the theory of Coleman (1990) and the process-context approach; the macro level or contextual background is linked to the micro level or the background and behavior of the individual and is outlined in this chapter. The process-context approach encounters its emphasis on the individual. It focuses on the processes behind a particular demographic outcome. Moreover, within this approach the individual is placed in its context which has constraints and possibilities for its behavior. In this study the perceptions and goals of adolescents are of high importance, it is the outcome of the conceptual model. Both the process-context approach as well as the theory of Coleman pays its attention to the influence of the background of the individual, i.e. the educational and occupational background, on the perceptions and goals adolescents have. Furthermore the educational and occupational background of adolescents is assumed to be influenced by the contextual background; the physical, economic, social and cultural context.

India is changing and with that contexts, perceptions and goals fluctuate too. Therefore the dynamic perspective plays an important role too; the focus on the dynamic perspective is twofold. The concept of historic time plays an important role; coming down that the focus is on cohorts or generations and so on the perceptions parents and grandparents had when they

were in the stage of late adolescence. Second, the changes over time related to the contexts of the research area are of great importance. All the different but although interrelated and important characteristics of this research, are described in the conceptual model. The concepts mentioned in this conceptual model are described and operationalized in more detail in the next chapter.



3. METHODOLOGY

The research questions presented in the Introduction (Chapter 1) are described in more detail in this chapter. Besides this, the focus is on the methodology of this research project. Subsequently, the definition of the concepts, the operationalisation of variables, selection of the respondents, the questionnaires, the first introduction in the field, the fieldwork area, research team, data collection and the reflections on the fieldwork, are described.

3.1 The research questions

As described in the conceptual model (figure 2.3) one element of this research is to concentrate on adolescents in the age of 16 to 19 and the contexts they live in. Another focus of this research is on perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction; and goals of three generations, i.e. adolescents, parents and grandparents, at the period of late adolescence.

Based on the subject of the research explained in section 2, the main focus is on the adolescents in the age of 16 to 19 and their perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction, as Hurrelmann (1994) concludes by mentioning that “one of the most relevant sphere of interaction in the lives of young people during their transition to adulthood is (future) partnership.” (Hurrelmann, 1994, p. 387) Does this perception differ between educated and non-educated adolescents? Is there any difference in perceptions between married and non-married adolescents? So the main research question is formulated as follows:

What perceptions do late adolescents have about menarche, marriage and reproduction?

Adolescents have been asked about their goals they would like to achieve in future; do they pay a lot of attention to work and money, do they give more importance to social and family life or do they have the wish for self-actualization? Do these goals differ between the two sexes? Maslow (1970) introduced the theory of goals and, as mentioned before, identifies five basic needs: physiological, safety, belongingness and love, esteem and self-actualization needs. Becker describes it as “the hierarchy of human needs: once physical needs and the need for physical safety are satisfied, a human being will need non-material satisfaction, in particular self-development.” (Becker 1992, p. 223) So, the next research question is about the goals the adolescents want to achieve in future and will be linked with the theory of Maslow finally.

Which goals does the adolescent want to achieve in future?

But, to situate the perceptions adolescents have about menarche, marriage and reproduction and the goals they want to achieve, it is important to obtain knowledge of their educational and occupational background. Assuming that the educational and occupational backgrounds have an influence on perceptions the following question is:

What is the educational and occupational background of late adolescents?

Part of this research is about differences between both sexes: so what are differences between female and male adolescents aged of 16 to 19. A theory that fits within the process-context approach is the gender theory as described more detailed in chapter 2. According to Major (1993 cited in Byrne, 1996) gender roles influence what men and women do within home and outside this place, moreover gender affects individual behavior and background. However, this research question has been split up into two questions; the differences in perceptions and goals between girls and boys are handled in chapter 5 and differences in educational and occupational backgrounds between girls and boys are described in chapter 6. The research question regarding gender segregation is:

What are the differences between girls and boys concerning the perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction; goals they want to achieve in the future; and the educational and occupational background?

As mentioned above it is assumed that perceptions are influenced by educational and occupational backgrounds, moreover the background of the adolescent is influenced by the context they live in too. In this research the context is defined as the environment the adolescents live in: social, cultural and economic as well as physical. The process-context approach encounters the emphasis on the individual. Within this approach the individual is placed in its context, which facilitates constraints and possibilities for its behavior.

What is the role of the physical, economic, social and cultural context on the educational and occupational background and behavior of adolescents; and what are the changes over time within these contexts?

The next part of this research, as described above, has to do with the time perspective. The social, cultural, physical and economic contexts change over time, and as a consequence the perceptions of different generations may change too. The focus is on differences in perceptions regarding menarche, marriage and reproduction; and goals, and the educational and occupational backgrounds amongst the three different generations: adolescents, parents and grandparents. However, part of this research question is answered in chapter 5, the other element is answered in chapter 6. The question has been split up. A theory that is related to this topic is the cohort perspective, described more detailed in section 2.1.

What are the differences between the perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction; goals; and the educational and occupational backgrounds of the adolescents comparing to that of their parents and grandparents when *they* were in the adolescence period?

3.2 Definitions of the concepts

The definitions of the concepts used in the conceptual framework (section 2.5) are presented below. In order to measure the concepts these concepts must be defined clearly. The concepts of this conceptual model like perceptions, menarche; marriage; reproduction; goals; adolescent; level of education; educational and occupational background; social, cultural, economic and physical context; and generations are defined in the following manner respectively. However, sometimes it is hard to make a distinction between definitions and operationalizations. Therefore a few concepts are operationalized in this section. The factual operationalization of the concepts is handled in section 3.3.

Menarche

Menarche is the first menstruation of a girl and is defined as the “physical start of the reproductive career” (Hutter 1999, p. 77).

Marriage

Marriage is defined as the “socially accepted start of the reproductive career” (Hutter 1999, p. 77). This research concentrates on arranged marriages and love-marriages. “ ‘Arrangement’ means primarily the formal introduction of potential marriage partners to each other” (Hurrelmann, 1994, p.12). The young people have already previewed each other by way of family credentials and photographs of each other.” (Hurrelmann, 1994, p.58) Regarding arranged marriage parents take the initiative in deciding when and whom their child should marry. Intensive love, or love-marriage, can be defined as follows “with continued association, acquaintance turns to friendship and friendship to love.” (Blood, 1967, p.59)

Reproduction

Reproduction can be defined as the realized number of children women reproduce. When a couple is married they will start with their reproductive career; the woman will bear children. In this research the focus is also on a preference for a specific sex.

Goals

Goals are defined by Maslow (1970) as needs that may be arranged in hierarchical order. According to him five basic needs can be identified: physiological, safety, belongingness and love, esteem and self-actualization needs.

Adolescent

An adolescent is a person that is in the adolescence period. Internationally, the period of adolescence is defined as “the period between ages 10 and 19” (WHO 1983) and is “an independent phase of life.” (Hurrelmann and Hamilton, 1996, p. 53) But, the length of this stage varies across cultures because each stage is to some degree linked to important biological changes. “Adolescence is unlikely to begin much before age 11, when the physical and cognitive capacities of the child

have matured to the point where children can be given social responsibilities. It usually ends at marriage. So although the beginning of adolescence may be partially determined by biological development, the end is socially determined.” (Schlegel, A. and Barry, H., 1991, p.10) In this research the focus is on late adolescents, so adolescents aged 16 to 19.

Level of education

The level of education was operationalised as the highest level of education ever reached and completed. Regarding the adolescents; an adolescent still going to school at the moment of interviewing the present standard was reported, and if the adolescent left school at the moment of interviewing the standard completed was reported.

Educational and occupational background

Assumed is that the part of the adolescents has the choice either to follow education or to search for a job.

Social context

The social context consists of the household and its influences on the behavior of the adolescent. Focusing on the social context the focus is on social institutions. McNicoll (1994) identifies social institutions as “constitute sets of relatively coherent rules that construct reality and provide behavioral guidance” (McNicoll 1994, p. 128).

Cultural context

In general, the cultural context is a broad concept. In this research the focus is on two characteristics of the cultural context: the caste-system and religion.

Physical context

In this research the physical context is defined as the umbrella term of facilities, infrastructure and means of transport.

Economic context

In this research the economic context is defined as and consists of the economic activities present in rural South India.

Generation

A generation is defined as “all those within a broad (characteristically unspecified) age span during a particular epoch, and implicitly those with common characteristics because of common experiences.” (Ryder, 1985, p. 25)

3.3 Operationalisation of variables

Operationalisation of variables is necessary to best measure the concepts under study. The concepts are broadly explained in the way they are used in this research. They are operationalised in the form of a question, as posed in the questionnaires.

<u>Menarche</u>	When did you reach menarche? Who told you about menarche? Did you have a perception about menarche before you reached it?
<u>Marriage</u>	Do you prefer an arranged marriage or a love-marriage? What is your perception about marriage? What is your perception about marital life? What is your perception about the relationship between husband and wife?
<u>Reproduction</u>	How many children would you like to have? What is the reason behind this total number of children you would like to have? Do you have a son preference? If you do have a son preference, what is the reason behind?
<u>Goal</u>	What do you want to reach in future?
<u>Age</u>	What is your age? What is your date of birth?
<u>Level of education</u>	What is your highest completed level of education?
<u>Educational and occupational background</u>	Do you study or work?
<u>Social context</u>	What is the role of the family regarding your educational and occupational background? How many family members do you have? Do you live in a nuclear or a joint family? Do your parents play a role in the decision-making process concerning the total number of children you would like to have?
<u>Cultural context</u>	To what religion and caste do you belong? What is the role of the religion and the caste within the educational and occupational background?
<u>Physical context</u>	Do facilities, infrastructure and means of transport have their impacts on the local population?
<u>Economic context</u>	Do the economic activities have impact on the local population?
<u>Generation</u>	Three generations are included in this research: adolescents, parents and grandparents. To these generations questions were asked about perceptions of menarche, marriage and reproduction to get an overview

of differences in these perceptions earlier in time compared to these days.

3.4 Selection of the respondents

The criteria used for selection of the respondents were based on the research questions. Before mentioning the criteria, one general criterion is there. To get a clear overview of changes over time regarding perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction three generations were interviewed, i.e. adolescents, parents and grandparents. Another important element is the context and the changes within the social, cultural, physical and economic contexts. These contexts have changed over the past 50 years and to get a clear overview of these changes key-informants were interviewed who were able to reflect on these changes in the contexts. First the total number of respondents is portrayed; next the criteria under which the respondents were selected are expressed.

Initially the idea was to interview 30 respondents. Finally 31 respondents were interviewed of whom were:

- 21 adolescents (10 males and 11 females). This total number of adolescents has to do with the theoretical saturation. It seems that interviewing more respondents within this age group will not give more differences or variety in educational and occupational background and contexts, as well as in answers regarding perceptions and ceremonies celebrated at the moment the girl reaches menarche and the event of marriage and in goals they would like to achieve in future. This is called the theoretical saturation point: “at a certain point in time the researcher has the feeling that adding more interviews with a type of participant will not add more variation or new information” (Ingham *et al.*, 1996);
- 4 parents (2 fathers and 2 mothers). The reason behind this total number of parents is to get a first impression about, for instance, their perceptions of menarche, marriage and reproduction at the time they were in the adolescence period, realizing that the theoretical saturation point has not yet reached;
- 2 grandparents (1 grandfather and 1 grandmother). Asking two grandparents is to get a first impression too about perceptions of menarche, marriage and reproduction at the time they were in the adolescence period, realizing that the theoretical saturation point has not yet reached; and
- 4 key-informants (2 males and 2 females). Navalur is a village (see chapter 4); and this is the reason for assuming that it is not real necessary to ask more than four key-informants about the changes in the social, cultural, physical and economic context. So, asking more than four key-informants will not give additional information. In other words, the theoretical saturation point has reached.

During the pre-test interviews a female adolescent was interviewed. However, it was not sure whether to include this adolescent or not, although she met the criteria. In general, information that is received during a pilot-interview and therefore not real valid will not be used while analyzing the data. However, this information *has been* used because of the reason that just a small part of the first version of the questionnaire needed to be reshaped as is described in detail in section 3.5.

The respondents were selected under the following criteria:

- Adolescents should be aged 16, 17, 18 or 19. The age of the parents did not really matter. Regarding the parents and grandparents the only criterion was that they should

have children respectively grandchildren whether they were in the adolescence period or not. Finally the mothers had the age of 33 and 37, the fathers were 50/51 and 53. The grandmother and grandfather were respectively 54 and 68 years old. But, by co-incident their children as well as grandchildren were in the adolescence period. It is assumed that it would not be real important if the respondents of older generations belong to the same family as the adolescents.

- To get differences in answers given by the respondents it would be agreeable to interview married and unmarried adolescents. It would be interesting whether perceptions about marriage, marital life and the relationship between husband and wife differ when an adolescent is married or not.
- A criterion regarding the social context is that some respondents live within joint families while others are part of nuclear families.
- Assuming that ceremonies, rituals and perceptions differ between respondents whose cultural backgrounds are different, all respondents should have different religious and caste backgrounds. The religions most present in Navalur are Hinduism, Jain and Islam. The high variety in religions and castes reproduces differences in individual and contextual backgrounds, in answers regarding perceptions and ceremonies celebrated at the moment the girl reaches menarche and the event of marriage; and in goals they would like to achieve in future.
- As mentioned earlier key-informants were asked to reflect the changes in the social, cultural, physical and economic context of Navalur. The only criterion regarding the key-informants was that they live in Navalur for at least 50 years. In other words, they have lived in Navalur at the time Ishwaran (1968) did research in that village between 1955 and 1965 too. It is assumed that it was not real important whether they remember the research of Ishwaran. Finally the ages of the male key-informants were 72 and 81; and the ages of the female key-informants were 70 and 76. But more important was that they all were born in Navalur so they could give a clear overview of the changes in the physical and economic contexts during the last 50 years within this village. It hardly needs mentioning that the key-informants should be able to speak and hear so they understand the questions.

3.5 List of questions

In-depth interviews

The focus of this research is on the perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction of both sexes and the goals they want to achieve. Besides this the focus is on the perceptions of three different generations too; male and female adolescents, fathers and mothers, a grandfather and grandmother. Another important element is the changes that take place in the social, cultural, physical and economic context. This is the reason to address to key-informants. Altogether 7 different lists of questions have been constructed, all mentioned in the appendixes 1 – 4.

The reason for constructing in-depth interviews was to get broad information, realizing that as a consequence this research is a small-scale research.

List of questions: the Western bias

The first version of the list of questions has been constructed in Groningen and Dharwad. The difficulty was the time dimension, which means, it took a lot of time to pose the questions in the right verb. Next, the first version of the lists of questions was discussed with staff members of the Population Research Centre Dharwad. After this discussion it became clear

that there arose one type of bias: the Western bias. Persons living in different countries have different contexts. A person living in the developed world has a different cultural background than a person living in the developing world, and thus they have different thoughts about concepts used in this research; the Western person is looking rather different to the activities done and experiences told by people living in developing countries. Inevitably this was a difficulty while constructing the lists of questions. It is not possible to turn one's back on the Western way of thinking completely, but it was clear that the best thing was to include more concepts of the Indian culture. Two pilot-interviews were done to check whether the questions were clear and posed in the right way. Together with the two interpreters and the supervisor the first version was discussed afterwards and finally it seemed that just a small part of the interview should be changed before starting the real work.

The structure of the lists of questions

With the exception of the list of questions regarding the key-informants, each list of questions consists of 3 parts: part one consists of questions related to the educational and occupational background and the context, part two consists of questions related to perceptions about menarche, marriages and reproduction and the last part is related to questions about goals the respondents would like to achieve. The lists of questions include closed and open questions as well. To get trustful answers the lists of questions must be built-up in the right way: the first part of the questionnaire is about impersonal *but* important questions, followed by the sensitive questions related to menarche, marriage and reproduction and the last part of the lists of questions is again about impersonal and less sensitive questions related to their future goals (see Appendixes 1 – 3). By storing questions in this way, a basis of trust develops between the respondent and the interviewer. Then, hopefully, the respondent will give more open and fair answers. The structure of the list of questions is described more in detail below.

Before starting the interviews, the interpreter introduced the researcher and the subject of the research. The initial part of the lists of questions is about the characteristics of the respondent: for instance their names and type of family were asked, followed by general questions about the educational and occupational backgrounds of adolescents, parents and grandparents. There are two reasons for starting with this insensitive subject. Sometimes, dependent on the place of interviewing, there are curious persons present. After 10 minutes most of these bystanders (especially female family members) disappeared and continued their educational and occupational background. If they did not leave they were asked to leave. So we could focus on the more sensitive topics. The other reason for starting with impersonal questions has to do with the subject of this research. As mentioned before, to understand the perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction it is necessary to get, for instance, knowledge about their educational and occupational backgrounds.

The second part of the interview consists of more sensitive questions. First the focus is on the perceptions about menarche, thus the first menstruation of a woman; assumed that menarche is one of the special events in the life of a woman. In general, there has not written a lot about the role of men during the ceremony performed by elders when the girl reaches menarche. Hence, both females as well as males were asked about menarche and their ideas regarding menarche. The following questions of the second part are related to another important event: marriage. Focusing on perceptions about marriage, the respondents were asked to give their perceptions about marriage, marital life and the relationships between husband and wife. The reason for making this distinction has to do with the different interpretations of marriage. Besides this, it makes the concept of marriage much broader, and that is acceptable because marriage is an important element of this research. Assuming that marriage can be seen as an event, marital life as a stage and within this marital life the

relationship between husband and wife takes place. This makes clear that there is an understandable and clear relationship between marriage, marital life and the relationships between husband and wife. Regarding the perception about reproduction some explanation should be given. To get knowledge of their perceptions regarding reproduction questions were posed about their perception of reproduction. Though, this question is not asked as direct as it is posed in the list of questions. It depends on the cultural background of the interpreters in what way they formulated this question; assuming that they know the best how to ask questions, *because* of their cultural background. The way of questioning of the interpreters seemed reliable, so it was up to them how to pose questions concerning sensitive topics. Probably the question about reproduction could be a difficult question, so that they are not able to define this concept in the right way. Hence, this question is specified in sub-questions as can be seen in the Appendixes 1 – 3. Essentially, the reason for asking questions about reproduction is to get knowledge if the adolescents think about the total number of children they would like to have when they have the age of 16, 17, 18 or 19 and whether the fathers and mothers and grandfather and -mother thought about having children when they were adolescents.

The final part is about the future and can be linked with the last research questions. The adolescents were asked about their goals they would like to achieve in future; do they pay a lot of attention to work and money or do they give more importance to social and family life. Then, regarding the older generations questions were posed about the goals they had when they were in the adolescence period and what goals they achieved finally. This is all to draw conclusions about a feasible change in the traditional family life or not, or if there is still a clear distinction between the role of the man and the role of the woman within the family. At the end of the interview the interpreter had some discussions with the respondent and made special thanks to the respondent for participating by answering questions. During these moments there were possibilities for the researcher to check the questions. So, if the researcher would like to add some more questions afterwards, it was possible.

The list of questions regarding the key-informants also consists of 3 parts. The difference between these list of questions and that of the lists of questions to the other three groups of respondents (i.e. adolescents, parents and grandparents) is, that the questions are all related to the four contexts, i.e. the social, cultural, physical and economic context as described in more detail in chapter 2 (see Appendix 4). Part one consists of questions related to the economic context and is about economic activities. Part two is about the physical context or in other words about the facilities, infrastructure and modes of transport. In the last part the questions related to the social and cultural context are combined. These two types of contexts are intertwined, that means questions about these contexts are related to each other. For example, the role of the parents in the decision-making process regarding the ceremony performed when a girl reaches menarche is related to the social context (i.e. influence of the family) and the cultural context (i.e. influence of the religion and caste). The questions asked to the key-informants are not real personal, that is the reason no special attention is paid to the sequence of the questions.

3.6 First introduction in the field

Together with three staff members (the guide, a female translator and a male translator) the researcher went to Navalur to conduct two pre-test interviews; one with a male adolescent and one with a female adolescent. The reason behind conducting these pre-test interviews or pilot interviews was to check whether the questions were asked in a good and clear way or not. Afterwards it seems that almost all questions were asked in a clear and understandable way,

so some small changes and additions were done. The lists of questions were written in the English language and the length of the interview seems to be around one hour. Because of the good knowledge about the English language of the interpreters, the lists of questions were not translated in Kannada.

3.7 The fieldwork area

The fieldwork was conducted between December 22nd 2003 and January 22nd 2004; in total it took 18 days. As mentioned in paragraph 3.5 a total of 31 questionnaires were conducted finally. The fieldwork was carried out in a village called Navalur. The reason this research was conducted in Navalur has to do with the research done by Ishwaran (1968) between 1955 and 1965. Ishwaran did research in Navalur and studied all components of this village in detail. By the way, he called Navalur Shivapur. Parts of his research (see Chapter 2) are used in this research as background information.

Navalur is located between the twin-city Hubli-Dharwad in Dharwad *taluk*, Dharwad District in the state of Karnataka, India. The researcher was staying in Dharwad, in the Saraswati Ladies Hostel at the campus of the Karnatak University. The distance between the hostel and Navalur was around 8 kilometers and everyday this village was reached by bus.

In earlier times Ishwaran concluded that Navalur was a typical rural South Indian village. Nowadays there are some external influences because of its geographical location as indicated in figure 4.2. However, Navalur has a lot of characteristics of a rural village. More about the research village is written in chapter 4.

3.8 Research team

With the help of a male and female translator the interviews with the respondents started; the male interpreter Sir Kulkarni, working as a field interviewer at the PRC Dharwad, interviewed the male respondents and in the same way, the female interpreter Nirmala, working as a computer employee, interviewed the female respondents. This way of interviewing has to do with a basis of trust between the respondent and researcher: a male person will be more open when a male interviewer instead of a female interviewer interviews that person, and the other way around. Both translators are working at the PRC Dharwad. However, the following information could influence the data: the male interpreter was married and was of an older age than the female interpreter. So, logically he has more experience than the female interpreter. The female interpreter was unmarried at the moment of interviewing and her age was around 24. The fieldwork was supervised by a member from the research faculty of IER, Ms N.V. Rajeswari, and the project coordinator of PRC Groningen, Prof. Dr. I. Hutter. Overall supervision work during the fieldwork period was done by the deputy director of PRC Dharwad: Dr. Rajaretnam and Prof. Dr. I. Hutter through e-mail.

Next to the help of professional researchers and interpreters the help of villagers was also there. The places the interviews with the male and female respondents were conducted differ; this is explained more detailed in the next paragraph. During the interviews with the female respondents and the key-informants the teacher of the Kindergarten or *Anganwadi* assisted. Together with the teacher assistant the *Anganwadi* worker searched for the respondents who met the characteristics mentioned in paragraph 3.4. The helper was born in Navalur, so it was assumed that she has a clear overview of the villagers. Starting the interviews with the male respondents the head of the primary school and a schoolteacher assisted, he was a friend of the male interpreter and works at that primary school. This way of

selection could have some influence on the data, we are dependent on the choice of respondents made by others and do not know if they are in good contact with them or not. But realizing this the interviews with the female and male respondents started. Walking around the village and asking elderly people at random, the fathers and grandfather were picked up. Walking around and searching respondents was not a real difficult task. Most respondents were willing to answer the questions because of their curiosity, they did not know what to expect and would like to experience it.

3.9 Data collection

Female respondents

At December 22nd the interviews with female respondents started and on January 7th these interviews finished. The reason for selecting female adolescents first is to be sure to get data for all sensitive issues. While starting the interviews with the male respondents it could affect the response given by females finally. The subject of the research is rather sensitive, especially to girls because of the questions about menarche. So, if starting with males it could be the case that some people, already interviewed, may spread wrong messages to others regarding the research or, next to this, parents may not allow their daughters for the interviews after getting knowledge about the subject. First the adolescents interviewed followed by mothers, grandmother and the key-informants. The location these interviews were conducted was a little temple, nowadays this building is also used as a school where a teacher teaches some basic education to children in the age of 3 and 4 years, it is called a Kindergarten or *Anganwadi*. Together with the three of us we sat down on a carpet and did the interviews in the same room the children were sitting, realizing that this could affect the results in a negative way although the researcher and interpreter did not have the feeling the respondents felt disturbed while listening to and answering the questions or, on the other hand that the interpreter got disturbed during the interview. Sometimes it was a little bit noisy because of the young children, but during those moments the teacher used her power *and* stick to calm down them. The *Anganwadi* workers were really helpful to find the right respondents, who should be of different backgrounds.

At the end of every day, so immediately after conducting the interviews, the data were stored with the help of the computer at the PRC in Dharwad, depending on the length of the interviews and the working hours of the PRC, realizing that storing the data immediately will give you a lower chance of losing data. Finally it was not possible to type down the information acquired by the respondents at the same day the interviews were done, so there were planned some extra days to store the data. With a clean sheet, the interviews with male respondent started at January 14th 2004.

Male respondents

Between January 14th and January 22nd 2004 the interviews with the male respondents took place, in the same sequence as have been done with the female respondents; starting with the adolescents, followed by the fathers, grandfather and key-informants. The interviews with the male respondents were conducted at different places. At the beginning the interviews were conducted at the high school, in Navalur. After asking permission of the director of the high school to conduct, in a separate classroom at this school area the questioning part was started. Nobody was there except for the respondent, the interviewer and the researcher. Sometimes a couple of friends of the boy came in the classroom to assist their friend, but when they were asked to leave they left without any difficulty. Five male adolescents were interviewed in this classroom, after a couple of days the interviews were conducted at the houses the boys,

fathers and grandfather and their family lived in. The reason for leaving the high school area has to do with criterion about the level of education; besides the educated boys, uneducated boys should also be interviewed and they will not be found at the high school. One problem exists while conducting the interviews at the houses of the boys: family members are there. They were busy with their educational and occupational background and really curious about what is happening. By telling them that it was the intention to ask the male respondent some questions without the presence of his family, they left without any problem and continued their educational and occupational background; but they still kept a little eye on the interviewer and the respondent.

Length of the interview

There was a big difference regarding the length of the interviews. The female adolescents were interviewed for at least 40 minutes to one hour and 50 minutes; the male adolescents on the other hand were interviewed for at least 50 minutes to one hour and 40 minutes. Concluding can be stated that there was a high variety in the lengths of all interviews. This can be highlighted by the fact that the older two generations of male respondents were talking for a longer time than the mothers, grandmothers and female key-informants did; the interviews with the grandfathers and male key-informants took at least 2 hours with a maximum of 2 hours and 30 minutes. The reason for this could be the level of experience of the interviewer, i.e. the male interpreter has a lot more experience in doing fieldwork than the female interpreter because of their differences in ages. But, this does not imply that the female interpreter was not as good as the male interpreter! Another reason for the differences in lengths of the interviews could be that male respondents are more likely to tell their stories than female respondents.

The help of an interpreter

The researcher was not able to communicate with the respondents in Kannada, the local language and besides this, the respondents were not able to communicate in the English language. Therefore to get the information needed for the research, the researcher cooperated with two interpreters, one female and one male. Both interpreters were informed perfectly about the subject of the research by the researcher through conversations during the preparation stage, so they understood very well the objectives of the research. The questionnaires were written in the English language, but the interviewer and the respondent communicated in Kannada. Depending on the intensity of the conversation, the interpreter translated all the answers given in the Kannada language into the English language to the researcher. Sometimes the interpreter wrote down some parts of answers given by the respondents. Realizing that writing down the information took a lot of time, most information they kept in mind and did not make any note then. In the beginning the interpreter translated the information given by the respondent after each different part of the interview (i.e. after questions related to the social context and cultural context, physical context, economic context). Handling like this has some sort of danger; the idea was to have a conversation with the respondent, and translating every answer a couple of times during the interview make the respondent bored. If there are too many breaks the respondent will feel disturbed and this could influence the answers given by the respondent later on during the interview in a negative way. Probably he or she will be less open. After some interviews there was a basis of trust between the interviewer and the researcher and together was decided to translate all answers at the end of the interview from the Kannada to the English language.

Although there is the help of an interpreter, the researcher had some tasks: listening to and observing the conversation between the interpreter and the respondent, focusing on body language and intervening. The help of an interpreter during the interviews is very helpful, just

because the researcher is not able to communicate in the local language, but on the other hand there arise problems. But, with the help of an interpreter it should be noticed that some information given by the respondent get lost, because of different interpretations: namely the interpretations of the answers given by the respondent to the interviewer who noted down these answers in own words in the English language to the researcher who noted down these answers in, again, own words. It should be mentioned that both the interpreter as well as the researcher have different cultural backgrounds, this will have an influence on the interpretations of the answers given by the respondents. But in all probability, because of the fact that the interpreters were very well informed, they remembered the most important information and reported this information to the researcher. In conclusion can be stated that the results are based on the interpretation of the interpreter and on that of the researcher, and almost certainly this will affect the final results in a negative way. Of course, a tape recorder should have been used as well. However the decision was made to note down the answers given by the respondents. But, while analyzing the results it seemed that it was scientifically the best to use a tape-recorder. Because by using a tape-recorder all information is there, so not any information will be lost. And besides this, by listening to the answers the respondents had given, it is possible and importance to focus on their way of talking, and their tone of speaking. Realizing this, it is better to use a tape-recorder next time, instead of simply showing trust in the interpreters by presuming that their sayings covered all information, or at least most important information, given by the respondents themselves.

3.10 Reflections

Doing fieldwork in a developing country means incredible and thereby unforgettable experiences, as well as unexpected difficulties.

First of all can be stated that the Indian culture has a lot of interesting elements, it is worth to experience part of the culture by doing research. In general it is always very easy to draw conclusions about something you are not known with; it is called as preconceived opinions. Doing research will change your opinion about topics you have already formed biases about.

As mentioned earlier, the researcher was not able to communicate the local language Kannada. As suspected it will have advantages to speak the local language or at least have some knowledge about the basic words. And, logically, it has disadvantages when the researcher is not able to speak the local language. The solution to get the help of two interpreters seemed a good idea, but still realizing that conducting the interviews on your own will give the best and most trustable results. Nevertheless, it was always possible to ask the interpreters for translation, they took the time to inform me the best about the answers given by the respondents. When not speaking and understanding the Kannada language, focusing on other forms of languages like body language explains a lot about the respondent. Body language clarifies parts of the answer the respondent is requesting. This type of language is part of a person and most of the time it is recognizable. Focusing on the body language of a respondent will give a better understanding of the person's behavior. So, even though the researcher did not speak the local language, except for some basic words, it was possible to get some knowledge of the ideas of the respondent by paying attention to the body language of that respondent.

The intention was to have in-depth interviews, or in other words, to have discussions with the respondents. It seems easier to have this kind of discussion with the parents, grandparents and key-informants. Especially grandparents and key-informants gave very broad answers consisting of a lot of information; however most of this information did not match with the subjects asked by the interpreter. Regarding the adolescents, it was the other

way around. It was difficult to have a discussion with them; their answers exactly match with the questions and they did not give some extra information. So, their answers were briefly and to the point. The reason behind can be their ages; they are young and probably they feel ashamed while talking about subjects as menarche, marriage and reproduction.

Next time it is desirable to use a younger male interpreter because of the young male adolescents. They could feel attacked by the way of questioning of the interpreter when he or she is much older and will give less open answers because of that. Probably it is more effective when a young respondent has been interviewed by a younger interpreter than was the case during this fieldwork period; they will feel more comfortable then. This will affect the answers, and so the results, in a positive way. Another recommendation is to use more interpreters: at least one young female and male, and one elder female and male interpreter.

It should be realized that some of the respondents gave socially acceptable answers. But, concluding can be stated that most respondents were open; females as well as males, adolescents as well as parents, grandparents and key-informants. Interesting was that adolescents, especially females, have a homogeneous way of thinking. Sometimes they gave us the feeling that their real thoughts were different from the answers given by them, but probably they got some fear to express their real thoughts. They could be afraid of the opinion of elders or others.

It is impossible and therefore not right to draw general conclusions on perceptions parents and grandparents have. The total number of respondents of these two generations are too less to draw conclusions concerning perceptions of menarche, marriage and reproduction. But still it is worth to describe the differences between the generations as well as the differences between both sexes.

4. CONTEXT AND INDIVIDUAL BACKGROUND

This chapter deals with the context or contextual background of the research area and the educational and occupational background of female and male adolescents living in Navalur. The focus is on macro and micro level as can be seen in figure 2.3. As mentioned in the process-context approach as well as the social theory of Coleman, described in chapter 2, these contextual and individual backgrounds influence perceptions of adolescents. Therefore, assumed may be that it is useful to get knowledge about these backgrounds to understand and place perceptions in the right way. In the first part, section 4.1, a general overview of the research area is given by focusing on different concepts: a geographical overview, a demographic profile and finally a description of the socio-cultural aspects is mentioned. The analysis of some research questions of this study forms the basis of sections 4.2 and 4.3. Section 4.2 deals with the role of the physical, economic, social and cultural context, followed by the educational and occupational background of the adolescents influenced by these contexts and moreover the focus is on gender segregation (section 4.3).

In chapter 4 and 5 abbreviations have been used to mark the answers of respondents: I = interviewer, R = Respondent, F = Female, M = Male, Mo = Mother, Fa = Father, Gm = Grandmother, Gf = Grandfather, K = Key-informant, H = Hindu, J = Jain. Combinations of different abbreviations are used, as well as combinations of abbreviations and numbers, corresponding with the date of interviewing.

4.1 Research area

To answer the research questions mentioned in chapter one and two, a fieldwork project was carried out in Navalur, a rural South Indian village. This village is geographically located between the twin-city Dharwad-Hubli in Dharwad *taluk*, Dharwad District in the state of Karnataka, India. Nowadays Navalur is a semi-urban area because of its location between the twin-city, this declares the relatively high total number of inhabitants of around 16.000. But still most of the characteristics of Navalur are characteristics of a rural village.

4.1.1 Geography

First the geography of Navalur will be described. However, no recent literature that includes background information on the geographical situation of Navalur is present. Literature on Navalur and other villages in Karnataka is published, though it has been written during the 1970s and is therefore quite outdated. Assuming that there are but a few differences between the villages geographically located within Karnataka, this literature forms a basis for this section. The fact that the information given below is not very detailed may be obvious from the statements made before.

The research area is located in Dharwad *taluk*, Dharwad District in the north-western part of Karnataka State as can be seen from figure 4.1. At the time of the 2001 Census, Karnataka had a population of 52.7 million. Almost two-third (66.01%) of these people lives in rural areas. In the west the state borders Goa and the Arabian Sea, Maharashtra borders the state in the north, Andra Pradesh in the east, Tamil Nadu in the southeast and Kerala in the south. Karnataka has a monsoon climate characterized by a wet southwestern monsoon. From west to east the duration and intensity of this monsoon diminishes.

Environmentally, the district is divided into three regions: the malnad, semi-malnad and the northern maidan. A belt of 20 – 30 kilometers, situated in the western part of the district, is categorized as malnad region. As Hutter (1998) described, this region is

characterized by different types of relief with a number of hills, a forested landscape and a moderate to heavy rainfall. The semi-malnad gradually develops to the east as both rainfall and vegetation decrease. Lastly, the maidan is situated in the eastern part of Dharwad District and forms a huge plain with some isolated hills. This region is characterized by less rainfall and is extensively cultivated with crops other than those cultivated in the other areas of the district.

Fig. 4.1 Karnataka divided into districts



Source: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/karnataka/karnataka.htm>, visited on October 25th, 2004

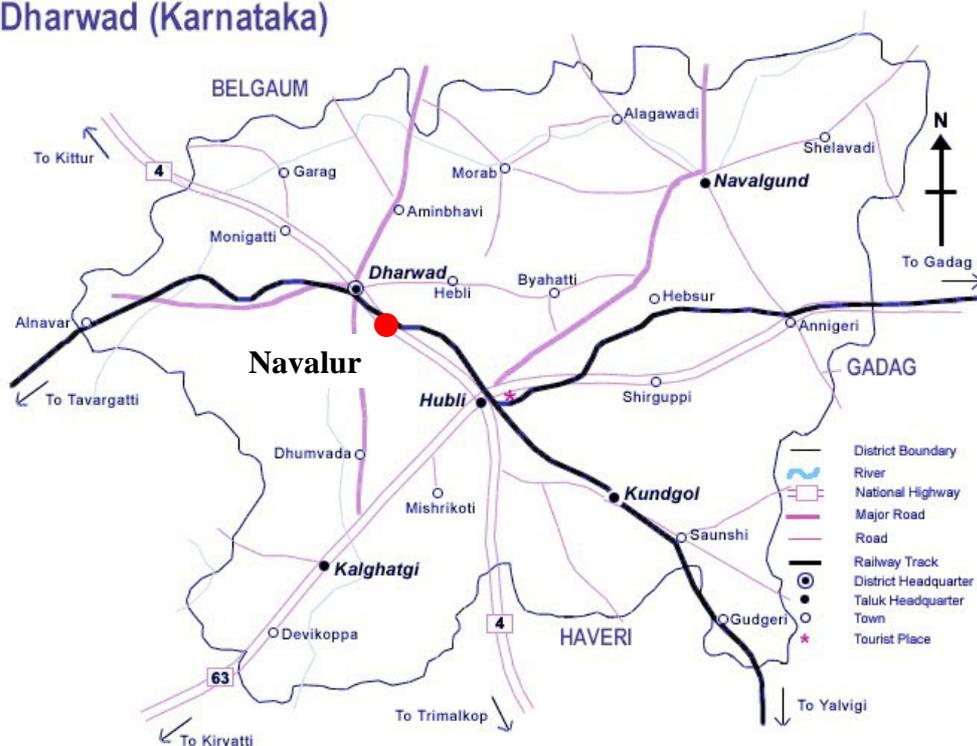
Generally, districts are divided into *taluks*. Dharwad *taluk* in which the district town Dharwad and the research village are located is situated in the north-western part of the district. Navalur is located at the south-east side of Dharwad city, and crosses more or less the border of the Hubli *taluk*. As Navalur is located less than 5 kilometers from Dharwad City, assumed may be that the geographical characteristics valid for Dharwad are the same for Navalur (see figure 4.2).

As mentioned before, Navalur is geographically located between the twin-city Dharwad-Hubli, these cities are rising in importance nowadays and due to this rise two main important changes over time within Navalur are recognized; the access between the village and both cities has improved and the economic context of Navalur has changed. Both changes are described shortly here, in the next section the contexts will be described more elaborately. To start with the first, modernization has put its mark on settlement patterns. The National Highway connects both cities and even high-level transportation facilities like bus connections between Dharwad, Hubli and Navalur are present nowadays. This makes it easier for inhabitants living in Navalur to leave their village for a while to visit markets in either Dharwad or Hubli. And so one's horizon has extended. This has its influence on educational

backgrounds of young villagers as is explained in chapter 5. Concerning the economic context the following characteristics can be mentioned, some of them go hand in hand with the development of road connections described above. Agriculture was and still is the principal economic activity in the area around Dharwad due to the productive nature of the soils. Though, due to the increase in transportation facilities inhabitants of Navalur have more opportunity to look for jobs within the city of Dharwad and Hubli: villagers are able to work in hotels, restaurants and transport commodity shops along the main roads for instance. Because of the close distance to Dharwad most villagers of Navalur are focused on this city. Concluding can be stated that although agriculture is the major source of livelihood, some people derive their living from other sources. And based on the information written, gradually the village of Navalur has been modified in a semi-urban area nowadays because of its location between the twin-city Hubli-Dharwad.

Figure 4.2 Navalur, located between the twin-city Dharwad-Hubli

Dharwad (Karnataka)



Source: www.mapsofindia.com

In table 4.1 the characteristics related to the land use in Navalur are mentioned. Generally it is very costly to develop and realize irrigation projects and therefore the total amount of irrigated land is very less. In Navalur a water tank has installed a couple of years ago. However, at the time of research it did not rain for three years and so the water tank is out of water at the time of writing. Normally the water reservoir will be used by villagers doing daily activities whereby water is needed; washing their clothes, preparing food, cleaning the house and washing their bodies. It comes not as a surprise that the long period of drought has a lot of consequences for villagers.

Table 4.1. Characteristics of Navalur related to the land use

	Hectare
Total Area	152,872
Land use	
Forest	59.94
Irrigated	92.58
Un-irrigated	1987.54
Culturable Waste	2.18
Areas not available for cultivation	132.84

Source: Census of India, 1991

4.1.2 Demographic Profile

In 1991 Dharwad district was inhabited by a population of 1,428,174 people (University of Birmingham *et al*, 1998). In 2001 the population had grown with a percentage of 12.3% to 1,603,794 inhabitants (Census 2001). At this moment Navalur has about 16,000 inhabitants (Census 2001) and is still growing because of its location between the twin-city Hubli-Dharwad as described earlier. No more recent information is present. Therefore the following background information related to the demographic context is based on studies done during the 1970s and 1990s in villages around Dharwad by Sivamurthy (1974), Gurmurthy (1976), Srinivas (1976) and Hutter (1990s). This part describes the demographic context by means of the sex ratio, the crude birth rate, the crude death rate and educational level.

The sex ratio in Dharwad *taluk* shows the same pattern of decline as at the state level during the 1990s and because of this general decline, assumed may be that in Navalur the total number of females compared to that of males is decreasing too. In 1991 the sex ratio in Dharwad *taluk* was considerably lower than in 1981: 948 and 960 per 1,000 males respectively. During the 1970s sex differences were quite normal and still are today, but rather less. Sex difference provided an important basis for the division of labor. But, because of the increase in education among females this division of labor has been modified. Still, cooking and washing clothes is an exclusively feminine concern even when women worked outside the house. According to Srinivas (1976) “women from the richest households and the highest castes stayed at home while women from the poorest households and lowest castes worked outside for cash wages”. Both the Crude Birth Rate and Crude Death Rate have decreased over time. In villages around Dharwad the CBR is estimated to be 27.6 per 1000 population during the 1990s, compared to the CBR for rural Karnataka which is 26.7, the CBR in the research villages is just a little higher (see table 4.2). However, expected may be that the CBR will decline in future. The CDR is higher than the CBR, 10.5 per 1000 population died at the years 1995 and 1996. For rural Karnataka the CDR was 8.5 per 1000 in 1992-93. Among this total number of deaths 12 per cent were infant deaths. Concluded from table 4.2 can be that focusing on the CBR and CDR, villages around Dharwad are less developed than rural Karnataka in general.

Table 4.2. CBR and CDR; a comparison between rural Karnataka and villages around Dharwad during the 1990s.

	Rural Karnataka	Villages around Dharwad
CBR (per 1000)	26.7	27.6
CDR (per 1000)	8.5	10.5

Source: Hutter (1994), NFHS 1992-93

Another element to illustrate the demographic profile of the research area is the educational level. Nowadays the overall literacy rate in rural South India, based on studies done in other villages around Dharwad and own experiences, has increased. It may be expected that the literacy rate among males is higher than for females. Since decades males are allowed to follow education, realizing that it depends on the socio-economic background of the family. Sons of poor families are obliged to work and making money; they are needed to feed the whole family. These poor families do not have financial resources to send their children to school. That was the case and still is. During the recent period emphasis is given to literacy campaigns in rural South India, this elucidates the rise in the large proportion of persons ages 7 to 14 following primary education nowadays. However, there is a change in literacy rates among males. Nowadays more boys follow education, even secondary or higher education than they used to do. A changing pattern can be observed in the education level for females, they are more likely to follow education nowadays than was the case in the past. Because of strong cultural binding females were restricted in their individual behavior; they used to work 'behind the curtains' and were not allowed to follow education after reaching menarche. However, the relative increase in literacy rate for females is higher than for males, though it is still low. The proportion illiterates is 39 per cent for males and 63 per cent for females. Moreover, the proportion of males with secondary level of education and above is 29 per cent and for females it is just 15 per cent. Based on studies done in villages in Dharwad *taluk* table 4.3 reflects the educational situation clearly.

Table 4.3 Educational status of population (7+) by sex living in villages around Dharwad

Education	Males (in percentage)	Females (in percentage)	Total (in percentage)
Illiterate	38.6	62.7	50.3
Primary	32.0	22.5	27.4
Secondary	14.2	10.3	12.3
High School	9.8	3.7	6.8
College	5.4	0.8	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Hutter (1998)

Out of this table can be concluded that the educational status of males is relatively better than for females. This conclusion is representative for other villages in rural South India too.

4.1.3 Socio-Cultural Aspects

In this research the socio-cultural aspects deal with the religious background of the villagers and the type of households.

The religious composition of rural South Indian villages is markedly homogeneous. Most villagers are Hindus, as is 82 per cent of the total Indian population. In Navalur Hindus rank the first religion practiced by the majority of the population, followed by Muslims and Jains

respectively. The total number of Christians is very less and for that reason no respondents with this background are interviewed during this study.

In chapter 3 a nuclear family and a joint family are defined as follows. “A nuclear family constitutes husband and wife living with their unmarried children; a joint family, on the other hand, consists of one or two parents (or sometimes no parents) living with their sons and their wives and children” (Hutter 1994, p. 93). In general Indian family life can be characterized by large households existing of a joint family. In Navalur the largest joint family consists of 39 household members. As Ishwaran stated, “the families in rural Indian villages were large: the larger the family, the greater the prestige” (Ishwaran 1968, p. 55). However, a change in this traditional Indian family life can be observed since a few decades. Nowadays more and more nuclear families are rising while the total number of joint families decline. Often in rural areas a son or brother with wife and children decides, after quarrels and fights, to break away from the joint family and start living as a nuclear family together with his wife and children.

This section has introduced the research area of this thesis project. In the following sections the findings of the conducted research will be presented and analyzed.

4.2 The role of the context

First the focus is on the context, realizing that the context consists of different types of contexts. To be more specific, this research focuses on the physical, economic, social and cultural context. The context with its constraints and possibilities influences the individual background and behavior; hence the context is of great importance while focusing on perceptions of adolescents. First the physical context is described followed by the economic context; finally the social and cultural contexts are described.

4.2.1 The physical context

As mentioned in the methodology part, in this study the physical context is defined as the umbrella term of the structure of the village, infrastructure and facilities. To get a clear overview of the changes in the physical and economic contexts over the last 50 years questions are posed to key-informants. These key-informants were born in Navalur and still live here.

The structure of Navalur

The structure of Navalur has changed. In the 1950s and 1960s the village was smaller and it was surrounded by forest as indicated by a key-informant:

RKF Earlier the village was very small and the village was all surrounded by the forest. There was no paved road. There are a lot of fruit trees with fruits special to the village of Navalur: guava and sapota.

Focusing on the physical context, decades ago the old center of Navalur certain streets were dominated by certain castes: for example in the Kurubastreet Kuruba's were in a majority. However, earlier all homes were of Kuruba's, recently other castes (Lingayat) have also built homes in that area. And so a mixture of different caste people can be observed nowadays. Then, an influence of the government on the structure of the village is present. Some decades ago, near the scheduled caste area, under 'Ashraya yojana', the government has distributed some houses to people; in that area various caste people are living nowadays. Behind this scheduled caste area private landowners have sold some plots. Few new persons have also

built houses here. Janata houses have also come up near the hill. Thus the village has grown as a consequence of government planning too as indicated by the following case studies.

RKM Houses were not used to build in a straight line: one in the middle of the street and another more far away. Nowadays you can see this in the old center and today the village is more planned: there are good streets and the government has built some houses in the extensive areas. So they leave more space for a street and construct the houses in a straight line. There is enough space to drive four-wheelers.

RKF The influence of the government is big: there is a change in the total number of houses, a change in infrastructure and a change in transportation. So both the government of India as well as the government of Karnataka played a role regarding the physical context.

However, one of the key-informant mentions another reason for the increase in the total number of inhabitants; according to him it all has to do with the good characters of the villagers that will attract people from other villages.

RKM Another reason for growth of the village is that people of this village are very good. That is why other village people have come to Navalur and settled here.

Thus the structure of Navalur has changed over the last decades; a mixture of different caste people can be observed and the village is more planned nowadays than it was during the 1950s and 1960s, mainly as a consequence of government intervention.

Infrastructure and facilities

The infrastructure and the types of facilities have been changed during the last decades. In the 1950s and 1960s kerosene lamps were used. Other than this no facilities were settled. Nowadays streetlights are installed. When villagers would like to send a message in earlier times they had to go to Dharwad to use telegrams over there. In Navalur there was no possibility to use the telephone.

RKM There are many telephone centers. From there we can contact people and communicate immediately. Earlier this facility was not there; to communicate with others was by writing letters and that took a lot of time.

Government offices, post offices, banks, police station, or a court were not present. Only one flour meal was there; nowadays there are four. The Panchayat, or village administrator, was present. Today the Panchayat is still there, but the government has more authority nowadays.

RKF The Panchayat, village administrator, was present as well as informants and they checked if there has died somebody or if a baby was born, then they went to the village administrator. Whatever was happening in Navalur, they briefed it to the Panchayat.

The presence of a bank facility is of high importance nowadays according to some respondents. These banks provide loans to the farmers, and so they are financially able to purchase cows and buffalos. With the help of these animals the agricultural labor has been facilitated and it will accelerate agricultural processes. Hence, the consequence of this is that

the economic condition and the standard of living have increased. Bullock carts were the main transport facility during the 1950s and 1960s. In order to carry heavy things and materials, people use bullock carts and otherwise they went by walk. Nowadays buses and tempo buses are the main transport facilities and these facilities play an important role in Navalur, as one of the respondents expresses:

RKM Nowadays buses and tempo buses are the main transport facilities. People easily go to Dharwad market, come back at home within two hours and attend the work at home. During those days going to Dharwad and finishing their work used to take a whole day.

The changes in transport facilities have many consequences for the villagers. First, to villagers it is easier to go to the market in Dharwad nowadays; they can go by bus instead of walking. For them it is easier to bring their agricultural products to the market while transporting by buses. At the market they are able to earn money by selling their agricultural products. A few decades ago, at the time no bus facilities were present it was a hard task to go to Dharwad and so it was even more difficult to sell these agricultural products. As a consequence of this the opportunity to earn money by selling these products was rather low. Thus, the mobility has increased and with that the possibilities for villagers to leave Navalur and visit the market in Dharwad. All respondents prefer Dharwad above Hubli because of differences in distances. Second, as a consequence of the presence of transport facilities it is easier to reach Dharwad in a short time and with that colleges and universities too. Hence for more young villagers it is possible nowadays to go to college or university. Because of the bus facility many more people go for higher education nowadays, and therefore every household has at least one person educated up to SSLC. The number of educated persons has increased and with that the literacy level.

Compared to nowadays the school facilities were less. There was just one public school; it did not have any facilities. It wasn't even a building, but a hut. One teacher was there and maybe 2 or at maximum 4 (high caste) people attended the school. Later on the government built a public school and from that moment more children were going to school; children of different castes. These children were taught Kannada and English. Nowadays 3 public schools, 3 private schools for young children (taught in English), 1 public school for Muslims (taught in Urdu) and one college is there. One of the three public schools is located in an area where low caste people are living, so at this public school only low caste people are present.

4.2.2 The economic context

In chapter 3 the economic context is defined as and consists of economic activities present in rural South India. During the 1950s and 1960s agriculture was the main economic activity, consisting of different types of work: harvesting and weeding for instance. Within agriculture gender segregation took place: males were cultivating, females were helping in harvesting and weeding. In that time they use bullocks to plough the land, nowadays they have the financial possibility to use tractors. Nowadays agriculture still is the main economic activity, but there are a lot of other economic activities. Factories have been built in the area of Navalur, so a lot of villagers work in factories; financial companies like banks are present, as well as shopkeepers. In those days no fixed hours were introduced: from morning to night they were working. In the field they were working from 10am to 8:30pm, nowadays they work from 10am to 5:30pm, although these working hours still depend on the season or type of crop. Wages differ between those days and nowadays:

RKM In my time, during the 1950s, agricultural daily wages were around rps.1.25 for males and rps.0.65 for females. Nowadays it is around rps.50 for males and rps.25 for females.

The most important difference regarding economic activities between earlier times and nowadays is the change from agriculture to other economic activities. These changes in economic context may be indicated by the following case studies.

RKM Nowadays agriculture and dairy farming are there, in earlier times there was only agriculture.

RKM The main economic activities nowadays are agriculture, government services and business. In the 1950s and 1960s the main occupations were agriculture and agricultural laborers.

RKF In that time males were cultivating, females are helping in harvesting and weeding. Nowadays agriculture is the main economic activity, but there are a lot of other economic activities. There are factories in the area of Navalur and that is why a lot of people work in factories. There are financial companies like banks, and there are shopkeepers.

Although agriculture was and still is the major source of livelihood, some people derive their living from other sources nowadays. This change is due to the electricity, because of this they have different instruments so there is more time left to do other work; nowadays they can go to school etc. In earlier times not much time was left to go to school because everybody had to work in the household or in the field.

4.2.3 The social and cultural context

This section describes the social and cultural context together because of its interrelated relationship. As mentioned in chapter 3, the social context consists of the family and their influence on the behavior of the adolescent; the cultural context is a broad concept and that is the reason this study focuses on religion and caste-systems. Here the question is whether all three institutions, thus the family, caste and religion, have an influence on the perceptions of adolescents and furthermore how meaningful these institutions are.

One of the questions asked to the respondents deals with the institutions. They have been asked to which institution they attach the most value: family, religion or caste. Almost all boys primarily attach most value to the family, and next to that, the religion is of importance.

RM 16.1 Family is the most important to me, because since childhood my parents provide me all kind of materials (dresses etc.) and they taught me the way of life. I should respect my parents because otherwise 'God will not forgive us'.

RM 17.2 I attach the most value to the family, because they take care of me. Since childhood they give me the opportunity to follow education.

RM 14.1 I attach most value to the family because parents teach everything to me at home: what is good and what is bad. Everyday I am going to the mosque and pray to God, because God has kept my health in a good condition and God has given me good food. I want to take care of my parents and pray this also to God. So I attach also value to the religion.

Girls on the other hand do not think as homogeneous as boys while talking about the importance of the three institutions family, religion and caste. They react as follows:

RF 5.1 I attach most value to the family, because if the family is good all the things are good. The family is the basic.

Another girl answered:

RF 27.3 I attach most value to the family, because the family-environment makes the person, and that influence the person.

RF 26.1 I attach most value to the caste because everybody is identified by caste.

RF 2.1 I attach most value to the religion, followed by my family. I am reading the Koran and in that it is said that religion is the most important.

And another girl added to this:

RF 29.1 I read the Koran, I read all the things and here it is said that you should respect the religion because it protects you. So, that is why I give most importance to the religion.

Concluded can be stated that in general adolescents interviewed during the fieldwork period in Navalur, are of the opinion that the influence of the family is high. The family laid down her rules about the level of education, type of work, frequency of praying and type of dress. Boys and girls are of different opinions: in the eyes of boys family seems to be the most important, girls on the other hand also attach value to the religion and caste. Furthermore it seemed that girls do have more restrictions than boys. Of course these rules depend on the family; sometimes the family did not even take any rule into account. It seemed that the family forms the underlying source of gender segregation: they invert and therefore lay down rules to their children.

Part of this research deals with the cohort perspective and concentrates on differences between generations. It seemed that parents and grandparents have different perceptions about the social and cultural context. Focusing on the three institutions the role of religion has undergone most changes, comparing the life of the adolescents living nowadays and some decades ago, though mentioned by the two eldest cohorts. In earlier times everybody used to bath and pray to God, nowadays young people do not worship God with their full heart. Moreover, sometimes they do or sometimes they do not. Nowadays they do not follow the rules laid down by the religion. One of the mothers told us the following:

RMoH Children always react like: 'why should I go to the temple? God is in my heart!'

The role of the caste has changed too; in earlier times upper caste people never used to unite with lower caste people contrary to nowadays when the differences between the different castes becomes smaller. The mixing has developed as indicated by the following case studies.

RKM At that time Lingayat women used to marry with the Lingayat man. Nowadays people of different caste can marry each other. It has changed. This is because of changes in the environment.

RKF It was not allowed to drink or eat with lower caste people and visit their houses. And lower caste people should not visit houses of higher caste people. Nowadays there is a mixture of the different castes. Today lower caste people also have their status; they are working too. They wondered why they should keep distance etc., so nowadays they behave themselves as high caste people.

Besides changes within the cultural context, noted can be a change regarding the respect adolescents have towards elders. According to the elder generations, adolescents still have respect towards elders but this has changed gradually over time. This change is due to the film-, television and education effects that change their attitudes. In earlier times the possibilities to watch television or listen to the radio were less and therefore, no such effects were present. Some respondents replied:

RMoH In earlier times they obey all the orders of elders and they respect them. Nowadays adolescents only respect the orders they agree with, but they still have the respect to the elders.

RFa There are big differences. Earlier during their days they used to fear for elders and used to respect them. Present generation people have no fear of elders and talk loosely to them.

RFa In earlier times girls and boys showed respect to elders, nowadays it is less because the film and television change the attitudes of them.

RGf Nowadays teachers and children go together to bars to have a drink. There is a change regarding respect to teachers; if a teacher beats a child, the next day that child will bring a knife to school.

One respondent replied that adolescents used to treat elders as Gods, but this has changed: nowadays they do not obey their parents anymore. Concluding can be stated that a lot of important changes over time have taken place within the social and cultural context and among generations.

4.3 Adolescents and their educational and occupational background

Having described the macro level, here the focus is on the micro level with its educational and occupational background. Taking the context and its characteristics in mind, from this moment onwards the focus is on the process. First the educational and occupational backgrounds of female adolescents are described followed by that of male adolescents. One of the questions asked during the interview was whether the girl follows a study or works at daytime. Most of the female adolescents interviewed during the fieldwork period are working. They have their household duties, which means they prepare breakfast and dinner, wash all clothes of family members and a lot of girls like stitching clothes. Interesting is that most of the female respondents are happy with the life they live. Just to describe a general working day of educated and non-educated female adolescents the following case studies are outlined:

RF 27.2 I wake up at 8 am; I take bath immediately and after that I help the family members with cleaning and washing clothes. After evening I am preparing the food for all the family members at 7:30. At 10pm I have my dinner and

afterwards I am chitchatting with family members. At 11:30 I am going to bed. I do not want to have a change in my daily life.

And,

RF 27.1 I wake up at 6am; I prepare breakfast and tea for all the family members till 7am. After that I take a bath and goes for 30 minutes to the basti. Coming home I prepare food, washing clothes and clean the house. From 12 till 2pm I am stitching clothes and I take rest till 4 pm. Then I prepare food and take my dinner before sunset; this is because of my religion (most of the people don't do it). The rest of the family takes dinner at 9pm. I give class to the young children of my uncles up to 9pm. At 10pm I go to bed. I don't want to have a change in my daily life.

Or,

RF 29.2 I wake up at 6 am; I am going to college from 8 to 12:30. From 1pm to 2:30 I am working in the house. Between 2:30 and 4:30 I am studying and afterwards I am cleaning the house till 6pm. At 7 I start studying till 10, and at 10:30 I have dinner. At 11 I go to bed.

It is common to female adolescents to have a future in which she should take care of her husband and children. However, some girls would like to change their educational and occupational background: they would like to follow some education. But, in the case of one of the female respondents who would like to have more time to visit friends, it is not possible to her because of a restriction laid down by her parents. Here can be noted the influence of the family on the educational and occupational background of the girls.

RF 3.1 I would like to change my daily life. I would like to go for work outside the house; I prefer to leave the house in the morning, going to work and come back at the evening.... I have left school because my parents don't allow me to go to school.

Above the individual background of female adolescents has been described, that of male adolescents is outlined below. The first question asked during the interview asked to them was whether they work or study at daytime, as the female adolescents were asked too. Six out of ten boys are going to college and the other boys work as a milk seller, in a garage, in a brick factory or distribute chapatti's and roti's. Below a few examples of these different educational and occupational backgrounds are outlined:

RM 16.2 Between 7 and 8:30 I have tuition classes. At 9:30 I am doing housework, going for shopping or going to the field, then I take a bath. From 12 to 3:30 I am going to college and afterwards I am going home for lunch. Up to 6:00 I am going to college again and between 6 and 6:30 I relax and after that I am studying until 9:30.

RM 17.1 I wake up at 6 am. Me and my father are milk sellers. Until 7 I take care of the buffalo's. Between 8 and 11 I collect up to 40 liters from other households and distribute it per bike. At 11 I have my lunch and from 12 to 5:30 I take care of the buffalo's, I take them outside for feeding purposes. At 6pm I collect milk

from other households again, up to 9pm. Between 9 and 10 I distribute the milk by bicycle, after that I am going to bed.

As it is quite common for boys to choose either to go for work or to follow education, because of the less rules imposed by institutions, expected may be that they are highly satisfied the life they live. Indeed, in general it seems that male adolescents, working or not, are satisfied with the life they live at this moment. They do not wish to have a change in their educational and occupational background.

RM 14.1 I want no change in my daily life, I am studying because I want to score higher marks. By scoring good marks I can reach my future goal: being an engineer or doctor. If I want to go to the NTTF I should score high marks at this moment to get permission to enter the school. Going to the NTTF education institution has a good name.

Noted must be that the freedom to choose either to search for a job or to follow education, depends on the socio-economic status of the family. For this reason, there are some exceptions concerning this topic: the respondent, who tells us that he is distributing milk the whole day, expresses that he would like to change his educational and occupational background:

RM 17.1 I want to have a change in my daily life. I would like to work in a factory but I have no opportunity to get a job in a factory. I still try. I have no time to meet friends because I am working the whole day. I am busy.

And another male adolescent reacts as follows:

RM 18.2 I would like to have a change in my daily life, but there is no opportunity. I see the rich and well-to-do children of my age playing cricket, going to movies or going to school. They have no problems because their parents look after them financially. I would like to have a life like this, but it is practically impossible.

Having described the educational and occupational backgrounds of adolescents above, furthermore the focus is on gender segregation and with that on differences within these backgrounds of both sexes in the eyes of female and male adolescents: do they observe differences between boys and girls concerning the educational and occupational backgrounds? The reactions between girls and boys differ as can be concluded from answers given; some of them are mentioned here. First the answers given by the female adolescents are expressed, then that of male adolescents.

RF 7.1 Boys are free, they have no restriction to do the household work. They can follow education. Girls should do household work and besides that they can have education.

RF 5.1 Boys are free: they have not any responsibility, girls have. They have to work in the home. Girls have to tolerate all the things like commands.

RF 27.2 Boys have freedom to do what they want to do; whatever they will do they can do. Boys have no restrictions regarding work; they can follow better education.

A boy will not marry at young age. They can go to college. Boys have more freedom.

RF 26.2 Girls haven't the freedom to take any decision, boys are free: anything they want they can do. Parents do not allow girls to do the funny things, like talking, whistling and chitchatting.

RM 18.2 The gender differences are narrowing. Nowadays males and females work together. The girls are wearing pants and shirts like boys and girls are employed as a conductor. In the field also girls are working along with gents.

RM 17.2 Time has changed. Girls are equal to boys. Nowadays they are working in accountancy offices or as a conductor. They get also education. In earlier times, 4 to 5 years back, parents did not send girls outside. At that time they should do work inside the home.

Both girls and boys are very homogenous in their thoughts about the differences in educational and occupational background. It is remarkable that almost all boys have the opinion that the differences between boys and girls regarding educational and occupational background become less while girls still feel a big gap between both sexes. One of the male respondents describes the situation and concludes the state of this topic as follows:

RM 14.2 There are not many differences between boys and girls. Females can do boys' work. In earlier times the women should be behind the curtain, nowadays this is changed. The government provides more to girls than to boys; like free dresses and scholarships.

As gender segregation is present everywhere and every time, during the 1950s and 1960s the difference between the educational and occupational background of boys compared to girls was much bigger than nowadays. Gender segregation was of high significance during the 1950s and 1960s in rural South India as can be concluded out of the interviews done with parents and grandparents. In those days, girls were supposed to work within the household and boys were free to follow education and worked outside the household.

RMo Nowadays girls should have education first and after that they can learn household work.

RF 20.2 Girls were working at home, because it was necessary, or they worked at the field. There was little education. Nowadays because of the variety of jobs, females do all types of work. They work outside the home. At that time prescribed jobs were there; some jobs should be done by girls. Like cleaning the house, milking the cows or removing the waste of the animals. Boys do other jobs like going to the market and flowing the field. Nowadays all types of jobs are performed by boys and girls; boys even cook sometimes.

RGf In earlier times girls were never used to send for a job outside the house because of household respect. We gave the girls education but not because of getting a job. Nowadays all girls are working and making money; they have any type of job because they want to earn money. In that time, gents used to go outside the home to work but nowadays they both go for work.

RGM

At the time her age was between 16 and 19 she had a lot of responsibilities: she was married at that age, she had children, and she should run the family and the household. In earlier times they were not allowed to invite low caste people in their home and providing them food. Nowadays her grandchildren are inviting other caste people and they visit their homes.

Boys and girls, especially girls, had more household duties in earlier times. Girls had a lot of restrictions; they had no freedom at all. It was quite normal that young girls did not attend school and when they did it after all, they were told to leave school after reaching menarche to work in the household together with the other female family members. According to the grandmother nowadays girls have more freedom: a girl can follow education, they have the freedom to talk with anybody and they can even talk to boys. They can wear all dresses. Nowadays, because of education and realizing the importance of education, more girls are going to school and follow education, and besides, or in other words as a consequence of this, they are engaged in different types of occupations. The pace of changes regarding the educational and occupational background of girls is much higher than that of boys; the types of educational and occupational background girls have today compared to earlier times have changed faster than that of boys. The reason behind that is that boys already had a lot of freedom in the old days. Concluding can be stated that the gap between boys and girls has been narrowing over the last 50 to 60 years and so the gender segregation has decreased as Major (1993) expected.

5. INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR

The aim of this chapter is to present the research findings concerning the perceptions of menarche, marriage and reproduction, and goals of adolescents, parents and grandparents. The research questions and the conceptual model, mentioned in detail in chapter 2, form the basis of the analysis part. The structure of this chapter is as follows. First the perceptions and goals of female adolescents are described in section 5.1, followed by the perceptions and goals of male adolescents in 5.2. In section 5.3 the perceptions parents and grandparents had when they were late adolescents, are described. And besides this the goals they would like to achieve during the period of late adolescence are expressed and linked with the theory of basic needs introduced by Maslow (1970). However, it seemed difficult to interpret the needs of Maslow in a small-scale study like this.

5.1 Perceptions and goals of female adolescents

In this section the focus is on perceptions female adolescents have about menarche, marriage and reproduction, followed by the goals they want to achieve.

5.1.1 Menarche

Before mentioning the perceptions girls have about marriage and reproduction, their ideas about menarche are outlined, simply because menarche and its ceremonies is the first important event in the life of a woman. Five out of eleven respondents reached menarche when they were 12 years old. Almost all girls that have been interviewed did not know anything about menarche before they reached it; afterwards their sister, mother or aunt told them about it. Except for one girl, her mother told her when she was 12 years old.

I	“Before reaching menarche, did you have any perceptions about menarche?”
RF 27.3	No, but after reaching menarche my aunt told me about menarche.
RF 7.1	No, after reaching menarche my sister told me.
RF 2.2	Yes; when there is blood coming outside, the girl reaches menarche.

Menarche indicates a major change in the life course and is therefore often involved with ceremonies, as can be concluded from the interviews. Except for one girl, to all girls a ceremony was performed. However, the ceremonies differ among the female respondents because of the different religious backgrounds of the girls. Most of them had to sit apart for five days in the parents' house. Some girls should even sit apart for 11 or 13 days, it all depends on the families and their traditional way of life. In general, to a Hindu girl the ceremony will be performed as follows.

After the 5th day the girl is wearing a very well dress, a saree, and golden ornaments. The female family members prepare a stage she sits on, they put sarees and flowers around her. She will sit here for six days together with her family members and neighbors. Among them some will sing songs. After singing these songs the family members give food to all persons present. The male may participate by helping decorating the room etc. But there are more females than males. During the last day they provide lunch to all the neighbors and relatives and friends. During the ceremony the neighbors give sweets to the girl. At the last day the neighbors give ornaments and sarees to the girl.

Listening to the female respondents it seemed that girls of different religions do have a lot in common while celebrating the ceremony. Though a Jain respondent adds:

RF 27.3 At the 13th day they make the *Havanna*; they burn 5 types of sticks within a thing made of bricks. After burning all the sticks, they use the ash and put it on her forehead. After *Havanna* I am going to the basti.

Another exception was a Hindu girl of the Kuruba caste; she was not obliged to celebrate an extensive ceremony because of her mother's influence:

RF 26.2 I take bath, my mother and sister bath me and they keep me separately for 3 days. After 3 days I was as normal. The ceremony was conducted within the house and there were just two persons present: my mother and sister. My mother didn't like it, so it was held secretly. If you make it public, it takes attention from all the persons. I don't eat at special times, because I don't like the sweets.

But in general, to all female respondents a ceremony was performed when reaching menarche, and most girls have to sit apart for five days. Almost all girls did not like the ceremony because it gives publicity; everybody gets to know that the girl has reached menarche and another negative thing according to the girls is that they will miss some classes. But, nowadays the number of ceremonies has reduced as a consequence of changes in pattern of expenditures of parents. In general, within a couple of years menarche will be followed by marriage and both events are characterized by ceremonies. Throughout the years it seemed that the expenditures at the moment of marriage have increased because of the increase in importance of the dowry-system. And so, because of the high costs of the marriage, parents have no other option than spending less money at the event of menarche as they did a few decades ago. They save money for the ceremony performed at marriage.

5.1.2 Marriage

The second important demographic event in the life of a woman is marriage. Four out of eleven female adolescents are married at the moment of interviewing, but only to three of them the effective marriage has started. All girls were married at a very young age as indicated by the following stories. Reasons for these young ages differ, but had to do with the opinion of the parents.

RF 26.1 I married at the age of 14. The reason of being married at that age was because I reached menarche and according to my parents I should marry. My husband liked me after seeing and wants to marry me quickly.

RF 27.1 I am married at the age of 16. The reason of being married at that age was because my parents forced me to marry and at the same time 3 marriages were conducted.

RF 27.2 I don't know why I was married at the age of 9; my parents want to marry me. That day there were 4 marriages.

RF 5.1 I was 13 years. My cousin-brother married at that time so both parents want me to marry at the same time because of the high costs.

Furthermore, four out of eleven girls are engaged, so within a couple of months they will marry. That means that three girls are not married or engaged at this moment. The reason for this is that they first want to finish their education and they will marry afterwards. Here the influence of the parents is less: parents accept the girls' right to decide about marriage.

As described in chapter 2, one important characteristic of the Indian culture is the arranged marriages; however the number of couples having a love-marriage increases nowadays. In the case of all married respondents, their parents arranged their marriage. The female adolescents have been asked whether they prefer to have an arranged marriage or a love-marriage. Most girls prefer an arranged marriage as can be concluded from the following case studies:

- I “Do you prefer an arranged or a love-marriage?”
RF 27.3 I prefer to have an arranged marriage, because all the family members agree with a husband belonging to the same caste and same religion.
RF 5.1 I prefer arranged marriages, because if there are some problems after marriage it is the responsibility of the parents. If you have a love-marriage it is your responsibility.
RF 3.1 I prefer an arranged marriage, because then there is no conflict between the parents and me.

This answer given by the girl is a bit confusing because of her personal story; an influence of the family can be observed when she is telling the following:

- RF 3.1 I am not married, but I am engaged since one year. It is a consanguineous marriage. I have my expectations about the boy: he should be educated, he should have a job and the gap should be one year. But the boy is not highly educated, he is a businessman and he is three years older than I am. So I am not happy with this boy, but I will agree with him and the future.

One of the female adolescents preferred a combination of both types of marriages:

- RF 7.1 I prefer a combination of a love and arranged marriage; first there should be love and after that the parents may arrange the marriage. Love means that there should be mutual understanding between the two persons and they should be interested in each other. There is no importance for caste and religion.

Marriage in India used to go hand in hand with paying dowries; it is common that the parents of the girls pay a dowry to the family of the husband. To all female adolescents being interviewed it is quite common that their parents give dowries to the groom's family. According to them, these dowries consist of gold, cash and household materials.

The girls have been asked about their perceptions of marriage, marital life and the relationship between husband and wife. It seemed that most of the girls have not thought about these topics at all. But those who did are of the opinion that the husband and wife should have a mutual understanding and the husband should have a good character. So, concluded can be stated that, if the female respondents have a perception about marriage, their thoughts are rather homogeneous.

5.1.3 Reproduction

Being married the couple may start having children. Though four out of eleven female respondents are married, they do not have children yet. The total number of children most female adolescents would like to have is around one or two. The reason for this number of children differs, but most of the time it has to do with the rising costs of education and living conditions. Having more than two children it will become problematic to provide them all good education and good facilities. So, in the case of one or two children the parents are able to provide better possibilities to the children.

On asking:

I “How many children would you like to have?”

Almost all girls answered:

R 27.3 Two, because the education is very costly nowadays. When having too many children I can't provide them good education and good facilities.

R 3.1 Two, because it is not possible to raise more children in a better way.

However, a girl aged 17 not studying at the moment forms an exception:

RF 2.2 I would like to have 4 or 5 children because having more family members gives more fun to me. When there is one child, that child could not play. So it feels lonely. That is the reason I want to have more children.

Actually no girl has a son preference, here the influence of the parents can be observed too.

RF 2.2 No, I do not have a son preference but if my husband or parents have a son preference I will give delivery to more children.

RF 29.2 If my parents want to increase the number of children I will listen to them.

An influence of the social context has been recognized by some of the female respondents: parents play a role in the decision-making process as can be concluded out of the answers given by female respondents. However, a more educated girl has different thoughts about this topic:

RF 26.2 No, there is no role of the parents or parents-in-law. Most of the responsibilities regarding children in the future are mine and not that of my parents.

As mentioned in section 2.2.3, the Total Fertility Rate has declined throughout the century. Female adolescents asked during the fieldwork would like to have one or two children. And so, based on the answers given by female adolescents this TFR is expected to decline further in future as predicted by Caldwell (1976). He stated that a decline in the TFR will continue nowadays, this has to do with a change in the significance of children: nowadays children become an economic burden. Raising children is expensive and will be even more expensive in future because of the high costs of living and education.

5.1.4 Goals

The future goals of girls differ. Most of them give high importance to motherhood; they would like to be a good mother by providing good education and good facilities to her children. Besides this some would also become a good housewife and others think about a working career as a teacher. A distinction within the level of education can be observed here. According to Maslow the goals female adolescents aged 16 to 19 would like to achieve, are of different types. In general these females, especially those who are educated, want to be independent. Almost all females say they are striving for safety or security. No female respondent answered that they strive for basic goals like being in a healthy status, the need for food or sexual desire. Probably all females have reached this goal already and expect that these needs are simply present in future life as well.

5.2 Perceptions and goals of male adolescents

In this section the focus is on perceptions male adolescents have about menarche, marriage and reproduction, followed by the goals they want to achieve.

5.2.1 Menarche

Although menarche affects females, most male adolescents have a perception about menarche. Almost all boys have the opinion that the girl reaches menarche at the age of 16. Their perceptions are as follows:

- I “What is your perception of menarche?”
- RM 14.1 Girls become bigger, and from that moment onwards she is ready to marry.
- RM 14.2 She has the capacity to produce children.
- RM 16.1 The sexual interest develops among ladies. He knows that if the girl touches a tree during the first menstruation, the tree doesn't grow anymore.
- RM 18.2 The parents of the girl start searching for a bridegroom for the girl.

As indicated in the background information mentioned in chapter 2, the role of the boy during the special ceremony conducted when a girl reached menarche, was rather small and out of this study can be concluded that nowadays their roles are still small. The role of the boy during menarche comprises the following; he distributes the food to all invited persons. His role has not changed over the last decades.

5.2.2 Marriage

As mentioned before it was impossible to find married boys in the age group 16 to 19; nevertheless almost all unmarried boys have perceptions about marriage, marital life and the relationship between husband and wife. Regarding these perceptions there is no distinction between male adolescents having a job and those following a study. It seems that they all have clear thoughts about their future life and marital life. Their perceptions about marriage are diverse:

On asking:

I “What is your perception of marriage?”

The respondents reacted:

- RM 14.1 Male and female come together.
- RM 14.2 Marriage is about physical attraction and enjoying sexual life.
- RM 16.2 The boy and girl live together.
- RM 19.1 The boy supports the wife and the wife supports the boy.

To the male respondents it is clear that they think about children when the interpreter asks them about their perception of marital life.

On asking:

I “What is your perception of marital life?”

One of the respondent reacted:

- RM 14.2 Producing children and continuation of the family line.

Another respondent answered:

- RM 16.1 I think that it means that they will get children.

On asking:

I “What is your perception of the relationship between husband and wife?”

The respondent expressed:

RM 16.2 The husband and wife should live closely, they should not quarrel because that affects the children. Then the children have the idea that quarreling belongs to marriage.

Although no male respondent is married, they have their thoughts about the age they would like to marry a girl. The ideal age of marriage differ among the boys. One out of 10 boys, a Hindu boy aged 17 at the moment of interviewing, would like to marry at the age of 21. On the other hand two boys, one Hindu and one Muslim, would like to marry at the age of 30. These three respondents are exceptions, because the rest would like to marry at the age of 24, 25 or 26. It seemed that differences in religious backgrounds do not have any influence on the ideal age at marriage.

The Indian culture is characterized by two types of marriages: arranged marriages and love-marriages. The boys were asked whether they prefer to have an arranged or love-marriage. Most boys prefer to have an arranged marriage, *but* they want to be involved in the decision-making process regarding their prospective wife. The boys answer that arranged marriages have to do with respect they have for their parents: children trust parents in finding a good girl to their son and therefore boys do not want to hurt them by preferring a love-marriage.

I “Do you prefer an arranged or love-marriage?”

RM 17.1 I prefer an arranged marriage, because love-marriages take place without the permission of the parents. So there is no place to live after marriage: where is the house to stay and to survive?

RM 18.1 I prefer arranged marriages, because parents perform these things and I have to give respect to my parents.

One of the male adolescents prefers a love-marriage but realizes that it is not yet totally accepted within the Indian culture:

RM 19.1 In arranged marriages the boy and girl don't know each other. After one year there are quarrels between husband and wife, the husband beats her, she divorces and goes back to her parents' home. This is one of the problems regarding arranged marriages. Regarding love-marriages they know each other's nature and character before marriage. The parents at both sides and all the family members do not accept love-marriages. In love-marriages the girl will have no support from parents. Love-marriage can take place between any caste, caste is not important.

It used to be very common to give dowries at marriage. As it is an outcome of the study among female adolescents that in their eyes the dowry-system is one of the necessities during marriage, boys on the other hand say they do not like the dowry-system at all. They feel it as a pressure on the girl's side and do not want to take money from others; they see it as an inequitable element of marriage. Two of them are not real sure whether to accept dowries given to their families, according to them it depends on the parents.

5.2.3 Reproduction

Logically after marriage husband and wife will start their reproductive career. Part of this research is on the total number of children male adolescents would like to have. Most boys realize that the Indian population is growing explosively and second, raising children goes hand in hand with high expenditures: the more children, the higher the expenditures. So, the total number of children all male respondents would like to have is one or two. As there is no much difference between the total numbers of children they wish to have, neither any difference within religious backgrounds can be observed. As introduced by Caldwell the TFR has decreased throughout the century, out of the answers given by male adolescents living in rural South India nowadays this trend will continue because of the increase in the costs of living and education.

Generally, in India the desired number of children reflects son preference. However, among the male and female adolescents interviewed no girl and almost no boy have a preference for a particular sex. Just a few boys have a son preference because of family continuation, but most of them do not have this preference. For some of them it is dependent on God: it does not make a difference if the woman bears a female or male child, they agree because it is God's decision and therefore they do not have a preference for a specific sex. But most boys do not have a son preference because the gap between boys and girls is narrowing nowadays as is described in the previous chapter; that means that boys and girls are more equal in future and will have more or less the same rights.

It seems that the family plays an important role during the decision-making process. As mentioned in the conceptual model, the context or social context influences the behavior of the adolescent. According to the male adolescents, parents have their influence in the decision-making process concerning the total number of children. But, the male adolescents realize that their parents are from another generation and therefore have different perceptions about reproduction. They will try to convince their parents by saying that having many children is too expensive nowadays.

On asking:

I “Do your parents play a role in the decision-making process regarding the total number of children you would like to have?”

Some respondents will answer:

RM 14.2 My parents do play a role, they belong to an older generation but we have to explain the reason for having one child. We have to make them agreeing our opinion.

RM 18.1 My parents will ask me to take more children, but I will convince them that it is a burden for me. I don't want to oppose my parents, but it is the society: everybody has two children. And my wife and me are responsible; it is our responsibility.

5.2.4 Goals

Analyzing the goals of male adolescents it seemed that they are striving for different goals. Some of the boys want to get a job to earn money. In terms of Maslow these male respondents are looking for self-actualization and therefore they strive for the need which is highest ranked by Maslow. On the other hand, one of the respondents makes clear that he is striving for self-dependency:

RM 19.1 I want to engage in big business. I want to earn a lot of money; so much money that I am not in a need to ask other people to give me money. There should be no financial problems.

Other respondents are looking for more basic or emotional needs:

RM 16.1 I want to contribute something to the nation, I want to become a good citizen. I want to contribute good things to the society.

RM 14.1 I want to become a good son to my parents, a good citizen, a good husband to my wife and a good father to my children by providing them all good facilities. Money is not important.

As is the case with female adolescents, the goals male adolescents would like to achieve differ too.

5.3 Perceptions and goals of parents and grandparents

This part deals with the differences in perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction and besides that the goals, between different generations. First the perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction parents and grandparents had in the period of late adolescence are described. Finally the future goals they had when they were adolescents are mentioned. These goals are linked with the basic needs introduced by Maslow. Realizing that this is a retrospective part of the study, because parents and grandparents were asked about their perceptions they had when they were in the adolescence period, it is assumed that they do not exactly know which perceptions they had at what age. A form of bias can be observed then.

5.3.1 Menarche

As female adolescents living nowadays know nothing about menarche before they reach it, nor did females know anything about it decades ago. Before reaching menarche the female respondents did not know anything about menarche, but afterwards female family members told them. The moment the girl reached menarche was celebrated extensively, together with a lot of other family members, neighbors and other villagers. In that time the ceremony took 16 days and around 150 persons were present. It seemed that during the interviews a few different answers are given by the grandmother and mothers. After reaching menarche a girl had a lot of restrictions:

RGm At the time I reached menarche I had to wear the sarees, I was not allowed to talk with any male and I could not go outside.

RGf Both in earlier times as well as nowadays the parents tell the girl not to talk and mix with the boys. But because of the education-, film- and television effects this has changed. In earlier times girls did not go to school after reaching menarche, nowadays they still continue going to school. Reaching menarche is an important stage for the woman, from this moment on the parents start looking for a boy. This was the case in earlier times and is even nowadays.

RFa 20.2 There are restrictions. Before menarche the girl is allowed to talk to gents and other ladies, she is allowed to travel on her own. After reaching menarche she

is not allowed to go outside on her own because of boys who will try to love her: if there is a good looking girl, the boys will have some sexual needs. Nowadays she goes to school, the parents will not be there and that is why the girl is talking with boys. So the restrictions of 'don't talk to boys' are becoming less strict. There are changes. After reaching menarche some thoughts will come in their minds: the girl has friends and some of them are married and have children. The girl will also think about getting married and having children.

Most female respondents can imagine that female adolescents living nowadays do not like the ceremony at all because of the publicity, but:

RMoJ If the parents want to change the ceremony there can be some changes, but if only the girls want to change the ceremony, it is not possible at all.

The role of the male during the celebration performed while a girl reached menarche is very small and consists of distributing food to the invited persons. But, the perceptions male respondents have about menarche are worth to mention. According to them at the moment a girl reaches menarche these girls 'grow', they get strong health and a strong body and a sexual desire to satisfy.

As described earlier, menarche indicates maturity and moreover menarche marks the physiological start of the reproductive career; marriage on the other hand, marks the socially accepted start of the reproductive career. The two events are closely related to each other and therefore the focus is on their perceptions of marriage in the next part.

5.3.2 Marriage

Having described the perception about menarche the parents and grandparents have, it brings us to their perceptions about marriage. All respondents had an arranged marriage and are still married. The grandmother was married at the age of 13, and she did not know anything about the marital life before marriage. The only thing she knew was that she should live with her husband's family:

RGm The only thing I knew was that I should stay within the husband's family, I knew it by the way my sisters did.

One of the mothers expressed:

RMoH My husband is like my brother (she didn't know the meaning of the husband or his role), I knew I had to leave the parental home and I knew that I should do household work at the husband's house.

The ages at marriage of the mothers were higher than that of the grandmother. This pattern is not recognizable to the male respondents. They married after having finished their education, therefore one of them married at the age of 30.

Focusing on the perceptions males have about marriage it can be concluded that according to them being married means that both husband and wife should live together and they should not have different opinions. There should be adjustment among them. However, there are some more concrete and 'touchable' perceptions.

On asking:

I “What is your perception about marriage?”

A respondent answered:

RF 20.1 The girl should know the food preparation, if she doesn't she will learn it in one year.

On asking:

I “What is your perception about marital life?”

Another respondent answered:

RF 20.2 Sexual satisfaction and after having children, the couples reach one level.

There are differences between the marriages in earlier times compared to nowadays: in the 1950s and 1960s the ceremonies were performed for around three days, hundreds of people were present and marriages in that time were less expensive than they are nowadays, this because of the dowries paid by the bride's family to the family of the bridegroom.

5.3.3 Reproduction

The marital career defines the start of the reproductive career. In earlier times there was a strong preference for a specific sex; in particular the wish to have sons was stronger in that time compared to nowadays. Reasons for having at least one son are diverse. Most respondents pay attention to the continuation of the family line and besides this, a son will look after their parents. However, no respondent talked about a preference for having a daughter.

RF 20.2 I had a son preference; because in the Indian culture ‘the son is a must’ and ‘to light the house a son is a must’. The other reason for having a son is that a son can look after the father.

Differences between religions are observed. One of the Hindu respondents told that Muslim families have more children than Hindu families. Their family size is larger than that of families with other religious backgrounds.

RF 20.1 At the age of 10 or 12, when these children are educated, the children are sent to work by the parents.

It seemed that during the 1950s and 1960s an influence of the social context was present too, as is today. The role of family members was large during the decision-making process on the total number of children women would like to have, especially concerning the preference for having a son. The grandmother expressed it as follows:

RGm I had a son preference because of my sisters-in-law, because they had more sons. I was afraid of my husband because if I would have no sons he would torture me. My parents had influence on the total number of children regarding having a son, because my parents had only daughters. I had my first child after one year. I got 7 children, but 2 are still alive.

It is impossible and therefore not right to draw general conclusions on these perceptions parents and grandparents have. The total number of respondents of these two generations is too small to draw general conclusions concerning perceptions of menarche, marriage and

reproduction. Still it is worth to describe the differences between the generations as well as the differences between both sexes.

5.3.4 Goals

This section deals with the goals the parents and grandparents would like to achieve in future when they were in the period of late adolescence. Did they pay a lot of attention to work and money or did they give more importance to social and family life at the time they were adolescents? Coming back to the theory of Maslow and focusing on the five basic needs arranged in hierarchical order, the goals grandparents and parents had, should be traced back to these needs. Again, these results may be biased because of the retrospective time element as explained before.

A father had a more materialistic need; he could strive for safety or security or on the other hand, he could strive for autonomy of self-dependency by saying the following:

RFa I want to make money to become a rich man. And I want to reconstruct the old house I lived in. Nowadays I have reconstructed this house.

Grandmothers and mothers on the other hand were quite homogeneous in the goals they wanted to achieve. Almost all wished to have some education, but since they had to work in the household fulfilling this dream seemed to be impossible. As mentioned earlier, in that time it was not real common girls had some education, it seemed unnecessary considering their prospective household career. In that time, based on the theory of Maslow the female respondents were striving for safety, autonomy and self-dependency. Ultimately it seemed that they would like to lead an independent life. The grandmother told and concluded:

RGm I never thought about the future, she had a lot of work and responsibilities. But finally she fulfilled all things: being a mother, working in the household, working outside the household and having a lot of friends.

Looking back, all parents and grandparents seem to be content with the goals they achieved. However, it seemed difficult to draw conclusions on the goals they wanted to achieve, by applying the theory of Maslow. It is impossible and therefore not right because of the less number of respondents.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In this final chapter the conclusions are presented and furthermore a discussion on this study is placed by mentioning recommendations in section 6.2. To start, section 6.1 deals with the major findings of this study on the basis of the research questions introduced in chapter one and discussed extensively in section 3.1, and the theoretical framework outlined in chapter two. In this section, we arrive at conclusions based on the analysis that were presented in chapter 5 and 6.

6.1 Conclusions

What perceptions do late adolescents have about menarche, marriage and reproduction?

This research question deals with one element of the micro level: the individual behavior. Starting with the female adolescents can be stated that no female had any perception of menarche before they reached it. Out of the interviews with the girls menarche indicates a major change in the life course and is therefore still involved with ceremonies. Their perceptions about marriage are diverse: some prefer an arranged marriage, while others prefer a love-marriage. All marriages of female adolescents were arranged by the families. Though it seemed that love- marriages are accepted more and more by the society, most girls prefer an arranged marriage. Concluded can be stated that their perceptions about marriage are quite homogenous, if they have a perception at least. Most girls would like to have one or two children; this number depends on the husband and family too. The same applies for the preference for a specific sex of the child.

Excluding the perceptions about menarche, it seemed that boys have thought about marriage and reproduction very seriously; their perceptions about marital life, marriage and the relationship between husband and wife and their ideas about the total number of children they would like to have, are clear and show the detail of being educated. In general out of the perceptions of male adolescents can be concluded that they are higher educated than females, at the time of interviewing. However, not all male respondents follow a study. However, their perceptions about marital life, marriage and the relationship between husband and wife are quite diverse. Most of the boys prefer an arranged marriage too, unless they are involved in the decision-making process regarding their prospective wife. Focusing on the total number of children the majority of all male respondents would like to have one or two children. Reasons for this number of children are the explosive growth of the Indian population and the high costs of living and education: the more children, the higher the costs. They do not mention a preference for a specific sex of the child. Caldwell (1976) expected this trend. He predicted that parents will go for fewer children than they used to go for, and so families will be smaller in future.

Which goals does the adolescent want to achieve in the future?

The future goals of girls differ. Here the goals adolescents want to achieve are linked with the goals ordered by Maslow (1970) in a hierarchical way. According to Maslow the goals female adolescents aged 16 to 19 would like to achieve, are of different types. In general these

females, especially those who are educated, make knowable that they want to be financially independent. Almost all females say they are striving for safety or security.

As is the case with females adolescents, male adolescents are striving for different goals too. Some of the boys want to get a job to earn money. In terms of Maslow these male respondents are looking for self-actualization and therefore they strive for the need which is highest ranked by Maslow. Finally can be stated that no respondent strive for any physiological need, like being in a healthy stage, the need for food and sexual desire.

What is the educational and occupational background of adolescents?

This research question refers to another element of the micro level; the individual background. Adolescents aged 16 to 19 have been asked about their educational and occupational background: do they study or work at daytime. Most female respondents aged 16 to 19 are working in the household. Though, a few of them are free to follow education. Six out of ten boys are going to college; the others are working outside the house. In case of both females and males, some are happy with the life they live and some are not. An important characteristic observed here is that of gender segregation.

What are the differences between girls and boys concerning the perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction; goals they want to achieve in the future; and the educational and occupational background?

Out of the answers on the research questions analyzed above it turns out to be clear that perceptions on marriage differ among both sexes; apart from a few exceptions, most girls prefer to have an arranged marriage, and boys on the other hand prefer to have a combination of both. Perceptions on reproduction amongst both sexes do not differ: all respondents would like to have one or two children. The goals adolescents strive for differ amongst sexes as well as within sexes. However, no respondent strive for physiological needs, they strive for needs ranked higher by Maslow. Gender segregation plays a significant role within the individual background; boys are more allowed to follow education than girls.

What is the role of the physical, economic, social and cultural context on the educational and occupational background and behavior of adolescents and what are the changes over time within these contexts?

Focusing on Navalur, the structure of the village has changed over the last decades: a mixture of different caste people can be observed and the village is more planned nowadays, mainly as a consequence of government intervention. The number of facilities has increased, particularly the number of transport facilities because of its location between the twin-city Hubli-Dharwad. These cities are rising in importance nowadays and due to this, important changes over time within Navalur are recognized; the access between the village and both cities has improved and this has brought a lot of changes within the physical, economic, social

and cultural contexts. The existence of bus facilities nowadays has a positive effect on the mobility of the villagers: the distance to Dharwad is more reachable than it was during the 1950s and 1960s when no such facilities were there. So, it is easier to visit the market or go to college or university. This explains that nowadays the level of education of adolescents has increased, for males as well as females.

The economic context has undergone some changes too. As agriculture was the major source of livelihood a couple of decades ago, some people derive their living from other sources too nowadays: people working in factories or have a job as shopkeepers.

Focusing on the social and cultural context, concluded can be stated that the influence of the family and with that of the social context is still big as it was during the 1950s and 1960s, see the model introduced by Ishwaran (1968). However, male adolescents attach the most value to family and female adolescents on the other hand attach more value to the religion and caste-system. According to the grandparents and parents the role of the religion has decreased more than that of family and caste, in the life of adolescents. Moreover, in the old days adolescents used to treat elders as Gods, but this has changed: their respect towards elders seemed to be less. This change in their attitudes may be due to the film-, television- and education effect.

What are the differences between the perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction; goals; and the educational and occupational backgrounds of the adolescents comparing to that of their parents and grandparents when *they* were in the adolescence period?

This research question deals with the cohort perspective: the focus is on differences between generations concerning perceptions and goals as well as individual backgrounds. However, these results may be biased because of the retrospective time element.

Only one difference concerning the event of menarche between older generations is observable: the ceremonies during the 1950s and 1960s were larger than they are nowadays. Nowadays the parents of the girl spend more money at the event of marriage than they did a couple of decades ago due to a shift in importance of the dowry-system. In that time love-marriages were not accepted by the society, but gradually a shift from arranged marriages to love-marriages can be observed nowadays. This does not automatically imply that all adolescents prefer a love-marriage. Those who are high educated prefer a mixture of both or even a love-marriage. Here the influence of the education effect can be observed. Focusing on reproduction it seemed that the role of the family has become smaller over time; especially high educated adolescents living nowadays have their own ideas about the total number of children and are willing to follow these.

The goals female respondents of older generations would like to achieve at the time they were adolescents were homogenous, instead of that of fathers and grandfathers; their goals were characterized by diversity.

Differences within individual backgrounds between generations can be observed. The focus is on educational and occupational background. Gender segregation was of high significance during the 1950s and 1960s, more than it is nowadays, as can be concluded from the interviews done with parents and grandparents. In that time girls had a lot of restrictions, they had no freedom at all. It was quite normal that girls did not attend school after they reached menarche. Nowadays girls have the freedom to talk with boys and to follow education, depending on the social-economic status of the family. The gap between boys and

girls has been narrowing during the last decades and so the gender segregation has decreased as Major (1993) already expected.

6.2 Recommendations

Writing a master thesis and doing a research abroad seemed to be a useful process of learning. To do research in future, it is therefore useful to make recommendations on the research that has taken place.

The aim of this study is to draw general conclusions on perceptions late adolescents living in rural South India have about menarche, marriage and reproduction and the goals they would like to achieve. To get an idea about these perceptions a research was conducted in Navalur. Realizing that because of the time restriction it was impossible to conduct a research in more than one village, this research was conducted in one village only, and therefore this research can be characterized as small-scale. To be sure outcomes of a research are generally valid, it would be better to ask respondents in some other villages too, whereby answers given by inhabitants of different villages can be compared with each other and a general conclusion may be drawn for rural South India as a whole.

This study focuses on changes over time concerning perceptions and emphasizes the importance of different generations to clarify these changes. It seemed to be useful to focus on three generations, because of the reason that India is changing and with that, contexts and perceptions change too. Here 31 in-depth interviews are done amongst three generations and this has brought two difficulties with it. First, focusing on parents and grandparents means that part of this research is retrospective and therefore results may be biased. Posing questions to older generations on topics playing a role in the past, it should be taken into account that parents and grandparents do not exactly remember which thoughts they had at what age. Especially to grandparents the adolescence period has taken place too long ago. Second, conducting 31 interviews among three generations means that a small-scale research has taken place and therefore it is impossible and not right to draw general conclusions.

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APPENDIX 1: Interview guide for female and male adolescents.

Interview: female adolescent

Introduction

Background information of the respondent

Name

Age/date of birth

Religion

Caste

Family size

Type of family (nuclear/joint)

Brother(s) and/or sister(s)

Level of education

1. Perception about adolescence

You are ... years old, do you know that you are an adolescent. If not tell her she is an adolescent because her age is between 10 and 19 years.

2. Question related to the context

Social Context

Educational and occupational background

Time starting the day

What do you do during the day

- Education
 - why
 - where
 - how
- Work
 - why
 - household
 - anywhere else
- Playing around
 - friends (same caste and/or religion)
 - brother(s)/sister(s)

Time end of the day

General questions

- What do you like the most when you are at home?
- What are you going to do after dinner?
- What kind of clothes do you wear at day?
- What is according to the girl the difference between the educational and occupational backgrounds of the boys to that of the girls?
- What is important to you?
 - family

- religion
- caste

Family

- rules laid down by parents/family
- hierarchy within the household

Cultural context

Religion

- going to church
- praying
- rules laid down by your religion

Caste

- friends
- differences between the castes in the context you live
- rules are laid down by your caste

Physical context

- do you travel by bike, car, bus or train
- where do you travel to

Economic context

- economic activities

3. Questions related to the expectations about marriage and reproduction

The next part is of great importance, we are really interested in the three demographic concepts menarche, marriage and reproduction.

Menarche

Explain the word menarche (first menstruation), after that start questioning.

- Age
- How many weeks/years ago
- Ceremony (important question!)
 - in what way
 - who were there
 - place
 - length of ceremony
- What kind of things are changed since that moment

Marriage

Married? yes or no

→ Yes

- Why
- Arranged or love
- Age of the girl
- Where married
- Ceremonies
- How many people were present
- Place of living

Information about husband

- Age
- Religion

→ No

- Why
- Do you want to marry
- Arranged or love
- Knowledge about boy (tell)

General questions about marriage

- What do you think of love-marriages and arranged marriages?
- What is love?
- Is the caste the husband is part of important to you?
- Is the religion the husband belongs to important to you?
- In what way is a marriage celebrated?
- Are there dowries given?

Reproduction

- Ideal number of children
- Why
- When
- Son preference

4. Questions related to the future

- Are you happy with the life you live?
- What do you want to reach in the future?
 - a (good) mother
 - working in the household
 - working outside the household
 - what kind of work
 - having a lot of friends

Thank the respondent!

Interview: male adolescent

Introduction

Background information of the respondent

Name

Age/date of birth

Religion

Caste

Family size

Type of family (nuclear/joint)

Brother(s) and/or sister(s)

Level of education

1. Perception about adolescence

You are ... years old, do you know that you are an adolescent. If not tell him he is an adolescent because his age is between 10 and 19 years.

2. Questions related to the context

Social Context

Educational and occupational background

Time starting the day

What do you do during the day

- Education
 - why
 - where
 - how
- Work
 - why
 - household
 - anywhere else
- Playing around
 - friends (same caste and/or religion)
 - brother(s)/sister(s)

Time end of the day

General questions

- What do you like the most when you are at home?
- What are you going to do after dinner?
- What kind of clothes do you wear at day?
- What is according to the boy the difference between the educational and occupational backgrounds of the girls to that of the boys?
- What is important to you?
 - family
 - religion
 - caste

Family

- rules laid down by parents/family
- hierarchy within the household

Cultural context

Religion

- going to church
- praying
- rules laid down by your religion

Caste

- friends from the same caste
- differences between the castes in the context you live
- rules laid down by your caste

Physical context

- do you travel by bike, car, bus or train
- where do you travel to

Economic context

- economic activities

3. Questions related to expectations about marriage and reproduction

The next part is of great importance, we are really interested in the three demographic concepts menarche, marriage and reproduction and the role of the boy during these periods.

Menarche

- Explain the word menarche (first menstruation), after that start questioning.
- What is the role of the boy when the girls (for example his sister(s)) have their first menstruation?
- What does he know about ceremonies?

Marriage

Married? yes or no

→ Yes

- Why
- Arranged or love
- Age/when
- Where married
- Ceremonies
- How many people were there
- Place of living

Information about wife

- Age
- Religion

→ No

- Why
- Do you want to marry
- Arranged or love

- Knowledge about girl (tell)

General questions about marriage

- What do you think of love-marriages and arranged marriages?
- What is love?
- Is the caste the wife is part of important to you?
- Is the religion the wife belongs to important to you?
- In what way is a marriage celebrated?
- Are there dowries given (tell!!)

Reproduction

- Ideal number of children
- Why
- When
- Son preference

4. Question related to the future

- Are you happy with the life you live?
- What do you want to reach in the future?
 - a (good) father
 - working in the household
 - working outside the household
 - what kind of work
 - having a lot of friends
 - earning a lot of money

Thank the respondent!

APPENDIX 2: Interview guide for parents.

Interview: the mother

Introduction

Background information of the respondent

Name

Age/date of birth

Year of birth

Religion

Caste

Family size

Type of family (nuclear/joint)

Total number of children (boys/girls)

Level of education

1. Perception about adolescence

Do you know that your daughter/son is an adolescent?

Tell the mother her daughter/son is an adolescent because her/his age is between 10 and 19 years (definition according to the WHO)

2. General questions (educational and occupational background and context)

What is the difference in educational and occupational backgrounds between boys and girls in general?

What is the difference in educational and occupational backgrounds between your daughter(s) and son(s)?

While asking the following question keep the model of Ishwaran in your mind

What is the influence of the religion and the caste in their educational and occupational backgrounds?

3. Questions related to the perceptions about menarche, marriage and reproduction

The next part is of great importance, we are really interested in the three demographic concepts menarche, marriage and reproduction. We are interested in the way the mother experience these three demographic events. To answer the following questions she has to go back to the time she experienced these events.

Menarche

Explain the word menarche (first menstruation), after that start questioning.

- Age
- How many years ago (check-question)
- Ceremony (important question!)
 - in what way
 - who were there

- place
- length of ceremony
- What kind of things are changed since that moment

Marriage

- Why
- Arranged or love
- Age
- Where married
- Ceremonies
- How many people were present
- Place of living
- What did she know about the husband (age, religion etc.)

General questions about marriage

- What do you think of love-marriages and arranged marriages?
- What is love?
- Is the caste the husband is part of important to you?
- Is the religion the husband belongs to important to you?
- In what way is a marriage celebrated?
- Are there dowries given?

Reproduction

She should not think afterwards when answering these questions, think about the ideas you had before starting to have children.

- Ideal number of children
- Why
- When
- Son preference
- TFR at this moment
- Happy with this situation, why (not)

4. Questions related to the future

- What did you want to reach in the future when you were aged 16 to 19?
 - a (good) mother
 - working in the household
 - working outside the household
 - what kind of work
 - having a lot of friends

Thank the respondent!

Interview: the father

Introduction

Background information of the respondent

Name

Age/date of birth

Year of birth

Religion

Caste

Family size

Type of family (nuclear/joint)

Total number of children (boys/girls)

Level of education

1. Perception about adolescence

Do you know that your daughter/son is an adolescent?

Tell the father his daughter/son is an adolescent because her/his age is between 10 and 19 years (definition according to the WHO)

2. General questions (educational and occupational background and context)

What is the difference in educational and occupational backgrounds between boys and girls in general?

What is the difference in educational and occupational backgrounds between your daughter(s) and son(s)?

While asking the following question keep the model of Ishwaran in your mind

What is the influence of the religion and the caste in their educational and occupational backgrounds?

3. Perceptions about marriage and menarche

The next part is of great importance, we are really interested in the demographic concepts marriage and reproduction. We are interested in the way the father experienced these demographic events. To answer the following questions he has to go back to the time he experienced these events.

Marriage

- Why
- Arranged or love
- Age
- Where married
- Ceremonies
- How many people were present
- Place of living
- What did he know about the wife (age, religion etc.)

General questions about marriage

- What do you think of love-marriages and arranged marriages?
- What is love?
- Is the caste the wife is part of important to you?
- Is the religion the wife belongs to important to you?
- In what way is a marriage celebrated?
- Are there dowries given?

Reproduction

He should not think afterwards when answering these questions, think about the ideas you had before starting to have children.

- Ideal number of children
- Why
- When
- Son preference
- TFR at this moment
- Happy with this situation, why (not)

4. Questions related to the future

- What did you want to reach in the future when you were aged 16 to 19?
 - a (good) father
 - working in the household
 - working outside the household
 - what kind of work
 - having a lot of friends

Thank the respondent!

APPENDIX 3: Interview guide for grandparents.

Interview: the grandmother

Introduction

Background information of the respondent

Name

Age/date of birth

Year of birth

Religion

Caste

Family size

Type of family (nuclear/joint)

Total number of children (boys/girls)

Total number of grandchildren

Level of education

1. Perception about adolescence

Do you know that your granddaughter/grandson is an adolescent at this moment?

Tell the grandmother her granddaughter/grandson is an adolescent because her/his age is between 10 and 19 years (definition according to the WHO)

2. General questions (educational and occupational background and context)

What is the difference in educational and occupational backgrounds between boys and girls aged 16 to 19

- (in general), at this moment
- (in general), at the time you were an adolescent
- focusing on your granddaughter(s) and grandson(s)
- what is the difference in educational and occupational backgrounds of the adolescents nowadays compared to a few decades ago (let her give an overview)

While asking the following question keep the model of Ishwaran in your mind

What is the influence of the religion and the caste

- in the educational and occupational backgrounds of boys and girls, aged 16 to 19 (in general), at this moment
- in the educational and occupational backgrounds of boys and girls, aged 16 to 19, at the time you were an adolescent
- in the educational and occupational backgrounds of your grandchildren (nowadays)
- what is the difference in the influence of the religion and the caste in the educational and occupational backgrounds nowadays compared to a few decades ago (let her give an overview)

3. Questions related to the expectations about marriage and reproduction

The next part is of great importance, we are really interested in the three demographic concepts menarche, marriage and reproduction. We are interested in the way the grandmother

experience these three demographic events. To answer the following questions she has to go back to the time she experienced these events.

Menarche

Explain the word menarche (first menstruation), after that start questioning.

- Age
- How many years ago (check-question)
- Ceremony (important question!)
 - in what way
 - who were there
 - place
 - length of ceremony
- What kind of things are changed since that moment

Marriage

- Why
- Arranged or love
- Age
- Where married
- Ceremonies
- How many people were present
- Place of living
- What did she know about the husband (age, religion etc.)

General questions about marriage

- What do you think of love-marriages and arranged marriages?
- What is love?
- Is the caste the husband is part of important to you?
- Is the religion the husband belongs to important to you?
- In what way is a marriage celebrated?
- Are there dowries given?

Reproduction

She should not think afterwards when answering these questions, think about the ideas she had before starting to have children.

- Ideal number of children
- Why
- When
- Son preference
- TFR at this moment
- Happy with this situation, why (not)

4. Questions related to the future

- What did you want to reach in the future when you were 16?
 - a (good) mother
 - working in the household
 - working outside the household
 - what kind of work
 - having a lot of friends

Interview: the grandfather

Introduction

Background information of the respondent

Name

Age/date of birth

Year of birth

Religion

Caste

Family size

Type of family (nuclear/joint)

Total number of children (boys/girls)

Total number of grandchildren

Level of education

1. Perception about adolescence

Do you know that your granddaughter/grandson is an adolescent at this moment?

Tell the grandfather his granddaughter/grandson is an adolescent because her/his age is between 10 and 19 years (definition according to the WHO)

2. General questions (educational and occupational background and context)

What is the difference in educational and occupational backgrounds between boys and girls aged 16 to 19

- (in general), at this moment
- (in general), at the time you were an adolescent
- focusing on your granddaughter(s) and grandson(s)
- what is the difference in educational and occupational backgrounds of the adolescents nowadays compared to a few decades ago (let him give an overview)

While asking the following question keep the model of Ishwaran in your mind

What is the influence of the religion and the caste

- in the educational and occupational backgrounds of boys and girls, aged 16 to 19 (in general), at this moment
- in the educational and occupational backgrounds of boys and girls, aged 16 to 19, at the time you were an adolescent
- in the educational and occupational backgrounds of your grandchildren (nowadays)
- what is the difference in the influence of the religion and the caste in the educational and occupational backgrounds nowadays compared to a few decades ago (let her give an overview)

3. Questions related to the expectations about marriage and reproduction

The next part is of great importance, we are really interested in the following demographic concepts marriage and reproduction. We are interested in the way the grandfather experience these two demographic events. To answer the following questions he has to go back to the time he experienced these events.

Marriage

- Why
- Arranged or love
- Age
- Where married
- Ceremonies
- How many people were present
- Place of living
- What did he know about the wife (age, religion etc.)

General questions about marriage

- What do you think of love-marriages and arranged marriages?
- What is love?
- Is the caste the wife is part of important to you?
- Is the religion the wife belongs to important to you?
- In what way is a marriage celebrated?
- Are there dowries given?

Reproduction

He should not think afterwards when answering these questions, think about the ideas you had before starting to have children.

- Ideal number of children
- Why
- When
- Son preference
- TFR at this moment
- Happy with this situation, why (not)

4. Question related to the future

- What did you want to reach in the future when you were aged 16 to 19?
 - a (good) father
 - working in the household
 - working outside the household
 - what kind of work
 - having a lot of friends

Thank the respondent!

APPENDIX 4: Interview guide for key-informants.

Interview: key-informants

Introduction

Explain the relation between this research conducted in Navalur and that of Ishwaran conducted between 1955 and 1965 in the same village, though called Shivapur by Ishwaran.

Background information of the respondent

Name

Age/date of birth

Year of birth

Place of birth

Religion

Caste

Family size

Level of education

Question related to physical context

Structure of the village

- What kind of structure of the village was there in the 1950s and 1960s?
- What is the structure of the village nowadays?
- Was each caste concentrated in a specific street in the 1950s and 1960s?
- Is each caste concentrated in a specific street nowadays?
- Has the total number of houses in this village increased during the last decades?
- What is the cause of this change?
- Of what material were the houses built in the 1950s and 1960s?
- Of what material are the houses built nowadays?

Facilities

- What sort of facilities were there in the 1950s and 1960s?
- What sort of facilities are there situated nowadays?
- How many schools were there located in Navalur in the 1950s and 1960s?
 - private schools ...
 - public schools ...
 - college ...
- How many schools are there located in Navalur nowadays?
 - private school ...
 - public schools ...
 - college ...
- What kind of language do they speak at the public and private schools?
- Are the public and private school accessible to all kind of people, no matter to what religion they belong?
- What is the most important difference regarding the structure of the village nowadays compared to 45 years ago?

Infrastructure

What is the difference in infrastructures nowadays compared to 45 years ago (in the period Ishwaran did research)?

- What sort of infrastructure was there in the 1950s and 1960s?
- What sort of infrastructure is there nowadays?
- Do these changes in infrastructure have impacts on the local population?
- If yes, what are the consequences of these changes on the local population?

Modes of transport

- What kind of transport were there in the 1950s and 1960s?
- What kind of transport is present nowadays in this village and the area of this village?
- What is the most important difference regarding transport nowadays compared to 45 years ago?
- Do these changes in modes of transport have impacts on the local population?
- If yes, what are the consequences of these changes on the local population?

Question related to economic context

- What kind of economic activities are here in Navalur?
- What kind of economic activities were there in Navalur in the 1950s and 1960s?
- Were there fixed hours in the 1950s and 1960s?
- Are there fixed hours nowadays?
- What is the most important change in the economic context during the past decades?

Question related to social and cultural context

- Do you think that the attitudes of young people in the age of 16 to 19 towards responsibility has changed, if you compare it to the attitude their parents had when their age was between 16 and 19?
- Do you feel that the attitudes of young people in the age of 16 to 19 towards religion has changed, if you compare it to the attitude their parents had when their age was between 16 and 19?
- Do you feel that the respect young people in the age of 16 to 19 have towards elders has changed, if you compare it to the attitude their parents had when their age was between 16 and 19?

Menarche

- In what way were ceremonies celebrated when girls reached menarche in the 1950s and 1960s?
 - what kind of rituals
 - what kind of food is given to the girl
 - how many persons were present
 - were there family members present
 - were there relatives present
 - were there friends present
 - were there unknown persons present
 - where was the ceremony conducted
 - length (in days) of the ceremony
- In what way were ceremonies celebrated when girls reached menarche nowadays?
 - what kind of rituals
 - what kind of food is given to the girl
 - how many persons were present

- are there family members present
- are there relatives present
- are there friends present
- are there unknown persons present
- where was the ceremony conducted
- length (in days) of the ceremony
- How many ceremonies were celebrated in the 1950s and 1960s in general?
- How many ceremonies are celebrated nowadays in general?
- Were girls involved in the decision-making process regarding the ceremony celebrated when they reached menarche in the 1950s and 1960s?
- Are girls involved in the decision-making process regarding the ceremony celebrated when they reached menarche nowadays?
- Are there things, related to the customs of the girl changed since they reached menarche in the 1950s and 1960s?
- If yes, what kind of things are changed since that moment?
- Are there things, related to the customs of the girl changed since they reached menarche nowadays?
- If yes, what kind of things are changed since that moment?
- What was the role of the boy during menarche in the 1950s and 1960s?
- What is the role of the boy during menarche nowadays?

Marriage

- In what way ceremonies were celebrated when a marriage took place in the 1950s and 1960s?
 - what kind of rituals
 - how many persons were present
 - were there family members present
 - were there relatives present
 - were there friends present
 - were there unknown persons present
 - where was the ceremony conducted
 - length (in days) of the ceremony
- In what way ceremonies are celebrated when a marriage take place nowadays?
 - what kind of rituals
 - how many persons were present
 - are there family members present
 - are there relatives present
 - are there friends present
 - are there unknown persons present
 - where was the ceremony conducted
 - length (in days) of the ceremony
- Were youth in the age of 16 to 19 involved in the decision-making process regarding the celebration when they were married in the 1950s and 1960s?
- Are youth in the age of 16 to 19 involved in the decision-making process regarding the celebration when they marry nowadays?
- Has the total number of arranged marriages decreased over the last decades?

Reproduction

- Are the total number of children women get increased or decreased during the last decades?

- Did the parents play a role in the decision-making process regarding the total number of children their children would like to have, in the 1950s and 1960s?
- Do parents play a role in the decision-making process regarding the total number of children their children would like to have nowadays?
- Is there a stronger son preference nowadays than there used to be?

General questions

- Focusing on the changes in the economic and physical contexts, do they have their influence on rules laid down by family, religion and caste regarding the following elements:

	Family	Religion	
Caste			
- the ceremonies after reaching menarche	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- the ceremonies at the time of marriage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- the family size	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- If yes, what kind of influences are there regarding the ceremonies celebrated when girls reach menarche?
- If yes, what kind of influences are there regarding the ceremonies celebrated at the time of marriage?
- If yes, what kind of influences are there regarding the family size?
- In what way did girls in the age of 16 to 19 dress in the 1950s and 1960s?
- In what way do girls in the age of 16 to 19 dress nowadays?
- In what way did boys in the age of 16 to 19 dress in the 1950s and 1960s?
- In what way do boys in the age of 16 to 19 dress nowadays?

Thank the respondent!