

# Correlates of Family Cultural Background and Family Status and Role Between Muslim and Santal Communities in Rural Bangladesh

MD. EMAJ UDDIN (Ph.D.)

Associate Professor, Department of Social Work, University of Rajshahi Rajshahi

6205 Bangladesh E-mail: emajmd@yahoo.com

**Abstract.** Family status and role, fundamental building block of family structure, are influenced and determined by family cultural background factors. The purpose of this study is to examine and compare how family cultural background factors influence family status and role between Muslim and Santal communities in rural Bangladesh. In so doing, the village **Kalna**, situated in the **Talonda** union of **Tanore Upazila** of **Rajshahi** district of Bangladesh, was purposefully selected for this study where two distinct cultural communities: Muslim and Santal were living side by side as neighbors in the same geographical setting. In this village there were about 380 families: 300 families were Muslim's and the rest of them were Santal's. For this study 70 couples from Muslim community and 30 couples from Santal community were selected through cluster random sampling and then structure questionnaire method with close and open ended questions was applied for data collection on family cultural background factors and family status and role. The results of Pearson correlation without significant test of the study reveal that family cultural background factors are differentially positively or negatively related to family status and role. It is argued that there are differences in family cultural background factors that are differentially correlated to or influence on family status and role between Muslim and Santal communities in rural Bangladesh.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper mainly deals with how family cultural system of Muslim and Santal community influences assignment and attainment of family status and distribution of family role on the respective family members who are involved in the family living process. Family status and role are integral part and basic element of family structure on which it is built. Family status and role is reciprocal in nature. Although, apparently status and role of the family member seem to be different with one another, realistically they are absolutely inseparable, just they are opposite of the same coin. Because there is no role without status and there is no status without role. As husband status is associated with wife status, father status is connected to mother status; parent's status is nothing without sibling status and vice versa. That is, every status of the family member is reference to other statuses. These statuses of the family are intimately associated with the husband and father role, wife/mother role or sibling role etc. (LINTON, 1936; MERRILL, 1969).

Biological differences between male and female are universal phenomena, but assignment and achievement motivation for status and role on the family members according to age and sex are cultural constructions in every society (Hess, et al., 1988; Defleur, Antonio, and Defleur, 1981). In this respect, cross-cultural evidences suggest that there are great variations between men and women in family status and role among and between the societies (SHAPIRO, 1967).

Social scientist, Mead (1950) was one of the first to uncover cross-cultural varia-

tion in status and role between men and women in the three tribes: the *Arapesh*, the *Mundugumor*, and the *Tchambuli*. According to her both men and women of the *Arapesh* were gentle and much alike. Members of both sexes were passive, warm, and non-competitive. They were equally likely to initiate sexual relations and equally responsible for the care of their children. In *Mundugumor*, both men and women were competitive and independent. They were violent and cannibalistic. Members of both sexes were expected to be aggressive in their sexual encounters and equally jealous and vengeful. The women lacked any of the traits that were feminine and they disliked pregnancy and breast feeding and were not tender toward their daughters. But in the *Tchambuli*, both men and women were opposite. The men of *Tchambuli* were given the jobs of shopping and trading. They are nurturing toward children; they liked to gossip, play the flute, and spend a lot of time each day choosing clothes and jewelry to wear. On the other hand, women were domineering, practical, and uninterested in clothes or jewelry; they were the main economic providers for the family. Arensberg and Kimball (1965) describe that culture in every society shapes community behavior. Especially, they motivate us that how American culture shapes American family, and how cultural influence shapes role of American children. Block (1976) mentions that culture in every society socializes human infants who develop conceptions of sex role across the life cycle and behave as male and female, which vary from one society to another.

In all societies throughout the world there is some division of labor between men and women. As women are physically weak, they bear and rear children, and maintain home, while men generally take on tasks that require vigorous physical activities such as breadwinning, war, protection, traveling etc. Beyond these basic patterns, however, there are cross-cultural variations in the distribution of labor between men and women according to their age and sex statuses across the societies (ROBERTSON, 1984). In this respect Gorge P. Murdock's research is a valuable contribution in cross-cultural variation in division of labor between men and women. He collected data on 22 traits of work activity from 224 traditional pre-industrial societies wherein the general tendency, however, is for men to be responsible for tasks involving strenuous effort or travel, and for women to be responsible for tasks that can be performed near the home (LIGHT & KELLER, 1982).

Rohrlich-Leavitt (1975)'s edited book *Women Cross-Culturally: Change and Challenge* is also a valuable contribution to women status and role. The papers accumulated in this volume are critical evaluation of women's status in hunting-gathering bands, fishing class, peasant communities, agricultural chiefdoms, and in the developing and developed countries, both capitalist and socialist. The papers show women as food gatherers, farmers, potters, weavers, traders, chiefs, miners, industrial workers, union organizers, servants, and professionals; as victims of exploitation and as fighters against oppression. What is quite clear in this book that women everywhere are

realizing through autonomous movements to change their subordinate status. Shapiro (1979) summarizes various research papers. In his paper, Shapiro orders his discussion into four categories:<sup>1</sup> economic and ecological approaches to cross-cultural investigation of sexual differentiation;<sup>2</sup> analyses of the relationship between sex differences and social roles;<sup>3</sup> studies of the cultural definition of maleness and femaleness, in which sex is approached as a symbolic system; <sup>4</sup> communication perspectives that deal with the differential allocation of knowledge between men and women. These four aspects of the paper highlight that every culture or subculture shapes male and female status and role, which vary from one society to another. The paper also convinces us that male status is higher than female in every society.

**2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

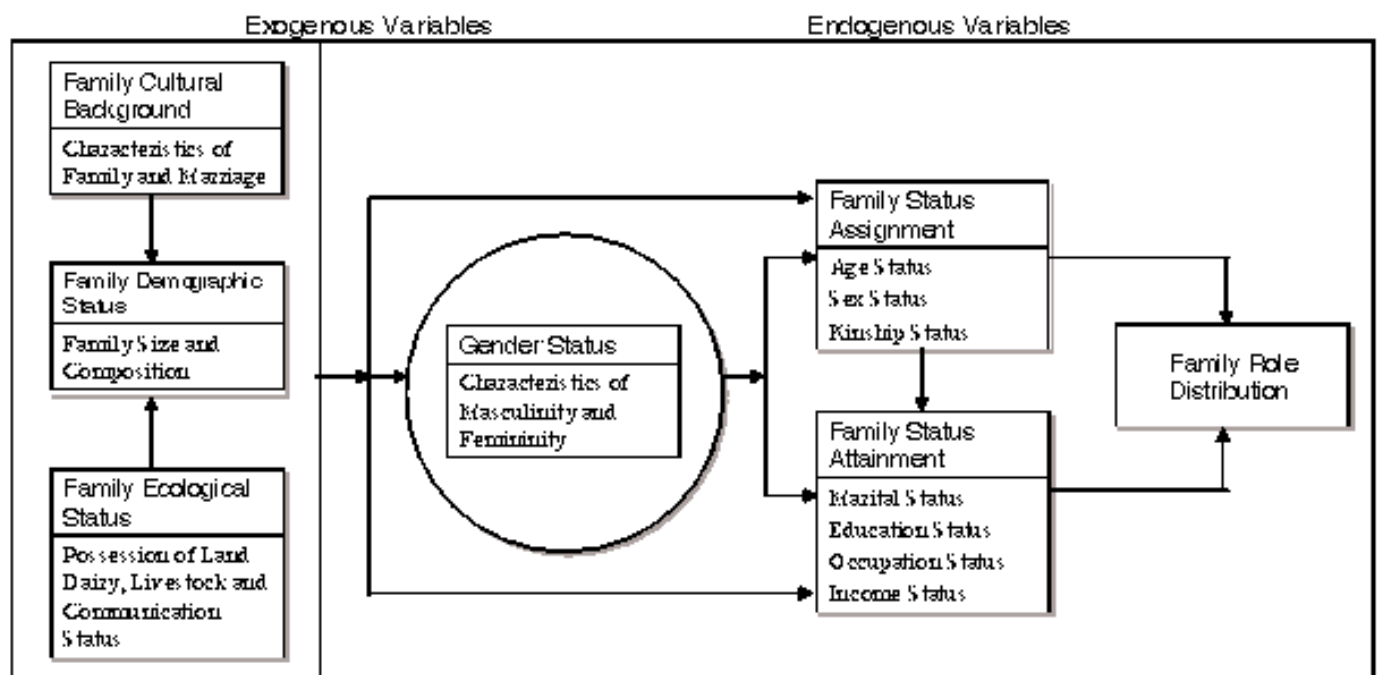
Every member in the family has or occupies certain status and role in his or her life cycle. Actually, human life is a journey in the human life cycle in which a human baby is born with either male or female sex and remains fixed in that cycle, but (s) he is gradually developed and matured physically, mentally, emotionally and socially in maleness and

femaleness reared and socialized by the family and community cultural environment where age, sex, social (kinship also) statuses and roles are systematically and sequentially assigned on and acquired by him or her. That is, every human being- male and female- from birth to death gradually inters into one status to another and plays roles associated with the statuses occupied. The statuses a human being occupies in his or her life cycle, some are ascribed and some are achieved, some are permanent and some are temporary or transitional. These statuses characterized by age, sex, race, ethnicity, gender, kinship are ascribed statuses, but education, occupation and income are achieved statuses. Among the ascribed and achieved statuses sex status of male and female is permanent, but age status of the member is transitional. A wide variety of statuses we occupy in our human life have the most socially important status- master status- that affects almost every aspect of our lives. For example, husband/father and wife/mother statuses are the master status in the family (JOHNSON, 1989; LINTON, 1936; DAVIS, 1966; HOEBEL & FROST, 1976; MERRILL, 1969). Actually, as a multi-storied building is standing based on land socially constructed with the various materials, and it is planned

and decorated with the furniture to serve for various purposes, family status and role is also a building block and interlocking process in the family structure by which family members are arranged and organized in their life cycle based on socially and culturally constructed with the gender, age, sex and social hierarchy in which family system is functioning to meet family goals.

Family in rural Bangladesh is a social, economic and consumptive unit through which family members of the communities live and adapt to environment from one generation to another. In order to live and adapt through their family system, what family functions are essential? In order that functioning of the family activities how they assign status and distribute role on the family members? To answer these questions there are two approaches: biological and social (psycho-cultural). Biological approach suggests that biological differences in connection with hormones, chromosomes, internal and external reproductive behavior (genital), brain etc. of male and female are universal. These physical differences make different male to female from the conception. According to the approaches although biological differences make female health superiority than are male in bodily survival sense and male bodily

Figure 1: Comparison of Cultural Influence on Family Status and Role



\* In the figure arrow indicates influences from left to right side

muscular and stronger than are female in physical strength sense that control and influence behavior of male and female differently and make male superiority and dominance over female in human relationships. On the other hand, socio-cultural and psychological approaches suggest that though the physical differences between men and women across their life cycle make different from one another, the social and cultural processes to becoming men and women have great impacts on the behavior of men and women that vary from one society or community to another, and different segments within the same society or community in time and space. Actually, the social and cultural system in which a male or female child is born and developed through socialization process-informal and formal learning-creates gender continuum-masculinity and femininity that order and rank men and women in hierarchical social positions (relationships) and assign roles based on age and sex statuses across the life cycle (HARALAMBOS AND HOLBORN, 1991; BILTON ET.AL., 1997; HESS ET.AL., 1988; EITZEN, 1985).

To analyze and compare family status and role the study suggests a model shown in figure 1. The model developed for comparison of family status and role between Muslim and Santal communities includes two types of variables: exogenous (independent) and endogenous (dependent) in which family cultural background factors (family demographic status, and family ecological status) are called independent variables posited in the left side which determine gender statuses posited in the middle, which influence, in turn, family status assignment and family status attainment, and the family role distribution posited in the right side in the model are called dependent variables.

However, family status and role much depends on gender status of male and female, which is directly influenced and determined by family cultural system, family demographic, ecological and communication status of the family in the community (DUVALL, 1957). Both Muslim and Santal communities are culturally patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal in nature. This family system of both communities not only prefers male in all social and economic affairs, but also creates gender division of labor in the family and social life. They both believe that men are more independent, dominant,

active, competitive, logical, worldly, direct, adventurous, self-confident, superior, objective, and aggressive than women. On the other hand, women are more dependent, emotional, subjective, passive, cooperative, home-oriented, inferior, weak, and illogical than men. These gender behavior of men and women directly influence family status assignment such as working, schooling, and marital age for male and female, age of motherhood, age of assigning authority on male child, age of proximity between male and female, between brother and sister, between sibling and parents, kinship orientation and obligation, property distribution between men and women in the family. These behaviors of family status assignments directly influence family status attainment such as marital, education, occupation and income attainment, which directly determine family role- who plays what roles in various family situations. However, the following section analyzes how family cultural systems of both Muslim and Santal communities influence on their respective family status and role and compare with *Pearson correlation* data in rural Bangladesh context.

### 3. DATA AND METHOD

#### Sample

The study used co-relational design in which both qualitative and quantitative (Subjective and objective) aspects of family cultural background and family status and role were included to determine relationship for valid comparison. In so doing fieldwork was conducted from January to June, 2005 in the village *Kalna*, situated in the *Talonda* union of *Tanore Upazila of Rajshahi* district, that was purposefully selected for this study where two distinct cultural communities: Muslim and Santal were living side by side as neighbors in the same geographical setting. In this village there were about 380 families: 300 families were Muslim's and the rest of them were Santal's. In order to analyze and compare relationships between family cultural background and family status and role, two separate sampling units of the communities were developed: one for Muslim community and another for Santal Community. Each community was considered as a cluster and each family of both the cluster communities was accounted for as a study unit and then 70 families of the Muslim cluster community and 30 families of the Santal cluster

community were randomly selected through cluster sampling for this study, where both husband and wife of both the sample families were participated in the study.

#### Measurement and Instruments

In measurement of relationship socio-cultural background factors and family status and role between Muslim and Santal communities in rural Bangladesh bivariate correlation technique was applied. In so doing, A total of 100 couples from both the communities were interviewed to collect raw data on the indicators of family cultural background and family status and role. For this structured questionnaire was designed with both open- and close-ended questions for the family cultural characteristics: family and marriage characteristics, family demographic and ecological status characteristics as well as family age, sex, kinship, education, occupation, income status characteristics; questionnaire on the masculine and feminine gender status characteristics including per gender 18 items were designed in the scaling of strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree and strongly disagree and for the family role it was done in men always, men usually, women always, women usually, either sex and no body. This was pre-tested and according responses of the pre-tested results necessary adjustments were made. The analysis of collected data was carried out using SPSS, especially correlation without assuming hypotheses. The author himself collected and analyzed the data presented in this article.

### 4. RESULTS

This section mainly analyzes how cultural system of Muslim and Santal community influences on their respective family status and role. To discover relationship between family cultural system and family status and role is an intellectually Herculean task in social and psychological researches. To understand relationship between cultural system and family status and role is a central issue in this research. This understanding of the relationship was derived from the work and thought of HAUSER ET.AL., ED. (1982), JOHNSON (1989), MATRAS (1975), LINTON (1968), DUVALL (1957) and others. Their empirical work and thought structure demonstrated that family cultural background, family demographic and ecological status influence on family status assignment, family status attainment and

family role distribution. To what extent Muslim and Santal family cultural system, family demographic and ecological statuses are related to their respective family status assignment, family status attainment and family role distribution analyze and compare with *Pearson correlation* data.

### 1. Family Cultural Background and Gender Status

Family cultural background influences on gender status. That is how a male or female child will socialize and develop depends on family head, family pattern, residence system, marital norms prevalence, property inheritance, family size and composition, family land property possession. These factors may influence on gender status of male and female in the family. Social and psychological researches on gender status-masculinity and femininity-generally suggest that men are more independent, dominant, active, competitive, logical, worldly, direct, adventurous, excitable, leader, self-confident, ambitious, superior, objective, aggressive etc. and women are more dependent, emotional, subjective, passive, cooperative, illogical, home-oriented, easily hurt and cried, inferior, talkative, religious etc. vice versa (JOHNSON, 1989; WEITEN, 1986; STOLZ, 1967; SHAFFER, 1999; BARON & BYRNE, 1998). These characteristics of masculinity and femininity possessed by male and female are also affected by Muslim and Santal cultural system in the study area.

Table 1.1 shows that the exogenous factors included to measure influence on masculinity and femininity traits are positively and negatively correlated with the both communities. The independent variables such as family head, marital arrangement, inheritance of family property and the mass media, family pattern, number of male and land possession are negatively related to it. Other factors such as family generation, family size, number of female, livestock possession are positively correlated to Muslim's masculinity traits, but negatively related to the Santal's masculinity and residence, dairy possession are negatively related to the Muslim but positively correlated with the Santal. The background factors are positively correlated with masculine traits of both the communities such as family head of the Muslim is .88 – .89, and family head of the Santal is .38 – .40; marital arrangement of the Muslim is .25-.27, and the Santal is .48-.49; inheri-

tance of the Muslim is .14-.17 and the Santal is .12-.16; mass media of the Muslim is .01-.03 and the Santal is .13-.16. The factors of the Muslim are positively correlated with the masculine traits are family generation .22-.26, but the Santal are residence .09-.14, dairy .24-.29. The table also shows that number of male of the both communities is positively correlated with the feminine traits (Muslim .01-.36 and Santal .01-.18), but other background variables such as family head, family generations, marital arrangement, number of female of the both communities are negatively related to it except family head of the Muslim is correlated positively with cooperative (.08), ambitious (.19) in contrast to the Santal family head with the religious (.19).

Family generation of the Muslim is positively related to emotional (.11), self-confident (.01), talkative (.11), aggressive (.08) but family generation of the Santal is positively related to talkative (.16) only; family pattern of the Muslim is positively related to emotional (.10), illogical (.01), easily hurt (.15) and cried (.20), aggressive (.03) but family pattern of the Santal is positively related (.04 – .41) to except inverse relation of inferior (-.04), religious (-.17); Marital arrangement of the both communities is negatively related to femininity (Muslim -.01- .40 and Santal -.01- -.28); family size of the Muslim is positively related to (.02 – .19) but the Santal is negatively related to it (-.01- -.31); positive correlation value of number of male of the Muslim (.01-.36) but the Santal is .01-.18.

However, above analysis clearly suggests that family cultural background factors have positive and inverse relation with the masculine and feminine gender statuses of the both communities. The analysis also suggests that family cultural factors are more smoothly and linearly related or influence on masculinity traits of the both community, but complex, inverse and amalgam relation with the femininity traits of them.

### 2. Family Cultural Background, Gender Status and Family Status Assignment

Research on relationship between family cultural background, gender status and family status assignment suggests that every parent of the community has aspirations and family goals that drive and press them to assign family status for schooling, occupation, interaction between adult boys and girls, either attachment or separation between parents

and siblings, marriage, motherhood/parenthood, authority and power as well as family kin line tracing and obligation to on their siblings and fellowmen. These aspects of family status assignment based on age and sex are generally influenced by family cultural background, gender status and socio-economic status of the parents in the community (MATRAS, 1975).

Table 1.2 shows that the independent variables included to find out influences on family status assignment family cultural background factors are one of them. Among them family head only influences positively on age assignment to brother and sister sleeping arrangement of the Santal sample, age assignment to parent/motherhood of both the communities (Muslim R- .16 and Santal R- .41), status assignment of family name tracing and kinship obligation preference of the Muslim (R- .23 and .17 respectively). But other antecedents such as family generation of the both communities is positively related to age assignment of schooling (Muslim R- .05 and Santal R- .19) and age assignment for working/earning for siblings (R- .10), separation for interaction between boys and girls (R- .19), separate sleep in arrangement between parents and siblings (R- .08), sleeping arrangement brother and sister (R- .18) of the Santal samples and age assignment for male marriage (R- .04), authority (R- .17), family name tracing (R- .16), kinship obligation (R- .25) of the Muslim samples. Family residence, marital arrangement, family size and composition are moderately and lowly associated with schooling, working, interaction and sleeping arrangement of parents and siblings, boys and girls, marriage for male and female, motherhood, authority and kinship domain.

Gender status is one of the aspects to measure influence on family status assignment. Masculine gender characteristics are positively associated with schooling, sleeping arrangement between parents and siblings and between the siblings, motherhood of the Santal (R- .18 – .45), but only motherhood, family kin line, family name tracing and kinship obligation of the Muslim are positively correlated with (R- .11- .22). On the other hand, feminine gender characteristics of the Muslim are positively related to age assignment of schooling, working, marriage for male and female and the Santal with working, interaction between

boys and girls, sleeping arrangement between parents and siblings, motherhood, authority on son. Ecological economic status is the important aspect of the family status assignment. The table 6.8 also shows that economic status especially land of the Santal samples is positively related to working age of the children (R- .35), separation between boys and girls (R- .21) and other factors such as live stock, dairy farm and mass media of both Muslim and Santal are positive and inverse relation with family status assignment.

### *3. Family Cultural Background, Family Status Assignment and Family Status Attainment*

The relationship between family cultural background, socio-economic status, and family status assignment and family status attainment is an important aspect in social and psychological researchers. Matras (1975: 255-304), Haller (1982), and others explored that family status attainment depends on/is influenced by family cultural background, socio-economic status, family status aspiration and expectation. Actually, these factors are correlated and covariates with one another. Table 1.3 shows that the exogenous factors such as family cultural background, socio-economic status, family status assignment (expectations and aspirations) are included to measure influences on family status attainment (achievement also): marital, educational, occupational and family income attainment of the families in both communities are positively and inversely correlated with one another. Among the exogenous variables gender status, especially masculine traits such as independent, emotional, dominant, competitive, direct, superior and aggressive and occupation of husband and wife are highly positively related to the endogenous variable, family status attainment in both Muslim and Santal communities.

Of the family cultural background factors, family headship, family generation, family types residence, marriage patterns, inheritance are moderately (ranges from .40-.70) correlated with the Santal family status attainment, but these minimally related to the Muslim (ranges .05-.40). Although existing research results suggest that socio-economic status of the families comprehensively influences on family status attainment such as marital status achievement, educational and occupational attainment, the analysis of

this research shows that these factors are minimally correlated with the family status attainment with both the communities. Among them, land possession and income more influence and affect on the Santal's marital age attainment, marriage status attainment (divorce, separated, education and occupation attainment of the family members (ranges .15-.25), but minimally related to the Muslim (ranges .05-.15), but land possession is highly correlated to family income attainment of the Muslim (.68) and Santal (.76). Other variables of the socio-economic status of the both communities are minimally covariates positively or negatively with family status attainment.

Gender status and family status aspirations highly influence on family status attainment of the both communities. Among them masculine gender status characteristics positively highly affects on marital age attainment for male and female of the Santal sample (ranges .62-.63), but minimally of the Muslim (ranges .36-.40) on divorce of the Santal (ranges .62-.63) and the Muslim (ranges .49); on separated of the Santal (.26-.27) and the Muslim (.30-.34); on education of the Santal is .06-.30 and the Muslim is .02-.15; on husband and wife occupation of the Santal are .07-.28 and the Muslim are .23-.81; on husband and wife education of the both communities are .82-.85. However, the analysis clearly shows that cultural background of the Muslim and Santal community influences on their respective family status attainment.

### *4. Family Cultural Background, Family Status Patterns and Family Role Distribution*

Family role distribution depends on family cultural background and family status patterns of the family. Actually, family role distribution is associated with the family cultural background and family status patterns in which the family members live. Table 1.4 represents correlation data on family cultural background, family status patterns and family role distribution where these variables are related to with one another positively and negatively.

The endogenous variables such as earning, working, cooking, water fetching, helping children to homework, fuel gathering, harvesting, planting, fishing, freshening home, gathering wild vegetables, vegetable gardening, children disciplining, control behavior of the family members, house building, crop process-

ing, rice processing, crop tending, marketing are maximally positively related to the family cultural background factors, socio-economic status aspirations and achievement. Among the independent variables included in the analysis, family head of the Muslim more influences on family role distribution items than the Santal, but family pattern especially simple family type has more positive influence on the earning, working, cooking, water fetching, fuel gathering, harvesting, planting paddy, fishing freshening home, gardening, control behavior, house building, rich processing, crop tending of the Muslim than are the Santal, and the complex family of the Santal has more positive influences on these family role distribution items than the Muslim. Residence of the Muslim and family size and composition of the Santal more positively affects on the family role distribution items. Among the independent variables positively influences on family role distribution age and sex, husband and wife's occupation and education of the Muslim are more influential on family role distribution than are the Santal.

## **5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

However, the analyses, above mentioned, clearly and precisely denote that family cultural background factors influence and determine gender status of both male and female, that further affect on family status assignment and by turn influence on family status attainment. All these factors combinedly affect family role distribution of the family members according age and sex position that vary from one community to another.

Family status and role are one of the main components of family structure. The discussion and analysis about family status and role suggest that in order that functional prerequisites of fulfillment human needs and human adaptation family members of both the Muslim and Santal communities organize and order themselves at age, sex, gender and kinship levels on which they assign various statuses and roles; they both enforce, reinforce, inspire, and even if force to attain them. But the results of cross-cultural comparison on family status and role show that there are both similarities and variations on family status and role between Muslim and Santal communities in rural Bangladesh context although they both are culturally patrilineal in character and live in the same geograph-

ic conditions. The results of family status and role shown in tables 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4 show that there are variations at age and sex assignment of schooling, working/earning, sleeping arrangement, age assignment of marriage for female, gender status assignment on male and female, family status attainment, especially educational attainment, inheritance of family property, land possession, occupational attainment and family income attainment, and family role distribution in consideration of age and sex due to variations in family cultural background, family demographic, socio-economic status and ecological arrangements.

Structural-functional theorists argue that every family is a system in which members are inter-dependent parts: some are males, some are females, some are senior and some are junior at age, some are biologically and intellectually superior and some are not. According to them, in order to sustain, survive and cyclically replace themselves every parent of the family reproduce new ones and properly socialize them in which they are fitted to their system. The qualities of age and sex across the life cycle of every human being are functional pre requisites to assign and attain family status and distribute roles according to assigned statuses. In the life cycle how many years a man and a woman lives depends on the level of socio-economic status and other qualities of human life. Survival rate of the Santal due to low-socio-economic status and life's opportunities are lower than its counterparts the Muslim. So they assign earlier on age and sex status on their children in which they are trained up and socialized before they are died. In family role distribution, both male and female work side-by-side within and outside the family but most of the Muslim men work in the agricultural field and most of the women are housewives. Economic point of view suggests that

most of the Santal are landless and their main occupation is only day laboring. Therefore, for human adjustment, men and women, child and adult and even elderly involve in hard labor. In conclusion we can safe to say that family status and role is influenced by family and community socio-cultural factors that vary from one community to another. The way we measure relationship between family socio-cultural factors and family status and role and present data in cross-tabulation is not statistically significant. Although the point of the article is methodologically questionable, because without this way of analysis we cannot present community wise correlation data, the findings may contribute to the social science field.

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Table 1.1: Correlation of Family Cultural Background, Demographic Status and Family Status Assignment on Gender Status (N=70 and N=30)

	Dependent/Independent Variables																			
	Independent		Emotional		Dominant		Active		Competitive		Logical		Workily		Direct		Adventurous		Excitable	
	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta
Gender head	.22	.40	.29	.32	.29	.40	.29	.29	.40	.29	.29	.39	.27	.39	.27	.39	.29	.29	.29	.39
Gender possession	.23	-.11	.23	-.12	.24	-.11	.23	-.11	.23	-.12	.23	-.12	.23	-.12	.23	-.11	.23	-.11	.24	-.16
Gender possession	-.02	-.11	-.06	-.16	-.03	-.16	-.03	-.03	-.16	-.16	-.03	-.16	-.06	-.16	-.06	-.17	-.03	-.17	-.03	-.19
Residence	-.11	.10	-.06	.11	-.11	.10	-.11	.11	.10	-.11	.10	-.11	.10	-.11	.10	-.11	.11	-.10	.14	.14
Gender average	.26	.49	.23	.49	.23	.49	.26	.49	.26	.49	.23	.49	.26	.49	.26	.49	.26	.43	.26	.49
Gender size	-.00	-.32	.10	-.31	.02	-.34	.03	-.33	.01	-.33	.02	-.31	.03	-.31	.01	-.36	.01	.32	.01	-.36
No. of male	-.11	-.47	-.13	-.43	-.14	-.50	-.13	-.49	-.14	-.49	-.13	-.49	-.14	-.49	-.13	-.51	-.13	-.49	-.13	-.51
No. of female	.11	-.03	.11	-.02	.13	-.04	.13	-.03	.12	-.03	.13	-.03	.13	-.03	.12	-.06	.12	-.02	.12	-.06
Substance	.14	.12	.11	.14	.11	.14	.16	.11	.16	.13	.14	.13	.17	.16	.11	.12	.11	.12	.11	.16
Land possession	-.02	-.11	-.07	-.12	-.02	-.13	-.07	-.13	-.06	-.11	-.03	-.06	-.07	-.11	-.06	-.10	-.06	-.10	-.10	-.14
Money from	-.04	.22	-.04	.29	-.04	.27	-.03	.26	-.03	.23	-.03	.26	-.02	.26	-.02	.26	-.03	.23	-.02	.26
Land stock	.13	-.11	.16	-.13	.14	-.09	.13	-.10	.13	-.09	.11	-.12	.11	-.11	.16	-.02	.14	-.12	.16	-.13
Communication	.03	.11	.03	.13	.02	.11	.01	.11	.02	.12	.01	.11	.02	.11	.02	.16	.03	.11	.01	.16

	Characteristics of Masculinity (continued)															
	Learner		Self-confident		Ambitious		Superior		Tolerant		Religious		Objective		Aggressive	
	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta	lambda	beta
Gender head	.22	.29	.24	.24	.29	.23	.26	.26	.27	.22	.24	.29	.24	.29	.29	.29
Gender possession	.24	-.11	-.16	-.16	-.03	-.03	-.04	-.11	.24	-.10	.24	-.10	.23	-.12	.26	-.10
Residence	-.12	.10	-.11	-.11	-.11	-.11	-.11	.11	-.03	-.19	-.03	-.14	-.03	-.16	-.03	-.16
Land possession	.26	.49	.27	.49	.26	.48	.26	.48	.26	.48	.23	.48	.26	.48	.26	.49
Gender average	.02	-.32	.02	-.30	.02	-.30	.02	-.31	.01	-.33	.04	-.32	.02	-.30	.04	-.31
No. of male	-.13	-.43	-.13	-.43	-.13	-.43	-.13	-.43	-.13	-.43	-.13	-.43	-.13	-.43	-.13	-.43
No. of female	.12	-.02	.12	-.01	.12	-.01	.12	-.01	.12	-.01	.12	-.01	.12	-.01	.12	-.01
Substance	.11	.12	.11	.14	.11	.12	.11	.12	.11	.14	.16	.11	.16	.11	.17	.16
Land possession	-.06	-.11	-.06	-.11	-.06	-.11	-.06	-.11	-.09	-.13	-.06	-.14	-.06	-.10	-.08	-.11
Money from	-.04	.27	-.04	.24	-.03	.27	-.03	.26	-.02	.26	-.03	.26	-.02	.26	-.03	.27
Land stock	.14	-.11	.14	-.13	.14	-.09	.13	-.10	.11	-.12	.11	-.11	.16	-.12	.16	-.13
Communication	.03	.14	.03	.14	.03	.14	.03	.14	.01	.11	.02	.11	.02	.16	.01	.16

Character femininity

	Dependent		Emotional		Subjective		Passive		Cooperative		Illogical		Home oriented		Skillful		Hurt		Cried	
	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel
Brandy/real																				
Brandy/possession	-23	-11	-09	-07	-19	-11	-11	-07	01	-02	-06	-12	-19	-01	-21	-10	-31	-06	-10	-09
Brandy/straw	-11	-01	11	-02	-02	-06	-02	-02	-12	-00	-11	-01	-17	-01	-39	-01	-17	-04	04	-02
Real/love	-11	31	10	31	-06	40	41	41	-17	37	01	33	-10	37	00	36	11	39	20	39
Real/possession	03	-09	01	-09	14	-10	17	-13	-06	-14	-01	-10	06	-12	-04	-13	-02	-12	-01	-01
Real/straw	-36	-06	04	01	-21	-10	-24	-06	-10	-02	-01	-04	-23	-01	-04	-01	-40	02	-34	-04
Re. of/love	13	-01	10	-02	-07	-00	-11	-01	11	-01	-01	-04	-03	-03	-04	-02	39	-01	06	-02
Re. of/possession	32	03	07	04	01	08	24	10	24	10	03	04	19	01	-06	02	36	01	23	04
Real/love	-11	-03	02	-06	-01	-07	-04	-09	-04	-09	-04	-01	-11	-01	-01	-04	-06	-01	-11	-01
Love/possession	-21	11	00	07	-10	06	-11	01	-11	01	04	06	-16	01	-09	04	-21	01	-07	01
Real/straw	01	-09	09	-09	11	-07	04	-04	-07	-07	-17	-01	11	-07	07	-06	27	-07	13	23
Love/love	-09	-31	-13	-32	-22	-30	-01	-30	01	-37	-00	-31	-02	-23	11	-31	01	-29	-11	-41
Love/possession	01	07	01	01	-01	02	01	04	01	11	02	01	-01	06	-08	06	-29	06	-11	09

Characteristics of femininity to brand

	Attention		Self-confident		Ambitious		Inferior		Tolerant		Polite		Lender		Aggressive	
	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel	Amsha	Revel
Brandy/real																
Brandy/possession	-07	-04	01	-07	-12	-04	-10	-07	11	16	-12	-01	-09	-01	08	-01
Brandy/straw	-01	31	01	34	-01	31	-02	-04	-04	04	-09	-17	-01	40	02	41
Real/love	-06	-14	-02	-07	-12	-14	00	01	-04	21	-13	-22	10	-13	08	-14
Real/possession	-09	-01	01	-01	-11	-02	-26	-13	-02	-16	-24	-28	-12	-06	-11	-01
Brandy/love	13	-00	07	-01	-01	-04	-02	02	02	20	-17	-31	07	-03	12	-04
Re. of/love	01	04	-12	-01	-09	01	21	07	02	11	01	02	06	02	39	06
Re. of/possession	01	-04	16	-06	-04	-02	-22	-02	01	12	-2	-41	04	-01	-01	-09
Real/love	-01	06	12	09	-01	06	17	11	02	24	-10	20	-23	12	-24	01
Love/possession	-06	-03	-20	-08	01	-08	11	-10	-39	-02	21	-29	02	-09	11	-01
Real/straw	-06	21	11	29	10	31	08	01	-16	-09	16	17	39	26	-27	24
Love/love	14	-34	17	-34	32	-22	-02	-14	-11	-04	-04	-04	-02	-31	-20	-34
Real/straw	09	06	10	08	02	02	-04	04	-01	02	03	-04	04	07	12	10



Table 1.2 Correlation of Family cultural background ,Demographic ,Ecological,Gender Status and Family Status assignment (Muslim N=70 and Sental N=30)

Dependent/Independent Variables	Characteristics of Family Status Assignment																							
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12	
	r1	r2	r1	r2	r1	r2	r1	r2	r1	r2	r1	r2	r1	r2	r1	r2	r1	r2	r1	r2	r1	r2	r1	r2
Family head	-.02	-.23	-.11	-.14	-.01	-.12	-.04	-.09	-.01	.02	-.24	-.37	-.21	-.32	.16	.41	-.11	-.02	-.09	-	.23	-	.17	-
Family generation	.01	.19	-.32	.10	-.22	.19	-.23	.02	-.22	.12	.04	-.04	-.02	-.17	-.07	-.02	-.22	-.02	.17	-	.16	-	.21	-
Family Type	.00	-.12	-.01	.49	-.01	.10	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.07	-.04	.31	.02	.06	-.03	-.12	-.02	-.06	-.02	-	.12	-	-.01	-
Residence	.10	.27	.01	-.01	-.07	.26	.12	.10	.17	.41	.00	.20	.02	-.09	-.12	-.23	-.02	.11	.32	-	.20	-	.24	-
Patrilial matriatrial	-.02	.07	-.02	-.01	.02	.11	-.03	.16	-.01	-.10	-.29	-.19	-.22	.01	.33	.19	.06	-.01	.17	-	.13	-	.26	-
Family size	-.02	-.32	-.14	.34	-.19	.01	-.16	.00	-.14	.07	.10	.29	.01	.29	-.16	-.31	-.13	.19	.02	-	.10	-	.02	-
No. of male	.02	-.10	-.04	.46	-.14	.02	-.00	.04	.01	.03	.20	.24	.21	.14	-.32	-.32	-.02	-.13	-.01	-	.11	-	-.13	-
No. of female	-.12	-.02	-.14	.32	-.12	.00	-.19	-.03	-.12	.06	-.03	.12	-.10	.21	.01	-.09	-.10	.33	.01	-	.02	-	.13	-
Intercosity																								
Independant	-.01	.31	-.12	-.10	-.04	-.01	-.04	.21	-.01	.21	-.26	-.13	-.21	-.21	.21	.41	-.11	-.12	.11	-	.12	-	.20	-
Emotional	-.04	.30	-.10	-.10	-.03	-.06	-.01	.21	-.02	.21	-.29	-.14	-.24	-.23	.20	.41	-.02	-.11	.12	-	.21	-	.20	-
Domiatud	-.01	.32	-.12	-.11	-.01	-.07	.21	.41	-.04	.24	-.26	-.14	-.22	-.24	.21	.41	-.11	-.19	.11	-	.19	-	.20	-
Competitive	-.01	.32	-.12	-.10	-.04	-.02	-.04	.13	-.01	.23	-.26	-.13	-.21	-.23	.21	.44	-.11	-.12	.12	-	.20	-	.22	-
Impetuous	-.01	.32	-.12	-.10	-.01	-.06	-.04	.20	-.01	-.24	-.26	-.13	-.21	-.23	.20	.41	-.11	-.16	.13	-	.20	-	.22	-
Aggressive	-.07	.31	-.16	-.10	-.07	-.06	-.07	.20	-.09	.26	-.26	-.11	-.21	-.23	.21	.41	-.13	-.11	.11	-	.19	-	.20	-
Objective	-.04	.31	-.12	-.09	-.04	-.07	-.03	.12	-.04	.24	-.26	-.13	-.21	-.24	.21	.49	-.10	-.14	.12	-	.17	-	.21	-
Religious	-.01	.32	-.12	-.12	-.01	-.02	-.02	.20	-.02	.21	-.27	-.11	-.22	-.21	.19	.41	-.11	-.17	.11	-	.11	-	.19	-
Feminity																								
Dependant	-.07	-.10	.00	-.01	-.11	.12	-.17	.01	-.12	.01	.46	-.02	.49	-.24	-.11	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.23	-	-.21	-	-.29	-
Emotional	.09	-.11	.02	-.06	-.03	.13	-.01	.02	-.04	.06	-.01	-.10	-.04	-.27	.01	.06	.01	-.02	.06	-	-.02	-	.07	-
Subjective	.04	-.04	-.02	.14	-.04	.06	-.04	.03	.09	-.00	.11	-.23	-.21	-.04	-.20	.06	.03	-.12	-.07	-	-.13	-	-	-
Cooperative	.02	-.09	-.16	-.09	-.20	.11	.01	.01	.02	-.00	.01	-.11	.00	-.22	-.11	.06	-.11	.11	-.16	-.01	-.01	-	.11	-
Passive	.20	-.12	.07	-.02	-.02	.12	.06	.01	.01	-.01	.11	-.04	.13	-.29	-.04	-.00	-.12	.09	.02	-.13	.10	-	.02	-
Non-maternal	-.02	-.11	.04	-.06	-.06	.13	-.00	.01	.00	.01	.32	-.07	.34	-.22	-.10	.04	-.01	-.03	-.03	-	-.02	-	-.12	-
Infusion	.03	-.16	.03	-.24	.06	.10	-.02	.42	-.07	.22	.22	.22	.30	-.01	-.22	-.22	.02	.19	-.22	-	.10	-	-.19	-
Aggressive	.02	-.11	.03	-.01	-.02	.12	-.01	-.02	-.02	.00	.33	-.10	.32	-.29	-.33	.03	.06	-.09	-.12	-	-.11	-	-.12	-
Religious	-.21	-.17	-.02	-.42	-.09	-.16	-.14	.11	-.13	-.10	.34	-.24	.24	-.17	-.21	.12	-.16	.17	-.06	-.29	-.29	.00	-	-
Ecological Status																								
Low	-.20	-.02	.02	.31	-.02	.17	-.11	.12	-.11	.21	.12	.12	.07	.17	.03	-.32	-.02	-.06	.02	-	-.01	-	.02	-
Liberal	-.12	.12	.10	-.12	.13	-.10	.03	-.12	.01	-.19	-.31	-.03	.13	-.06	.01	.13	.06	-.33	.06	-	-.02	-	.03	-
Discy from	-.20	-.12	-.01	-.11	-.01	.14	-.02	.14	-.02	.42	-.02	-.12	.06	-.12	-.10	.22	-.11	-.36	.12	-	.09	-	-.04	-
Communication	.09	.36	.02	-.42	.14	.17	.14	-.02	.11	-.02	.01	-.11	.06	-.10	.13	.20	.10	.04	.31	-	.03	-	.21	-

1. Age at which a son or daughter should go to school
2. Age at which a son or daughter should work/earn
3. Age at which a girl should separate from boy
4. Age at which a child should sleep separately from parents
5. Age at which brother and sister should sleep separately
6. Ideal age at marriage for male
7. Ideal age at marriage for female
8. Age at which a female should get motherhood
9. Age at which a son should assign authority on
10. Family kin line
11. Family name tracing
12. Kinship obligation preference





TABLE IV (contd.)

Dependent/Independent Variables		Characteristics of Family Role Distribution to be continued																					
		Earning		Working		Rearing		Caring		Teaching		Cooking		Fetching		Helping		Fuel gathering		Harvesting		Planting	
		β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
1. Family Head		.37	.70	.24	.15	.11				-.02	-.04	-.02	-.04	-.02	-.14	.10	.02	-.02	-.12	.30	-.14	.20	-.14
2. Single Family		.39	.34	.34	.15	-.22	-.19			-.13	-.00	.11	.09	.16	.04	-.22	-.12	.20	.12	.27	.02	.21	-.02
3. Complex Family		-.27	.02	-.22	.05	.10	.14			.02	-.07	.05	.09	.01	.14	.10	.09	-.07	.05	.05	.05	.04	.05
4. Residence		-.17	-.24	.20	-.21	.02	-.12			.04	-.01	.01	-.17	-.05	-.06	-.14	.06	.09	-.23	.00	-.34	-.04	-.11
5. Family size		-.11	.17	.31	.10	-.20	-.19			-.13	.26	-.21	.11	.22	.31	-.46	-.36	.32	.37	-.13	.31	-.01	.27
6. No. of Aunts		-.05	.29	.09	.11	-.19	-.22			.09	.37	-.13	-.06	-.12	.02	-.30	-.13	.12	.46	-.24	.17	-.20	.17
7. No. of Uncles		-.11	.49	.29	.11	-.10	-.07			-.19	.05	-.11	.20	-.17	.33	-.30	-.31	.33	.11	.01	.21	.16	.20
8. No. of granddaughters		-.07	.31	.05	.22	-.04	-.10			-.02	.05	-.02	-.24	-.02	-.14	-.11	-.22	.01	-.21	-.01	-.20	-.01	-.20
9. Wife's independence		.42	.20	.05	.19	-.07	-.06			-.02	-.06	.19	.24	.21	.21	.22	-.13	-.09	.17	.12	-.01	.07	-.01
10. Land		.04	.37	.05	.26	-.06	-.11			-.11	-.06	.17	.06	.16	.02	-.05	-.24	-.02	-.00	.06	-.14	.05	-.14
11. Live stock		.11	.02	-.07	.10	.29	-.21			-.09	.20	.02	.04	.01	-.07	.16	-.01	-.14	-.09	.12	.34	.09	.14
12. Dairy Room		.22	.06	.04	.14	.26	-.21			.33	.62	-.07	-.01	-.02	.16	.29	-.16	-.21	.22	-.02	.07	-.05	.07
13. Family Income		.01	.32	-.02	.33	-.11	-.02			-.01	-.05	.05	.22	.05	.20	.06	-.13	-.02	.22	-.05	.11	-.06	.12
14. Age of motherly fox		-.09	.19	-.04	.17	.29	.00			-.09	-.06	.05	-.17	.05	.11	.20	-.01	-.02	.11	-.00	.11	-.02	.16
15. Age of existing		-.09	.20	-.07	.22	.27	-.09			-.01	.04	.01	.32	.04	.30	.17	-.13	-.04	.30	-.02	.10	-.05	.10
16. Age of separation		-.04	-.22	-.07	-.39	.29	-.05			-.04	.14	-.05	-.21	-.04	-.21	.22	.09	-.12	-.31	-.02	-.24	-.02	-.24
17. No. of members		-.30	.34	-.13	.31	-.13	-.10			.01	.32	-.11	-.11	-.12	.12	-.10	-.36	.31	.11	-.24	.29	-.02	.17
18. No. of members		.14	-.12	.31	-.11	-.01	-.11			.04	-.09	-.12	.21	-.20	.12	-.00	.04	.01	.01	-.04	.01	-.07	-.05
19. No. of members		.01	.42	.39	.47	-.11	-.00			-.19	.00	-.01	.41	-.05	.31	-.10	-.42	.27	.31	-.04	.36	-.02	.44
20. No. of members		.01	.30	-.12	.21	-.01	-.17			-.11	-.06	.21	.01	.22	-.06	.14	-.09	-.02	-.01	.13	-.09	.09	-.09
21. No. Education		.12	.21	-.12	.21	.10	-.05			.06	-.00	.02	.11	.07	.17	.17	.11	-.06	.06	.01	.13	-.07	.13
22. Education 1 - 3		-.12	-.20	-.07	-.34	.14	.10			-.16	-.02	-.13	.09	-.12	-.16	.32	.47	-.21	-.07	.07	-.33	.01	-.22
23. Education 6 - 10		-.09	-.14	-.37	-.04	-.10	.19			-.01	-.40	.02	.37	-.02	.34	-.09	.05	.05	-.22	-.02	.01	-.06	.01
24. Education 11 - 12		.14	-.20	-.05	-.19	.12	.06			.11	.06	.05	-.24	.04	-.21	.11	.13	-.05	-.17	.06	.01	.02	.01
25. Literacy person		.05	.42	.16	.40	-.21	.00			-.01	.02	.20	.21	-.20	.21	-.19	-.10	-.05	.26	-.34	.19	-.29	.30
26. Unemployed		.12	.16	.13	.11	-.11	-.06			-.16	.27	-.00	.27	.02	.41	-.01	-.27	.24	.40	-.05	.47	-.07	.47
27. Divorced		.01	-.17	.27	-.29	.19	-.11			-.01	-.14	.02	-.02	.01	-.07	.21	-.00	.12	-.26	.70	-.17	.37	-.39
28. Separated		.36	-.17	.10	-.17	-.07	-.09			-.01	-.12	-.04	.31	-.04	.31	-.07	-.19	-.11	.11	.01	.26	-.00	-.01
29. H/Father Group		.39	.04	.11	.21	.02	-.01			.07	-.01	-.07	-.02	-.07	.20	.11	-.14	-.11	.36	.24	.30	.16	.30
30. W/Father Group		.47	-.29	.04	-.22	.32	.09			-.06	-.21	.91	-.07	.91	-.31	.21	.19	-.02	-.24	.27	-.12	.71	-.12
31. H/F Education		.42	-.17	.22	-.11	.02	-.13			-.06	-.16	-.01	.12	-.05	.06	.21	-.07	-.10	-.11	.39	-.12	.29	-.39
32. W/F Education		.40	-.02	-.11	.31	.31	-.11			-.01	-.12	.93	-.29	.92	-.30	.22	.11	-.11	-.16	.64	-.22	.32	.22

