CHAPTER III

PATTERNS OF MATE - SELECTION

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CHAPTER III

PATTERNS OF MATE SELECTION

Introduction

This Chapter deals with the pattern of mate selection in the inter-religiously married group. Our primary consideration would be to explore the relationship between certain significant sociological and socio-psychological factors that determine this pattern. While doing this, it is proposed to compare notes with some theories and views as formulated by Western – particularly by American Sociologists, and to bring out the significance of some factors, which have a peculiar relevance in the Indian context in general and the urban context of Pune in particular.

We would like to draw attention to the fact that a number of factors narrow the range of conscious choice. This range includes factors and forces of a wide variety and yet basically they are not different from those involved in any other aspect of human behaviour and social phenomenon. On this background we can, therefore, reasonably say that there are three broad perspectives under which this entire spectrum of mate-selection could be examined. The factors underlying these perspectives accordingly may be classified thus:
1) Socio-cultural and economic factors operating on an institutional plane.
2) Socio-psychological factors - manifesting in inter-personal interactions and group organizations.
3) Ecological factors, operating in the context of urbanization and industrialization.

We shall first present the basic tables, bearing on the general identificatory data concerning religion, age, level of education and economic status of the respondents.

**Table No. 3: 1**

Religion of Males and Females with respect to the choice of Mate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Hindu</th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** 37 18 45 100
Fig. 1  Histogram showing respondents who chose intermarriage.
### TABLE NO. 3: 2

**Age at the time of Mate Selection (Males)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in years</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Christians</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 - 25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(30.0)</td>
<td>(41.68)</td>
<td>(15.38)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(46.0)</td>
<td>(50.00)</td>
<td>(61.56)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(20.0)</td>
<td>(4.16)</td>
<td>(11.33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 - 40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.0)</td>
<td>(4.16)</td>
<td>(11.33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE NO. 3: 3

**Age at the time of Mate Selection (Females)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in years</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 - 20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13.50)</td>
<td>(5.55)</td>
<td>(4.44)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(55.50)</td>
<td>(66.75)</td>
<td>(55.6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(18.90)</td>
<td>(27.75)</td>
<td>(35.20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5.40)</td>
<td>(2.22)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 - 40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.70)</td>
<td>(2.22)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3:4

Distribution of respondents according to their educational qualifications (Male Respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Qualifications</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.S.C.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.00)</td>
<td>(12.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.S.C. and Diploma in Engineering or / other professions</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(18.00)</td>
<td>(4.16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6.00)</td>
<td>(8.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(24.00)</td>
<td>(45.85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduates</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(20.00)</td>
<td>(16.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorates</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.00)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree in Medicine</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(16.00)</td>
<td>(8.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree in Engineering</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10.00)</td>
<td>(4.16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** 50 24 26 100
**TABLE 3:5**

Distribution of Respondents according to their Educational Qualifications (Female Respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Qualifications</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.S.C.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13.50)</td>
<td>(33.30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.S.C. and Diploma in teaching or Nursing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8.10)</td>
<td>(16.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediates</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10.30)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(18.90)</td>
<td>(16.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates and degree or diploma in Education</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8.10)</td>
<td>(11.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduates</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(27.00)</td>
<td>(16.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree in Medicine</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10.80)</td>
<td>(5.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree in Engineering</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.70)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income in Rupees</td>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 - 500</td>
<td>L.M.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501 - 1,000</td>
<td>M.M.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,001 - 2,000</td>
<td>U.M.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,001 - 3,000</td>
<td>U.M.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,001 - 4,000</td>
<td>U.U.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,001 - 5,000</td>
<td>U.U.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Reported</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Income</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong>:</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**KEY**

- L.M. : Lower Middle
- M.M. : Middle Middle
- U.M. : Upper Middle
- U.U. : Upper Upper
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executives</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working in Business Houses</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service in Government, Quasi-Government Offices and Factories</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professors and Lecturers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers (Primary and Secondary)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House-wives</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
After presenting these tables, we now proceed to analyse the data.

At the outset we shall dwell on the place and significance of romantic love as a criterion for mate choice.

**Romantic Love: A few comparative considerations**

Since romantic love is the basic factor involved in inter-religious marriages, a few words on its place and significance, as a criterion for mate choice are in order.

As has already been mentioned in our introduction the concept had not attained the level of a mass phenomenon even in the Western society. It was confined to the feudal royalties and other feudal aristocratic strata. The aristocrats were more actively interested in winning love from their ladies. In those days love was not viewed as a 'boy meets girl' phenomenon, it was expressive of masculine valour, ardour, adventure and most importantly chivalry. Romantic love became a fact of wider social implications only when the ideology of individualism became a dominant force and further when industrialization and urbanization began to make their headway. At a later stage, the mass media of communications assumed immense proportions and today they are obviously the most powerful agencies in the diffusion of the creed of romantic love.
In the American sociological literature on the theme of romantic love, we come across various characteristic strands of thought. They can be only briefly indicated. According to authors like Blood\(^1\) and Rubin\(^2\) romantic love can become the greatest element in a decision or action relating to self choice. Not only this but Rubin further thinks that romantic love can be measured and assessed to find out if the involvement is deep or shallow. Landis and Landis\(^3\) take the same view and emphasise that the novelty of extreme differences in background or personality make up of individuals is sometimes believed to be conducive to romance. In Western culture moreover the inextricable association between love and marriage gives it a unique status as a link between the individual and the structure of society. For these reasons these authors feel that romantic love is the deepest and the most meaningful sentiment.

Another facet of romantic love is that it is chiefly limited to premarital rather than marital relations. It is a phenomenon connected with courting in the strict sense of the term, when "two people become attached to each other by virtue of purely personal qualities, all other considerations being thrown to the winds."\(^4\)

It is with William Goode\(^5\) that we come across a typically clear sociological analysis of this phenomenon.
He views love in a broad perspective, focussing on the structural pattern by which societies keep in check potentially disruptive effect of love relationship on mate choice and stratification system. Goode makes it abundantly clear that if the factors of wealth, occupation, caste, age or religion do not substitute for love, they nevertheless constitute the social framework within which it operates. Goode also feels that the importance of love has been exaggerated in popular literature. Frequently it is believed to be a poor basis for marriage. People fail to take into account the selection process carefully, particularly the similarity of background of the pair. In this connection the situation in the West is in someways special, for (1) the family unit there is relatively independent of the larger kin group (2) by falling in love the young person frees himself from the parental bond in order to enter the independent status of spouse. From this angle love may be viewed as a mechanism for filling the gap left by the decline of arranged marriages.

Another noted American author Reiss brings a socio-psychological approach to bear on the theory of romantic love. According to him the steps that proceed towards a love relationship after meeting are (1) awareness of one another or feeling of rapport (ii) self revelation, followed by (iii) development of mutual
dependencies or interdependent habit system, which finally leads to (iv) fulfilling personal needs. Since these four processes turn one into the other and are constantly occurring, the above formulation concerning the development of love is called the 'Wheel Theory'. The Wheel can turn in a negative direction and unwind, that is the relationship can weaken when differences in opinion, taste and competing interests clash.

Apart from all these characteristically American approaches to the sociological interpretation of romantic love, the most fundamental point to be noted is that with the present mood of mass romanticism the idea of love has been institutionalized and in "falling-in-love situations, popularity and personal characteristics have replaced older criteria for the selection of the mate."^7

The Indian situation and our sample

When we consider the situation in India, where a system of arranged marriages predominate, we observe that various social patterns exist to prevent romantic love from disturbing the traditional arrangements designed by the elders. Love is viewed as either catastrophic or more or less completely irrelevant in the traditional structure. In these societies the romantic behaviour is not conceived as a part of the
ordinary process, of mate selection and quite often those who fall in love have to brave storms of wrath.
No other theme is more popular than love versus social tyranny in the Indian films and film songs.

It is on this background that we have to note the fact that all the marriages under our study are hundred percent self choice - love marriages. At the same time, it must be emphasised that these marriages cannot be explained away as the sheer triumph of romantic love. Obviously there are some distinctive Indian variables, and we now propose to examine their direct or indirect relevance or relationship. It will be recognised that some of these variables have a background significance in the life of the respondents. Some of them are intervening. In order to understand this entire complex of the Indian situation, we divide our discussion under the three heads (i) institutional (ii) Socio-psychological and (iii) ecological. Certain intensely personal cases reflecting the interplay of these three factors would be presented in the -Appendix - at the end of this Chapter.

As has already been indicated this investigation would be done in a comparative perspective covering the internal group situation of the Hindus, Muslims and Christians and further the wider situation - Western and the Indian wherever necessary.
Institutional Factors: (Socio-Cultural-Economic Factors)

We shall begin the analysis of institutional factors with the religious affiliation of our respondents with the help of the histogram and the basic tables. (Reproduced on pages 74 to 79).

That Indians practice religious endogamy is a very well known fact. Undoubtedly those who marry in this unconventional manner are prepared to accept to some degrees the consequences of such a marriage. (We shall deal with this at a greater length in Chapter IV and V). Most religions, therefore, either prohibit or discourage marriage between one of their devotees and some one of a different faith. "Religious pattern of those strictly brought up is usually so efficacious that they desire no one of alien faith." Despite all these religious restrictions, we found a 100 couples, who had overcome the religiously prescribed norms of mate selection. The histogram Fig. 1, bears out the prominent groups that have intermarried. Hindu males form the largest group (50). Next to that, we have the Christian males (26) and the last that comes is the group of Muslims (24). Amongst the females the Christians are a larger group (45) than the Hindus (37) or the Muslims (18). This particular distribution when related demographically seems to be understandable. The Indian population consists of Hindus as the majority and Muslims and
Christians as the minorities. The Hindu males are, therefore, naturally in greater numbers than the other two groups of respondents.

The females, however, show a striking variation. Here the Christian females are more predominant than the Hindu females. This is essentially due to the socio-economic factor. (When we deal with the educational background of our respondents we shall examine this factor at a greater length.) The Christians mix more freely and also have greater liberty to choose their spouses essentially because -

1) The Anglo-Indians and the converted Christians got some initial cultural advantages of the British regime.

ii) They were the first to be Westernized. This had been reflected in the economic freedom their females got. This freedom was of course not unrestricted. Nevertheless compared to the Hindu and Muslim females it was relatively more. Their style of life being English or Western-oriented the social inhibitions were not as rigid as of the other two religious groups.

In India, caste and religion are synonymous. Caste is an institution so firmly rooted in India that it is embedded with the Indian cultural pattern and has structuralised itself even among some sections of the
Muslims and Christians. Thus we find that most of
"the Catholics in India have one thing in common - they
never forget the caste from which they originate and
they always marry back into that caste." Similarly
we find that while there can be little doubt that Islam,
like most of the religions, recommends egalitarianism -
through the 'Koran', in principle. In actual practice
the Muslim Community in different parts of the world
falls short of this ideal. (This has been confirmed by
Vreede Destrues, Aggarwal, D'Souza and Masselos). Having noted the existence of caste or caste-like groups
among Hindus, Christians and Muslims, we shall now scan
the tables regarding the caste composition of our
respondents.

**TABLE 3 : 8**

Distribution of Hindu Respondents according to their Caste

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste of Respondents</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahmins</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(32.00)</td>
<td>(48.65)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kshatriyas</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(64.00)</td>
<td>(43.25)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaishyas</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.00)</td>
<td>(8.10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudras</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 3 : 9

**Distribution of Muslim Respondents according to their sects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Shia</th>
<th>Sunni</th>
<th>Not reported</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(20.8)</td>
<td>(20.8)</td>
<td>(48.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(38.8)</td>
<td>(11.2)</td>
<td>(50.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL:** 12 7 23 42

### TABLE 3 : 9

**Distribution of Christian Respondents according to their denomination**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(50.00)</td>
<td>(37.18)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrians</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11.6)</td>
<td>(2.20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(38.4)</td>
<td>(60.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL:** 26 45 71
Amongst Hindus there are numerous castes and sub castes, which are formed in the varna hierarchial order. The highest position is occupied by the Brahmins, who generally enjoy the supreme prestige and privileges. Although the belief in religion is essentially the same in all castes, in detailed practice some significant variation could be noticed from caste to caste. But for obvious analytical limitations we shall only dwell on the differences and not go into a detailed account of the variations from this standpoint. We find that we have in our male Hindu sample, 16 Brahmins, 32 Kshatriyas and only 2 Vaishyas. All these Brahmins and non-Brahmins came from different regions of India, and speak different languages and have some cultural differences in their pattern of living. Among Hindu females 18 were Brahmins, 16 Kshatriyas and 3 Vaishyas. The Vaishyas were found to be the least represented group (2 males and 3 females). This can be account for in two ways. Aggarwal\textsuperscript{11} points out - Vaishyas are still a business community and a majority of men and women in this case marry earlier compared to others, and the inter-religiously married groups.

Caste consciousness of the Hindus in our group is not just apparent, it is real, and yet it manifests itself in a subtle manner. Generally – when the caste is
asked in any document or a form, the Hindus and others
do not like to mention it, and protest. But our Hindu
respondents mentioned their caste without any qualms.
It is small fact and we do not want to overplay it, but
it has a significance. By and large, it is and continues
to be an orthodox group. Kannan found that Brahmins was
the dominant group that entered mixed intermarriages.
(In his sample of 400 inter-caste marriages 72 were
Brahmin males and 90 Brahmin females, while the other
three groups together were 128 males and 110 females.
(Table 12 and 13). In Kannan's group of inter-religiously
married there were 14 Brahmin males and 4 Brahmin females,
C.K.P. 5 males 1 female, Nayar 6 males 2 females, Pathare
Prabhu 1 male, Maratha 2 males. Thus this total group of
Kshatriyas consists of 14 males and 3 females. The
Vaishyas were 4 males and 1 female. There was also one
Kochi respondent in Kannan's sample of 50). But our
findings are that Kshatriyas have inter-married readily
amongst males and Brahmins amongst the females. Frankly,
this finding is a little puzzling. We may, however,
venture to suggest that the following reasons may account
for this point.

i) Pune is a stronghold of Brahmins. By and large,
the in-group conflicts and ostracisation are not bearable
to individuals. These act as deterrents to intermarriage
among Brahmins.
(iii) The educated Brahmans, as a caste group is "janus-faced": It is modernized and Westernized and yet has deep-seated notions of group superiorities. (The Brahmans, once again like the middle class, has created the extreme types of reformers and conservatives).

(iii) They consciously or unconsciously carry with them a heritage of a ritualistic superior caste. As we shall see, this ritualism has some important consequences, although some of these, at least, may be 'unintended', in the Mertonian sense.

(iv) After all, caste may not be the single decisive factor in mixed inter-religious marriages. The availability of opportunities to enter such marriages is equally important. From this angle professions or occupations in the economic sphere should be given their due consideration.

There were 24 Muslim males and 16 females among our respondents. Compared to the total Hindu sample of 87 (50 males + 37 females) and the Christian sample of 71 (26 males and 45 females), the Muslim sample is relatively smaller (42). We must point out that a very small number identified their sects (13). The rest paid no attention to it. The reasons for this smaller incidence of Muslims can be indicated thus:
(1) This religious group has a greater control on the actions of their youth as they believe that true marriages embrace the believers only. Thus the Islamic belief in Dar-al-Harb and Dar-al-Islam is unshakable at least on the theological level.

(ii) The Fardah system has helped to segregate the women and their social and cultural intercourse is restricted. This confines the Muslim women to their homes, naturally resulting in limited expression to self-choice in marriage.

(iii) As a group, the Muslims, compared to both the Hindus and Christians are educationally backward. Once again comparatively speaking, it is conservative and has been less exposed to the forces of reformism, modernization and Westernization. With the advent of British due to a number of forces, the Western educated middle classes in the Hindu Society, started questioning the fundamental religious tenets and practices. This intellectual and social protest movement culminated in the form of a sort of renaissance. The Muslims for one thing could not produce an elite middle class on a significant scale. For another this class, due to

* In Muslim Constitutional Law the world is divided, into Dar-al-Islam and Dar-al-Harb. 'Abode of Islam' is that which is already under Muslim rule; 'Abode of War' is that which is not, but which actually or potentially, is a seat of war for Muslims until by conquest it is turned into 'Abode of Islam.'
its monolithic structure of Islam was more tradition-oriented and would not cut a new path.

Christians as identified denominally are
30 Catholics (13 males and 17 females), 4 Syrian Christians (3 males and 1 female) and 37 Protestants* (10 males and 27 females) in our study. It was observed that the Christian females in greater numbers married inter-religiously than the Christian males. We believe that this phenomenon is essentially due to (1) Christian females going out to earn their living - (We shall deal with this occupational factor later in this Chapter), meeting suitable men and opting for inter-religious marriage. (2) As conversion among Christians is possible the females do not fear ostracization and can convince the spouse to get converted, as or they can at least bring up the children in their own faith. (This is dealt at greater length in Chapters V and VI).

It is very significant that the two minority groups that are considered to be rigid in their religious attitudes, have not married freely in the two groups. Thus we have only 5 Muslim men married to

* The Protestants were all grouped together and not further divided into smaller groups. There are approximately 250 protestant denominations and therefore, we thought it prudent to group them together.
Christian women and 8 Christian men who have Muslim spouses. The sample of Muslim/Christian married group is only 13% in this study. On the other hand, we find that 40 Hindu males have married Christians and 10 Hindu males have married Muslims. There are 19 Muslim males, who have chosen Hindu spouses and 18 Christian males, who have chosen Hindu spouses.

After religion, age is the single important factor. For free choice and a marriage without consent, the prescribed age is that of twenty one years. But we find that, there are a few instances, especially among the females, where the age is below 21 years. This criteria of age gains importance when marriage is to be contracted without parental consent. From our table 3:2 (page 75), we find that the Muslim males in greater percentage (41.68%) marry while they are in the age group of 21-25 years. The oldest group 41-45 years had two Hindu males as respondents. Hindu males in general do not mind marrying at a late age. This pattern has been observed by Agarwala\textsuperscript{12}, who believes that age at marriage varies in India in relation to religion and caste. Thus when we demarcate between the religious groups, we find that the most favoured age group at the time of mate selection is 26 to 30 year group for all three religious (40% Hindus,
50.6% Muslims and 61.56% Christians). Individually, the 21-35 year group is favoured by the Hindus, 21-30 years by the Muslims and 26-30 years by the Christians.

A glance at the responses of our female sample shows that Hindu women in greater numbers (13.5%) had favoured the 15-20 year age group for marriage than their Muslim or Christian sisters. But the most favoured age group for inter-religious marriage among women happens to be the 21-25 years group. In this group 59.5% Hindu females, 66.7% Muslim females and 55.6% Christian females choose their life partners. We have a solitary case of a Christian female, who chose to marry at the age of 17 years, and had received parental consent for the nuptial. In this connection, we can very well say that age at marriage appears to be significantly lower in societies where marriage was arranged by parents, as compared to the ones in which there was relatively free choice of partners. This is confirmed by Singh. This is because in self choice, the parties entering matrimony are old enough to make their own decisions, and to carry out their plans. No doubt the economic factors are also of great importance here - but we shall deal with it later (112.266).

Ranjan's sample of the inter-caste partners married between 21-25 years (103 females) and 26 to 30 years (96 males). However, the spouses in his inter-religious
group had married at a much later age. (The average age in his sample is 29.3 ± 4.3 for males and 24.1 ± 5.00 for females).

From Monahan's study in America, we gather that age at marriage amongst intermarried groups is dependent on religion. Monahan further feels that each religious group has its own pattern, but he suggests that the youth more often break the restraints of group control and inter-marry than do other age groups. 15

When the comparative age differences between the spouses were observed ten females were found to be older than their spouses. The table 3:11 is relevant in this connection.

Invariably, when a marriage is arranged the male is older than the female. (This has some traditional as well as biological background; but we need not go into it). Yet, in our sample of a 100 respondent couples we find 1/10th of the females had chosen a spouse younger than themselves. The reason may be that in self-choice other factors especially love play a decisive role in mate selection than age alone. The difference in age is 1 year to 4 years amongst the respondents and there are more Christian females (5) than Hindus (3) and Muslims (2) who have married men younger than themselves. Sundal and McCormick 16 in their study at Madison found that a considerable percentage of grooms were younger than their wives.
### TABLE 3: 11

**Age of Females older to their Spouses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion of the Female</th>
<th>Age of the Female</th>
<th>Age of the Male</th>
<th>Difference in Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Total Number of Hindu females 3, Muslims 2, and Christians 5).
Another notable factor was, that of the considerable age difference between a few couples, where the husband is older than his spouse. This is clarified in the following table.

**Table 3.12**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion of Male</th>
<th>Respondent No. of Males</th>
<th>Religion of Females</th>
<th>Difference in age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The maximum age difference is 23 years and the minimum 11 years. This is a considerable age difference than the wife-older marriages. (Except for respondent
numbers 39 and 100, the other respondents were marrying for the first time. Respondents 39 and 100 were both marrying for the second time.

Incidentally, these couples with marked age difference come from different background and professions.*

American Sociologists give considerable importance to age at marriage in relation to marital happiness. In this connection a relevant comparative observation is mentioned by Bowerman¹⁷, who is emphatic about the importance of the age factor affecting the mate selection. Thus, we find that Burgess and Cottrell¹⁸ from their study found, 'husband younger' marriages to be unfavourable to matrimonial harmony. Blood and Wolfe¹⁹, Locke and Associates²⁰ and Klemer²¹, opine that mates or

* Here is a short background of these couples:

Respondent No. 8 - Male in the Armed forces, female well qualified, principal of a Secondary school.

Respondent No. 12 - Male in an Advertising Firm, Female a dietician.

Respondent - Professor of Philosophy, female also a Professor

Respondent No. 25 - Male in an Athletic coach and female a School Teacher

Respondent No. 39 - Male a doctor and female a Secretary in a private firm. This was a third marriage for the male

Respondent No. 82 - Male in an Airlines Office and female a Receptionist in a Business firm.

Respondent No. 100 - Male worked in a business house and the female a Steno-typist.
partners when of the same age or nearest in their age
groups are happily married. Nimkoff \(^{22}\) strikes a
different note and says that probabilities of marriage
unhappiness and disillusionment to some extent, are
much greater when mate selection is at an early age,
i.e., - male under twenty and female under eighteen.
(Here we would like to point out that none of the male
respondents were below 20 years and only one female
respondent was 17 years old at the time of mate selection).

In spite of the extensive discussion about the
effect of age on marriage, sociology of marriage has not
yet provided a consistent theory in this regard. Obviously,
age is not of absolute significance and it is related to
other factors. We could relate these factors in the
Indian situation in a number of ways.

(i) Initially, to get the daughter married
as early as possible, due to accepted norms age at
marriage was low. But with the advent of higher educa-
tion and social legislation of a wider range, it is found
that once again, the age is now relatively higher.

(ii) The daughter in recent years is an economic
asset and hence the age at marriage is gradually raised.

(iii) Other factors such as occupational
propinquity, self-choice of partner, enter the field of
marriage and this has some bearing on the age factor.
(iv) Along with the occupational factor there is a slow undermining of parental authority and the rising spirit of individualism - though these are rather slow social changes.

In the U.S.A. late marriages, which were once favoured have been reversed and the age group of marriage has been lowered considerably in recent years due to the ideology of romantic love. It is believed everywhere that a quick love marriage is advisable as it tends to overcome certain hazards which may come in the wake of a prolonged courtship.

**The Educational Factor and Background**

Before we study in detail the educational qualifications of the male and female respondents in our sample, we shall first take a look at the place where they had been educated and at the socio-cultural associations they belonged to in their student days. To facilitate a categorical enquiry we have divided the place of education during college days and school days. The tables that follow give us this required data. This would serve as a background factor.

From our basic table 3 : 4 and 3 : 5 (pages 76, 77) we find that a greater number of men are graduates than women and a greater number of men have professional degrees and diplomas. Among those who have a
professional degree - i.e., in Medicine or Engineering, there are 25 males while only 17 females have these degrees.

**TABLE 3: 13**

Distribution of Respondents according to place of education during school days.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of education</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In home town with parents</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With parents but at various places</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With relatives in another town</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Hostel</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 3: 14

Distribution of respondents according to place of education during college days

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of education and residence</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At Home</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Relatives at another town</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a hostel in an urban area</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With friends in another town</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No college education</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 3: 15

Distribution according to Organization the respondents belonged to as a student

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of organization</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious club:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletic Club</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatic Club</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music Society</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YMCA / YWCA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students Union</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Multiple responses - yet the total remains constant at 80 for males and 63 for females
When we look at the religious background of our male respondents, in the context of their educational qualifications, we find that the Muslim males have the maximum graduates (45.85%) than the Christian males (34.56%) and last of all the Hindu males (24%). There are a greater number of Post-Graduates among the Christian males respondents (26.39%) than either of the other two religious groups i.e., Hindus (20.8) and Muslims (16.65%). But this picture undergoes a change when we check the professional degrees—Hindu men are much more than the Muslims or Christians. (Hindus 16%, Muslims 12.49% and Christians 3.84%). Those who had an Engineering diploma after 33C were divided thus: Hindus 18%, Muslims 4.16% and Christians 11.54%.

When we scrutinize the educational qualifications of our female respondents, we find that Hindu women in greater numbers have graduates (Hindus 18.90%, Muslims 16.65%, Christians 6.60%) and they have also gone in for post graduation, (Hindus 27%, Muslims 16.65%, Christians 11.10%). The figures of holders of degrees in Medicine are: (Hindus 10.30%, Muslims 5.55%, Christians 4.44%). Those holding a degree in Engineering are (Hindus 2.70%, Muslims and Christians - nil). A greater number of Muslim women have done their S.S.C. than Christian or Hindu women (Hindus 13.50%, Muslims 33.30%, Christians 24.42%). On the other hand, women
who have a diploma in teaching or nursing are sizably more amongst Christian females (Hindus 8.10%, Muslims 16.65% and Christians 33.30%). This fact sheds light on the educational attitude of Christian women, who go in for job-oriented education in greater numbers than do either Hindus or Muslim women. (This incidentally has been mentioned on page 86, when we gave reasons for a larger sample of Christian females - who for socio-economic reasons and economic freedom prefer job-oriented education. Further, the age factor as pointed out in Table 3: page 75 is higher (35.20%) amongst Christians — (between the 26-30 years age group).

On this background, educational institutions are obviously the first places where people come together in pursuit of common interest. In these institutions two categories of people or generations meet together — the teacher and the taught. There are, therefore, three types of social interactions that are possible — between teachers, between students and between the teachers and the students. We have the following data from our sample:

Eleven couples in our group were 'co-eds' in colleges. One couple was together in music college. One couple was — that of a Professor and student*. It can,

* This was an outstanding case. The student was attracted by the brilliance of her professor. The Professor, while correcting papers, had
therefore, be said that 15% of our sample became
intimate during their college days. Associations in
the colleges that encourage free mixing and foster
common interests have contributed to the ultimate
choice. Besides these reasons, comparative data also
shows that individuals tend to select their mates who,
have an equal or almost an equal education. For example,
in one of the American Studies, Klemer has pointed out
that this tendency is stronger in the college population.

Pune college climate in this respect at least might not
be very different. Here, there are separate educational
institutions for boys and girls at the school level.
Some of the student population from rural areas migrate
to Pune for college studies. Further, the college
campuses are meeting ground of the younger generation
of males and females, who would otherwise be restricted
from mixing freely. In India, the college life, in fact
is considered as the springtime of freedom, a release
from the tighter control of the society symbolized by the
family. But higher education, apart from its environ-
mental value has another aspect - Click and Carter

marked out, one as exceptional paper and he was sure
that it was that of a male student. When in class
he called out the roll number to congratulate the
student for the excellence of work, he was astounded
to find a girl student getting up to receive it.
This was how the story began.
have opined that higher educational attainment is correlated with greater marriage stability. Blood\textsuperscript{25} corroborates with this view. He reasons that differences between the ages of spouses tends to decrease with higher education and by the time intermarriage is opted by the partners they have gained maturity. Our data certainly confirms this in a significant measure. It shows that most of the women in our group had married men either better-educated than themselves or at least equally well-educated as themselves. There was only one interesting exception. (A highly qualified lady doctor had married a man, who was just an S.S.C. pass. This couple, however, had shared the Communist ideology and placed it higher than age, education or religion. This we believe was the decisive factor in their mate selection).

Besides the level of education, we find that the place of education is of equal importance in providing the necessary background for such unions. This is because away from home one has a better chance of mixing and meeting people of various groups. Thus a college or university campus setting could be a beginning to friendships that may ultimately lead to the lasting tie of marriage.
Of our group 17% males and 10% females (Table 3: 13) had resided in school hostels. The bulk of the data points out that 72% males and 83% females lived at home with parents in their own home town for their school education. The figure of residents in hostels though small, is not entirely without significance.

When we consider the college level, we find that only 15% males and 24% females (Table 3: 14) were non-recipients of a college education. And yet it is well worth remembering the fact that while 24% males and 26% females were residents of a hostel in urban areas for their college education, a lesser number (8% males and 8% females) lived with their relatives and friends in another town, away from their parents for their college education. These relatives and friends belonged to the same religious group as the respondents. So they were not influenced by another religious group in those days. This factor is worth noting for the following points - (i) while staying away from parents either in a hostel or with friends of the parents, it is conceivable that the respondents lack continuous parental supervision. This is one of the crucial stages of socialization of a young individuals as they are somewhat segregated for a longer part of the year from the life style the parents lead.
(ii) This lack of parental supervision and
guidance leaves an individual to make decisions on his
own. As a considerable number attend co-educational
institutions they have greater freedom to mix with the
others. In fact quite a few times pre-mature and
thoughtless or impulsive friendships may also develop
in this phase.

(iii) Since college hostels and also other
residences other than the parents may have people of
various religions staying together, there are greater
chances of making an acquaintance with people from other
religious groups. This may contribute to free inter-
religious mixing.

The 16 respondents from our sample of 200, who
reported that they had stayed with relatives or friends
in this period had confirmed that their guardians were
not unduly strict about their college friends and further
they had a greater chance of mixing with various groups.
In continuation, we have to note another factor, the
importance of extra curricular activities one pursues
in his college days. They reflect the interests, as
well as the way in which one's leisure is spent. In
this connection we found that 80% males and 65% females
belonged to various organisations as students. (Table
3 : 15 - page 104 ). (Only 5 males and 13 females had
no interest in any of the extra curricular activities.
In addition 15 males and 24 females did not receive
any college education). Amongst these activities
sports were popular with the respondents, as 55 males
and 32 females had reportedly taken a keen interest in
them. 21 males and 18 females were affiliated to the
dramatic club. The music association had interested
20 males and 24 females. It is but natural for people
with common hobbies to be drawn together. The opportunity
to mix was provided by these associations, and observation
shows that quite a few students, who distinguish either
in studies or in extra curricular activities attract the
opposite sex.

Amongst the female respondents the Hindu group
had the Brahmans better educated than the other two groups.
These respondents had taken an active part in extra
curricular activities and some were very enthusiastic
about them. We thus had a respondent, who sang very
well and she had continued with her premarriage activity
of giving concerts. However, only a few Brahmin respon-
dents could specify why they selected a spouse from
another religion. The other two caste groups also could
not be very specific about their choice in marriage.

On the whole, the group of Muslim women (18% —
which was the total sample) were most vocal about their
mate selection. Ten women stated that they had chosen a college mate for their spouse. One had chosen her brother's friend, who was a constant visitor to the home - but not a college friend. The remaining seven Muslim women had met their spouse at work or while going to work. It was evidently clear that education had widened the field of choice in mate selection amongst Muslim females. Some educated Muslim women said that they were unhappy with Muslim marriage and divorce laws as they exist at present. Education had opened their eyes to the drawbacks in these laws and they firmly believed in self-choice in this period of their life. Muslim women stressed the importance of good education and felt that the lack of an adequate educational background is one of the weakest features of their counterparts.

The Occupational Factor

Next on our list of factors of mate choice is occupational status, which is generally connected with a good academic background. Here the table to be referred to is Table 3:6 (page 78). Examining the importance of status through income groups it was revealed that more males (42%) fall in the higher income brackets ($1001 to $5,000) than females (7% only). Incidentally there are no females in the $3001 - 4000 and $4001 - 5000 categories. Further, 48 females did not claim any independent income
as they were all full-time housewives now. (Some of
them, however, had worked in various capacities before
marriage). This point is being stressed here, because
it is observed that women who work invariably marry men
nearest to their own profession. This finding of ours
is supported in a different cultural context. Sundal
and McCormick\textsuperscript{26} found that among employed brides there
was a tendency to marry men, who were employed in pro-
fessions similar to their own. This was of greater
consideration than consideration for financial gains.
On the other hand, Hunt and Collier\textsuperscript{27} found that the
choice in inter-marriage was dependent not on similari-
ties of profession but on similarities of economic
standards.

The Status and Class Factor

Evidently, status evaluation is very important.
When we talk of class or status we refer to the rights
and privileges associated with a given social position and
role. When we refer to role, it refers to the corres-
ponding obligation associated with that position. When
we want to examine status, we find that in almost every
social group status is evaluated on a variety of different
scales. In the Western world, class is co-terminous with
the economic factor and a determinant of status.
1) Physical Beauty, 2) Common Interests, 3) Intelligence of the Mate, 4) Personality, 5) Character, 6) Sportmanship, 7) Position in Society.

Fig: 2 Histogram showing reasons of mate selection.
In India consideration of caste was and is the major criteria. The traditional caste hierarchy was practically rigid and aspirations to a higher connection in caste could do so only by marrying their daughters into a higher caste.

In India we also find that in the evaluation of occupation, the rating of non-manual work is higher than that of manual work. This is considered an important Indian variable as it is related with the occupational hierarchy implicit in the caste system.

In the American context we find that Klemmer, Saber, Burchinal and Chancellor all agree with Zick Rubin, when he suggests that females by and large happen to be more status-conscious than the males. Our data as seen in histogram Fig. 2, confirms this observation. Finally we would like to point out that Zick Rubin mentions that when social lines are crossed it is men, who tend to marry down and it is women who tend to marry up. This has been termed by him as the 'mating gradient.'

In our study, we find that in self choice, even when parental influence is totally lacking, the choice to some extent is influenced by class or status consciousness. In our sample of inter-religious marriage the importance of this caste concept is considerably reduced.
as religious lines are crossed. Therefore, to assess status, a greater significance is attached to occupation and its remunerative value. We find that 18% females and 4% males have given importance to the spouse's status in mate choice. As our respondents were a salaried group their status evaluation was rather difficult. Yet if we take into account the occupational/salary levels we find that among males 17 were executives and only 1 female was an Executive. The greatest number of males and females were 40% and 23% respectively in service. Males served in the armed forces, Central and State Government offices and in factories. Women in this group were nurses and clerical staff in State and Central Government offices and also worked on the assembly benches in factories. Those in the teaching profession were 12% males and 22% females. A greater number of females taught at the school level. Professionals consisted of doctors, attached to local hospitals and Lawyers, who were legal advisers in firms. (None of these professionals were self-employed). Only one male respondent had taken to agriculture after retirement from the army. Thus we find that we cannot place the agriculturist at the head of the status hierarchy because the holdings of this man, were very small.

Yet we can say that in comparison to the pre-marriage status, as assessed by their occupation and their
fathers' occupation women had in general with the exception of two cases, married males, who had a higher status in society. (We shall deal with this aspect again in Chapter IV when we examine the family data).

So far we have analysed various factors contributing to mate selection, yet they do not exhaust the field of mate choice. We now propose to mention a few of such criteria. It is presumed that the partners who are chiefly concerned with home-making are congenial. In self choice, the practice of voluntary and mutual choice of spouses is of prime concern to the partners. It is generally held that such a selection of a mate could take place between those who are acquainted with the social characteristics of each other. It is also believed that the standards of choice are not built up after meeting a person, but they are built up gradually over the years. Baber\textsuperscript{33} feels that ideas on this subject are acquired since one's childhood and from an early age children are unconsciously influenced by the kind of play mates they are encouraged to be friendly with and even by the type of adult friends their parents choose.

On this background even accepting the sheer accidental element involved in romantic love and marriage, the influences formed in these early phases of socialization play their own parts. This influence may
be in some cases direct - in some indirect and subtle.

**Socio-psychological and inter-personal factors**

This brings us to the inter-personal and factors of socio-psychological dimension, which play their part when the couple comes to know each other more intimately.

By about 1950, American Sociologists appear to have developed some formulations regarding the social and psychological forces which contribute to the phenomenon of intermarriage. These formulations centre around the concept of homogamy. Some like Burgess and Cottrell, Burgess and Wallin find that mate selection is homogamous and advocate it. Burchinal called homogamy - endogamy or assortive mating. Some like Winch have questioned it. (We have not examined this question exhaustively since mate selection has not been the focus of our enquiry. Nevertheless our data brings into light some peculiar Indian variables that influence the choice in romantic love.) Robert Winch

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* The term homogamy refers to the observation that in general, husbands and wives in American families resemble one another in various - physical, or psychological or social characteristics.
seriously challenged the principle of homogamy in mate selection and put forward the theory of complementary needs.\textsuperscript{39} Winch and his associates felt that the need of mate-selection is based on the psychic make up of an individual engaged in mutual choice. He further says that the basis of this choice is unconscious. Ktsanes\textsuperscript{40} reworked Winches' theory and found that the tendency to select a spouse unlike self in the total emotional make up, far exceeds the tendency to select a spouse like self. Kerckhoff and Davis\textsuperscript{41} surmised that a significant contribution of complementarity in mate selection process is assessed through value consensus.

On this background, we shall examine a few factors that have a direct bearing on mate selection. Our respondents were asked - what brought you together? (Section III Mate Selection, question Number 3). Their responses have been represented in the form of a histogram and can be seen in figure 2 (page 114). This histogram shows the qualities preferred by the males and females in our sample at the time of the selection of the mate. Thus a majority of the respondents, who chose the first five reasons i.e., physical beauty, common interests, intelligence of the mate, personality and character, appear to have significant reasons for their choice.
It is generally believed that physical beauty is the most important factor in attracting a mate. Accordingly, it is held that 'a person of the opposite sex possess different degrees of sex appeal. Each individual's physical attraction is discriminating and selective'.

Beauty of face, grace of form and allure of personal adornment separately or in combination are elements in physical attraction. Good looks no doubt, play a major role in attracting the spouse but when this factor is carefully weighed, only 1/5th of the females in our sample were spell-bound by it. In contrast, greater importance was given to it by the male respondents. (1/3rd regarded beauty to be essential). We must hasten to add, however, that beauty was not considered to be either the only or the decisive criteria for selection, by both males and females in our group. Most of the respondents have given two or more values that finally decided the selection of the spouses. (The complete table is endorsed in Appendix II of this work). Table I, page 498.

What were considered as more important values, which seem to have attracted the couples, have already been observed. To some extent, social and economic status acts as a decisive factor in mate selection. In this context intelligence which is correlated with
educational and economic status was preferred by many respondents. In the final count, however, it occupies the 4th place in importance. Incidentally, to compare notes, in the study of 325 mixed marriages, Baber found that assortive mating for social and psychic characteristics is the highest for general intelligence. He also says that women more often than men select their mates, for their intelligence. But in our sample men too have selected their spouses for their intelligence. Apart from these theories of mate-selection, real choosing takes place because of far more personal reasons. What we mean by this is that in romantic love mate selection is also not free from a certain degree of determinism. Determinism as used here connotes that 'the social and the psychological experience of the past markedly influence the way people respond and react in future.'

We had already touched upon these past experiences and had brought out the suggestive background significance of factors like interactions in the college life and its peculiar climate. Now we add to this list the experience with members of the family, teachers, and peers. Such experiences stemming from either favourable or unfavourable relationship may result in patternning the mode of perception. Thus if as a result of previous experience one has learned to
feel more comfortable with persons, who enjoy literature and the arts, such an enjoyment becomes a value to him or her and he or she may tend to marry such a person. Thus the experience of the past can operate to move one towards or away from a given type of person. Likes and dislikes of certain qualities are nurtured in this manner. Most often there is little awareness of the impact of these past experiences in an individual.

An individual tries to seek an 'ideal mate'. By an ideal mate we mean 'that preconceived combination of emotional, physical and social characteristics that is embodied in one's personal image of the kind of person he would like to marry." To be sure, one's preconceived notions about such characteristics as race, religion, nationality, education and socio-economic status often serve to eliminate large number of people from one's marital choice. But these characteristics, although important, frequently operate without the person's awareness of their importance.

On this score, we find that greatest importance in mate selection has been given to the character of the mate. Both males (61%) and females (68%) clearly stated that it was of the greatest importance as the very future of life was dependent on it. Character in
the Indian context means morals - which puts a premium on sexual fidelity. (Character, objectively speaking need not be and is not logically connected with religious ethics. But in reality in India, the word has religious overtones.) In the American situation it is doubtful to what extent sexual fidelity, at least the pre-marital fidelity is insisted upon, in view of the fact that premarital sex relations are fairly common in America.

Personality* attracted 50% males and 61% females.- It must, however, be conceded that this term, is rather ambiguous. What is exactly meant by personality? To understand this facet of respondent's view, the matter was probed in the interview which revealed that by personality, respondents largely meant the identity of an individual as a total whole. It does not mean just physical beauty, smartness, conversational charm and other external aspects of popular ideas of personality. It includes little bit of all these characteristics which make a person 'uniquely individual'.

* We have not taken the psychological definition of personality, but interpreted it as the fact or state of being a person or of being personal.
Sportsmanship seems to have attracted 94% males and 19% females. As one female remarked, "when I saw N playing cricket in college I was sold on him."

We have already discussed the importance of status that plays a role in mate selection. Even after considering all the factors that might have entered the process of mate selection, in this sample the fact stands out that they did not tell the full story. There remained some very intimate mainsprings of impulses, actions, feelings etc. (All such cases have a sort of 'case study' significance. They are given in the end of this Chapter.)

Thus we find that Klemes findings that "when you marry, you actually bring your entire past religious and cultural background with you and it remains with you," is very true.

Ecological Factors

Only one set of factors that play an important part in selection of mate in inter-marriage, remains to be discussed now. It is the ecological factor. These factors are as follows:

(a) Residential propinquity - that is residential nearness, that makes one come in close
contact and interact with people for the satisfaction of basic needs, and

(b) Occupational propinquity - This results from similarity of interest and occupation. In some cases the place of work may also be the same.

(c) Some limitations result from peculiarities of population structure and sex ratio - e.g., most serious imbalance in sex ratio may exist between socio-economic classes, rural urban division and regional or geographical division.

We shall first have a glimpse at the relevant tables to find out what part these ecological factors have played in the mate selection in our group.

When we go through Table 3:16, we find that only 10% of our sample were neighbours. The importance of neighbourhood is due to the chances it offers of marrying someone who lives fairly near. These chances are much greater than commonly supposed. However, in our sample the numbers are considerably low. It would be interesting to compare these results with (i) the American data and (ii) with Kannan's findings. Possibly, the most agreed fact in America in regard to mate selection is that one marries a candidate, who is geographically closest. A very
### TABLE 3: 16

Distribution of couples according to mode of meeting the spouse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of meeting the spouse</th>
<th>No. of couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Were neighbours</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were coeds</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were at work together</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through common friends</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At one of the clubs</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At any other place (from that mentioned above)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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definite study on this subject was made by Bossard in Philadelphia in 1931. He concluded "cupid may have wings but apparently they are not adopted for long flights." Besides Bossard, this factor of mate selection due to residential propinquity have engaged the attention of Kennedy, Koller, Clark, Schnepp and Roberts, McClusky.
and Zander, Mitchell, Ellsworth, Richards, Kephart and Klemer. These American sociologists have tested the propinquity hypothesis during their investigations ranging over a long period i.e., from 1933 to 1970. They firmly believe that the frequency of social interaction with one set of people as against another, depends largely on residence. By the same code, we are most likely to become acquainted with those who live near us. The significance of residential propinquity for mate selection is probably an index of spatial segregation of the population according to cultural characteristics. Barron\textsuperscript{47} feels that when all factors are equal, inter-marriage may take place between those, who live close to each other. Marches and Turbville\textsuperscript{48} and Peach\textsuperscript{49} also say that as propinquity and homogamy have an important relationship they play a minor part in interreligious marriage. Similarly Burgess and Locke\textsuperscript{50} feel that propinquity is only circumscribing to the general factor of mate selection and it is not directly responsible for it.

In India Kannan's study\textsuperscript{51} reveals that one important factor in intermarriage is residential propinquity. He explains the phenomenon, by pointing out the cosmopolitan features of Bombay City, which presents numerous opportunities to the young people to meet,
especially when they stay in the same vicinity. As mentioned earlier in this work, Pune was at one time, probably till the pre-war period, residentially segregated into caste wards. Though there is a remarkable change in the residential pattern of industrialized Pune, we still find that a few selections of mates depend on residential proximity.

In the majority of our cases, occupational propinquity seemed to have played a crucial role towards mate selection. We find that 36 couples had met at their place of work. While 14%, though not working at the same factory or office, availed the same transport facility to and from the place of work. These couples met often and were well acquainted. Two couples had the same hobbies and had met at the club. There were only 26 respondents, who said they had not been neighbours nor did they work together. Further, these couples did not meet at the club, so it was of interest to find out how they met. Of these 26 couples, 6 had met through relatives, 6 had met through their colleagues and 14 as mentioned above while commuting from and to work. Thus we find that on the whole 61¾ had met out of their residential sphere. The importance of occupational propinquity our work highlights may be attributed to the following reasons:
(a) Women at work have a greater opportunity to meet men at work.

(b) A wage earning female has a certain confidence of financial independence which enables her to take independent decisions.

(c) Through friendship with various types of males the notion of an ideal mate is crystallized and it may cut across religious differences.

(d) The principle of self-choice can be exercised and made feasible from a larger group of acquaintances and friends which would normally be impossible in an arranged marriage.

Men who had crossed religious barriers in mate selection felt that (i) an earning female was preferable to one who did not bring in a wage. This was because (ii) these women compensated for the lack of dowry. In fact the amount earned over the years is much more than a dowry. (iii) Since wage earning women can help augment the spouses' income, they can help to set up independent homes, and not wait in case there is severe parental opposition to the marrigge.

The last factor of urban-rural division and geographical division does not affect our sample as it is from the uniform urban area of Pune City and
Cantonment. This factor is of greatest importance in the context of the moderate style of life of the middle-classes.

Summary:

(1) Love has played a decisive role in mate selection. Yet it must be pointed out that the evidence we have collected as above indicates that the romantic ideal mate is not just a sudden discovery. It has some roots, some history, which may date back to the school and the college days, which constitute one important phase in socialization.

(2) In keeping with the demographic composition of India—we have a greater number of Hindus in our sample. But Christians, who are lesser in number than Muslims have married interreligiously in greater numbers.

(3) The reason for this could be because of the strict adherence to religious endogamy amongst Muslims. Specially among the females the Purdah and the lack of opportunity to mix freely with the male population restrict intermarriage. The Muslim females by and large are confined to their homes and they are initiated in the art of domestic chores which inhibits their initiative and force them to accept the parental choice in marriage.
(4) The Hindus show a marked tendency to be caste-conscious as all the Hindu respondents have meticulously mentioned their caste in their various reactions. The caste consciousness and its principle hierarchy infringe themselves in an indirect manner. A marked difference is noticed among the Hindu males and females. A greater number of Kshatriya males (32) have opted for interreligious marriage, while a greater number of Brahmin females have chosen it. This is partly but not wholly explained by the Hindu social reform movement during the past one and half century.

(5) Age did not emerge as the absolute criteria for choice of mate. It seems that the difference in age is waived aside if other factors are found compatible. Thus the importance of age in arranged marriages is not present in self choice marriages particularly when religious barriers are crossed.

(6) We find that all our respondents had received secondary education. Thus from the Indian standards they were fairly well educated. Females marry males, who have received a better education than themselves or at least those who have as much education as their own.

(7) It could be said that common interests as well as academic records play a certain role in
mate selection. Besides education, common hobbies during the college years seem to have their share in the choice of a mate.

(8) Muslims in our group, in general, had exerted self choice, as they wished to have a mate equally or better educated than themselves.

(9) At the same time, it has thrown vivid light on some typical Indian variables. One of them is character, which has its roots in the traditional societies dominated by religious ethics.

(10) Other factors such as physical beauty and intelligence of the mate have been appreciated particularly by the males. While in respect of the female respondents, intelligence of the males, sportsmanship, physical beauty and position in society have been given some rating.

(11) One of our significantly different findings compared to the American data is that occupational propinquity and not residential propinquity has emerged to be of greater importance in male selection among the interreligiously married couples. This has some interesting implications for the contemporary Indian urban social scene.

(12) The respondents in this survey are mostly mature persons (majority being in the 21-25 years
for females and 26-30 years for males). This group is naturally self-conscious and it is well aware of the consequences of their choice.

(13) We can compare Kanan’s findings about mate selection with ours. His sample of interreligiously married gave first preference to physical attractiveness, followed by character, wealth, sympathy and pity and last of all admiration for the spouse. Our respondents have given a different order. Character is followed by common interests, personality, intelligence of the mate, physical attractiveness, sportsmanship and finally wealth and status.

(14) Finally, we can say that of all the various factors mentioned in our study, two or more are involved in the selection of a mate in intermarriages.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III - CASE STUDIES

Psychological reasons in Selection of mate

(1) Fear of being left alone

Mrs. A and her husband are both teachers. They have a six month old baby. While discussing reasons for intermarriage she confessed, "... while young I lost my father and being the eldest, I had to support my mother and sisters. I had no time to either choose a partner, nor did any relative bother to fix up my marriage. My mother once or twice said that I should get married, but nothing much was done about it. My sisters got married and eventually only my mother and I were left at home. Then I met Tony. He had joined our school and we became friends. Our friendship grew and one day he asked me to marry him. I was a little in doubt - not only was I older to him, but not very good looking besides I was a Hindu. He was a handsome young Christian, and I decided to refuse. But I realized that all my friends were married, I had not enough money to give as a dowry to a Hindu man and I would never again get such a good chance of marriage and so I said 'yes'."

A similar incident was narrated by Mrs. S. She was a nurse in the Army and met Mr. S, who was a
widower in Jammu. Mr. S had a six year old son. Both were Maharastrians and met often at a friend's place. As Mrs. S said 'I was 29 years old and when Mr. S asked me to marry him I said yes. Though I had a good job, all my sisters were married and my brothers well-settled. I thought after my parents died, I would be quite alone. Though my brothers and sisters were fond of me they were all busy with their life and families, so I decided to accept Mr. S's marriage offer.'

A male respondent said practically the same thing. Mr. N, an Executive in the advertising world had enjoyed his bachelor days till " I got up one fine day and found all my friends well settled with homes of their own. They had some one to go home to, some one who cared for them, here I was all alone! Then I met my wife — I think I was in a mood for marriage. She was 17 years younger to me, but I liked her enough to surrender my single state. I told her straight — she must give up her job — she must become a Hindu and she must look after me, and when she said yes, we got married."

(2) **Marriage to get away from home**

Mrs. S is thirty years old and had married a Muslim much older to herself. When she was 17 years old, she decided to marry this man, who was married
twice before. He had divorced the first wife, but had the second one staying with him when he married Mrs. S. Her reason for marriage was - "I was three years old when my father died. Mother married again and moved to Delhi with my step father. My mother had a number of children from her second husband and I did nothing but look after them and other housework. I wanted to run away from home, but had nowhere to go. When I was 12 years old my mother came to Poona for a holiday. We stayed with her sisters. Later I cried a lot and insisted on staying with my aunts. They had become very fond of me and so kept me with them in Poona. When I was 16 years old I finished school and took up a job. When I was 17 years old I met my husband. He was a successful doctor and very handsome. He gave me many gifts and showed me his big house. People started talking about us but soon my husband proposed and I accepted readily."

Another female respondent confessed to have married to escape from home. Mrs. V had a step mother, who instigated the father. Our home was a battle ground. My brother and I spent as much time as possible out of home to escape my step mother's nagging tongue. When she knew I was friendly with Mr. V, a co-ed in my college, she kept on saying harsh things about us. My father threatened to lock me up in my room. So finally
one day after careful planning, I said I was going
to a friend's place and ran away to my husband's
place and we got married the next day.

(3) The desire to take revenge

Mr. C was a refugee from Pakistan. His
family had suffered a great deal during the partition.
He was twelve years old at that time and the happenings
of 1947 had left a deep scar on his mind. He had
refused to marry girls his mother had chosen. He met
his wife a Muslim in the office, where they worked
together for three years before marriage. Mr. C's
mother had not reconciled to the marriage even after
four years. Mr. C said 'I blame my wife for not trying
hard enough. I go to see my mother every day. She
refused to enter my house. We have no children but
my younger brother, who got married two years ago will
be a father soon. I blame my wife for all this mess.'
Mrs. C confessed that her husband hated Muslims. "We
had a lot of trouble getting married. No priest would
convert me and we had to wait for a long time. Now
he does not allow me to see my parents. They are very
old and come to meet me when my husband goes to work.
My mother-in-law is a stubborn woman. All her friends
talk to me and come to visit me but she refuses to
have anything to do with me. Here I have to hear
abuses because I was a Muslim. He seems to be taking all his revenge through me."

Concretely speaking we find that these cases reveal (1) personality and temperamental traits help to find a compatible spouse and may result in inter-marriage, (ii) acute fear of loneliness, (iii) Fleeing from an oppressive home (iv) Desire to take revenge upon a certain community, due to the interplay of past experiences and predisposition.
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10. Muslims are stratified forming themselves into several endogamous groups. The main division was between Shias and Sunnis. There are Ajlafs and Ashrafs, and there are further divisions on provincial levels like Bohras, Khojas etc. that are split up. Further stratification is seen through divisions each as Sheikhs, Pathans
and so on. In rare cases they inter marry, but in
essence marriage is strictly the monogamous
type. Thus among the Khojas marriage is not
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Jamat, however, does not sanction the marriage
of a Khoja woman to a non-Khoja man; however,
a man may marry outside the caste.

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39. The Theory of Complementary needs is based on the selection of mates on the hypothesis that complementariness of motivation would maximize need gratification. Later Winch developed the theory and decided that there was not one but two types of complementary need satisfaction that led to mate selection. In one type the partner had the same need but different intensity, and another where if one partner is high on one trait the other is high on another trait. Winch explained that the attraction for the mate was essentially complementary because of need satisfaction. His theory of complementarity granted that some degree of similarity is the usual prerequisite for mutual attraction, limiting mate selection to a 'field of eligibles'. Thus Winch's hypothesis was that the spouses themselves were not aware of these complementary traits playing a decisive part in the standard of choice.


44. Ibid. 210.


