



1961

The Emerging Family Pattern in Bombay Under the Social Impact of Industrial Urbanization

Anthony A. D'Souza
Loyola University Chicago

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses

 Part of the [Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

D'Souza, Anthony A., "The Emerging Family Pattern in Bombay Under the Social Impact of Industrial Urbanization" (1961). *Master's Theses*. 1566.
https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/1566

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](#).
Copyright © 1961 Anthony A. D'Souza

THE EMERGING FAMILY PATTERN IN BOMBAY UNDER THE
SOCIAL IMPACT OF INDUSTRIAL URBANIZATION

by

Anthony A. D'Souza, S.J.

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

February

1961

VITA

Father Anthony A. D'Souza, S.J., is a native of Bombay, India, and a graduate in Economics and Political Science from the University of Bombay.

He joined the Society of Jesus in June 1943, at the Jesuit Novitiate in Andheri, Bombay.

At Barcelona in Spain, he received his Licentiate in Philosophy in 1951. He also visited England, France and Italy between 1948 and 1951.

Late in 1958 he was appointed to the Social Institute of India and in 1961 Father D'Souza entered Loyola University to study Sociology.

During his stay in Chicago he has visited a number of social and educational institutions in order to become better acquainted with the Church's Social Apostolate.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer would like to take this opportunity to express his gratitude to the President of Loyola University, Rev. Fr. James F. Maguire, S.J., and to Rev. Fr. Stewart E. Dollard, S.J., Dean of the Graduate School, for all their kindness and assistance in making his stay at Loyola University and at the Jesuit Residence on the Lake Shore Campus a very pleasant, interesting and educational experience.

To Rev. Fr. Ralph A. Gallagher, S.J., Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Director of the Institute of Industrial Relations, and also the writer's greatly esteemed and deeply appreciated professor, friend and advisor, the author wishes to express the most profound sentiments of a sincere and heartfelt "Thank You." To him the writer owes a debt of gratitude, more than can be expressed in words, for the unfailing interest and patient guidance in his work and study at Loyola University and for all the help he has received in every way.

To all the members of the faculty of Loyola's Department of Sociology, the writer wishes to express his thanks for all their kindness and consideration to him. May the good Lord and His Blessed Mother bless them all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION: THE TRADITIONAL JOINT-FAMILY PATTERN AND FAMILY SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS	1
	<p>Joint-Family, Caste and Village Community in India. Salient Features of the Joint Family Structure. Marriage in Rural India. Traditional Husband-Wife Relationship. Functions of the Joint-Family.</p>	
II.	RAPID INDUSTRIAL-URBANIZATION IN BOMBAY	30
	<p>Nature of Industrial-Urbanization. Industrial Urbanization and Social Change in India. Rate of Migration to Industrial Towns in India. Migration to Bombay. Reasons for Migration to Bombay. The Migrating Worker. Migration and Social Disorganization. The Industrial Migrant--a "Marginal Man." The Industrial Migrant--and his Rural Image.</p>	
III.	THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF BOMBAY'S INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION ON MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE	58
	<p>Positive Effects of Industrial-Urbanization in Bombay. Western Impact on Bombay's Industrial-Urbanization. Employment of Women Outside the Home. Education of Women. Transformation of Woman's Status--Its Impact on Marriage. Some Changing Views on Marriage and Family in Bombay.</p>	
IV.	THE CHANGING HINDU JOINT-FAMILY PATTERN IN BOMBAY: SOME CHANGES OBSERVED	85
	<p>Shift from Arranged Marriage to Marriage by Personal Choice. The Rising Age of Marriage--studies by Merchant, Mankad, Desai, Kapadia, Ross. Difference in the Age of Marriage. Gradual Shift from Caste Endogamy to Caste Exogamy in Marriage.</p>	

V. THE EMERGING FAMILY PATTERN IN BOMBAY 105

The Emerging Pattern: from Joint-Family to Nuclear
Family. Some Specific Aspects of the Emerging Pattern:
Choice of Partner for Marriage, Age of Marriage, Husband-
Wife Relationship, Parent-Child Relationship, Family
Welfare, Social Security. Woman's Role in the Emerging
Family and Society in Bombay.

BIBLIOGRAPHY 121

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. URBAN POPULATION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION IN OR ABOUT 1880 AND THE LATEST YEAR UP TO 1951 FOR WHICH INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE	37
II. REASONS FOR MIGRATION	40
III. WOMEN WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME EITHER AS FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES OR PART-TIME WORKERS IN 1951	70
IV. LITERACY AMONG THE INDIAN WOMEN IN 1951	72
V. DESIRE OF SINGLE INTERVIEWEES TO CHOOSE MARRIAGE MATES AS CONTRASTED WITH AMOUNT OF CHOICE OF MARRIED INTERVIEWEES . .	88
VI. DEGREE TO WHICH MARRIED INTERVIEWEES KNEW THEIR MATES BEFORE MARRIAGE COMPARED WITH DESIRE OF SINGLE INTERVIEWEES TO KNOW THEIRS	90
VII. QUALITIES DESIRED IN MATES	92
VIII. AGE OF MARRIAGE OF WOMEN OF BOMBAY	95
IX. APPROVED AGE OF MARRIAGE FOR GIRLS: VIEWS EXPRESSED BY HINDU YOUTH IN BOMBAY, POONA AND GUJERAT (1930-1933)	96
X. AGE OF MARRIAGE OF MARRIED INTERVIEWEES COMPARED TO AGE AT WHICH SINGLE INTERVIEWEES WISH TO MARRY	97

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE TRADITIONAL JOINT FAMILY PATTERN AND FAMILY SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Joint Family, Caste and Village Community in India¹

These three institutions have played a very significant role in moulding the values, attitudes and beliefs of the people of India from times immemorial. In the past all customs and practices were built around them. A person was loyal to his joint-family, caste and village community and adhered to their traditions. They functioned as the chief agencies in the socializing process of an individual and provided him social, economic and psychological security. Their social norms were very rigid which left little scope for anyone to act on his own initiative.

The Indian village community used to be economically almost self-sufficient. The peasant supplied the basic need of food, and such craftsmen as smiths, carpenters, potters and weavers satisfied the various other needs of the village community. Barter in the commodities produced by the village workers, agricultural or industrial, was more or less restricted to the

¹Iravati Karve, Kinship Organisation in India (Poona, 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 institutions 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."

village. What little surplus that was left was traded with the people of other villages on a market day held in a big village nearby. Contact with the outside world was limited owing to, in the first instance, the self-sufficient character of the village, and secondly, poor means of transportation and still poorer means of communication. It was on occasions such as marriages that people left their village and came into contact with other villages. Occasionally pilgrimages and important festivals provided contact with a wider world. But barring these occasional shifts the village folk lived in isolation, and consequently the characteristic feature of the Indian village community was the absence of any appreciable social and cultural exchange.

Caste² has been a potent factor in stabilizing the cultural pattern. Caste has its own standards, and to these its members conform "ungrudgingly." It dictates to the individual, who would never conceive of initiating any change in the cultural standards of the caste, his complete ideology. It is left to the lower castes to imitate the pattern of the higher castes in order to better themselves in the social hierarchy. This, in the past, has however facilitated the subconscious evolution of a uniform pattern for Hindus as a whole. The recalcitrant of any higher caste, intending to break with the caste pattern, was threatened with immediate expulsion from his caste.

²eg. S. Ghurye, Caste and Class in India (Bombay, 1932), pp. 6, 7, 44-114, 161. In the traditional order of ranking of the four main castes, the Brahmins, who were allotted the religious and teaching duties for the Hindu society, were placed at the top. Next in rank came the military caste, the Kshatriyas, then the Vaisyas caste, which was comprised of people carrying out business and agricultural occupations. The Sudras caste, beneath the Vaisyas in prestige, undertook the lower occupational duties. Finally, the so-called "untouchables," re-named by Gandhi the Harijans, were the outcastes who did all the most disagreeable jobs such as scavenging.

Village life was so coordinated that every caste had its proper place and duties. In order to maintain the equilibrium of social relationships a strict observance of this code of caste was inevitable. Any disturbance in the caste organization had its concomitant ripples in the life of the village. Conformity to caste ideology was essential to the peaceful tenor of village life, and the expelled member of the caste was therefore an offender in the eyes of the village community too. All services were refused to him and his very existence in the village was made most difficult, if not impossible.

Social changes in India today must be studied against the background of the age-old traditions of social life of the country. In a study of the changing pattern of the traditional family pattern in India, it is necessary to have a general understanding of the basic conception and structure of the traditional institution called the joint-family. Hinkoff and Gore remark:

The most common variety of the family since the beginning of human society is the type that now prevails in the West, namely, the simple family of husband, wife, and offspring. But in India there is another type of family known as the joint family, consisting often of the head and his wife and their married sons and wives and children. The term, joint family, is an interesting one, implying as it does that the family is a combination of separate units. The phrase, joint family, is probably of English origin, and several generations ago, only a non-Indian would see anything joint in the Indian family. In traditional Hindi there is no word for joint family, or for its opposite, the unitary or separate family--only a word for family. To the Hindu, in the past, family has meant joint family.³

Different regions in India have varied structures of social life. Such variations are very significant when we think of the institution of the

³M. F. Hinkoff and M. S. Gore, "Social Bases of the Hindu Joint Family," Sociology and Social Research, XLIV (September 1959), 27.

family.⁴ For example, there are some communities in India which have a decidedly maternal system of family. Patriarchy exists in certain parts in its extreme form. The Nairs of Malabar and the Khasis of Assam traditionally followed the maternal family system, whereas the Namboodiris of Malabar traditionally have had a decidedly patriarchal family system, which rests all authority with the paternal head of the household.⁵ But the classical pattern of the family in India is that of the joint family. It has evolved into many forms and developed many variations under the influence of different castes, as well as regional and religious cultures. But as a type, the Hindu joint-family has remained an enduring influence across the ages providing to the institution of the family in the whole of India a certain basic unity of form. Speaking of the Hindu joint-family, David G. Mandelbaum writes:

⁴David Mandelbaum, "The Family in India," in The Family: Its Functions and Destiny, Ruth Anshen, (ed.) (New York: 1949), p. 93. "India is so vast and her people seem so variegated that any generalized statement of the family in India must be subject to numerous exceptions in detail and amendments in local particular. Nevertheless, it is possible to depict Indian family organization in general terms that will have some applicability to a very large proportion of the Indian population."

⁵The chief characteristics of the maternal type are the following:
 (i) Descent is traced through the mother, not the father (matrilineal).
 (ii) Often children are raised in the home of the wife's relatives (matrilocal). The husband, sometimes merely a privileged visitor, has in this respect a secondary position in the home where his wife and children live. He may, however, have the dominant position in the family of his sister. (iii) Authority within the family group belongs primarily not to the husband but to some representative of the wife's kin. The Nairs of Malabar and Khasis of Assam traditionally followed the maternal family system. The patriarchal type, in its extreme form, vests all authority with the paternal head of the household. It is also patrilineal and patrilocal. The Namboodiris of Malabar traditionally have had a decidedly patriarchal family system. (See McIver and Page, Society. New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1954, pp. 247-48.

The classic form of the family in India is that of the joint family. It is prescribed in certain of the sacred Hindu books and has prevailed in the land for centuries. The joint family structure is today more characteristic of rural than of urban families, of the upper caste and wealthier strata of society than of the lower and poorer strata, of the more orthodox sectors than of those which have taken over Western traits, and of Hindu than of Muslim communities. But even among urban and westernized and Muslim families the patterns of interpersonal relationships set by the joint family are not wholly ignored, and the model of the orthodox scriptural joint family still has influence everywhere in India.⁶

The patrilineal joint family is the most common type of joint family found among the Hindus in India.

Salient Features of the Joint-Family Structure

The traditional joint-family⁷ consists of male members having common ancestry, female offspring not yet married, and women brought into the family

⁶Mandelbaum, p. 167.

⁷Iravati Karve gives a very precise definition of the joint family: "A joint family is a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred." (Kinship Organization in India, p. 10)

B. R. Agarwala includes the concept of authority: "[Members of the joint family] are under the authority of the elder in matters of family and religion, joint investment of capital, joint enjoyment of profits, and of incurring birth, marriage and death expenses from the joint funds." ("In a Mobile Commercial Community," in "Symposium: Caste and Joint Family," Sociological Bulletin, IV (September 1955), pp. 141-2.)

I. P. Desai in his article, "The Joint Family in India - An Analysis," emphasizes the relationship between the family members: "The type of family is not to be determined by the fact of co-residence, commensality or the size of the group. It is the relationship between the members of a household among themselves and with those of another household that determines the type of the family of that household." ("The Joint Family in India - An Analysis," Sociological Bulletin, Vol. V. n.2 (September 1956), 147-8. See also his article, "An Analysis," in "Symposium: Caste and Joint Family," Sociological Bulletin, Vol. IV, n.2 (September 1955), 97-117.)

The writer of this thesis has preferred to give a descriptive definition of the joint family in India.

by marriage, living together in one household or several households connected together. The psychological bond between the members of the joint-family is so strong that kinship relationship is put above all other relationships in loyalty and support. All through the ages, to a Hindu, his family and kinship group have been the mainstay against all odds.

In general, the joint-family consists of members of three or four generations, joined together on the basis of common ancestry and property.⁸ Through the ages there have been considerable variations in principle as well as detail regarding "ancestor-rite" and inheritance of property, yet these twin aspects of the joint-family have kept the family members welded together.⁹

This traditional structure of the joint-family naturally provides the starting point in this investigation. This pattern still persists in India especially among the more conservative sections of our people in rural areas. Even where the pattern is breaking down the ideological basis of the joint-family is preserved. Consequently freedom to the individualistic demands of modern youth is given very often as a compulsion of necessity. Where blood kinship is the basis of family loyalty and its claim to priority over all other loyalties is recognized, the sense of belonging in a joint-family

⁸"We can call a household a nuclear family if it is composed of a group of parents and their unmarried children, not related to the other kin through or by property or income or the rights and obligations pertaining to them.-- We call that household a joint-family which has a greater generation depth (i.e., three or more) than the nuclear family and the members of which are related to one another by property, income and mutual rights and obligations. The members may be related collaterally or lineally." Desai, "The Joint Family in India," p. 144.

⁹P. U. Prabhu, Hindu Social Organisation. (Bombay, 1954).

predominates. Common possession of large family estates, whether in the form of landed property or business interests, is another characteristic feature of the joint-family.

Ancestor-rite and prayers associated with this rite constitute a basis of joint-family life.¹⁰ According to the Rig Veda (i.e., the Hindu religious mythological scriptures) the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to be living under King Yama, the god of death. On supplication and ancestor-rites, King Yama visits the grieved relatives and brings them "liberation and salvation." This ancestor-rite may be performed either in an elaborate form, with the Brahmin priests presiding, or in the simple form, without the Brahmin priests.¹¹ In the early stages of ancestor-rite, daughters were allowed to perform this duty, but during the period when the ancestor-rite ceremonies became elaborate and complicated, the sons alone were regarded as eligible for offering oblations and prayers for the ancestor spirits.

Thus the emphasis on "giving birth to a son" came into the focus of the joint family life. As the individual's debts to his ancestors and to his community were emphasized, his obligation to "give birth to a son" became greater, because one's son by offering ancestor-rite (to one after one's death, and) to one's ancestors, would help them in their "spiritual march." Hence the Hindi term for son is putra (one who saves), derived from put (salvation). Therefore the presence of a male child in the family is considered extremely

¹⁰Ghurye, G. S., Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture (Bombay, 1955).

¹¹The Brahmins are traditionally the priestly caste and religious teachers in India: see Morris E. Opler, Village Life in North India (Chicago, 1950) pp. 280-88.

important for the salvation of a Hindu, and his place in the Indian joint-family is so elevated that procreation becomes a duty in the interest of both the family and the community. So the Hindu way of life in the joint-family includes three most important steps for every individual: to get married, to have a son or sons, and to perform the ancestor-rites.¹²

Common property constitutes the second basis of joint-family. Through the ages there have been considerable variations in property rights, yet it has remained a most important common bond of the joint-family. Customarily, property is divided with the consent of the father during his life-time, yet the authority of the father over the family property is accepted by all members of the family. In this respect the Hindu society shows a profound understanding of the nature of family property and its influence on family relations. In order to maintain a balance in such social relations, the Hindu society, for centuries, theoretically upheld and supported the right of the individual to property, but always preferred its joint ownership and utilization as a practical way out.

The accumulation of property by the family, especially property in land, accentuates the sense of family unity. The farmer gets a labor force by begetting children and by bringing relatives into the household, thus increasing the size of the family. There is thus an economic inducement for the joint-family to remain cohesive and to grow in size. In an agricultural society, property in land is highly valued and traditionally division of land is considered bad, partly because small units become uneconomic and are insufficient

¹²For a good description of the rituals in an Indian village see Shyama C. Dube, Indian Village (London 1955), pp. 96-130.

to support a family.

A distinctive feature of the Hindu joint-family is the joint residence of several married brothers who share equally in the family property. Under the Mitakshara law, sons could ask for partition of the ancestral property, but the inherent right of each individual in the joint property was not disturbing in the past, because it was not exercised, whereas at present suits for partition are common.¹³

Ninkoff and Gore¹⁴ remark that when we look for common values in the joint-family, we are at once led to the occupation of agriculture, which is common for all the members of the family. Farming is a non-individualizing occupation because: (a) all the members of the family depend upon the family for employment and economic support, and not upon diversified outside employment; (b) the land and the household provide work for all the able-bodied, the young and the old, and no one is differentiated as unemployed; and (c) the labor is generally unpaid labor, and the absence of money means there is no objective measure for differentiating the contribution of the different workers even if there were a significant difference, which is quite unlikely in the collective pursuit of agriculture. So the work on the land fosters the sense of jointness in the family.

Marriage in Rural India

Marriage is an event of great significance in rural societies.¹⁵ It is

¹³Ninkoff and Gore, p. 30.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁵Margaret Cormack gives an excellent description of marriage as a social-religious rite: The Hindu Woman (New York, 1953), pp. 121-30. See

not only an event in which the families involved participate, but it is also an occasion when the entire village considers it an essential duty to provide every assistance. The menfolk from the village of the groom accompany him to the bride's village where the actual marriage ceremony takes place after which they return to their village with both the bride and groom. All this takes three to four days depending on the distance between the villages of the two parties. But the point is that marriage is the concern of the entire village and this concern still continues.

Marriage in India follows the principles of village exogamy and caste endogamy, that is, a man must get a wife from another village but from his own caste. This is the traditional arrangement. Even in the cities at present, where the occupational component of caste has undergone considerable change, the marital component is more resistant to change. Intracaste marriage reinforces the joint-family. She is the stranger in the group, the alien element, the potentially disruptive element. Since caste is a set of behavior patterns, intracaste marriage adds an individual to the group who is likely to be harmonious.¹⁶

In marriage caste rules are very strictly observed and intercaste marriage is almost unknown.¹⁷ Violating caste rules in marriage means the severe penalty of social ostracism. The usual practice to marry outside one's own village is upheld by the belief that a woman far from her parent's home can be better controlled. It is also required by group exogamy sanctioned by religious and social customs.

Marriages were always arranged by the family, and these ensured a distinct measure of cultural and religious similarity between the marriage

also Prabhu, pp. 163-72.

¹⁶Nimkoff and Gore, p. 31.

¹⁷Prabhu, p. 154.

partners, since such marriages generally took place with reference to caste, religion and social status.

While selecting a partner the main consideration of the parents was to see that the selected spouse would fit into the family life and pattern. The Hindu Dharmasutras (i.e., the Hindu religious and moral code) give a long list of qualities to be looked for in a bride at the time of selection.¹⁸ It insists that the family of the spouse be known to continue the Hindu cultural tradition. It also recommends that inquiries be made into the family of the spouse to the extent of four or even five generations on both sides. Family background was thus an important factor in the selection of a spouse, and it still continues to have some importance with many Hindus. Frequently the idea is to ascertain that the family is held high in social estimation for its standard of living, material as well as cultural. Traditionally the choice was left to the parents, and a partner in marriage had little voice in settling it; but marriage did not often prove unhappy because the parents were very careful and even fastidious in selecting the spouse from "proper families," and "the social ideals of marriage and the joint-family organization afforded little chance for clash of interests or ideology."¹⁹

Parents usually try to get their daughters married as soon as they reach puberty. Often it was even earlier. An impetus was given to earlier marriages by attaching social prestige:

It was the sign of one's affluence or status to get one's child betrothed before she reached the age of puberty. It was a matter of pride and prestige that one's child was sought after

¹⁸K.M. Kapadia, Marriage and Family in India (Bombay 1955), p. 136.

¹⁹Ibid.

at a tender age. Under the operation of these various forces early marriages became more popular and with the passing of time the practice became so compelling that a departure from it was a matter of social disapproval and even of social disgrace.²⁰

In case of marriages at a tender age, the girl continues to live with her parents thus avoiding cohabitation with her husband, until the time she attains puberty. This great haste in marrying off girls so young is due both to religious beliefs and to social customs. Many parents feel that a grown unmarried daughter in the home is always a source of danger and therefore it is best to get her married soon. Virginity at marriage is considered a badge of respectability.²¹ The higher castes are often more particular about early marriage than the others. Some lower castes in their attempt to climb up the social ladder, observe the accepted customs regarding the age of marriage, etc., more carefully, and in some cases even out-do the upper castes in such observances. The lower castes in their imitation of the higher have sometimes outstripped them by contracting marriage even before the birth of the child. Betrothal of children when they were in the womb and their marriage at an early age was not in their case troublesome as they allowed widow remarriage, whereas the upper castes discouraged widow remarriage.

A word about the socio-psychological aspect of early marriage. After marriage the bride comes to live in the joint-family of her husband and becomes a member of it. There she comes into contact with persons who do not know her and whom she does not know. There is the possibility of conflict between her and her elders with respect to habits, attitudes, social etiquette,

²⁰Ibid., p. 145.

²¹Prabhu, Hindu Social Organization, p. 153.

dress, and a number of other things. As she is expected to behave properly to add to the prestige of her father's family, and proper behaviour implies obedience to her husband, his parents and his elders, she has to give in and acquire their tastes. She cannot be, rather she is not expected to be, "assertive." The usual pattern of behaviour between the husband and wife is that of the dominance of the former over the latter. A frequent pattern of behaviour between the daughter-in-law and mother-in-law is often that of conflict. The mother-in-law sometimes assumes the role of a harsh "taskmistress" so as to show the new bride that she is still the mistress, and unless the daughter-in-law is very tactful or subservient to the wishes of her mother-in-law the two are unlikely to be in accord with each other.²² And in this pattern of conflict the mother-in-law had the socially recognized dominant role. The young girl thus not only finds herself in unfamiliar and at times conflicting surroundings, but is made to realize at the first opportunity the dominating role of her mother-in-law in the life she now begins.

Since the daughter-in-law is eventually expected to run the family, a certain amount of power struggle gradually develops between the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law. Underlying this rivalry and jealousy of each other's power is the mother-in-law's authority over the distribution of duties and functions in the joint-family. Before the arrival of the new bride the mother-in-law did most of the work in the home by herself, but the arrival of the daughter-in-law has increased the number of workers in the joint-family without increasing the work. Therefore, there is always a complaint that the

²²Cormack, p. 130.

mother-in-law enjoys leisure at the cost of her daughter-in-law. Such criticism increases as the physical powers of the mother-in-law decline without a corresponding decline in her authority.

Since early marriage has been the custom in India, the young wife was nervous in her household work and duties, and her mother-in-law, who also was uneducated, did feel the temptation to show her power and authority, and one hears of frequent instances when daughters-in-law have sought refuge elsewhere in order to escape from the tyranny of their mothers-in-law. The extent of ill-treatment is probably exaggerated, but there is no doubt that it did exist.²³ It was an age of authority: sons, daughters, daughters-in-law--all bowed down before the orders and desires of their elders.

However, since the young bride is trained from childhood for wife-hood she is in many ways ready to play her role in this new setting. As she comes from the same background of caste-customs and agricultural way of life, the difficulties of adjustment are reduced. Yet problems due to personality differences do often arise and lead to frequent conflicts. These conflicts however have become so common a tradition, that the daughter-in-law, especially if she is somewhat grown-up, comes mentally prepared to submit to the authoritarian treatment of the mother-in-law. The bride's mother has already instructed the daughter to become "subservient" in her new home particularly to the mother-in-law. It is the mother's duty to train her daughter to be an absolutely docile daughter-in-law. The young bride must do everything she can to please her parents-in-law and her husband. If she does not get on with her

²³Cormack, p. 130.

mother-in-law, she will be a disgrace to her family, and cast a blot on the fair name of her mother. The mother dinst into her daughters' ears certain ideals which make for harmony (at the expense even of her sacrificing her own will) in her later life. There is no denying that this early training is very effective in reducing the conflict to a minimum.

In case there are already daughters-in-law present in the family, often rivalry develops between them too. They may all try to win the mother-in-law's favour and support. However, sometimes the daughters-in-law join together in friendship against the tyranny and unjust treatment of the mother-in-law. However, the daughters-in-law may also be divided among themselves by rivalry, jealousy and suspicion. The intrigues and jealousies among the womenfolk in a joint family are the despair of men. "If we listen to all the going-on in the family, we will lose our heads," say the men. Others take it more stoically: "God has made mothers-in-law to quarrel with the wives of their sons, and the wives to quarrel among themselves."

Traditional Husband-Wife Relationship

In the traditional joint-family parents were obliged to find mates for their children and the children to accept their choice. As the marriage contract was looked on as an agreement between two families rather than between two young people, love was not necessary as a basis for marriage selection, nor was courtship a necessary prelude for testing the relationships. The Hindu ideal²⁴ had no regard for individual taste, and in fact, rather feared

²⁴Tagore Rabindaranath, "The Indian Ideal of Marriage," in The Book of Marriage, ed. Herman Keyserling (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1920).

it, as it might upset the adjustment of the bride to her new household. Thus marital choice was subordinate to group ends. Love between husband and wife was the result of marriage, in the Hindu view, not the prelude to it.

"Marriage was a social duty toward the family and the community, and there was little idea of individual interest. The social background provided by the authoritarian joint-family, and caste with its dominion in all spheres of life, afforded no scope for the recognition of any personal factor, individual interests and aspirations, in the relations between husband and wife."²⁵

The aims of marriage according to the Hindu Dhamasutras (i.e., the Hindu religious and moral code) are dharma (duty), praja (progeny) and rati (pleasure). Of these three, "dharma" is considered by the Hindus to be of supreme importance: it implies a religious duty and duty towards the family and caste. Therefore, one marries not only for his individual needs and pleasures but for the sake of the entire joint-family. The need for a companion, as the urban nuclear family ideally conceives it, is not stressed in the Hindu joint-family. The husband and the wife have little time and occasion to meet and converse with one another in the rural joint family.

According to the traditional norms of Hindu society, a husband is expected to be an "authoritarian" figure, whose will should always dominate the domestic scene. As the head of the household he should demand respect and obedience from his wife and children. The wife should regard him as her "master" and should "serve him faithfully." It is the husband's responsibility to provide adequately for the support and maintenance of "his dependents"

²⁵Kapadia, Marriage and Family in India, p. 169.

and the wife's duty is to "run the household frugally and efficiently." In an ideal home, "all major decisions are taken by the husband," sometimes in consultation with his wife and grown-up children; but the final say in all matters connected with the family is always with the husband.

The husband is expected to "watch the activities and ways of his wife" as well as "take care of the proper upbringing of his children." The wife should "serve her husband with loyalty and devotion." The husband is "superior"; the wife is his "subordinate."²⁶ As a mark of the recognition of his superiority the wife shows respect to her husband by touching his feet. When his wife errs, the husband is expected to reprimand her and sometimes even "beat" her. However, a good wife is not expected to answer him back. Even when the husband is wrong she is supposed to bear her lot meekly and submissively. This cultural pattern is reflected in the lament of a wife over her husband's demise, when she wails, "Where is my lord? Where is my master? Now who will support me? The shield that protected me is gone; now I am helpless."²⁷

In the joint-family system, conjugal love takes nothing away from filial love. The sons remain at home, and their wives come under the direction of the mother who initiates her daughters-in-law to household management and family traditions. The new bride enters her new home "as timidly as she enters a temple," she will submit to the discipline of her new family, and take as her own the parents and relatives of her husband. Here one may note

²⁶Dube, Indian Village, p. 142.

²⁷Cormack, p. 133.

a difference in the mutual relations between husband and wife: the wife belongs to her husband first of all; the husband first belongs to his mother. It is from this view, which is dominated by the respect for authority, that there arose the condition of inferiority in which Hindu women were kept.

She prostrates herself to receive her husband's blessing, she prepares his food and serves him during his meal, and she eats after him and alone. In all their relations there is no thought of equality and the orthodox Hindu wife would never claim anything like equality with her husband. It seems as natural for her to pay him a "dutiful cult" as it is natural for him to receive it from her.

This tone in conjugal relations also reveals the specific ideal in married life. For a Hindu, a wife is first of all "the mother of our child." It is not to satisfy his passions, it is not even to increase their mutual love that husband and wife primarily unite; it is to found a family. As already stated, does not the Hindu religion place the "cult of the ancestors" at the centre of the domestic ritual?

Marriage for the Hindus is binding and irrevocable. The parties to the marriage cannot dissolve it at will. They are bound to each other until the death of either of them (and the wife is supposed to be bound to her husband even after his death). This concept of marriage, that it is indissoluble, is a lofty one because it means that the husband and wife after marriage have to adjust their taste and temper, their ideals and interests, instead of breaking with each other when they find that these differ. It thus involves sacrifices on the part of both husband and wife as each is called upon to overcome the incompatibility of the other. Hence, in a Hindu marriage,

demands of personal gratification and pleasures are subordinated, and the individual is called upon to make marriage a success by means of adjustments and compromise.

For the most part, the moral demands of wedded life, namely, for faithfulness, loyalty, obedience and service are made more on the wife than on the husband thus setting separate standards of morality, one for man and another for woman. It is the wife who "should be of one mind with the husband,"²⁸ and "should always remain cheerful and mindful of household duties."

Because of social and physical conditions in villages and families (such as shortage of living space, crowded conditions, and large families) personal intimacy on the level of companionship is not so noticeable as fidelity and service to the husband. The wife's only concern in life is to see that all services needed by her husband are properly performed by her, the satisfaction of her husband being her sole joy in life. As the husband is the centre of all her activities and interests there is no question of raising a word against him even when he is found to be ill-tempered or a drunkard. The wife is not only attached to him as long as he is alive, but even after his death, "because a faithful wife can never conceive of having another husband."²⁹

Relations between the newly married couple in the rural joint-family home take a long time to settle down. They are strangers to each other and they have no privacy in the rural joint-family home to enable them to develop

²⁸Hedwig Bachmann, On The Soul of the Indian Woman: As Reflected in the Folklore of the Koukan (Boston, 1942), p. 125.

²⁹Ibid.

understanding and admiration for each other, and few opportunities to sit down and discuss important matters. Also, both of them are playing minor roles in the family, as the family politics are dominated by the older and more experienced generation. Though such relationships make it easier to get along with each other, there is no question of critical discussion or heated arguments, and if such happen to arise, the husband is expected to put the wife in her "proper place." It is in the nature of the Indian rural joint-family set-up that the wife is expected to make the adjustment and discipline herself to fit into the joint-family situation.

The problem of lack of privacy and lack of opportunity to meet together to create companionship and understanding is compensated by the fact of early marriage and early emphasis on children. After one or two children, the couple settles down to a routine life, and if the children happen to be sons, the wife has secured an honoured position in the family. Children also become a source of common concern between husband and wife. During this period closer understanding and companionship develops between the couple. After the death of the mother-in-law the relationship between the husband and the wife becomes quite intimate and strong. With increased emphasis on common family social duties it grows with years even if the partners do not have physical appeal for each other.

The management of the household is primarily the wife's duty, to be discharged with the consent of her husband. If the husband is a spend-thrift it is her duty to put a gentle check on his extravagance. She is to run the household and help the husband by contributing her labour if he is poor.

A wife's authority in the household depended on her husband's position.

If she was the wife of the oldest son, she might have power in household matters above an older sister-in-law. Any power she had over her husband depended on her personality, and on her ability to influence him to her views. It is quite possible that this influence was often considerable, and in some circumstances so great that she literally became the "power behind the throne."

Even though a woman in the rural joint-family household may have no power as a wife, but as a mother she acquires it. The greatest respect is paid to the mother of several children, especially male children. Therefore, the desire among the newly-weds to have children is very great. If the first born is a son she acquires a very privileged position within the family. She, therefore, waits for power within the family which comes to her as she has more children and grows in age. Then she becomes the pillar of the household ruling other women the way she was ruled, and in many ways even ruling men.

However, this pattern of husband-wife relationships is changing somewhat in cases where the large joint-family, though living together in the same house, is divided into distinct nuclear families having their separate hearths or kitchens.³⁰ This intermediary type of family organization between traditional joint-family with a common hearth and the nuclear family affords greater opportunity to husband and wife which makes them feel more interdependent. Still, as S. C. Dube states,

the solidarity between this cluster of families expresses itself on ceremonial occasions and in times of stress and calamity. In

³⁰This intermediary type of family organization is largely the result of jealousy and rivalry among the women folk in the joint-family.

the hour of need they must support each other, and mutual consultations among them in regard to all major decisions are regarded as desirable.³¹

Even in the traditional families the husband-wife relationship is not inhuman as sometimes viewed by people brought up in the urban nuclear family. When considered in its total context it is an understandable relation. For instance, mutual consultations are few in the traditional set-up. Decisions in a family are not arrived at democratically. Due to the relatively static nature of rural society, customs and traditions become the regulators of social life and there are few novel situations for which new decisions have to be taken. As for companionship the husband finds it in the several male members of the family and so does the wife in the female members.

Functions of the Family

The family in India has been a potent factor in the continuance of cultural traditions. Family tradition was valued above everything, and the primary duty of the head of the family was to ensure that family traditions in all matters relating to life were perpetuated by their solemn observance, however unmeaningful they might begin to appear as conditions changed. The traditional authority of the head over the junior members of the family was so "awe-inspiring" that frequently the juniors never thought of expressing their differences, whatever their convictions might be. The subordination designed to regulate the lives of the different members in the hierarchy of the joint-family household, recognition of the family as a unit for all social

³¹g. C. Dube, "Social Structure and Change in Indian Peasant Communities," Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology.

relationships, the place assigned to the family as a judicial unit in family quarrels--all tended to give the family such enormous influence that the individual lost his identity in it. The social environment rarely provided any opportunity to the individual to feel that he had interests apart from those of the family.³²

Both the joint-family and the caste system engenders a collectivistic attitude in the individual. The joint family is joint in food, worship and property.³³ There is the sense of common responsibility for the fulfillment of material requirements of all the members within the household. The joint-family consists of a rather wide range of kinsmen of several generations living together with a high degree of interdependence, emotional and social, and operating as a basic family unity.

Again in regard to marriage the social structure has been responsible for the development of particular attitudes and customs. Marriage is considered a family affair. It is a duty for transmitting an undivided property and of maintaining the integrity of the family. It is for the happiness of the group that one gets married. Therefore the marrying parties have little or no say in the matter. It is essentially the duty of the parents or of the senior members of the joint-family to get their wards married at the right time and to the right person.

Some practices and attitudes are significant among the members of a

³²Kapadia, Marriage and Family in India, p. 246.

³³Prabhu, Hindu Social Organization, p. 218.

caste group. One works, marries, lives, in conformity with caste traditions. Therefore, there is a great deal of uniformity in social etiquette, religious beliefs, education, and standards of personal hygiene, etc., among the members of the same family and caste. Even the personal name of an individual becomes of lesser significance as compared to the joint-family or caste name. Social prestige and status in rural India are determined on the basis of one's joint-family and caste affiliation, and one's personal attributes do no enhance or belittle one's status.

The rural family continues to retain most of the so-called primary and secondary functions. All the major needs of the members are fulfilled within the family, such as economic, social, and psychological security. Because it is a well-integrated family it is able to inculcate in the members a sense of belonging by common earning for one another and sharing of the resources available. The members feel that they belong to a group bigger and more powerful than themselves. They find the satisfaction of some of their needs through the group and also learn to submit their personal interests to the interest of the larger group. This has a great disciplining influence upon the individual members.

It is well known that the rural family is a unit of both production and consumption. Its main source of income is agriculture and work on the farm and in the home is divided according to the sex and the ability of the members. However, it is not possible for any member to indicate his share of the production in relation to the work put in. This is one reason why economic considerations do not interfere with the social cohesion of the rural joint-family as it has done in the cities.

The Hindu family is a closely unified social group, whose members live under one roof in a large home of many rooms. The financial resources of the family are pooled, and the family has a leader or "executive head." He is usually the oldest and most respected male present. Many of his duties are concerned with maintaining harmony in the family, but his main role is that of "economic advisor, dispenser and banker." All income comes to him, and he sees to it that the needs of every family member are met. All final decisions regarding economic disbursements are made by him. And in case of illness, marriages, deaths, or other events requiring expenditure, the family is able to supply the needed money or resources to pay for these requirements. A member of the family feels that "he is being looked after," and that his contribution "helps all" in the family.

Respect for age is an important ideal of the family life in India. The family manager as stated is usually the oldest male, unless this person is incompetent. An elderly woman, the mother-in-law or the wife of the eldest son, has charge of the women's affairs in the home. Elders are greeted first, have special places to sit, and are addressed by younger persons in respectful terms.

The rural family institution has also always provided security for the aged, the widows and the orphans. Age in the rural communities is in fact taken as a sign of wisdom and therefore greater prestige. The older a person becomes the more he is venerated. His physical strength diminishes but he acquires a position in the family which is above those of the younger ones. Age and wisdom are correlated in rural India, because the aged are bearers of cultural tradition and experience. Along with the pundits and/or

priests, they are "the human libraries" for ready reference by the family on matters about which the family is ignorant or doubtful. Therefore the old are looked upon, not as a burden, but as a "resource." Hindu religion itself has ascribed a very high position to the aged. The widows have had to undergo a great deal of emotional and social hardship in the traditional rural families. But their claim to the minimum requirements of their existence have been recognized. Widows mostly continue to live in the husband's family after his death if they have children, but the issueless widows may move to the home of their parents or brother. In both cases it is the duty of the two families to look after the interests of the widows. In rural India, orphan children rarely realize that their own parents are dead, especially if they die early. They continue to get the same affection and care from their grandparents, aunts, uncles and other relatives. This prevents them from developing the complexes so noticeable in other orphans in urban areas. The Western countries have discovered the great psychological harm which the lack of a natural home can do to the aged, widows and orphans. They require not only economic security but also social status (recognition) and emotional stability.³⁴ And the rural joint-family in India still continues to provide them. The social security programmes sponsored by the Government of India today in the towns have become necessary mainly because of the increasing rate of disintegration of the joint-family through industrial urbanism.³⁵

³⁴E. W. Burgess and H. J. Locke, The Family (2 ed.), (New York 1960), pp. 269-70.

³⁵The Government of India (Ministry of Information), Social Welfare in India (New Delhi 1955), pp. 175, 205, 585.

Generally, the Indian joint-family is the source of love, affection and security, so vitally needed for a growing child. Adverse effects of economic misfortunes and inadequacies of parents in relation to the growing child were offset by the protection provided in the joint-family and the substitute relationships that were available in the family owing to the presence of grandparents, uncles and aunts. Normally, every child is welcome in an Indian family, and no limit is put on their number.³⁶ In times of difficulty children of even distant relations are taken under the care and protection of the family. This traditionally basic cohesion of family relationships, sometimes despite the pressure of the new socio-economic forces, affords excellent protection to children. It must be mentioned that these conditions are now more true of the rural areas than of the urban areas.

As for education of the informal type the joint-family provides it by helping the young ones to learn by doing. Education in the broader sense means the transmission of culture from generation to generation, of which formal education as is given in schools is one aspect. The child in the joint-family begins to learn from his parents and other relatives by example and precept. The daughters help their mothers and other womenfolk in looking after the household work. The elder daughters also take care of their baby

³⁶Gardner Murphy, In the Minds of Men: The Study of Human Behaviour and Social Tensions in India (New York 1952), p. 32. "Children are not individuals only--individuals to be prized, magnified, pushed forward, warned, threatened, rebuked, idealized, fancied in grandiose terms of future achievement. Children are the stuff of one's being. It is warmth and closeness to them that makes life important, meaningful, and continuous. The continuity of Indian life, without which one's own momentary existence is meaningless, is conceived naturally in terms of fruitfulness, in terms of the health, welfare, reproductive capacity, long life of all the individuals who issue from

brothers and sisters thus releasing their mothers for other work. In fact, mothers find a help-mate in their daughters. The son learns from the father or other male members by following them around in the fields, helping them to do their various jobs on the farm and listening to the conversations they have with other people. It is in this way and by degrees that they learn to do the things that will be expected of them in adulthood.

The joint-family includes so many members that affection as well as dependence is diffused among many members and the loss of even an important member, such as a parent, is less critical for the group or individual member than in the nuclear family system which is so small at times that every member plays an important and decisive role. The joint-family, especially in the rural areas, provides a full complement of young and adult people at all times.

A joint family . . . is always an exciting group to live in. All the time something of interest is happening there. Now it is the marriage of a girl or a boy, now it is an initiation ceremony, the birth of a new baby, the puberty rites of a new bride, some particular family ritual, a fast, a feast, sometimes a death. The great extent of the family always ensures the coming and going of guests. The brothers of the brides come to invite them to their mothers' houses, the daughters of the house are being brought home for a family feast or wedding. There is always bustle and expectation, laughter and quarrels, discussions and plans. Life may be complicated, sometimes full of bitterness but rarely dull, at least from the point of view of the children.

The joint-family is a miniature world, in some ways standing apart, in others inextricably bound up in a never-ending ceremonial of exchanges and gift-giving with all the other joint-families with whom it has affinal connections.³⁷

In India the joint-family system still prevails on a considerable scale.

one's own body."

³⁷Karve, Kinship Organization in India, p. 14.

In rural India of the past, the joint-family and the social pattern usually prevalent in a simple and self-sufficient agricultural co-operation economy constituted the order of the day. Communications were not well developed. Life was comparatively simple and usually the demands made on the individual in the family were familiar and not unbearable. The child was born in the family; it grew in the family and the individual lived and died in the family without being much separated from the family and the local community. All the preparations for life were made in the family and supplemented a little by the village community. Few people left their families and villages either for education, employment or for other reasons.

This pattern of joint-family life has for a long time proved to be a fairly healthy form of social life well adjusted to the rural environment in India. However, this traditional family pattern was affected by the advent of the British rule with its impact of Western industrial economy in Bombay and urbanization which followed in its wake.

CHAPTER II

RAPID INDUSTRIAL-URBANIZATION IN BOMBAY

Industrial Urbanization and Social Change

Cities are not new in India and there have been relatively large cities in India for many centuries: Port cities, like Kozhikode, known for their commercial trade; capital cities, like Agra and Vizayanagar, which were important primarily as administrative centres; manufacturing cities, which were important as handicraft centres. However, the social structure of these ancient cities did not have many of the characteristics of modern Indian industrial-urban society with which we are concerned here.

Industrialization and urbanization are not identical social processes, but their separate impacts on social and family life can hardly be distinguished. "Industrialization," according to Rev. Sylvester A. Sieber, S.V.D.,¹ refers to the transformation of an agrarian, household economy into a highly mechanized economy where machines perform much of the labour which was formerly performed by hand; "urbanization" refers to the concentration in limited geographical areas of large numbers of people whose livelihood comes from industrial labour, trade and manufacturing, rather than from agricultural labour. Modern large-scale industrialization does lead to a vast concentration

¹Notes taken during the lectures of Rev. Sylvester A. Sieber, S.V.D. in "Seminar on the Family."

of people in a limited geographical area, as in the case of the city of Bombay, and it is with this type of industrial-urbanization that we are dealing here.

Large industrial cities have emerged mainly because they are in places advantageously situated, places from which their influence can be extended. It is also true that initially they gained power as they were able to exploit lesser places, thus gaining more power and wealth. Turner postulates that industrial cities grew because they were dynamic and were able to exert leadership over the lesser places, gathering the surpluses from the less dynamic.² For their subsistence industrial cities had to give something in return, and they had to be creative. Because they were creative, they attracted creative people, and because they have always been places of work they attracted people searching work.

Urbanization as mere physical conglomeration of people is one thing; urbanization as something dynamic, creative, an expanding influence, is something else. Out of its creativeness, the process of urbanization continually brings about changes in social patterns of life. In this sense industrial-urbanization is "tradition-negating."³

The vigour of the industrial urban order might decline if people no longer moved from place to place, and if movement from one kind of work to another were to cease. With an end to the coming in of migrants, industrial cities

²Ralph Turner, The Great Cultural Tradition (New York: 1941), Vol. II, p. 1250.

³Nels Anderson, The Urban Community, A World Perspective (New York 1959), pp. 1-3, 36-39, 57-67.

would stagnate. Every child would stay in the social class of his father, which would mean a lack of social mobility. Industrial cities would acquire a primitive-like stability. But people do move increasingly, industrial cities do expand, industry is stimulated to great development, and people in the competitive industrial urban life are driven to greater creativeness and social change.

Work-oriented mobility, however, may be more socially disturbing. It feeds a continuous stream of "strangers" into the urban work force and into the residential areas of industrial towns and cities. These must become adjusted to new work and new neighbours. As they must learn to work together, they must also learn to live together. As people move from place to place or from job to job, they also move up or down from one social class to another.⁴ They face the problem also of becoming integrated in groups, neighbourhoods and the wider industrial urban community, or fall by the wayside and lead a socially disorganized life.

Industrial-urbanization as a dynamic force in society, large enough to alter the basic structure of society from agrarian to urban, entered its massive phase only after the Industrial Revolution. Historically, industrial-urbanization is a product of Western society. The real history of industrial-urbanization begins from 1800--and in the course of a century and a half, the countries of Europe and America underwent the profoundest changes known in history and emerged as new societies. The impact of industrial England on a

⁴A. R. Desai, "Urbanization and Social Stratification," Sociological Bulletin (September 1960), 7-14.

country like India has initiated a process of potentially profound changes. While there are qualities that are thought to be inherent in the very process of industrial-urbanization, one must also take note of the social matrix in which this process of industrial-urbanization occurs.

Industrial-Urbanization in India

The mechanised large-scale modern industry made its appearance in India two generations after the industrial revolution in England. The immediate effect of the industrial revolution on India was the destruction of her small-scale industries. But in spite of the destruction of the small-scale industrial system of India, cotton mills sprang up in Bombay and the neighbourhood since the middle of the nineteenth century. Though the first mill (jute mill) was started in Calcutta in 1818, the real beginning of modern industry in India dates from 1854 when a cotton mill was established in Bombay.⁵ The development of cotton mill industry in Bombay is not surprising as cotton industry has always been and remained India's industry par excellence.

With the development of foreign trade, industrial commercial cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras developed very fast. The accumulation of wealth through the development of commerce provided capital for the growing industries in these cities. The construction of railways connecting the chief cities since 1857 broke up the complete isolation of villages for the first time in Indian history,⁶ and helped in the further growth of the cities, thus giving

⁵K. K. Dewett and J. D. Varma, Indian Economics (New Delhi 1960), p. 177.

⁶Sir Percival Griffiths, Modern India (London 1957), p. 69.

an impetus to the growth of commercial capitalism. Very soon industrial capitalism was born.

The First World War gave Indian industry a further impetus for growth. Ever since the beginning of this century, Indian public opinion had demanded State protection for the industries. The initial success of the Indian-owned cotton mill industry in Bombay and the growing spirit of nationalism made educated Indians demand State help.⁷ Many of them sincerely believed that industrialization was the panacea for the economic ills of the country. Since the early twenties of this century State protection was granted to some industries, a policy which produced spectacular results. During 1922-39, production of cotton piece-goods increased by more than double, that of steel ingots increased eight times, and that of paper two-and-a-half times. Sugar industry became self-sufficient by 1936 only after four years of protection. The Second World War accelerated this industrial expansion and maximum utilization of existing capacity was achieved during this period. New industries like those producing diesel engines, pumps, bicycles, sewing machines, soda ash and caustic soda were started. At the end of the war India's industrial production was higher than ever before. Since then industrial production has further risen as a result of planning under the Government of India's Five Year Plans.⁸ Taking 1946 as base year the general index for industrial production has gone up from 100 to 161 in 1955. The rise in production has been

⁷Dewett and Varma, pp. 222-29.

⁸Government of India (Publications Division), India 1960 (New Delhi 1960), pp. 296-327.

particularly significant in cotton textiles, jute, sugar, matches, paper, electric lamps and sewing machines.

Urbanization is the necessary concomitant of industrial development. There are today 73 cities which have a population of one lakh (i.e. 100,000) or more each and 111 towns with a population varying from 50,000 to a lakh. Twenty-four of the 73 cities have each a population of 5 lakhs or more.⁹ The present urbanization has been largely the result of the progress of industrialization. It must be remembered that in spite of the pace of industrialization and urbanization, India is still primarily a country of villages, agriculture and cottage industries. As against 3,018 towns there are 558,089 villages in the country, with 82.7 per cent of the total population living in the villages.¹⁰

India is still predominantly a rural country and almost all of her social patterns and cultural traditions have rural roots. They are rural in their origin and are most meaningful in a rural environment. As more and more people move to the city the rural roots of their life get gradually severed. However, many city folk in fact still try to hold on to their rural habits and values. Against this background a new industrial-urban Indian way of life is developing in Bombay and the other industrial cities of India.

Rate of Migration to Industrial Towns in India

Economic and industrial progress demands a continuous shift of population

⁹Dewett and Varma, pp. 20-21.

¹⁰Government of India (Planning Commission), The New India: Progress Through Democracy (New Delhi 1958), pp. 158-59.

periods of boom and depression, of war and peace, of inflation and deflation, of abundance and scarcity. The fate of the immigrant workers has been intimately connected with these changes.

The early contingents that came to Bombay were quickly absorbed in the expanding industries. These workers, after settling down in Bombay, brought their friends and relatives, thus increasing the labour force in the city. Today, the cotton textile industry alone gives employment to a very large number of men--and women--to about 40 per cent of the industrial workers in the city.¹⁹

A significant factor that facilitates the flow of "ruralities" into the city, besides the availability of employment, is the availability of accommodation. The Bombay Municipality and Government have built a number of chawls (i.e. apartment houses) in different areas. These working-class chawls are, however, highly congested. Light and air are conspicuously lacking in many of the tenements; and water and bathroom facilities are equally inadequate. In fact, the congestion and the filthy conditions of these chawls are a most disgusting sight. A room of 10' X 10' accommodates a large family, and occasionally even two families. Quite a few of them sleep in the passages at night. This congestion is created, firstly, by the large-scale influx of workers and secondly by workers accommodating the newcomers coming from their own villages for jobs in the city. The "ruralities" invariably show a keen desire to help their neighbours coming to the city from their villages, even at the cost of great personal inconvenience.

¹⁹George Rosen, Industrial Change in India (Glencoe 1958), p. 36.

urban environment in a comparatively short period. But in the under-developed countries, the employment opportunities in the industrial towns expand very slowly as compared to the tempo of the rural migration, and hence only a small section of the rural migrants are able to secure permanent employment in the industrial towns.

TABLE I

URBAN POPULATION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION IN OR ABOUT 1880 AND THE LATEST YEAR UP TO 1951 FOR WHICH INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE^a

Country	Year	Percentage ^b	Year	Percentage ^c
England and Wales	1880	67.9	1951	80.7
Germany	1880	29.1	1950	71.1
U.S.A.	1880	28.6	1950	63.7
France	1880	34.4	1950	52.9
Sweden	1880	15.1	1950	56.3
U.S.S.R.	1897	15.0	1939	32.8
India	1881	9.4	1951	17.3

^aSelected countries. The reason for taking 1951 as the limit is that the latest census figures available for India are for 1951.

^bFigures given in this column are from The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends, United Nations, New York, 1953, p. 109.

^cFigures given in this column are from Demographic Yearbook, 1952, United Nations, New York, 1952, p. 11.

Due to this migration from rural areas, Bombay's population has rapidly grown in the last two decades. A continuous series of figures exist of the population who were born outside Bombay City, because Bombay City has always been a separate census district. The percentage of the city population born outside Bombay City was 68.9 in the census of 1872, and was always higher than 70 per cent in all the subsequent censuses, including that of 1951 when the figure was 72.1 per cent. According to the census figures of 1951,¹¹ out of the total population of 2,839,270 of the City of Bombay, 1,260,048 came from other Districts in Bombay State; 859,495 from other states in India. This shows the significance of the problem of migration.

These migrants, pouring into the city of Bombay from different parts of the State, year after year, have built the City as we find it today. They come from a rural culture and from a rural social and family background. They come with a variety of ambitions, aspirations and expectations.

The present study contemplates an assessment of the industrial urban influence on their social and family pattern. However, for a proper understanding of the impact of the city influences it is of importance to know their background and what drives them to Bombay. Their rural family background has been studied in Chapter I. We will now investigate briefly the reasons for migrating to Bombay and other industrial towns in India.

¹¹Government of India (Publications Division), Indian Census Report, 1951 (New Delhi 1953).

Reasons for Migration

The general socio-economic background of the rural migrants to Bombay has not been satisfactory. The land-holders could not make a living on their tiny holdings, while the tenants had lost their fortune in the efforts to cultivate without adequate capital and tenure of land. The lot of the landless labourers and the share-croppers defied description. The condition of the artisans was in general not so bad, but even some of them had to starve as a result of the fall in demand for their services, particularly the weavers and oil pressers; some of them had to sell their "mags" and "ghanis" (handloom and oil pressing equipment). Since there were no other employment opportunities, moving out of the villages to an industrial town like Bombay in search of work was the only course of action left open to many families.

The following table (Table II) indicates that two-thirds (621) of the total families, contacted by Dr. M. B. Deshmukh in his study of industrial town-ward migration,¹² were forced to migrate due to economic distress (reasons 1, 2 and 3 indicated in the table); while more than one-fourth (261) had abandoned their village homes for reasons which were differently worded but which did amount to nothing but economic suffering (reasons 4 to 7). Out of the total 959 families only 77 families (about 8 per cent) had migrated due to what may be termed as non-economic reasons like family disputes, desire for town life, health, urge for sight-seeing, etc.

¹²M. B. Deshmukh, "A Study of Floating Migration," Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, UNESCO Research Centre (Calcutta 1956) p. 181.

TABLE II
REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Reasons	<u>No. of Families</u>	
	No.	Per Cent
1. Economic distress due to crop failure and scarcity conditions	419	43.7
2. Loss in share-cropping and an intention to avoid consequent payment to the landowner in the form of service on mere subsistence	154	16.0
3. Failure of cultivation on small un-economic holdings	48	5.0
	<hr/> 621	<hr/> 64.7
4. Due to hopes raised by friends and relatives regarding high wages	169	17.6
5. Inadequate opportunities at home (artisans and craftsmen)	38	3.9
6. Desire to avoid money lenders	29	3.0
7. Plan to earn more and save for purchasing land, bullocks, agricultural implements etc.	25	2.6
	<hr/> 261	<hr/> 27.1
8. Family disputes	27	3.0
9. Desire for town life	19	2.0
10. Poor health	12	1.2
11. Urge for sight-seeing	10	1.0
12. For begging and other reasons	9	1.0
	<hr/> 77	<hr/> 8.2
TOTAL	959	100.0

As already stated, the proverbial poverty of the Indian villages which is due to a complex variety of causes, has been a major force driving people on a large scale towards the city. Rapid growth of population in rural India, the profitless nature of agricultural methods of production, inability to utilize (and sometimes prejudice against the use of) modern methods of cultivation, unemployment and underemployment of the rising youth, lack of incentives for progress, and centuries of foreign domination are some of the major causes of poverty in villages. In these circumstances, the prospects of steady income by way of wages, however small, was more than a sufficient incentive to drive the villagers to the city of Bombay.

There are also other socio-economic reasons for this city-ward migration to Bombay. Lack of facilities in the villages for proper and higher education of the youth is an important factor which has also partly caused the city-ward migration. There are much better educational facilities in Bombay than in the rural areas, and better educational facilities are frequently sought in order to get better jobs.

Then again, some, especially the youth, might have migrated in search of greater psychological satisfaction in the urban environment. The city is a place of rapid changes, of innovations, of fashions, of thrills. It opens to them opportunities for fulfilling their ambitions and aspirations, opportunities which are not available in the small villages. Besides socio-economic considerations, Bombay particularly has other attractions which no other city in India possesses. Bombay as an important commercial, financial and industrial centre in the country, offers many opportunities of employment to people in search of work and wages. Besides it has many civic and other attractions

which no other city in India possesses.

Further, the city provides an escape for a certain class of people who have become socially undesirable in the villages. For one thing, it offers an anonymity to those who desire an escape from the social stigma which might have been attached to them in the village owing to their low caste or their anti-social behaviour; or a young man who is considered good-for-nothing, a wastrel, in the village, may run away to the city where everybody has a place. Fanciful and exaggerated stories of city life and its mysteries and attractions which gain currency in the village are a strong stimulus, besides education and employment, driving the village youth to the city.

In this connection it may be observed that the age composition of the rural migrants as revealed in an investigation in Worli (i.e., a section of industrial workers in Bombay) lends support to the contention that it is the combined force of these various causes that compel the villagers to the city.¹³ An overwhelming majority of those who migrate to Bombay belong to the age group 14 to 30 years, which shows that, while socio-economic factors are there, there must also be operating other strong social and emotional forces impelling the village folk to go city-wards.

It may be that these young people do not find it as difficult to adjust themselves to the urban conditions as the older ones do. In fact, it may even be that several of these young people may be enthusiastic and even over-anxious

¹³UNESCO, Research Centre on Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia, Calcutta. The Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization. (Calcutta 1956), p. 58.

to take on the city modes of behaviour, which, in their view, are an index of "progress." Further, migration to the city requires an abundance of energy, considerable adaptability and capacity to compete in the economic and social life of the new environments. That is why older adults cannot afford to abandon the protection of their rural homes and throw themselves into the vortex of urban conditions.

The Migrating Worker

The industrial worker in Bombay generally comes from a close, familiar, well-knit environment of a village. Born and bred amidst the affections of his parents, brothers and sisters, and in fact the whole small village, the industrial worker coming to the city for the first time suddenly gets lost in the tempo of the city life with its accompanying trait of individualism and impersonal ways. He feels cut off for the greater part of his existence from the family, which to him was affectionate and protective.

The migrating industrial worker may come to Bombay alone or with a few close relations or friends. Whatever the case may be, landing in the industrial town, he becomes conscious of the strange urban milieu. As he gradually attempts to settle down, he comes to understand the "institutionalization" of various functions in the city, and that each of these has a price. For education, his child must go to school. He must pay the landlord the house rent. He must go to the market for some of his requirements. For recreation he must go to the cinema, the theatre or the dramatic club. He gradually comes to know a number of conventions, customs and modes very much different from those he was familiar with in his village. This demands a great amount of ability

to adjust on the part of the industrial worker.

The first adjustment a worker is called upon to make is in respect of living with and among strange people and noisy surroundings. Migrants usually come alone; and even if they come in groups, they usually do not have any female member; so, to start with, the worker does not form a family unit.

Dr. P. N. Prabhu¹⁴ remarks that each one of nearly four-fifths (79%) of the Bombay migrants in the group he interviewed came to the city alone, while one-fifth (20%) were brought by close relatives like father, mother, brother, husband and others, and less than 1% by friends and other relatives. Thus, a very large majority of the migrants came to the city alone. They stayed in Bombay with their friends and relatives for a pretty long time. This period of stay with relatives and friends depends upon a number of factors, including lack of employment and inability to secure suitable accommodation.

Forty-four per cent of our respondents stayed with relatives other than father, mother and brother on their arrival in the city; 16% stayed with village neighbours; 4% made their own arrangements; and only 36.12% stayed with father, mother and brother. It can be inferred, therefore, that nearly two-thirds (64%) of the respondents came and stayed with friends and relatives other than parents, on whom they apparently did not have much claim for assistance.

When asked to mention the relatives whom they had brought to this city,

¹⁴P. N. Prabhu, "A Study of the Social Effects of Urbanization on Industrial Workers Migrating from Rural Areas to the City of Bombay," Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, UNESCO Research Centre, (Calcutta 1956), p. 49.

523 respondents gave their answers. Twenty-three per cent did not bring anybody even after employment; 44% brought wife and children; a little less than 4% brought the whole family; 13% brought father, mother, brother, and sister. Eighteen per cent of them married after coming to the city and brought their wives to Bombay.

When asked about the relations that the respondents had not been able to bring to the city, about 6% stated that they could not bring anybody. Twelve per cent could not bring wife and children; about 9% could not bring father and/or mother; 6% could not bring brother and/or sister. Nearly half of the respondents (51.06%) expressed their inability to bring their family members to Bombay to live with them. When asked the causes of their inability to bring family members to the city, the majority listed reasons like lack of jobs for those who would be brought to the city and lack of accommodation, need to look after the village home specially if he is the eldest or adult male, etc.

That the migrants into the city are mostly male and lonely, sometimes married men separated from their families or men who cannot afford to bring a wife to the city because of lack of accommodation or lack of a job, is basic to the observation that there is a great deal of social disorganization in Bombay.

The pressure of socio-economic difficulties has discouraged many a migrant from bringing his family to Bombay. Sometimes, the first impact of migrancy on family life has been the unwillingness on the part of the migrant earners to support all the dependents. The hazards of migratory life make the young earners very individualistic and selfish. The family solidarity

decreases not only between parents and grown up sons, and between brothers and sisters, but between husbands and wives as well. A further blow to the stability of family life is dealt by immoral practices like traffic in women and prostitution. The degree of prostitution may itself be taken as a rather reliable index of family disorganization.

The straining of the relationships between husbands and wives, earning father and dependent children, parents and earning sons, is only one symptom of the break-down of the family system in Bombay. There are many other symptoms as well. The general behaviour of the migrants indicates that the old order is cracking.

In these migrant colonies, one could hardly see any trace of reverence for elders and there was a general atmosphere of rebellion against the parental authority. Most of the sons talked in undignified terms about their parents while references to husbands by wives (or vice versa) were also not very charitable. Parents did not show much concern for their offspring nor were the slightly grown up children proud of belonging to their parents. The absence of social belonging, the pressure of poverty and the evil effects of the urban environment made most of the migrants mean, selfish, and immoral; the family bonds, regarded to be so sacred in the villages, were of absolutely no importance to them. Unwillingness to support the dependents, adultery, bigamy, divorce without the consent of the other party and open prostitution were only a few of the problems encountered by the migrant families.¹⁵

Migration and Social Disorganization

Students of urban sociology in India consider Bombay and other large industrial cities like Calcutta as over urbanized. Industrial cities of India have grown, not only as a result of increasing economic activity. The impoverished countryside constitutes the main push factor in migration to the city.

¹⁵Deshmukh, p. 219.

A city of this type cannot provide even minimum conditions of civilized existence: e.g., housing and employment to all its immigrants is just beyond its means. Although Davis looks upon over-urbanization as a possible stimulus to further economic growth, he also remarks that "over-urbanization . . . is well calculated to provoke the maximum discontent in the population. Faced with idle, impoverished and rootless urban masses, the government is forced to take drastic action or allow itself to be replaced by a new revolutionary group."¹⁶ Whether the last happens or not, a situation like this is ideal breeding ground for all that is known as "urban pathology."¹⁷

However, the key social problem of Bombay is that its growth did not take place around a well organized, socially and physically settled, strong nucleus, which already had a long history behind it as an important urban centre. As stated earlier, since 1870 never less than 70 per cent of the population of Bombay city appeared to have been born outside the city at every census since that year.¹⁸ That means that it is always a minority which feels "at home" in that city, the majority are "strangers."

The kind of reception which the city gives to these unfortunate, job-needy migrants from the rural areas has varied with varying occasions. Bombay, like all other important industrial cities, has been extremely sensitive to

¹⁶Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan (Princeton 1951), p. 213.

¹⁷D. Narain, "Urbanization and Some Social Problems," Sociological Bulletin, IX (September 1960), p. 3.

¹⁸Government of India (Publications Division), Indian Census Report, 1951 (New Delhi 1953).

periods of boom and depression, of war and peace, of inflation and deflation, of abundance and scarcity. The fate of the immigrant workers has been intimately connected with these changes.

The early contingents that came to Bombay were quickly absorbed in the expanding industries. These workers, after settling down in Bombay, brought their friends and relatives, thus increasing the labour force in the city. Today, the cotton textile industry alone gives employment to a very large number of men--and women--to about 40 per cent of the industrial workers in the city.¹⁹

A significant factor that facilitates the flow of "ruralites" into the city, besides the availability of employment, is the availability of accommodation. The Bombay Municipality and Government have built a number of chawls in different industrial areas. These working-class chawls are however highly congested. Light and air are conspicuously lacking in many of the tenements; and water and bathroom facilities are equally inadequate. In fact, the congestion and the filthy conditions of these chawls are a most disgusting sight. A room of 10' X 10' accommodates a large family, and occasionally even two families. Quite a few of them sleep in the passages at night. This congestion is created, firstly, by the large-scale influx of workers and secondly by workers accommodating the newcomers coming from their own villages for jobs in the city. The "ruralites" invariably show a keen desire to help their neighbours coming to the city from their villages, even at the cost of great personal inconvenience.

¹⁹George Rosen, Industrial Change in India (Glencoe 1958), p. 36.

The housing conditions and the overcrowding in buildings in many parts of Bombay, Calcutta and other industrial towns present the most shocking spectacle. The findings of the Indian Industrial Commission of 1917 or of the Royal Commission on Labour of 1931, or the more recent report of the Health Survey and Development Committee (1946), all point out the tremendous overcrowding in the labourers' quarters in Bombay, Calcutta and similar industrial centres. That the situation had not changed very much in 30 years may be seen from the following quotation from the 1946 report:

The filth and squalor which we saw in the "ahatas" of Cawnpore or the "bustees" of Calcutta are indescribable. A dark, dingy room built in such a manner that neither light nor air can enter it and with as many as eight or ten persons sometimes living in it, represents the type of living accommodation which workers have to accept in these congested industrial centres.²⁰

Ten years later, housing was and still is the key problem of social welfare in India's industrial centres, specially Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Jamshehpur, etc.²¹

But there are many other social problems of health, hygiene, recreation; of social disorganization because of disrupted family life; of lack of social control which bewilders particularly the former villager who used to live under the immediate control of the joint-family and the village; of different working discipline; of "loneliness."

However, the most disturbing feature in Bombay's city life, as in the other large industrial cities of India, is the glaring difference between the

²⁰Health Survey and Development Committee, Government of India, Vol. I, (1946), pp. 80-81.

²¹Ibid., pp. 16-17.

rich and the poor. The general low level of wages reflects the abundance of labour. Rural unemployment always provides new masses of prospective city workers. Where in Western countries the ratio of income of a professional and an industrial worker may be 3 or 4 to 1, it is 15 or 20 to 1 in India, or even higher. The "democratization of the social structure" in the West was only possible because of two main factors which are both largely absent in India, namely a high productivity per worker and well organized, strong trade unions.²² The low productivity of the workers in Bombay is partly caused by poor equipment and outdated machinery, but partly also by the lack of training and by deficient industrial organization. The trade union movement in Bombay has grown much stronger in the last few decades, but has no backbone in the form of substantial funds saved by the members to see them through a long strike. Trade unions still are, in many cases, organizations to start a strike, less often strong enough to maintain it and very seldom able to interest the workers in periods of industrial peace.²³

The Industrial Migrant--A "Marginal Man"

From the UNESCO Report on the "Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization,"²⁴ it may be concluded that the migration of 11 to 13 per

²²Eugene V. Schneider, Industrial Sociology (New York 1957), pp. 271-99.

²³A. J. Fouseca, Wage Determination and Organized Labour in India (Poona 1961), pp. 31-32; A. S. Mathur and J. S. Mathur, Trade Union Movement in India (Allahabad 1957), p. 250.

²⁴UNESCO, "The Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization," 1956.

cent families may be regarded as economically successful;²⁵ the migration of about 9 to 10 per cent may be regarded as a complete failure;²⁶ while the migration of about 77 per cent families might be termed as "marginal."²⁷ It can be regarded neither as a positive success nor as a total failure.

Both economically as well as socially this vast majority of the migrants had suffered the most. The descriptions of the worst economic distress and

²⁵The investigation in eight towns in India showed that 126 out of 959 families (about 13 per cent) were willing to stay in the industrial towns with the employment that they had secured at the time the UNESCO survey was carried out. It can, therefore, be estimated that about 11 to 13 per cent of the migrant families could make a living in the industrial town and were economically settled. It must, however, be kept in mind that just because these migrant families had secured employment and were regarded as settled economically, it cannot be said that they had also successfully adjusted themselves to the social and cultural environment of the industrial town of residence.

²⁶The migration of these 9 to 10 per cent families was a complete failure. Not only was it not possible for them to make a living in the towns, but as a result of the prolonged urban contact their interest in and ability for agricultural work had also diminished considerably. Agricultural employers do not prefer to hire the labourers who have moved to the town and have returned to the village as a last resort. On the other hand, the labourer who returns from the town remains aloof from the social life of the village he does not like the village atmosphere and agricultural employment and partly because he has developed a feeling of shame due to the consciousness of his own inability to get along well in the town. These could be termed "marginal" in the villages.

²⁷The UNESCO Report states that the net impact of the cityward movement on about three-fourths of the migrant families was the creation of "indecision" in the minds of these migrants. Not only was their migration unsuccessful economically but it also resulted in personal and social disorganization. These could be termed "marginal" in the industrial towns--and this section deals with the "marginal man" in the industrial towns.

utter personal and social disintergration apply mainly to these families.

Hence the typical migrant as described in this UNESCO report is a "marginal man,"²⁸ in whom the conflict of rural and urban culture traits is very active and who is consequently the most obvious sufferer from the cultural shock. He is not quite willing or capable to break with his rural past nor is he quite accepted in the strange and indifferent urban environment in which he is now trying to seek a footing.

There are three stages in the development of the industrial migrant as a "marginal man":

(a) At the very first stage when the migrant initially comes into the urban environment, he is comparatively ignorant of the characteristics of town life as well as his new low status. As long as he is not directly faced with competition in economic life and the indifference or hostility in social life he moves about in the industrial town like a rustic villager with his former rural values and attitudes.

(b) But at the second stage he is painfully aware of the difference between his own ways and the ways of the town people. He then tries to adapt himself to the new urban situation. This is almost a stage of crisis for each migrant. He is perplexed about everything in the industrial town.

(c) But in the final stage he either picks up new skills and new ways and settles down in the town, or decides to go back to the village of origin

²⁸For a detailed discussion of the concept of "marginal man" please see: (1) Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 33 (May 1928), pp. 881-93, and (2) Everett V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man (New York 1937).

and thus overcomes his marginal category. In the majority of cases, however, he remains completely indecisive and relegates himself permanently to a marginal status which further intensifies his personal and social disorganization.

The Industrial Migrant--And His Rural Image

Recent urban research²⁹ in India has revealed that even though migration to urban centres and factory towns reduce to some extent the voltage of rural life, yet seldom has there been a complete breaking away from the rural image or denial of rural ties. The factory worker who migrates, by the pull-push factors characteristic of the industrial towns of India, preserves a longing and lingering hope of return to his village--and he does so however tempting and alluring the conditions of urban living and the amenities it provides.

Not only are many of the migrating industrial workers relative strangers to the city, but quite a number of them are also sojourners. These sojourners, some of whom do stay in the city in spite of their original intention, tend to form a rather large transitory population of casual labourers who return home to their villages as soon as they have earned the cash they came to get or who may return home because of unemployment caused by seasonal declines in the urban labour market. Or they may return home to fulfil certain social and religious obligations. They then may remain in their villages until economic need again drives them to the city, sometimes to remain there but usually with the dream of returning to dwell in the village again some day at least in the

²⁹D. N. Majumdar, Social Contours of an Industrial City (Kanpur) (Bombay 1960); N. V. Sovani, Social Survey of Kolhapur City (Poona 1952).

retirement of old age. These casual labourers create a major problem for modern industrialization in Bombay because the turnover of many factory operators is so rapid that they remain too short a time to be trained to the level of skill that is increasingly required in modern industry.

A village in India is a concept--a way of life--and as such the villagers find it difficult to adjust themselves to the city. On the other hand the urban population is reluctant to scatter towards the villages, which even today do not offer minimum comforts and amenities of life, or the full needs of the urban people. Even workers long associated with factory life and its environment respond readily to the call of the village and migrate periodically to the villages, even during their working life, and permanently when they retire or when their services are terminated. One of the greatest sociological lacuna in India has been this dichotomy of attitudes and values.³⁰

The word "village" in India has a certain halo around it for all those who come from villages and have still connections with it. The response to any question wherein their village is mentioned is well saturated with their emotions and sentiments. People have emotional attachments to their birth places, which is further strengthened by mythological stories and cultural forces, and culminates into a kind of village patriotism. Studied in the totality of the situation, we find that the responses eulogising everything rural is more a sentimental feeling than a result of the inconveniences and difficulties met with in the city. However, it would be unfair to completely ignore the limited accommodation, terrific congestion, dirt and squalor in which these workers live in Bombay. Family happiness or marital happiness is difficult to imagine in such environment. While the city provides employment

³⁰ Majumdar, p. X.

and income to these workers, it seems to take away from them the other essentials of a happy home.

Generally the industrial migrants in Bombay are all praise for village life. Associations with the land and the village-home are very strong. In spite of the fact that the land is unable to support them they have deep attachment to it. Even the Mahars, Chambhars, Kumbhars and other lower caste people, who may have been mal-treated in their villages, who were dubbed as "untouchables," who did not have the privileges of using the same wells as those used by high caste Hindus, who may have been looked upon as inferiors in their villages, still hold a strong attachment for the small pieces of land or the roofs they may be having in the village. Perhaps the treatment by the caste Hindus at home (in the village) is taken as a matter of course, perhaps their distance from home has aroused feelings for the village and its people in which all the bitter memories are submerged, perhaps preference for village life is motivated by a desire to escape from the noise and the speed and the routine and the drudgery of work in a factory. Or, perhaps they find that even here in the city their privations, humility and struggle have not ended, but have taken on many new and complex aspects, and have become harder to endure too. These migrants, underprivileged in their original home villages, remain underprivileged in the city. In the village, they were underprivileged, but perhaps that was in accordance with the simple and traditionally accepted social pattern and did not make itself felt. It was accepted by them. Only they were not aware how far they were underprivileged. In the city, they remain on the lowest rung of the economic and social ladder. "Democratisation" equality of opportunity for all, equal rights and privileges and such other

avowals guaranteed in the Constitution of India is all airy and vague talk so far as these people are concerned. All this also probably contributes to their yearning, when they are in a reflective mood, for the peace of the village.

Art and culture do flourish in the city; but these workers have neither the money nor the leisure to engage themselves in the enjoyment of these pursuits. They come from mud cottages in the villages which may be bad enough, but in the city they have sometimes to live in hovels and chawls which are very much worse. The environment, the surroundings, the conditions in which the worker is sometimes forced to stay in the city of Bombay cannot but lead to fatalism and morbidity. It should be generally said, in the ultimate analysis, that the present city life does not much affect or have a significant impact on the very poor industrial workers. The many cultural activities in the city are monopolized largely by the rich and to a lesser extent by the middle classes. It is on rare occasions that poor industrial workers find time to go to art galleries, theatres, auditoriums, or display their own artistic talents. For most of these enjoyments cost money and require leisure.

So long as this state of affairs continues, workers will always find fault with city life and would not develop roots in an urban milieu. The workers get their daily meals, perhaps a little more food at meals than they had in the village, and even may save for a rainy day, but they do not establish emotional attachment to the city and its people. This sufficiently accounts for the discontentment and dissatisfaction of these poor industrial migrants with the city life.

It is generally asserted that the roots of Bombay's industrial labour

lie in villages, and many of the industrial problems like heavy turnover, absenteeism, etc. are attributed to this fact. The industrial worker in Bombay keeps close contact with the village. The UNESCO Research states that 71 per cent of those interviewed replied that they send their families to their villages once a year or more.³¹

If the number of visits of the family members to the native village is an indication of the intensity or degree of contact with the village home, this phenomenon is of no mean importance. This mobility between two types of cultures, between two societies with wide differences is of great importance to a social scientist. It implies the transmission of values, outlooks, ways of behaviour, and other cultural aspects; and in the contact, urban culture usually gets the upper hand.³² New ideas, ideologies, modes of behaviour learnt in the city, are carried to the village. This is an important means of carrying urban culture to the rural areas.

³¹The UNESCO Research Report states that several migrants make their visits to the village for long periods and return. Nearly half (47%) of those interviewed visited their villages once a year for long periods, 18% twice a year, and about 6% three times or more. UNESCO, The Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, p. 81.

³²Shyama Dube, India's Changing Villages (London 1958), p. 27.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF BOMBAY'S INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION ON MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

Positive Effects of Industrial-Urbanization in Bombay

The negative effects of industrialization and urbanization briefly enumerated in the previous chapter are not such that they cannot be remedied or prevented considerably. In any case the creative tendencies inherent in industrialization are such valuable requirements of civilization that a check to the progress of industrialization and a return to the village can be suicidal. Improvement in the material standard of living, the freedom from the fetters of superstition and corrupt social institutions, and the widespread acceptance of the values of "liberalism" are benefits of industrial-urbanization that cannot be ignored. The evil effects of industrialization must and can be overcome by conscious planning at various levels, governmental and otherwise.¹

Industrialization and urbanization have been in many ways a great blessing to Bombay. Industrialization has made cheap and large-scale production of consumer goods possible and thus has provided a higher standard of living.²

¹W. H. Chinn, "The Family in Areas of Rapid Urbanization," Overseas Quarterly (September 1960), pp. 75-77.

²P. N. Prabhu, "Social Effects of Urbanization on Industrial Workers in Bombay," Sociological Bulletin, VI (March 1957), p. 14.

Comforts of life like more and cheaper clothing, better housing facilities, transportation and communication have been made available to many. Today the townsman consumes much more and varied goods than before industrialization set in. Better and easier economic life has produced material satisfactions which "cannot be separated from general happiness in life."³

Industrial city life affords to people irrespective of their joint-family and caste affiliations new openings and opportunities of work. The importance given to individual skill and hard work in the city opens up new possibilities which cut across caste and joint-family barriers.⁴ Even a low caste person may find himself working side by side with a person of a higher caste and rising in status in the city because of the skill he can show in his place of work. Urban society does not accord to a man social prestige solely on the basis of what his father was, as in the village, but also and mainly on the basis of what he is and can do. This awakens in the people a new sense of individuality and also of equality;⁵ it comes into conflict with the traditional authoritarian Hindu social organization, and the attitudes which sustain it.⁶

³R. D. Lambert, "Factory Workers and Non-Factory Workers in Poona," Journal of Asian Studies, XVIII (November 1958), 21.

⁴T. C. Das, "Method and Approach in a Survey on the Impact of Factory-Employment on the Life of the Workers," Sociological Bulletin, IX (March 1960), 46.

⁵R. D. Choudhury, "Joint Family System--Its Present and Future," Economic Weekly, IX (September 1957), 1233-34.

⁶Prabhu, Hindu Social Organization, p. 212.

One of the main consequences of industrial urbanization in Bombay has been the gradual emergence of a "class" society, that is, a society based largely on money income. The village communities are primarily "status" societies, in which each individual is assigned a place according to his rank in the joint-family and the caste hierarchy.⁷ This manner of social stratification greatly prevents social mobility⁸ and lends little support to the motive for individual profit and competition for socio-economic gains.⁹ On the other hand, with the evolving class structure in Bombay social prestige is becoming mainly linked with personal economic acquisitions. Due to industrialization, wealth is becoming an independent social value, thus weakening birth as the determinant of status. No doubt the "new rich" may have to struggle for a time to establish his status. But the present trends are indicative of new social values that are emerging.

Status is coming to be more and more defined in terms of the new forms of mobile wealth; and both custom and tradition are losing their hold as the criteria of prestige and power. The caste and joint-family demarcations tend to get blurred and gradually become secondary in importance. Competition in the economic field is the characteristically urban means of improving one's own social status.¹⁰

Perhaps much more important than the purely economic benefits are the

⁷A. P. Barnabas, "Patterns of the Rural Family," Bulletin, IV (September 1957), 16.

⁸G. S. Ghurye, "Sociology of Innovation and Mobility," Sociological Bulletin, X (March 1961), 25.

⁹Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁰P. D. Devanandan and M. M. Thomas, Community Development in India's Industrial Urban Areas (Bangalore 1958), p. 43.

ideological and social benefits that industrialization has brought in its train. A spirit of individualism and freedom is fostered by industrialization and urbanization.¹¹ With the migration of village population into the growing urban centre of Bombay in search of work, the hold of the joint-family and the rigidity of caste have become less powerful, if not broken down.¹² This growth of individual freedom has helped in the growing realization of the dignity of human personality. The general technological development and the use of the machines help workers to realize that man can control and tame nature. A "new humanism" based on the understanding of the human potentialities has grown up in the minds of the urban people. Villages are the citadel of superstitious beliefs and practices.¹³ In the urban centre, people are less subject to them and a questioning and scientific attitude of mind develops among the urban people.

The fundamental change which has an overall influence upon the life of the urban dweller is in the realm of the traditional attitude that the village dweller had towards the group, whether it be the joint-family, the caste or the village community. The age-old caste stratification and the joint-family system have given rise to a "collectivistic attitude" which is manifested in

¹¹Choudhury, p. 1234.

¹²Williams Stephens Taylor, "Behaviour Disorders and the Breakdown of the Orthodox Hindu Family System," Indian Journal of Social Work, IV (September 1943), 169-70.

¹³J. F. Bulsara, "Social Impact of Community Development and Other Projects on Rural Life," Sociological Bulletin, VII (September 1958), 81-82.

the various aspects of Indian rural cultural life.¹⁴ A villager when he moves into the industrial-urban area of Bombay acquires this sense of personal freedom and does not feel hedged in by the "authoritarian" mores and customs of the joint-family, the caste and the village-community.

Western Impact on Bombay's Industrial-Urbanization

Bombay became industrially urbanized with the advent of the British, and "a transformation of the cultural pattern became inevitable by virtue of the new economic organization, ideology and administrative system the British brought with them. Capitalism in the economic field, liberalism in the ideological domain, and the principle of equality in the social and political systems became the order of the day."¹⁵ Liberalism attacked all privileges and disabilities based on birth. For it is in its challenge to authority that this democratic sentiment of liberalism finds expression. The individual is expected to accept a principle not because authority accepted it, but because its inherent validity requires the free consent of others. Rationalism is the second principle of liberalism. Institutions and traditions are valid only when they are acceptable to Reason. There is nothing sacrosanct about them and they can be repudiated and discarded when they fail to stand the test

¹⁴K. M. Kapadia, "Rural Family Patterns: A Study in Urban-Rural Relations," Sociological Bulletin, V (September 1956), 111-12.

¹⁵Ben Schlesinger, "The Changing Patterns of the Hindu Joint Family in India," Marriage and Family Living, XXIII (May 1961), 170.

of Reason. The Western rationalistic traditions which had gained great prestige because of the developments of modern science and industrial technology, have an appeal to the Indian educated classes. In the social reform movements that have followed, we notice the effects of their impacts on the joint-family and the caste structure. The conventions and forms of the joint family and the rigid inequities of the caste system could not be reconciled with the individualistic and equalitarian trends of liberal thought with which the newly educated middle classes were imbued in the industrial town of Bombay.¹⁶

The Influence of Western Ideas in Bombay

Since industrialization came to Bombay from the West, its urbanization was greatly influenced by ideas from the West. The acceptance of a body of Western ideas implied the acceptance of new values from the West or the re-ordering of values historically found in Indian culture, or both. Sometimes these ideas applied specifically to the pattern of marriage, such as the disapproval of customs like "sati"¹⁷ and "purdah"¹⁸ and child-marriage and concern for the disabilities of widows. More often, however, they carried implications for all interpersonal relationships, and their impact on the relationship of marriage and other relationships in the family was more indirect.

¹⁶K. M. Kapadia, "Views and Attitudes of University Graduates in the Hindu Community on Marriage and Family Relationships," Sociological Bulletin, III (March 1954), 30.

¹⁷Sati, i.e. "widow-sacrifice on the husband's funeral pyre.

¹⁸Purdah, i.e. "a veil, covering a woman's face"; a symbol of modesty (and sometimes of inferiority to man).

These new Western ideas were and are passed on in many ways through many different kinds of cultural contacts. Perhaps the widest channel through which new ideas were passed on was the British-shaped educational system in Bombay. Popular literature, the radio and cinema have also been major avenues for the transmission of new ideas in Bombay.¹⁹ Through these modes of transmission, new ideas are widely and quickly spread.

Initial acceptance of new ideas as bases for social action is never sudden or whole-hearted. Very often they are accepted slowly and with many reservations. It is only in due course that they influence patterns of social behaviour. In more than one even highly urbanized family in Bombay, the older generation preserve the old pattern of life with very little change, but, because they accept the new ideas, the pattern of life of the younger generation is changing rapidly. "Family patterns have been changing. But it must be admitted that often the family was and continues to be the socially conservative inner sanctum which yields last to new ideas."²⁰

What has most directly influenced changes in family patterns is a wholesome respect for the maximum development of every individual person. This implies freedom and opportunity for the individual. This is particularly necessary where it is most lacking, and implies a new understanding of the

¹⁹Noel P. Gist, "Mate Selection and Mass Communication in India," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVII (Winter 1953), 481.

²⁰M. M. Thomas and P. D. Devanandan, The Emerging Pattern of Family in India (Bangalore 1960), p. 49.

nature and role of women and children in the family pattern.²¹ Beyond this it strikes at the authoritarian structure of the joint family and the fixed hierarchical ordering of castes (which has formed a firm background for traditional family patterns in rural India). Connected with this is a changed evaluation of marital relations and the concept of "romantic love."²² With the gradual acceptance of these ideas in Bombay and other and other urban areas in India, certain aspects of the traditional types of marriage and family patterns in India are becoming incompatible.

Employment of Women Outside the Home

During the early twentieth century, it was considered derogatory for a woman to take to extra-domestic work as a means of earning a living. Even in the nineteen twenties a controversy was raging over the question whether women should take to extra-domestic occupations at all. But in the nineteen thirties, under the pressure of economic necessity, the contempt for working women rampant among certain sections, specially the orthodox sections of Hindu society, steadily began to diminish. A change in the former attitude occurred in Bombay especially during the second World War when even the middle classes were economically hit hard. The present situation in Bombay is such that, because of the rising cost of living, even women are compelled to take up jobs outside the home.

Work outside the home brings to the Indian woman the opportunity of

²¹Beth C. Kennedy, "Rural-Urban Contrasts in Parent-Child Relations in India," Indian Journal of Social Work, XV (December 1954), 162.

²²Gist, "Mate Selection," p. 494-95.

widening her outlook and developing her social personality. Prior to her participation in outdoor work, a woman in India lived the limited life of a "domestic servant" and "child-bearer" to her husband. She mixed with the members of her family, a few kinsmen and neighbours. But when she has a job in the factory or in the office, she associates with strangers, with persons belonging to different communities. This deepens her social consciousness.

From the standpoint of social progress, women's participation in outside work implies that the latent social and creative energies of women are not only given full scope but are also made socially useful. Further, by making woman economically independent it creates the firm economic foundation for the exercise of her social freedom.

The observations made by Dr. Rajnikant Das in 1937 with respect to the economic, political and social implications of the economic independence of women still hold true. He says:

Independent living often saves them from the tyranny of social custom, which closely regulates every step of their lives. What is of more importance is, that, industrial centres offer larger social contact, more new ideas and greater educational facilities, which are themselves a great stimulus to the growth of their individuality . . . the class struggle common in all modern industries awakened class consciousness and class solidarity even among women and led them to take important part in industrial disputes and make common cause in all affairs of class interests. This growing power for concerted action has special significance in the struggle for women's civic rights and duties in industrial centres where most of them live.²³

Mrs. Hate's sociological study in 1946 of a group of working women in Bombay has revealed this trend. The study made the following analysis:

²³Quoted in UNESCO, Women and Education in South Asia, pp. 96-97.

Out of 152 employed women, 67% were forced to resort to employment due to adverse financial circumstances;

5% chose service because they liked it;

5% because they desired to utilize time;

4% because they considered occupation as a qualification.²⁴

An increasing number not only of the poor working class but also of the middle class women are constrained to take up jobs mainly due to economic necessity. In many cases, if they do not earn, the very survival of their families would be endangered.

In a survey carried out by Aileen D. Ross²⁵ in the 1950's in the industrial centers in India, women interviewees gave the following reasons for favouring careers for their own sex; because they needed interests outside the home which would make them feel more alive, and prevent their having to sit idly at home; because it would benefit society as there is a great need for trained people in India; because they would enjoy such professions as nursing and teaching; and because they would help with the family finances.

The men who wanted women to have jobs or careers gave the following reasons: their extra income would help give the children a better education and greater comfort and security; the wife would be happier if she were economically self-sufficient; it would make them as independent as men; it would prevent women gossiping and nagging; women should not live in a separate world from men but should have equal status and take equal responsibility.

Some, however, qualified their decision by saying that they were agreeable to careers for women as long as they restricted these to jobs which they

²⁴C. A. Hate, The Social Position of Hindu Women (Bombay 1946), p. 94.

²⁵Aileen D. Ross, The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting (Toronto 1961),

were particularly suited for, such as teaching, nursing and social service. Another qualification was that they should not neglect their home and children. Objections were based on the important roles women play as wives and mothers.

Jobs are not for married women. A married woman should try to be an ideal housewife and a real mother and there will be a clash of duties if she takes up a career after marriage.²⁶

Still other reasons were that they would lose their "femininity," if they would take jobs away from men, and people would laugh at the husband of a wife who worked outside her home to earn her living.

In spite of the more lenient attitude to working wives that is now developing, many Hindu wives and husbands still have to run the gauntlet of ridicule, particularly if the wife is working in a new field for women, for it takes the public a long time to adjust to this new situation.

The number of women engaged in various occupations has been steadily increasing in Bombay. Women work as office secretaries, stenographers, telephone operators, journalists, nurses, midwives, health visitors, teachers, air hostesses, police, shop assistants, etc. Women are to be found, though to a small extent, in higher professions also like law, medicine and commerce. However, the number of women doctors and lawyers is still meagre though it indicates that women have begun to enter those fields also.

After India became independent, Indian women have been working in foreign political and administrative services. They are now admitted to the medical wing of the armed forces also. It should be noted that in these fields,

there is no discrimination between men and women in regard to salary, scales and promotion. Hence the change in the traditional attitude: women are now accepted as co-workers on the basis of "equal pay for equal work."

The following figures in Table III reveal the present position of women engaged in extra-domestic work in various services and professions in India.

In a city like Bombay, we find in the morning, middle class women employees hurrying in the streets to reach factories, offices, schools, hospitals, commercial centres and other places of employment.

Education of Women

During and after the second world war, women in Bombay have been constrained to take up jobs because of rise in prices of even primary necessities of life to maintain a family. However, since even a post carrying meagre remuneration requires some kind of education, it becomes necessary for women to get educated. Due to the underdeveloped economy of India, occupations available are not many. Consequently, the struggle for jobs is acute even among women. Higher education, therefore, to get better jobs has become a necessity for women since the economic position of an average family has deteriorated. Dr. D. P. Mukerji observes:

Expenditure on girl's education is a kind of investment. If, however, occupations were more diverse and facilities for education better than what they are, that investment would have been more productive. As the matter stands the return now is not proportionate, which has caused a number of reactions including the one against the present system of education and a certain amount of frustration among women who have gone through a regular course of education.²⁷

²⁷Quoted in UNESCO, The Status of Women in South Asia, p. 67.

TABLE III

WOMEN WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME EITHER AS FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES OR
PART-TIME WORKERS IN 1951^a

Occupation	Full-time Employees	Part-time workers
All Industries and Services	1,880,417	2,415,176
Primary Industries Not Elsewhere Specified	403,850	147,481
Commerce	48,288	482,955
Insurance	836	904
Money Lending, Banking and Other Financial Business	2,505	8,597
Health, Education and Public Administration	234,129	35,746
Medical and Health	50,283	29,959
Educational Services and Research	109,634	7,636
Police	4,129	--
Municipalities, Local Board etc.	25,839	--
State Government	26,340	--
Union Government	11,864	--
Domestic Service	324,300	65,869
Barber and Beauty Shops	3,607	26,187
Laundry	14,367	109,052
Hotels, Restraunts	8,801	21,727
Recreation Services	5,027	27,308
Legal and Business	185	3,178
Journalists	464	1,144
Welfare Agencies	11,145	29,459

^aFigures from Census of India, 1951, Part II B. Economic Tables (General Population).

The idea of imparting education as a means to cope with the social and economic problems of life is of very recent origin in India. When the popular view considered education only as the means of turning out white collared clerks for the new administrative and economic systems introduced by Britain in India and when it was almost universally held, that since women had not to earn their livelihood there was no need of education for them, the problem of women's education could not emerge. Mrs. Grey describes this attitude thus: "It was taken for granted . . . that girls could acquire all that was necessary in the way of education in their home surroundings."²⁸

After the achievement of India's independence, education among women has been extending and the prejudice against the educated woman is also steadily diminishing. It is now being gradually recognized by all that national social and economic progress cannot be achieved if the Indian women--one half of the nation--live in ignorance and absolute economic dependence. The universal acceptance of this view augurs well for the "emancipation" of Indian womanhood.

The statistical figures of Table IV give an adequate idea of the progress of women's education in India. The percentage of literacy among the Indian people in 1951 was 16.6 and that among the Indian women 7.9.

In 1921 the total number of literate women in India was 2,782,213; in 1931 it rose to 4,169,105.²⁹ The 1941 census figures are not completely

²⁸Quoted by L. S. O'Malley in "Modern India and the West," p. 454.

²⁹Census of India, 1931, p. 327.

TABLE IV
LITERACY AMONG THE INDIAN WOMEN IN 1951^a

	Number
Total female population in India	173,545,520
Literate female population in India	13,650,683
Literate below middle school standard	12,093,762
Middle school	10,022,388
Matriculate, Higher Secondary, S.L.C.	292,060
Intermediate science or arts	59,379
Graduate in arts or science	36,944
Post-Graduates in arts or science	6,837
Teaching	37,777
Agriculture	243
Veterinary	225
Commerce	1,035
Legal	853
Medical	8,106
Others	90,442

^aAll figures taken from Census of India, 1951. Paper No. 5 (1954).

correct but, as observed by the Census Officer, they indicate a general trend of "pronounced increase amounting in the case of India as a whole to 70 per cent over 1931 for the population. Of this the male increase is 60 per cent and the female 150 per cent."³⁰

Though the study of these figures reveals that literacy has increased among women in India, it should be noted that the progress is extremely meagre. Because of the practice of child marriage in India, women are unable to devote themselves to education seriously. It is, therefore, vitally necessary to raise the age of their marriage if the spread of education among the Indian women has to be accelerated. On the other hand, the progress of education due to socio-economic factors is itself helping to raise the age of their marriage (as will be seen in the next chapter). It seems from this point of view that education has a particular significance for women, besides the demands of employment opportunities.

Education, however, has not yet reached out to the mass of Indian women. For achieving mass literacy, far reaching measures will have to be adopted. The new educational policy of the Government of Bombay includes: (a) the provision of universal and free basic education for all children of school-going age, and (b) improvement and expansion of liberal and technical education, provision of trained personnel, and other facilities for women's education.³¹

³⁰Census of India, 1941, p. 31.

³¹Government of India (Publications Division), India 1960 (New Delhi 1960), pp. 122-23.

Aileen D. Ross pertinently remarks in "The Hindu Family in an Urban Setting":

The encouragement of higher education for girls has been one of the greatest innovations in India in recent years. Part of this is due to the belief that educated girls will be able to get better husbands, and part to the growing realization that women in the nuclear form of family are no longer financially secure, for they may have to earn their own living in later life and perhaps help to support other family members. It is also due to the growing opportunities for married women to work outside the home and so add to the family income. The main problem for highly educated girls lies in the fact that whereas their former training consisted of informal education received in the home for their future roles of housekeeper, wife and mother, today those attending colleges often acquire ambitions for a wider world than the household. College and university life will also give them more self-assurance and independence, which will react on their former subordinate position in marriage to both husband and in-laws.³²

The progressive trend, however, which is revealed in Bombay and other industrial-urban centres of India may be absolutely absent in the rural setting where most of the Indian population resides. There are still millions of families where "woman does not enjoy the same freedom as man. Even today socially woman is merely a vehicle for the continuing of the race."³³

The modern woman in India's industrial and urban areas is slowly breaking through the shell of a narrow domestic existence and is beginning to participate in the larger life of the nation and humanity at large.

In Bombay a number of women are devoting their life to educational, political, industrial, academic, social, or cultural tasks. This signifies that they have got out of the grooves of a narrow social life confined to

³²Ross, p. 232.

³³G. B. Desai, Women in Modern Gujarati Life (Bombay 1955), p. 185.

a score of relatives. One writer describes this development thus:

Women are gradually realizing that they have personalities of their own as human beings and that their mission in life does not end with becoming good wives and wise mothers but also in realizing that they are all members of the civic community and of the body politic.³⁴

The woman in Bombay today is not living a passive life. She is not only the wife or the daughter of someone. On the contrary, she possesses her own individuality. She is, therefore, slowly revising her attitude towards joint-family, marriage and other social institutions.

Transformation of Woman's Status--Its Impact on Marriage

It must be noted that in a society where the birth of a daughter itself was regarded as a calamity, where her only activity was domestic work and child bearing, where she was married at a tender age of ten or eleven, where she was married to a stranger in whose selection she had no voice, where she, many a time, became a widow before she had outgrown childhood and where her personality was tied to the apron string of somebody, the present trends in employment and education of women in India are greatly welcome. But with the spread of education, with the increasing opportunities opened up for economic independence in industrial centres, and with the spread of new ideas of equality and self-respect, woman for the first time is acquiring the freedom to choose her task in life and to make her personal decisions.

Employment and education of women in industrial-urban areas like Bombay has brought about a tremendous change in Hindu marriage and family ideals and

³⁴J. S. Raj Gopal, Indian Women in the New Age (Bombay 1960), p. 195.

practices. The Hindu ideal of marriage, the joint-family system, seclusion within the precincts of the four walls of the house and the consequent economic helplessness--all conspired to make it impossible for the woman to realize herself as an individual. Brought up from childhood to believe that she existed only in relation to men as "daughter, wife and mother,"³⁵ she moulded her life on a pattern designed to please man most. Women were hopelessly ignorant of the world around them and hence had no nobler outlook on life. They had no means of realizing the rights secured for them by legislation,³⁶ and if perchance they knew something of these rights, there was no desire on their part to break away from the "traditional morality." Living in the narrow world of children, husband and his parents, they had no ambition in life other than to live as quietly as possible in the sometimes "rough sea" of the joint-family. Employment and education has brought them out of the confines of the home and put them into contact with the philosophy of liberalism and the democratic traditions of the West.

Employment and education of women and men has taken rapid strides during the last twenty years in Bombay and hundreds of girls and boys now attend lectures in post-graduate classes. An educated young man is no longer satisfied with the prospect of a wife who is to be "the acquiescent slave of his desire and the begetter of children,"³⁷ but looks to her for intellectual

³⁵Cormack, The Hindu Woman, p. 146.

³⁶Constitution of India.

³⁷Kapadia, Marriage and Family in India, p. 255.

cooperation and participation in the pleasures and joys of life. Employment and education is thus not only deferring the age of marriage of women, but is bringing about a new relationship between husband and wife.

Since the late 1930's women's education in Bombay has received great impetus because of this growing desire of men to marry educated brides. On the other hand, the gradual change in family structure, which has deprived women of the former economic security of the large joint-family, has made parents increasingly aware of the importance of educating their daughters so that they would be able to look after themselves financially should the need arise. Young women, too, are on the whole keen to have higher education. One reason for this attitude lies in the fact that girls in a city like Bombay are becoming increasingly influenced by the attractions of the outside world and more attractive and lucrative jobs. Education also promotes higher ambitions. It will help to develop individuality and may promote desires for more freedom from family controls. All this will increasingly affect pattern of marriage and family life in Bombay.

Changing Views on Marriage

A number of studies have been made to examine the impact of the changed social environment on the changing views on marriage and family. We will restrict ourselves here to just a few studies made in Bombay which show a significant trend:

1. "Socio-economic Condition of the Educated Women in Bombay City," by Mrs. C. A. Hate in 1930.
2. "Changing Views on Marriage and Family," by Prof. K. T. Merchant in 1933.

3. "Woman in Modern Gujarati Life," by Mr. G. B. Desai in 1945.

4. "The Social Position of Hindu Women," by Mrs. C. A. Hate in 1946.

Mrs. Hate's Views--Mrs. Hate was the first to investigate into the changing views on marriage in Bombay. She employed the questionnaire method and the sample of her survey was chosen from the employed girls who were already matriculates, so that the attitude of those who were already imbued with the new industrial-urban culture could be studied.

Regarding the choice of the partner in marriage, Mrs. Hate concludes that "on the whole, it seems that these women have made a bold stand against the convention of their marriages being arranged by the parents without their having a word to say for themselves."³⁸

Regarding the socio-economic conditions, Mrs. Hate observes that "on the whole, the result from this group of questions indicate a definite tendency on the part of women to become independent economically and thus attempt to improve their socio-economic conditions."³⁹

From the whole inquiry Mrs. Hate feels that "a definite change has taken place in the socio-economic conditions and personal status of women. The investigation has indicated that the change is deep and vital."⁴⁰

³⁸C. A. Hate, "The Socio-economic Conditions of Educated Women in Bombay City," pp. 101-102.

³⁹Ibid., p. 142.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 162.

Professor Merchant's Observations--Prof. K. T. Merchant made the study of "Changing Views of Marriage and Family" during the same period. He carried on an investigation among three groups viz young boys, young girls and middle-aged persons, to know as to how the change has affected these three sections. Here we will confine ourselves only to the replies given by young girls (who numbered 78) which are very revealing of the present trend:

It was found that girls favoured marriage at the age of 19.7 for girls and 25 for boys.

Nearly 78 per cent of the girls supported marriage by personal choice, while the remaining felt that marriages may be arranged by the parents but with the prior consent of both the partners.

Professor Merchant found that in place of the view that marriage is merely a religious ceremony the personal view is gaining ground.

Regarding the nature of the family, just ten young women expressed the view in favor of joint-family.

Mrs. G. B. Desai's Study--"Women in Modern Gujarati Life" is a study made by Mrs. G. B. Desai to examine the impact of the changed social environment in Bombay on marriage and family life. Her study was based on the replies received from 900 women, not chosen on any specific sampling method. The questionnaire was filled by middle class Gujarati women.

On the problem of the choice of the partner in marriage the study revealed the following analysis:

	<u>Married Women</u>	<u>Unmarried Women</u>
In favor of marriage by personal choice	16.5%	57.8%
In favor of marriage arranged by parents but with the consent of both the partners	71.0%	4 women

Mrs. Desai was the first to investigate the opinions of the respondents on the question of the need of divorce. She found that 47 per cent of the married respondents stood for divorce while 49 per cent of them were against it. Four per cent did not express their opinion. But the opinions of the girls who were not yet married is very revealing as it gives quite a different picture of the problem. Nearly 73.3 per cent voted for divorce.

With regard to their attitude about the type of family, it was found that 42.6 per cent of the respondents preferred to stay in joint-family while 57.4 per cent were opposed to it. Among the unmarried girls, 38.91 supported joint-family while 61 per cent were against it.

Only 21 of the respondents had independent income, even though many felt that "if a woman is educated she can manage to earn her livelihood."⁴¹

Mrs. Hate's Second Analysis--The second study made by Mrs. Hate in 1946 on the "Social Position of Hindu Women" was limited only to the middle class of Hindu society in Bombay. Her analysis is based on the replies received from 805 women. Of these, 263 were not married, 427 married and 115 widows. As for the age of marriage, she seems to be a little troubled at the late

⁴¹Desai, Women in Modern Gujarati Life, p. 109.

marriages and repeatedly declares that the educated persons delay marriage too long.

Nearly 74 per cent of her unmarried subjects opined that they would like to choose their partner themselves.

In the married life 13 per cent of the couples declared they were unhappy. Naturally she inquired about the opinions of married women regarding the problem of divorce. Four hundred ninety-eight supported divorce while 160 were against it. She found the "younger generation to be more favourable to the innovation than the older one."⁴²

Thirteen per cent of the women did not intend to marry. She concludes that "Present conditions make it possible for women to lead an independent life and leave aside the question of marriage altogether if they so choose."⁴³

Thirty-three per cent of the subjects were members of the joint-family. She remarks, "This small percentage denotes that this institution like all others in the traditional Hindu Society has also weakened under modern influences."⁴⁴ But due to present day difficulties nearly 75 per cent approve of it.

Her inquiry further revealed that 19 per cent of the women were engaged in some kind of remunerative work. As for the reason of employment it was found that 67 per cent of them were forced by circumstances. Only 5 women

⁴²Hate, The Social Position of Hindu Woman, p. 122.

⁴³Ibid., p. 49.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 79.

were working because they liked it. In fact, one-third of the women who were not studying were found working.

With regard to the question as to how the status of women should be improved, the following suggestions were made:

- 158 advocated compulsory education with economic bias;
- 109 stood for economic independence;
- 73 favoured equal status with man;
- 54 expressed in favour of freedom of thought and action. Others declined to answer the question.

These sociological studies point out the following two significant facts:

(1) Two trends are working in the present Indian society, one in the direction of social change and progress, the other struggling to preserve the status quo. As revealed in these studies the new reformist trend is sufficiently strong in Bombay and promises a bright future. (2) The other fact disclosed is that the Hindu society is registering a steady social advance. The old reactionary conception of the role, position and function of women is slowly giving way to a new higher and more democratic conception. Education is spreading among a larger and larger section of women. Further, there is a growing desire among women for participating in outdoor economic and social work. More and more women consider self-respect and the development of personality as necessary goals of life. The two old pillars of the Hindu society viz. indissoluble marriage and joint-family are weakening.

Women in Bombay today and also in other urban centres of India are realizing that marriage is not the only goal in life. The effect of liberal education, the value attached to the development of personality and urge for economic independence are some of the main causes which are responsible for

generating this new outlook. It is no doubt true that there are many cases of girls who are forced to remain unmarried, in spite of the fact that they wish to marry, because of lack of an appropriate partner or because of economic reasons. But the fact that they can afford to live an unmarried life itself proves the change that has come about both in their subjective attitude and the objective environment.

As a result of education and economic independence, women especially have become more vocal in their demand. It is not surprising that Merchant found that educated and economically independent women were mainly in opposition to the joint-family; while only 13.9 per cent favoured it, 75.0 per cent opposed it.

The reason for the discontent of the womenfolk is understandable. The senior male members have largely realized the changing attitude among the young and the father has ceased to be the sole directing force in the family, adapting his authority and making it more palatable to the educated and earning members of his family in order that the situation shall not be further aggravated by, for example, the son asserting his privileges or taking recourse to the law.

Such, however, is not always the change in the attitude between the females in the family:

The frequent pattern of behaviour today between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law in a Hindu family is one of conflict arising out of the dominance of the latter over the former. The educated woman finds this irksome. The mother-in-law, trained in the old tradition and not fully conscious of the change that has come about, gives in only grudgingly at the behest of her husband and very often

under pressure from her son.⁴⁵

The new industrial economic structure and the new ideology in Bombay have been affecting the stability of the joint-family system. Due to economic exigencies of employment, persons are forced to live separately. Further, due to the influences of the democratic and individualistic concepts, the industrialized educated class is beginning to disfavour life in the joint-family. Women's lot was the hardest in the joint-family. The struggle between the daughter-in-law and mother-in-law are the themes on which considerable amount of Indian vernacular literature is based. Today a new conflict has appeared. On the one hand, ideologically the educated strata in industrial towns support the separate individual family while, due to economic difficulties like insufficient income, unemployment, poverty, etc., they would like to stay in a joint-family. Further a married woman who is forced to work outside her home faces the domestic problems of looking after the children and feels the strains of household work. She wants aid in this difficulty and naturally joint-family life still appears as a boon.

⁴⁵Kapadia, Marriage and Family in India, p. 272.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHANGING HINDU JOINT-FAMILY PATTERN IN BOMBAY:

SOME CHANGES OBSERVED

Shift from Arranged Marriages to Marriage by Personal Choice

Arranged marriages have functioned satisfactorily in the rural agricultural communities in which caste and joint-family operate as a means of social control. When the parents, for example, are arranging the marriage of their son they make inquiries into the sub-caste of his future wife. The idea is to locate a girl who can adjust to their joint-family conditions and religious beliefs. These adjustments are in regard to social etiquette, customs, beliefs, religious practices, etc. Personality differences are of little consequence unless they are of an extreme nature.

After marriage the girl becomes a member of her husband's joint-family. While living in her parents' home, she had a whole host of subtle values, tastes, approvals, disapprovals, fears, hopes and aspirations,¹ all of which are part of her personality and related to the social and agricultural environment in which she lived. Since her husband's family is also of the same caste and lives in the village, physical and psychological adjustments in the new home are not very difficult to make. R. K. Mukherjee writes:

¹K. M. Kapadia, "Changing Pattern of Hindu Marriage and Family," Sociological Bulletin, IV (September 1955), 161.

The individual worker here adjusts himself to the entire cycle of ploughing, sowing, reaping and marketing, as well as to various other tasks in which the family as a whole has interest. Among agricultural people there is not sharp cleavage between the private life of the family and the routine of occupation. Family traditions, religious rites, and vocational tasks intermingle. Thus the total life-cycle of the individual and the family becomes solidary and unitary, preventing stresses and strains arising from the conflict of the several planes of life which industrial civilization inevitably brings in its train.²

One feature which minimizes the possibilities of conflict within the rural joint-family is that the husband and wife are not entirely dependent upon each other for the development of their personalities. There is the mutual dependence for sexual gratification but as regards love, sympathy, encouragement and companionship, they can fall back upon the other members of the joint-family. In the beginning, the new wife has her problems, but very soon finds within the household, girls of her own age and temperament as congenial companions. Similarly the husband has other companions within the family with whom he has been living all his life.

These institutions and practices which act as safety valves in regard to family integration in the rural society are missing in the urban industrial area. The caste structure is losing its rigidity and the joint-family is slowly disintegrating with the result that husband and wife are becoming more and more interdependent. It is no more a matter of adhering to joint-family group customs and agricultural traditions but a matter of being able to live with another person (husband or wife), and be able to make the necessary personality adjustments on "the several planes of life" for creative living.

²Radhakamal Mukerjee, The Culture and Art of India (London 1959), p. 54.

Therefore the individual character and personality of the partner becomes more important in a marriage in the industrial urban areas than in the traditional rural areas. In this situation it is desirable that the boy and girl should personally make the decisions for marriage and have greater freedom of choice in marriage. Some attempt to discover before marriage whether there are vital areas of personality differences seems necessary. For if there are significant differences which make for incompatibility between their personalities, life for both can become miserable and the marriage may end in utter failure.³

Table V shows that there is a decided desire on the part of a number of single young people interviewed to have more choice in the selection of their marriage partners than the older married interviewees actually had. Of the forty-two single men replying to this question, eighteen wanted complete choice, twenty-one some choice and only three were willing to rely completely on their parents' choice. On the other hand only two of the young married men had complete choice, as compared to eight who had some choice and ten who did not have any. None of the older men had had complete say in choosing his wife.

Of the single women, fourteen wanted complete or some choice as contrasted to five who were still willing to have their parents choose their husbands. Three of the young married women had complete choice, and thirteen had some, in contrast to two of the older married women who had complete choice and ten who had some choice. But ten of the latter women had no say whatever in

³Burgess and Locke, pp. 516-28.

TABLE V

DESIRE OF SINGLE INTERVIEWEES TO CHOOSE MARRIAGE MATES AS
CONTRASTED WITH AMOUNT OF CHOICE OF MARRIED INTERVIEWEES^a

	Complete Choice	Some Choice	No Choice	Totals
<u>Women</u>				
Single	7	7	5	19
Young Married	3	13	5	21
Older Married	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>22</u>
Total Women	12	30	20	62
<u>Men</u>				
Single	18	21	3	42
Young Married	2	8	10	20
Older Married	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>
Total Men	20	36	17	73
TOTAL	32	66	37	135

^aRoss, The Hindu Family in Its Urban Setting, p. 252.

choosing their husbands.

One caution in interpreting the above figures is that, even though single men and women say they want complete choice in their marriage partners, they may not be able to achieve it. The Table does show that there are still a substantial number of young men and women who depend to some extent on their parents' choice, but it also indicates a desire for more freedom of choice of the marriage partner.

In consideration of the feelings expressed in interviews it would seem that the change that has so far taken place is that instead of the former practice of parents and relatives making the complete decision or giving their children the opportunity of selecting from a group of picked candidates, now the young people themselves tend to select the person they want to marry, and ask their parents' approval of their choice.⁴

The fact that this attitude of young people to freer choice in marriage is frequently supported by newspaper articles seems to indicate that choice in marriage is being also increasingly demanded by Hindu public opinion.

May I ask whether we are going to refuse to board an omnibus because our grandfather travelled by bullock carts? Culture and social custom are never stagnant; . . . Girls with fully developed personalities . . . are still revolting against the absurd custom of marrying a man on the basis of a meeting in a drawing room zealously supervised by the two families . . . in full formation like two rival hosts waiting for the battle to commence. For, strange as it may seem, "arranged" marriages are still the order of the day at most levels of society though the theory that marriage should be the outcome of romantic love is accepted by most. . . . It may be unwise to build marriages on mere physical attraction, which is, after all, ephemeral, but hasn't a loveless marriage less chance of succeeding than a marriage based on attraction to start with? Besides, if we concede the emancipation of women, the necessity of educating them and granting them equal rights, it logically follows that they should be granted the right to choose their own partners. . . . A marriage of choice may have its own disadvantages, but with the present trend towards a general equalisation and the modern emphasis on the personality and its development, this seems to be the best way of building up a happy marriage.⁵

Hence the present generation of educated middle-class urban young men and women seem to be moving towards the desire to have more or complete freedom in marriage choice, and are against undue interference and control by parents or relatives in their choice.

⁴Ross, p. 253.

⁵Bhaskraiya Leela, "Addressed to the Bride-to-be," Deccan Herald, Nov. 28, 1954.

Some idea of the extent to which Hindus now want to test out their relationships with their future partners is shown in their desire of how well they want to know them before marriage.

TABLE VI

DEGREE TO WHICH MARRIED INTERVIEWEES KNEW THEIR MATES BEFORE MARRIAGE COMPARED WITH DESIRE OF SINGLE INTERVIEWEES TO KNOW THEIRS^a

Marital Status	Never Knew or Do Not Want to Know	Saw Once	Knew Slightly or Want to Know a Little	Knew or Want to Know Very Well	Total
Older married	10	11	3	5	29
Younger married	12	16	3	8	39
Single men	7	-	5	19	31
Single women	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>17</u>
Total	31	27	20	38	116

^aRoss, p. 265.

This Table shows that only a few of the married interviewees had known their mates at all or known them well before marriage. The majority had either never seen them, or only seen them once, whereas about three-quarters of the single men and a large number of the single women wanted to know them well.

The extent to which the views of a few of the young men have changed from the traditional picture of a wife is seen in the following replies in interviews:

"I want to marry a talented girl, well educated and beautiful. I don't mind about her caste, but I would try to avoid inter-communal marriage in the interest of my parents, brothers and sisters."

"I am now twenty-eight years old, and I want to marry a girl of about the same age."

"It is easy for me to get a rich girl from my native place, but I am not after money."

"I don't want to marry an old-fashioned girl. I should like to know the girl I am to marry beforehand, and should also like her to know me well. This is very essential, for if you know the girl before marriage much of the subsequent problems the arranged marriages are having could be avoided."

"I want to marry a girl of my age because I want her to be a true companion in life. She also must be used to city life."

"I believe in giving my wife full freedom of opinion and discussion, for married life should be a partnership, with the wife as equal partner. I want to live in a separate house of my own after marriage."

The following table (Table VII) suggests that when Hindu men and women do think of the qualities which they most desire in mates, those pertaining to "character" are considered most important. This means that the picture of a desirable mate is primarily in terms of "reliability" rather than a question of the qualities which affect merely the "personal relationship" between husband and wife.⁶

⁶In American studies regarding the qualities looked for in mate selection, the emphasis is on personal qualities affecting mutual relationship. See Burgess and Locke, The Family, pp. 344-74.

TABLE VII
QUALITIES DESIRED IN MATES^a

Qualities ^b	Men		Women	
	Single	Young Marrieds	Single	Young Marrieds
Character	41	3	17	11
Equality	34	7	12	3
Well educated	28	1	9	2
Home Role	21	7	--	--
Personal appearance	16	2	1	--
Sociability	13	--	4	--
Personal relationship	10	--	12	5
Total	163	20	55	21

^aRoss, p. 258.

^bThe qualities included in the following categories were: character: for wives--highly moral, modest, chaste, virtuous, noble, pure; for husbands--generosity, integrity, courage, courtesy, trustworthiness, truthfulness. Equality: companion, friend, partner, co-worker, guide. Personal relationship: loving, understanding, sympathetic, helpful. The Home role desired by men in their wives included her being a good mother and housekeeper, and accomplished.

Wealth and social status as the criteria of choosing one's partner in life are being steadily replaced by personality characteristics as the determinant factors. Further, the fact that a growing number of men and women demand that they should be consulted and even have a free hand before they are wedded also indicate this healthy upward trend.⁷ Even the criteria suggested

⁷Hate, Hindu Woman and Her Future, p. 58.

for selecting their future partners for happy marriage such as compatibility of temperament, etc. also indicate the trend of the changing views regarding marriage and family life in an industrial city.

The Rising Age of Marriage

Early marriages are traditionally prevalent in India. By marriage the bride shifts from the "domination" of the father to that of her husband. According to Dr. K. M. Kapadia, it was easier on the bride if this transfer occurred before the girl arrives at "the age at which she could question the authority of the husband."⁸ Pre-puberty marriage for girls began in the higher castes and was gradually taken over by the whole society as a matter of prestige. Child marriage meant that the bride learned to fit into the ways of the new household and carry on its traditions to a much greater extent than girls who marry at a later age, for the child bride changed her environment before she had become too strongly attached to her parents and family, and before she was "too deeply immersed in family customs to be able to change to the new home."⁹ As she was in a subordinate position to her husband and in-laws, she had to fit into the new pattern with no chance of "asserting her own individuality."

Though the age of marriage has been traditionally low in India, there is, however, an upward trend in the average age at marriage over the past decades. The best estimate available for urban areas, based on Government of India

⁸Kapadia, Marriage and Family in India, p. 142.

⁹Ross, p. 246.

National Sample Survey figures, indicates a rise from 13.6 to 15.4 years in the average age at marriage of Indian girls between 1921 and 1951.¹⁰

Mr. Mankad¹¹ made a study of the age of marriage in 1934-35, but his study does not appear to be fully indicative of the general trend of Hindu marriage at the time because it was restricted only to one high caste. Mrs. Desai¹² studied the lives of 900 middle-class Gujarati women living in Bombay in the early 1940's. Her sample is unrestricted and therefore more representative of the middle-class trend in Bombay. Unfortunately, she has not divided her sample into generation groups, with the result that one cannot see the change as clearly as with Mankad's or Kapadia's study. Dr. K. M. Kapadia¹³ undertook two inquiries in Bombay, one in 1950-51 and the other in the middle 1950's. In the first he studied 148 marriages since 1941 and in the second 256 marriages of graduates. The group studied in 1951 was divided into two groups: those below the age of 35 and those above it. They may thus be taken as representative of the "present generation" and the "father's generation." This sample may also be taken as representative as it is drawn from different

¹⁰National Sample Survey (Government of India) periodically conducts socio-economic surveys having the whole of India under geographical coverage. Source: Murari Majumdar (Indian Statistical Institute), "Ages at Marriage and Marriage Rates in India," unpublished paper read at the International Population Conference (New York, September 11-16, 1961), p. 2.

¹¹B. L. Mankad, "The Age at Marriage," Journal of the University of Bombay (July 1935), 105-110.

¹²Desai, pp. 214-16.

¹³Kapadia, "Changing Pattern of Hindu Marriage and Family," pp. 161-92.

TABLE VIII
AGE OF MARRIAGE OF WOMEN OF BOMBAY^a

Age of Marriage	Mankad (1934-35)		Desai (1945)	Kapadia (1950-51)		Kapadia (1955)
	Father's Generation	Present Generation		Above 35	Below 35	Recent Marriages
4-13	73%	35%	23%	20%	5%	-
14-15	24	49	39	22	19	10
16	2	13	16	13	15	12
17-18	1	3	12	21	26	34
19-20			6	17	17	23
21-24			4	6	16	17
25-27				1	2	4

^aApproximate percentages of replies received from the surveys of Mr. Mankad, Mrs. Desai and Dr. Kapadia.

parts of Bombay and includes different groups. The main drawback is that it is a very small sample. The result of these different studies when put together does indicate a gradual rise in the age of marriage of women. The figures represent approximate percentages of the replies in each survey.

In the most recent study of the age of marriage, i.e. the one of Dr. Kapadia in 1955, 22 per cent of the women married between 14 and 16 years, 34 per cent between 17 and 18 years, 23 per cent between 19 and 20 years, and

21 per cent between 21 and 27. This shows a considerable rise in the age of marriage of girls in 1935 and 1945, as indicated in the surveys of Mr. Mankad and Mrs. Desai.

The general upward trend in the age of marriage is supported not only by the age at which married interviewees had married, but also and especially from the age at which single interviewees wish to marry. K. T. Merchant¹⁴ inquired into the views on marriage of Hindu youth in Bombay, Poona and Gujerat, in the years 1930-33, and obtained the following data (Table IX) on their opinion of the "proper age" at which a girl should be married.

TABLE IX :

APPROVED AGE OF MARRIAGE FOR GIRLS: VIEWS EXPRESSED BY HINDU YOUTH
IN BOMBAY, POONA AND GUJERAT (1930-1933)^a

Approved Age for Marriage	MALES			FEMALES		
	Bombay	Gujarat	Poona	Approved Age for Marriage	Bombay	Gujarat
12-13	4	4	1	-	-	-
14-15	29	29	16	15	1	-
16-18	102	57	42	16-18	18	8
19-20	19	14	7	19-20	17	9
21-25	9	4	2	21-25	11	9

^aK. T. Merchant, Changing Views on Marriage and the Family (Madras-Bombay, 1935), p. 70.

In the late 1950's, Aileen D. Ross¹⁵ carried out a survey regarding the age of marriage. Table X summarizes her findings.

TABLE X

AGE OF MARRIAGE OF MARRIED INTERVIEWEES COMPARED TO AGE
AT WHICH SINGLE INTERVIEWEES WISH TO MARRY

AGE (yrs.)	AGE OF MARRIAGE				DESIRE TO MARRY			
	Old Marrieds		Young Marrieds		Single Men		Single Women	
	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
10-13	-	12	-	2	-	-	-	-
14-15	-	4	-	5	-	-	-	-
16-18	6	7	-	12	-	4	-	-
19-24	13	4	19	14	-	14	4	7
25 and over	9	-	15	-	25	4	5	1
Total	28	27	34	33	25	22	9	8

This table shows a definite trend to an older age of marriage for men. The difference is much more marked for the age at which older women interviewees were married and the age at which single women wish to marry. Fourteen women interviewees had been married by the time they were thirteen years of age and twenty-eight more by the time they were eighteen years old. A larger

¹⁵Ross, p. 249.

number of the younger married women had been married between nineteen and twenty-four than the older married women. In contrast, the single men seemed to prefer wives in this age bracket, and none of the single women wanted to be married before nineteen years of age.

This trend in the desire for a higher age of marriage is largely due to the industrial occupational structure in the urban areas and to related factors such as prolonged education.

A boy who is expecting to support his wife and children on the income from his job must wait until he has finished his education and procured a job before thinking about marriage. Under a joint-family system the young man was assured of family support and he knew that his future lay with the joint-family enterprise. Now, the girl or her guardians will not be so eager as formerly to settle her marriage with a young man until his prospects become clear and his ultimate social and economic status can be predicted with some confidence. This usually means after he has finished his education and secured a job.

The difficulty of securing jobs by persons of low educational qualifications has driven more and more persons to seek higher education and higher education has invariably meant comparatively late marriages. . . . Increasing resistance on the part of young men to get entangled in matrimony till they are settled in life, has also operated in the same direction. The difficulty of securing suitable young men for girls and the difficulty of meeting the marriage expenses are other factors that have contributed to a rise in the marriageable age.¹⁶

For a woman in Bombay today education has become a necessity both for her economic independence and for marriage. A college education is desired

¹⁶Census of India, 1951, XIV, Part I, pp. 107-108.

if the female is to be a worthy partner in marriage. Girls today do not generally finish high school before the age of 15. Granting at least four years of college education, a girl would not be ready for marriage before 19, and hence this is a desirable age for marriage.

When the Child Marriage Restraint Act was passed in 1929,¹⁷ early marriage was the characteristic feature of Hindu society. In the thirty years that have passed since this legislation there has been a distinct change in the outlook of the people, and this has been reflected in a gradual rise in the age at marriage. New legislation must attempt to give expression to the changed conditions and outlook. The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955,¹⁸ by retaining the minimum marriageable age at 15 (as in the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929), ignores not only the evils of early marriage but also the recent trends in view of the data presented here.

The rising age of marriage for women is an indicator of women's desires for homes of their own rather than living in a joint-family. A bride is now a young woman rather than a child, with greater experience of life and a greater feeling of independence. This is particularly true of girls who have attended college and have had a job outside their homes before marriage. There is a growing tendency for these young women to want to marry men who want to

¹⁷After various attempts to abolish child marriages, the Child Marriage Restraint Act was passed in 1929. This legally raised the age of marriage for boys to eighteen and for girls to fourteen. As the Act had not the necessary force to make it effective it was strengthened by an amendment in 1939 and later in 1955, which make the imposition of stricter penalties possible. In spite of these laws, hundreds of child marriages still take place all over India.

¹⁸Government of India, Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 (New Delhi 1955).

live away from their joint-families, and can afford to set up separate households on marriage. This provides a better opportunity for greater companionship between husband and wife and also gives them greater facilities to run their homes as they wish and train their children without interference.

Not only the age at which men and women marry, but also the difference in age between husband and wife is important in determining their relationship. The traditional attitude that the wife is completely subordinate to the husband is more likely to fit in with a large difference in age than equal age. If the difference in the age of marriage narrows, and at the same time women become more equally educated to men, then the traditional attitude between husband and wife is likely to break down into one of more equal authority and greater companionship. No factual data is available, however, to state definitely that the traditional age difference in marriage has been narrowing down.

Gradual Shift from Caste Endogamy to Caste Exogamy in Marriage

Traditionally the Hindus have endogamous rules limiting the selection of a mate. The Hindu community is divided into a number of castes which are endogamous groups. Until recently breaches of caste endogamy were punished by excommunication from the caste.¹⁹ Caste exercises a tremendous influence

¹⁹Kingsley David points out the severe penalties which a caste can impose on members who transgress its customary behaviour. "Not only is he unable to marry beyond (the caste) limits; he may not even eat or drink with members of any other group nor may he smoke from their "hugqa." He often finds it difficult to get any one to cook his food; and if he dies, there will be no one to perform his obsequies, and his body may have to be removed by scavengers." David suggests that in some cases caste is a spur to migration, for it may induce an individual to move to an industrial city where his

over its members as it touches a man's life in all his social relationships. An excommunicated individual found his life miserable as all services in the village were refused to him. In industrial towns, where social and economic services could not be refused, the rigour of excommunication is sometimes brought home to the recalcitrant member by refusing to him the co-operation of the members of the caste on such occasions as marriages and funerals when the need of co-operation from one's community is keenly felt.

The Hindu Marriages Validity Act, 1949, enacted that "no marriage between Hindus shall be deemed to be invalid or ever to have been invalid by reason only of the fact that the parties thereto belonged to different religions, castes, sub-castes or sects."²⁰ However, the moral force of caste is still so great in the villages, and the Hindus are still so caste-minded, that it is questionable whether legislation alone will break the ice in the rural areas.²¹

That the role of caste in the joint family should be considerable is not surprising, since caste has a large occupational component, which can be more readily controlled in an agricultural society than in a highly mobile, rapidly changing industrial society with its proliferation of new occupations to which the old caste system is not perfectly adapted. In the city, the occupational component of caste changes more than the marital component, but

identity can be hidden. This would be particularly true of people of lower castes. David Kingsley, The Population of India and Pakistan (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 108.

²⁰Government of India, The Hindu Marriages Validity Act, 1949 (Government Press, 1949), p. 1.

²¹M. S. Rao, "Caste and Joint Family in Kerala," Sociological Bulletin IV (September 1955), 129; N. Akhuri, "Socio-cultural Barriers to Rural Change in an East Bihar Community," Eastern Anthropologist, II (March-August 1958), 219.

both changes reflect changes in the incidence of observance of caste teachings, if not any essential changes in the ideology of caste itself. The changes from the joint to the separate family in the city are sometimes accompanied by changes in the observance of caste. But there is no logical reason why caste taboos cannot be maintained in a society of separate families.²²

Inter caste marriage is nowadays a much discussed subject in the industrial urban areas. Fifty-one per cent of 513 married university graduates in Bombay interviewed by Dr. Kapadia²³ expressed their willingness to give their children in marriage outside their own caste. Only one-third were against this departure from custom. C. S. Patil²⁴ in his survey of the lower-salaried industrial workers in the city of Bombay found that while 51 per cent stood definitely for marriage outside caste only about one-fifth were against it. What he further found was that, while in the case of persons above thirty-five years of age 40.6 per cent favoured and 38.6 per cent resented it, the respective percentages in the case of persons below thirty-five were 56 and 14. Patil's observations do not merely show the change in terms of generation but also indicate the change that is sweeping over those who live in industrial towns whether they have or have not received higher education. This is indeed an encouraging trend in the march toward the ideal of a "casteless" society.

With the advent of modern industrial urbanization, two major changes in the caste system have taken place. One is the freedom in the matter of choice

²²Nimkoff and Gore, p. 35.

²³Kapadia, Sociological Bulletin, III, 73.

²⁴C. S. Patil, Sociological Bulletin, III, 270.

of occupation and the consequent extensive shifting of the old occupational boundaries of caste. The other is that, with the growth of industrial cities in India like Bombay, people in large numbers have flocked to them. Under pressure of necessity, eating in factory canteens has become a normal practice in cities, although it is a serious break with the old ideal of "caste purity." Railway and bus travel is another factor militating against caste distinction and increasing social intercourse among members of different castes. This process, extending over a long period, has by now weakened much of the rigidity of the caste social code,²⁵ so much so that today there is a general feeling that caste is rapidly dying out in Bombay and other industrial towns of India.²⁶

In India . . . the old social forms have continued and still have considerable vitality . . . it is only with the outbreak of the second world war that the full impact of modern industrialization was felt by India. . . . India is today passing through a transformation of a primarily agricultural rural community into a new society where industry and modern modes of life will take an increasing share. Old social institutions have decayed or are in a process of fast decaying.²⁷

The caste-structure of Indian society is "fast decaying" in the industrial urban area of Bombay. This is being reflected in the changed marriage and family patterns. With increased intercaste marriages (including marriage

²⁵Noel P. Gist, "Caste Differentials in South India," American Sociological Review, XIX (April 1954), 127-28.

²⁶K. A. Busia, "Sociology in a Rapidly Changing Society," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, I (March 1960), 75.

²⁷Humayun Kabir, "Higher Education in India and the Study of the Social Sciences," Introduction to the Teaching of the Social Sciences in India, (UNESCO), 1956, pp. 16-18.

between subcastes) the adjustment of newly-weds to life in the joint-family will become increasingly difficult. A very important factor, which eased this adjustment in the past, was the fact that married partners came from the same subcaste having the same social outlook and customs. But this factor is absent in intercaste marriages. Hence inter-caste marriages will lead to a break-down of joint-family living.

CHAPTER V

THE EMERGING FAMILY PATTERN IN BOMBAY

The Emerging Pattern: From Joint-Family to Nuclear Family

The preceding chapters have dealt with the joint-family and indicated the forces in the industrial urban society of Bombay that are bringing about changes in its structure. Whatever else may be said about it, it seems clear that the old structure and pattern of the Indian joint-family are unsatisfactory for a large number of city dwellers in Bombay.¹ Quite possibly some of the emotional attitudes and obligations of mutual concern and aid characteristic of the joint-family will continue to influence all family relationships in Bombay for a long time to come, even after the physical jointness of the family has broken down. Such influences may help to preserve some of the more enduring values of the indigenous family traditions in the new emerging pattern of family life in Bombay.

There are many tensions facing the joint-family in Bombay. This type of family has been the most important for transmitting culture. Previously, the joint-family fulfilled the major needs--economic, social, physical, and also provided psychological security to its members. It arranged for the care of the aged and the children; it passed on the traditions, values and accepted

¹C. Rajagopalan, "Bombay: A Study in Urban Demography and Ecology," Sociological Bulletin, IX (March 1960), 19.

code of behaviour. Each member of the family had an ascribed status in relation to other members of the family, and also in relation to society at large. The performance of religious rites gave the family a sense of unity and bound them to the ancestral traditions.

The many forces of industrial-urbanization which are presently acting on this family pattern in Bombay have brought about much confusion and frustration. A new pattern appears to be emerging in Bombay. There is therefore a transitional measure of breakdown in the physical aspects of the joint family and a weakening of its social bonds. There is a general demoralization associated with this partial breakdown, especially since no healthy alternative has emerged.

It seems that physically the nuclear family, composed of parents and their unmarried children, is slowly coming into being,² but in most cases the obligations and relationships of the joint-family pattern are emotionally and morally retained in varying degrees. This is almost a social and economic necessity, in the absence of adequate substitutes for the old family functions. And this in the long run may pave the way for a new pattern for the nuclear

²The Census of India of 1951 adds some evidence of the decline of joint-family living. In sampling the households, it was found that the medium type of household (4-6 persons) was the most numerous; the "very large" (10+ persons) type was evident in only one out of sixteen households. The Census concludes:

Such a large proportion of small households is a *prima facie* indication that families do not continue to be "joint" according to the traditional customs of the country and the habit of breaking away from the joint-family and setting up separate households is quite strong.

family different from the more or less individualistic ideal of the West. But since this is something which has to evolve over a long period, the tension between the traditional ideal and the individualistic ideal is present in almost every family situation. This has both its demoralizing and creative aspects. On the one hand, the tension may become a source of conflict disorganizing the family relationships, and on the other hand, it may lead the way to a new healthy pattern of family life on a new basis.

Changing circumstances in India are causing families to separate at an accelerated rate, and forcing many family members to adjust to new conceptions of rights and responsibilities almost overnight. It is highly probable that few nuclear families in India ever completely cut off all feeling of identity with, or responsibility to, their ancestral families, even if this feeling only takes the form of guilt when they avoid family obligations.³

Any change from known patterns to new and less well known patterns, no matter how desirable they are, involves a certain amount of restlessness and uncertainty.⁴ The question which will face the Indian family of the future in the industrial-urban area of Bombay is whether or not the increase in the nuclear family pattern will bring with it the problems and difficulties which have been associated with it in Western societies.

The form of the family is a most important social concern because it is in the family that the personalities are formed and the basic ideals and attitudes of people shaped.⁵ It is in the intimate family sphere of relationship

³Ross, p. 67.

⁴Ghurye, p. 26.

⁵V. Bonac, "The Significance of the Family for the Situation of Society Today," unpublished paper read at the International Population Conference (New York, September 11-16, 1961), p. 5.

that the virtues of love, kindness, co-operation, service, justice, lawfulness, truth, freedom and the like are made a part of the individual as he grows into adulthood. Several specific points need further consideration.

First, the question of choice of partner for marriage. The ideas and attitudes related to the selection of mates are changing. However, many parents still feel completely horrified when a son or daughter refuses to marry the one whom they have selected or when they (the partners) themselves make a selection. Some of the orthodox Hindu section even go to the extent of believing that this is immoral and sinful and should be stopped. But when we consider the emerging urban family structure, we realize that in the new setting arranged marriages have to be considerably modified. A pattern of "guided choice" is gradually evolving which retains the responsibility of the parents to guide and direct and at the same time gives opportunity for the expression and choice of the individual person. The advantages of this pattern are obvious in that the emphasis is rightly placed upon the personal and mutual relationship of man and woman; but at the same time this relationship is set within the broader social context of family responsibility. For this purpose it is necessary for parents to realize that their children should be permitted and encouraged to make their choice of partners in a responsible manner having consideration for all those factors which help to make marriage successful for the persons concerned. Religious and social welfare agencies should provide means within due social control whereby young people may meet one another and grow to understand each other better.

The second question is in regard to the age of marriage. Early marriages are quite prevalent in the villages but are being discouraged in the industrial

urban communities because of social, psychological, and economic reasons.

Early marriages in the rural agricultural societies may not have had any harmful consequences in regard to the upbringing of the children because the wife lived under the guidance of older members of the joint-family. Any child born became the responsibility of the entire family. But in the urban situation the rearing of children and their informal education are becoming almost solely the mothers' responsibility (of course, with the help of the husband). A responsibility of this magnitude can be shouldered effectively only by those who have learnt to think and manage for themselves. The mother will be expected to provide a coherent and complete picture of the world in which the child has to live.

One important change in a mother's role that comes about in nuclear families with the new division of labour is that she becomes the pivot around which the family revolves. In families which approximate the companionship type, mothers are the chief organizers of the complicated schedules of family members. Meals, work, education, sports, religious activities, holidays, health and countless social and associational claims must all be co-ordinated skillfully if the family is to function at all smoothly. This is a tremendous task in a busy urban family, and the mother needs to be a particularly adaptable person to carry it out successfully.

One of the major changes in family structure, as it moves from an approximation of the institutional ideal type to a nuclear form, is this change in the positions of father and mother, for the patriarch of the large extended family played much the same pivotal role as the mother now does in nuclear families.⁶

⁶Ross, p. 87.

Thirdly, the relationship between husband and wife. When industrialization affects the structure of the joint-family and it breaks down into a single family unit, the relationship between husband and wife undergoes a major change. The wife gains a position of more importance because she is older when married, typically has more education, and there are no longer elder relatives in positions of authority over her. Moreover, if the wife has grown up in a nuclear family she will be more accustomed to equalitarian relations between husbands and wives, and will tend to expect them in her own marriage.

Reducing the disparity between the ages of husband and wife will make for better adjustments in an urban family. If the husband is too old and the wife too young and inexperienced it makes a mockery of marriage for they cannot function as real companions, which is necessary in a small-unit family.

Regarding remarriage, a general survey of Indian social history makes evident that Indian society has tacitly upheld a double standard of morality, one for women and another for men. It has affected ideas and practices of marriages. A woman should be a virgin before marriage and should remain true to her husband even after his death. There is no such condition for a man. The imposition of restrictions on widow-remarriage is a result of this attitude.⁷ The widowers, of course, could remarry any number of times. Even if they were old, they married young girls, who usually outlived them.⁸ The

⁷K. Dandekar, "Widow Remarriages in Six Rural Communities in Western India," unpublished paper read at the International Population Conference (New York, September 11-16, 1961), p. 3.

⁸S. N. Agarwala, "Mean Ages at Marriage and Widowhood in India," unpublished paper read at the International Population Conference (New York, September 11-16, 1961), pp. 4-6.

consequence was the increase in the number of widows. Law today permits widow remarriage, but social disapproval is still strong in the villages, though it is changing in the urban communities like Bombay. If public opinion favours remarriage of widows as it does that of widowers, then every widower may be able to find a wife from among the widows of his age-group.

Fourthly, the parent-child relation. With the growth of the nuclear type of family in Bombay and increased involvement with affairs of the outside world, the control and authority of the parents over their children has seemingly weakened. This, too, often tends to create tensions between parents and children.⁹ Parents feel that the younger generation is becoming too independent and disrespectful, whereas children feel that the parents are too dictatorial and somewhat old-fashioned.

It must be remembered that the nuclear family is not self-sufficient enough to meet all the social, economic, educational, religious, cultural and recreational needs of its members.¹⁰ In the rural joint-family, all these needs were generally met within the family itself. Through tradition and long usage, the family acquired a unity of purpose which resolved conflicts in the fulfilment of man's varied needs. The different functions were carried out in relative harmony. But now the members of the nuclear family have to join various institutions and associations outside the home for the fulfilment of these several needs. Their loyalty which in the village setting was entirely

⁹M. Savita, "Social Change and the Parent Child Relationship in the Middle Class Hindu Families," Journal of Social Sciences, I (January 1958), 91-92.

¹⁰Sylvester A. Sieber, S.V.D., Lecture-notes in "Seminar on the Family."

for the family, is now divided among several agencies.

Sons and daughters in industrial towns like Bombay are becoming increasingly dependent upon these outside agencies, because the family is unable to meet their growing needs.

Under these conditions, the parents, who may have lived their lives in a different environment, have to become a little more understanding about the needs of their children. They should not prevent them from becoming active members of outside associations but should on the other hand guide them to become good members of proper associations. This guidance has to begin from the early years of the child. To be able to guide more effectively, parents will have to try to understand the needs of their children. Without mutual understanding and respect between parents and children, children are apt to treat their home merely as a place where they eat and sleep. Young people can no more find a static secure environment in the city as in the old village communities; they will have to live in an environment which is constantly changing and offers them freedom of choices. Therefore, the parents have to so discipline them that there gradually grows within the children a sense of self-discipline and responsibility.

The younger generation should also bear in mind that it will be a folly to completely disregard the authority of parents. Without authority, there is only chaos and confusion in the home. It is true that some of the modes of exercising authority prevalent in the joint-family structure may appear quite unreasonable to the children but modifications may be brought about by drawing the parents' attention to this fact rather than by rebelling against them.

"The right relation between freedom and authority have to be learned in the

home, if democracy should succeed elsewhere."

Fifthly, Family Welfare. The family has offered the greatest security to the individual in Indian society. With the greater industrialization of the country and the development of urban life, there is a definite weakening, and in some cases a complete disintegration, of family life. As industrial urban life becomes more and more complex, the family is likely to be exposed to greater stress.¹¹ The community, therefore, can help to prevent the weakening of the urban family by aiding individual families to solve the complicated problems created by complex circumstances. Working in co-operation with properly organized family welfare agencies, as in the U.S.A., the community can create specific services for the benefit of families by helping them to deal with problems of health, education, economic life and personal relationships. The services to assist the family can be further extended to provide for the better care of growing children.¹²

The impetus for starting agencies for case work service in Bombay has come from the West, especially the U.S.A. The first family welfare agency in Bombay was organized in May 1950.¹³ The initial impetus for its establishment came from a few philanthropic persons who had some understanding of the need and value of family case-work. With the financial help of the N. M. Wadia Charities, American Women's Club, Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, and the cooperation

¹¹Richard M. Titmus, "Industrialization and the Family," Social Service Review, XXXI (March 1957), 63.

¹²Arabai B. Wadia, "Some Aspects of Family Welfare in India," Marriage and Family Living, XVII (August 1955), 226.

¹³Government of India, Social Welfare in India, p. 180.

of the Indian Conference of Social Work, the agency started functioning and a trained social case worker was appointed. The Bombay Mothers' and Children's Welfare Society allowed the agency to have its office in the society's premises where its services are available to all persons in need, irrespective of caste or creed. It receives referrals from Government hospitals, juvenile courts, child guidance clinics and private individuals. Requests for rehabilitation of unmarried mothers and delinquent children, for investigation into a prospective adoption home, for settling cases of marital discord, for counselling on personal problems, for follow-up work for certain hospital discharges and other problems pertaining to ill-health, are being received in increasing numbers.

It is true, unfortunately, that the family welfare agency is sometimes confronted with situations which appear more or less insurmountable at present. Financial inadequacy, the indifference and ignorance of the masses and the conservative outlook of some of the Hindu institutions are important limiting factors.

The family welfare agency at Delisle Road, Bombay, is the only agency of its kind in India so far. Though the agency is still in its infancy and its activities are limited to Bombay city only, it has great potentialities for development in future. Its contribution in the field of family welfare, so far as bringing about better family adjustments in individual cases is concerned, cannot be over-emphasized. In course of time it will give a lead in developing various organizations for meeting the unmet needs of families and for educating families in family living. Though at present the agency is providing more of curative service in cases of family breakdowns, it plans

also to develop preventive services in the near future in order to prevent family maladjustments.

It is possible that, in due course, with the help of the generous contributions of the public and of the local, state and Central Governments, this agency may start branches in different parts of the country. Or this may serve as a model to be followed by other family welfare agencies that may develop independently in various industrial towns of India. A new-work of such agencies with their services properly coordinated will be able to organize the region in which they exist into a living force for conserving desirable values in family and community life as well as for controlling the rise and spread of anti-social behaviour and wiping out the breeding spots of delinquency.

Sixthly, social security. Another feature of the emerging small unit family in Bombay, which needs attention, is that it cannot any longer provide economic security to its members as did the joint-family. The joint-family took care of its aged, sick, disabled, orphaned and widowed members. It provided not only economic but psychological security. With the progressive disintegration of the joint-family in Bombay, there is a growing destitution and plans for providing the needed security must be drawn up by society.

The Bombay Employees' State Insurance Scheme¹⁴ is a very commendable beginning. As the city advances in industrial urbanization, economically more and more people should be covered by this or similar schemes of social

¹⁴The Government of Bombay, The Bombay Employees State Insurance Scheme, Bombay 1955.

insurance.

With the people and the Government of Bombay becoming actively concerned about this aspect of the influence of industrial urbanization, it must not be forgotten that the aged and the orphans need psychological and emotional security along with the economic. Orphanages and homes for the old do take care of the economic needs but they have proved quite inadequate in providing the necessary psychological and emotional satisfaction to the inmates which was and still is provided by the joint-family in rural areas. At this point, the local community can render very important service by planning for the care of the aged, the poor, the handicapped, and the orphans. If such matters are made the sole responsibility of the State, institutions tend to become impersonal. Much of the financial assistance may have to come from the State. But the local community can give the human touch without which personal values are lost.

Woman's Role in the Emerging Family and Society of Bombay

Urbanization has brought a revolutionary change in the status of Indian women. It has "emancipated" them. The breakdown of the joint-family in Bombay has two major influences upon the young brides.

The first is that the woman now has become the mistress of her own home. She no longer has to live under the dictatorial and oppressive treatment of her mother-in-law. Furthermore, as a member of the joint-family she was engaged in domestic chores from morning until night, with no time which she could call her own. But now various agencies in the city are providing services and goods to meet the needs of the family. This affords the housewife

more leisure, which can be spent creatively, provided she has developed interests which are helpful for social and personality development. In this situation she also needs to develop self-confidence in order to be able to act on her own initiative. She can no more depend upon her in-laws for direction and guidance as in the rural family.

Secondly, by breaking away from the joint-family the husband and the wife now have the opportunity to know each other better and develop a feeling of companionship based on love. This human relationship of love and mutual understanding enhances the position of the woman in the eyes of the husband. He values her not only for the number of children she bears or the large dowry she brings (they still do have influence), but also for the intrinsic personal qualities she possesses. (It is no doubt true that in certain cases the discovery of personal qualities may become disappointing; but at least the assessment will be based on what a person is.)

Industrial urbanization has also offered to women the opportunity to work for wages. Ogburn and Niskoff are of the opinion that employment of women has played a significant part in the emancipation of women in the West.¹⁵ To a certain extent we can also say that industrial development has helped the emancipation of Indian women. It is becoming increasingly common in Bombay for women to take up employment and subsidize the family income. Thus as an earning member she feels quite qualified to make domestic decisions which otherwise were being made only by the husband. Economic independence makes

¹⁵William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Niskoff, Technology and the Changing Family (Boston 1955).

the woman conscious of her rights. Working outside the home and coming in contact with other people also broaden her outlook. Husbands in many cases are happy at the prospect of their wives getting jobs for it is an added source of income to meet the family needs.

Urban conditions have also afforded women opportunities of education. Pannikkar writes that "Hindu orthodoxy undermined its own citadel when it permitted the education of women."¹⁶ The middle class in Bombay has been the most enthusiastic in sending girls to schools and colleges. Education made them realize the many injustices meted out to them in Indian society. The educated women have formed women's organizations, such as the Women's India Association, the All-India Women's Conference, etc., and now campaign for the uplift of their less fortunate sisters in other parts of India.

It may be noted that these opportunities and facilities which urban conditions provide to women for their personal development may create a family pattern conducive to mutual and deeper personal relations or they may increase family tensions and lead to divorce. Some of the advanced countries of the West have suffered because their men and women did not realize that these new opportunities afforded by society through urbanism also placed upon their shoulders greater responsibilities.

In the nuclear urban family, the wife can no more be considered just another person to work according to directions given. She has to be a companion of the husband and also responsible for the proper upbringing of the

¹⁶K. M. Pannikkar, Hindu Society at the Cross-roads (Bombay 1956), p. 71.

children. A woman who has not learned to think independently cannot perform the duties of a wife and mother the way she is expected. The husband who has little contact with his other relatives also has to seek help and advice on crucial matters from his wife. Moreover, in the urban situation the mother's influence and personality is of the utmost significance in moulding the values and attitudes of the children. Therefore every woman especially in urban areas, has to be provided the opportunity for developing her personality. She has to have a correct understanding of the world in which her children are to live, for then only can she prepare them to take their proper place in society.

In Bombay today, women have significant openings for work. Not only to earn some money by employment in industry, but also to enter the professions and build careers for themselves. There is no area of public life in Bombay society today where women are not making a real contribution. Therefore, the special role of women in the larger spheres of social life as distinct from their role in the family as wife and mother, needs seriously to be thought out. Already nursing, teaching and social welfare are recognized areas where women by their nature have a large part to play. And there is a natural gravitation of working women to these spheres of activity. Even in the professions which have been traditionally the prerogative of men, the partnership of women has brought a new quality of life. After all, with growing mechanization of work, men have made themselves successful as cooks and in other roles which have been traditionally women's jobs. Indeed, old boundary lines are losing their meaning in a technically developing society. It means that responsible partnership between men and women may ennoble life literally in every walk of life.

It is gratifying that in India, the rights of women have been granted in the fundamental law of the land without a struggle. Recently the State by passing acts in respect to marriage, divorce, succession, adoption and maintenance has given a generous hand to emancipate women.¹⁷ Though achieved in law, emancipation is yet to be realized in practical life. Nevertheless it should now be possible to develop the idea of men-women co-operation as the basis of healthy development in family, State and society. Emancipation itself, whether already or yet to be realized, should be viewed in the light of its social purpose, namely free and responsible partnership of men and women in all walks of life.

:

¹⁷The Government of India (Publications Division), Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 (New Delhi, 1955).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS

- Cormack, Margaret L. The Hindu Woman. New York, 1953.
- Davis, Kingsley. The Population of India and Pakistan. Princeton, 1951.
- Desai, G. B. Women in Modern Gujarati Life. Bombay, 1950.
- Desai, Nira. Women in Modern India. Bombay, 1957.
- Fonseca, A.J., S.J. Wage Determination and Organized Labour in India. Poona, 1961.
- Ghurye, G. S. Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture. Bombay, 1955.
- Hate, (Mrs.) C. A. The Position of Hindu Women, Bombay, 1948.
- Kapadia, K. M. Hindu Kinship. Bombay, 1947.
- Marriage and Family in India. Bombay, 1955.
- Karve, Irawati K. Kinship Organization in India. Poona, 1953.
- Kuppuswamy, B. A Study of Opinion--Regarding Marriages and Divorce. Bombay, 1957.
- Majumdar, D. N. Social Contours of an Industrial City (Kampur). Bombay, 1960.
- Mathur, A. S. and J. S. Mathur. Trade Union Movement in India. Allahabad, 1957.
- Merchant, K. T. Changing Views on Marriage and the Family. Madras, Bombay, 1935.
- Mukerji, Dhurjati P. Modern Indian Culture: A Sociological Study. Bombay, 1948.
- Nevett, Albert. Too Many of Us? Poona, 1952.
- Ogburn, William F. and Meyer F. Ninkoff. Technology and the Changing Family. Boston, 1955.

- Prabhu, P. U. Hindu Social Organization. Bombay, 1958 (3rd ed.).
- Ross, D. Aileen. The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting. Toronto, 1961.
- Sarkar, S. C. Hindustan Year Book, 1960. Calcutta, 1960.
- Sovani, N. V. Social Survey of Kolhapur City. Poona, 1952.
- The Government of India (Ministry of Information). Social Welfare in India. New Delhi, 1955.
- (National Planning Committee Report). Women's Role in Planned Economy. New Delhi, 1947.
- (Planning Commission). The New India: Progress Through Democracy. New Delhi, 1958.
- (Publications Division). Indian Census Report, 1951. New Delhi, 1954.
- Health Survey and Development Committee, 1946. New Delhi, Vol. I.
- (National Planning Committee). Women's Role in Planned Economy. Delhi, 1947.
- (Publications Division). Hindu Marriage Act, 1955. New Delhi, 1955.
- (Publications Division). India 1960. New Delhi, 1960.
- UNESCO, Research Centre on Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia, Calcutta. The Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization. Calcutta, 1956.
- The Teaching of the Social Sciences in India. Bombay, 1956.
- Demographic Year Book, 1952. United Nations, New York, 1952.
- The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends. United Nations, New York, 1953.

B. ARTICLES

- Agarwala, S. N. "The Age at Marriage in India," Population Index, XXIII (April 1957), 96-107.
- Akhuri, N. "Socio-cultural Barriers to Rural Change in an East Bihar Community," Eastern Anthropologist, II (March-August 1958), 212-219.

- Bulsara, J. F. "Social Impact of Community Development and Other Projects on Rural Life," Sociological Bulletin, VII (September 1958), 81-97.
- Choudhury, R. D. "Joint Family System--Its Present and Future," Economic Weekly, IX (September 1957), 1233-1236.
- Damle, Y. B. "Communication of Modern Ideas in Indian Villages," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Spring 1956), 257-270.
- Das, T. C. "Method and Approach in a Survey on the Impact of Factory-Employment on the Life of the Workers," Sociological Bulletin, IX (March 1960), 45-59.
- Desai, I. P. "The Joint Family in India--An Analysis," Sociological Bulletin, V (September 1956), 144-156.
- "An Analysis," Sociological Bulletin, IV (September 1955), 97-117.
- Deshmukh, M. B. "A Study of Floating Migration," Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, UNESCO Research Centre. Calcutta, 1956, pp. 143-226.
- Dube, S. C. "Social Structure and Change in Indian Peasant Communities," Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, II, 262.
- Ghurye, G. S. "Cities of India," Sociological Bulletin, II (March 1953), 47-80.
- Gist, Noel P. "Mate Selection and Mass Communication in India," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVII (Winter 1953), 481-495.
- Kapadia, K. M. "Views and Attitudes of University Graduates in the Hindu Community on Marriage and Family Relationships," Sociological Bulletin, III (March 1954).
- "Changing Pattern of Hindu Marriage and Family," Sociological Bulletin, IV (September 1955), 161-192.
- "Rural Family Patterns: A Study in Urban-Rural Relations," Sociological Bulletin, V (September 1956), 111-126.
- Kennedy, Beth C. "Rural-Urban Contrasts in Parent-Child Relations in India," Indian Journal of Social Work, XV (December 1954), 162-174.
- Lambert, R. D. "Factory Workers and Non-factory Workers in Poona," Journal of Asian Studies, XVIII (November 1958), 21-42.
- Mankad, B. L. "The Age at Marriage," Journal of the University of Bombay, (July 1935), 105-110.

Prabhu, P. N. "A Study of the Social Effects of Urbanization on Industrial Workers Migrating from Rural Areas to the City of Bombay," Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, UNESCO Research Centre (Calcutta 1956), 49-106.

----- "Social Effects of Urbanization on Industrial Workers in Bombay," Sociological Bulletin, V (March 1956), 30-50 and VI (March 1957), 14-33.

Rao, M. S. "Caste and Joint Family in Kerala," Sociological Bulletin, IV (September 1955), 123-129.

Rajagopalan, C. "Bombay: A Study in Urban Demography and Ecology," Sociological Bulletin, IX (March 1960), 16-38.

Savita, M. "Social Change and the Parent Child Relationship in the Middle Class Hindu Families," Journal of Social Sciences, I (January 1958) 87-92.

Taylor, Williams Stephens. "Behaviour Disorders and the Breakdown of the Orthodox Hindu Family System," Indian Journal of Social Work, IV (September, 1943), 162-170.

C. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Agarwala, S. N. "Mean Ages at Marriage and Widowhood in India," unpublished paper read at the International Population Conference (New York, September 11-16, 1961).

Dandekar, K. "Widow Remarriages in Six Rural Communities in Western India," unpublished paper read at the International Populational Conference (New York, September 11-16, 1961).

Majumdar, M. N. "Ages at Marriage and Marriage Rates in India," unpublished paper read at the International Population Conference (New York, September 11-16, 1961).

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS

- Anderson, Nels. The Urban Community, A World Perspective. New York, 1959.
- Bachmann, Hedwig. On the Soul of the Indian Woman: As Reflected in the Folklore of the Konkan. Bastora, 1942.
- Burgess, E. W. and H. J. Locke. The Family (2nd ed.). New York, 1960.
- Devanandan, P. D. and M. M. Thomas. Community Development in India's Industrial Urban Areas. Bangalore, 1958.
- Desai, A. R. Rural Sociology in India. Bombay, 1959.
- Dewett, K. K. and J. D. Varma. Indian Economics. New Delhi, 1960.
- Dube, Shyama C. Indian Village. London, 1955.
- . India's Changing Villages. Ithaca and London, 1958.
- Ghurye, G. S. Caste and Class in India. Bombay, 1952.
- Griffiths, Sir Percival. Modern India. London, 1957.
- Hate, Chandrakala A. Hindu Woman and Her Future. Bombay, 1948.
- Kapadia, K. M. The Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill. Bombay, 1956.
- MacIver, R. M. and Page, C. Society: An Introductory Analysis. New York, 1954.
- Mukerjee, Radhakamal. The Culture and Art of India. London, 1959.
- Murphy, Gardner. In the Minds of Men: The Study of Human Behaviour and Social Tensions in India. New York, 1952.
- Narain, Dharendra. Hindu Character. Bombay, 1957.
- Natarajan, Swaminath. A Century of Social Reform in India. Bombay, 1959.
- O'Malley, Lewis S. India's Social Heritage. Oxford, 1934.
- . Modern India and the West. Oxford, 1940.
- Opler, Morris E. Village Life in North India. Chicago, 1950.
- Pannikar, K. M. Hindu Society at the Cross-roads. Bombay, 1956.

- . Common Sense about India. London, 1960.
- Rosen, George. Industrial Change in India. Glencoe, 1958.
- Schneider, Eugene V. Industrial Sociology. New York, Toronto, London, 1957.
- Stonequist, Everett V. The Marginal Man. New York, 1937.
- Thomas, M. M. and P. D. Devanandan. The Changing Pattern of Family in India. Bangalore, 1960.
- Thomas, Paul. Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners. Bombay, 1959.
- Turner, Ralph. The Great Cultural Tradition. New York, 1941.
- Vyas, Kantilal C. The Social Renaissance in India. Bombay, 1957.
- Woytinsky, Wladimir S. India: the Awakening Giant. New York, 1957.

B. ARTICLES

- Agarwala, B. R. "In a Mobile Commercial Community," in "Symposium: Caste and Joint Family," Sociological Bulletin, IV (September 1955), 141-142.
- Bardis, Panos D. "A Comparative Study of Familism," Rural Sociology, XXIV (December 1959), 362-371.
- Barnabas, A. P. "Patterns of the Rural Family," Bulletin, IV (September 1957), 16-31.
- Busia, K. A. "Sociology in a Rapidly Changing Society," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, I (March 1960), 67-75.
- Chinn, W. H. "The Family in Areas of Rapid Urbanization," Overseas Quarterly, (September 1960), 75-77.
- Crane, R. I. "Urbanism in India," American Journal of Sociology, LX (March 1955), 463-470.
- Desai, A. R. "Rural Sociology: Its Need in India," Sociological Bulletin, V (March 1956), 9-30.
- . "Urbanization and Social Stratification," Sociological Bulletin, IX (September 1960), 7-14.
- Dube, S. C. "Cultural Factors in Rural Community Development," Journal of Asian Studies, XVI (November 1956), 19-30.

- Ghurye, G. S. "Sociology of Innovation and Mobility," Sociological Bulletin, X (March 1961), 1-26.
- Gist, Noel P. "Caste Differentials in South India," Sociological Review, XIX (April 1954), 127-128.
- Gough, E. Kathleen. "Brahmin Kinship in a Tamil Village," American Anthropologist, IVIII (October 1956), 826-853.
- "The Nayar Case," A Modern Introduction to the Family edited by Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel (Glencoe, 1960), pp. 76-92.
- Kabir, Humayum. "Higher Education in India and the Study of the Social Sciences," Introduction to The Teaching of the Social Sciences in India, UNESCO, 1956.
- Kapadia, K. M. "A Perspective Necessary for the Study of Social Change in India," Sociological Bulletin, VI (March 1957), 43-60.
- Khatri, A. A. "Some Neglected Approaches and Problems in the Study of Family in India," Sociological Bulletin, X (March 1961), 75-81.
- Leela, Bhaskraiya. "Addressed to the Bride-to-be," Deccan Herald, Nov. 28, 1954.
- Mandelbaum, David G. "The Family in India," The Family: Its Function and Destiny, edited by Ruth N. Anshen (New York, 1959), 167-187.
- Narain, D. "Urbanization and Some Social Problems," Sociological Bulletin, IX (September 1960), 1-6.
- Ninkoff, M. F. and M. S. Gore. "Social Bases of the Hindu Joint Family," Sociology and Social Research, XLIV (September 1959), 27-36.
- Park, Robert E. "Human Migration and Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology, XXXIII (May 1928), 881-893.
- Parsons, Talcott. "The Social Structure of the Family," The Family: Its Function and Destiny, edited by Ruth N. Anshen (New York, 1959), 241-271.
- Rajagopalan, C. "The Rural-Urban Continuum: A Critical Evaluation," Sociological Bulletin, X (March 1961), 61-74.
- Schlesinger, Ben. "The Changing Patterns of the Hindu Joint Family in India," Marriage and Family Living, XXIII (May 1961), 170-175.
- Srinivas, M. N. "Industrialization and Urbanization of Rural Areas in India," Sociological Bulletin, V (September 1956).

Titmus, Richard M. "Industrialization and the Family," Social Service Review, XXXI (March 1957).

Turner, Roy. "The Future of Indian Cities," Asian Survey, I (March, 1961).

Wadia, Arabai B. "Some Aspects of Family Welfare in India," Marriage and Family Living, XVII (August 1955), 226-230.

C. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Bonac, V. "The Significance of the Family for the Situation of Society Today," unpublished paper read at the International Population Conference (New York, September 11-16, 1961).

Buchholz, E. W. "The Importance of the Family and the Family Structure for Economic Studies," unpublished paper read at the International Population Conference (New York, September 11-16, 1961).

Approval Sheet

The thesis submitted by Father Anthony A. D'Souza, S.J. has been read and approved by a board of three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

Feb-23-62

Date

Joseph A. Gallagher S.J.

Signature of Adviser