CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The study of woman as an independent branch of human studies is a recent phenomenon in the West. The problems of women's life have attracted increasing attention of the academic investigations resulting in an extensive and fruitful research in the 20th Century. Women study centers have come up in the Western countries, devoted exclusively to scientific investigations and analysis of various aspects of women's life and their problems. The changing scene is represented in the major sociological works. The interesting aspect of these studies is that the major contributions in this area have been made by women themselves.

Interest in studies of women has a history in the West. The ideas of freedom, equality, fraternity that spread with the French revolution all over the Western hemisphere started the movement of the emancipation of women. The suffragette movement, the necessity of women as wage earners due to the rise in costs and the standard of living, the women stepping
in the posts of men who were sent on the war front during the World Wars were other factors that led to women coming out of their homes and working in various fields that were manned by male workers. Yet they felt that they were treated as second class citizens. The searching, scathing study by Simon de Beauvoirs 'The Second Sex' reveals the feelings of women in the West.¹

Women started studying themselves from various aspects. There was a spurt of studies of women from the sociological, anthropological, economic, psychological and literary aspects. Studies of women's problems by Margaret Mead, Gunnar Myrdal, Mary Wollstonecraft and women in the suffragette movement and women intellectuals like Virginia Woolf gave a momentum to the study of woman.² This movement trickled to India in the late thirties and increased only after the World War and the movement of struggle for freedom which was led by Gandhiji.

Spread of education and opportunities for middle class women to work as clerks during the World War in ration shops in India were other factors for the rise in the status of women. This change did not go unnoticed by writers. Woman as an individual
became an interesting object of study and was reflected in literature as an individual with a mind of her own.

The feminine culture which was regarded as subordinate in the cultural studies and like women, was considered as a matter of secondary interest and was awarded a passing reference has now become an object of special study. Various studies such as mentioned above demonstrate that thinkers, writers, sociologists, psychologists and economists have become aware of the significance of these investigations. Women themselves have taken up higher education and acquired power of thinking, analyzing and interpreting the world around them. Moreover they have entered the jobs and have become wage earners or are engaged in gainful work. This has given them a feeling of self-confidence and self-reliance along with a sense of dissatisfaction with the attitude and treatment given to them by the orthodox societies.

However, it will have to be admitted that socio-cultural studies of women's life, though studied with dedication and vigour in the West, have been comparatively scanty in India. Women's studies, started in sixties, were pursued with vigour and
devotion in the seventies. The monumental study by A.S. Altekar of 'The Position of Women in Indian Civilization' is the pioneering work, dealing with the status of women from the hoary Vedic times to the present times and gives a broad panorama of the position of women in general in the Indian subcontinent.3

The undergoing changes in the conception of woman about her own position in the home and society, are reflected in the writings of social scientists. Various studies like S.C. Dube (1963), Nate (1948) and 1969), Meera Desai (1957), N.M. Kapadia (1958 and 1959), Promilla Kapur (1970) indicate the trend towards this change.4

Promilla Kapur has carried out an empirical study of two points of time with a gap of a decade on urban educated working women (in Delhi). The findings incorporate the marital relationships of educated working urban women who combine marriage with work, their status in theory and reality, their problems, attitudes towards others and the attitudes of others towards them, their interrelationship and their impact on the society.5
Tara Ali Baig's study underlines the Shakti in woman in the matriarchal base which the Aryan Patriarchal system could never wholly destroy. The woman is studied in her various roles through this dual perspective and shown to come out as a major factor in continuity. The study is from the dawn of history through colonial times to the feminist awakening.6

'Indian Women from Purdah to Modernity' is a compilation of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. In this book, 'Nehru and the place of Women in Indian Society' by Bimla Luthra reveals the charismatic influence of the Gandhi-Nehru personalities on women who joined the freedom-struggle and won the admiration of the men-folk and won also confidence and rightful place in society. T.N. Madan in his 'Hindu Woman at Home' says that the most important role for the Hindu woman is that of motherhood, she is "nailed to her own cross."

Rama Mehta in her article 'From Purdah to Modernity' brings out the effect how economic insecurity accelerated social change. Veena Das (Indian Women : Work, Power and Status) shows how the economic factor has tremendously influenced man-woman relationships. For example,
rice-growing lands require women-power and consequently their status is better in those regions. Ashis Nandy underlines the fact that women is participant in self-repudiation and intra-aggression. 7

The writings of the researchers show and increasing interest in the problems and changing conditions of women. Until recently the tendency among scholars interested in India was to take it as a single unit for study. For example, Veera Anstey’s work on ‘Economic Development in India’ or A.R. Desai’s ‘Social Background of India’s Nationalism’ or ‘The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting’ by A.D. Ross. 8 But a panoramic view of Indian society presents a spectacle of many contradictions. India has so much socio-cultural diversity and institutional complexity that the need of use of ‘region’ as a unit of analysis is felt. D.N. Dhanagare points out that ‘region’ is more homogeneous in structural and cultural terms than India as a whole. 9 India as a whole has so much cultural and institutional diversity though there is a uniformity too. To understand the structural and institutional framework of a society, region as a unit of study, gives more insight as the geographical and historical factors also have to be understood.
Indian society is still in a transitional stage, moving slowly from the old agricultural order to the new order based mainly on industrial and technological developments. However, the changes in the status of women in the society are too slow to keep pace with the changes in the total social and economic structure. This slow pace can be attributed to the forces of traditions, religion and morals that obstruct corresponding changes not only in the position of women in society but also in women's attitudes and self-assessment.

Women's attitudes towards work, parental and male authority, women's liberation and participation in politics in such a transitional stage of society, should be of particular interest for sociological researchers. Though in some metropolitan cities such changes in the attitudes to women, their status, position, role and role-sets are perceptible, by and large, women as independent entities are far from being accepted. However, the main problem is whether women perceive themselves as 'independent entities'. This is what is proposed to be investigated in this study.

With the establishment of the British power in India the process of social change was set in motion.
This process of change not only questioned the social structure of traditional elite but also consistently focussed on and attacked the harrowing and dehumanizing plight of women. The exposure of closed Indian society to the liberal ideology of the British through the spread of Western education, had a profound impact on the intellectual awakening, particularly among middle-classes. By the end of the Nineteenth Century there raged a great controversy and confrontation between tradition and modernity, between reformism on one hand and orthodoxy and obscurantism on the other. The tradition is not over and at any rate, by no means, is the confrontation between the tradition and modernity over.

This confrontation perhaps is nowhere so strikingly visible as it is in the Marathwada region of Maharashtra. Incidentally the peculiar nature of social transformation and its consequences in this area were seldom discussed in the debate on tradition and modernity. The Marathi speaking areas of the Nizam State i.e., Marathwada, stand neglected in this respect by sociologists. The social structure in the State of Hyderabad was by and large, feudal or semi-feudal being under considerable impact of Nizami culture sustained through Jagirdari and Deshmukhi
land system. After the integration of Marathwada with Western Maharashtra in 1950, the year of the state's reorganization, the situation began to change gradually. Marathwada, though initially hostile, welcomed the migrants (who came in search of jobs and services) with hesitation and suspicion, for the immigrants were not only job-seekers but were also agents of modernization. Marathwada, thus appears, a classical example of a backward area exposed suddenly to the forces of change under the influence of modernization. This developing region thus becomes an interesting area for the study of cultural and attitudinal changes, particularly in relation to middle-class women who were the most oppressed elements in the stranglehold of a feudal and obscurantist regime of Vizam, but were the first to have intensive exposure through education, work opportunities and cultural contacts with Western Maharashtra.

The cultural and attitudinal changes in middle-class women are to be studied in the present work in the context of total socio-economic transformation. Since the social changes are mainly changes in the social structure i.e., in social relations which are the institutionalized and standardized modes of
behaviour and thought, socially recognised explicitly or implicitly. Therefore, this study is concerned with analysis and explaining these changes in institutions, norms and values, in status and role perceived as well as performed ones, with reference to the middle-class women of Marathwada.

Inspite of the technological developments and massive urbanization of the Maharashtra State, Marathwada, by and large remains economically under-developed though politically it is not a neglected area. Hence, the study of the women of this region is of utmost importance since it would help us to understand how women respond to situations of transition and lag. Therefore, it was considered relevant to explore the profile of middle-class women in Marathwada in the pre and post independence times.

The process of change is observed in the context of institutional framework of the society. The cultural change among middle-class women is studied in the context of certain aspects of social structure.

To frame the study in a precise area the conceptual clarification and discussion was felt necessary. It was also felt necessary to discuss the
concepts like culture, the social structure, institutions etc. with reference to social change.

The concepts culture and social structure are debated by the social scientists on a large scale and many definitions are put forth depending upon the emphasis which each one gives to one or the other of the concepts. Taylor presents an omnibus concept of culture. According to him, "culture is that complex whole which includes knowledges, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Malinowski emphasises culture as a functioning, active, efficient, well-organized unity which must be analysed into component institutions in relation to one another, in relation to the needs of human organism and in relation to the environment, man-made as well as natural.

While the anthropologists make the concept of culture central to their studies, using it in a more inclusive way, the sociologists define it as an element of the system. In the theory of social structure the concept of culture is incorporated for the theory of social structure deals with social relations not simply as concrete actuality but as institutionalized
and standardized modes of behaviour and thought whose normal forms are socially recognized in the explicit and implicit rules to which members of a given society tend to confirm. For example, Parsons considers the concept culture as having three essential characteristics; that it is transmitted, it constitutes a heritage or a social tradition; and that it is learned as well as shared. He also maintains that culture is on the one hand the product of, on the other hand a determinant of, systems of human social interaction. But he makes it clear that the culture and the social structure are distinct patterns which are analytically distinguishable. The following lines from Parsons elucidates this clearly—

"... transmissibility, serves as a most important criterion for distinguishing culture from the social system, because culture can be diffused from a social system to another. Relative to the particular social system it is a "pattern" element, which is both analytically and empirically abstractable from that particular social system there is crucially important interdependence between cultural patterns and the other elements of social system, but these other elements are not completely "pattern-integrated" with culture or with each other."

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Similarly for Merton, the concept of culture and the concept of structure are the important factors in the explanation of individual behaviour and consequently the social system. He maintains that, however, closely related these two facts are they must be kept separate for the purpose of analysis. Merton distinguishes culture and structure in the following manner.

"Cultural structure may be defined as that organized set of normative values governing behaviour which is common to members of a designated society or group. And by social structure is meant that organized set of social relationships in which the members of the society or group are variously implicated."\(^\text{14}\)

The social relations which are existant in a society are controlled by the influence of norms which are shared by the members of the society. These cluster or complex of norms are called institution. Young and Mack state that the term 'institution' means a set of norms integrated around a major societal function.\(^\text{15}\) Social structure moves towards the fulfilment of certain goals. The structure consists of social relationships and norms which are embodied in institutions which also keep on changing. Changes in one set of norms or institutions bring changes
in other set of norms or institutions. As change is the law of life, no matter how rich or complex a culture may be, there is always a room for new elements.

In every society there are elements of stability and change. Change is endemic in every social system. The change gradually seeps into existing culture. Change is characteristic of all existing culture. It varies in its rate and degree to which a culture encourages change depending on time and space. The factors of change are traceable in the course of time, when a comparison is made with the existing tradition. With regard to change, Haviland says,

"... this might be due to intrusion of outsiders or to modification of behaviour and values within the culture." 16

When cultural change occurs, it affects all the institutions within the framework of the social system. Culture is produced within a social system. Any change in culture has implications to the society and its members. Change in certain components of culture such as values, norms, ideologies etc., bring about in their turn changes in the social structure, i.e., patterns of social actions and interactions.
Several theories of social change are put forward by the social scientists and none of them can claim that it offers the sole explanation of change in society. The writings of earlier social theorists such as Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown, give a conceptual image which leads to assume that social and cultural systems tend to maintain equilibrium unless they come in the contact with some forces from outside, or develop some inner strains that disturb equilibrium.

The writers like Firth, Beach, Herskovits and Vogt questioned this conceptual framework and maintained that the basic tendencies in social and cultural systems are towards change rather than toward states of equilibrium.  

Socio-cultural change may be thought of as falling into two categories. The first category comprises all changes that stem from innovations originating from within a society; the second, all the change that comes to it from outside. Innovation denotes any thought, behaviour, or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms.
The spread of culture sometimes occurs through the migration of its bearers, a process sometimes called primary diffusion or cultural dispersion. Robert Heine-Geldern opines that diffusion means the spread of culture from one ethnic group or area to another. He defines diffusion as —

"...the acceptance of some specific item, over time, by adopting units — individuals, groups, communities — that are linked both to external channels of communication and to each other by means of both structure of social relations and a system of values or culture." 19

Charles Winick states that diffusion is the method by which a part of culture spreads to other areas. It is a means by which an institution, invention, culture trait, or complex may spread to other areas. 20

Briefly, while studying cultural change, it is equally important to study the dynamic effects of contacts between groups of people than merely to study the fact of contact between groups of people.

The term 'acculturation' is sometimes used to explain changes occurring in social relations, attitudes which are due to contact with another culture. The Social Science Research Council defined acculturation as follows:
"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups". 21

Acculturation has been applied chiefly to the instances where transmission of cultural elements could be more fully documented either by study on the spot, or by the use of documentary data, or both. Herskovits has differentiated between diffusion as the study of achieved cultural transmission and acculturation as the study of cultural transmission in process. 22 The studies in acculturation are more factual establishing their cases on the available contacts in the contemporary period. In such research it is possible to investigate the conditions antecedent to the contact and thereby come to some definite reading. It is also possible to ascertain the pre-contact cultures of different peoples and to understand their present condition. Often it is possible to locate the groups or a set of people involved in influencing the cultural process.

Since acculturation is a continuous process its application to studies of contact between contemporary peoples should yield valuable results.
"In most cases, acculturation research deals with contacts in the contemporary period. The conditions antecedent to the contact can thus be discovered, the pre-contact cultures of the peoples' party to it can be ascertained and the present condition of cultures set down. In some cases, even the personalities involved in influencing the acceptance or rejection of varied elements can be reached." 23

The influence of one culture on another can take place in different ways. When a group of people moves into the habitat of another, it takes over more of the culture it comes into contact. In some cases a migrating group gives more of its culture to those among whom it settles. A more complex culture can offer more things to be borrowed than a simpler one. But even in most intimate contacts, the borrowing is selective.

Ralph Beals pointed out the similarities in the process that anthropologists were referring to as acculturation and those that had long been studied by sociologists as urbanization. 24 Urbanization can take place without industrialization, by contact with other developed culture, by different means, i.e. socially or politically. It can be said that process of acculturation and urbanization to some extent, may be found to go together. This results
in a change process which affects the various aspects of social life. While reviewing the major types of social change studies, Kuppuswamy observes about acculturation studies that,

"These studies of small groups have been of immense value in understanding the changes which take place when that group is open to outside influence. These studies show the role of coercion and the characteristics of key personnel in social change." 25

He also observed that much of contemporary social change is associated with the dominance of the urban social structure.

Different factors influence in accepting a change. Different aspects of culture or customs are transmitted to new cultural form. This may be the result of particular historical circumstances which influence the psychological motivations underlying the selectivity that comes into play.

The principle of selectivity plays a fundamental role in any phase of cultural change. The aspects of more developed culture of a group are more likely to be borrowed by a comparatively less developed group. Herskovits mentioned that borrowing takes place where, without there being political dominance,
the social superiority of one group over another is recognized.²⁶

The process of borrowing from a different culture starts due to different factors. A social group which comes into contact with another social group which might be more developed in different aspects like technological development, social development or both together, than the other group. Sometimes the contacts occur through political domination of a more developed culture on the less developed culture.

The pattern of life of a more advanced group may give psychological motivation for the other groups (which come into contact) to adapt its life style. The individual may be influenced not only by the groups with which he interacts but also by his conception of other groups of which he is not a member. These groups - they may be interaction groups or status groups - influence individuals as reference groups. In the process of change, deviation of accepted set of norms takes place. Members of one group strive to be members of another group by accepting the norms of non-member-ships group through anticipatory socialization. The acceptance of the behaviour pattern, norms of the
reference group may not be a total acceptance but
the membership group may strive to be like the
members of reference group in some respects. The
study of the reference groups shows how institutionalized
patterns impinge differently upon different groups
and how, in turn, these groups affect one another's
attitudes towards their own groups and its norms.
The views of a particular reference group would have
a prestige for the members of another group which wish
to be members of the reference group. The 'reference
groups' are the groups of which a person is not a
member but aspires to be.

"The concept of reference group arises
essentially from the fact that any person
acting in any situation may be interacting,
but also by his conception of other groups
of which he is not a member and apart from
any interaction he may be having with them.
These groups - they may be interaction groups -
exercise their influence as reference-groups in
a purely passive way, simply by being thought
of." 27

The reference-group theory explains, how in
shaping their attitudes, men may orient themselves
to groups other than their own. When the individual
comes into contact with other groups while inter-
acting in a social structure, whose norms and values
are different from his own group, he adopts them.
He uses such groups or individuals as a frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field. The content of reference group theory can be told in Merton's formulation, that

"... Reference group theory aims to systematize the determinants and consequences of those processes of evaluation and self-appraisal in which the individual takes the values or standards of other individuals and groups as a comparative frame of reference."^28

Thus the reference group theory explains, how in shaping their attitudes, men may orient themselves to groups other than their own. Socializing agents often follow the norms of other milieux with which they wish to identify. Sometimes the existing normative set-up is not feasible for the oncoming change. The old behavioural set-up becomes a misfit in the changing social structure. However, the changes in the existing normative - patterns are very slow. In case of cultural contact with a socially or technologically developed culture group a comparatively underdeveloped group may feel relatively deprived. Yet immediate acceptance of norms of the reference groups may not occur as the abstract culture changes slowly. In many cases one finds that the immediate
reaction towards the reference group is of hostility, but later on there is a slow acceptance of the normative and behaviour-patterns of the reference groups.

In case of contact, the borrowing of behaviour or attitudinal patterns, norms may be selective. Moreover an individual might use multiple groups for his reference. There is an acceptance of reference norms in some areas while rejection in other areas. The acceptance of reference norms also, is unconscious in many cases. The individual adopts the manners - the norms, behaviour pattern from the reference-groups or reference individuals, but do not openly admit this. Many times the reference group may be an imaginary group - not seen as a whole, but exists on the level of perception.

"... A respondent may have a particular reference-group with which he identifies and may perceive its norms clearly, but he may not regard it as legitimate or appropriate that the group exercise its influence in that particular jurisdiction, and thus his behaviour or attitude may not be consciously governed by the reference group." 25

The reference group or reference individuals can remain on the unconscious level of mind. The awareness about the reference group may be created
not only by direct contact, but by any other means, like mass-media. Thus an individual can choose a reference group or reference individual for a certain behavioural area of his personality, but not on the whole. A reference group may not be perceived as a consistent whole by the members of the membership group. The reference individuals or the members of the reference group can influence the members of a 'membership group' though they are not in direct contact with them. Hyman illustrates how reference individuals or reference idols' can influence the behaviour or attitudinal patterns.

"... Just as reference-group reminds us of influence of reference-individuals would demonstrate that there are influentials or opinion leaders, with whom we are not in direct social relations. We model ourselves not only on those who are near but on those who are far away." 30

Though not in direct contact, the members of reference group or the 'reference idols' can influence the individuals of membership group in many ways. The norms of reference groups are considered as ideal behaviour-patterns and the individual because of the desire to adopt the norms of reference-group, tries to fit himself in that behavioural framework.
"...The power of non-membership reference-group inheres essentially in the fact that the individual by his sheer identification with the group, willingly accepts what he perceives to be its norms." 31

Sometimes an individual finds the existing normative set up as a misfit for the oncoming change. However, the changes in the existing normative patterns are very slow and an individual may use new normative patterns through anticipatory socialization. An individual may take on the normative-patterns of others for emulation of his role. This emulation, may not remain confined to only one role. The ideal normative patterns for the individual may be of groups or may be of a particular individual. Merton has noted that there is a difference between the two — 'reference individuals' and 'role-models'. According to Merton, the basic difference between the two is that in the case of a person who identifies himself with a 'reference individual' will seek to approximate the behaviour and values of that individual in several roles while in the case of 'role-model', the identification of the person with the 'role-model' is selective and may be restricted to only a few roles. He further suggests that a role-model may become a reference-individual as his multiple roles are adopted for
emulation rather than emulation remaining confined to only the one role on the basis of which the initial psychological relationship is established. Different roles may be adopted as reference-points for different segments of behaviour. A peer-group or a well-known figure or a friend can be adopted as role-model and may be further considered as a reference model too. A partial identification in terms of one role with which the respondent is in contact, may motivate a search for more extensive knowledge of the behaviour and values of the role-model in other spheres. Thus the norms and values for which the individual aspires, are slowly adopted and internalized at his personality level, thus bringing up the change-process at micro-level.

In case of contact with a socially more developed group, the reference group, which is more modernized, might motivate people in contact, to accept the modernized attitudes and behaviour patterns. Acceptance of progressive attitude and values lead towards progressive action. Attitudes and values are the prime conditionin.g factors for human action. Human behaviour is much related to attitudinal patterns and value systems forming the guidelines for behaviour.
Changes in attitudinal patterns which have occurred due to value orientation will definitely lead to behavioural changes. To bring out the change in a society, a change has to occur in the value system of the said society which occurs through change in the attitudinal level of the individuals of the society. This may lead to further structural change.

An attitude is usually thought of as an 'hypothetical construct' not directly open to observation, but inferred from verbal expression or overt behaviour. A hypothetical construct is an entity or process that is inferred as actually existing and giving rise to measurable phenomena. The term attitude refers to certain regularities of an individual's feelings, thoughts and predispositions to act towards some aspect of his environment. Secord and Backman expressed that, "An attitude has two components : an evaluative component and a belief component". 32

Changes in attitudinal setup brings out changes in the value system. Kluckohn defines values as conceptions of desirables. 33 This conception may be explicit or implicit, characteristic of individuals or groups, values are consistently connected with
approvals and disapprovals. They are mostly cultural products, but they may be given private interpretations. When an individual finds that expression of the old attitudes no longer gives satisfaction to the related need state, the exposure to new information serves as an important instrument for change.

In case of India, the most forceful factor for change was the contact with Western culture. Most studies in India explain causation of change through external contacts which lead us to diffusion of new roles and values. In case of Indian society the basic changes in micro and macro structures have started taking place mainly after it came in contact with the West. The changes that have occurred after Independence have had their effects on different aspects of social life. According to Srinivas the British model, which he describes as the model of Westernization, brought about multifold changes in the Indian social scene. By 'Westernization' he implies changes occurring at different levels: technology, institutions, ideology and value. This change resulted from a prolonged contact with the Western countries. In his opinion Westernization results not only in the introduction of new institutions but also in fundamental changes
in old system and institutions. By the contact with Western culture Indian society became more modernized not only in technological sense but upto some extent, in ideology too. The change in Indian society was all-pervasive in the sense that it underwent a radical transformation when it confronted the Western culture. The system of family, the aspirations of the individual, the norms of the individual, the norms that controlled the social relations, the social system including caste system or marriage system initially received a challenge, surrendered to an alien influence and finally reconciled with it by incorporating a substantial change of radical nature. The Britishers served as reference-group and there was selective borrowing in some areas which led to changes in social structure.

The Indian renaissance first started from metropolitan cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and later on percolated and spread all over India. The foreigners had brought with them new technology, new institutions, new knowledge, new beliefs and new values. In the process, some regions had the benefit of development — technologically and socially; but some remained underdeveloped.
In Maharashtra the cultural renaissance had its initial impact on the metropolitan cities like Bombay and Pune. This was on account of the fact that these cities were the centres of British administration which endeavoured to establish cultural and educational institutions. These were the centres of political and cultural diffusion, and quite often the British served obliquely as reference-group. The cultural transmission was a process of percolation from the British officers to the higher middle class through the princes, elites and affluent intellectuals.

The fact that the advanced or modernized areas inevitably impress and influence the developing areas is well-illustrated by the socio-cultural change that took place in Marathwada region after its integration with the Western Maharashtra. Before the integration the life in Marathwada had the feudal complexion with its lack of liberal education and modernization. Throughout the five districts barring one or two exceptions there were no educational societies doing work in the field of higher education. The schools were conducted by the government and had little 'social touch'. There were no private colleges or co-educational schools before 1950 and women did not
endeavour to take education at any stage. Employment of women under such circumstances was unheard of and was looked down upon as something revolting. Even the cultural activities were mostly dominated by male leadership and women were rarely to be seen participating in such activities or were rarely involved. In 1950 when one of the two graduate colleges were started by a private society it enrolled nor more than six women students in its third year of establishment. Women’s participation is cultural and social activities was not existent, though there were few examples of women participating in political activities, particularly in the movement of independence of Hyderabad. In short, the region was not swept by the intellectual awakening or the renaissance which was so characteristic of West Maharashtra which became a battle-ground of modernism opposed by tradition for fifty years or more. Barring a few exceptions there were no great leaders like Jyotiba Phule, Agarkar, Karve to wage a war on behalf of the progressive ideals.

However, after the integration of Marathwada with West-Maharashtra the things began to change with increasing momentum. Education began to spread all over the region, the number of colleges began to
increase rapidly and finally people began to aspire for a separate university. Basically, the economic structure started undergoing a radical transformation and firm contacts with Western Maharashtra, particularly cities like Bombay and Pune, were established. Marathwada never sheltered the idea of an independent state because of its bonds with Bombay and west Maharashtra which brought a new commercial life line and projected a spirit of industry. These changes brought about a new spirit at the superstructural level with the spread of education and modern ideas. Cities were controlled by students coming from rural areas either for higher education or for employment. Women began to enter the colleges and also to seek employment. The joint family structure began to give way to nuclear family structure because of the transfers of male members and employment of women members.

By 1960/65, the change was visible enough. Thus Marathwada offered a living example of an area under the influence of modernization, of a region awakening up to the modern forces after a long stupor under the feudal darkness. Marathwada, a developing region, thus became a fascinating object for cultural changes particularly in relation to women who were the
most suppressed elements under feudal hold of an obscurantist regime.

In spite of this interesting phase of social transformation very little research has been undertaken in regard to the cultural and social changes in this region. An investigation of the living process of change of a developing region was bound to prove constructive and interesting.

The lower class women due to the economic need, had to work outside the home since a long time. This provided them some sort of independence of movement and social exposure. As these women used to work on farms on daily wages etc., they never had problems of facing the society. Whereas the condition of middle-class woman in the State of Hyderabad during the pre-integration times was pitiable. The social set up was feudalistic and the influence of Muzami purdah culture was so dominant, not only literally but also in the sense of social segregation of women that she was tied up in the precincts of the four walls of the house. Moreover she was totally unaware of her own plight. For women in such a condition, the phenomenon of work/employment, the changes in role, role-sets, her status and position in the society was a
totally new phenomenon of change. This is why the study of change in the middle-class women are considered worth the effort.

The social structure of Marathwada before its integration with Maharashtra State was feudalistic in which suppression and segregation of women was institutionalized. The institutional and social system of Marathwada had rigid normative patterns which had an impact on middle-class women of Marathwada. This manifested itself in various institutional areas like family, friendship patterns and marriage. After the formation of Sanyukta Maharashtra, a wave of migration started, bringing migrants from Poona-Bombay area to Marathwada. The migration was due to expansion of State Government services and establishment of educational institutions. There was also an influx of female population due to a number of women marrying into Marathwada. Women who were educated and from developed areas of Western Maharashtra were different from the women of Marathwada. Their attitudes and behaviour in society were comparatively more liberal and progressive in comparison to middle-class women of Marathwada. The migrated women were progressive, had more education and were willing to work outside the domestic sphere, to mix
in the society etc. This different behaviour pattern became a threat to the existing social system. The present study focuses on the phenomenon of the impact of the women from Western region on women in Marathwada. The contact of a developed social system with an underdeveloped one was made through migrants from Western Maharashtra. These migrants were not only used as contact points from which cultural patterns were borrowed, but they became reference models and reference group. First the adaptation to this reference group was at an unconscious level and reflected aspirations for these new behaviour patterns. Later on adaptation to the reference group became overt, bringing about a change which further institutionalized itself. Initially the reference group of middle-class people of Marathwada was of Hyderabadi Nawabs. After the formation of Maharashtra State, this was substituted later by the migrants from Western Maharashtra. Thus the external cultural contact with migrants from Western Maharashtra gradually established itself into a reference group. The present study focuses on the changes that have occurred in different institutional areas.

For studying the middle-class women in Marathwada it is necessary to understand the nature
of middle-class in Marathwada. The concept of class and the nature of middle-class is discussed in writings of many social scientists in different contexts. The review of these concepts provides a basic framework for studying middle class women.

Social differences in the status of an individual or a group leading to social classification obtains in all societies and at all times. However, the factors that determine a class are complex and vary from society to society. It is evident that no single criterion can be considered as the determinant of the class structure which makes the definition of class all the more difficult. Broadly speaking a class can be considered as a group of people who have a common economic interest and who follow common cultural and ethical practices. The concept of class very often implies a concept of social hierarchy which is invariably prestigious, particularly in the traditional societies. The broad division of classes in conventional societies comprise the upper class, the middle-class and the lower class. The middle-class is characterized by factors such as occupation, income, life-style and 'white-collar' attitudes of the group.
The decision to which class an individual belongs, depends upon a series of factors, including income, occupation accent, spending habits, residence, culture, leisure pursuits, clothes, education, moral attitudes and relationships with other individuals. It can be said that middle-class generally includes salaried persons, administrators, persons engaged in independent vocations such as medical practice, legal practice etc.

In Indian context however, the caste concept has moulded the class categorization with the result that birth continues to be an important determining factor. The social hierarchy in the Vedic period changed its base from functional differentiation to the birth differentiation. For a long time Brahmanism remained a dominant force in the social set-up but later the caste that were having political power also became dominant. Generally those who were favoured by the court constituted the upper layer of the society comprising mainly the important section of landed aristocracy. In the 19th Century the British regime started creating an impact on the social formulation and the middle-class became increasingly powerful and influential. The growth of industry, increasing network of administration, spread of Western education
were among the important factors which changed the social scene. New occupations and new job opportunities were created. With the result that a dominating class comprising government servants, lawyers, doctors, teachers etc. was firmly established.

In his comprehensive categorization of middle-class, B.B. Mishra includes the following groups as components of middle-class: The body of merchants, the Proprietors, agents, directors (excluding those at the top) of modern trading firms, salaried executives, higher salaried officers of a wide group of institutions and societies, the main body of civil servants and other public servants (excluding of top rank) such as agriculture and education, public works, transport and communication, the members of principal recognized professions, such as lawyers, the upper and middle range of artists, the holders of the middle-grades of proprietary tenures of land exclusive of largest and smallest holders of estates, well-to-do shopkeepers and hotel keepers, salaried managerial hands employed on landed estates, non-manual workers such as clerks etc. below the managerial cadre, secondary school teachers.
In the present study, Aurangabad which is the socio-cultural as well as administrative centre of Marathwada is taken as representative locale of the middle-class culture. This city is a meeting point not only of urban and rural styles but also of cultural trends in developed West-Maharashtra and the developing region of Marathwada. Aurangabad, the socio-cultural centre as well as important administrative centre of Marathwada, is taken as a representative of the middle-class society culture in transition.

During the Nizam regime there came into existence a middle-class which was a product of the administrative and revenue bureaucratic service, an inevitable necessity of a pre-industrial state. The nature of this parasitic class remained almost identical even after the integration of Marathwada with Western Maharashtra. Aurangabad has historically been a politico-cultural centre and continues to be so even today. The present day middle-class is not the creation of any indigenous industrial-capitalistic development but of the expansion of white-collar occupations which consisted of government and semi-government employees, teachers, lawyers, journalists, petty-traders and merchants who were also landed gentry. These functioned within a market economy in
which the commodity circuit formed an integral, but dependent part of colonial economy. Therefore, it was considered relevant and important to study the middle-classes in the setting of Aurangabad city comparing the pre and post integration profiles of middle-class women.

The selection of sample was decided on considering the consensus of the social scientists. The nature of the middle-class in this region and its historical development were also taken into account.

It is significant to mention that for the concept of a class, an individual's family is more important, rather than the individual himself. It is probably more apt to talk of middle-class families rather than middle-class individuals. In the Indian context, till present times, class membership of a woman is decided by her husband's status or the class-membership of the head of the family. The same principle is applied in the present study.

The title gives the idea about the restricted area of the study. The change is studied, not as an overall cultural change as such but change in the social structure, i.e., the changes in the
attitudinal and behavioural patterns of the middle-class women of Marathwada. The changes in behavioural patterns are not studied by participant observation. It is a study of the reflection of changes in attitude towards themselves and their perception about the changing status in different institutional framework. The changes in the perception about their status in family, marriage and employment are studied. This is a study of middle class women in Marathwada and their perception about their changing behaviour-patterns in the institutional areas of the society.
References to Chapter I


23. Ibid., p. 171.


30. Ibid., p. 391.


