CHAPTER I

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INTRODUCTION.

This research project aims at analysing one of the most significant phenomena in contemporary times - inter-religious marriages, in one of the leading Indian cities - Pune. We can say that this phenomenon has important implications in two major institutional spheres of the society - kinship and religion. From this point of view, the study concerns itself with two branches of sociology, viz., the sociology of marriage and family and the sociology of religion. On the one hand, therefore, it will attempt to examine the impact of religion on the changing structural features of marriage and family in the modern times, and on the other, it will consider how these two affect the manifestation and continuity of some vital aspects of religion today.

Before spelling out the distinctive angles of this study, it is necessary to pose two initial questions - first regarding the definition and the typology of mixed marriages in both the Western Society and in the Eastern, particularly the Indian Society.

To be specific a marriage is said to be mixed when the spouses are of different race, nationalities, communities, caste and above all religion. Thus mixed
marriages can be typified as follows -

i) Interracial-marriage between people of two different races.

ii) International-marriage between people of two different nationalities.

iii) Inter-community-marriage between people belonging to different communities.

iv) Inter-caste-marriage between people of two different castes.

v) Inter-religious or interfaith-marriage between people belonging to two different religions.

We are adhering to the last i.e., the 5th type in our work.

Mixed marriages are fairly common in the U.S.A. - a plural and technological society par excellence, and as Nelson Lowry points out, intermarriage in America has been gaining tremendous momentum in recent decades. On the same theme Reiss comments, "Yet despite the high degree of homogamy, we have a rising proportion of mixed marriages"², and Heff opines, "Racial Intermarriage in the United States does appear to be increasing."³ Williamson comments - "On a qualitative basis the interfaith marriages looms somewhat larger than the interracial in American culture, but this depends on time and place."⁴ On the whole mixed marriages⁵ in the U.S.A. include intersect, inter-community as well as interracial marriages. If we accept this extended or larger meaning of mixed marriages, it is safe to conclude that this
phenomenon has a high frequency in the U.S.A. Though, we have little comparative data in other Western countries, there is every reason to believe that mixed marriages of this kind are on the increase there too, though its proportion may be less as compared with the U.S.A.

If, however, we take a strictly limited definition of interreligious marriages—i.e., as those between spouses of two diverse religions—then as indicated above, it will have to be recognized that they take place on a limited scale even in the U.S.A. If this is the state of affairs in the most advanced technological industrial and secular society like the U.S.A., it is small wonder that in the traditional society of India the phenomenon is almost rare.

Yet this phenomenon has a trend-setting significance in two ways. Firstly, it contributes to pluralism—which is one distinctive feature of the modern industrial society. By pluralism we mean plurality of ethnic and other groups, of religion, of beliefs, of value systems. In the specific context of kinship and religion, inter-marriages are, therefore, generally viewed as forces of cosmopolitization which create a typical pluralistic situation in the modern social world. Secondly, in such a socio-cultural situation, different religions lose their ideological monopoly and different kinship structures exist side by side. This in other words is, as Karl Deutsch
defines, the social sphere of modernization, in which the "major clusters of old social economic and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour." It goes without saying that the trend, if and when assumes a greater proportion, the consequential problem of assimilation will become a tremendous issue.

When we turn to the situation in India, we find that it is basically different. For one thing, Indian social structure is undoubtedly a very complicated one. This social structure is essentially an interrelated system of caste, family and religion. Consequently marriage, religion and family are inextricably connected with one another in the Indian situation. We, therefore, find that by and large the incidence of mixed and inter-religious marriages are of comparative rarity.

Relationship between Religion, Kinship, Family and Marriage.

The role of religion has been well described by O'Dea. He said that a system of values, as a kind of general guide to the individual’s activities in society, serves as an integrating focus for his developing personality. Religion helps to promote agreement about the nature and content of social obligations by providing values that serve to channel the attitudes of a society’s members and to define for them the content
of their social obligations. In this role religion helps to create a system of social values which are integrated and coherent. In a sense, religious beliefs underlying these values are the representations which express the nature of the sacred, and the relations which they sustain either with each other or with the profane. The religious rites behind the beliefs are the rules of conduct which prescribe how an individual should comport himself in the presence of these sacred objects. Thus religion has a positive function with respect to social solidarity and social control. Parsons feels that religion can thus become entwined with other elements in society in a complicated way. But at the same time religious ideas and religious values are ultimately influenced by the social groups among whom they originate. They express the needs, the thoughts, the ways, and the perspectives upon the world of such social strata. But once they become established as elements of the culture and are taught as the belief system of a religion, they have a formative influence upon the values and motivation of man.

Viewed on this theoretical background it will be seen that the social structure of the traditional society like that of India was decisively defined by religion, which in fact was the ethos of its whole civilization. The central Hindu value system - 'Purusharthas', 'Dharma', doctrine of 'Karma' and rebirth, and
the 'core' institutions of caste and extended kinship have crucially determined this ethos. At the outset, this close and inextricable tie between religion and social structure in Hinduism needs to be carefully outlined.

Caste is the most general form of social organization in India. It is responsible for the religious manifestation of the values and norms of the group. Stratification among Hindus is at once a religious and a social scheme. Its rigidity is both a socio-structural and religious arrangement. A Hindu enters caste at birth and leaves it at death. He, therefore, has a definite place on the social ladder. This solidified caste structure involved the most extreme form of status hierarchy. The pertinent point here is that, the rigid demarcation of caste could be maintained only by a strong religious ideology. We find that the "hold of religious beliefs, with its supernatural explanation of caste itself; its doctrine of the elect and the pale, its attribution of a mystic cleanliness and uncleanness, its instillation of reverence and awe and its overruling conception of the sacred and the profane is essential to the continuance of the system." In the very incisive words of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar caste is the gravitating force of the Hindu social world. To ensure its continuity one of the first steps which the caste took was to tighten
its circle of marriage by endogamy and exogamy. That is, one should marry people within one’s caste and kinship group, which has common culture, as manifested in the caste-customs. This, in effect, means that the choice has to be out of a prescribed circle of relatives, extended to the fifth generation on the mother’s side and the seventh generations on the father’s side. Besides these restrictions one could not marry a ‘Sapinda’, a ‘Sagotra’ or a ‘Saman-Pravara’.

Not only did the caste have its own mode of behaviour, but the sub-caste also generally followed its own religious norms. Observance of caste rules was equivalent to one’s ‘dharma’, that is – it was considered an inviolable religious and moral duty. Because of this concept the caste system became closely connected with the Hindu religious belief of karma (action). A man’s birth in a particular caste is a result of his good or bad karma in former life. By faithfully performing caste duties, which were religious oriented, a Hindu could hope to rise in hierarchy in the next birth. These duties entitled, performing of domestic sacraments, daily observances, avoidance of the breach of caste rules in matters, such as, food, and restrictions arising out of purity and pollution. A Hindu is also made aware of restrictions in social intercourse. The caste rituals and rites are observed through ‘Sanskaras’. 
Thus we find that Hinduism as a religious system and
caste as a social system are almost indivisible.*

As the caste is a large unit, the kin group
becomes the custodian of caste rules, each reinforced
the other. Before industrialization revolutionized the
structure and functions of family, the kin group reigned
supreme in decision making. The institution of marriage
was considered to be the concern of the extended group
as much as the parties concerned, as it was thought that
mate selection involved the coming together of two
families rather than two individuals. Further, property,
power, lineage, honour, relationships were believed to be
linked by marriage, which were vital to the kin line.
Therefore, a male, who makes a wrong choice naturally
disrupts the elder’s plan. Besides that the monetary
considerations of a dowry or groom price were considered
obligatory.

Fundamentally, we find that the process of
mate-selection functions like a market system. This
market system is governed by two norms; first incest
or avoidance rules and second ethnocentric preferences.
Thus social control exercised through caste and kin group
operate to prevent heterogamous marriages. Consequently,
the field of eligibles is narrowed down considerably.

* Some implications of this statement are contro-
versial. But the discussion of this point is out of place here.
Besides the larger society being interested in the result of mate selection and the process of courtship, marriage was usually arranged. Thus the selection of a spouse for a child of a joint family is, a matter of deep concern for all the members. The matter was considered too important to be left to the young and to prevent any serious opposition, youngsters were married early enough, so that they could not acquire any resources with which they could oppose this decision. Besides these precautions, the supervision and segregation of sexes kept the selection of mate under control. Here, we would like to point out the salient fact that according to Hindu religious ethics marriage was not merely a union of two bodies but that of two souls. It was a religious bond and means of fulfilling the Purusharththa — ideals of life. This particular concept was considered to be ordained by the Vedas, for it was believed that dharma (customary observation of caste duty enjoined by the Vedas) was to be practiced by a man together with his wife. The Sanskāras were to be rigidly followed by the dvijas or the twice born. A Hindu male of the three higher castes enters the first ashrama and is reborn on the religious plane after his Upasayana or thread ceremony. Therefore Viṣvāha (Marriage) had to be solemnized at a proper age and time. Manu¹³ considers marriage as a social institution for the regulation of proper relations.
relations between the sexes. Obligation as a brahmachari or a student, who leads a life of austerity comes to an end when man enters the second ashrama and becomes a household. To this must be added the fact that the joint family preserved the religious rites on one side and determined the pattern of interpersonal relationship on the other. Thus loyalty to the joint family was enforced by its religious functions of shraddha and other roles.

As an institution, the joint family is essentially a social unit. Each individual is a part of the family and is made aware of his role and position. It was through the family that the society was able to elicit from the individual his necessary contribution. The family in turn could continue to exist only if it was supported by the larger society i.e., the caste group. In spite of the narrowing of the range of kin affiliations, the importance of the family is heightened by the strategic place it occupies within the religious structure of Hinduism. For functionally, the family handed down by tradition and custom, its belief in God and deity to the next generation. Therefore, the deep familial involvement in religious observances is in tune with the placement of the family in the social and religious structure of Hinduism. It may also be noted that the family is the primary unit of social control, as expressed
in this pattern of authoritarian relationship. (In India other competing associations and institutions have still not made any serious inroads into this pattern).
The Hindu view of marriage through the mechanism of Sanskārās is that, no normal man or woman must die without receiving it. In the same context, marriage is said to be essential for women because, that is the only sacrament that can be performed for her. Members of the family considered marriage an important institution, essentially because it was the deepest and most complex involvement of human relationship. It was symbolically the cornerstone of society - a basic structural element, part of a social system because with marriage an individual was assigned with a definite role in the family. This family role aspect of marriage once again brought into focus the joint family, kingroup and religious practice.

To consecrate a marriage ceremony there were eight forms of marriage prescribed by Manu. The first four were recommended, the fifth and sixth tolerated, but the last two were condemned by him, even though they existed in the forms of marriage. The ritual itself had seven important steps. The gods of fire, water and love were evoked. Thus the marriage ritual gained a religious significance. The Kanyādan (bestowing a girl in marriage) ceremony performed by the father, symbolizes the giving away of the daughter to the bridegroom, who
accepts her as a gift. The verse that follows this ceremony is a hymn to love - "There after the father of the bride exhorts the bridegroom not to fail the girl in his pursuit of dharma, artha and kama". This particular ceremony is supposed to give Punya (righteousness) for the father of the bride and is considered a sacred duty. The vivaha homa (fire) symbolizes divine witnesses and sanctifies the Sanskāra. These important rites are of religious orientation and thus are closely entwined with life.

Vivāhā is generally considered as obligatory for every person, because, in the first place this is the only Sanskāra performed for Hindu women, secondly the birth of a son is said to enable one to obtain 'Moksa' (liberation of the soul from the body). Moreover, the birth of a son is conceived to be particularly contributory towards helping the father to execute his obligations (Pitri-rina) to the departed ancestors, by offering rice cakes or pinda at the Shraddha ceremony.

Thus it will be seen that religion, caste, marriage, family and kinship were integrated in Hindu social structure. Under these circumstances, religious separatism naturally becomes a formidable barrier in the way of the institution of free inter-marriages of persons, who are otherwise compatible in every respect.
This is about Hinduism. Islam also exhibits the same model. Though Muslims are polygamous they have to observe certain endogamous rules pertaining to class, race, sect and religion. The first marriage of a Muslim being obligatory the choice is restricted and the rules of endogamy do not allow a Shia to marry a Sunni. Further there appears to be a marked tendency among the Sunnis, Vohras, Tais etc. to be endogamous, though marriage has no religious background. "It is by custom also that the Imam officiates, for since in essence a Muslim marriage is a secular contract his presence could be dispensed with." It is the witnesses, and not the bride and bridegroom, who sign the wedding contract and their importance is shown by the conditions they must fulfil in order to be eligible for their office. Thus we find that "Mohammedan marriage (Nikah) is a contract made between two persons of opposite sexes with the object of intercourse, procreation and the legalizing of children. It is a civil contract and no priest or Qazi is necessary for its performance. The

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* It is necessary to state here that the author, compared to Hinduism has chosen not to give a very elaborate outline of the mutual impact of religion and social structure in Christianity and Islam. This would have been repetitious. Basically, the nature of role interpretation between religion and society is the same, though each social system has some important variables.
Shia law recognizes two kinds of marriage namely (1) permanent and (2) temporary or Muta. Temporary or Muta marriages are void according to Sunni law. It is further believed that the "legal essentials to the validity of a Mohammedan marriage are that there should be a proposal made by or on behalf of one of the parties to the marriage and an acceptance of the proposal by or on behalf of the other in the presence and hearing of two male or one male and two female witnesses, who must be sane and adult Mohammedans. Mohammedan Law does not prescribe that the proposal and acceptance should be in any particular form. Evidence that the husband agreed to the dower and the wife gave her consent constitutes sufficient proof of proposal and acceptance. The proposal and acceptance, however, must both be expressed at one meeting. Marriage amongst Muslims was soluble. Divorce was granted under certain conditions. All these details, however, will be dealt afterwards.

Catholics consider marriage 'Sacramentum Continuum', and it must be performed by the Catholic Church to be valid in the eyes of the church. Marriage is not soluble till death did them (the couple) apart. The majority of some 250 different Protestant denominations believe in the sanctity of marriage and yet divorce among Protestants is allowed.
In India we find that Hindus, Muslims and Christians all tend to follow strict religious endogamy by arranging marriages. It will be seen that "the functional significance of arranged marriages was two fold." 20 "Marriage by arrangement prevents the possibility of any prior loyalty on part of the husband for his wife and checks the development of special emphasis on the conjugal relationship." 21

Thus we find that Hindus, Muslims and Christians, who work harmoniously in the business world, whose children frequently attend the same schools and colleges and who, are by now, natives of several generations are still acutely conscious of marriage lines sharply demarcated by their faith.

**Forces and Factors of Social Change Affecting Marriage, Family and Religion in the Modern Society.**

All over the world the old social order is giving way to a new one. In the West it began from Renaissance onwards and the change is continuing unabated. The major events as chronicled by the eminent social historians are Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment the emergence of positivism and the consequent scientific age. In between these events and afterwards great revolutions — firstly the Industrial, secondly the French and thirdly the Soviet — followed one another and shook
the world. These catastrophic events, have released in their wake a variety of forces of social change which could be described as truly titanic. (It is not necessary for our purpose here to attempt a neat classification of the various factors, which caused and led these events to one another).

We can broadly say that these factors are valuational, scientific, technological, and economic. It goes without saying that these factors are interrelated with one another - though the degree of interrelations is always a matter open for empirical investigation. Nevertheless there does exist an unambiguous correlation between, particularly the scientific, technological and economic dimensions of change.

The values orienting social change in the modern times can be classified as (1) Individualism, (2) Values of equality and liberality (3) Secularism. The essence of individualism is the post renaissance modern view that, the individual is at the centre of the social world and he is a unique and supreme moral entity, who has certain inalienable rights and basic duties, which represent basic conditions for the realisation of his personality. Equality and liberty are sought after in economic, political social and cultural spheres and have evident aspects of values, ideologies and beliefs.
Secularism heralds rejection of the sacred dimension and puts up a premium on rationality. Thus we find that there "was both a metamorphosis of thought and transformation of society, for it involved changes in both the modes of thinking and the basic activities of men and consequently in the social structure of society." Its immediate result is the undermining of the religious bases of the major institutions like marriage and family.

The cumulative impact of these values, ideologies and beliefs finds its expression into typical attitudes, firstly romantic love and secondly companionship. "To say that romantic love was unknown before the Middle Ages would not be correct, but it was in the middle ages that it became a commonly recognised form of passion. The essential of romantic love is that it regards the beloved object as very difficult to possess and as very precious." In romantic love the emphasis is upon sexual attraction, personal beauty and emotional response, and some sort of rapturous feelings. Romantic love would be considered in some more detail in Chapter III. At this juncture we must note only one thing: Romantic love has become a philosophy or a value of love and it is further accentuated by mass romanticism, due to literature on romance, and other media of mass communication such as the radio, television and the most important of them all - films.
The modern concept of companionship differs sharply from the yoking together of a couple in earlier traditional marriages. Companionship today has four essential components: (1) Free choice of partner as a unique personality (2) Enjoyment of leisure time with that person. (Both components were made possible by the rise of mercantilism and the industrial revolution in an urban environment). (3) The sharing of domestic chores (4) Sharing of past present and future experiences principally through cohabitation and conversation to achieve a variable consensus. All in all, the modern conviction is that companionship fulfills a basic human need. It is the most valued aspect of marriage today.

Another integral aspect of these values and ideologies is sex ethics, tending towards greater and greater permissiveness in the Western society. The increased economic and independence of women is significantly seen in her attitude towards the mixing of the sexes. Here too, segregation of the sexes was rigidly followed, but with higher education and co-educational facilities, there is now a liberal attitude in mixing of the sexes. This liberalism and permissivism in sex-ethics is in one sense the inevitable consequence of the weakening of religiously oriented morality.

As indicated above, from the analytical point of view it is indeed difficult to separate the scientific,
technological and the economic forces of social change. We shall, therefore, examine their combined and interlinked impact on some aspects of the three institutions under our consideration.

Science and technology have ushered in a different world with a different world view, and a radically new perspective for the individual and social life. Technology as its allied force and operating on an unprecedentedly massive scale, has inaugurated an endless and complex network of inventions and gadgetry. It is a matter of common experience that it has altered the way as well as the style of the individual and social life. This way and style is qualitatively entirely different from that of the preindustrial agricultural society. It is this society that industrialization and urbanization have been changing in a very fundamental manner.

Economic changes springing from industrialization and urbanization and technological advances are manifold. Industrialization demands a high degree of occupational specialization and a system of production depending more on the skill of the individual and the principle of objective economic rationality. (1) These necessitated a change in the value system of the kinship and joint family. The essence of this change is that it conceives a contractual relationship between the individual and the industry, and not between the kin group and the industry.
(2) The change in these value premises lead to changes in laws of property and inheritance to a certain extent. Thus occupational roles become differentiated from family roles. To put it briefly, family becomes structurally and functionally differentiated. Another consequence in this chain is the change in the residential pattern. With social mobility on an increase due to relatively free opportunity structure in the urban industrial setting, residence tends to become more and more nuclear family-centered. This structural dislocation of the joint family appears to be more or less complete in highly industrialized societies.

The next conspicuous development that industrialization and urbanization brings about is the change in the very nature and net-work of social relationship. The modern industrial and urban life have by and large altered the quality and pattern of social relationship in a deeper sense. Social contacts have naturally been widened thereby making the society mass based and heterogenous. This promotes a climate for cosmopolitization. With the onset of smaller families and other manifold agencies in the heterogenous urban societies of today, the pattern of socialization also takes a radically different complexion. The socialization process of children is no more the exclusive function of the new smaller family. Industrialization and urbanization have also revolutionized the
educational system in more ways than one. From our immediate point of view, its important aspect is the secularization of education on one hand and on the other the transference of the education, from the family to a different institutional complex of schools, colleges and universities.

Some reservations

We must hasten to say that the description of the forces and factors of social change made so far is very broad and it has a very general applicability. We are quite aware that both these forces and the changes they are generating are not uniform. They are also not worked out either systematically or sequentially or cumulatively. They are, therefore, not moving in a unilinear or unidimensional manner. It must also be stated that some of these changes like secularism are relatively slow, inconsistent and also not without some characteristic rises and falls. Most importantly the traditional society of a long tradition like that of India, presents some very significant variables. Nevertheless even after conceding these points, it is necessary to state that the forces and the factors of change and their impact on social institutions like marriage, family and religion does constitute one single universal sociological framework. On this background it must be made clear that the changing social structure in India needs to be examined within
this universal context. At the same time in this process of investigation we have to be on the lookout for certain important cultural variables in the Indian situation. To be concrete this means we will have to note three points — (1) The phenomenon of inter-religious marriages in India will have to be considered as a response to the three forces of values, science and technology and industrialization and urbanization (2) The directions of this response will have to be carefully analysed. We shall make just a note here of a few directions. (A) Social reform movement*, particularly that of women, during the last 150 years, from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to the present day. (B) Extensive social legislation introduced by the British Government and thereafter by the Government of post-Independent India since 1947. The areas in which legislation has made considerable inroads are (a) Age of marriage, (b) Secularisation of marriage by the introduction of civil

* Social Reform Movements such as those of the Brahma Samaj, 1828, Prarthana Samaj 1867, Satya Shodhak Samaj 1875 and Arya Samaj 1875 to name a few.

- Laws passed:
  Caste Disabilities Removal Act 21 of 1850,
  The Sharda Act 1929, regarding Age at Marriage,
  Hindu Widow Remarriage Act of 1856,
  Special Marriage Act 1872 and amended in 1923
  Hindu Code Bill, 1952
  The Indian Divorce Act 1869
- were some of the Acts that brought in considerable social reform.
marriage and its extensions (c) Caste endogamy, (d) Divorce (e) Women's education (f) Joint Family (g) Inheritance (h) Succession and Authority and the Loss of its prerogatives. To this must be added the important declaration of India as a democratic, socialist, secular state by the constitution. Another direction of response to the forces of change has been the Westernization of the life style as reflected in cosmopolitization of the social contacts, imitation of food, dress, mode, and manners of group interaction and various cultural symbols of the Western Society. Though this phenomenon is confined only to the minority section of the upper and upper middle strata and the various elite groups in the urban metropolitan centres, the fact cannot be denied that it has at least indirectly created an environment favourable for mixed religious marriages.

This is significantly demonstrated by a slow but steady increase in mixed marriages. In this connection Kapur finds that within a period of ten years (1960-70) the percentage of women, who either approve or do not mind intercaste and inter-provincial marriages for others, for relatives and for themselves has risen considerably. In fact this trend towards mixed marriages has been noted as far back as 1917, by authors like Hate, Desai, Ghurye, Kapadia and Kannan.
Sociological Studies of Mixed Marriages

Having arrived at this state a few words are in order about the sociological literature that is available on this theme. This theme being one part of the wider universal process of social change is directly and indirectly related to all those works which theoretically and empirically deal with change in the institutions of marriage, family and religion in the modern society. This literature runs literally in volumes. We are, however, interested only in that branch of sociological inquiry which deals with interreligious marriages from the theoretical and empirical angles. We, therefore, enumerate a few studies of this kind, during the last two decades or so in the western and the eastern society — including India.

The U.S.A. naturally leads in this field. Numerous American scholars have devoted their attention to intermarriages. It was realized that its increasing incidence posed serious and some interesting problems relating to the ethnic assimilation of U.S.A. This literature has the context of the 'melting pot'30 theory and the subsequent post-melting pot developments in U.S.A.

Here we would like to mention just a few prominent studies, which give us an insight into the structural and functional aspects of these marriages.
The authors who can be mentioned in this regard are: Baron, Baber, Burgelski, Brown, Hunt and Coler, Kennedy, Nelson and Panunzio, who have worked on mixed marriages. Special studies of interreligious marriages had been undertaken by Burchiral, Chancellor and Monahan, Christensen and Baber, Greeley, Heer, Heiss, Landis, Locke, Georges and Thames, Monahan and Kephart, Monahan and last but not the least by Slotkin.

Marriages across racial lines have been the focal point of the works done by Burma, Heer, Schneppe and Masato Yui, Golden and Kannan. Particularly interesting is Golden's (1953 to 1954) studies wherein he has carefully analysed all the problems confronted in Negro-White marriages. Contributions towards the understanding of inter-ethnic marriages have also come from the following authors: Evtignev, Che-Fu Lee, Potwin and Verdieck, Beisanz and Smith.

When we come to Indian writing on this subject, we are struck by the following features:

(1) There is a clear impact of the Indological and the idealistic views on this kind of literature. In some works, both these views go hand in hand.

(2) Works which have either a descriptive value or which are dominated more by social history rather than by a systematic theoretical analysis.
(3) Empirical works in the anthropological tradition.

(4) In the field of sociology proper we have a good deal of material sociologically oriented. Majority of these works are centred around the structure-functional interpretation of marriage, family and religion. In this must be included books of the last two decades, written with a thrust on Indian urban social structure.

By now it should be clear that we have in India almost no study which exclusively deals with the problem we are studying. The following are some of the notable exceptions – Kannan 62, Deshpande 63, Newell 64, Nokashi 65, Goswami 66 and Patterson 67. (The value of these works has been assessed in the next Chapter on Methodology). It needs to be emphasised once again that our aim would be to pin-point the similarities and differences of mixed marriages in the Western and the Indian situation. This in turn would reveal the similarities and differences in the manifestation of the universally significant ideological and economic forces in the contemporary world.

Aims of this study

Having covered this much ground so far, we now propose to formulate the frame work of this research project. At this initial stage we would like to state that we propose to study the phenomenon of interreligious
marriages from some distinct theoretical and methodological angle. (The methodological angle would be fully discussed in Chapter II). It will be seen that the inter-religious marriages have a four-fold significance. From the stand-point of the social structure, it is expressive of a major break through in the value system of a traditional society. It is, in fact, one plank of the ideology of modernism. Structurally as has already been stated on page 3, it contributes meaningfully to the process of pluralisation of the modern society.

Psychologically, they are important in that some inner-most problems of adjustments and reconciliation are connected in the final analysis with the personality structure of the partners concerned. They have also an important socio-psychological dimension, in as much as they are related with a group phenomenon, that is, the collective behaviour involving prejudices attitudes and opinions. It would be our best endeavour to conduct our investigation, keeping in mind these four stand points.*

* This is by way of a personal note, which explains the origin of the researcher's interest in this phenomenon.

The Researcher's parents solemnized a Pratiloma marriage with a civil ceremony about 46 years ago. The hue and cry of the Brahmans was nothing compared to the Pathare Prabhu Community. This small community essentially based in Bombay belongs to the Kshatriya Caste. Researcher's father was ostracised by the community and his name struck
One more feature of the work — this is essentially a two phase study. Courting, romance and final selection of the mate forms the first part. The post-married life with all its associated problems — individual, social and cultural — constitute the second phase.

It is hoped that a systematic analysis of these two phases would go at least some way in broadening our understanding of this issue in the following respects:

i) The rationale of inter-marriage — i.e., mate selection.

ii) Nature of social control exercised by the larger social group as reflected in reactions and responses to these marriages by the social group at large and by the ringroup.

iii) Patterns of reconciliation, religious adjustment of the couple and the religious assimilation of the family.

off the caste list. The problem raised was what would happen to the children? Who would marry them? The Researcher was always torn between dual loyalty — to the Brahmins and Pathare Prabhus, this also created a problem of identity. When a major crisis can be caused by intercaste marriage, the repercussion and consequences of interreligious marriage would be greater. This prompted the Researcher to take up this problem for study.
(iv) Patterns of socialization of children born of such marriages.

v) Prospects of secularization and the strength and intensity of the religious factor, as reflected in the married life of these people.

With the total perspective as outlined above, we are now in a position to present the scheme of our chapters.

Chapter Design:

The Second Chapter on Methodology will deal with the research investigation we have employed in carrying out this project. It will aim at justifying the tools and analysing the sample, area and criteria used for sample collection.

In Chapter III we would discuss the factors that influence mate selection in inter-religious marriages. Age, education and propinquity, besides other factors are considered and assessed as determinants for self choice in such marriages.

Chapter IV deals with the nature and analysis of pre-marriage and post-marriage problems with an emphasis on the reactions of the natal family.

The pattern of reconciliation with family and the adjustment of the couple is dealt with in Chapter V.
Chapter VI concerns itself with the socialization of children and conversion of the respondents, persistence of the religious factor and some attitudes and opinions of our respondents towards other religious groups and the emergence of the secular attitude, if any.

Chapter VII is the last and it contains our findings and conclusions.
References:


5. Mixed Marriages in America are among Protestant-Catholics, Jewish Gentile, mixed marriages between various denomination of Protestants. Interracial as among French, Spanish, Mexican, Germans with Americans and also amongst themselves. Landis and Landis have also sighted differences in education, intelligence, age and physical difference of a marked nature as a mixed marriage. In Landis Judson T. and Landis Mary G. *Building a Successful Marriage*, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey (1959): 263-266.


11. **Sapinda** - A person of common stock who has the right to offer rice cake or Pinda in the funeral ceremony.

**Sagotra** - Two persons are sagotra, that is of the same gotra or family, if both of them are descended in the male line from the kishit or sage after whose name the gotra is called, however, distant either of them may be from the common ancestor.

**Saman** - Pravara - Two persons are saman-pravara that is, of the same pravara. If they are descendents in the male line, of the three paternal ancestors of the founder of a gotra.

12. **Sanskāra** - A Purification rite - consecration.


   The forms of marriage were:
   (1) Brahma  (2) Daiva  (3) Arsha
   (4) Prajapya  (5) Asura  (6) Gandharva
   (7) Nakshasa  (8) Paisacha


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18. Ibid. 123

19. A holy bond which continued throughout the wedded life.


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