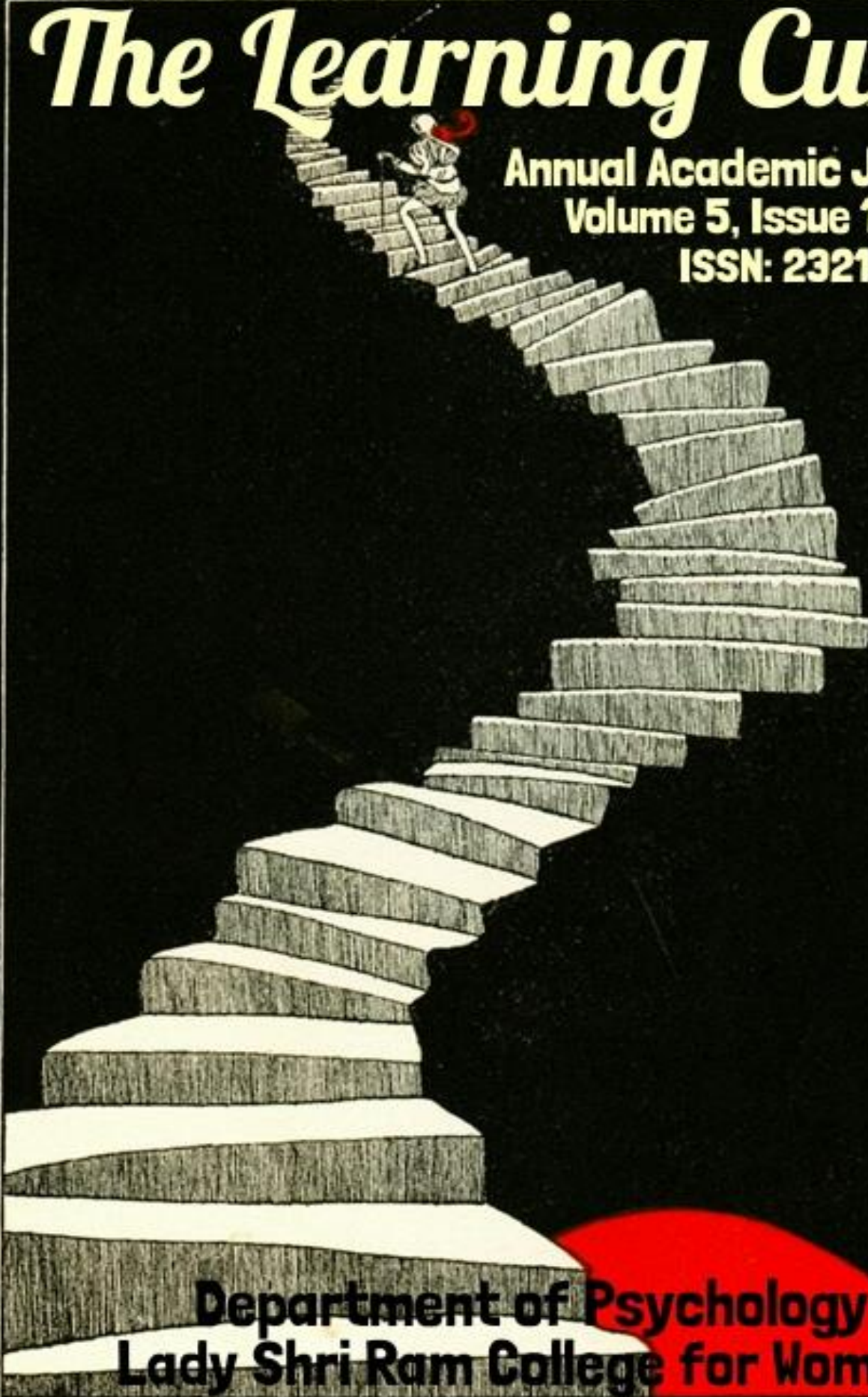


The Learning Curve

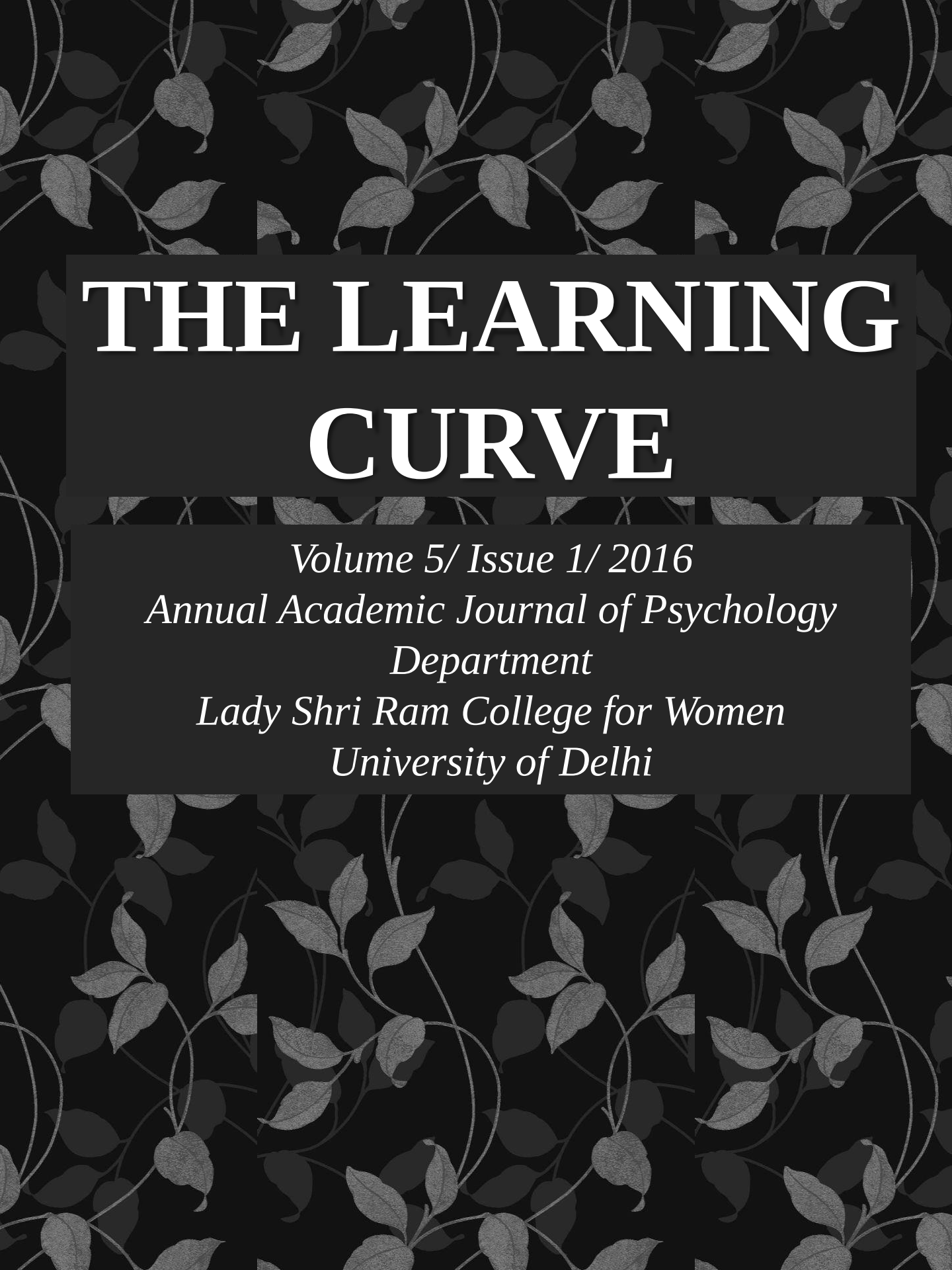


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THE LEARNING CURVE

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HOD Note *by Dr. Priti Dhawan*

“Learning gives creativity,
Creativity leads to thinking,
Thinking provides knowledge,
Knowledge makes you great.”

(Dr. A. P. J Abdul Kalam)

Today we rejoice the culmination of a collective spirit of engagement. Today we celebrate the outcome of hours of deliberation, contemplation, exhaustion and finally exhilaration. Today we revel in the fusion of young intellectual minds who have very conscientiously put together their creative energies to bring about an academically rich enterprise, The Learning Curve.

I take great pride and pleasure in officially launching the annual academic journal of the Department of Psychology. This almanac is filled with thoughts to make you think deeper and further. And remember our motto is to balance out both our roots and wings. So as we soar higher, let's not forget to allow for our inner growth.

The Department of Psychology at LSR constantly strives to facilitate forums for argumentative engagement, to instil a keen awareness of and considered responsiveness to the multi-layered contextual situation in a freely explorative academic paradigm.

One of the most important strengths of the faculty of Psychology is its professionalism and commitment. Each day every classroom reverberates with innovative pedagogic practices which encourages students to think critically. The vision is to empower young women to be leaders and change agents who are at the same time sensitive to social issues and problems.

We, at the Department of Psychology, also endorse that academic institutions like LSR have a crucial role to play in this day and age where competitiveness is the buzz word and an environment like ours, provides for alternative thinking patterns that are rooted in dialogue, debate and discussions.

With these thoughts, I present to you, The Learning Curve, in which every research article calibrates goals and aims through a dialectical process of criticism and rationality.

I wish the entire editorial team ably headed by Sabeeha and Tanvi, for their incredible work. Kudos to the entire student body of the. Department of Psychology.

Editors' Note Sabeeha & Tanvi

The making of a journal can be a challenging ordeal. However, as students of the Department of Psychology, we have always been taught to push through our challenges and succeed. It is with great pleasure that the Editorial Board of the Department of Psychology brings forth the latest issue of the annual academic journal, "The Learning Curve." The purpose of The Learning Curve has always been to acknowledge the diversity of academic work produced by the undergraduate students in universities and colleges across India.

This year, we received a varied selection of papers with varied topics, methodologies and orientations. This was partly possible because of the National Paper Presentation Competition, held as a part of the two-day Positive Psychology Symposium organized by the Department of Psychology at Lady Shri Ram College for Women.

It was a pleasure to read each author's paper and understand their research and rationale behind choosing a particular topic. We thank every author who submitted their papers and are grateful for their utmost cooperation.

The selection process for the papers go through a rigorous three tier review process. There were double blind peer reviews, internal reviews by the Editorial Board, and expert reviewers for each of the papers submitted for publication. The Editorial Board would like to thank Dr. Pushpita Behera, Dr. Bhawna Devi, Ms. Shivangi Singh and Ms. Ngashangva Pamyaphy for their valuable inputs as the experts.

We would also like to thank, the Editorial Board, the Association and the Union. We thank Dr. Priti Dhawan for providing support and guidance, wherever it was needed, the faculty of the Department of Psychology for their constant support and love, and Dr. Megha Dhillon and Dr. Bhawna Devi, the association in charges for their everlasting commitment to the journal.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

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ABOUT THE REVIEWERS

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Dr. Pushpita Behera is a senior Assistant Professor at the Department of Psychology, Lady Shri Ram College for Women, University of Delhi. She has over 12 years of teaching experience. Dr. Behera has completed her graduation and post-graduation from Utkal University, Orissa. Thereafter, she received her M.Phil in Clinical Psychology from the University of Delhi and PhD from the Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay. She stood First in her Bachelors and Third in Masters in the University and got a National Scholarship for the same. She has also received NET/JRF from UGC for carrying out her research work. She has authored a textbook titled “Social Psychology” published by Tata McGraw Hill educational Pvt. Ltd. and published research articles. Her research interests include Stress and Coping, Quality of life, Work-Family Conflict, Organizational Behavior, Human Resource Management, Social Psychology, Research Methodology, Statistics and Neurosciences.

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VASUDHAIVA KUTUMBAKAM: Creating Sustainable Global Partnerships In Higher Education

Ms. Kasturi Kanthan, Ms. Rukshana Shroff, Dr. Priti Dhawan, Dr. Kanika K. Ahuja & Dr. Megha Dhillon

Lady Shri Ram College for Women, DU

With the rise of globalization, educational institutions have felt the need to become more internationalised in order to operate effectively. "Internationalisation of education" has been defined by the International Association of Universities (IAU) as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, and/or global dimension into the goals, functions and delivery of higher education (Knight, 2003). Similarly, OECD describes internationalisation in terms of *the complex of processes whose combined effect, whether planned or not, is to enhance the international dimension of the experience of higher education in universities and similar educational institutions* (OECD, 1994). Internationalisation of education can take several forms such as academic mobility for students and teachers, partnerships and projects, research initiatives, delivery of education to other countries through branch campuses, international development programs and so on (Knight, 2008). This article focuses on specific forms of internationalisation: foreign students coming to India (and its perceived impact on domestic students and faculty), Indian students travelling abroad and Indian students obtaining short term exposure to foreign courses in India.

De Wit (2002) has identified four approaches to the internationalisation of higher education. The 'activity approach' describes internationalisation in terms of types of academic and extra-curricular activities. It does not necessarily include the organizational issues needed to initiate, develop, and sustain them. The 'rationale approach' defines internationalisation in terms of its intended outcomes. For example, internationalisation may be seen as a mechanism for income generation through foreign student recruitment. The 'competency approach' looks at internationalisation in terms of developing new skills, attitudes, knowledge in students, faculty

and staff. The focus is clearly on the human dimension, not on academic activities or organizational issues. Finally the 'process approach' frames internationalisation as a process that integrates an international perspective into the major functions of the institution. A wide range of academic activities, organizational policies and strategies are part of this process. This can be described as the most comprehensive approach to discussing internationalisation.

Several components need to work together to achieve effective internationalisation – an articulated commitment to it, exchange programmes, joint degree programmes, internal as well as external funding, organizational infrastructure, communication between institutions, means to support travel for faculty as well as students, and international student experience programmes (Adapa, n.d.). Juarez (2013) discusses how leadership is essential in defining a clear mission and strategy and in providing institutional support. Raimond and Halliburton (1995) have discussed that a program of study is not international unless international case studies and examples are incorporated in teaching. Black (2004) suggests that an aspect that has a definitive effect is the teaching methods used. Workshops, seminars and projects in which students work in small groups, enable them to learn from each other. When adeptly managed by the teacher, this can be an enormously important aspect of student learning. Salehi-Sangari and Foster (1999) describe a course run in Sweden for an international group of participants, requiring each team of students working on the project to have a mixture of Swedes and other nationalities (cited in Black, 2004). This seems to have a highly beneficial effect. However as the IAU Global Survey Report (2012) states, internationalisation is not a "one size fits all" process. If in large institutions, research

collaboration is the most important factor, outgoing mobility of students is crucial for small institutions. Each institution therefore must identify for itself the components that require attention in order to achieve successful internationalisation.

Benefits and Challenges of Internationalisation

Internationalisation can accrue benefits and create challenges for various parties involved including foreign students, domestic students and domestic institutions.

For foreign students

Students who study abroad tend to report several positive outcomes. These include increased self-esteem, independence and interest in others' welfare (Kauffmann, 1983), a more objective perspective on the self (Juhász & Walker, 1988), better interpersonal relationships, autonomy, maturity of life plans and overall development (Pyle, 1981). On the flipside, a foreign student must overcome certain obstacles that accompany a change in environment. Problems with regard to adjusting to a new education system and lifestyle, discrimination and feelings of loneliness inadvertently affect international students and produce stress (Asmar, 2005; Skyrme, 2007). High costs of living in foreign countries can create financial difficulties as scholarships may be insufficient to cover all costs of living. Proficiency in language is also an important indicator of whether or not the international student's experience will be positive. Considering that English is usually the medium of instruction in universities catering to international students, Nasirudeen et al (2014) found acculturative stress to be higher among international students with poor proficiency in English language. Lack of adeptness in the language decreases the ability to participate in social activities or even interact with other students. Another factor that impacts a student is the duration of stay. A foreign student attending a course of one year, for example would be more prone to homesickness than a student attending a one month course. However, excessive pressure over a short time span may induce the same sensation of homesickness in the student. (Van Tilburg et al. 2005).

For domestic students

Considering that domestic students constitute the majority of the student population in an institution and are inevitably impacted by the presence of foreign students, their perspectives need to be satisfactory understood. Lambert and Usher (2013) have found that most domestic students agree with the importance of internationalisation. Benefits of having foreign students in class, as identified by domestic students fall into two major categories. The first of these is greater diversity and inter-cultural awareness (Lambert & Usher, 2013; Crump, 2004). Marino (2007) for instance found that international students educate domestic students about intercultural issues through their music, dance, singing, food, writing and theatrical performances. The second category of benefits that are perceived to occur are within the *academic realm*. The presence of international students has been found to provide a pedagogical basis for increasing international enrolment at U.S. institutions (Barger, 2004). Students and faculty report that international students stimulate the learning environment, bring a better attitude towards learning, improve the quality of education (Jourdini, 2012) and broaden one's outlook on life (Pittaway, Ferguson & Breen, 1998). Bowry (2002) found that the enriching effect of having foreign classmates occurs in formal educational settings, like the classroom (where domestic students gain from listening to foreign students present ideas, working directly with them in groups and discussing classroom topics with them) and outside of class. Enrichment is derived from social interaction in any situation in which national, cultural, historical or racial differences between foreign and domestic students surface and give the domestic students an opportunity to see themselves in a different light.

Yet some factors seem to impede meaningful social exchanges. These include language differences and the perception that international students always cluster together with their conationals. It is possible that the language barrier itself leads foreign students to remain with conationals. While foreign students add new cultural dimensions to learning, cultural differences can also inhibit interaction. Foreign students may possess values, norms and patterns of behaviour that conflict with those of domestic students (Spencer-Rogers & McGovern, 2002).

Jourдини (2012) points out for example that the concepts of time, responsibility, competition, friendship, and male-female relationships in the Middle East stand in stark contrast to American views. The end result of this tends to be a sense of alienation and an impeded transfer of learning between the domestic and foreign students.

The dangers involved from the perspective of domestic students include a feeling of resentment perhaps stimulated by a consideration that international students are somehow more important (Anyanwu, 2004). This feeling of inequality has been found to manifest itself at some institutions through the provision of superior teaching facilities and the staff placing primary consideration on the needs of international students (Trice, 2003). This is coupled with a general feeling that the increase in international students brings a decline in academic standards (Anyanwu, 2004), due to international students demonstrating poor English language proficiency, thereby reducing the pace and quality of teaching (Delaney, 2002). In some cases accusations have been made that different requirements exist for domestic and international students to pass courses (Anyanwu, 2004). Other identified impacts include the notion that international students acquire places in universities that would otherwise be awarded to domestic students (Anyanwu, 2004; Spencer-Rodgers & McGovern, 2002; Spencer-Rodgers, 2001) and the perception that academic staff are unable to cope with the extra demands placed on them due to the increasing number of international students (Niles, 1995).

For faculty

The different forms of faculty internationalisation include participation in international conferences, being members of international networks and short-term and long-term appointments as visiting scholars or instructors. However opportunities to engage in these forms of international exposure may be impeded by difficulties such as lack of coordination and information related to available international opportunities, limited funding, administrative policies and procedures, difficulties appointing faculty to temporarily replace those that leave, conflicting academic schedules with the hosting institution and lack of support staff (Dewey

and Duff, 2010; Cantu, 2013). This research focuses on faculty internationalisation in the form of imparting education to foreign students in one's own country. Among the challenges that have been identified in this process are different learning styles of foreign students, language differences, low participation in class, poor learning, poor understanding of academic convention for example plagiarism and other personal problems (Hooley & Horspool, 2006; Nur Sofurah, 2011; Rahman, 2013). Preconceived cultural traits and the requirement of developing methods to effectively assess all students in a culturally diverse classroom are important considerations as well. While these challenges appearing daunting, teaching foreign students can be a beneficial experience for teachers in terms of creating more globally minded educators who can develop new professional spheres, a fresh outlook on the education system of their own country and even possibly more access to jobs in other countries (Bruce, 1991; Quezada, 2010, cited in Goetz, Jaritz & Oser, 2011).

For Institutions

Knight (1999) suggests that internationalisation is part of a university's efforts to fulfil its primary functions namely teaching-learning, research and service to society. Although Knight says this specifically with reference to Canadian universities, the statement reflects the significance of internationalisation to universities in different parts of the world. Hawawini (2011) comprehensively discusses the academic and economic motives involved in internationalisation. The academic benefits are:

- Fulfills the institution's educational mission
- Helps institutions remain academically relevant in an interconnected and global world.
- Attracts the best students and faculty worldwide.

The economic benefits are:

- Growth of revenues.
- Reduces operating risk via geographical diversification by adopting international dimensions.
- Can help fund its domestic programs.
- Academic partnerships, alliances and consortia.

Risks from the Institutions' Perspectives

Even as the importance of internationalisation continues to grow, so do the risks associated with it:

Economic Challenges. Many universities do not have specific budgets for internationalisation and hence are unable to cater appropriately to the demands of the process. In the absence of funds, they may choose to divert resources meant for other things and so operate at the cost of home-based issues. (IAU, 2012)

Dilution of quality of education. In order to match up the international standards of excellence, an institution may decide to change their own native education system and manner of functioning. This may mean that a country sacrifices its own diverse national purposes. This is a particularly potent risk for institutions in developing countries. Sometimes an institution may choose models or an international partner more due to the desire to gain quick responses or prestige than by complementary academic interests or interest in cooperation (Hawawini, 2011).

Brain drain. The international exposure that students get may reveal the lack of facilities or opportunities in the native country and their abundance in the partner foreign country. This may prompt the student to pursue a career abroad, rather than in their own country of origin.

Asymmetry between partner institutions. Differences between the partner countries in terms of access to resources can lead to a difference in development and implementation of internationalisation strategies (IAU, 2012). Consequently, students from the better resourced institutions will be at a more privileged position, resulting in unevenly shared benefits.

Faculty lack of interest. Although teachers do not oppose internationalisation, they tend to be less invested in the exercise (Stohl, 2007; Childress, 2010). This may be due to most of the burden of internationalisation falling on the teacher's shoulder; and of them benefitting little from the process. Engagement with processes of internationalisation may be rarely rewarded, as it is not a common criterion of evaluation.

Internationalisation of Indian Universities

A few years ago Ashok Thakur, Secretary, Department of Higher Education at the Ministry of

Human Resource Development, said that India's universities do not appear on the top in world rankings and the response to this has been too defensive by suggesting that the criteria employed by the rankings are not relevant to India. Philip Altbach, Director of the Centre for International Higher Education at America's Boston College also said, "India is a world class country without world class universities" (Baty, 2012). Nevertheless, some data is encouraging. In 2012, Mumbai University had more than 100 foreign students, mainly from African and Asian countries including Afghanistan, Ghana, Laos, Myanmar and Ethiopia. In 2013, this number crossed 200 (Rao, 2013). The Open Doors report released by the Institute of International Education in 2012 showed that India risen three spots from the number 14 most popular international destination for American students to number 11. Data from the Graduate Management Admission Council shows that scores sent to management programmes in India from non-Indian citizens, has increased by 17% for 2011 and 51% over 5 years (Dore, 2012). Mumbai University has separate hostel facilities for outstation students, and made a rule that 15% of seats in colleges be set aside for foreign students. The number of Indian branch campuses functioning abroad has also increased. An off-shore campus of Manipal University operates in Malaysia and Amity University operates campuses in the US, UK, China and Singapore. The presence of Indian institutions such as BITS Pilani, Amity, and SP Jain School of Global Management in the Dubai International Academic City are indicative of internationalisation. A report published by the British Council (2015) studied five states of India – Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Odisha, Punjab and Karnataka- to understand potential international partnership opportunities. Of the five states examined, Gujarat appeared particularly proactive when it came to international collaboration; others, while encouraging, seem to have a more reactive / opportunistic approach to internationalisation. Some state governments appeared to be wary of the private sector entering into arrangements with international institutions, some of which may not be functionally active or are used as a 'marketing tool' to attract students.

With respect to Delhi University in particular, in the 2014 QS Rankings of Asian Universities, it stands at rank 81. This evaluation is based on a variety of criteria, and while it fares well as far as academic reputation and research parameters are concerned, the most glaring losses for the university are in terms of international students, international faculty and foreign exchanges (both inbound and outbound). There is hence a palpable lacuna in the university's internationalisation approach. For its own part, Lady Shri Ram College has had some experience of collaborative ventures with foreign universities. Although each partnership carries certain risks, collaborative ventures certainly add value to both partner institutions in the form of creating more opportunities for the students, increasing research possibilities, enhancing brand value and increasing student diversity. Foreign as well as domestic students and teachers are likely to benefit from these experiences. It therefore becomes imperative to understand what may further to be done to enhance efforts at internationalisation.

The broad objective of the present study is to understand how internationalisation and its various forms can be a mutually beneficial experience for various parties involved. However, as said earlier this work focuses on specific stake holders in the internationalisation process. These are domestic students and faculty (and their experiences with students from other countries), Indian students who have studied abroad and domestic students who have had exposure to short terms courses by foreign universities in India. There has been little research documenting the views of Indian students and faculty in this area. As a country that is ready to open its doors to the world at the undergraduate level, it is essential that its' educational institutions be well aware of the gains and losses for its students, faculty and administration.

OBJECTIVES

1. To study the impact of foreign students on teaching-learning processes in Indian universities as perceived by domestic students.
2. To study the influence of foreign students on the learning climate in Indian universities as perceived by domestic faculty.
3. To study experiences of Indian students who

have gone abroad for higher education to illuminate internationalisation practices of those universities.

4. To study experiences of domestic students who have had exposure to short term courses conducted by foreign universities in India.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Foreign/international student: For the present study foreign/international students were defined as students who belong to any country other than India. Students from neighbouring countries such as Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka were also considered foreign students.

Domestic student: For the present study domestic students were defined as Indian students who have atleast completed the last 5 years of schooling in India and are also pursuing their under graduation here.

METHODOLOGY

Sample: Participants included four groups, recruited using non-probability purposive and snowball sampling.

1. Domestic students who presently or in the past, have had foreign students as classmates. Sample size was 200 constituting 169 females and 31 males. Participants were from two universities- University of Delhi and GD Goenka University.
2. Domestic faculty who are teaching/have taught foreign students. Sample size was 51 constituting 34 females and 17 males. Participants were from three educational institutes- University of Delhi, GD Goenka University and IIT, Delhi.
3. Indian students who have gone abroad for studies. Sample size was 20 constituting 17 females and 3 males. The time spent at the foreign universities ranged from two months to one year. These students had gone abroad for different programs and for different lengths of time but had all received their school education in India.
4. Indian students who attended the King's College Summer School in Delhi in 2014. Sample size was 48 constituting 43 females and 5 males. The participants were from two colleges in the University of Delhi.

Measures: Three questionnaires and one interview schedule were constructed after review of literature.

1. The first questionnaire “*Foreign students’ impact on domestic students*” was administered to domestic students who had a foreign classmate(s).
2. The second questionnaire “*Foreign students’ impact on domestic faculty*” was administered to domestic faculty who taught foreign student(s).
3. The third questionnaire “*Impact of short-term exposure to foreign university courses*” was administered to domestic students who attended the King’s College Summer School at the University of Delhi.
4. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with students who had experienced studying abroad.

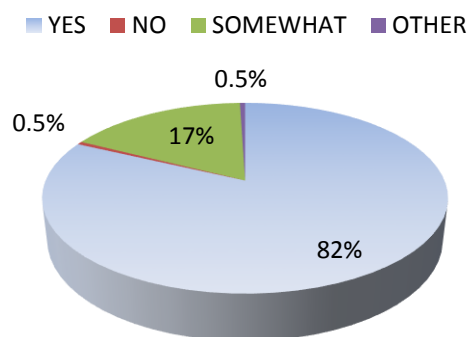
Procedure: To assess the impact of foreign students on domestic students, group administration was carried out when the foreign student(s) was/were not present in the classroom. To assess impact of foreign students on domestic faculty, individual administrations or small group administrations were carried out. To assess impact of a short term foreign university program, group or online administrations were done. Interviews with students who have studied abroad were done either in person or via Skype. Interviews were recorded or written and later transcribed.

Analysis: Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics, specifically percentages and graphs. Qualitative data was analyzed using thematic analysis.

RESULTS:

Domestic students: Domestic students mostly held positive attitudes towards the presence of foreign students in class. A high proportion (82%) reported that it was important for universities to enroll foreign students.

Graph 1: Is it important to enroll foreign students?



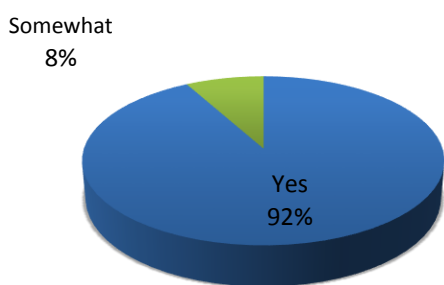
One major reason for being in favour of admitting foreign students was the diversity in opinions their presence creates. When asked about the benefits of having a foreign student in class, 77.5% students selected ‘knowledge of other cultures and life experiences’ and 64.5% selected ‘the learning environment is stimulated because new perspectives, ideas and approaches to issues are brought in’. In addition, 57% students selected ‘knowledge of foreign education systems’ as the benefit of having foreign students in their class. This has not been identified as a possible advantage in earlier studies and may be a unique finding of the present study.

When asked to indicate limitations of having foreign students in class, a majority of students (66.5%) marked ‘none’. Despite such positive opinions, some issues warrant more attention. For instance, most domestic students did not report interacting with foreign students on a regular basis. The majority reported the degree of interaction in course related activities to be either ‘medium’ (42.5%) or ‘low’ (35.5%). Given the limited interaction, it is not surprising that domestic students presented mixed opinions when asked about whether the presence of foreign students has enriched their education. Most students (39.5%) marked the ‘somewhat’ option in response to this item. One barrier that appears to inhibit interaction is lack of time, reported by 37% of the sample. Heavy timetables and academic pressures may leave domestic students little time to pursue interactions with foreign students. Another barrier preventing interaction is language which was

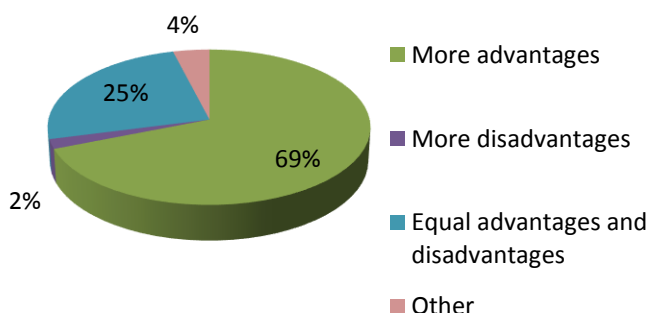
identified by 30% of the respondents. An important finding is that foreign students were not perceived by the majority of the sample to be active participants in the classroom. Some students (16%) felt concerned about the presence of foreign students on the grounds that they occupied admission seats that could have been given to other meritorious domestic students.

Domestic faculty: Most faculty members (92%) considered it important for Indian universities to enroll foreign students. Majority of teachers (69%) expressed that there were more advantages than disadvantages to having foreign students in their classrooms. Facilitation of cross-cultural learning, a more stimulated learning environment and greater diversity within the classroom were once again reasons presented with high frequency. Several teachers (69%) felt that the education they imparted was enhanced by the presence of foreign students because it led to experimenting with new teaching methods and more research to prepare lectures.

Graph 2. Is it important to enroll foreign students in a university?



Graph 3. Advantages /Disadvantages of having foreign students in the class



There were, however, some challenges teachers faced while teaching foreign students. When asked to assess the level of participation of foreign students in the classroom, 51% faculty members indicated medium level of participation and 23.5% indicated low levels of participation. The teachers in the present study identified language as a strong barrier in being able to interact with foreign students. One frequently cited limitation of having foreign students in the classroom was that they had a different learning style as compared to the domestic students. In fact teachers who participated in this study found it easier to deal with foreign students who came from education systems that were similar to the Indian system. For example, some teachers reported that since students from Russia and Kazakhstan hailed from schools that had a system as discipline-oriented as their Indian counterparts, the students showed high levels of structure, dedication, perseverance and respect for teachers.

When asked to assess whether faculty members tend to draw on foreign students' knowledge and experiences as a teaching-learning resource, 51% faculty members indicated that they did. However, when asked whether foreign students impacted their teaching styles, 53% teachers selected 'no' as a response. Thus while teachers made references to the experiences of foreign students; they were not influenced to the extent to altering the manner in which they taught. However, 25% teachers wrote 'yes' as a response for this item. Some of the ways in which they felt that foreign students had impacted their teaching styles included more practical and project based teaching, unique ways of completing tasks such as use of electronic media and 3D models, culturally inclusive teaching patterns etc.

Indian students who have studied abroad: The following themes emerged from the interviews conducted:

Theme 1: Reasons for moving to foreign universities

Reasons that propel students to consider joining exchange and other types of programs at foreign universities included both academic and non-academic:

•**Academic Reasons:** These pertain directly to the educational experience and ranged from rich classroom experiences and international exposure to job prospects.

•**Non-academic Reasons:** Experiencing hostel life, learning a new language, making new friends, developing one's personality and evolving as a person were most commonly quoted.

Theme 2: Comparisons of Foreign and Domestic Universities

The interviews indicated that the participants perceived several differences to exist between foreign and domestic universities.

•**Teaching Styles:** Several differences were reported between foreign and domestic universities. One of the frequently cited differences was the use of PowerPoint presentations to deliver lectures. Use of movie screenings, audio recordings and field trips were a significant part of the educational experience abroad. This was seen as a marked difference from the "blackboard teaching" of domestic universities.

•**Infrastructure:** Students noted marked differences in libraries of foreign and Indian universities. Differences existed in terms of timings (many foreign universities' libraries allowed students access even at late hours), the comparably well stocked shelves of foreign libraries, to the lack of restriction on the amount of books that could be borrowed and the period of time for which they would be allotted. Another difference was the accessibility of e-resources. Online research articles, journals and other material were available to all the students from the department's own website at all times in foreign universities.

•**Evaluation:** In foreign universities, evaluation was not centralised by the university, depended on the module and the professor and was not solely based on a single written examination.

Theme 3: Role of foreign professors

Most participants reported professors in foreign universities to be helpful. They tended to demonstrate patience if asked to speak slowly or repeat things. To counter language barriers, professors would make the effort to find English

versions of texts. One French university allowed foreign students to take their exam in English.

Participants mentioned that they were offered suggestions for assignments and extra classes to help them with difficult topics. Assistance for academics was also provided in the form of appointed mentors.

Theme 4: Peer Interactions

Having room-mates from different countries provided an opportunity for students to make friends with people from other communities. Language was an important consideration when it came to making friends. Several students faced problems in interacting with the locals initially, especially in white communities, but these faded with time.

Theme 5: Challenges

The interviews also specified certain challenges that participants faced during their time at foreign universities. Some respondents said they had trouble with new subjects because the course structure and writing styles varied. Some stated that there were a lot of expectations, and a lot of pressure on them. Writing and presentation styles were also initially difficult to adapt to. Even ways of citing research differed in the foreign universities.

Theme 6: Changed abilities and perspectives

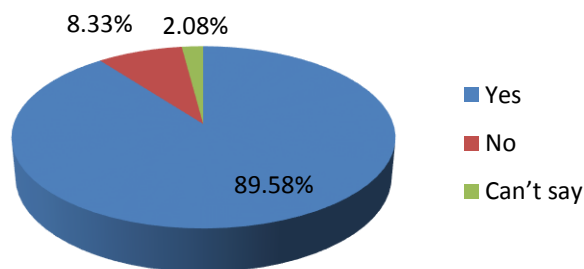
A majority of students expressed that they had evolved an independent, analytical and critical thinking style due to their exposure to foreign universities. The other positive outcomes mentioned were being more participative in class upon their return, respecting deadlines and learning to work within an inter-disciplinary framework. Instead of reproducing material from the internet or available sources, they engaged in original work, something that the domestic system had not encouraged. Honing of research skills, being more prepared for one's professional journey and developing self confidence was seen to other positive outcomes. The interviewees also viewed the Indian education system with a changed perspective.

In terms of advantages, the emphasis put on understanding theories within the Indian system was appreciated. The fact that hard work, learning of basic concepts and learning the English language were stressed in the Indian system was also appreciated.

Indian students having exposure to courses by foreign universities: Various reasons were identified for domestic students wanting to join a short term course with a foreign university,. The most common reason given by 64.58% participants was an interest in the course itself. Another commonly mentioned reason by 33.33% persons was the desire to have an international study experience. Some students (18.75%) also felt that the course would be good use of their time as it was happening during summer vacations. Expanding one's skill set, experiencing something new and improving one's résumé were other reasons mentioned by 12.5% respondents each.

Most respondents (89.58%) agreed that the teaching style of the foreign professors was different from the local instructors because of emphasis on group work, use of practical approaches, division of sessions into discussions, workshops and seminars and more interactive activities.

Graph 4. Teaching style of foreign teachers was different from domestic teachers



The majority (85.4%) felt that teaching styles of the foreign faculty enhanced their learning experience. Many (79.2%) also felt that these practices could be incorporated into the Indian education system. More participative discussions (70.83%), a more stimulated learning environment (50%), and knowledge of new vocational fields (41.66%) were also seen to be the appealing aspects of the course.

A majority (75%) felt that the summer school experience had impacted their academic skills, especially in research and writing. The other areas of impact identified were the increased ability for coping with heavy course material in a short period of time, ability to form arguments more effectively and learning citation methods.

Some challenges faced by the students were adapting to a new professor, the daily intensive reading lists and researching while writing academic papers. However, most students felt that these challenges had been overcome by the end of the semester.

Discussion

Overall the results indicated that domestic students and faculty hold positive attitudes towards foreign students in their classes. The advantages reported in this study such as diversity, a multiplicity in opinions and a more vibrant learning environment were in line with previous studies that have assessed the impact of international students. Bowry (2002) has stated that the new and different ways of thinking embodied by foreign students are acknowledged by domestic students and described by them as different "perspectives" and "points of view" "new approaches to issues" "expanded horizons" and "different ideas". Foreign students bring an international perspective to the classroom enriching the learning experience for fellow students (Trice, 2003) and domestic students widen their world view as a consequence of dealing with international students (Spencer-Rodgers & McGovern, 2002). According to Grayson (2008), international interaction provides not only a forum for students to encounter ideas and perceptions differing from their own but also an important way to foster students' development of more complex modes of intellectual and moral reasoning. In this study the faculty also felt that they were able to draw on foreign students' previous knowledge and experiences as a teaching-learning resource, and the presence of foreign students increased the depth of their lectures.

In terms of the benefit of increased knowledge of other cultures, much past research has shown that international students provide a unique social forum for enhancing students' understanding and appreciation of the richness of other cultures (Volet & Ang, 1998; Pittaway, et al, 1998).

This cultural competence can be very beneficial to domestic students and faculty as well. It has been found that universities often welcome foreign students “to provide international and cross-cultural perspectives for their students and to enhance their curricula” (Altbach and Knight, 2007). This seemed to be taking place according to the students and teachers who participated in the study. According to Calleja (2000) and Montgomery (2009), with increased cultural sensitivities and skills needed to work effectively with people from different backgrounds, domestic students could well have ‘a competitive advantage’ in the marketplace in an increasingly interconnected, globalized world.

Knowledge of foreign education systems emerged to be an important benefit in this study. This may be a unique finding of the study. It is possible that foreign students who come to Indian universities provide information on comparative models of education that are valued by domestic students. This may especially be true for students who come from education systems that differ quite significantly from the education system prevalent in India. Many Indian students seek to go abroad to pursue higher education. Facts and opinions obtained from international students may play an important role in the critical decisions that domestic students seek to make about their academics.

The finding that the majority of domestic students reported the degree of interaction with foreign students to be either ‘medium’ or ‘low’ inside as well as outside the classroom is unfortunate considering that interactions with international students have been found to be highly beneficial. Also, the sample did not report foreign students to be very active in the classroom. Lack of participation can foster stereotypes and negative views such as, international students being less knowledgeable and disinterested (Halic, Greenberg & Paulus, 2009). Our finding supports the idea that successful peer interaction within and outside the classroom cannot be assumed simply because students share a campus or a course (e.g. Anderson, 2008; Fincher et al, 2009). Neither can the same be assumed for teacher-student interaction. While strong evidence supports the

idea that the presence of foreign students on campuses has an enriching effect on the education of the domestic students in the host university (Holdaway, Bryan, & Allan, 1988n), the present student sample did not commonly endorse this. Heavy timetables and academic pressures particularly in colleges like Lady Shri Ram may leave domestic students or the teachers little time and energy to pursue interactions with new students. Researchers have found that institutional involvement can play an important role in creating spaces for such interactions (Nesdale & Todd, 2000) and this is something that must be looked into by host universities and colleges. Programs (with formal and informal structures) need to be developed for facilitating interaction of international students with domestic students and faculty for maximum mutual benefits. We shall come back to this point soon.

Students with weak English language skills have limited capacity to communicate with domestic students and have difficulty with tasks such as classroom presentations (Kim, 2011) which may make foreign students appear less participative. Even when a foreign student can speak the language they may need help in adapting to the way it is used domestically. If faculty members or students use metaphors or slang, they need to take time to explain what the metaphor or slang is since these are often cultural-centric (De Vita, 2000). In terms of language as a barrier, the role of the host institution once again becomes important in providing support for example in terms of English classes. Some other techniques to increase class participation of foreign students that may be adopted by teachers include (Bista, 2011) include “... e-mailing study questions beforehand, giving clear directions and asking specific questions or summarizing important points of the discussions” (Tatar, 2005); Svinivki and McKeachie (2011) recommend a silence for 5 to 30 seconds for better outcomes in discussion allowing students to think about the question asked; some studies have shown that instructors incorrectly misinterpret students’ silence as disengagement when using conventional understandings of silence but those silent students were engaging through other means such as paying attention, taking notes, or thinking about the material presented in class (Meyer & Hunt, 2004).

Participation is also affected by the transition from the home country. Differences between the local culture and a student's ethnicity may create culture shock and produce high levels of stress in foreign students (Tavakoli, Lumley, Hijazi, Slavin-Spenney, & Parris, 2009). Bista (2011) indicated that lack of understanding of a new academic culture, fear of making cultural mistakes, strong beliefs in traditional learning and dynamics of classroom requirements hamper classroom participation. Here it may be important to create spaces of interaction where domestic students and faculty can assist foreign students in the adjustment process by allaying their fears. Summers and Volet, (2008) suggest that host students can assist in familiarizing the international student with campus resources, assist in tutoring, and serve as a support for the international student. Peer-pairing has also been found to be effective in creating cultural awareness. Provided that language is reduced as a barrier, group work allows for varying viewpoints to be explored, facilitate active learning, and encourage dialogue between foreign and host students (Summers & Volet, 2008). However faculty members need to assure that the task chosen is well suited for a collaborative approach and should involve all group members (Carroll & Ryan, 2005). Students can be assigned tasks so that each learner has a specific focus (Arkoudis, 2006; De Vita, 2000). Only when team member participates can different perspectives and experiences emerge. Access to culturally sensitive counseling would be important as well to ensure that foreign students can share their difficulties. Increased participation as a result of all this would perhaps be the key to successful experiences for all people involved.

With respect to different learning styles of foreign students, past research has identified some helpful strategies, for example providing foreign students with an outline of the key aspects that will be covered during a lecture. This will serve as a guide for students and allow them to identify particular areas in which they need to focus their attention (Arkoudis, 2006). In terms of technology use, providing students with audio or video recordings, and other technology-based formats,

including online ones can play an important role. Professors must use a variety of assessment techniques in order to effectively assess students in a culturally diverse classroom. This could include providing students with a choice in assessment methods (Carroll & Ryan, 2005). Explicitly stating expectations with respect to an assignment, giving clear examples and adequate time to complete assignments based on what foreign students are habituated to can be beneficial to a student who is being exposed to this form of assessment for the first time (Arkoudis, 2006; Carroll & Ryan, 2005; Edmundson, 2007). It is however also essential that the institution provides further support structures behind teaching staff. It must be remembered that teachers can play a critical role in successful internationalisation efforts. Given that foreign students look for new support systems in their host countries, faculty members can provide that to the international students (Croese, 2011). Teachers must be willing to use various teaching methods to assist international students in becoming acclimated to their new cultural environment while also assisting host students in adapting to new cultures being introduced into the classroom. However teachers must know who they can refer to, or refer their students to, when issues arise beyond their teaching remit (Hyland, Trahar, Anderson & Dickens, 2008).

Some students felt concerned about the presence of foreign students as they were perceived as acquiring admission seats that could have been given to other meritorious domestic students. Although not anticipated as a disadvantage at the beginning of the study, we later included this option in the questionnaire based on the results of the pilot study. This may be particularly important for an educational system where seats in good colleges of the country tend to be extremely limited and the competition for gaining admission into well reputed institutions is extremely intense. In the long run the only way of addressing this issue would be the opening of a larger number of educational institutions, improving the infrastructure and capacity of existing institutions and ensuring quality education for all.

Findings from the other samples- Indian students who had studied abroad and those who had done short terms courses with foreign universities here provide important indications for improved efforts towards internationalisation and improving educational practices in domestic universities. Emphasis on group work, practical knowledge, greater reliance on workshops and seminars, promotion of critical and original thought, high quality infrastructure and additional assistance appear to be practices appreciated by Indian students who have had exposure to foreign education systems. These may be worthy additions to existing teaching practices here, particularly given that domestic faculty sees foreign students' different learning styles as challenges in teaching them. De Vita (2000) suggests that is important for faculty members make themselves available outside of the normal class time in order to provide opportunities for foreign students to interact with them. Small gestures can go a long way. For example allowing a foreign student to address the professor, based upon their cultural norms, can signify that the faculty member is approachable and open to learning about other cultures.

Successful attempts at internationalisation would also require work on aspects not addressed by this study. Research by the British Council identifies (2015) lack of funding, quality assurance mechanisms, mismatch in curricula and academic calendar, quality, availability of faculty, visa issues in inviting international faculty to India and a restrictive regulatory environment as major impediments to international collaborations. These must be tackled comprehensively. Nevertheless, Lambert and Usher (2013) in their report *Pros and Cons of Internationalisation: How Domestic Students Experience the Globalising Campus* argue that existing challenges should be not taken as an argument against internationalisation. Rather, it suggests that the values of internationalisation are still in many ways adopted only superficially and that not enough attention is being paid to the challenges. Addressing these problems shall be important to sustaining student support for internationalisation; without it, those who have negative experiences with internationalisation could turn into majorities and the resulting dissatisfaction could harm the entire

process.

Before concluding it must be acknowledged that the samples for this study were small, only from the National Capital Region and predominantly female. However it the study does open doors to understanding internationalisation processes in the country. Future research must include samples from other universities in India and include perspectives of policy makers and administrators given that there are many factors outside the classroom effect the internationalisation of education.

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Social Life of a Person with Disability

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Abstract

The study aims to explore the influence of disability on the social lives of college going students. The study argues that having a healthy social life is a basic right for a person with disability (PwD), and the need to capture the nuances of social lives of PwDs. The study used an online survey constructed by the researcher. The survey explored whether being a person with disability impacted social lives of the participants, how this impact differed across different disabilities alongside their concerns as a person with disability. The participants were 15 college going students with disabilities. Five with vision, hearing, and physical disabilities respectively integrated in the mainstream education system. The study found that participants felt that their social lives were impacted by their disability wherein persons with the all three forms of disabilities reported dissatisfaction with their current social scenario. They reported limited social interaction leading to a sense of exclusion. Participants also expressed the need to be seen as more than their disability.

INTRODUCTION:

Disability is a complex and multidimensional condition, and not just limited to being unable to hear, speak, see, or walk. It impacts each and every aspect of a person's life. According to the World Health Organization "disability is an umbrella term, covering impairments, activity limitations, and participation restrictions". "Impairment is a problem in body function or structure while an *activity limitation* is a difficulty encountered by an individual in executing a task or action and a *participation restriction* is a problem experienced by an individual in involvement in life situations. Thus disability is a complex phenomenon, reflecting an interaction between features of a person's body and features of the society in which he or she lives (Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (2012)

Often impairment is seen as the inability to engage in certain activities, thus restricting participation. However, this impairment does not necessarily have to result in disabilities and restrictions. More often than not, restrictions are a result of social stigma and the perceptions about persons with disabilities. Lack

of infrastructure and supportive legislations may also contribute to this discrimination. Persons with disability (PwDs) require inclusive planning, places and products to bridge the gap between impairment and ability.

According to a recent World Health Organization report (2011), more than a billion people or about 15% of the world's population lives with some kind of disability, and this number is increasing rapidly on account of increasing population, medical advances and changes in life expectancy. PwDs are the largest minority in the world.

According to census 2011, 2.21% of Indians suffers from some kind of disability, i.e. about 21million people. This unfortunately is just the tip of the iceberg because collecting data on disability is difficult, wherein people are not comfortable with reporting disability, considering data on disability was collected for the first time only in 2001. Though estimates vary, according to a World Bank report (2007) there is growing evidence that PwDs comprise of, about 4-8% of the Indian population (40 to 80 million people).

There are various kinds of disabilities that individuals may have. Each disability impacts different aspects of an individual's life. A 1998 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) study revealed that the global literacy rate for persons with disabilities is as low as 3%, being even lower (1%) among women. As per a study by India's National Centre for Promotion of Employment for Disabled People (1999), in spite of the "People with Disabilities" Act of 1995, which reserves for them 3 per cent of government jobs, of around 70 million people with disabilities in India, only 0.28% got employment in the private sector while 0.05% were employed in multinationals.

Hence, PwDs especially women are more vulnerable to social stigma and poverty. They are also more vulnerable to violence both from within the homes and in the society and are less likely to seek legal intervention. They share the disadvantages of all girls and women and are disproportionately victims of sexual violence and sexual harassment (Emmett & Alant (2006)).

Social aspects of living with disability

Not only are aspects such as education and employment affected, being disabled has various social implications as well. The various social aspects of living with disability are:

Acceptance: Disability has a devastating effect on the quality of life of PwDs. Negative social perceptions about PwDs extend to employment, educational attainment and marital and familial life (Hossain, Atkinson & Underwood, 2002). The negative impact of disability is greater for women and girl child. This lack of acceptance results in adverse effects such as social exclusion, lower self-esteem and confidence. It also impact the immediate family financially, socially and psychologically. (Emerson, 2003)

Assistance: Though people with disability face many problems, assistive aids can make their lives better. Assistance may range from developing proper infrastructure such as ramps to make buildings accessible for wheelchair users to providing proper hearing aids to a person with hearing impairment. Using aids helps persons with disabilities realize their true potential and be

accepted as able persons in society

Social perception and interaction: Acceptance and assistance play a major role in improving the social perception of PwDs. They help realize the capabilities of PwDs and focus on their abilities rather than disabilities. Though attitudes have been changing for the better in the past few years, research in India has consistently found substantial social marginalization of people with disabilities. Disability is often perceived as a punishment from God thus blaming the person for his/her disability (Rao, Sharmila & Rishita, 2002). This, in turn, increases hostility towards people with disability and hinders opportunities for healthy social interactions.

Additionally, efforts to improve lives of PwDs are directed towards providing basic healthcare, economic support and aid to cope with the disability. *But little is done to provide healthy social lives and improve the quality of life.*

Research on disability, even to this day, focuses on basic needs and medical care with recent emphasis on education and employment. Even the rights and provisions provided by the state such as the employment act (Rashtriya Bal Suraksha Yojna) emphasize more on health and issues related to dealing with the disability. This increases the focus on disability and what PwDs can and cannot do, reducing their worth to the activities they can and cannot perform.

There is limited work on how people's social lives are impacted by their disabilities. The rationale for this study stems from the need to understand the impact of disabilities on social lives of PwDs. The study focuses on the college going population, an age at which people seek social interactions as one of the source of self-identification and self-worth.

METHODOLOGY:

Objective of the study

The specific objectives of the study are:
To understand if being a PwD makes social interactions difficult

To explore how different disabilities impact social lives of people with different disabilities differently
 To understand the social determinants of disability
 To provide an argument to move beyond basic survival related rights for PwDs and look at healthy social lives as a basic right

Sample of the study

The study is a qualitative exploration of the social life of college students with disabilities. The sample of the study consisted of college going students in Delhi who are integrated into the common education system.

The specific disabilities that the research focused on are:

Physical Disability- It includes people with various types of physical disabilities including upper and/or lower limb disability, muscular dystrophy and problems in co-ordination. Disability in mobility can be present at birth or acquired with age. It could also be the impact of a disease or an accident. Participants in this category were born with physical disabilities.

Vision Disability- This includes a range of minor to major vision related disabilities that may be due to injury, medical conditions, or since birth. Participants in this category include both people who were born with the disabilities and those who acquired it due to non-injury related complications.

Hearing Disability- People suffering from hearing disabilities are those who are completely or partially deaf since birth or have become over a period of time. Participants in this category were born with hearing disabilities.

Method

The participants were contacted by the researcher and were requested to fill out an online survey created by the researcher. The survey explored the interests of the participants, focusing on whether their interests were impacted by their disabilities or

not. It also tried to gauge if social lives of the

participants were impacted by their disabilities, their level of comfort with non-disabled individuals, their opinions on provisions for a better life for PwDs and their general concerns as a PwD.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:

The responses of the participants showed a certain level of impact of their disability on their social lives. The themes arising out of their responses are discussed below-

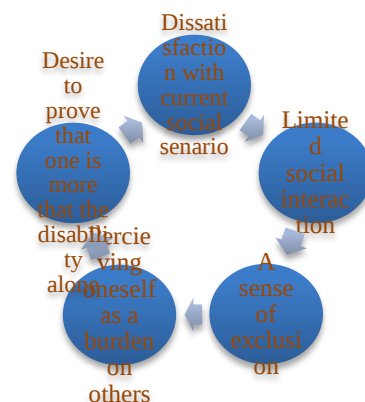


Figure 3.1: Majors themes of the study

Impact on interests of participants: Research shows that persons with visual disability, although shared the same interests as people without disability, were constrained in certain activities owing to their disability (Kjadka, Rayan, Margrain, Woodhouse, & Davies 2012). This trend was seen in the present research as well where participants felt restricted to engage in activities like going to the mall and meeting people for lunch/dinner. They preferred solitary activities like reading & using the Internet where their disability did not become a restriction. Further, research provides evidence that provision of opportunities for desirable leisure activities enable a better sense of self, experience power and control, and social justice (Cuthrell 2013). A similar impact was also seen on the interests of persons with physical disability.

Again, most of the participants preferred to read books and listen to music. Most of them felt restricted and mentioned limited instances of engaging in activities that required movement. Here it is important to understand that most of the restrictions felt by persons with physical disability can be addressed with proper infrastructure and aids. Research provides evidence that participation in individualized physical activities helps modify perceptions of the social self in terms of expanding social interactions and also initiating social activities (Blinde & McClung, 1997). The results in the case of persons with hearing impairment were found to be mixed. While some of them did mention going out for lunches and dinners, Again, most of the participants mentioned reading books, something that is not impacted by their disability.

Frequency of outings – Despite participants mostly doing things alone such as playing games and reading books, the frequency of their outings was interestingly moderate. The frequency generally ranged from twice to four times a month. The moderate frequency of outings may be a reflection of trying to include oneself in society. It clearly shows that persons with visual impairment are willing to socialize and interact with others as much as possible. This may stem from the fact that visually impaired in India all go to Nations Association for the Blind (NAB) for initial training and are well connected to each other. Additionally, most of the participants went out with friends. This further reflects their willingness to socialize. However, most research sites contradictory findings. Research shows that persons with visual disabilities preferred to interact with others with visual disabilities (Sacks, Wolfe, Tierney 1998). Research also provides evidence that adolescents with visual impairment less often had friends and dates with other young people, had difficulties with self-esteem, social skills, and loneliness, especially so among visually impaired girls. Just as in the case of non-disabled individuals, social interactions have been found to increase self-esteem among visually impaired as well (Komulainen, Aro, & Huurre, 1999).

Dissatisfaction with social life

The following key themes arise out of the responses of the participants when asked about their social lives

Level of satisfaction with current social scenario-

The participant's ratings of their social lives gave mixed results. While some participants were quite satisfied with their social lives others were not. However, it was interesting to find, that despite a high level of satisfaction with their social lives all the participants felt that their college lives were different as compared to that of their non-disabled counterparts. Persons with hearing disability are were found to be more satisfied with their social lives as compared to participants with other disabilities. They mentioned more outings with friends, majority of whom were non-disabled.

Sensitivity & difficulty in communication-

Communication barriers further make it difficult for PwDs to interact with others. There is a certain level of discomfort as others might be unsure about how to interact with PwDs- what to say/ what not to say. PwDs, especially people with hearing impairment, also find it hard to initiate conversations and talk to others. *This clearly depicts lack of opportunities to socialize and an implied exclusion from society.* Research has found that adolescents with visual impairments, especially those who were completely blind, had more difficulties in their relationships with friends (Haro & Hure 1998). The current study also reflects that persons with hearing impairment find it difficult to communicate and interact, especially in new surroundings. One of the participants stated that he felt uncomfortable during family gatherings because people do not try to include him in conversations because of his impairment.

The lack of social interaction also has adverse impacts on the self-confidence. Participants in the study reported the need to stop being shy and improve self-confidence.

Additionally, one participant mentioned that perceptions others have about him are really bad. Thus the two-way barrier of the perceptions between the disabled and non-disabled further aggravates the stigma, making social interactions more difficult.

Restrictions from parents- Parents tend to be more vigilant, protective and concerned about their children with disability because of the belief that

going out into the world may hurt their child. Further, parents of PwDs tend to give them the best of what they have knowing that PwDs have many limitations. However, this overindulgence may have negative impacts on the confidence as well as level of independence of PwDs.

Participants in the study also faced stricter curfews and restrictions on travel and recreation, ones that may be acceptable for a person without disabilities. Decisions about travel, recreation and outings are a matter of personal choice for people without disabilities. However, such decisions may be driven by the degree and severity of the disability for PwDs. Research has shown that PwDs engage in fewer activities outside their homes and engage in activities of lesser variety and tempo. (Brown & Gordon 1987). The whole idea of protection may become one of scrutiny for someone who wants to find his/her identity beyond that of being disabled.

A sense of exclusion: Often PwDs, especially physical disabilities tend to feel excluded from their social circles. Participants stated that they were not invited to outings or could not get to the venue because of inaccessible transport/ infrastructure. This may be due to the perception among the non-disabled that it would be difficult for disabled people to go out. This may be true, but this perception makes things worse because someone who might be able to go out is often not given the choice. How a disability impacts a person differs greatly. The individual should be given a chance to decide his or her limitations.

Perception of oneself as a burden on others_- PwDs may perceive themselves as a burden on others. This can be inferred from a statement made by one of the participants. She believed that others do not talk to her because they might have to help her. The idea that they have to ask for some kind of support or help may impact a disabled person's confidence in turn influencing their level of comfort during social interactions. This in turn may give peers/ non-disabled people the impression that the person does not want to interact or make the non-disabled people reluctant to interact themselves.

I am more than my disability: People tend to emphasize the activities that a PwD cannot engage in rather than numerous activities that they can do

despite their disability. PwDs are in no way looking for sympathy and pity. Participants reflect the importance of focusing on things that they can do. Highlighting this, a participant stated that, the focus is more on my inabilities rather than my abilities and that such a focus is detrimental to a person's self worth and confidence. Another participant stated that a disability is not a disability - it is just a missing part or function, one just needs to try and live like others without that part or function. One needs to emphasize on inclusivity and creating greater awareness about the rights of the disabled among the non-disabled population. This will make the non-disabled more aware and change their attitudes towards the disabled in society.

A sense of sufficiency – PwDs, just like everyone else, want to be independent and self-sufficient. However, more often than not people make it worse by showing pity and feeling bad for PwDs. Hence, there is a need to accept disability and be open to diversity. This is quite clear from a statement made by one of the participants "I strive to be a better person not only in terms of my disability but also in terms of overall development. I try and see things in a much positive vein." While another stated that he/she had no regrets about being disabled. Being self-sufficient also means being able to provide for oneself. Participants have expressed the desire to be employed. This clearly shows a desire to show the world that PwDs are not as different as they are made out to be and to be self-sufficient like everyone else.

Conclusion

The conclusions drawn from the study are as follows-

1. Improvements in infrastructure and aids to handle impairments and lead a productive life. Especially in a country like India most of the public places such as malls, restaurants even government offices lack the basic infrastructure for a persons with disabilities to find their way. The need of the hour is to develop the required infrastructure to make life better and more productive for PwDs.
2. Improvements in avenues for greater social interactions- Developing infrastructure and providing the required aids such as hearing or walking aids will also provide arenas for social interactions.

3. Research and policy attention needs to go beyond health and employment to deliberations on quality of life as a basic right for PwD. – Research and policy needs to be developed beyond just dealing with disability, keeping in mind that a good social life is also one of the basic rights of PwDs

Turning the attention to quality of life automatically ensures basic rights and moves the debate towards dignity, and equity in physical, social, and financial contribution.

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Stress Experienced by Working and Non-Working Mothers and their Perceived Relationship with their Younger Children

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ABSTRACT

This study compares the stress experienced by working and non-working mothers, as well as their perceptions of the relationship they share with their younger child. The relationship between mother's stress levels and perceptions of the mother- younger child relationship were also studied. The study followed a mixed methods approach. In the first phase which was quantitative, 65 working and 65 non-working mothers between the ages of 25-35 years with two children, were administered the Child-Parent Relationship Scale (Pianta, 1998) and the Perceived Stress Scale (Cohen, et al, 1983). In the second phase of the study, which was qualitative, 7 working and 7 non-working mothers from the larger sample were interviewed. Findings indicate that working mothers experienced higher levels of stress and more conflict in their relationship with their younger child. Stress levels of working mothers and conflicts in their mother- younger child relationship were positively correlated. Interviews indicated that working and non-working mothers used similar coping techniques. Non-working mothers perceived their younger child to be more dependent on them than did working mothers. No differences were found in mothers' perceptions of the positive aspects of their relationship with their younger child.

INTRODUCTION:

Families in India have traditionally displayed a preference for non-working brides. A woman's role as housewife is appreciated by heads of Indian families as a 'domesticated' woman is considered more virtuous than a 'working woman' (Kumar, Verghese & Kumar, 2005). However impressions of virtuosity have existed within spaces of gender inequality where men on account of their role as providers have enjoyed greater power than women. Bergmann (1981) suggests that to be a housewife is to be the member of a peculiar occupation considering that the duties performed, the form of pay and the physical hazards are extremely different from conditions found in other occupations. Feminists have pointed out that the work women do at home is often neither publicly nor privately acknowledged. Traditions are changing and women in urban India have begun to step out of their homes in greater numbers to pursue careers. This is a both a result of the changing perceptions about women's roles as well as the increased need to supplement household incomes in times of rising expenses. However

women who work outside the house are not relieved of their housework (Bhai, 2000) and one role that remains central to the lives of working and non-working married women is motherhood.

Singh (2011) notes that within Indian society, the mother-child relationship is considered supreme amongst all relationships. Becoming a mother gives a woman status and recognition in the family (Kakar, 1979) and women who cannot be mothers are often stigmatized (Saraswati & Dutta, 1988). Research has supported the significance of the maternal role in India. In a study on sex role attitudes of college students in three major universities in Southern India (Rao & Rao, 1984), men and women expressed the view that marriage is incomplete without children. Singh (2011) interviewed thirty mothers in the age group 18 to 35 years from rural and urban backgrounds to study the experience of motherhood amongst Indian women and found that motherhood was highly valued by all the interviewees with a strong sense of devotion and sacrifice expressed towards rearing children.

Mothering was characterized by holding the child as God-like, giving the mother—child relationship priority over the husband-wife relationship and complete involvement in the mother's role. The traditional expectations from mothers and the high value placed on their role within Indian culture are bound to conflict with their job role demands, especially considering that working women in India face several challenges. Unlike some Western countries India offers few options to women in terms of flexible working hours, part time work or working from home. Even big cities like New Delhi and Mumbai provide limited day care facilities for young children and often the services available are unsatisfactory. Moreover urban India is witnessing a transition from joint to nuclear family setups. This means that grandparents are not always available to look after children when women are away at work. Hence one of the central issues faced by women in urban India is the difficulties posed by reconciling demanding careers with their caring roles at home. Though working and managing the home at the same time may be challenging for women, most past research has shown that having a working mother is not detrimental to children's development (Ahmad, 2002; Juneja, 1979). Employed mothers, especially those with higher education, make special efforts to compensate for their absence (Hoffman, 1984) for example by cutting down on their sleeping and relaxing time more than they cut down on the time spent with the child (Hill and Stafford, 1979). Evidence also suggests that employed mothers use the time that they are with their children to do almost as much of certain types of child care as non-working mothers do. They prioritize active, engaged child care time over non-engaged supervisory time (Bittman et al, 2004).

While the impact of maternal work status on child development has been well documented, little research has compared how working and non-working mothers themselves perceive their relationships with their children to be like. For example there is not much existing literature on how a mother's work status affects the degree of conflict in the mother-child relationship. The literature that exists pertains to the adolescent age

group and indicates working mothers to have more disagreements with their adolescent sons and daughters than do non-working mothers (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Propper, 1972). The present study seeks to study this and other aspects of the mother-child relationship as perceived by working and non-working mothers who have young children. The focus in this study was on the mother's relationship with the younger of her two children as the younger child would be in greater need of the mother's assistance and hands-on care than the older child.

The second variable assessed in this study is the stress levels of working and non-working mothers. Previous research has indicated working women in India to be more stressed than non-working women (Aujla, Gill & Sandhu, 2004) and show higher levels of anxiety, guilt, and arousal (Sharma & Pandey, 1996). The need to compare the stress levels of working and non-working mothers arose from the fact that stress appears to affect the parent-child relationship adversely (Addis & Bernard, 2002; Dehle & Weiss, 2002). Elder, Nguyen and Capsi (1985) found that a parent's distress is related to harsh and punitive parenting. Vig and Jaswal (2008) examined the relationship between stress and the parent-child relationship amongst adolescents in Punjab and found that mothers who experienced lower stress showed significantly more accepting behavior of their sons as compared to mothers who experienced moderate levels of stress. Therefore this study also attempted to understand the nature of the relationship between mothers' stress levels and their perceptions of their relationship with their younger child. More specifically the objectives of the study were:

1. To compare working and non-working mothers' perceptions of their relationship with their younger child in terms of:
 - The amount of conflict seen to take place in the relationship
 - The amount of dependence the child is seen to have on his/her mother
 - The positive aspects of the mother-child relationship.

2. To compare the stress levels of working and non-working mothers.
3. To assess the nature and strength of the relationship between the stress levels of working and non-working mothers and their relationships with their younger child.

Sample

The present study followed a mixed methods approach and was conducted in two phases. The first phase was quantitative in nature during which data was collected through the administration of two questionnaires. The sample for this phase consisted of 130 mothers (65 working and 65 non-working women). All the participants were within the age group of 25-35 years (mean age of working mothers= 27.05 years; mean age of non-working mothers= 30.12 years). The working mothers were engaged in a variety of professions such as teaching, banking, nursing, event planning etc. The amount of time that the working mothers worked each week ranged from 30 to 60 hours. It was ensured that the working and non-working groups were matched on important demographic variables such as age, socio-economic status, place of residence, marital status, family structure and number of children. All the respondents belonged to the upper and upper middle income groups and were residents of Delhi and adjoining regions. They lived with their husbands and children in nuclear family set-ups. Only women with two children, with the younger child being between the ages of 3 and 8 years were included in the sample. The second phase of the study was qualitative in nature, during which data was collected through semi-structured interviews. 7 working and 7 nonworking women were selected from the sample recruited in the first phase. Women who had agreed to be interviewed during the conduction of the first phase were contacted and the first 7 who responded in each group were spoken with.

Measures

The two questionnaires administered to the respondents during the first phase of the study were,

•**Child Parent Relationship Scale (CPRS)** (Pianta, 1998) is a self-report instrument completed by mothers and fathers that assesses parents' perceptions of their relationships with their sons or daughters. The 30 items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale and the ratings can be summed into groups of items corresponding to conflicts, positive aspects of the relationship and dependence subscales. The three sub-scales have been defined by the authors as:

Conflict in the parent-child relationship: The degree to which a parent feels that his or her relationship with a particular child is characterized by negativity.

Positive Aspects of parent-child relationship: The degree to which a parent feels that his or her relationship with a particular child is characterized by positivity

Dependence in the parent-child relationship: The degree to which a parent feels that a child is dependent on him/her.

The authors calculated alpha reliabilities for each scale based on 714 subjects, ages 4.5 - 5.5 years. The coefficients reported were: conflict subscale ($\alpha=0.83$), positive aspects of the relationship subscale ($\alpha= 0.72$) and dependence subscale ($\alpha= 0.50$). The correlations between the three subscales are-Conflict with Positive, $r = -.16$; Conflict with Dependence, $r = .21$; Positive with Dependence, $r = .04$.

•**Perceived Stress Scale (PSS)** (Cohen, 1994) is a measure of the degree to which situations in one's life are appraised as stressful. It assesses the degree to which participants evaluate their lives as being stressful during the past month. Items are designed to tap how unpredictable, uncontrollable, and overloaded respondents find their lives.

The scale also includes a number of direct queries about current levels of experienced stress. It comprises of 14 questions with responses varying from 0 to 4 for each item and ranging from never, almost never, sometimes, fairly often and very often respectively on the basis of their occurrence during one month prior to the survey. The PSS has an internal consistency of 0.85 (Cronbach α coefficient) and test-retest reliability during a short retest interval (several days) of 0.85. (Shah, Hasan, Malik, & Sreeramareddy, 2010).

•**The Interview Schedule-** A semi-structured interview was used to obtain an in-depth view of the perspectives of the participants on the variables under investigation. The interview schedule was constructed to cover the following domains.

- ✓The amount of time spent with the younger child.
- ✓Impact of mother's work status on younger child's development
- ✓Conflicts with the younger child
- ✓Dependence of the younger child
- ✓Disciplinary strategies used with the younger child
- ✓Challenges and pleasures of motherhood.
- ✓Role of other family members in caring for the younger child.
- ✓Causes and effects of stress in the mother's life.
- ✓Means of managing stress

RESULTS:

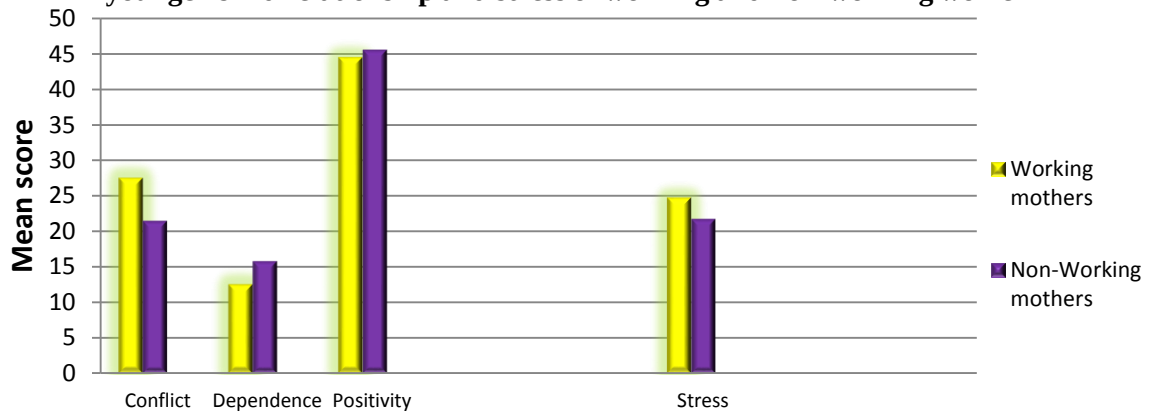
Questionnaire results: In case of the CPRS, 3 scores were obtained for each participant for each of the 3 subscales of the test i.e. Conflict, Positive aspects of the relationship and Dependence. Means and standard deviations for both questionnaires were calculated for each group. Thereafter, the t-test for independent samples was used to see if differences in scores of working and nonworking mothers were significantly different. Pearson's correlation was used to calculate the relationship between the two variables of the study.

Table 1: Comparison of perceived conflict, dependence, positivity in the mother-younger child relationship and stress of working and non-working women

Mother-younger Child Relationship		Working Mothers		Non-working Mothers		T-value	Df
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
		<i>Perceived Conflict</i>	27.53	6.78	21.53	7.28	4.86**
	<i>Perceived Dependence</i>	12.56	3.87	15.86	3.37	5.18**	
	<i>Perceived positivity</i>	44.50	4.09	45.6	2.68	1.81	
	<i>Stress levels</i>	24.75	5.46	21.81	6.38	2.81**	
**significant at 0.01 level of significance							

As seen in table 1 and figure1 (given below), the mean score and standard deviation for the conflict sub-scale of the CPRS were 27.53 and 6.78 for working mothers. The mean score and standard deviation for non-working mothers were 21.53 and 7.28. The difference in scores of the two groups was found to be statistically significant ($t=4.86$, $df=128$, $p<0.01$). The results indicate that working mothers perceived higher amounts of conflict to take place between them and their younger child as compared to non-working mothers.

Figure 1: Comparison of perceived conflict, dependence, positivity in the mother-younger child relationship and stress of working and non-working women



The mean and standard deviation for the dependence sub-scale of the CPRS were 12.56 and 3.87 for working mothers. The mean score and standard deviation were 15.86 and 3.37 for non-working mothers. The difference in scores of the two groups was found to be statistically significant ($t=5.18$, $df=128$, $p<0.01$). This means that non-working mothers perceived their child to be more dependent on them than working mothers.

The mean score and standard deviation for the positivity subscale of the CPRS were 44.50 and 4.09 for working women. The mean and standard deviation were 45.6 and 2.68 for non-working women. The difference in the scores of the two groups was found to be statistically insignificant ($t=1.81$, $df=128$, $p>0.05$).

The mean score and standard deviation for the scores on the Perceived Stress Scale were 24.75 and 5.46 for working mothers and 21.81 and 6.38 for non-working mothers respectively. The difference in the scores of the two groups was found to be statistically significant ($t=2.8$, $df=128$, $p<0.01$). Results indicate that working women experienced more stress than non-working women.

Table 2: Relationship between the stress levels of working mothers and three aspects of their relationship with younger child

Variable	Stress	Df
<i>Conflict in relationship</i>	0.28*	63
<i>Dependence</i>	0.12	
<i>Positivity</i>	-0.004	

***significant at 0.05 level of significance**

As seen in table 2 the relationship between stress levels of working mothers and conflict in the mother-child relationship was found to be positive and significant ($r_{63}=0.28$, $p<.05$). The relationship between stress and dependence was found to be positive although insignificant ($r_{63}=0.12$, $p>.05$) while the relationship between stress and positive aspects of the relationship was negative although insignificant ($r_{63}=-0.004$, $p>.05$).

Table 3- Relationship between the stress levels of non-working mothers and three aspects of their relationship with younger child

Variable	Stress	Df
<i>Conflict in relationship</i>	0.21	63
<i>Dependence</i>	0.05	
<i>Positivity</i>	-0.03	

As seen in table 3, the relationship between stress levels of non-working mothers and conflict in the mother-child relationship was found to be positive although insignificant ($r_{63}=0.21, p>.05$). The relationship between stress and dependence was found to be positive although insignificant ($r_{63}=0.05, p>.05$) while the relationship between stress levels of non-working mothers and the perceived levels of positivity in the relationship was found to be negative although insignificant ($r_{63}=-0.03, p>.05$).

Interview data: Thematic analysis was used to analyze the data collected through interviews. The themes that emerged are presented here.

Theme 1: Benefits and drawbacks of work status

Benefits accorded by work status. Both working and non-working mothers reported certain advantages of their work status for the development of their younger child. All the non-working mothers felt that the main benefit of their staying at home full time was that they could constantly be there for their younger children, care for them and devote their full time to them. One mother explained “My child gets constant attention and supervision from me. And I am there whenever (the children) need me, for whatever. They have never felt lonely, they have never come back from school without me opening the door for them, and they have never come back to an empty house”. Two non-working mothers felt that leaving their younger child and going to work could have made the child insecure. Most non-working mothers believed that had they been working, their relationship with their younger child would have

been different because they would be pre-occupied by both working and mothering their children at the same time. Some felt that staying at home had allowed them and their children to share a stronger emotional bond. One mother said “We share a very close and loving bond which I don’t think would be possible if I would have been working as I would not be getting adequate time to spend with her.”

Working mothers also identified certain benefits of their working for their younger child. Two types of benefits were repeatedly mentioned. One was that they felt their children were more independent and confident. One working mother mentioned “I think that (my working) has made them more self-reliant. They don’t have to rely on me for small-small things, they just do it themselves.” The other benefit was the additional income being earned by the working mothers. One respondent said “I think the benefit that my child gets is financial. Because I am working, my children get the best benefits, go to good schools and get the best facilities. I can also afford a good domestic help for my younger child.”

Drawbacks of work status. Four out of seven non-working mothers did not believe there to be any negative effects of them not working on the development of their child. Of the three that mentioned negative effects, two felt that their children were dependent on them as they were always around. One of them reported “*I think I give my children too much of my attention. Also I pamper them a lot, things have constantly been done for them, I think this has made them late in doing things on their own, I don’t think they are as independent in doing things on their own, they are also not very confident in taking their own decisions I think*”. One non-working mother identified the lack of additional income as a disadvantage. Three out of seven working mothers felt that there were no negative effects of their working on their children.

The remaining four mentioned the main negative effects to be the inability to spend enough time with their child, missing out on events with them and losing their patience with the children. One mother said "There are definitely negatives of working when you have two young children at home. Like, I can't be with them all the time. I think I miss out on a lot... like you know their friends birthday parties, the activities classes and all." Another mother said "At times I feel that I finish off my patience where I'm working and have very little left for my daughters, so that way I think it's bad." Two mothers felt that if they weren't working they could spend more time with their child, would understand them better and be closer to them. However five out of seven mothers believed that the relationship they shared with their younger child would not be different if they had not been working.

Thus many of the things that non-working mothers perceived as the benefits of their staying at home, were the things working mothers felt they were losing out on. On the other hand some of the things, working mothers perceived as the advantages of their work status, were the things certain non-working mothers considered disadvantageous.

Theme 2: Time spent with child

This theme looks at the amount and quality of time both groups of mothers reported spending with their younger child. A number of nonworking mothers felt that the time that they spent with their younger child was adequate. This was in contrast to the findings for the working mothers. None of the working mothers felt that they spent as much time with their children as they would have liked to. Three mothers explicitly stated that they wished they could spend more time with their children. When asked if she spent enough time with her younger child, one working mother said "No, not as much as I would want to...See, I come back home at 7-7:30. By that time my children have come back from their activity classes which they go to and are also tired like me. But I make it a point that

we can make it to dinner together since their father is mostly out on tours and isn't home every day." Another mother said that her work as an event manager sometimes kept her out of the house till late hours. She however added "...I do make sure to spend quality time with my children when I can."

When asked about what they did in the time that they spent with their child, most nonworking mothers mentioned a range of activities like playing games, feeding, bathing, going out to the park, getting homework done etc. Despite the paucity of time that working mothers faced, several of them also mentioned things like helping their children with their studies, playing with them and taking them to the park. Four working mothers reported talking to their children about how they spent their day, what school activities they engaged in and planning how they would spend the weekend together. One working mother expressed that talking to the children was a way of keeping a tab on their lives which was otherwise difficult due to her rigorous working schedule. The weekend seemed to be a time when the working mothers made up for the time they lost out with their children. One mother said "...on weekends and on holidays, I take them out to the mall, or their favorite eating joint, where we have a lot of fun together."

Theme 3: Conflicts and disciplining

This theme looks at the issues over which working and non-working mothers had conflicts with their children, the ways by which conflicts were resolved and the means adopted by the mothers for disciplining their children. Nonworking mothers said that the conflicts they had with their younger child mostly occurred over issues like homework, choice of dress and play timings. For example one mother said "...sometimes he won't agree to come home even if it's like seven (o'clock) or something.... I have to really pull him and drag him back home." One mother talked of her child's behaviour as an issue of conflict, for instance if the child started throwing a tantrum.

The reasons for conflict mentioned by working mothers were quite similar and consisted of homework, television timings, play timings etc. However two working mothers also had conflicts with their children over going out with them after coming back from work.

Five nonworking mothers mentioned handling situations of conflict or those that required disciplining with their younger children through reasoning and providing explanations. However two nonworking mothers also mentioned using shouting and physical punishment to get their child to understand the problem. The mothers felt that their disciplining strategies were mostly effective. They reported that although children would cry and sulk for a while, they would eventually understand. Working mothers on the other hand tended to mention only softer ways of handling conflict with their children and disciplining them like talking to the child or explaining the problem to the child. Although one mother spoke of being strict and another spoke of using a combination of the “soft and the hard approach” none of the working participants mentioned using physical punishment. In fact three of them said that they would often give into the demands of their children. This style was explained by one mother to be a result of the fact that she was very exhausted after work and that she spent very little time with her children. Another mother said “I come home late most days and I’m not in a condition to really scold or hit them”. Like the non-working mothers, the working mothers also reported their disciplining strategies to be effective. Most working mothers mentioned that their child’s reaction to disciplining was quite positive and the child would not cry or be angry.

Theme 4: Role of others in the child’s development

This theme looks at the part other people in and outside the family played in the growth of the younger child. All the non-working mothers said that their husbands helped with the children whenever they could. While some fathers were

engaged in the children’s lives on a daily basis, other fathers mainly helped when they were in town or on weekends. A major area of assistance by husbands emerged to be children’s homework and studies. Working mothers also perceived their husbands to be quite active in the rearing of children. The participants reported their husbands as helping them out in a variety of ways ranging from cooking for the family to helping the children in their studies. One participant said that her husband helped her when needed by coming back home early on days that she was busy. Another participant reported that she would go off to work early in the morning and it was her husband who woke up the younger child, dressed and fed her and dropped her off to the crèche before he went to office. Surprisingly only one working mother spoke about relying on her parents for child care at times when she as busy or there was an emergency. This may have been because the families studied were nuclear and not every child’s grandparents would have been nearby or always easily accessible. None of the mothers in either group reported their older child to engage actively in care taking of the younger child, possible because the older children themselves were not yet independent or responsible enough to take care of the younger child.

Nearly all working mothers reported having domestic help who took care of their younger child after the child came back from school. One working mother reported “My children usually stay with the maid. My maid is a full-time maid. She stays the whole day. They spend the whole day after school with her. In the evening she drops them off at art class”. Another working mother said “After he gets back, the maid looks after him. In the evening he goes to the park with the maid.” Most nonworking mothers said that they had a maid but not to look after their child which they did themselves. Some nonworking mothers also exhibited fear at keeping their child with the maid the whole day.

One of the non-working mothers said “On days when he is at home and I have to go out or something like that, either my husband is at home or I keep him with the neighbors. I don’t keep with him the maid ever. It’s scary, specially these days”. None of the working mothers reported being fearful of keeping their children with the maid.

Theme 5: Stress: Sources, effects and coping

Sources. All seven nonworking mothers mentioned at least one child related factor that stressed them out. The health and safety of the family emerged to be another major stressor. For instance, one mother said in explaining her stressors “the future of my kids, safety of my family and the health of my parents. Another mother said her greatest stressors were “My children’s studies, the household chores and my mother’s health”. The other things that stressed them out included shifting of home, rising prices, the maid etc. Hence most worries of non-working mothers revolved around family concerns and the domestic sphere. Four of the seven non-working mothers felt that their stress levels would have remained the same had they been working. One of them said “It wouldn’t matter if I was working or non-working. It’s me so the stress remains the same. I am a stressful person by nature.” Two non-working mothers said that it was they who had higher stress levels than working mothers because they were at home all day and had more time to think about their stressors and also that they could not escape at all from their sources of stress at home. One of these mothers said “ Since I’m constantly at home, these irritants are constantly there, in front of me.... and I can’t ignore them , but working mothers I think don’t come to know of so many little problems because the maid usually takes care of them.” Only one non-working mother felt that stress levels would be higher for working mothers.

All seven working mothers mentioned work as an important stressor in their lives. In addition another important stressor in their lives included the safety and security of their children, husbands and other family members. One working mother

said “Husband, daughters and my mother are the three important pillars of my life. Anything going wrong with them stresses me out and work obviously.” Several working mothers felt that their levels of stress could be attributed to the fact that they had to juggle two roles at the same time. One of them said “As I said being a mother and working both are huge tasks and if you’re doing both then, you get double the stress.”

Effects and coping methods. When they were asked what effects the stress had on them non-working mothers mentioned a variety of physiological and psychological reactions. Some nonworking mothers reported experiencing restlessness and insomnia. For example one mother said “(Stress) makes me irritative and restless. Once I start to think about these things, I can’t stop them. It gets frustrating.” Another participant said “I get sleepless nights, sometimes palpitations. When I get those I can’t sleep the whole night and then I’m irritable in the morning with my children and husband”. Coping methods generally used by nonworking mothers included praying, meditation, pranayama, long walks, playing with the children, talking to close friends or parents and distracting one’s self. Most mothers felt that they were quite adept at tackling their stress.

The effects of stress on working mothers included irritability, frustration, feeling hassled and overwhelmed. Compared to the non-working mothers who reported some physical effects of the stress, working mothers reported a higher number of psychological reactions. Working mothers used coping strategies that were quite similar to the non-working mothers. Five working mothers mentioned praying or belief in God as a way of combating stress. Other means were meditation, taking long walks, listening to music, reading and relying on their mother and other family members for support. Five of the mothers felt that they were quite competent at handling their stress.

DISCUSSION :

Working and non-working mothers were found to differ from each other with respect to two of the three dimensions of the mother-child relationship measured in this study. Researchers often hypothesize that because of the demands by the dual roles of mother and worker, the working mother in contrast to the non-working mother might be stricter and impose more conformity so as to ensure that the household can function smoothly in her absence (Yin, 1979). Yet like the results of the present study, Hoffman & Arbor (1999) found working mothers to be more likely to use an authoritative approach that relied on reason, rather than assertions of parental power. In an older study, Yin (1979) also found that working mothers who showed a positive attitude towards their employment engaged in milder disciplining with their children. Yin suggests that the discipline style of working mothers could be a way of compensating for their absence from home. This reasoning was also expressed by a few working mothers in the present study. Working mothers also reported having more independent children. They stated in their interviews that one of the advantages of their work status had been that their children were self-reliant, capable of making choices and more confident in their decisions. It has been suggested that the time mothers spend away from home provides children opportunities to explore the environment and to take independent decisions (Mathur & Misra, 1995). Employed mothers display and also provide greater independence to their children (Rai, 1979; Singh & Sharma, 1975). The encouragement of independence is consistent with the situational demands of the mother's dual role since it enables the family to function more efficiently in the mother's absence. Moreover it has been found that employed mothers are more likely as compared to non-working mothers to cite independence as a goal for their daughters and less likely to indicate the 'obedience' or 'to be feminine' as their goal (Hoffman, 1998). Hock (1978) has suggested that if mothers do not feel guilty about leaving their children behind while at work, the employment

status of mothers encourages self-sufficiency and independence in their children at an early age. Although all the working mothers in the study wanted to spend more time with their children, the majority did not express guilt at going for work. This may explain the greater self-sufficiency of the children. The non-working mothers in the present study said that they were always there for their children, could devote all their time to them and provide help whenever needed. While this was perceived as an advantage by these mothers, it may also explain why their children were more dependent.

Though working mothers experienced more stress than non-working mothers, they reported their relationships with their younger child to be as positive as did non-working mothers. Both sets of mothers said that they enjoyed motherhood. While positive relationships between stay-at-home mothers and their children may be seen as normative, the results of this study indicate that even when women work and juggle multiple roles, they continue to share good relationships with their children. In fact Hoffman and Youngblade (1999) found that working mothers are more affectionate with their offspring than those who do not have full-time jobs. In the present study responses on the questionnaire indicated that working as well as non-working mothers saw themselves as sharing an affectionate relationship with their children, felt in tune with their feelings and felt that their children shared their feelings with them. Similarly the interviews also showed that mothers felt watching their children grow, prosper and do well were things that gave them greatest pleasure. When asked who their youngest child was closest to in the family two out of seven working mothers mentioned themselves. The rest mentioned either their husbands, both their husbands and themselves or their older child. In the group of non-working mothers three mentioned that their children were closest to them. The rest mentioned others in the family. Hence in both groups, a similar proportion of mothers mentioned that their children were closest to them.

Certain factors may have contributed to the fact that even working mothers who are more stressed than non-working mothers and spend more time away from their children, felt they had a positive relationship with their children. Firstly even though the working mothers were away from their children for a certain part of the day, they did spend time with their children when they could and some compensated for lost time on weekends. This time together may have allowed working mothers to emotionally bond with the children. The results indicated that even on weekdays, working mothers were quite involved in the lives of their children. Some working mothers reported talking to their children about the events of the day. Another factor possibly contributing to the results was that like the non-working mothers, the working mothers found their husbands to be supportive in child-rearing. With husbands taking on some of the role of child care, the wives may have been able to enjoy their time with their children to a greater degree. For women spousal support is a key to the success of dual career families. Mothers who receive a great deal of positive spouse support feel positive about their lives. Husbands' contributions in household work have been positively linked to women's psychosocial health (Khawaja & Habib, 2007). Many working mothers who participated in the study also had the support of domestic helpers who looked after the children when the mother was away. Domestic help in caring for the children and in tackling household chores might have also allowed working mothers to get more time with their children and bond with them. In the case of working mothers what may also contribute to the perceived positive nature of the mother-child relationship may be that working mothers feel that even though they cannot spend as much time with their children, their financial contributions make it possible for them to provide good resources to the children (Malone, 2011) and also be role models for the children.

Findings from the first phase of the study indicated that the stress levels of working mothers were significantly higher than those of non-working mothers. The qualitative results in the study clearly indicated why this was the case.

When both sets of mothers were asked about their stressors, the non-working women mentioned mainly domestic matters. It has been suggested that non-working mothers may feel stressed due to lack of financial independence, the monotony of housework and isolation from social networks. However no such sources of stress were found for the non-working participants of this study. On the other hand working women mentioned both work as well as domestic matters, indicating that there was an additional major source of stress in their lives. Several working mothers felt that their levels of stress could also be attributed to the fact that they had to juggle two roles at the same time. The working mothers made a special effort to spend time with their children, ask them about their day, help them with their homework and so on. While being involved mothers may have enabled working women to bond well with their children, it appeared to create stress for them as well. Research has shown that the more role-juggling incidents that a woman experiences in a day, the better are her chances for having low satisfaction at the end of the day (Williams, Suls, Learner & Wan, 1991). Williams et al, (1991) found that mothers who had to juggle roles frequently in a day had greater negative feelings and less task enjoyment as well as increased stress due to task interruption.

Interestingly the non-working mothers who were interviewed by and large did not feel that their stress levels were lower than that of working mothers. Four of the seven non-working mothers felt that their stress levels would have remained the same had they been working while two others said that it was they who had higher stress levels than working mothers. The only significant association was found between the stress levels of working mothers and the amount of conflict with their younger child. This association was found to be positive in nature. Hence higher levels of stress amongst working mothers appear to be associated with higher levels of conflict. Past research has found maternal stress to be related to hostility, anger, irritability, mistrust of and alienation from one's children (O'Connor & McCartney, 2006).

Some working mothers explained that they would get tired after a long day's work and would get irritated if their children did not listen to them or insisted on going out. It is possible that the stress mothers felt from having to work and then come and manage the home taxed the mothers' resources and created more conflicts with their children. It may also be that working mothers have more conflicts with their children and this contributes to their stress levels. However in the interviews conducted, working mothers did not mention conflicts with their children to be a source of stress for them. Rather the stress appeared to come from work, juggling roles, traffic, worries about safety of children and family, their own safety and so on. The relationship between maternal stress and conflict with younger children was not found to be significant in the case of non-working mothers. That means that the level of stress being faced by non-working mothers did not appear to impact or be impacted by the conflicts with their children. Rather maternal stress in the case of non-working mothers appears to stem from sources other than conflict with the younger child. Non-working mothers mentioned their sources of stress to be children's studies and their future, health of the family, safety of the family and so on.

No significant relationships were found between maternal stress and the variables of the younger child's dependence and positive aspects of the mother-younger child relationship. The lack of relationship between maternal stress and the child's dependence shows that although the mothers perceived their younger children to need them, this did not contribute to their stress levels. In the case of working mothers this may have partly been because they saw their children as quite independent. Another reason could be that the age of the younger children was such that their dependence on the mother can be said to be expected and not something that is out of the ordinary. Hence even if the mothers found it challenging, it did not appear to stress them out. Also the lack of relationship between mother's stress levels and the positive aspects of their relationship with their child appears to indicate

that irrespective of the amount of stress mothers feel, they continue to enjoy certain aspects of their relationships with their children.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY:

The results of the study show that working mothers are significantly more stressed than non-working mothers. Considering that more and more women are taking up careers while rearing young children makes this a finding worth paying attention to. Despite major changes in the composition of the workforce over the last several decades, especially in the number and percentage of mothers of young children who are working, including the fact that a majority of mothers with children less than 1 year old work outside the home, there have been few societal attempts to realign the world of work with the realities of contemporary life. Flexible working hours, high quality day care centers, paternity leaves for child care, family-friendly policies as well as the possibility of working from home in both the public and private sector may help reduce the burden felt by working mothers. The study also indicated that the support of husbands makes the task of child rearing easier for working as well as non-working mothers and needs to be encouraged for the well-being of the modern nuclear family. Also although working mothers have more conflicts with their children, the fact that working and non-working mothers displayed no differences in the positive aspects of relationships with their younger children is encouraging. Thus women can work and continue to enjoy their relationship with their children.

The present study has certain limitations. Firstly, the sample size of the study was small and belonged to the Delhi and adjoining regions. Also the participants belonged to upper and upper middle income families and held college degrees. Hence the results of the study cannot be generalized to other groups such as families having low income and low education levels, without due consideration.

Also during the second phase of the study the participants were met with only once. A larger number of interviews over a long period of time might have brought out a richer picture of the mothers' lives and their relationships. Lastly, one cannot disregard the possibility that there may have been facets of their lives that the participants did not divulge. There may be more to their experiences that the present study captured since the nature of any person's experience is always in-part inaccessible to others.

The present study indicates some areas of future research. Similar studies in other regions of the country including those that are less cosmopolitan than Delhi, might be beneficial for broader understanding of the phenomenon. It may also be useful to conduct such studies with women living in joint families to see how varied family dynamics shape variables that have been studied here. The presence of grandparents and extended family members has been known to differentially effect children's development (Uhlenberg & Cheuk, 2010). It is also important to understand how it shapes working and non-working mothers' stress levels and maternal relationships. Similarly such studies can be conducted in single child families as well as those with more than two children. Families which cannot afford domestic help and where husbands do not engage in child care also need to be studied to understand the implications of such circumstances for women's well-being and their relationship with their child. This study used self-report measures to assess stress levels and mother-child relationships. For triangulation it may be beneficial to use other methods to study these topics. For example naturalistic observations of the mother-child interaction may be carried out to assess conflicts, child dependence and other aspects of the mother-child interaction through objective measures.

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Indigenous Psychology and Development

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to examine how the commonplace and academic use of indigenous or native psychology can lead to the **understanding of the local narratives of development**. It is a known fact that the modern notion of development is very much Eurocentric in nature. The World Bank notion of development has been inspired by the way the United States and the other Western countries perceive the underdeveloped countries. My paper will try to trace the linkages between the notions of development that are culturally and psychologically reproduced by the people of the Third World particularly South Asia. A comparative analysis of the existing notions of development will I hope highlight the ideological contradictions and antagonisms inherent in them. The use of indigenous psychology has been opted for in this paper because of the fact that it is the branch of psychology which will help us to understand what development means for a peasant in Honduras or for a woman weaver in Manipur. **The paper's humble endeavor would be to develop a comparative scheme of how people conceptualize development around the world** and with the help of a sociological perspective I will try to understand the role of social factors like that of culture, economy etc in shaping development thought. Positive structural changes and government policies should take into account the perspective of the underdeveloped populations who are the primary stakeholders of the development process.

Research Questions:

Q. How native or indigenous psychology can be used to understand the notions of development as perceived by the people of the third world or the underdeveloped world?

Q. Can an academic approach to study the native perspectives of development be formulated that **combines the use of both psychology and sociology**?

Keywords used:

Indigenous psychology, development, underdeveloped countries, Culture and Society

INDIGENOUS PSYCHOLOGY:

At the beginning of this paper I would like to pen down a word of caution. Being a student of Sociology Honors, I have referred to sociological facts and authors to support my arguments and research questions of this paper. This might give an impression to the reader that my paper is entirely sociological, devoid of any psychological insights. However Sociology as a discipline tends to study the entire **social structure** of a particular

society in its own cultural setting. This I believe is identical with the aims and objectives of native psychology which seeks to study the **psychological perspectives** of people also in their own cultural or indigenous settings. Hence I have tried to propose an academic approach that tends to understand the cultural, psychological and social perspectives of a person with the help of both psychology and sociology. The main essence of this approach would be to examine the **worldview** as well as the **psychological ideologies** of the indigenous people and what they exactly mean by development. The reader may also feel that through instances and examples I have demonized the West and victimized the West. However the dichotomy has been referred to highlight the way in which the psychologies of the people comprising the two areas differ from each other. **Both of them have their own distinctive and peculiar characteristics which native psychology does take into account and which is why it can be used to understand what development for different people is.**

After all it would be futile to assume that development as a thought process and theory is composed of the universal and uniform ideas that epitomize westernization and modernization. Instead I would propose that each of the ideas and perspectives of development that have evolved over the ages by not only primitive or ancient societies but also recently by the countries belonging to the third world. Authoritarian rule which curtails freedom of expression and people's opinion is replaced by an ardent desire who want not only economic growth but also wish to be a part of a robust political process that demands **democracy and human rights**.

As I research deep into understanding what actually is indigenous psychology, I am frequently encountered with the need of **modeling Western psychology on the ideals of culture, history and social values of the people who make up the indigenous or the native population belonging to the Asian, South American and Asian continents**. As pointed out by Kim and Berry (1993), "Indigenous Psychology means the scientific study of human behavior that is native; that is not transported from other regions and that is designed for its own people". Thus it is implied that indigenous or native psychology is a scientific discipline that applies to the study of a particular ethnic or cultural group as to how they perceive the world for developing a systematic body of psychological knowledge. **Yang (2000) defined indigenous psychology as "an evolving system of psychological knowledge based on scientific research that is sufficiently compatible with the studied phenomena and their ecological, economic, social, cultural, and historical contexts"**. He pointed out that all these definitions "express the same basic goal of developing a scientific knowledge system that effectively reflects, describes, explains, or understands the psychological and behavioral activities in their native contexts in terms of culturally relevant frames of reference and culturally derived categories and theories" (pp. 245-246).

Thus it can be proved that indigenous psychology can be very well used to understand what a peasant of Vidarbha or a coffee plantation worker of

Columbia perceives development to be. What the paper would suggest is that there is a need to *think on native lines* about development. Even though the age old ideology that countries like India are the lands of snake charmers and are in mysterious in nature, are beginning to wither away with the improvement in communication and also with the growth of **an indigenous academia**.

Introduction:

The so called natives or the non civilized populations of the world were first brought into the awareness of the civilized world through the various anthropological works undertaken in order to facilitate the British rule and establish communication with these natives. The work of Evans Pritchard among the Nuer of South Sudan which is one of the cardinal texts for sociology students was in fact sanctioned by the British administration existing in colonial Africa during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Anthropological studies around the world have unearthed various facts about primitive and inaccessible tribes. In India, M.N Srinivas conducted extensive fieldworks on the Coorgs of Mysore. However these studies were conducted out of sheer curiosity. This was not the era of development as it is today. However the anthropological studies did enable was to establish direct contact between the 'ruler and the ruled'. Harry Truman's Four Point speech in the year 1949 introduced the term "underdeveloped" in the academic and mainstream discourse. After the Second World War, the United States of America emerged as the sole hegemonic economic superpower. As a consequence of which the country and its allies sought to impose its ideologies of modernization and economic development on the newly independent 'underdeveloped' countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa. One of the primary intentions of the so called developed capitalist countries was to eliminate the immediate threat of communism which was apparent with the rise of the Soviet Union. Therefore for this 'noble and uplifting of the underdeveloped task' various international institutions like that of the World Bank and even the United Nations to a great extent became their agents. These agents pursued economic policies which reflected the interests of the developed world.

Thus the economically backward countries were all **clubbed together** under the title 'underdeveloped' irrespective of the different social and cultural needs of these countries. Thus the white **World Bank official was now the master and the rescuer of these backwards countries.**

The native conception of development- ignored:

One of the major faults in this conception of development was the fact that it does not take into account the **peculiarities of the social and cultural contexts of the countries** which required not only economic development but also human security. Rapid industrialization of the developing countries has reduced them to factories for the developed countries unbalancing their ecologies and environments alike. For instance, Andre Gunder Frank using his **metropolitan- satellite theory** critiques the modern day industrialization. Offering a neo Marxist critique, he says that indeed the developed nations (metropolitan) take away the economic surplus arising out of the production undertaken in the factories of the Underdeveloped countries (the satellite). As a consequence, the satellite countries become subjected to the whims and fancies of the developed countries leading to the birth of poverty and social backwardness in these countries. In Latin American especially in that of Spain, feudal estates known as the *Latifundia* where slavery and bonded labour strived in the medieval times still exists today as it provides cheap labour to the multinational factories of Spain.

The Marxist approach to understanding

The birth of the social science since the time of Marx has been closely associated with the study of industrialization as one of the primary indicators of development. With industrialization in Europe the birth of the two antagonistic classes of the owners and the workers was seen. There was tension between the two classes because the former would always pocket the surplus while the latter would be compelled to perform the same monotonous tasks day in and day out; whilst being deprived of the profits accruing out of the increased production of goods. This monotony would lead to his eventual alienation not only from his family but also from himself as he tries to earn his bread by absorbing himself in daily drudgery ignoring his creative pursuits. Marx's work even though Eurocentric has

indeed deep profound psychological implications. His principle of capitalistic accumulation is in direct opposition to the spirit of the protestant ethic in which Weber talks about how capitalism pursuing profits is seen as an end in itself. To interpret this from a **psychological perspective**, it can be argued that people may earn and accumulate more profits to indulge in more charity and pro social activities. I am talking about capitalism because it was the first ever major mode of production that could initiate economic development highlighting the role of industries as the centers of mass scale commercial production. However this was the case of European countries where industrial revolution led to mass production while ignore the humane aspect; sparking off revolutions in the future.

In the case of the Asiatic mode of production, it can well be argued that Marx generalized a lot about the consequences of the industrialization. He actually thought that the process of **industrialization** would bring about the **same effects** on all the countries across the world. This is where native psychology of India should have been taken into account. For instance, according to Marx it was due to imperialism and capitalism that the feudal and backward countries of Asia and Africa were made aware of their rampant poverty and hence it provided them an impetus to develop themselves economically.

The need for native or indigenous psychology felt: Marx's analysis about the Asiatic mode of production which he did without conducting any prior fieldwork in India or any other Asian countries tells us that he had not taken into account the various contingencies and peculiarities inherent in the production system of various countries. Even though he acknowledges the presence of the village economies which were economically self-sufficient, however he fails understand the **deindustrialization of the Indian handicraft industry** which was a direct outcome of the British economy's decision to grow commercial crops.

The crops which used to sustain the farmers were substituted under the British rule with crops that were grown for purely commercial purposes like that of cotton and indigo. This proved disastrous for areas which were very much drought prone in nature for instance in Bengal and Maharashtra.

However psychologically, it could well be argued that **ignoring the native psychology of the local agriculturists which were very much oriented towards subsistence crop was a flawed administrative tactic of the British administrators.** Had they incorporated the knowledge of the local administrators, the British would have been well acquainted with the characteristics and peculiarities of the Indian agricultural policies. The Bengal Famine of 1943 that stuck pre partition British India was a direct outcome of the wrong policies pursued by the British to rule not only India but also the entire Indian subcontinent.

The **native psychology** which advocates the study of the worldview or *Weltanschauung* of people in their particular **cultural setting** has to be studied in a different light especially in the era of development. The academic sphere, the economic planners of the West and the institutions of the so called liberalized and modernized west had made **long and unverified assumptions** about the post colonial societies and economies of the West. For too long there have been made wrong generalizations about what would be development for the newly independent countries. As I read through the various accounts of people writing about their native perspectives about development, I come to realize **how our own thoughts and ideologies about the development have been influenced by what the West thinks of development.** Even the United Nations and other so called non partisan world organizations have not been spared by these generalized assumptions. What the developed world has done is to construct **ideal types** of what would be development for the so called 'underdeveloped' economies of the world. Various authors like that of Andre Gunder Frank, Gustavo Esteva and Chandra Mohanty have all argued that there is a need to produce original and local narratives of development.

Native Psychology for Women:

For instance Mohanty, argues that women in the **West have formed definite images of their bodies** and even psychologically the suffragette and equality demanding woman have been more vocal about their rights as equal stakeholders of the

development of their society. Thus it was naturally thought that women too in the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa who were still battling with poverty would lead feminist movements demanding gender equality and emancipation.

However as seen in India, the role of women in society have always been restricted by the steel grip of patriarchy. Even though this has been very well recognized in the academic sphere, however in the policy and also at the **grassroots level** and at the **actual field level** there has been very **little academic work to understand the native psychology of women in the third world.** Women studies have been instrumental in pointing out to the fact that indeed women themselves have been playing an important role in **propagating patriarchy** by adopting hostile attitudes towards fellow women (Veena Das) (1979).

The feminist movements around the world are the best examples where we can examine the working of the native psychology of women. This is because women around the world face different problems (demands for pay hike and suffragettes) in comparison to the women of South Asia (alcoholism and dowry deaths). Even in India there has not been any united feminist movement as the idea of feminism is restricted to the academic and elite sections of women who could organize themselves but unfortunately could not identify themselves with the needs and preferences of the grassroots rural woman. The latter are left to be helped by the NGOs and INGOs working at the rural level or in the slums. The white empowered woman was seen as the rescuer of the women in burkha and the women working in the brick mills. What the white empowered women failed to recognize was the fact that the yellow, brown and black woman was different. She is a product of a completely different cultural and social setting. In India itself where there are inherent **class differences**, a woman belonging to a family of the Tata or Birlas cannot be expected to understand the pain or suffering endured by a woman living in Dharavi who might be harassed everyday by men on her way to work or who might be forced to share a washroom with hundreds of other people.

The main question is what exactly goes into the making of the psychology of these women who have to face different obstacles in different social settings and still cope with the new challenges that development as a new socio-economic phenomena tends to throw at them? Let me quote the Narmada Bachao Andolan that sought to 'develop India' by building the Sardar Sarovar Dam on the river Narmada. **This is a classic example where the World Bank backed project failed to take into account the ill effects of development ignoring the native perceptions of development.** The submersion of the villages around the river Narmada is a direct testimony of this fact.

Native psychology would have taken care of the fact that do women and men in the remotest parts of a country like do care for their environment and as yet desire development. Therefore what is required is a **strong collective consciousness or cultural mindedness** through which non Western psychologists and sociologists would be able to take into account the cultural factors of their own societies in their research rather than ignoring them. This is obvious in the various policies adopted by the Indian government post independence.

The Case of India- Native Psychology:

Reiterating the need to understand the psychology of the indigenous and native populations by trying to examine their world view, I would like to highlight here the policies adopted by the Indian government in post independence India. In India after independence, it was seen that a lot of emphasis was placed on rapid industrialization. While ignoring the fact that majority of the population still lived in the villages and depended on agriculture for their livelihoods. According to Jonathan Barry, a study on Satnami laborers of the BHEL industry tells us that **psychologically** farmers were not really prepared to work in the industry because they were not really positive about employment in industries which required a lot of **technical education**.

In the 1960s, the **Green Revolution** was started to 'develop' the agricultural sector of the country and to make sure its economic benefits percolate down to the **small peasants**. This was supposed to be achieved by the introduction of the **High Yield Variety seeds** which was on the contrary **accessible**

financially to the rich and upper class farmers only. The poor farmers who needed the inputs to enrich their production could not avail these facilities due to lack of financial assistance. For the small peasant the **lack of state assistance** and a proper support system to help them and assist in taking agricultural loans were completely lacking. The revolution only strengthened and empowered the already affluent capitalist farmers in rain fed areas. If the policymakers would have tried to conduct **detailed fieldworks** and tried to understand the needs and perspectives of the small peasants, then the situation would have been different. One of the important fieldworks that should have been conducted before the introduction of the HYV seeds was the **credit taking capacity** of small peasants. This would have reduced the burden on the small peasants.

The trickle-down effect evidently did not work in the Indian agrarian sector. **The examination of the native psyche post the green revolution reveals disastrous effects on the drought prone areas where farmer suicides became a daily affair.**

I would like to quote Peter Berger over here who argued that **development implies the sacrifice of the living standards of the present generation to bring about a future utopia.** This is indeed true. We cannot expect the interests of the aboriginal and the indigenous population of the third world to be sacrificed at the altar of development or to be compromised so that they can function as the satellite of the First World. The native psychology of the people studied in a particular cultural setting has to be taken into account. The deforestation of the Amazon Forests annually have threatened the original habitat of the **indigenous Peruvian people** as they do not formally hold ownership titles over the forest. (Simon, 2004, New York Times)

The beginning of the need for native psychology:

Thus while economic development in India was thought to be a direct product of industrialization; it was also thought that the economic growth development would percolate down to all sections of the Indian society. However on the contrary it led to psychological and social alienation of a group of people who could not reap benefits of this economic transformation.

This is why Ramachandra Guha in his book *Sociology and the Dilemmas of Development* says that development often challenges the status quo of the existing society. He says that, "As a process of directed social change, development implies the **radical restructuring** of people's lives and livelihood patterns of a million people. At the everyday level, the application of **modern science and technology** alter economic and social life". Guha's summing up of what exactly development is true to a great extent for the failed experiment of green revolution.

There are people trying to survive at the **periphery** of the country's economy who could not benefit from the country's capitalist policies. The people living in the slums or the people who operate outside the **country's legal system**- were the ones who were alienated from the so called benefits of development.

The Naxalite movement of the 1960s can be in fact proclaimed a consequence of this alienation. According to Nandan Nilekani (Imagining India-The Idea of a Renewed Nation) (2009), the country right now at this stage is experiencing a **huge demographic dividend** where the **youth occupy a huge proportion of the population**. This is a phenomenon which is not witnessed in the developed countries. However the potential of the youth in India especially remains untapped as educational opportunities and employment opportunities do not reach every one of them. This leads to terrorism and gives birth to slums which become the hotbed of criminal activities.

Native or indigenous psychology will help development theorists to be able to deal with the rationale behind the rise of the drug wars in Mexico and also provide a framework to deal with problems of gender injustice, fight for indigenous resources and also the rise of the radical left in countries.

Various critiques like Amartya Sen have critiqued the obsession of economic growth as the only important indicator of development. **Human freedom, human rights, political participation and gender equality** some of the non economic indicators were also highlighted as important components of development.

In fact the effort to devise a **global happiness indicator** by Mahbub Ul Haq, the United Nations and other international organizations was also an endeavor to counter the obsession with economic growth as the sole indicator of development.

In his book *Development as Freedom* (1999), tells us that countries like Sri Lanka, China or even Kerala had reduced their mortality rates even without being economic superpowers. Thus the overall notion of this paper would be to convey the message that **economic growth is means** to development and not the ultimate **end**. To be more encompassing, what indigenous development can do is to make clear how the non economic indicators of development like that of health can be made an indispensable component of development.

CONCLUSION: The Way Forward for Indigenous Psychology and Sociology

The reader should not be of the impression that I severely detest the idea of development today. I know that for a lot of underdeveloped countries it has meant economic growth and technological advancement. However I am critiquing it for sure. I am critiquing it because I know that the cultural and social notions of people for whom development is indeed indispensable for economic and social upward mobility have been ignored. Everything is just too westernized and rest on generalizations which can be true only for European or American societies. The collective consciousness mentioned above is yet to be activated.

Owing to globalization, it has been seen that the personal problems of the individual have now transcended to become a part of a global milieu.

As factories of production of big fashion houses like that of Nike and Adidas close down in China, lose of cheap employment and the repercussions of expensive costs of production are affecting huge production houses that have their headquarters in the West. Carbon emissions of China have been estimated to cause global climate effects that have forced countries having diverse ideologies on climate change. **With the emergence of the Islamic State as an overarching anti state entity various countries have united with each other irrespective of their differences and divergences in their respective foreign policies.**

C. W Mills said that it is important to make use of one's own **sociological imagination**. This imagination would help individuals to make use of their **commonsensical knowledge which would enable them to grasp the relationship between their own history and biography within their respective societies**. This opens up new avenues for native psychology in which indigenous people can academically frame histories of their own societies from their individual perspectives instead of the other white academic authors writing on the behalf of the black and the yellow people.

As mentioned above one of the research questions is if there can be a combination of the disciplines of Sociology and Indigenous Psychology to study the native notions of development. For this there is a need to **explore the avenues of academic collaborations of sociologists and psychologists**. Even though non Western psychologists may embark on a mission to De-westernize indigenous psychology, however there is one problem over here. The methodologies and tools undertaken to research into indigenous psychologies would be **again based and modeled on the principles of**

Western psychology. There cannot be a total remodeling of the basics of psychology which had its birth in the West. This is where Sociology can come in. Sociologists work in the policy making department and can help analysis what development means in different societies. There is a need to look beyond

This is where **diversity** will come in which is the correct and real essence of development studies today and which will be better understood with the help of sociology and native psychology. This paper was an attempt to understand what development means in different **socio-cultural settings** and how the two academic disciplines may be used to understand development and which I hope will bring about positive implications in the policymaking department.

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Bride and Prejudice: Does the Skin-Colour Matter in Arranged Indian Marriages?

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ABSTRACT

PURPOSE

Underlying the growing popularity of skin-lightening or “fairness” creams and cosmetics in India is one of the most baseless biases experienced and practiced by Indians. The bias can be summarized as ‘*fair is lovely and dark is ugly*’. Yet, the over-riding importance of fairness especially in context of marriage has been largely unaddressed. This study examined the influence of skin-colour on preference for potential marriage partner.

METHOD

A 2 X 2 (gender X skin colour) between group experimental design was used. Mothers (N=108) of individuals of marriageable age group (24-30 years) were presented with an option of 5 resumes containing education and work information. All the resumes were judged to be highly competent. The participants were shown resume of either males or females depending on whether they had a son or a daughter. Once a resume was chosen, picture of highly attractive fair girl/boy was shown or highly attractive dark girl/boy was shown. The light-skinned and dark-skinned picture was of the same person, except their skin tones were manipulated with the use of computer software. Participants were then asked to rate how strongly would they recommend the girl/boy as potential bride/groom for their children.

RESULTS

As expected fair-skinned highly attractive people received higher ratings than dark-skinned highly attractive people. However, contrary to our expectations, ratings received for dark-skinned woman were not significantly greater than the ratings received for dark-skinned man.

CONCLUSION

The study found that skin-colour plays a very important role in increasing or decreasing the marriage prospects of an individual in our society. Even a highly competent and attractive individual is likely to suffer on account of dark skin in context of matrimony.

INTRODUCTION:

I look to a day when people will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

-Martin Luther King, Jr.

A typical advertisement for a fairness cream begins with the problems of a dark skinned woman. We learn that a major source of distress for her and her family is her persistent inability to find a suitable groom. With sad facial expressions and poor body posture, she is portrayed as an under-confident and insecure person, until someone suggests the use of a

fairness cream. The advertisement then shows us her radical transformation; not only does she become several shades lighter, her entire personality undergoes a drastic change. She emerges as a successful woman, confident and self-assured because of her ‘whiteness’. The advertisement ends with her clinching a desirable marriage proposal; the camera zooms in on her fair and happy face. The implied message is ‘fair is lovely and dark is ugly.’ The fairness cosmetic industry generates approximately 675 crore Rs. each year and is growing at a rate of 25% (Picton, 2013). Underlying the growing popularity of skin-lightening or “fairness

” creams and cosmetics in India is one of the most baseless biases practiced and experienced by us. An industry that began selling fairness creams exclusively for women, now has a lot to offer for men as well. Today in the market, there are fairness creams, face washes, and makeup available for both genders. *Fair & Lovely* has found its counterpart in *Fair & Handsome*. These skin-lightening cosmetics in most cases promise to protect against the harmful and darkening UV rays of the sun, reduce the melanin secretion, thus revealing more “beautiful” skin that is several shades lighter than the original skin colour. Most advertisements carry an implicit message that darkness is the root of all women’s (and now men’s) problems in life, and skin lightening is the key to success in all spheres of life. Additionally, one can now find means to lighten each and every part of their body. The latest addition to the list is whitening creams for one’s private areas.

Colorism, or skin color stratification, is a process that privileges light-skinned people over dark in areas such as income, education, housing, and the marriage market (Hunter, 2007). In context of race, researchers have found that light-skinned people earn more money, complete more years of schooling, live in better neighborhoods, and marry higher-status people than darker-skinned people of the same race or ethnicity (Murguia & Telles 1996; Rondilla & Spickard 2007). Although, studies examining colourism have restricted their research to African American individuals, there is growing evidence for an overwhelming preference for fair skin over dark skin especially in context of arranged marriages in India. Often implicitly and at times explicitly, individuals are judged on the basis of colour of their skin, with a preference for light skinned people. “Looking for a slim, homely, and ‘fair’ girl for our son” is a common feature in matrimonial advertisements across newspapers and websites. While tall, ‘dark’, and handsome have been popular traits in a man, a survey in 2012 by the matrimonial website *jeevansathi.com*, found that the bias exists across genders. It reported that 71% women prefer fair men when it comes to marriage (Rodrigues, 2015). The findings are not surprising since fair skin has been commonly associated with beauty (Badrudroja, 2005; Jha & Adelman, 2009),

physical attractiveness (Frisby, 2006), as well as health and fertility (Swami, Furnham & Joshi, 2008).

While dark skin is perceived to be disadvantageous for both men and women, studies have reported that Black women seem to suffer from “double jeopardy” (Beal, 1970). In workplace settings, dark-skinned women receive more rejections than equally qualified dark-skinned men (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). In support, Jha and Adleman (2009) analyzed profiles and preferences of brides and grooms and coded success story wedding photos posted on four Indian matrimonial websites. They found an overwhelming bias among males for skin-colour fairer than themselves. Males were also more likely than females to state a preference for skin color in their prospective brides, and to use qualitative words like beautiful and lovely to describe their preferred match. With respect to the success story wedding photos, most photos had fairer brides than grooms whereas dark women were almost non-existent in these success stories. A qualitative study by Bakshi and Baker (2011) conducted on British Indian men and women found that internalization of Indian body ideals (including fair skin and slimness) were linked to finding a suitable life partner for women, and this pressure was largely perceived to be influenced by maternal encouragement and the media. This is not surprising, as physical attractiveness has long been considered the benchmark for evaluating the worth of a woman across cultures.

Preference for fair-skinned partner for sons/daughters is an expectation that is often explicitly and implicitly communicated by many parents. However, this over-riding importance of fairness especially in context of marriage has been largely unaddressed. Thus, the primary purpose of the study was to examine the presence of, if any, preference of fair skin over dark skin colour in context of matrimony. It was hypothesized that: (1) photograph of dark skinned individual will receive lower ratings than equally attractive and qualified fair skinned individual and, (2) photograph of dark skinned woman will receive lower ratings than dark skinned men.

METHOD:

Participants

Urban mothers (N=108) of individuals of marriageable age group (24-30 years) from New Delhi and NCR were selected for the present study. The demographic details of the participants have been provided in Table 1.

Procedure

A 2 X 2 (gender X skin colour) between group experimental design was used. The participants were presented with an option of 8 resumes containing education and work information. The participants were shown resume of either males or females depending on whether they had a son or a daughter. Once a resume was chosen, picture of highly attractive fair girl/boy was shown or highly attractive dark girl/boy was shown. The light-skinned and dark-skinned picture was of the same person, except their skin tones were manipulated with the use of computer software. Participants were asked: (1) to rate the competency of the resume selected by them on a rating scale of 1 to 7 (highly incompetent to highly competent) and (2) to rate how strongly they would recommend the girl/boy as potential bride/groom for their children on a rating scale of 1 to 7 (strongly NOT recommend to strongly recommend).

Informed consent was taken from the participants and confidentiality was ensured to all. At the end of the study, all participants were debriefed regarding the true nature of the study.

A pilot study was conducted previously for the résumés and pictures used in the study proper. First, for the pictures, 12 passport size pictures each of males and females judged to be physically attractive and having fair skin colour were selected. Ten mothers of children of marriageable age were asked to rate the perceived attractiveness and the perceived skin colour of the pictures of opposite sex using a 7-point Likert-type rating scales ranging from very unattractive (1) to very attractive (7) and very dark to (1) to very fair (7) respectively. Top rated picture for attractiveness and skin colour (fair) was selected for both the genders. The male and female photographs were then turned dark with the help of computer software and were rated by the same sample for the skin colour. The photographs

were then rated to ensure they were significantly perceived as dark. This pre-rating was done to ensure that the pictures selected were perceived as highly attractive and the skin colour was judged to be highly fair/dark.

The same pilot sample (mothers) as the one used for the selection of photographs, also independently rated the competency levels of 8 resumes for males and females (regarding perceived educational standards, work experience, and overall competency) of the applicant, based on the résumé. Apart from these, 3 HR professionals also rated the resumes for their competency. Pilot study results found that the resumes received high ratings for competency by mothers and HR professions. This was done to ensure that the resumes used in the primary study were perceived as highly competent.

Statistical Analysis

First, preliminary information regarding, age, education, and SES were compared for the participants in the fair and dark conditions to make sure that there were no significant differences across the two conditions. Second, descriptive statistics were obtained noting means and standard deviations for the dependent variable. Finally, a 2 (gender) X 2 (skin colour) between group ANOVA was computed to assess the likelihood for recommendation of the girl/boy as potential bride/groom for their children.

RESULT:

Demographic characteristics of the participants have been provided in Table 1. As can be seen, the participants two treatment conditions (fair and dark) were matched on the following self-reported variables: 1) age, 2) education, and 3) SES. An effort was made to minimize the influence of these variables. As can be seen in Table 1, independent *t* test revealed no significant difference in the participants of the groups on the variables age, education, and SES.

Competency ratings for resume selected by participants have been presented in Table 2. As can be seen, the resumes received high ratings for competency from the participants in all conditions.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Participants Exposed to Fair and Dark Conditions

	Fair		Dark		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	(N=55)		(N=53)			
	M	SD	M	SD		
Age (in years)	50.0	8.26	51.	6.18	0.8	.37
	4		28		9	8
Educational	1.73	0.71	1.5	0.69	0.6	.55
Qualifications			8		2	0
SES	2.51	0.66	2.4	0.61	1.0	.29
			3		6	2

Note. Coding for Educational qualifications: 1= graduation, 2= post-graduation, 3=higher studies; SES= 1=lower middle, 2= middle, 3= upper middle, 4= upper class

Table 2

Competency Ratings for Resume Selected by participants

Gender	Skin Colour	N	Mean	SD
Male	Fair	29	5.79	1.916
	Dark	28	5.79	1.771
Female	Fair	26	6.38	0.571
	Dark	25	6.36	.0810

Note. Gender of the photograph shown

Figure 1. Recommendation ratings for males and females based on their skin Colour

Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics for ANOVA analysis for the dependent variable recommendation ratings. It was expected that fair skin photographs would receive significantly higher ratings for recommendation (i.e., recommendation for suitability as life partners for their sons/daughters) than would darker skin photographs (Hypothesis 1). Consistent with our hypothesis, the ANOVA results (Table 4) for recommendation

of skin colour with a large effect size $F(1, 104) = 32.21, p = .000, \eta^2 = .236$. There was no gender effect, i.e. there was no significant difference in the ratings given to the male photograph and female photograph. It was also expected that, the photograph of dark skinned woman would receive lower ratings than the photograph of man with dark colored skin (Hypothesis 2). Contrary to our hypothesis, skin colour by time was not significant, $F(1, 108) = 0.019, p = .890, \eta^2 = .00$ implying that the pattern of ratings did not differ according to whether the participants were males or females. That is, dark photograph of the highly attractive and competent woman did not receive significantly lower ratings than the photograph of a highly attractive and competent dark man.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for ANOVA Analysis for the Dependent Variable Recommendation Ratings

Gender	Skin Colour	N	M	SD
Male	Fair	29	5.48	1.05
	Dark	28	4.11	1.57
	Fair	26	5.88	1.71
	Dark	25	4.44	1.60
Female	Fair	29	5.48	1.05
	Dark	28	4.11	1.57
	Fair	26	5.88	1.71
	Dark	25	4.44	1.60

Note. Gender of the photograph shown

Table 4

Time x Group Factorial Analysis for Perceived Competence of Resumes

Source	df	F	p	η^2
Gender	1	2.1	.14	.02
	9	2	1	

Skin Colour	1	32.	.00	.23
	21	0**	6	
		*		
Gender X Skin Colour	1	.01	.89	.00
	9	0	0	

Note. *** $p < 0.001$

DISCUSSION:

This study sought to shed light on the area of skin-colour bias in context of arranged Indian marriages. Results of the study indicate that there appears to be a skin-colour preference with regard to making decisions about the suitability of an individual as a potential partner. Given that the study was manipulated in such a way that the influence of the

two other important variables, namely, attractiveness and competency were controlled in a manner to minimize their influence; the significant mean differences in ratings can only be attributed to the skin-colour variation. Individuals perceived as highly competent but dark-skinned are likely to be rated lower than their highly competent light-skinned counterparts. The findings of the study establish the presence of colourism in context of matrimony. Sadly, these findings are not terribly shocking, but are in fact in line with our expectations.

Although there is plenty of work on colourism in the United States, there is very little work to explain the historical origins of skin-colour discrimination in India. Parmeshwaran and Carodoza (2009) in their article titled 'Melanin on the Margins' discuss some possible reasons for this bias. They explain that colour of the skin is related to social hierarchy in India, since fair skin is often considered to be a mark of high class/caste. First, preference for light over dark skin can be traced to lasting impact of British imperialism. The racist construction of 'dark native' as barbaric and savage seems to have become a part of our unconscious and is often projected as strong dislike for the 'dark other'. Going further back in time, fair skin is considered to be a link to the Aryan ancestry, the superior, strong, and more civilized tribe from central Asia that invaded India around 1500 BC. Finally, the caste system also called *varna* (literally means colour), also accounts for the perceived superiority of fair skin over dark. Owing to the association of fairer skin with upper caste and darker skin with lower castes, skin colour came to signify the social position of an individual in our society.

Turning to our second hypothesis, even though we found that fair skin was preferred over dark skin, we did not find evidence for 'double jeopardy' i.e. dark-skinned woman was not found to be in a more disadvantaged position than dark-skinned man. This is a surprising finding since studies have found that women are judged more harshly for darker colour of skin than are men (Jha & Adleman, 2009; Thomas & Harrison, 2009; Bakshi & Baker, 2011). One of the possible reasons for this could be that we presented participants with resumes of highly qualified women. The participants believed that the woman's photograph that they were viewing was a highly competent lawyer/doctor/engineer. Further, the photograph selected received highest ratings for attractiveness in our pilot study. So it is possible that dark skinned women are able to overcome the 'skin-colour disadvantage' if they are perceived as highly attractive and competent. In support, Thompson and Keith (2001) found that the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem was moderated by socioeconomic status and body image. More specifically, dark skinned women from lower incomes who were judged to be unattractive displayed lowest level of self-esteem whereas the impact for skin-colour was weaker for women from higher social class. Financial success along with an otherwise attractive appearance thus appears to reduce the affect of skin-colour bias for women.

Overall, the findings of the study have implications for socio/psychological well-being of individuals. Experience of rejection or discrimination on the basis of colour of the skin is likely to lead to poor body image, self-esteem, and dissatisfaction with self and others. Okazawa-Ray Robinson and Ward (1995) found a significant positive correlation between self-esteem and liking of own skin tone, greater liking for skin-tone was associated with higher score on self-esteem measure for African American adolescents. That is, dark skinned individuals may suffer from low self-esteem since they have to cope up with a number of negative messages from the larger society, especially the perception that 'fair is lovely and dark is ugly'. Studies that have focused on women have replicated the findings and suggest dark skin-colour is related to greater negative ratings of overall appearance and facial satisfaction (Bond & Cash, 1992) as well as symptoms of depression and poor self-esteem among African American adolescents (Williams and Thompson, 2006).

The study, despite being comprehensive, has certain limitations, which may be addressed in follow-up researches. First, we conducted this study on urban middle/upper-middle class mothers for whom professional competency and educational qualifications may offset the skin-colour bias. It would be interesting to replicate this study in societies where educational and professional competency of women matter considerably lesser

in context of arranged marriages. Second, the study only involved mothers, which can make generalization to other populations problematic. It would be interesting to see if their children also exhibit the same bias as they do. Third, perception of one's own skin-colour can also play an important role since an individual with considerably darker skin is less likely to discriminate against those with dark skin. However, it was difficult to gather this information from the participants of the present study, as it would have revealed the purpose of the study. Future researches should also focus on investigating the possible mediating effects of varying levels of competency and attractiveness on skin-colour bias.

Despite these limitations, the results of the study are insightful in revealing the role played by skin-colour in context of matrimony. 'Marginalization of the dark skin' is a phenomenon rampant in our society, but we have failed to acknowledge and address this. This study shows that the colour of skin has the potential to even overpower traits such as general competency and physical attractiveness of both men and women. Recognizing this bias is the first step towards making amends.

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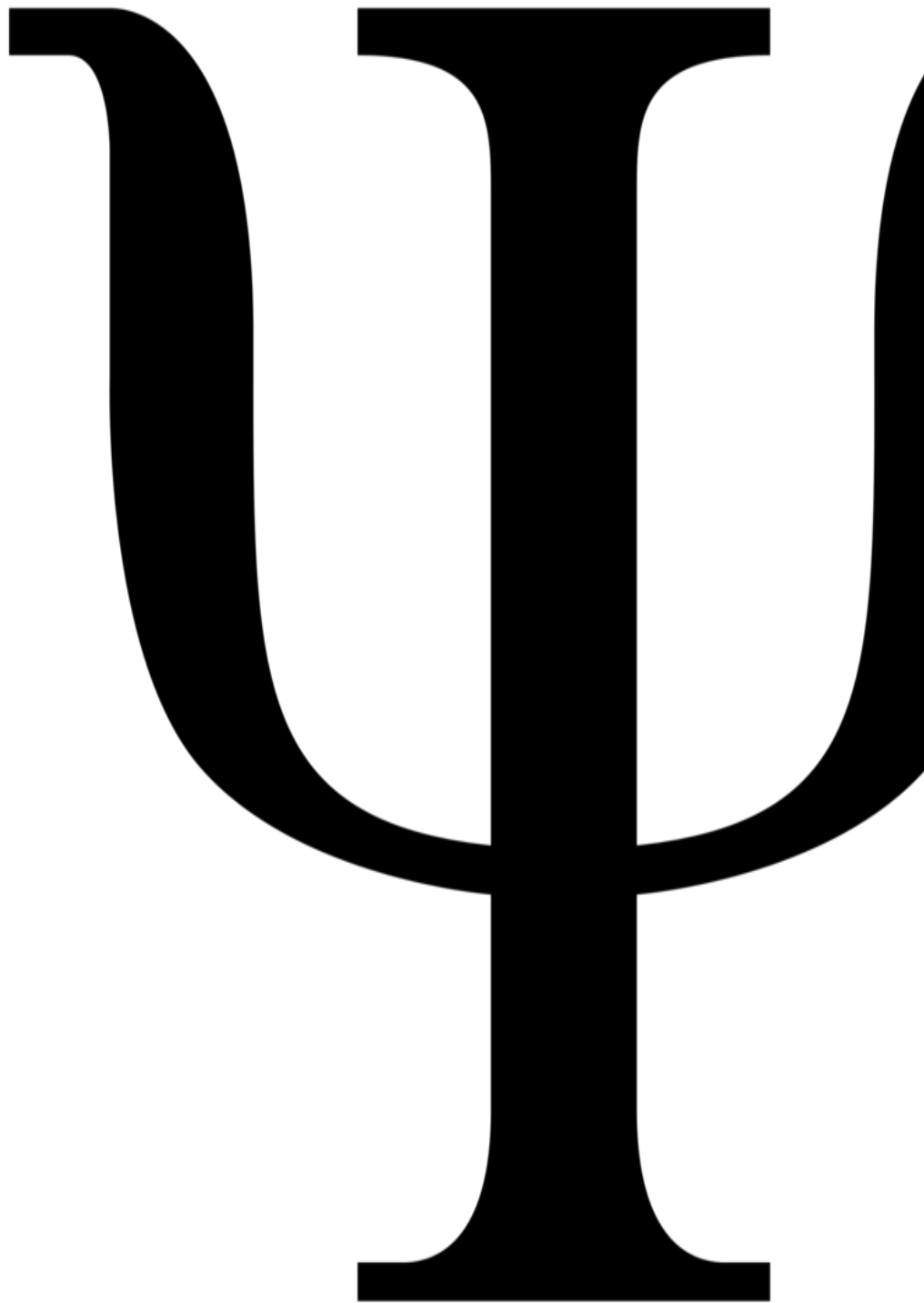
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