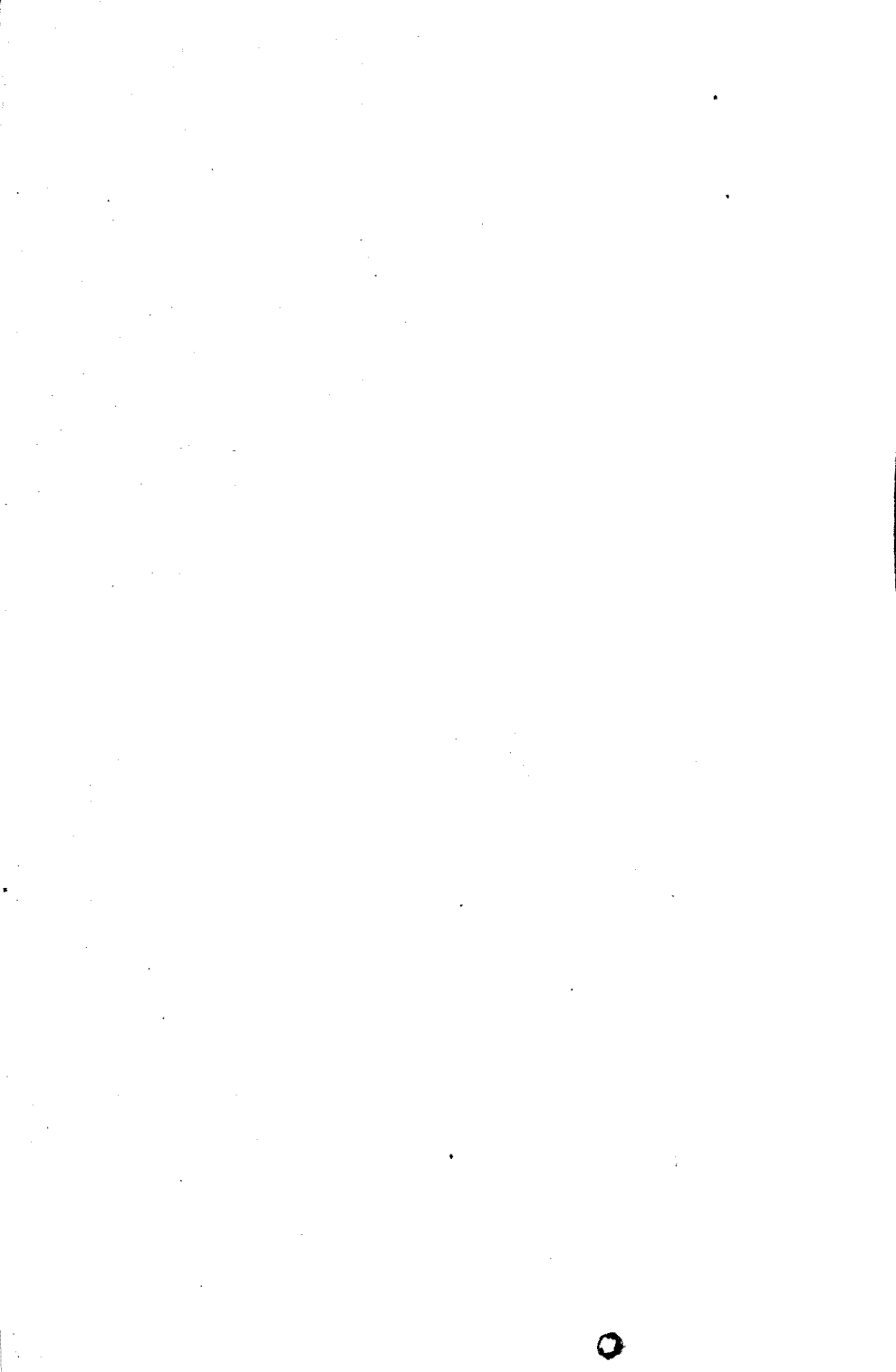


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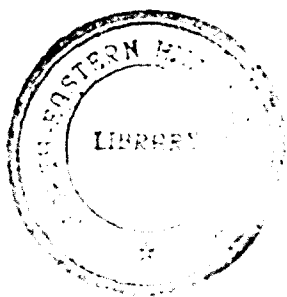
**The Hindu Family
in its Urban Setting**



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THE HINDU FAMILY IN ITS
URBAN SETTING

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To
CARL A. DAWSON
pioneer sociologist
of Canada

THE
HINDU FAMILY
IN ITS URBAN
SETTING

Aileen D. Ross

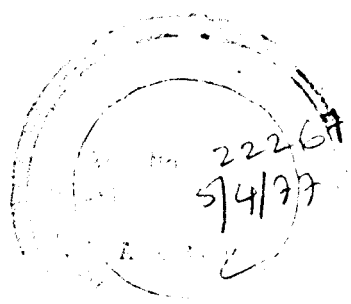


DELHI
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS

5/2011

Oxford University Press, Ely House, London, W.1.
GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
CAPE TOWN IBADAN NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA ADDIS ABABA
DELHI BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO
2/11 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi 6

*First published 1961
by University of Toronto Press
First published in India 1973
by Oxford University Press
by arrangement with
University of Toronto Press*



301.4210954
ROS;6

Printed in India
by Rakesh Bagai at Rakesh Offset Press, New Delhi 28
and published by John Brown, Oxford University Press
2/11 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi 6

SV/G-124/5262

Acknowledgments

IN SPITE OF the fact that the authorship of a book is usually attributed to one person, sociological research is always a joint affair. Any project is a continuation of work that has gone before, and during its course many people wittingly and unwittingly contribute to it in one way or another. It is, therefore, only fitting that the author of this study, while bearing the full responsibility for the interpretations and conclusions, should pay tribute to at least some of the people who assisted at its different stages.

First of all, my thanks are due to the many people in India who helped to set up the research, or gave advice or encouragement during its progress, namely Vice-Chancellor V. L. D'Souza, Professor G. S. Ghurye, Professor C. N. Vakil, Dr. Irwati Karve, Mr. M. S. Gore, Mr. C. S. Paul and Mr. R. Benjamin.

An indispensable group were the research assistants who undertook the major task of interviewing. In this respect Nirmala Pawar, Nina Krishnamma, N. S. Shanta and K. K. Kuttappa did efficient work. In particular the interest and enthusiasm of Lalitha Krishnaswamy, C. S. Suryanarayana Rao and T. K. Karunakaran, and their insight into Hindu life, were of invaluable assistance. Dr. S. Gopaldaswamy played a unique role in this study as chief counsellor. His wisdom eliminated many mistaken interpretations.

Encouragement and understanding are always valuable props to the researcher. For assistance of this sort I am deeply indebted to the many friends in India who took an interest in my study, especially Miss Muriel Robinson, Dr. and Mrs. VanDuzen Kennedy and Dr. and Mrs. Edward Harper. I am also very grateful to Dr. (Mrs.) R. Rajalakshmi for her careful criticism of the manuscript.

In Canada my thanks are due to Professor Oswald Hall and Professor Nathan Keyfitz for their helpful criticism of the study, to the Faculty

of Graduate Studies and Research of McGill University for financial assistance for the research and typing the manuscript, to my colleagues in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology who gave practical and moral support, and to Mrs. Judy Friedl who so patiently assisted in the mundane task of correcting foot-notes and typing the manuscript. I would also like to thank the Canada Council who granted funds to assist the publication of the manuscript. This does not imply, however, that the Canada Council endorses or is responsible for the statements or views expressed.

This then is the study. It is to be hoped that the deep satisfaction which comes from getting to know people of another culture will be shared, at least to some extent, by those who read it.

Introduction

THE POPULATION of India is made up of an infinite variety of castes, religions, and language groups, which have lived side by side, in an intricate division of labour, for thousands of years. Many customs, and much of the social structure, historically isolated from modern technological and industrial developments, have remained essentially the same. Such deeply laid patterns of behaviour do not respond easily to change. Some of the more superficial aspects may alter fairly readily—grandsons, for example, may ride tractors when their grandfathers used bullock carts—but underlying ideologies and deeply embedded patterns of relationships are more resistant.

This study analyses one of the Hindu structures—the family—which is considered by sociologists to be very resistant to change. Its purpose is to show the effect of industrial and technological change on the traditional middle- and upper-class urban Hindu family. In doing so, it will attempt to develop a sounder theoretical framework within which the many dimensions of family change can be studied.

Up to the present, apart from a few novels and sociological studies of urban life, it has been the traditional rural joint family which has occupied the attention of students and writers. However, it is the middle- and upper-class urban families which are facing the full impact of the rapidly changing conditions which have accompanied India's growing industrialization. It is in the city, too, that people are in closest contact with Western influences. The educated middle- and upper-class families, in particular, are exposed to the influences of the new techniques of mass communication, such as journals, magazines, radio, and movies. They are of particular importance in a study of change, for they themselves are its disseminators through their positions as journalists, writers, teachers, scientists, and businessmen. The urban middle and upper classes are thus in a strategic position, for

their adjustment will set many of the patterns which other Hindus will follow.

India is also an instructive area in which to study social change because many of its urban families are still so close to their village backgrounds that the changes which are occurring in them are more drastic, and therefore easier to note, than are the changes in families living in countries which have gradually become industrialized over a period of several centuries, countries which have now reached a higher and, therefore, more complex degree of industrialization.

It may not be true, as some people claim, that a society is lost if its family system disintegrates. But it is true that some kind of family structure still plays such a vital role in all societies that changes in it will profoundly affect other institutions. Moreover, considering the intimate emotional nature of family relationships, it is likely that such changes will lead to a good deal of personal and familial disorganization; and, as the family sets the basic patterns for social conduct and adult roles, it is also likely that this disorganization will have repercussions throughout the whole society.

It is not the purpose of this study to try to prove, or disprove, the familiar thesis that the large joint family in India is giving way to the smaller nuclear type typical of middle-class, urban, Western societies. Its purpose is rather to study the strains and problems which arise when families do, in fact, change from one form to the other. One of the conclusions of the study, however, is that, if the industrialization and urbanization of India continue as rapidly as they have in the last thirty years, many more families will have to face the problems and strains that come in the wake of structural change.

The material for this study is arranged first to describe the traditional form of the joint family and then to show how industrialization and urbanization are forcing changes in its structure and relationships, and causing many families to break down into smaller units. This breakdown entails moving out of the main family household and establishing separate homes. An analysis is then made in more detail of the effect of this change in the areas of authority, sentiments, work, education, friendships and marriage.

This study is the outcome of one year of research in India. There are both advantages and disadvantages in studying people of other cultures, for, although an outsider can make many mistakes in interpreting the behaviour of another society, he has the advantage of viewing the new culture with a fresh perspective. This enables him to see

the basic behaviour, and its interrelation with other aspects of the society, more clearly than a native could.

One of the possible biases of a Westerner in studying an Eastern country is that, as he lives in a dynamic culture, change to him is normal. So he may tend to exaggerate the changes, in contrast to an Easterner, who might stress the stabilities. It is possible, too, that an Indian student of his own culture might overemphasize its infinite detailed differences, whereas a Westerner would tend to see more of its universal similarities. Such biases will be gradually overcome when East and West not only meet more often, but also exchange enough students to add to our knowledge of each other's cultures.



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**THE HINDU FAMILY IN ITS
URBAN SETTING**

THE JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM AND CHANGE

THE JOINT FAMILY, the caste, the linguistic group and the village were the main units which formed the core of the traditional Hindu society.¹ These groups circled each individual Hindu, radiating out like rings around a thrown stone, from the central and most intimate family circle to the larger kin group, then to the caste, then to the territorial village circle and finally to the boundary of the language group. Each of these circles set limits to the individual's conduct, but on the other hand gave him certain securities and the psychological satisfaction of identification with groups which he felt to be his own.²

In early days the linguistic divisions marked off the total culture of each group, and separate ways of life evolved within them. Their literature, proverbs and folksongs tell of these distinctive features.³ The village boundary marked off the individuals' effective living area and, the fact that so many urban Hindus still identify themselves with their "native place" indicates the deep feeling of belonging to a geographical locus which village life engendered.⁴ This is also shown in the extent to which older people still desire to spend their final years in their native villages.

¹Irawati Karve, *Kinship Organisation in India*, Deccan College Monograph Series, 11 (Poona, India: Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, 1953), p. 1. "Three things are absolutely necessary for the understanding of any cultural phenomenon in India. These are the configuration of the linguistic regions, the institution of caste and the family organisation. Each of these three factors is intimately bound up with the other two, and the three together give meaning and supply basis to all other aspects of Indian culture."

²*Ibid.*, p. 114. Karve says that of these three the family and the caste have had most influence on the individual.

³*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 14.

THE ECOLOGICAL SUBSTRUCTURE

A THOROUGH STUDY of family change must start with an analysis of the spatial arrangement of family members and their households. For as contacts tend to be more intimate and controls more effective when relatives live geographically close, so separation of the members and household units will tend to have the opposite effect. It is easier to maintain family solidarity if people are continuously in contact with each other. The old saying that "distance makes the heart grow fonder" is only true over a short period of time, for common meanings and understandings inevitably weaken as the members of a family go their separate ways. Contact through letters and visits may be maintained for some time, but it is highly likely that children of the second generation will not retain close ties and will gradually lose all contact with distant relatives.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND TYPE OF FAMILY

The 1951 Census of India classifies all Indian families into three types, according to the number of household members.¹ In this classification, the large-sized family, presumably the traditional large joint family, has seven to nine members; the medium-sized family four to six and nuclear or small family has under four members.² Size, how-

¹The size of a sample of rural and urban households in Mysore State will be found in Appendix II. Appendix III shows the composition of 1,000 households in Mysore State.

²I. P. Desai, "The Joint Family in India—An Analysis," *Sociological Bulletin*, vol. V, no. 2 (Sept., 1956), pp. 144-5. Desai claims that size alone is not a reliable or sufficient criterion by which the jointness of a family can be established. Of the Census, he says: "The classification seems to have been entirely arbitrary. The central defect of the Census approach is that the family is understood as a conglomeration of individuals whose classification can be derived solely on the basis of the number of persons composing it."

THE SUBSTRUCTURE OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES

IN HIS STUDY of the interrelation of power and responsibility in the Chinese family, Levy defines power as "the ability to exercise authority and control over the actions of others," and responsibility as "the accountability to other individuals or groups of an individual or individuals for his or their own acts or the acts of others." He shows that each of these forces must be institutionalized if the society is to attain its ends smoothly and efficiently. If "naked and whimsical force" is to be avoided, the way in which power can be used, and the people who are permitted to use it, must be clearly defined and predictable.¹ Likewise, the people who are to take responsibility, and those to whom they are responsible, must be clear in the minds of all concerned.

It is possible that in tightly structured groups, such as the ancient Chinese or Hindu families, power and responsibility do in fact coincide to the extent that Levy suggests. However, when these close groupings begin to break down, the two forces may not necessarily change at the same time or the same rate. It seemed more valuable in this study, therefore, to treat responsibility and authority separately, so that changes in each could be more clearly observed.

All societies use the criteria of age and sex as a basis for allotting rights and duties to different family members. Men are typically assigned the harder work outside the house, and women, mainly because of their child-bearing function, take over the household duties. Elders are usually responsible for younger members until they are past the age at which they can carry out their duties, then the younger members take over. Responsibility of the family for relatives, who do not belong

¹Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Family Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 28-9.

THE SUBSTRUCTURE OF POWER AND AUTHORITY

EVEN IN SUCH a small intimate group as a family, responsibilities and rights must be distributed in order that the group may function smoothly and efficiently, and a hierarchy of authority be established to direct and co-ordinate the activity. Weber never specifically mentions the family in his discussion of authority, but his analysis of the "traditional" authority of corporate groups is applicable to the family unit. The family's authority is "traditional" in the sense that, as its rules are traditionally received, they are much more difficult to change than those of "rational-legal authority." Moreover:

The order underlying a system of traditional authority always defines a system of statuses of persons who can legitimately exercise authority. Such a status is different from an "office." It does not involve specifically defined powers with the presumption that everything not legitimized in terms of the order is outside its scope. It is rather defined in terms of three things. There are, first, the concrete traditional prescriptions of the traditional order, which are held to be binding on the person in authority as well as the others. There is, secondly, the authority of other persons above the particular status in a hierarchy, or in different spheres . . . and finally . . . there is a sphere of arbitrary free "grace" open to the incumbent.¹

Traditional family authority is usually accepted by children as easily and naturally as other types of family training. It does not always need naked power to enforce it, but uses persuasion to entice the individual to follow the dictates of those in control. This kind of power can be called "indirect authority" for the recipient is not always aware of its existence. A child may become so used to obeying the

¹Talcott Parsons and A. M. Henderson, *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 60-1.

THE SUBSTRUCTURE OF SENTIMENTS

AFFECTION AND LOVE are two of a society's strongest binding elements. Their opposites, dislike and hatred, can be extremely disrupting, particularly in such close intimate groups as families. Since the family is an informal structure, whose stability rests on sentimental attachments rather than rational planning, it is peculiarly dependent on maintaining cohesive rather than disruptive relationships between members. The very intimacy of its contacts means that the love or hatred of family members for each other can be very intense. It is thus imperative that the sentimental aspects of the various family relationships be institutionalized in such a fashion that conflicts and jealousies are kept at a minimum. This is why, while certain affectional relationships are permitted in long-established family systems, others are avoided. When they must be avoided, attitudes of respect and fear often replace feelings of affection and these help to maintain a distance between the two people concerned that eliminates the disrupting relationship of love: for example, in the traditional Hindu joint family the father-in-law is expected to avoid his daughter-in-law.

Hindu epics and literature give a good deal of information on the relative affective feelings involved in a few of the major joint family relationships, and many hints of others. Those of mother and child, husband and wife, and brother and sister are clear. Some of the less important relationships are harder to define, but enough is known to enable the student to rank the relationships in an order of preferential attachments, which has been fairly well maintained in its original form down through the ages. Many studies of the affective elements of nuclear families in modern industrialized societies show a completely different rank order of affection and love. Green has de-

WORK AND THE FAMILY

PARSONS HAS POINTED out that, although all the structures of a society are interrelated, and so reciprocally influence each other, the family and the occupational system are particularly closely interwoven. He illustrates this point by describing the delicate balance that exists between the family system and the rapidly changing industrial economy of North America, and then discusses the main feature of the occupational system.

The most essential feature of our occupational system is the primacy of functional achievement as an ideal pattern which is highly institutionalized. This fact has a variety of implications.

In the first place, it implies that roles are organized about standards of competence of effectiveness in performing a definite function. That means that criteria of effective performance in a role and of selection to perform it . . . must be attached to impersonally and objectively defined abilities and competence through training. This contrasts sharply with the . . . role and status in a kinship group. Second, it means that the expectations of the role, together with its obligations and prerogatives, must be linked to the specific technical content of the function to facilitate its effective performance; . . . Third, procedures must be continually subjected to rational criticism, and a continual process of rationally founded improvement must be entered into. This is fundamentally incompatible with any traditionalized system of norms of behaviour—the rightness of behaviour is judged by its objective efficiency not by its conformity with models of the past.

Parsons also notes that when an occupational system forces many workers to move from locality to locality for work it is essential that their families should be able to move with them. Thus, the family form most suited to a mobile society is "an isolated conjugal family which [is] not bound to a particular residential location by the occupational, property, or status interests of other members."¹ The extent to which this family form has been achieved in India is still debatable,

¹Talcott Parsons, "The Social Structure of the Family," in *The Family: Its Function and Destiny*, Ruth Anshen, ed. (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949), pp. 189, 190.

EDUCATION AND THE FAMILY

TWO IMPORTANT STEPS must be taken by those who want to succeed in an industrialized society. First, they must achieve the appropriate education to fit them for a job, and secondly, they must find a job commensurate with their hopes and desires. These two steps are so inter-related that they could be said to co-exist in many parents' minds.

Training children for adult life is one of the family's primary functions. In a simple society it may be sufficient for parents to pass on the skills and knowledge with which they have solved their problems. But education for a highly industrialized society is far beyond their capabilities. And so formal systems of education develop with specially trained functionaries and elaborate equipment. Families will depend on these institutions to educate their children, and the education which they receive will in turn react back on family life. It will not only give the children new knowledge which will upset the old customary ways of living, but will also give them new ambitions and desires for new ways of living.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

Before the British took over the control of India "the large number of indigenous schools were religious in character and regarded knowledge as the means of spiritual growth."¹ The British brought in their own educational system in 1814 with the purpose of educating some of the higher caste Indians, and through them passing on Western influences to the masses. By 1830, Macaulay had clearly stated the British policy: "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern,

¹Margaret E. Cousins, *Indian Womanhood Today* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1941), p. 90.

CHANGING FRIENDSHIP AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS

STRUCTURAL CHANGES do not occur in a vacuum but cause related changes in attitudes and behaviour. The traditional joint family provided its members with a wide enough group of people to make it a satisfactory recreational unit. But the small nuclear family impels its members to seek friendships outside the family circle. These will normally include members of the opposite sex, for boys and girls, as well as men and women, cannot avoid social contacts in the city. These contacts are functional in that they prepare them for the new division of labour and for more freedom of choice in marriage.

The Hindu attitude to marriage has come down from the ancient Vedic times when it was regarded as a social and religious duty. Even today it is looked on as a sacrament, "and no normal man or woman must die without receiving it."¹ For this reason, Hindu parents have always considered the marriage of their children one of their most sacred duties. But it is difficult for them to accept the new marriage patterns which are more appropriate for an industrial than an agricultural society, such as: the right of men and women to choose their

¹Irwati Karve, *Kinship Organization in India*, Deccan College Monograph Series No. 11 (Poona: Deccan College, 1953), p. 130. Karve says that in many communities if a woman dies a spinster, the marriage ceremony is performed with her corpse, and then she is burned with the honours due a married woman. See also K. M. Kapadia, *Marriage and Family in India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 160. "Marriage is said to be essential for a woman because that is the only sacrament that can be performed for her." This is probably why marriage comes to be regarded as the actual commencement of life for women. See also Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice Born* (London: Oxford University Press, 1920), p. 46. "It is impossible for any English person to realize what marriage means to an Indian. No early Victorian old maid ever gave it the supreme place in her thoughts that it naturally seems to assume amongst Hindus."

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

THE MAIN PURPOSE of this study was first of all to try to add to the knowledge of the way in which changing conditions alter family structures, and secondly to illustrate these remarks by using examples from a society whose traditional family system is being radically altered by the new technological era. Substantial enough evidence from the sample of families studied was found to permit certain generalizations. However, the study opened up so many new areas of family behaviour and relationships that could not be substantiated in the short period of the research that the main conclusions will appear more in the form of hypotheses for future study than verified statements.

If the intricate and complex relationships of a small family unit make it impossible to study every aspect of its behaviour at one time, it is still more difficult to analyse all the infinite detailed behaviour of a large extended kinship group. Thus the particular aspects of family life chosen for this study were some of those which were known to be especially affected by changing outside conditions.

The main interest in the study did not lie in trying to assess whether the traditional Hindu family, is moving towards the small family unit, found in its extreme form among the middle classes of modern Western urban cities, but rather in attempting to analyse the factors which are tending to break up the large joint family, and to seek out the main ways in which these changes are affecting family roles. As some type of joint family seems to be still the main form in India, it is one of the countries in which the problems of change to a nuclear unit can be most vividly and dramatically seen.

The sample of families interviewed for this study had certain variables in common in that they were all Hindu, and roughly from the same socio-economic class. The interviewees lived in cities, and some members of their families had had higher education. But as their

Appendixes

APPENDIX I

METHOD AND SAMPLE

As the purpose of this research was to open up areas of conflict attendant on family change rather than to attempt to get strict statistical indices of change, no questionnaires were used. Instead, an interviewing schedule was gradually developed, based, at first, on much preliminary reading and interviewing of a general nature. The main interviewing was done by a research team of six Hindus. Of these, two men had their Master's degrees in psychology and one in sociology; one woman had her Master's degree in psychology, and one had majored in sociology for her Bachelor's degree. The last member of the team was an older housewife who had had experience in interviewing. When the research assistants began to interview, weekly seminars were held at which their interview data were thoroughly discussed. As insight into the Hindu family increased, the breadth of interviewing was constantly widened and deepened. Particular insight was obtained by discussing the case studies thoroughly with each interviewer.

The main task of interviewing was left to the research team as it was felt that a Western person would not be able to put interviewees at their ease as rapidly as Hindus, nor be able to master the intricacies of language. All members of the team could interview competently in several languages. It was also considered preferable for interviewers to work by themselves rather than act as interpreters.

In all, the team spent a total of thirty-one months interviewing. A large number of the interviewees were interviewed several times. On the average the interviews lasted from two to five hours.

The interviewers were given complete freedom in choosing their interviewees as long as they kept to the main background characteristics of the sample. This meant that they could interview friends or acquaintances, and so be in a more favourable position to both get information and interpret findings. They could also interview in more relaxed situations, such as the interviewee's own home. All interviewees seemed able to discuss many intimate aspects of family affairs with the interviewees without entailing much resentment or resistance.

The problem of translating interviews from one language to another was always present. However, as many of the same trends were found in interviews made by different research assistants interviewing in various languages

with a variety of different people, confidence was felt in the validity of the translations.

The main disadvantage of the indirect method of interviewing is that the student may not get accurate enough data to tabulate precisely. But as this method permits shadings of feelings, and many subtle aspects of family life to be ascertained, the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages, especially in an exploratory study. It also gives new insight as the study progresses.

In order to differentiate the various people who gave information for the study, those interviewed by the team are called "interviewees," "respondents," or "ego," whereas the additional people who were interviewed in view of their general knowledge of India are called "informants."

The intention of the study was both to interview a homogeneous enough group of people to be able to generalize for their behaviour, and to explore some of the main areas of strain attendant on family change. Thus, while the study concentrates on Brahmin middle- and upper middle-class young men and women, a number of people from other castes and older age groups were included in order to test the variables which were thought to be most important in promoting or restricting family change. For the same reason, interviewees were chosen who lived in a variety of family types.

The sample, therefore, is not homogeneous, and the tables of statistics throughout the study should be looked on more as summations of the interview material rather than as valid statistical generalizations. Another warning is that the detailed findings of this research only apply to the actual sample of people studied. All generalizations for India as a whole have been made with great caution and only if supported by other studies.

A more detailed analysis of the background characteristics of the 157 interviewees follows.

Caste and Mother Tongue

Of the 157 interviewees, 53 women and 57 men came from the Brahmin caste. The remaining 47 interviewees came from a number of castes including Vokkaligia, Naidu, Kshatria, Coorg, Reddy, Sindhi, Mudaliar and Lingayat. The Brahmin interviewees included people from a number of sub-castes such as the Madhva, Smartha, Vaishnavite and Deshastha. One Harijan (untouchable) young man was interviewed to throw some light on the problems of a highly educated man of that caste.

The mother tongue of 62 interviewees, 20 women and 42 men, was Kannada; of 28 women and 17 men (45) Tamil; and of 9 women and the same number of men (18) Telegu; 6 women spoke Marathi; and the remaining 10 women and 16 men had a variety of mother tongues.

Income and Social Class

The income and social class position of the fathers of interviewees varied considerably. The term "social class" was not defined for interviewees, for so little is known of its characteristics in India that it was thought better to take the respondent's feelings on the matter rather than to tie him down to a set formula worked out by the researcher. Of the sample, 111 considered themselves to be middle class, while 25 claimed to be upper class. Some of the middle-class interviewees were able to place themselves fairly

exactly, for 10 of the 111 said they belonged to lower middle-class families, whereas 13 said they were from the upper middle classes; 25 interviewees did not place themselves, and 18 did not report income.

AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME OF FATHERS IN TERMS OF SOCIAL CLASS

<i>Social class</i>	<i>Average monthly income of father</i>
Lower middle	189.5
Middle	273.0
Upper middle	845.8
Upper	1,053.5
TOTAL: Sample of 136	472.5 rupees per month

The above figures show that the estimations of class position fitted in roughly with the family income. These data suggest that there is a definite relation between income and social class position amongst Hindus. However there were variations in income in that 1 middle-class father was receiving 1,000 rupees per month, 4 upper middle had salaries from 1,000 to 2,000 rupees and 13 upper-class fathers were receiving from 1,000 to 2,500 rupees. One had a high income of 4,160 rupees.

Home and Number of Generations in City

Of the interviewees, 25 came from villages and 27 from towns; 33 were born in other cities than the ones in which they were living at the time of this study. Thus 85 of the interviewees were not living in their original homes when interviewed. On the other hand, 69 had grown up in Bangalore, the city in which the research centred. Three did not report.

A number of the interviewees were living in hostels (college residences) when interviewed. Others were living with relatives while attending college. It is probable that most of these interviewees came from towns and villages, and might not return to them later. Information from interviewees on the number of generations their families had lived in the city is far from complete, but 48 said they were the first generation to live in the city, 20 the second and 6 the third generation; 4 said they had lived 4 generations or more in cities.

Marital Status and Age

The sample purposely sought interviewees of all adult ages, for it was thought that this would be one of the most significant variables in explaining differences of attitudes and behaviour. However, the study concentrated mainly on young single and married men and women, and the few older men and women were interviewed mainly to get some idea of the impact of change on older people, and to use their attitudes as a comparison for those of the younger respondents.

As the Census for Mysore defines young men and women as being between 15 and 30 years of age, the married respondents were divided into two categories. They were called "young marrieds" if they were 30 years of age or younger, "old marrieds" from 31 years of age on. The number in each category and their average age is given in Table XI.

TABLE XI
MARITAL STATUS AND AVERAGE AGE OF INTERVIEWEES

Marital status	Men		Women		Total no. of interviewees
	No. of interviewees	Average age	No. of interviewees	Average age	
Single	51	26.6	25	24.92	76
Young married	22	27.25	26	27.35	48
Old married	11	39.25	22	35.97	33
Average age of sample	84	28.57	73	29.11	157

Education

The education of the families interviewed is shown in Table XII.

TABLE XII
EDUCATION OF FATHERS, MOTHERS, SIBLINGS AND INTERVIEWEES

Amount of education			Brothers over 18 years of age	Sisters over 18 years of age	Male interviewees	Female interviewees
	Fathers	Mothers				
Illiterate*	—	24	1	2	—	—
Literate	18	39	13	22	—	1
Middle School	7	23	3	49	—	6
Matriculation and S.S.L.C.	33	19	36	67	—	18
Intermediate (college)	13	2	30	9	3	8
Bachelor's degree	30	3	99	33	34	31
Master's degree	7	—	14	9	21	3
Ph.D.	1	—	1	—	8	—
Other degrees†	—	—	35	1	15	4
No information	48	47	19	21	3	2
TOTAL‡	157	157	251	213	84	73

*Literate means the ability to read and write only.

†Other degrees included: LL.B., B.E., B.T., L.M.E., etc.

‡27 interviewees had no brothers over 18 years of age, and 41 had no sisters over that age.

This table shows that the families were fairly highly educated, and that the children on the whole had achieved much higher education than their parents. This suggests either that the families illustrate the rapid increase in education which has occurred in India in the past 25 years, or that they are families which have had high ambitions for their children and have stressed education as a means of achieving their goals.

The figures show the new emphasis on education for women, for more than half the mothers whose education was ascertained were no more than literate, whereas only one daughter had not progressed beyond mere literacy, and none was illiterate. Moreover, the women interviewees whose

education was below matriculation were the older married women. Sons too show a decided increase in education over their fathers.

Family Type

When the family composition of the interviewees was analysed, it was found that they came from four main types, namely, large joint families, small joint families, nuclear families and nuclear families with dependents. These types have been described in chapter II.

However, it was found that caution must be used in interpreting the influence of family type on the interviewee, for, although the family in which interviewees grew up had had great influence on them, the type of family they were living in at the moment of the interview might only be a temporary phase in their lives, and so might not influence them to any great extent.

Table XIII shows the classification of the case studies in terms in their family type and marital status, and Table XIV gives the number of times each term paper was quoted in the script.

TABLE XIII
CASES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY TYPE

Type* of Family	Men			Women			Total
	Married		Single	Married			
	Old	Young		Old	Young	Single	
Type A	92	112, 133	31, 32, 48 50, 114, 141, 153, 154	59, 81 84, 88	74	19, 27 85	19
Type B	43, 45, 111, 123, 151	40, 41, 103, 115, 124, 125, 130, 157	30, 33, 35 36, 37, 38, 47, 120, 121, 143, 144, 155, 156	57, 60, 62, 65, 76, 83, 87	61, 73, 78, 89	3, 4, 8, 12, 15, 21, 22	44
Type C	46, 105, 113, 146	44, 99, 102, 116, 126, 128, 129, 131, 132, 134, 152	29, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 104, 107, 109, 117, 118, 122, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150	17, 53, 58, 70, 71, 82, 86, 90, 94	2, 10, 13, 18, 23, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 64, 67, 69, 72, 80	5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 25, 26, 28, 49, 79, 91, 93	77
Type D	42	108	34, 39, 106, 110, 119, 127	6, 63,	1, 66, 68, 75, 77, 95	16	17
TOTAL	11	22	51	22	26	25	157

*See pp. 34-7.

APPENDIXES

TABLE XIV

NUMBER OF QUOTATIONS FROM EACH INTERVIEW
USED IN THE MANUSCRIPT

Number of times each term paper was used	Number of term papers
1	38
2	25
3	14
4	2
5	3
6	—
7	3
Total number of papers quoted	85
Total number of papers in sample 157	

APPENDIX II

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS PER 1,000 HOUSES AND DISTRIBUTION BY SIZE OF 1,000 SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION

State, city and district	Total population in 1,000 households		Small (3 members or less)		Medium (6 members)		Large (7-9 members)		Very large (10 members or more)			
	House-holds per 1,000 houses	Persons	Males	Females	Number	Persons	Number	Persons	Number	Persons		
Mysore State	1,202	5,412	2,830	2,582	217	486	520	2,630	209	1,624	54	672
Bangalore Corporation	1,454	5,556	3,016	2,540	210	467	540	2,742	177	1,371	73	976

SOURCE: *Census of India*, 1951, vol. XIV, *Mysore*. Part I, *Report*, Table 6.2, p. 263.

APPENDIX III

FAMILY COMPOSITION OF 1,000 HOUSEHOLDS OF THE GENERAL POPULATION

State, city and district	Sample household population		Heads of household and their wives		Sons of heads of household		Daughters of heads of household		Other represent-atives		Unrelated persons	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	heads of household	heads of household	heads of household	heads of household	male	female	Males
Mysore State	5,288	2,723	2,565	878	850	1,141	906	628	792	76	17	
Bangalore Corporation	5,556	3,016	2,540	968	871	1,201	823	806	822	40	25	

SOURCE: *Census of India*, 1951, vol. XIV, *Mysore*. Part I, *Report*, Table 6.3, p. 264.

APPENDIX IV

SONS WITH COMPLETED EDUCATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO
THE LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED AND LEVEL OF
EDUCATION DESIRED BY FATHER

	City sample	
	Number of sons with educational level	
	Attained	Aimed at
Illiterates	56	8
Up to primary school	172	53
High school	62	31
Up to matriculation	50	107
Higher	38	120
Not stated	4	43
TOTAL	382	382

SOURCE: V. M. Dandekar and Kumudini Dandekar, *Survey of Fertility and Mortality in Poona District* (Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Publication no. 27, 1953), p. 123.

APPENDIX V

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 MARRIED PERSONS OF EACH SEX

	Males						Females									
	0-14 years		15-34 years		35-54 years		55 years and over		0-14 years		15-34 years		35-54 years		55 years and over	
	1951	1941	1951	1941	1951	1941	1951	1941	1951	1941	1951	1941	1951	1941	1951	1941
State, city and district	1	1	375	429	481	452	143	118	32	41	669	702	266	232	33	25
Mysore State	1	-	428	-	443	-	128	-	13	-	687	-	260	-	40	-
Bangalore Corporation	1	-	428	-	443	-	128	-	13	-	687	-	260	-	40	-

SOURCE: *Census of India, 1951, vol. XIV, Mysore. Part I, Report, Table 6.8, p. 269.*

APPENDIX VI

MARRIED DAUGHTERS CLASSIFIED BY AGE AND MARRIAGE AND ACCORDING TO WHETHER THE AGE WAS CONSIDERED APPROPRIATE

Age at marriage	Number of married daughters	
	City sample	Non-city sample
Not later than 14	126	431
Considered appropriate	100	266
Considered too early	26	165
15-21	140	69
Considered appropriate	134	64
Considered too late	6	5
Above 21	11	—
Considered appropriate	7	
Considered too late	4	
TOTAL	277	500

SOURCE: V. M. Dandekar and Kumudini Dandekar, *Survey of Fertility and Mortality in Poona District* (Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Publication no. 27, 1953), Table 7.12, p. 133.

APPENDIX VII

INDIAN LEGISLATURE PERTAINING TO FAMILY LIFE

1829	Abolition of Sati Act
1856	Hindu Widow Remarriage Act
1870	Infanticide Act
1872	Special Marriage Act
1892	Legislature against Child Marriage
1925	Indian Succession Act
1928	Hindu Inheritance (Removal Disabilities) Act
1929	Child Marriage Restraint Act
1929	Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment)
1930	Hindu Gains of Learning Act
1931	Sarda Act (Age of Marriage)
1933	Legislature on Property Rights of Women
1937	Aryan Marriage Validating Act
1937	Hindu Women's Right of Property Act
1946	Hindu Marriage Disabilities Act
1946	Hindu Women's Right to Separate Residence and Maintenance Act
1949	Intercaste Marriage Validating Act

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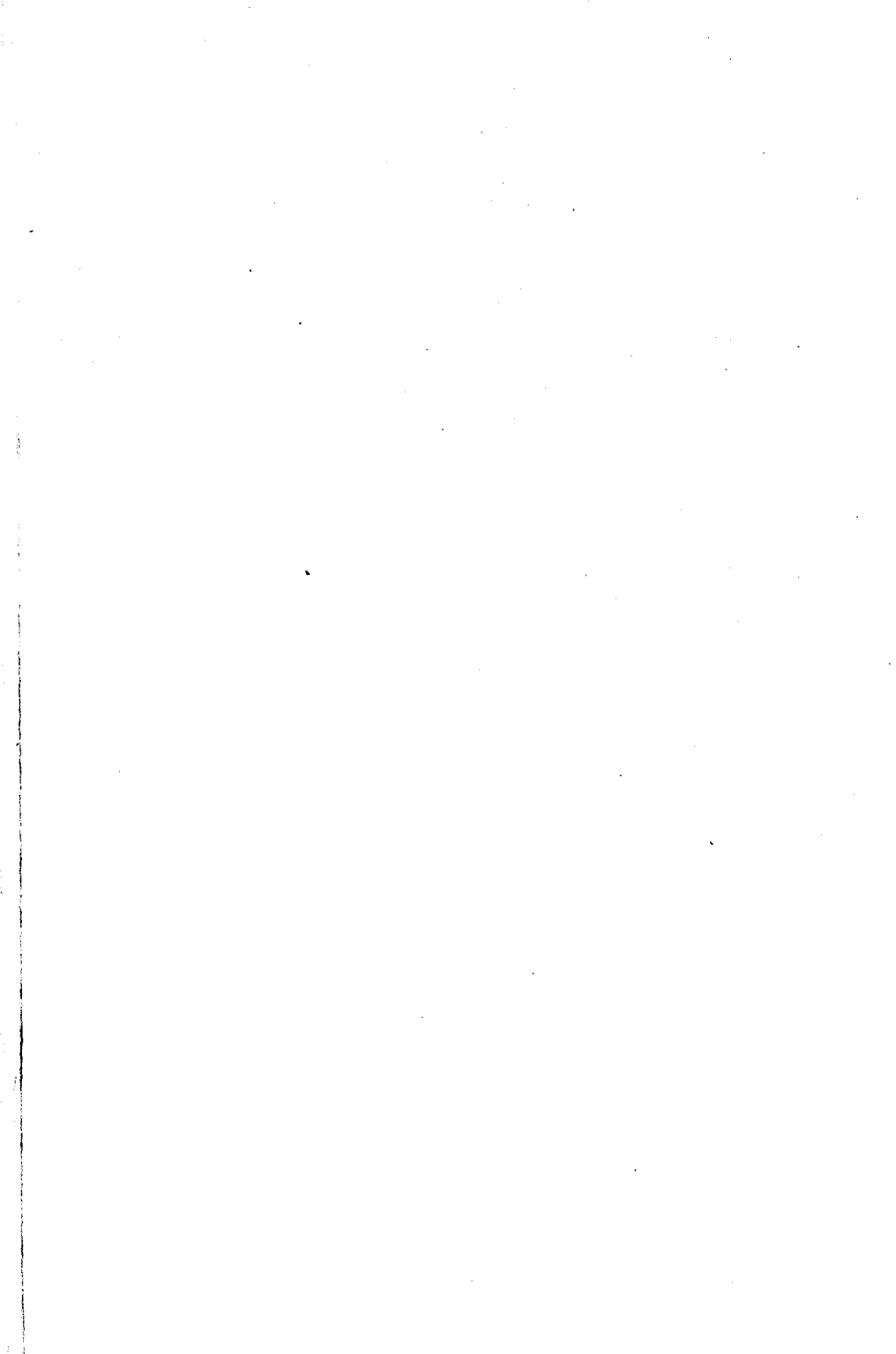
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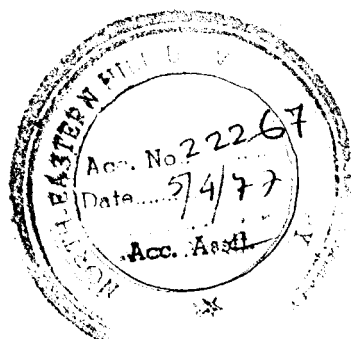
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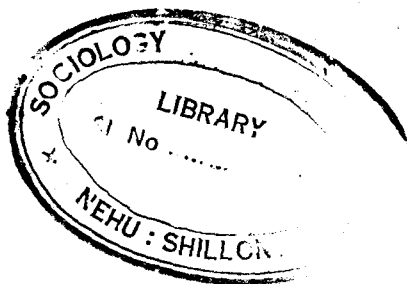
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