CHAPTER - V
SOCIAL PARAMETERS AND TRADITION – MODERN DICHOTOMY

The Concept of Tradition

The substance and contents of all that we inherit from the past, all that is transmitted to us in the cumulative, incremental historical process make up the heritage of a society. At the macro-level, what a whole society inherits from earlier phases of a historical process makes up the historical heritage, at the mezzo-level, what a community or group inherits from earlier phases of group life makes up the group heritage, at the micro-level, what an individual inherits from earlier phases of his/her biography makes up the personal heritage.

In the context of tradition, the link between the past and the present must be closer, more intimate. It must involve the continued existence of the past in the present, rather than merely indicating the fact that the present originates in the past. This continued existence may take two forms: Material and ideal, objective and subjective. By tradition in the first, more comprehensive sense of the term, we shall mean the totality of objects and ideas, which derive from the past but are actually to be found in the present, those which have not been destroyed, damaged, abandoned or forgotten. Tradition here means simply the heritage, which literally means remains from the past. In its barest, most elementary sense (tradition) means simply a traditum or anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present.

Traditions in the narrow sense are collections of objects of ideas endowed by people with special meaning because of their origins from the past and are themselves subject to change. They appear at certain moments, when people define certain fragments of the past heritage as tradition. They are modified when people select certain fragments of tradition for special emphasis and ignore others. They endure for sometime and they may disappear when objects are abandoned and ideas are rejected or forgotten. Traditions may also be revitalized and reappear after long periods of decay.
The birth of tradition may occur in two ways. In the first one genealogy leads from below, through the mechanism of emergence. It is a spontaneous, unintended, incremental process and involves large masses of individuals. For some reason or the other, certain individuals find some fragments of the historical heritage appealing. Their attitudes turn into behaviour, rituals, ceremonies, search for and renovation of old objects, the reinterpretation of old creeds, all of them affirming but also enhancing attitudes. Individual preferences and actions become shared and turn into truly social fact. Thus tradition is born. The second route leads from above, through the mechanism of imposition. This is the case when what is to count as tradition is selected, emphasized, brought to public attention and even enforced by individuals commanding power or influence (Singer, 1959).

Tradition and innovation should not be viewed as antithetical. A living tradition is more or less accommodative of new elements, although it is naturally mistrustful of novelty for its own sake. All traditions make additions and deletions to a greater extent, acquiring in some cases a greater expanse and in others a sharper focus. A tradition that seeks to shut out all innovation becomes atrophied and lifeless in course of time (Beteille, 2002).

**Modernization**

Modernization is not only a change in the material culture of a group or the material position of an individual, but is also concerned with a change in the belief system and the ideological framework. It refers to change in overt behavior, in the outlook, mind set and thought process. As a process modernization brings much desired, value orientation, motivations and norms. It started with the colonial history of many nations. It is true that after the second world war, it has been speeded up and has become broad-based (Mathur, 1997, p. 73).

An individual enjoying all the material comforts of the modern age may not be called modernized if he is faith-oriented in outlook and tradition-dominated in his approach. On the other hand, a person deprived of modern material comforts may be called modern if his orientation is scientific and outlook rational. Modernization is a process of change in outlook from being traditional and religious to being rational. The process of modernization involves an
interaction between the existing ideology and the necessary ideological framework that is required for development and progress according to one’s ideology. Modernization is a complex process involving the denial of some things of the past and the acceptance of some new things. Thus, there exists a contradiction between the old and the new.

There are two key concepts, viz., social structure and tradition, which have been used by Yogendra Singh to analyse the forces of modernization. Singh writes: ‘The systems of social structure and tradition cover the entire gamut of the Indian social phenomena and its realities. Modernization in this system begins either from the emergent and endogenous sources or through contact with forces outside the systems.’ (Singh, 1988, p. 7).

**Education and Modernization**

Contemporary education, which is an agent of modernization in various forms, is also of western origin. Traditionally, content of education was esoteric and metaphysical. Its communication was limited to upper classes or to the twice-born castes and the structure of its professional organization was hereditary and closed. The roles both of the teachers and the taught were qualitative ascriptive. Modern education has a different orientation and organization. Its content is liberal and exoteric and it is steeped in a modern scientific worldview.

Yogendra Singh (1988) has analysed the significance of education in the process of modernization. He has explained it in three areas: first, the cultural content of this education, secondly, its organizational structure and thirdly, the rate of its growth. The content of new education was doubtlessly modernizing and liberal in nature. In cultural modernization through education, positive value is associated with learning of physical and biological sciences, medicine and engineering rather than the humanities and social sciences. The reason for this association is not only because science education has more modernizing effects than arts, but because this education creates manpower which is indispensable for economic and industrial growth. Nevertheless, if the creation of a substantial profession in science and engineering contributes to modernization of society, education in the humanities and social sciences contributes to the modernization of man. One must not be considered less significant than the other.
Progress has also been made in other spheres of educational planning and modernization of its organization. Percentage of girls going to schools and colleges has increased. In many states schooling of children has been made free and compulsory. New vocational and polytechnical institutions have been started for better utilization of educated manpower for the economic and social growth of the country. Thus education has been one of the most influential instruments of modernization in India. It has led to the mobilization of people’s aspirations for nationalism, liberalism and freedom.

Modernization in all traditional cultures goes along with the process of a new identity consciousness. Since the former is an outer-directed process, the latter must necessarily be inner-directed. Hence, identity consciousness finds its basic symbolic structure in the past tradition. Nationalism, as a modernizing process in such societies emerges as a queer blend of modern psychology of outer-directedness and the commitment to tradition as revealed by inner-directed search for national symbols. (Mishra, 1960)

**Educational Status of Women**

Education is considered both, an end in itself, and as a means to attain certain ends. It develops the personality and wisdom of people, makes them capable of performing certain economic, political and cultural functions and consequently their socio-economic status gets enhanced. Education has been accepted as such equipments, which can be used to forward the process of change and development in society, in the direction of desired goals. It brings mobility in society and helps in bringing equal status among people coming from different social levels. The education system is the only institution, which can uproot the deep inequality between men and women which is settled in the minds of people through the process of socialization.

Higher education is imparted in the country in 135 universities and various affiliated colleges of arts, science, commerce and professional education (Mishra, 2002, pp. 75-76). Apart from this, 20 research institutes and other institutions are also working. The UGC, established in 1953, does essential work for the growth and co-ordination of higher education by determining the standard regarding teaching, examination and research in universities inquiring into
and examining their economic needs and giving them sufficient grants, establishing new universities and advising the government on other issues related to higher education.

In order to provide opportunities of higher education to the people and to make education the democratic resource available for the people, open universities have been established and programmes of distant learning or correspondence courses at all levels have been introduced. Saraswati Mishra writes that formal and informal educations are being used as a means of bringing basic changes in the standard of women. The national education system is performing a positive interfering role for making women capable. New values are being developed through new syllabi and text books with the help of educational institutions, which is necessary to finish the inequalities and deformities continuing from past. In various syllabi studies regarding the status of women are being encouraged. For removing women’s illiteracy, those obstacles due to which women cannot complete their education even of the primary level are being cleared off. For this purpose special assistance services are being arranged. At different levels participation of women in technical and professional education for obtaining a livelihood is being emphasized. Different programmes are being implemented among women and the policy against discrimination is being executed with great enthusiasm.

**Women’s Education: Change in Attitudes**

Saraswati Mishra (2002) observes that, although in rural areas even now traditional attitudes and behaviour persist towards female education, the attitudes and behaviour of urban higher and middle class people are changing very fast. By considering education very important in solving the problems of life, girls are being given higher education and quite a few of them are allowed to take up employment also.

Before independence, very few women, and that too only those forced by the conditions of economic hardship, used to go out of the four walls of the house and involve themselves in money earning occupations and activities. Working women used to be considered as degrading the honour of the family and were also looked down upon. Therefore, girls used to take education in order to get
an educated and financially well off husband, and if required, to become financially independent during any emergency in life. But now this attitude is changing and parents have also started selecting the subjects for education as well as the field of profession for their daughters as they do for their sons. Especially in the case of intelligent girls it is a fact that for their education, special facilities are made available inside and outside the home. Earlier, education/profession used to pose an obstruction in a girl’s marriage. Therefore they had to choose between marriage and a profession and advance in that direction. As a result, most girls of active professions had to remain unmarried throughout their life. But now it is not so and by making adjustment in both the fields, adopting a balanced lifestyle is possible these days. Now, a workingwoman is considered an honour for the family and family members provide assistance and co-operation to her in various ways. Quite a few women take education even after marriage and put it to use.

The impact of educational growth can be observed specially in urban areas. Most of the girls of all social classes are taking education in schools. Girls of higher and middle classes area advancing towards the adoption of career oriented lifestyle after taking higher education. Quite a few married and unmarried women of these classes are now engaged in various professions. In every field women are working shoulder to shoulder with men successfully and they have proved that they are not any less capable than men. The most prominent impact of education is seen in society in the form of the establishment of new values of equality between men and women due to which change in behaviour is also observed. In educated families, believing in the values of equality, an educated girl is considered to be an asset and not a liability. An educated wife today is not considered the share of her husband but a companion and friend. This change has started only among the urban educated higher and middle class people and its speed is quite slow. But as education extends to the rural areas and among lower class people, these impacts will certainly be created. Along with improvement of women’s status through education, progress and development of society have also gained speed, due to their social, economic and political participation. Hence, education that inculcates human and spiritual values is of great significance for the empowerment of women.
The educated workingwomen covered by this study are employed in different educational institutions as Lecturers, Readers and Professors. They have received education for a number of years and also been exposed to system of education at graduate and postgraduate levels. They have faced interview boards consisting of men on different occasions. They are employed in imparting education to the younger generation. Hence they have been facing both, boys as well as girls in the classrooms. In the colleges imparting education up to the postgraduate level, women teachers work not only with female teachers but also with male teachers. In other occupations also, they face male members at their work place. Hence, they are exposed to different conditions and circumstances. All these facts are the negation of traditional factors and forces and are helpful in developing a liberal and rational outlook and contributing to the process of modernization. In the background of the factors promoting rationalization of attitudes and modernization of approaches, the study of modernization of this section of woman population is quite significant.

Economic dependence of women on men has been a dominant feature of traditional Indian society. Under this system men were expected to earn and women were required to manage household affairs. This complete financial dependence of women on men was a source of exploitation of women in traditional Indian Society. They were treated like a commodity or possession and lived under the authoritarian control of the patriarch. They did not play any role in family decisions and were expected to obey their husbands or family elders. But earning by women has changed the situation altogether. It has led to the development of economic independence or at least economic inter-dependence in family life. It is believed that employment of women in the world outside is an index of emancipation, a factor leading to the rationalization of social structure.

Women working as college and university teachers or with some other status are not only employed or earning hands, they occupy a respectable status in society as well. They are not required to look towards their masters for initiative or decision. They are mature and capable enough to understand a complicated problem and to sort it out. Their education and occupation are expected to develop
self-confidence in them. They are expected to be rational in their approach. Thus, the nature of the job, the place of the job in society and the self-confidence developing among women are expected to be favourable to the development of a modern outlook.

The challenges traditional cultural values are facing in India today relate to the contradictions between the old and the new world views and culture norms and the extent to which the selective adaptation in the older values is taking place in the wake of the new values. To this adaptation the changes in social structure play a crucial role. The new cultural values of egalitarianism, social justice, secularism, legal racialism, democracy and planned transformation of society have deeper implications for transformation in the social structure of Indian society and to a large measure are dependent upon the realization of this transformation. Karl Mannheim characterized this feature of the crisis in the contemporary western cultures as the contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous where the norms of the old and the new order of culture exist in a random non-syncretic fashion (Yogendra Singh, 1978).

Thus, the traditional value system of society supported subordination and dependence on the part of women in their relations with men. On the contrary, modern values point towards equality of status for women. In the present Indian society both traditional and modern values exist and places women in ambivalent situation. They try to preserve tradition to satisfy the family and community whereas they also adopt modernity in order to suit the present trend.

The women were taught right from the cradle to uphold the traditional practices forever in future. Later independence had brought hopes and constitution promised her an equal treatment and series of progressive laws seemed able to translate the promise into reality. But these hopes have been fulfilled only in some smaller quarters of women whereas for others they still remain far and distant. Women’s basic disability originated in religion and then in the caste system. A woman is warned against in almost all religions of the world. Apart from this, she experiences prejudice in all walks of life, which persists even after the advancement of women in the fields of education and challenging professions.
Sacred Symbols and Preferences in Marital Affairs

The rituals, ceremonies, customs and practices of marriage vary from religion to religion and from caste to caste. Similarly, caste and religion play an important role in defining the position of women in society, especially regarding beliefs about their inherent character, structure, natural strength and weaknesses and their rights and obligations towards men, society and God. Religion has hypnotized man and gained control over his life and mind. In the name of morality, scriptures and life after death it has enslaved man. It became easier for it to attack and conquer women. The very idea that woman was created for the pleasure of man and that she is his property makes her subordinate to him. In the same way, religion has brainwashed the minds of women so that their views and decisions are in conformity with the views of men. This process has gone on from their very childhood. It is exactly why even those women who have had higher education do not dare to think or act contrary to the old tradition. Such thought and act are treated as tantamount to either rebellion or revolutions. Thus, the women’s freedom is negated in the name of religion, honour, family welfare and social prestige. The cruelty in this situation is that she has to give up her freedom willingly. Indian culture is considered to be a prisoner where hand and foot are bound by religion. A man’s culture and a woman’s culture are different, being dependent on their customs and their practices. Socialization in this regard has made women to sing the song of adoration of the past and to proclaim flamboyantly that old is gold and traditional values are not framed without reasons. (Subbamma, 1985).

Sangeeta Mishra (1993) in her study on ‘Status of women in changing urban hindu family’ stated that since marriage and motherhood are considered essential, a Hindu woman is expected to perform special rituals to obtain long life and special protection for her husband and sons. Accordingly, marriage symbols like thali, metti, finger ring etc are considered to be very sacred and indispensable. Emotions and sentiments are attached to it since the girl is expected to remove the above mentioned symbols of marriage after the death of her husband. Therefore, importance to marriage symbols vary according to the family traditions of various castes and religious groups.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sacred symbols and marital expectations</th>
<th>FC</th>
<th>BC</th>
<th>MBC</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wearing marriage symbols</td>
<td>A (2)</td>
<td>T (8)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>T (8)</td>
<td>M (8)</td>
<td>A (7)</td>
<td>T (7)</td>
<td>M (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 (37)</td>
<td>66 (81.5)</td>
<td>15 (18.5)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8 (80)</td>
<td>2 (20)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7 (77.8)</td>
<td>2 (22.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>135 (100)</td>
<td>2 (1.8)</td>
<td>90 (81.1)</td>
<td>19 (17.1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15 (71.4)</td>
<td>6 (28.6)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom should be older than bride</td>
<td>1 (2.9)</td>
<td>29 (82.9)</td>
<td>5 (14.3)</td>
<td>6 (74)</td>
<td>68 (84)</td>
<td>7 (8.6)</td>
<td>9 (90)</td>
<td>1 (10)</td>
<td>1 (11.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 (6.3)</td>
<td>92 (82.9)</td>
<td>12 (10.8)</td>
<td>1 (4.8)</td>
<td>19 (90.5)</td>
<td>1 (4.8)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom should be taller than bride</td>
<td>4 (11.4)</td>
<td>24 (68.6)</td>
<td>5 (14.3)</td>
<td>7 (70)</td>
<td>11 (13.6)</td>
<td>9 (11.1)</td>
<td>7 (70)</td>
<td>2 (20)</td>
<td>2 (22.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 (14.4)</td>
<td>78 (70.3)</td>
<td>17 (15.3)</td>
<td>16 (14.4)</td>
<td>16 (76.2)</td>
<td>3 (14.3)</td>
<td>6 (9.5)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife should be submissive</td>
<td>28 (80)</td>
<td>2 (5.7)</td>
<td>9 (14.3)</td>
<td>63 (77.8)</td>
<td>8 (9.9)</td>
<td>9 (90)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (10)</td>
<td>7 (77.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>91 (82)</td>
<td>4 (3.6)</td>
<td>16 (14.4)</td>
<td>16 (76.2)</td>
<td>3 (14.3)</td>
<td>2 (9.5)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figures within parenthesis are percentages)

- A – Ambivalent
- T – Traditional
- M – Modern
From table-21, it is clear that there is only a slight variation in the rate of traditionality between the forward (77.1%), backward (81.5%), most backward (80%), and scheduled castes (77.8%) regarding marriage symbols. Similarly the rate of traditionality with respect to marriage symbols is high among Hindus (81.1%) and Christians (71.4%) and cent percent among Muslims (100%). This shows that women teachers belonging to various religions and castes like to preserve tradition as far as marriage symbols are concerned. It is surprising to note that though marriage is a contract among Muslims they do give importance to marriage symbols. Though the respondents are highly educated they dare not remove the sacred marriage symbols even if it causes discomfort. Only a very few among Hindus and Christians remove and wear thali and metti according to their whims and fancies which is very rare. In this case the rate of ambivalence is very meager.

Indian marriage pattern has its unique features. Each culture has a definite pattern of mate selection in which age old beliefs hold the prime position. Though caste, religion and horoscope play a vital role in marriage, importance is also given to age and height. Regarding the selection of the groom, the boy is expected not only to be elder than the girl, but also to be taller than her which is found in Indian society from time immemorial. This reveals the sub-ordination of the girl who is obliged to be under the protection of the boy in all aspects of life. The caste and religious communities presented in the table shows that the respondents are highly traditional as far as the variable ‘Groom should be older than bride’ is concerned. The women teachers said that only if the boys are older in age they would be matured enough to maintain the family. Added to this, they also opined that biological condition of the girl will make her look old soon when compared to her counterpart which might instigate the boy to go astray. Similarly the rate of traditionality is high regarding the variable ‘Groom should be taller than bride’. But compared to the previous variable the traditionality rate is slightly less in this case. The women teachers felt that the bridegroom should be atleast one inch taller than the bride otherwise it would not give better appearance. This shows that the respondents, though highly educated still remain conservative and like to preserve tradition as far as marital aspects are concerned.
Contrary to the above mentioned aspects, except the Muslim women teachers who are cent percent traditional, the rest are in the state of ambivalence irrespective of caste with respect to the variable ‘wife should be submissive’. The rate of ambivalence is very high among the most backward caste (90%) whereas the backward and scheduled castes constitute the same level of ambivalence (77.8%). 80% of women teachers belonging to forward castes are also in the state of ambivalence. Since submissiveness is considered to be a sign of subordination and disempowerment, the women teachers said that only at times or occasionally the wife could be submissive and that too only in case of adjustment and not always because it would suppress the feelings and emotions of women and put an end to individuality. So to avoid disintegration of family, submissiveness to a certain extent only is tolerated. Acceptance of submissiveness among Muslim women teachers reveals the low status of women in Islam community. Sumathi Karmakar (2001) has discussed Rama Mehta’s ideas about submissiveness of women. Among the Oswald community of Udaipur, Mehta found that the boys of the community though influenced by more modern values were still conformists in many respects. They expected of their wives the traditional submissiveness to their authority and subordination to the family. They seem to have changed very little in their views regarding the place of the wife in the home inspite of being a near - equal contributor to the family earnings. The link between the nuclear and joint household was so intricate that even the earning daughter-in-law could not violate the traditional forms of respect and still hope for a good relationship with her husband.

Thus, marriage and family are social institutions, which upholds masculine superiority and impose such value systems on both male and female since their childhood. Starting from mate selection the supremacy of male could be seen one step forward in all walks of life. The mindset of female has been trained to anchor in traditional faith within the matrix of ritual behaviours from time immemorial. Women give importance not only to their life partners but also to the symbols related to their welfare. It is believed that those sacred symbols deepen the emotions and strengthen the companionship between the two. Accordingly marriage symbols hold the prime position in the entire lifetime of women, as it is sentimental.
## Table 22

### Age Vs Sacred Symbols and Preferences in Marital Affairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sacred symbols and marital expectations</th>
<th>25 - 35</th>
<th>35 - 45</th>
<th>45 - 55</th>
<th>Above 55</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing marriage symbols</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom should be older than bride</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom should be taller than bride</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife should be submissive</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figures within parenthesis are percentages)

- A – Ambivalent
- T – Traditional
- M – Modern
The data given in table-22, supports the above mentioned facts. Women, irrespective of age, give importance to marriage symbols, age (Groom to be older) and height (Groom to be taller). Even the women teachers who are young belonging to the age group 25-35 are very traditional as far as marriage related aspects are concerned. But high rate of ambivalence could be seen among all age groups with respect to submissiveness of wife. In this regard the women teachers said that the wife could be submissive at times but not always in order to avoid quarrels and tension in the family. According to S.C.Dube (1955, p.141), ‘In the traditional system a wife has to obey her authoritarian and dominating husband. She had to regard him as her master and should serve him faithfully. The husband is superior, the wife is his subordinate’. Similarly in the words of Indra (1955), a hindu wife has to adhere to a set pattern laid down in hindu literature. She has to spend the whole day in considering matters entirely related to the house, was particularly to be attentive to the needs and desires of her lord – always subordinating her own comforts and convenience to his desires. Buddha also preached the duties of a good housewife, to be a wife who resembles a servant. She should be a subordinate to her husband. Compared to other age group 25% of the respondents belonging to 25-35 are very certain in their opinion that the wife should never be submissive in the modern globalized society like India. Contrary to this none of the women teachers who are above 55 years said that the wife should never be submissive. This shows that the age disparity has its impact on the status of women in the family. It is clear from the above table that as the age increases the level modernity decreases with respect to submissiveness of wife in the family. Though the women teachers like to preserve tradition in marital aspects, they are reluctant to be subordinate always as it would degrade their position in the family and society on the whole. As the respondents are highly educated and economically independent group they are in the process of shattering the chain of submissiveness, which is obvious from the data, picturizing their ambivalent state (ie) moving towards modernity. Therefore the women teachers are enlightening their minds and keeping pace with the rapid speed with which the modern society is moving ahead. As regards the modern role of women, change is in evidence.
Table 23

Age Vs Freedom in Life Style and Mate Selection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>25-35</th>
<th>35-45</th>
<th>45-55</th>
<th>Above 55</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having freedom in life style</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 (37.5)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 (62.5)</td>
<td>23 (42.6)</td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowing son to select his own life partner</td>
<td>1 (12.5)</td>
<td>1 (12.5)</td>
<td>6 (75)</td>
<td>21 (38.9)</td>
<td>15 (17.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowing daughter to select her own life partner</td>
<td>1 (12.5)</td>
<td>1 (12.5)</td>
<td>6 (75)</td>
<td>19 (35.2)</td>
<td>17 (31.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figures within parenthesis are percentages)

- A – Ambivalent
- T – Traditional
- M – Modern
Freedom in Life Style and Mate Selection

In a patriarchal society like India, fullfledged freedom for women is still under anticipation. Exposure to higher education and employment have liberated women to a certain extent. From table-23, it is clear that the rate of modernity is high among the woman teachers belonging to the age group 45-55 and above 55 as they have more freedom in life style. In addition, to their age, higher education, economic independence and experiences in life liberate them and play a vital role in development process. The respondents belonging to the age group 35-45 has less freedom in life style as the rate of modernity constitutes only 55.6%. They opined that interference of husband, in-laws and children curtails their freedom. Many teachers said that when their children were young they had to spare their time and give up their desires for sake of them. Compared to them the respondents belonging to the age group 25–35 have freedom in life style as their rate of modernity is 62.5%.

Traditionally, only the parents and elder members of the family select the life partners for their children from their own community. But later the parents started the practice of consulting their children regarding their marriage though it is arranged by them. In the modern era, love marriages and marriages through internet chatting, are diffusing into Indian Culture. As per table 23, the women teachers belonging to the age group 25-35 are highly modern (75%) since they stated that, they would allow their sons and daughters to select their own life partner if they wish to choose the mate on their own.

In the age groups 45-55 and above 55 the rate of modernity ranges from 42% to 55%. Only in the age group 35-45 the rate of modernity is less. i.e., 33.3%. They said that they wish to select the partners for their children from their own community so that the way of the behaviour of the girl or boy does not contradict the culture of their family and community.

They also said that marriage is not only a union between two individuals but of two families and to avoid friction between the families, parents prefer to consult their children, but will not allow them to decide entirely on their own except in unavoidable conditions. So traditionality and modernity are found in selection process. All women teachers stated that they would reject the marriage
proposal arranged by them if it is disliked by their children. Their modern attitude towards mate selection is obvious in this case. In a gender based society like India it was unusual to note that except a very few, all the other women teachers reported that both the son and the daughter are equal to them so without any discrimination they would allow both of them to select their life partner or restrict them in doing so. Even in the aspect of gender, the modern attitude of women is visible. The above said data ensures that the women teachers due to higher education and exposure able to adjust and cope-up with the youngsters by bridging the generation gap with like mindedness.

Emerging Trends in Motherhood

The concepts of unwed motherhood, surrogate mother and cloning child are unacceptable to women teachers, irrespective of caste and religion. Higher education and influence of the west have a significant role to play in this regard. For Indian women, marriage is a sacred phenomenon and hence they accept child birth only after marriage. This creates an aversion towards new invention on the concept of childbirth as it is non-conservative and against nature.

A mother is a woman who has given birth to a baby or who has reared him whereas, the surrogate mother is a mother who lends a womb – a recent development brought about by modern science. In this case, it is possible for a childless couple to have a baby when there is deficiency in the wife. The semen of the husband is inserted in the womb of another woman who produces the baby. The child born out of this process is the product of artificial insemination. This commercial work is done by women who are in dire need of money. But this western concept still remains alien to Indian culture and is not accepted by many. Similarly cloning child is also not accepted because that would change the concept of life itself. Cloning of humans was considered to be an act against ethics and morality. People have aversion even towards test tube baby for the same reason. But in this case the rate of acceptance is more when compared to other means of motherhood. The greater dilemma on the ethical or moral ground still plagues the human mind. All these artificial means of motherhood is out of reach of the lower class as it is not only highly technical but also highly expensive.
### Table 24

#### Caste and Religion Vs Motherhood Related Modern Aspects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motherhood related Variables</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FC</td>
<td>BC</td>
<td>MBC</td>
<td>SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwed motherhood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>5 (14.3)</td>
<td>30 (85.7)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9 (11.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>6 (17.1)</td>
<td>28 (80)</td>
<td>1 (2.9)</td>
<td>19 (23.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBC</td>
<td>7 (20)</td>
<td>27 (77.1)</td>
<td>1 (2.9)</td>
<td>24 (29.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>18 (51.4)</td>
<td>4 (11.4)</td>
<td>13 (37.1)</td>
<td>44 (54.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Figures within parenthesis are percentages)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- A – Ambivalent
- T – Traditional
- M – Modern
As per table-24, the rate of traditionality is more than the rate of modernity among all castes with respect to unwed motherhood and surrogate mother because the women teachers felt that the concept of surrogate mother and unwed motherhood are immoral and against Indian culture. Added to this they said that in case of surrogate mother the sacred relationship of motherhood is not only commercialized but also creates the problem of dual ownership of the child as there is a chance for the surrogate mother to claim over the baby. Thus, the use of surrogate mothers who carry and give birth to a child and then surrender it for payment is an ethically unacceptable enterprise that is tantamount to trading in infants. The respondents also felt that the surrogate mother’s physical, mental and genetic qualities may affect the baby either way. Only half the percentage of the respondents belonging to MBC and SC were able to accept human cloning, whereas it is not so in the case of other caste groups as only 2.9% of forward castes and 6.2% of backward castes favoured cloning of humans. Contrary to this, the rate of traditionality is very low among all communities with respect to acceptance of test tube baby. But in this case, the rate of ambivalence is high among forward castes and backward castes because according to the respondents’ view the society’s curse on barren women is miserable and intolerable which makes them to adopt any scientific means of conception without violating Indian culture. To have a child of their own also make them to adopt new methods of childbirth. Likewise 60% of the respondents belonging to MBC favoured test tube baby for the same reason. Among SC’s the rate of modernity and rate of ambivalence are equal. This shows that in spite of the rigid culture the women teachers belonging to scheduled caste also accept test tube baby in order to overcome society’s blame and to have an heir for their family. Many women believe that they can only achieve adult, feminine status through becoming mothers. Ann Phoenix’s (1991) research with teenage mothers supports this view in that their desire for motherhood as entry to womanhood is not so much a biological desire to become pregnant and nurture a child, but an implicit recognition of apparent privilege unavailable to childless women. This system of beliefs is related to the patriarchal idealisation of women as mothers, which is part of women’s subordination.
Analysing the religious communities, it was found that the Muslim women teachers are cent percent traditional with regard to all the above mentioned variables. Among Christian women teachers, 52.3% are traditional and 42.8% are ambivalent with respect to the variable unwed motherhood. The teachers who are ambivalent felt that unwed motherhood depends upon the mindset of the individual concerned. If a woman wishes to have a child she might go in for adoption for which she need not get married. They also said that to have a hold in life, there is nothing wrong if unwed woman takes up motherhood. Among them, the modernity rate is high with respect to test tube baby. 61.9% and 71.4% of ambivalence is seen regarding the variables surrogate mother and cloning child respectively. Among the Hindus, the rate of traditionality is very high with respect to the variables unwed mother, surrogate mother and cloning child. Only 36.9% of Hindu women teachers could accept the innovation of test tube baby whereas 58.5% still remain in the state of ambivalence in this regard. Thus the institution of motherhood which has been praised over generations, continues to derive maximum respect from women. All the same, it has laid down certain conditions and limitations. This shows the strength of a tradition which transcends the barriers of race, religion and caste.

Thus motherhood is not a unitary experience. To be a mother demands that a woman takes on a complex identity. She is still herself but she is also a mother with the incumbent roles, responsibilities and relationships which this entails. Becoming a mother has been part of most women’s identities since childhood. (Richardson, 1993). Motherhood certainly does qualitatively change women’s lives to a better state. Infact Ruddick (1982) argues far from motherhood being a humble activity, ‘maternal thinking’ demonstrates resilience and strength. Mothers need to be strong to cope with mothering and with the social conditions surrounding that role. They have to be strong in order to maintain a sense of their own identity and fulfill some of their own needs and negotiate their way through the associated social subordination. Also it is believed that motherhood potentially provides women with entry into womanhood (Woollett, 1992). Women are often made to feel that there must be something wrong with them if they do not chose to be a mother.
### Table 25

**Age Vs Motherhood Related Modern Aspects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motherhood Related Variables</th>
<th>25 – 35</th>
<th>35 – 45</th>
<th>45 – 55</th>
<th>Above 55</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unwed motherhood</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 (87.5)</td>
<td>1 (12.5)</td>
<td>5 (9.3)</td>
<td>49 (90.7)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrogate Mother</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10 (18.5)</td>
<td>43 (79.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloning Child</td>
<td>4 (50)</td>
<td>4 (50)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14 (25.9)</td>
<td>38 (70.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Test Tube Baby</td>
<td>3 (37.5)</td>
<td>2 (25)</td>
<td>3 (37.5)</td>
<td>24 (44.4)</td>
<td>4 (7.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figures within parenthesis are percentages)

- A – Ambivalent
- T – Traditional
- M – Modern
From the above table it is obvious that the respondents of all age groups are against ‘unwed motherhood and surrogate mother’ which shows that they are very traditional as far as marriage and child birth are concerned. Regarding human cloning the rate of ambivalence and rate of traditionality are equal among the respondents belonging to the age group 25-35. Though they are young and able to accept new inventions, the family and community tradition make them ambivalent. Majority of the respondents belonging to all other age groups are against cloning of humans and have traditional attitude towards it because it would not only have serious and obvious repercussions but also would create utter confusion and chaos. The women teachers also felt that it would create havoc with God’s creation since the moral ground of the human species degenerating into a product of evolution does not appear very inviting.

With the respect to the variable ‘test tube baby’ no ambivalence could be seen among the respondents belonging to the age groups 45-55 and above 55. Among them except a few the rest prefer test tube baby. There is only a slight variation between the rate of ambivalence and rate of modernity among the women teachers belonging to the age group 35-45. Similarly, the rate of ambivalence and rate of modernity are equal in the age group 25-35. These data ensures that women in order to escape barreness and societal blame are ready to adopt artificial means of conception and be fruitful. The women teachers also stressed the importance of children to take care of the parents in their old age. They also state that the presence of children would give meaning to their life.

**Adoption of Children**

Adoption of children is a socio-legal concept. It had existed in India and abroad since ancient times. Adoption primarily meant that parent–child relationship was established where none existed. The child of one set of parents became the child of another set of parents as if it were a natural-born child. Law, which confers on the adoptive parents the rights, and duties of a natural parent may recognize this process of adoption. Thus, the Hindu adoption act of 1956 was passed. Since ancient times male child was adopted for continuance of
family, lineage, inheritance of property and solemnization of the last rites of the parents. But now female children are also adopted.

Majority of the women teachers irrespective of caste, religion and age are very modern as they are in favour of adoption and view that the adopted child may be of any caste or creed. They also said that it is always better to adopt the child from an orphanage than from same caste and close relatives. In their opinion, if a child is adopted from close relatives they would claim ownership in later stage and create confusion in the mindset of children which is not appreciable. There is also a chance for the adopted child to move towards the parents who have given birth. So the women teachers prefer to adopt children from orphanage. They also said that this kind of adoption would be a sort of help to the children without parents. It is important to note that the women teachers who are ambivalent in case of inter-caste and inter-religious marriages are very modern with respect to adoption of children from orphanage. The reason for this is they would socialize the adopted child according to their customs and practices of their own community. It is difficult in the case of grown-up bride or bridgegroom in inter-caste and inter-religious marriages. But the respondents are of the opinion that in the initial stage they would try to have their own baby through scientific means and only if it is not successful in the later stage they would go in for adoption.

**Significance of Auspicious Time**

Belief in auspicious time is very much related to religion, caste and family tradition. The rate of traditionality is cent percent among Muslims and 84.7% among Hindus. With respect to belief in auspicious time the rate of traditionality is less among Christian women teachers since according to them any time is good as God is the one who leads man in every walk of life. Similarly, analyzing various castes it was found that the rate of traditionality is low among scheduled caste (55.6%) and high among the forward caste (80%), backward caste (79%) and most backward caste (90%) on the issue of auspicious time. Even among all age groups it is noted that the rate of traditionality exceeds the rate of modernity. Thus, majority of women teachers are of the view that the pros and cons of auspicious time have been imbibed from their ancestors from time
immemorial. Their mindset has been socialized in such a way that only things done in auspicious time give fruitful result. Therefore, they are not prepared to take risk by doing things in inauspicious time. Inspite of acquiring higher education the women teachers have belief in auspicious time. But the concept of auspicious time is given importance only in matters of major issues like marriage, house warming ceremony, puberty ceremony, ear boring ceremony and for initiating new business and not for routine activities. Similarly, majority of women teachers have superstitious beliefs related to above mentioned major issues. They stated that crossing of black cat, spilling of kumkum, breaking of glass on auspicious occasion disturbs them inspite of their higher education and secular attitude towards various global issues. Sanjay Ketan Jena’s (1993) study on ‘Working Women and Modernization’ in the city of Cuttak also proved that majority of the working women at all levels of modernity have superstitious beliefs and faith in omens. It was found from his study that the crossing of cat, empty pot and sitting of owl on roof of the house were treated as inauspicious without any rationale.

Marital Status and Change in Attitude of Women Teachers

In order to understand woman in the society, marriage is a relevant social indicator. Marriage includes all the ingredients such as patriarchy, matriarchy, rituals, ceremonies, dowry etc. Analysis of these aspects helps one to come to a conclusion regarding the status of women in the respective societies. In India, marriage is considered as most important event in an individual’s life. Infact it is the landmark where women’s responsibilities increase as wife, daughter-in-law, mother and as mother-in-law. All these four roles do not have an independent status in a patriarchal society like India. Women’s freedom is curtailed as per the norms and values of the society. Similarly, impact of marriage on women is greater than that on men as immediately after marriage girls’ role performance changes drastically which requires physical and mental makeup. (Thara Bhai, 2000). Even before marriage the girls under the control of father are bound by family traditions and are placed in a dilemma whether to preserve tradition or to go for modernity as they are in the preparatory stage of marriage. Thus the attitude of unmarried, married, separated and divorces with respect to modernity
are not the same. The behaviour and activities of women differ as per their marital status. Customs habits and beliefs have emerged largely from religious values. Therefore the entry of modern values is not drastic but rather gradual, placing women in a state of ambivalence.

Graph 1 shows modern views on marriage. The marriage related modern aspects such as registrar marriage, removing thali on any occasion as you like, divorce, remarriage, consulting children regarding their marriage, giving freedom to children to select their life partners etc. are taken as variables for this study. These variables differ between the distinct attributes that come under marital status. It was surprising to note that the unmarried are less modern with respect to marriage related variables. Since the unmarried are caught between the family traditions and modern societal exposure they are in ambivalent state. It is difficult for them to overcome the customs and practices of the family and also to neglect modern societal view. Though the above mentioned views on marriage do not sound wrong to their thought they have slight inhibition in practicing them.
The unmarried women teachers living under the control of parents could not over throw family or community traditions because they fear that they would be stigmatized as ‘women of revolution’ which stands as a barrier in marriage proposals. Comparatively married women teachers are modern as their modernity mean score is 92. After marriage the economically independent women have a role in decision making process, which make them to adopt modern way of life to a certain extent. In this case also interference of husband prevents them to be fullfledged modern women. The separated women are highly modern (mean score-123) as they have more freedom to take decisions without interference. The separated women teachers are more challenging in life style. They give less importance to the societal pressure and more importance to individuality. The divorced women teachers are comparatively less modern than the separated but more modern in comparison to married and unmarried. Since the divorced are once for all legally separated from their husband they have low status in the patriarchal society like India. Even then, they try to with stand the societal suppression and diligently face the society with challenge. The separated and divorced women said that inspite of their marriages having taken place with customs and rituals they had ended-up in failure. So they are not much worried about the age-old customs and practices which curtail women’s development. They are very particular that such things should not happen in their children’s life and hence have rational outlook.
Graph 2 highlights the mindset of women teachers towards freedom and self-determination. The modernity score related to the variables such as women going for work, choosing one’s own career, learning computer, driving vehicles, going abroad for higher studies, membership in women’s club, attending parties on one’s own and returning home everyday after dusk differs between the distinct attributes that come under marital status. These variables are analysed to measure the extent of self-determination and freedom amongst women teachers. In this case also, it was found that the ‘separated’ are highly modern whereas the divorcees are least modern. This shows that in a patriarchal society, women who have divorced their husbands have a low status which prevents them to have free movement in the society. It is not so in the case of separated because only temporarily they stay away from their husbands. Compared to married, the degree of modernity is higher among unmarried because the present day socialization of the parents coincides with the trend of the society but without cultural violation. Learning computer, driving and going for work have become the need of the day. It paves way not only for women’s development but also for societal development. As a mark of individuality women prefer to choose their own career
as it lays foundation for a bright future. The fast moving mechanical society encourages women teachers to go abroad for higher studies. So mobility and individuality gives them strength to achieve their target.

Parenting, a process of effective rearing of children decides the future of the society lacking which creates deviants and anti-social elements. This in turn disrupts the peaceful atmosphere and ends up in crisis. Parenting differs from religion to religion, caste to caste, and society to society. Parenting and culture go hand-in-hand as the norms, values, customs and tradition are transmitted through the process of socialization or parenting. Development of self is the heart of socialization process. Therefore, the parents ought to be cautious in bringing up their children. Graph 3 points out the attitude of women teachers towards parenting and modernity. The modernity score differs according to the marital status of the respondents. The variables such as leaving children in crèche, sending children to co-educational schools, allowing them to do combined study with opposite sex, placing them in English medium schools and helping them in peer group formation are analysed to examine the significance of effective parenting related to modern society. This graph too clearly picturizes that the ‘separated’ are highly modern with respect to parenting. The unmarried women teachers are least modern since they lack experience and have fear towards child rearing practices. Though, they are highly educated their mindset still
remains conservative, based on the socialization pattern adopted by their parents. Though the separated women teachers exhibit individuality in moulding their children’s personality they are very cautious since decision making is in their hands temporarily and the society would blame them entirely if anything goes wrong. Compared to the unmarried and divorcees, the married are modern in parenting because they get along with the attitude of their children in order to avoid problems of generation–gap. The women teachers said that sending children to co-educational schools is a must in the competitive world. But they said that the concept of combined study with opposite sex is not encourageable as it would lead to mischievous behaviour. Similarly, they also said that peer group is one of the important agencies of socialization. So, the parents should be cautious in forming peer group for their children. The respondents also said that the children should be taken care by their parents. Only in indispensable conditions they can be left under the care of grand parents or servant maids at home because crèche lacks individual care and it would affect the personality development of the children. Though the women teachers give importance to mother tongue, being highly educated they feel that children should be placed in English medium in order to be competent in the employment market. The divorcees are less modern compared to married and separated because they are subjected to suppression, illtreatment and societal blame and fear that adopting modernity in socialization process would result in mishappenings and separate their children from them. They consider children as the only supporting hold after divorce. Children also face personal disorganization accompanying the rupture of the conjugal family. They are condemned and taunted by their friends and society. As the child relies upon both the parents for social values and emotional overtones, the sudden interruption of parents’ relationship hinders his personality development.
The concept beauty is correlated with women from time immemorial. Compared to men, women are very much conscious of their appearance especially when they are young. Even during middle age, they try to maintain their beauty by adopting traditional as well as modern means of beauty tips. Since beauty and fashion are related terms, the attitude of people towards beauty differs from time to time and place to place. Though culture plays a significant role in the activities of women, it is not rigid as far as beauty is concerned.

Graph 4 clearly indicates that in adapting modernity to maintain beauty, the separated women hold the prime position compared to the unmarried, married and divorcees. Next to separated women, the divorcees are modern with respect to beauty. This shows that women who are remaining single without the interference of husbands have freedom to adapt modern means of beauty aspects. They beautify themselves according to their taste and wish. It is surprising to note that the unmarried lag behind in beauty related modernity. The unmarried women teachers live under the control of their parents so they are expected to dress up according to their taste. This makes them to be in ambivalent state. The married women are moderate modern as they have to act according to the whims and
fancies of their husband and children. The family burden and interference of in-laws causes disinterest in beauty and modernity.

Graph 5 indicates the attitude of women teachers towards gender related modern aspects on the basis of marital status. Having male friendship, going out with male friends, asking for a lift from known opposite sex in a two wheeler, sitting near an unknown male kin in the bus are the gender based variables considered for analysis in this study. It is clear from the above graph that the divorced women teachers are less modern when compared to unmarried, married and separated. Since the divorced women live single, they are more prone to society’s blame with respect to men related affairs. They felt that as they have legally separated from their husbands, they are subjected to suspicion, which prevents them from moving freely with the opposite sex, whereas the separated women teachers are highly modern because they do not have fear to move with men and also involve themselves in men related activities. From societal point of view, the separated are not legally separated like the divorcees and expected to join their husbands at anytime in future. So, the separated with the status of ‘married women’ and the same time not obliged to the conditions of the husband
or in-laws do not mind having friendship or asking for a lift or sitting near the opposite sex in public transport.

The unmarried women teachers are less modern with respect to gender related variables because they fear that it would affect their future married life. They also said that having contact with menfolk would make them negligible in marriage market since segregation is part of Indian culture. The married are comparatively modern and they said that they would involve themselves in the above-mentioned gender related activities. They also reported that if there is proper understanding between the spouses, there is no way for misconception.

Separated women, due to aversion towards various aspects of tradition, do not want to cling on to it. Rather, they make up their mind to adopt new ways of life, as they undergo sufferings even more than divorcees due to traditional values and customs and practices of the society. So on the whole the rate of modernity is high among the separated compared to the married, unmarried and divorcees.