CHAPTER IV

THE RELEVANCE OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS TO FAMILY CRISSES

This subject will be dealt with by adopting the following order of approaches to the study of families in crises:

1. The clinical analysis of family problems with the social problem approach.

2. The structure-functional interpretation of families in crises.

3. The social disorganization approach to family crises.

4. The eclectic synthesis approach in order to seek a comprehensive understanding of family problems.

The research attempt to secure new clinical insights in family casework in India, which will be helpful to the human services. Professional workers are engaged in the prevention and resolution of family problems and family disorganization. No single approach to the problem will offer a satisfactory sociological explanation. Hence the problem is being examined with the help of the four selected approaches listed above.

The family service association of America has been working on clinical issues with problem families over the last nine decades. After several years of clinical research, the Association listed 73 different clinical issues in family
problem which are presented to family service agencies by clients and classified them into eight exclusive categories. For a clearer understanding of these problems the Association suggested a data sheet for the use of family caseworkers, which would record the family problems in three stages during the process of human service delivery. These stages are:

1. Problems at the time of application.
2. Problems as they appear after the first interview.
3. Problems actually treated by the caseworkers.

The purpose of the three stage record is to enable the caseworkers to focus on relevant problems during the delivery of services. This instrument has been used by the researcher in this post-facto study. The caseworkers of our HSDA were themselves not aware of the existence of such an instrument during 1977-80, i.e., the period during which the family problems were treated and recorded. Nor were they aware at that time that their records will be used for this study. Thus there is no possibility of any bias or manipulation on part of the caseworkers and the tool could be used objectively.

There is a rationale behind studying family problems at three stages. The presenting problem may be the most obvious external manifestation of an existing pathology concealed over a long period of time. It may be an external symptom of a deep rooted problem of personal disorganization or a sharp manifestation of an extensive social disorganization which seeped into the family from the external environment and
rendered the family weak and dysfunctional. It is the surface manifestation which has become obvious and observable to the applicant or to those close to him. It is a problem consciously recorded by the individual, the family or a concerned referee.

An illustration will make this statement clear. Mrs. S.V., a woman aged 24 years discussed her problem with a caseworker. Her husband who is 28 years old is a company executive. She felt quite embarrassed at his behaviour. In company, he talked and laughed loudly. He often engaged in tall talk and made promises which he could not keep.

In his family of orientation he was branded as liar and a show-off. The caseworker located his psychological problem. He was the fourth child in a family of eight brothers and sisters. His two elder brothers were successful in their academic performance while Mr. S.V. failed many times. This left in him feelings of deep inferiority which became more marked after his marriage. He married a girl from a rich family and tried to impress her relatives with his tall talk. When the caseworker clarified that his awkward behaviour was because of a sense of inferiority, his wife and parents understood him better and stopped criticising his behaviour.

At the end of the casework intake interview, the caseworker is able to bring to the surface a large amount
of preconscious and unconscious material, which when synthesied gives a new picture of the old problems. After working on these problems together, only detected problems are tackled and treated, and the other related family problems get solved by themselves. This in brief is the process of problem-solving by family counselling techniques adopted by caseworkers in the human service agencies.

This picture of the problem presentation at three levels is presented in the next table. (Table 4.1)

First of all, the table indicates that the 493 families are multi-problem families. The multiplicity of problems beyond the comprehension and control of the families have contributed to family crises. At the referral stages, 493 families presented 566 different problems. After the intake interview the number rose to 655. Workers have discovered a large number of related problems which the applicants or the referees did not notice at the stage of application. The 183 (655-566) + (229-135) new problems detected by caseworkers remained at the unconscious level until the intake interview. Some serious family problems remain unnoticed because other problems appear magnified to the persons who face these problems. Also, the environmental stress is so severe that individuals and families have no energy to appreciate every problem that exists. Pressures on any organism finally result in blunting of emotions and reactions. It is just likely that the families are so pressurised that they finally develop
Table 4.1: Problems and their Progress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Description</th>
<th>I Problem at referral f (%)</th>
<th>II Problem after intake f (%)</th>
<th>III Problem treated F (%)</th>
<th>IV Treatment score (I) (III)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Disturbance of relationship</td>
<td>170 (34.5)</td>
<td>155 (31.44)</td>
<td>128 (25.96)</td>
<td>- 8.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Disturbance at school/vocation</td>
<td>11 (2.2)</td>
<td>48 (9.73)</td>
<td>10 (2.02)</td>
<td>- .18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Environmental problem</td>
<td>61 (12.4)</td>
<td>80 (16.22)</td>
<td>46 (9.33)</td>
<td>- 3.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Behavioural disturbance</td>
<td>70 (14.19)</td>
<td>116.23.52)</td>
<td>58 (11.76)</td>
<td>- 2.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sexual mal-adjustment</td>
<td>15.03.0)</td>
<td>43 (8.72)</td>
<td>13 (2.63)</td>
<td>- 0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Physical problem</td>
<td>8 (1.62)</td>
<td>59 (11.96)</td>
<td>14 (2.84)</td>
<td>- 1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Placement</td>
<td>229 (46.45)</td>
<td>135 (27.38)</td>
<td>138 (28)</td>
<td>-18.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Personality problem</td>
<td>02 (0.4)</td>
<td>19 (3.85)</td>
<td>6 (1.2)</td>
<td>+ 0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>566 (114.8)</td>
<td>655 (132.86)</td>
<td>413 (63.05)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1. This is the percentage of problems treated as compared to the total problems detected, viz., (Col. II)
2. All other percentages in brackets relate to the N = 493 of total number of cases studied.
3. 72.97 per cent of the problems referred to (Col. I) have been attended to by the agencies.

indifference to some problems.

There is one more significant result in this Table. In all other categories except category 7 placement, the problems
increased after intake. In the category "placement" the frequency of identified cases that really need placement is reduced. This is the result of the ideology of "deinstitutionalization" and "Day care" or "home-bound" service which is adopted by the human service delivery systems. The detailed explanation of this phenomenon will be undertaken at a later stage in Chapter VIII.

Let us now examine in detail the nature of problems in each of the 8 categories. Before that, it must be noted that while the family service Association of America had identified 69 different problems classified in seven categories. Our study could identify 101 different problems classified in eight categories. (Refer to Appendix Page 73.)

Let us now try and examine if the family problems in the two societies are any different.

The following new types of problems are added to the inventory of family problems made by the family service Association of America.

**The relevance of social problems to family crises**

Perhaps the most straight-forward approach to family problems has been the social problems approach of studying every family problem in detail, examining its nature, establishing a cause and effect relationship between some identified variables and offering suggestions. This approach gives an isolated and partial view of the problem. Sociological
studies report finding of specific samples (Kapoor Pramila (1970), Kapadia (1966), Barot (1972)). Indian sociologists are still in search of a proper conceptual model for reliable results.

The most specific as well as comprehensive conceptual model has been worked out by Hill & Hanson. Much has been borrowed from this model whilst undertaking a structure-functional analysis of families in crises for this study. The model is being reproduced here for ready reference. The structure approach is included because more structural information is available in India than on other aspects of the changing urban families. Problems of the right approach to family problems have arisen due to the dichotomous views presented by sociologists related to mechanisation and nuclearization versus jointness of families and the extremes of traditions and modernity in family lifestyles. This chapter will arrange the five family types between two ends of a continuum Joint families to "No families".

Goode classifies the form of family disorganisation in the following manner:

1. The incomplete family unit, illegitimacy.
2. Family dissolution, annulment, separation, divorce, desertion, including job desertion.
3. The 'empty shell' family in which individuals live together but have minimum communication or contact.
with each other. Our sample has 304 or 61.66 per cent which of the total families in crises are empty shells. In such families the members fail in their role obligation to give emotional support to each other.

4. Family crises caused by 'external' events like temporary or permanent unwilled absence of one of the spouses.

5. Internal catastrophies which cause 'unwilled' but major role failures through physical, mental or a motional pathologies.

Goode later mentions about the family's keenness to institutionalise their retarded child. In our sample we have families who manipulate the human service delivery systems to institutionalise their normal children in order to save on the expenses of their education.
Identification of conceptual framework utilized in family study - by Hill & Hansen, from sourcebook in Marriage and family:

Properties of the structure - function framework:

Social time: Copes well with recurrent social act, interact and transact. Is somewhat vague for specific acts, interacts and transacts deals poorly with social change and process.

Social Space:

1. Area: Copes with 1) the interaction of individual member with other individual and subsystems in the family and with the full family system.

2) The interplay of subsystems with other subsystems and with the full family system.

3) The transactions of the family with outside agencies and other systems in society, and with the society (Social system) itself.

2. Environment: In family study the social system is environmental; Cultural elements are mediated through it.

3. Peripheral: Cultural system: personality system.

4. Residual: No residual areas apparent in Theory.
**Structure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Units of Study</th>
<th>Configuration</th>
<th>COHESION</th>
<th>BRIDGES (Illustration)</th>
<th>MECHANISMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Function</td>
<td>Conditions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status-role bundle</td>
<td>Social structure</td>
<td>Dysfunction</td>
<td>Solidarity Boundary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Basic to micro-functionalism)</td>
<td>group structure</td>
<td>Latent Function</td>
<td>Sanction Maintenance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-structures</td>
<td>Latent dysfunction</td>
<td>Types</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual (in position)</td>
<td>External system</td>
<td>Functional pre-requisites, needs requirements</td>
<td>Personality Integration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups (Dyad, Triad)</td>
<td>Internal System</td>
<td></td>
<td>Subjective System disposions</td>
<td>System input</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family (as social system basic to micro functionalism)</td>
<td>Pattern variable</td>
<td>Functional equivalents</td>
<td>Motives System output</td>
<td>Definition of the situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role</td>
<td></td>
<td>Functional alternatives</td>
<td>Need disposition Purposes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Pattern</td>
<td></td>
<td>Functional substitutes</td>
<td>Values</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Set</td>
<td></td>
<td>Functional autonomy</td>
<td>Sentiments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social norms</td>
<td>Reference groups</td>
<td>Equilibrium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status set</td>
<td></td>
<td>Expectations</td>
<td>Disequilibrium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td></td>
<td>Inter-personal relations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>differentiation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role differentiation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reciprocal habits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Overt Behaviour:

1. **Transactional**: Strong theoretical development. Permits analysis of transactions of family members with other agencies and of family in social system. Macro analysis of process is treated statistically does not cope with change.

2. **Interactional**: Strong development especially in analysis of structural arrangements.

3. **Actional**: Some development, but generally neglected.

* The structure-functional approach developed in the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, amplified by K. Davis, W. Goode, T. Parsons, L. Simmons and others.

Causative explanations are possible by undertaking the structure-functional approach. However, for a more comprehensive understanding, the social disorganisation approach and finally the best suited electric approach has been adopted for seeking sociological explanation to family problems which emerged from the survey of 493 families in crises.

The backdrop of urbanization, urbanism, industrialization, migration and westernization form the family ethos. The rapid and sweeping changes in the social system define family functioning in very different ways.
In the family structure, we shall examine the substructures of kin, occupation caste, religion, social roles, the structure of the social setting of the family and finally the major structural changes in society which influence these families in crises.

The structural analysis of urban families in crises

From the records, it was possible to gather data about the following structural aspects of urban families in crises:

1. The type of family, according to membership of persons in the family composition. (Table 3.11, Chapter III)
2. Role sets and performance in a dichotomy of social roles.
3. The value-structure.
5. Influence of the kin.
6. The institution of marriage as the basis of the families.
7. Formal and informal networks of the families, throwing light on the relationship of each individual family to its social network.
8. Migration status of the family. These structural aspects are examined to understand how they form a part of the families support systems.
1. **Family Structure**

The analysis of family structure from our data is as follows:

308 (62.47 per cent) families from the sample are recorded as structurally intact, i.e., with the parents living and a satisfactory sibling system. It is obvious that an intact structure cannot assume adequate functioning. These are the typical "empty shell" families described by Goode. 68 families are physically broken due to the death of one or both parents. Divorce, desertion or separation has affected 83 or 16.84 per cent families (Table 3.12, Chapter 3) in our sample.

178 (36.11 per cent) families from the sample are emotionally joint, and joint (67 emotionally joint + 111 joint). With every possible structural support, these families are unable to withstand the stress of disorganization. When we shall examine the nature of non-support in Chapter VI we observe that 51 (10.34 per cent) families, though structurally well endowed refused to look after their adult children in marital discord. 37 (7.5 per cent) families refused active participation in problem solving even when requested by the human service agencies or by the adult children in trouble. These instances reveal on one hand the weakening internal relationships in the family and on the other hand a strong affiliation to accepted principles. When adult children get
married against parental wishes, they were left to settle their own marital problems. Any deviance from prescribed norm is met with strong disapprovals, and the parental family is capable of watching the miseries of their adult children in with total difference. The urban family is thus found to be unaccommodative to irregularities and is capable of amputating its affectional ties totally. In tolerance to unpalatable decisions by adult children is observed quite noticeably in the distribution indicated above is quite significant in the table of non-support when compared to the frequencies to other categories of non-support.

Another structural analysis of these families is made according to Evelyn Duwall's classification of family life cycle which gives us the following picture. (Table 4.3)

The distribution quite obviously explains the severity of stress in the first two stages of family life cycles with a generally receding frequency thereafter, which shows one peak in families with teenage children. Teenage generally spells a crisis of human development which reflects on the family. Apparently the urban family is not strong enough to contain the stress of tensions created by adolescents in the family.

2. Social Roles

The role perception of clients could be inferred by studying their recorded reactions and reflection of their own
Table 4.3: Classification of families according to family life cycles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Young married couple</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>20.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Child bearing families</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Families with pre-school children</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Families with school-age children</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Families with teenage children</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Families with launching centres</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Families in the middle years</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ageing families</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

social role. It was possible to determine the clients role perception in 391 cases and is being quoted in Table 4.4.

The criterion of measurement in this context is the clients' receptivity to social role expectation. Class (2) indicates that clients' ambivalent positions in their actions as wife/mother/husband. These clients were noted to be unpredictable under varied situations. They were not very sure of the part they had to play in some situations while they behaved quite steadily in others. A very loving and caring mother of an infant would suddenly say that the child is an obstacle in her way or a symbol of his father's wickedness and
Table 4.4: Social role perception of 391 clients out of 493

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Role acceptance</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>44.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Inconsistent role learning</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>11.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Poor role perception</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Role rejection</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Cannot be determined</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>20.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>493</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

start beating the child. She was found to be incapable of retaining her previous stance as mother when she suddenly saw herself in her role of a battered wife. Whereas in class (3) above the clients performed their roles badly due to a limited understanding of their roles. This was mostly due to limited intelligence or a deprived childhood. Amongst the 13 clients who rejected their social roles were women who were forced into their marriages, widowed suddenly or were suddenly and unjustifiably deserted by their husbands. Understanding of social roles by clients is extremely important for social workers in order to work out treatment strategies. In their re-socialization plan, it will be quite out of place to work out the goal of an affectionate mother when the client does not desire motherhood. Much of the unreasonable behaviour of clients can be explained by the fact that their basic social...
role is not acceptable to them for reasons best known to themselves.

In a later analysis we shall see if the addition of one more role (that of the "client") to the already existing social-role sets has created problems in treatment procedures.

In 71 cases it was possible to understand how social roles were ascribed to clients. 122 clients were ascribed their roles systematically by their families of orientation. In 18 of them the process of role ascription was bizarro and disorderly as their families of orientation were themselves deprived. Some had mentally sick parents while some being orphans were subjected to a very chequered childhood. They were raised by a number of relations from the Kin group and were unable to learn their social roles clearly. 168 clients were comfortable both with their social roles and client roles. This facilitated their problem solving. 42 clients played distinctly good client role. A few examples are quoted in Chapter IX. 31 clients claimed that they were forced into their client roles because of adverse environments and circumstances. They resisted treatment because of this feeling.

3. Value structure of clients

Record of individuals in action under in stressful situations give a clear picture of the clients sense of values. The following distribution will indicate the nature of clients' sense of values,
Table 4.5: Clients' Sense of Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Sense</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>27.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>36.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Internalised</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Not internalised</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>No values</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Can't say</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The categories are not mutually exclusive.
2. Percentages are according to $N = 493$.

**Occupational Influences**

Parsons mentions that incidence of the son working in the father's business is on the decrease. We have already discussed the phenomenon of displacement in terms of hereditary occupations in India.

The primary source of family income in cities lies in occupational earnings. Careers of children are now geared to the modern occupational/professional systems and in the middle class value judgement the quantification and scaling of different occupations continues.
The individual achieves his status in family and society by his occupational performance. In the occupational world there is a sustained demand for continued and competent performance. There is a high premium on mobility and equality of opportunity according to individual capacity, to perform occupational roles. The occupational organization replaces the kinship occupation structure.

The occupational system develops and absorbs functions in the society. Prominence of kinship organization reduces. The same members of the kinship unit perform economic, political religious and cultural functions outside the kinship context in their occupational roles and in a variety of other types of organizations. The increasing achievement orientation may take an individual away from the family and kin.

Yet the kinship unit must meet many human needs, especially the need to belong to a social organization. Occupation contributes to personal organization if self-actualization is possible. It creates an ascending structure of needs as per Maslow's Pyramid of need hierarchy.

Hereditary occupations were less competitive and created less role strains, giving the individual an established occupational frame, infrastructural facility and skill into which he was raised right from the period of early socialization.

The family is not equipped to impart all occupational skills required in the modern organized and technological
occupational world.

The transaction is from a universalistic ascriptive pattern to the particularistic achievement pattern of occupation creating tremendous occupational role strains and a demand for compensation which can mainly be gratified through family support.

The primacy of "Self" orientation in the new occupational role will replace the "collectivity" orientation of the traditional hereditary occupational roles.

The status of the family is probably determined by the occupational status of man in the urban world. (Parsons)

Caseworkers record client behaviour in stressful and unguarded movements. While suffering the worst form of poverty, the clients did not fall prey to the temptations of stealing money which was carelessly left around the house. In life threatening situations mothers have first thought of the emotional security of their foater-children. These instances have led to scoring the value-sets of concerned clients as "good sense of values". Clients admit that they indulged in extra marital relationships just to spite their cruel husbands. Such expressions have led to the score values "present but not internalised". 181 clients depict presence of values while 35 depict poor values consistently in their behaviour during therapy.
4. Social Institutions and Their Functioning in Crisis Families

The religion and castewise distribution appears in Tables 3.9 and 3.10 (Chapter III). The institution of marriage in this study reflects the influence of caste on marriage.

Table 4.6: Types of Marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Type of Marriage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Same caste</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>73.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Intercaste</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Inter-religions</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The predominance of endogamous marriages in the above table is indicative of the fact that the caste is still strong in urban areas. The Jamshedpur study draws a conclusion that the industrial urban society will be more of a "class" society than a "caste" society. From our records it does not appear so. However, one may also record that despite being a family of endogamous origin, it is not free from the forces of crisis and disintegration. We will also observe later that clients who had inter-caste and inter-religions marriages are mostly registered for treatment of marital disharmony.
5. The Kin

We notice that there are 111 joint families and 67 emotionally joint families in our sample. Thus 178 or 36.1 per cent family receive support from the kin group. A larger group of 233 or 47.3 per cent families belong to the Parsonian isolated nuclear family type. In urban society, neighbourhoods, social circles and occupational associates offer some kind of replacement for the lost kinship supports. These also form the informal social network to help the survival of urban isolated families. When we examine the sources of referrals of these clients, the frequency distribution surprisingly indicates a very large number of referrals from the client systems (255 or 51.72 per cent) than from the professional systems (201 or 40.77 per cent). In fact the number of self referred cases (133 or 26.98 per cent) is slightly higher than the number of referrals that come from the informal networks of these cases.

Table 4.7: Distribution of cases according to Sources of Referral (Client Systems)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Self referred</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>26.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Old clients</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>10.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Friends and wellwishers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>51.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.8: Distribution of Cases according to Sources of referral (Professional Systems)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Doctor and Lawyers</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Trained S.W.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Hospitals welfare</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Other -agencies</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Voluntary S.W.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Panchayats</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 201 \[\frac{40.78}{\text{Percentage}}\]

families. The above tables give us the exact picture of how cases are referred to human service agencies.

133 or 26.98 per cent clients have referred their own cases to agencies. The next largest group of referees is of relatives or kin groups, whose relative percentage is very small (10.75 per cent). We may say that the kinship system to a very small extent cares for families in trouble. Grossly, however, the professional systems or formal networks are taking over the referral network. The urban families are really getting isolated from the kin group and the professional systems
Table 4.9: Comparative involvement of Professional Systems at Referral and during Treatment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>At Referral</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>At Treatment</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Teachers/Principal</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Doctors/Hospitals</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>11.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Lawyers/Court</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>16.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Trained Social Workers</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Other Welfare Agencies</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>17.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Police</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Total</td>
<td>156</td>
<td></td>
<td>266</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

will have to further develop their referral network in such a way that an "outreach" to troubled families is worked out. The caste panchayats, through in a very small way, do help the troubled families. Grossly examining the entire situation, it urgently calls for a systematic development of referral networks within quick and easy reach of families in crises. The study confirms that the influence of kin on urban families is dwindling, and that the only other suitable replacement is a referral network of professional systems. The cross table of sources of referral and family types, occupations and education of clients will provide further insights to access of urban families to informal and formal networks.
The socio-economic status index combines the scores of the attributes of education, income, occupation and caste. The scores are described in Appendix II, page...

We note from the table of SES that a majority of applicants belong to the middle SES group. The general criticism about the HSDS that it is a middle class movement holds true according to our sample also. More individuals from the middle class apply to HSDS and criticise the services organised for families in distress.
Table IV, 91: SES x referral source (client system)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SES</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square = 1.6108  D.F. = 4  P = 0.805
Gamma coeff. = -0.0815

In every socio-economic status group the frequency distribution is hyperbolic. The sources of referral are arranged in descending order of closeness to self. We see that the middle classes make most use of HSDS as 55.3 per cent of our client-system referred cases are concentrated in the middle SES group. More than half the number of cases are self-referred but community contacts like friends and neighbours, colleagues or employers are a stronger part of the referral network of the HSDS rather than the kin group. The weakening of kinship ties and "taking over" by the community, consisting of the acquaintances, friends, old clients and well wishers is also obvious from the table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Disturbance in relationship</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Disturbances at school/vocation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Environmental problem</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Behavioural disturbance</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sexual problem</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Placement problem</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Personality problem</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Total</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table IV.13 Correlation of the number of children to SES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SES</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One or two</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three and more</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>29.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ohi square = 4.2352  D.F. = 4  P = 0.376051
Gamma coeff. = - 0.0813

The negative gamma coefficient indicates a negative relationship between SES and the number of children. The general statistical and demographic analysis also indicate that higher the SES lesser the children. In this respect our sample is comparable to the general population. No other effort is made to establish any correlation between the two variables.
Comparative involvement of professional systems at referral stage and during treatment

- at referral
- during treatment

at HSDS
Let us now examine the position of how networks are utilised in the process of human service delivery. We see that at the referral stage, 122 persons from the applicants' kin were involved, the human service agencies have increased this involvement of kin to 557, which is more than four and a half times. Parsons mentions that the urban family will become more "social" in terms of their informal networks. We find that these crisis families are getting more and more social. 133 or 26.97 per cent referrals came from clients themselves. Which means there
is an incidence of introversion amongst 26.97 per cent families. These clients found it much better to share their problem with professional agencies than with their family. The members thus seem to have lesser confidence in the problem solving abilities of their families and kin.

There is an active involvement of the service agencies in making these families more sociable and oriented to their own family group and kin. In urban areas, primary relationships have become more formal and professional agencies work towards improving intra-family communication. Case No. in Chapter IX,
Table 4.16: Colateral Contracts -(Made by Agencies) from Client Systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Colateral</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>43.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>19.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Inlaws</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>13.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>10.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Other relatives</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Landlord and Neighbours</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Paramour</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>557</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

illustrates how professional intervention improves family relationships.

Let us now examine the involvement of the formal networks in the referral and treatment of crisis families.

Table 4.11 indicates that while the involvement of most formal agencies which referred the clients remain at more or less the same frequency, the agencies have made extensive use of other welfare agencies and the legal network at the treatment stage. Both these professional systems that have been approached appear to be getting utilised to a very large extent.
Table 4.13: Total No. of Co-laterals Contacted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>No. of co-laterals</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Actual No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Four</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Five</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>More than five (average 7)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Not reasked</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>493</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in offering external supports to families in crises.

Finally Table 4.13 indicates the number of co-laterals contacted by human service agencies per client and the total number of persons from the "significant other" systems involved in the welfare of families in crises.

The Concept of Family Crisis and Remedial Approaches

A family crisis occurs when the family is the locus of the problems. A crisis temporarily disrupts an individual's normal patterns of living. It is a problem situation where usual supports are not sufficient. The individual's or the
family's problem-solving behaviour is not able to produce a satisfactory solution of the problem on hand. The family's normal problem-solving skills are not sufficient.

In a family crisis the interaction patterns are in a temporary state of disequilibrium. This will help us reflect appreciate why such small frequencies in the family support code distribution.

Caplan also contends that the lack of a sufficiently strong support system or network within the family can be a causal factor for crisis induction. A crisis can be subjective in the sense that what one family finds a crisis, another does not. The latter family may possess such resources as to be able to resolve the crisis.

There can be no simple listing of events for all families that define a family crisis. We have however attempted to list the elements that constitute family support systems, inclusive of elements that are obviously visible in our families in crisis.

Bolman (1968) described the ways to approach families in crisis. Either one attempts to cope with their crises before they occur (Primary Prevention) or tries to lessen their impact after they occur (secondary prevention).

He categorises these methods in three ways.
1. Community wide Intervention

Organising better environmental quality and by increasing effective provision of family supportive services. The idea is essentially to better the community so that families will face fewer crises; so that those crises that occur will have less of an impact.

2. Milestone Approach

This type of family crisis intervention attempts to make contacts directly with families at those points in its life where normal crises are likely to occur. An examination of distribution of our families in crises according to Duwalls classification shall provide us with insights as to which developmental stages in families need to be monitored most with the milestone intervention goals.

3. High-risk Approaches

Intervention with high-risk families is oriented towards those families identified through clinical and epidemiological studies. Bolman (1968) occasionally points out to high-risk families in the middle socio-economic class but concludes that the major portion of high-risk population is defined by poverty. Let us examine our families according to socio-economic status. Table 4.14 indicates that the HSD has to deal with a majority of middle SES families. This corroborates Bolman's statement.
The Effect of Crisis on Family Functioning

We cannot claim that a specific event will lead to crisis for all families.

Crisis theory propounds that regardless of the nature of crisis stimulus, crises are dealt with in a patterned way.

According to Caplan (1964) the process of crisis resolution proceeds through four typical phases.

1. Initial rise in tension due to crisis stimulus provokes habitual problem-solving responses, i.e., family attempts to resolve the problem as it did in the past. If these typical responses do not lead to resolution, the family enters phase 2.

2. This phase is characterised by lack of success and continuation of the problematic stimulus. This leads to increasing tension, distress, feelings of ineffectuality, leading to phase 3.

3. Caplan says that this tension acts as a powerful interval stimulus to the mobilization of internal and external resources. This leads to novel problem-solving methods, attempts to re-define the problem, re-examine the problem and perhaps to awareness of neglected aspects or perhaps an active resignation to the present state of affairs and a use of trial and error. At this stage the family considers outside assistance in an effort to seek new or previously unidentified resources.
4. The crisis continues and the problem can neither be solved nor avoided. Tension mounts further leading to major disorganization, resulting in dysfunction of the whole family or one of its members.

Family caseworkers must realize that mutual tensions are at the peak at the time of application and will resolve as the crisis comes to its characteristic termination within a short time span.

Weakening of Family Functions - A Rethinking

Prominent amongst the sociological thinkers on family functioning are G.P. Murdock, William Ogburn, Parsons and Bales and Eliott and Merill.

After undertaking a study of 270 societies Murdock came to the conclusion that the functions of the family are biological, economic, sexual and educational. Parsons contributes a fourfold parameter to social functioning, which also applies to the family as a microcosm of society. These functions
as we well know are pattern maintenance and tension management, goal direction, adaptation and integration. Parsons and Bales point out that the urban isolated nuclear family suffers from the loss of each of its functions. Robert Merton refers to the urban anomie in the light of distortion of urban social structure leading to a state of imperceptible structures.

There appears to be but one goal before the families in crisis and that is the goal of survival. Human service delivery systems work out for each family one by one a tailormade survival kit and see the family through the proximate crisis. In the process the families acquire some new strength and ability to take a fresh look at family problems and establish new goals of survival and maintenance. The weakening and loss of family functions needs to be examined once again.

For a clearer understanding of functioning Ogburn divided the different tasks of the family into seven categories which are very useful to our analysis here. The tasks are (1) Economic (2) protective (3) religious (4) recreational (5) Educational (5) status conferring and (7) affectional.

Loss of Economic Function

In primitive societies with occupations like hunting and agriculture, unemployment was not a structural component of society. Both these occupations have completely disappeared from urban society. With the institutionalization of economy, the breadwinners must subjugate themselves to a more powerful
social order and qualify themselves to fit into an institutionalised economy. Those who cannot, cease to earn. From the table of monthly family income in Chapter III, we note that 216 or 41 per cent families report an income below poverty line, viz., below Rs. 600/- a month. This is an evidence of the loss or weakening of the economic functions of those families. The table of family occupations in Chapter III also indicates that 125 or 25.35 per cent families shall continue to live as economically sub-marginal families with weakened economic functions due to lack of any occupational skills, to assure themselves of economic adequacy. Only 11 cases are reported to have family problems due to unemployment of the head of the family; six follow occupations of beggars and prostitutes and live on mere subsistence income. The figures are significant to show us that families face crisis due to the weakening of the economic function.

(2) The Protective Function

We shall see in Chapter VI related to family support systems that 60 families out of 493 depicted evasion of the needs and problems of their members. 88 (17.85 per cent) of them have withdrawn their support and protection to individual members with problems. These instances indicate that the family is losing its protective function and finds itself in crisis.
(3) Religious Function

Very surprisingly, only one single family in crisis has resorted to a religious remedy. As a social work practitioner in medical and psychiatric settings, the researcher had come across a large number of families who resorted to religious remedies. Only one case applying for family service is recorded to resort to religious practices or ritualism. None of them during interviews refer to the blessings or anger of God. Nor do they blame destiny for their present condition. Achievement orientation of the urban environment seems to have almost replaced religious observances. Urban daily routines leave little time for ritualism connected to religiosity. Under severe stress due to breakdown of relationships, the clients do not resort to prayers. In traditional societies bad marital relations were accepted as fate or God's plans. The partner today is not willing to surrender to an order of this kind.

There is greater striving for human effort and achievement. This does not mean loss of faith in religion but that religious explanation to crisis of relationships are not acceptable to clients. The feeling that if rituals are not carried out traditionally, it will provoke God's anger is also a fear that prevents the urban families from resorting to religious rituals in a haphazard fashion. The traditional style of religiosity is obviously incompatible with modern urban life and is only confined to observance of selected festivals.
4. **Recreational Function**

Family recreation is not an accepted social value of the modern urban family. Tribal society believes in organized community recreation. The female clients in marital discord did complain of boredom due to long hours of lonesomeness while husbands are away at work. Some complained that the husbands did not return home after working hours. In later interviews the men did admit that they returned late as they directly went to see movies after work with their colleagues. They did not find it important to permit wives to join them. They avoided taking the whole family out because of the additional expenses incurred. The family has no avenues to entertain itself. It resorts to seeing movies, picnics and outings. Celebrating festivals together has become expensive hence avoided. During the period of contact of these families with their respective agencies, the television had been a recent introduction (It was introduced to Maharashtra in 1974) and its cost was beyond what most of these families could afford. Even if the television is introduced, it is an external input and the family cannot be called the originator of this avenue of this entertainment. The earning and studying members of the urban family are exposed to a more interesting world outside the home for a long period of their working hours. The home does not offer attractive physical environment and is therefore used like a resthouse by these members. If
the family fails to create attraction within the home for its members, it will not last long. The main attraction shall be the affectional.

(4) The affectional Function

Under the circumstances the only attraction for the members is the family affectional function, which too is slowly weakening in these families. From the list of Table 8.2 non-material needs, 22 (4.5 per cent applicants openly express that they need love from the family. So much strain is experienced in family relationships as noted from the table on problems, that the affectional function is neither experienced nor appreciated by the troubled members. A higher incidence (88 families) of refusal to look after or take part in problem solving indicates withdrawal of the affectional function either temporarily or permanently, especially at crisis times when affection is most needed. These 88 families have no perception of their affectional roles. Affection is a sentiment which must be shared unconditionally. The capacity to give love without expecting a return is a quality of a mature mind. Withdrawal of the rightful advantage and support which a member looks for in the family is a sign of an immature mind. So strong is the reaction of parents to the independent decisions taken by the adult children against parent's wish that they fail to recognise their parental duties. The system of reward and punishment is unreasonably distorted in such crises of decision. Parents mercilessly watch and ignore the immense
torture of their adult children. At a later stage we shall reexamine this issue of relationships of the ageing families to their adult children. At this juncture, we note that even the affectional function of the urban family is waning. This to some extent may be attributed to the absence of other elderly members in these families. This gives no opportunity to the ageing parents to discuss and consult each other on issues related to independent decisions of adult children. However, this aspect is not a part of the present study hence this explanation is only speculative. So far as the parent-child sub-system at the childbearing and schoolage children stage is concerned, only 4 cases of child neglect or abuse are recorded. This gives us some assurance that the families perform their affectional function quite well while the children are young. A number of marital discord cases have been reconciled for the sake of young children. The young child sub-system therefore plays its therapeutic function.

5. The Educational Function

The family's educational function cannot be restricted only to socialization of children. The applicants hail from families which taught them values but the task of learning and teaching appropriate attitudes and conditioning the responses to un-anticipated events in life is not considered by families with adult children. School children need family guidance in their studies.
In our sample 221 families are at a level of higher secondary education and above. These families are assumed to be capable of guiding the formal educational process of their Fiftyfour school-going children. Families being illiterate and educationally deprived, will present extreme difficulties in their educational functions. Combined with their drawbacks in the economic, protective, educational and status conferring functions, these families have in-built crisis in their social functioning. The welfare system have indeed a tremendous task in helping these families survive in the urban social systems.

6. Status-conferring Function

Finally we note that all families from our sample fail in this function. The fact of having to seek welfare assistance has proved their failure in this functioning. In the welfare sector, the "Client" status is heavily laden with value judgement. To be a client means to accept a lowered status with a sense of defeat, seek help, recognise they have problems which they being unable to solve on their own need to be solved with external help.

Thus it is the loss of five or more of the seven functions of families listed above that creates crisis in families.

The protective function of the family is weakened in single parent families and when families are separated for jobs in different countries and distant cities.
If they have to survive the crisis they must be made functional again. Understanding of family function, malfunction and specific loss of functions will provide very useful insights to the social workers dealing with crisis in families.

7. The Biological Function

Let us revert to Murdock’s classification of family functions. The basic functions - biological and sexual must be examined in relation to these families. In a country struggling with the problem of population explosion we have a high concentration of 151 or 30.63 per cent childless families in our sample. These families having failed in the basic function of the family seek help in crisis resolution. The urban family requires protection and help even in the performance of this basic function. In a recent study, it is concluded that migrants tend to become infertile. Migrants will be a prominent element of Industrial Urban Societies and must be offered the appropriate support and refusal network to prevent the situation or protect them from the crisis of infertility. In our sample there are 201 migrant families out of whom 52 are infertile. Infertility is no solution to India’s population problem. Equally urgent attention must be paid to the problem of families are to be protected from this crisis. Fonseca’s study also records 82 childless couples from welfare agencies and court records, who are in marital breakdown. Infertility is a contributory factor to failure of marriages, needing
serious attention.

The Sexual Function

Table 4.1 indicates that 15 cases of sexual maladjustment were referred to the human service agencies, while after primary investigation of other referred problems it emerged that the incidence of sexual maladjustment rose from 15 to 43. Sexual malfunction is a problem closely related to marital breakdown. At this stage we shall note that 43 or 8.72 per cent families do lag behind in their sexual functioning also; and agencies have been able to treat only 13 out of the 43 cases detected. It appears to be a problem of poor prognosis so far as the human service agencies are concerned.

Thus we conclude that weakening of the functions of the family is a very highly related factor to urban family crisis.

Failure of basic social institution and fundamental family sub-systems

292 referrals for marital discord, 94 referrals for child adoption and 135 referrals for placement of children in institutional care have made it necessary to tackle the issue of family crises by adopting the social disorganisation approach. The failure of social institutions to identify contain and remedy social pathology leads to social disorganisation. We shall therefore consider these three major areas by examining the disorganisation of breakdown of the institution of marriage, the failure of the bio-social function of the family and the weakening of the parent-child subsystem in the urban
family.

**Marital Discord**

Commendable work has been done in this social problem by Fonseca (1966), Mehta (1973), Barot (1972) and Pothen (1985). Three of them have been doctoral studies. The data collected by Fonseca in 1966 is from the same welfare agency from which a majority of data relevant to this problem has been collected by this researcher. This facilitates an analysis of change after 11 years in the same situation; an improved tool of study facilitated to draw much more information relevant to this area.

The family is built on the foundation of marriage. Naturally a weak and broken foundation of marriage will strike a death blow on the institution of the family. Since the number is so large, entirely different frequency distribution tables have been worked out to study the problem in depth. The important variables are the ages of partners, duration of marriage, roles, values, stages of family life cycle, needs, strategies of intervention and use of family support systems and a social resources in treatment of discord.

Breakdown of marriage is a situation rousing grave concern for the close associates and emotionally a highly changed situation for the couple and the family. Marriage is a highly valued fundamental social institution. A threat to its survival creates alarm. Although divorces are now quite common, it still takes a lot of time and effort for the couple and the family to
accept the situation. This has led to a peculiar attitude of initial denial of threats to a marriage by the couple and close family, which finally explodes as a crisis and culminates in final dissolution.

We must clarify the basic concepts related to the discussion of marital discord and breakdown of marriage. The first dichotomy is between marital disharmony and marital discord. A disharmony indicates an effort of the system towards adjustment and adaptation. The prime consideration here will be the adaptation function of this social institution. There are serious differences between husband and wife which are ventilated by them to each other constantly. These quarrels continue for long periods but the couple co-habits and keeps the family together. The expressed differences though detrimental to the peace of the family act as an attempt to adjustment. After ventilation follows a calm spell until fresh hostilities and symptoms are built up. Occasionally the couple arrives at a mutually accepted agreement on giving up certain personal principles, reducing mutual role expectations, etc., and although immensely unhappily, agrees to cohabit with constraints. Under the conditions the frequent disagreements are indices of marital disharmony.

Marital discord is a permanent irrepairable breakdown of marital relationships and communication and the only solution to this condition is the dissolution of the marriage.
The breakdown of marriage can be viewed in the light of another dichotomy related to the causative aspects of the breakdown. Marriages breakdown due to factors internal to every marriage or factors external to it.

The external factors are economic non-support, caste and/or cultural differences in the two families, interference by other relatives in the affairs of the couple and prolonged physical separation not primarily due to failure of marriage. Such breakdowns have a hopeful prognosis and can be repaired with minimal intervention.

A more serious irretrievable breakdown of marriage is due to internal factors, when the two personalities do not meet, there is sexual or psychosocial incompatibility or psychopathological conditions in one or both partners. The Table 4.12 indicates the status of marital discord cases and the comparative outcome of efforts at reconciliation.

The table is very vocal. We see limited success (26.47 per cent) in reconciliation of marital discords; as said before, it is difficult to reconcile marital discords due to internal cause. The highest frequency occurs in non-reconciliation of discords due to internal causes. The internal causes listed are cruel treatment by husbands, incidence of suspicion of the wife's character, sexual maladjustment, infidelity in husbands as well as wives, psychopathic personalities, alcoholic husbands and in four cases, psychoses in either spouse.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative element in discord</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>(2) Reconciled</th>
<th>(3) Not reconciled</th>
<th>(4) Undecided</th>
<th>(5) Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discord due to external cause</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discord due to internal cause</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It must be said to the credit of human service agencies that although it is very difficult to reconcile marital discord of internal causation, 35 out of the 54 successful cases have been discords due to internal causation. The question to follow is - if agencies could resolve difficult cases why did they show poor results in reconciling cases caused by external factors? A careful scrutiny of all cases revealed that social workers had not used any survey outcomes and tested parameters explaining the phenomenon of breakdown of each marriage. They record the clients' story and organise individual, pair and co-lateral interviews, home visits and psychological tests and legal and psychiatric referrals. There is a stereotype in their dealing with cases, not substantiated by systematic clinical diagnosis and a well designed professional thrust to bring about a consciously planned change in the situation. The
findings of this survey will be of use to the social workers and are being discussed in a separate chapter.

To conclude the discussion here, we record that a high percentage of broken marriages are due to internal causation with a high degree of family violence and alcoholism reported in husbands. Factors like sexual incompatibility and deviance, infidelity and clash of personalities are commonly observed in these cases. This establishes that the Institution of marriage is in grave and remedially difficult danger in urban industrial society. The situation demands scientific diagnosis and a sharp remedial focus on the problem.

**Domestic Conflict Containment Function of the Family**

Application of the theory of small groups begins with a study of primary group relationships. The traditional Indian joint family functioned as a self-sufficient group. The Pater familias was the social head of this primary group and much of the success of the family's functioning was due to his role-performance. He was not necessarily the economic head of the family. The bread-winning function was left to the whole family together. It was customary to hand over all the joint property income to the pater familias who took over the responsibility of equitable distribution of the family income and the overall economic security of the family, with due attention to the wellbeing of every member, old or young. He performed this function with absolute impartiality. He was responsible to give each member his due. The wife of the Pater familias complemer
his function and assisted her husband in planning for the family and reminding him of the individual needs of every member. She groomed herself to be sensitive to every demand and cultivated the ability to judge each demand with qualities fairness and firmness. The elderly couple was a symbol of trust, adoration and respect. To maintain this position of trust they undertook covert and overt actions of affection, concern and sacrifice of self-interests suited to the demands of every unique situation. They groomed themselves into this role through study, observation and conscious and/or unconscious imitation of the previous generation or peers.

The value of respect for elders was consciously imparted during child socialization by direct role-prescription and non-formal education through mythological stories, folkways and rituals. This socialization was re-enforced upon examination of the value system through peer-group experiences and sharing.

Emotional dependence on elders and the act of seeking advice from them is an upheld social value of Indian society. Sage advice was given by elders whenever sought for. In short, this was the process of institutionalization of behavioural norms in the traditional joint families. The clue was drawn from the codified ideology of "rina" or indebtedness in Hindu scriptures. One of the "rinas" is the "Pitru-rina" or the debt the youngsters owned to the elder generation. Every Hindu was born in debt. It was the culture of duty and obligation
towards others. The word "Pitru" etymologically stems from the root "pa" which literally means "to protect". Thus the father was the protector; the Pater families being the Prime Lord protector. He maintained in power position by remaining concerned and impartial.

The value of "rights" came to be introduced to Indian society after the proclamation of the Universal Charter of Human Rights. An infrastructure was already created by liberal education, introduced by the British. The Liberal Educational System produced Indian Social Reformers who led the nineteenth century social reform movement in India. The century also came to be recognised as the dawn of rational thinking in India.

Rationalism has been a cyclical phenomenon in India. The Bhakti cult and the seventeenth century saints had already contributed a simplified interpretation of Hindu religion to Indian society, through the teachings, works and folklore of saints like Kabir, Tulsiram, Dnyanadeo. An impetus to this was contributed by the nineteenth century reformers who introduced reasoning in society. The culminating point was the western impact of the Charter of human rights.

We see a growing degree of abstraction in the ideological revolution over the centuries. Intellectual movements either die out in society because a major part of the social system is bound to be made up of the non-intellectual class, or they tend to survive in a degenerate form. The ideas of human
rights and rationality have been absorbed by the younger generation in the joint family in the form of individualism, questioning, conflict and confrontation.

The primary group has thus come to receive the elements of competition, conflict and confrontation as a result of the rationalistic social reform movement, liberal education and political ideology of individualism and human rights. The perception of this ideology will be by each according to his comprehension. It will be retained by the individual family member as a result of the reaction of his primary group to this new input over a period of time.

Rationalism is thus reduced to questioning the authority - a simplified manifestation of a higher and sophisticated ideology - simplified to suit individual convenience.

The traditional Pater familias built up his own strategy of conflict containment within the family - through occasional generosity and reward and occasional withdrawal of punishment. With rapid socio-technological changes, the system of education assumed its importance in vast proportions. The younger generation received more education and wider societal exposure as compared to the elder generation. The elders could not keep pace with spiralling demands and expectations of a rapidly changing society. The family became inadequate to contain all the socio-economic strains and resorted to nuclearization. The economic head assumed superiority over the pater familias whose
social role faded away. The powerful pater families now fills the ranks of dependents within the dependency ratio of the society. His status as the leader and provider rapidly reduced to the status of the deprived and dependent. His affectional and integrative emotive role in the family began to get de-recognised and a state of anomie set into the urban democratic family.

Democracy is once again an intellectual man's value. It has been enforced on the urban family from without, much before receptive environment and a suitable infrastructure of values, beliefs and practice was developed by the newly emerging urban nuclear family. Democratisation of the family weakened the leadership controls and relative element of power of the family. This results in the reduction of the function of regulation and discipline in the modern nuclear family.

With the thrust of "rights", the importance of "duty", "obligation" and "rina" (Debt) faded away. The family no longer remains an institution but is being used as an instrument of personal gain by individual members. In this striving for self-development, the family must rise as a support system for every individual achievement oriented member.

Having understood weakening of family functions let us review the weakened sub-systems of the family.
THE WEAKENING OF FAMILY SUB-SYSTEMS

The Weakening Parent-Child Sub-system

1. Failure of Biological Functions

Out of the 151 childless couples in the sample, 94 are adoptive parents and 57 out of 201 couples in marital discord are childless couples.

The weakening of the reproductive function is due to sexual incompatibility, faulty attitudes towards sex life, absence of sex education and migratory status of some couples. Out of the 57 childless couples, 22 are in-migrants who specially came to Bombay to apply for family service. Out of 94 applicants for adoption, 25 are non-resident Indians and 15 are foreigners. Out of the remaining 54, 17 have come from outside Maharashtra, requesting "secret" adoption. Thus we notice that the human service delivery system itself contributes to temporary in-migration.

The outcome of a national seminar on "Migration research in the context of development" held at Banaras Hindu University in August 1985 brought to light some facts related to lower fertility. Migrants from rural areas have a lower fertility than rural inhabitants. Migrants delay their marriages and those who are married at the time of migration leave their spouses behind. Data collected from 23 villages in two districts from Gujarat and Maharashtra revealed that women with husbands away from them for over six months in the year had lower fertility
than co-habiting women. 68 per cent migrants were found to be in the age-group 15-34 years at the time of migration. It was earlier believed that the economically weaker sections migrated. However, with expansion of industry the middle and high middle class families entered the migration stream.

Migration is an important component of social change. We are all aware of the brain drain from India for absence of career opportunity to brighter couples. The 25 non-resident Indian couples from our sample belong to this category. Endowed with economic and high intellectual ability, it is unfortunate that these families are physiologically incompetent in the continuation of the high quality human species. Couples turn to adoption only when fully convinced of their inability to beget biological children. These families are well settled in their marriages and emotionally well prepared to raise children.

Childlessness is considered a curse in Hindu society. A childless woman is regarded ominous and is disallowed participation in religious rituals concerning the pregnant woman and newborn child. Superstitious mothers disallow her from caring for their children and at times even looking at babies. Incapacity to bear a child would result in the desertion of the so-called sterile woman and before the prevention of Bigamy Act, 1952, a man was free to remarry whenever he pleased and declare his wife sterile if she was not able to bear him a
child within three years of marriage. Child marriages were common and lack of knowledge in the family of a woman's physiology often branded her as sterile at a premature age. After the menarche or the first menstrual period, a woman's reproductive organs take three years to fully mature, but this fact being unknown, many young girls have suffered this undeserved curse.

Apart from superstition, the birth of a biological child is related to the institution of property. An heir to the material assets retains the assets in the family and assures a sense of security both to young and ageing parents. Parents of a biological son are conferred with an honoured status in society.

The birth of the child completes the fulfilment of the family and the woman is rendered a complete woman when she mothers a son or secondarily a daughter. The child is a symbol of the family's survival and continuity.

Conversely the absence of the child in the family gives rise to social problems. Apart from conferring a disadvantageous status in society, the childless couple is exploited by avaricious relatives in the family. Family members manipulate and thrust close or distant nephews and nieces in adoption leading to competition and quarrels in the family.

The sense of incompleteness is detrimental to the achievement orientation of the childless couple and creates socio-
psychological problems and at times deviance in the individuals in the form of homicide, infanticide and mental breakdown. Society attaches such high value to the family's function of procreation that such efforts of overcoming the loss are inevitable when the ego internalizes social values.

Fatalism has become an obsolete value and persons do not accept childlessness as a matter of fate. Child-picking and animal sacrifice are the known degenerate forms of ritualism by the childless apart from making peculiar offerings to God by way of thanksgiving after a long awaited birth of a child.

The sense of loss, frustration and despair at being unable to bear child and the stress of accepting one's sterility finally motivates a childless couple to take a child in adoption.

2. Failure of the childcare and socialization function of the family

India is one country with a very high infant mortality rate. 80 per cent of deaths in infancy are due to the absence of knowledge of childcare in parents and especially mothers. Infants die of dehydration and not of infection. The simple technique of oral rehydration therapy is not known to mothers irrespective of their education and social status.

Parents are aware of their inadequacy to raise growing children. This has caused parents to apply to human service agencies for admitting their children to residential care institutions. They are extremely firm in their decision and
if dissuaded by the agencies against the placement they manipulate the Juvenile Court or residential institutions and admit children to residential care. This is clearly indicative of the failure of the socialization/function of the family.

3. **Inter-generational Problems**

Out of 493 cases, 38 record parental domination and the existence of inter-generational conflicts at home. These conflicts arise as a result of the incapacity of the older generation to relate to adult children. Decisions made by adult children are not approved only because they have been made independently. The conflict between the erstwhile social head of the family and its present economic head is intensified because the older generation is unwilling to give up feudal values and attitudes which are totally ineffective in the present urban industrial world. A constant need to reaffirm the former authority structure makes itself obvious in the form of parental domination, 38 cases of which are recorded in our data. A major issue of conflict is the independent choice of mate by the adult son or danger. Their disappointment about the choice made by their adult child results in ill-treatment of the daughter-in-law where sons are involved, and total severing of relationships with the married daughter, refusing to even look her up when she is in trouble. 88 cases are recorded in the family non-support table (Chapter VI).
Intercaste or inter-religious marriages of the adult offspring is the second issue of inter-generational conflict. We have 42 such marriages in our sample. A third problem area is excessive dependence of the young generation on the family of birth, especially on the old generation. This psychological fixation has been a contributory factor in the breakdown of marriages. The parents-in-law and in particular the mother-in-law is very possessive of the adult son who too is not able to regulate his relationships after marriage. A significant number of low income group women have complained of cruelty by mother-in-law and sister-in-law besides the cruelty of the husband. This is a nuclearising family phenomenon. The erstwhile joint families encouraged companionship of sisters-in-law.

Psychologists describe marriage as the crisis of development. It demands a change in primary relationships. The spouses must both terminate their infantile ties to their parents and begin relating to them as mature adults. This developmental task is missed by many married men and women. Clinging to old infantile ties, duly encouraged by the possessive parents, young adults are at loss to establish a relationship of trust with their spouses. The lack of trust is carried throughout married life and the chain of events that follow segregate the spouses for life. The older generation must appreciate the needs of the young and participate in making the marriage a success.
Insecurities in life and the consciousness of their previous material and non-material investments in the family make the older generation expect dividends on their investment resulting in tensions in the family. The younger generation feels less tied to the belief in duties and obligations, as their ideology is "rights" oriented. The frustration thus created in the older generation contributes to family stress.

Table 3.2 in Chapter III gives us an idea of the 772 at-risk children of 493 families in crisis. Human service delivery systems offer supportive services to these children in the form of nutritional aid, fostercare services and sponsorship.

It is generally believed that childcare is a matter of instinct and that no natural parent needs to be taught to take care of his/her child. The attitudes towards children are well depicted by Eric Erikson in his work. He maintains that the attitude towards the child changes according to education, economic status and social class. To higher socio-economic status families, the child is a symbol of continuity, family status and an entity to be nurtured and protected for ensuring a better future generation. To the middle class parent the child is an investment, to be brought up as old age security. To the blue collared family, the economically child is an economic entity to be made productive at the earliest. The more the number of children, the better the
Table 4.13: Table indicating the distribution of families in crises according to Duwell's classification of family life cycles

\[ N = 342^* \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Young married couples</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Childbearing families</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Families with pre-school children</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Families with school-age children</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Families with teenage children</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Families as launching centres</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Families in the middle years</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ageing families</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>69.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note: 1) 151 childless couples are excluded from this table, as the classification is according to the age of the eldest child in the family. The families of 46 unmarried persons are included in the above classification.

2) Percentages are based on \( N = 493 \).

income-generation for family.

Our sample consists of children between the ages of zero to 35 in the families studied. Their developmental stages are from infancy to young adulthood. Families are classified into the first seven categories identified by Evelyn Duwell,
according to the age of the eldest child. It is thus possible to analyse family support with respect to the socio-cultural needs of growing children in a wide range in these families.

We notice that the distribution of cases according to their family life cycles is more or less equal. Thus we conclude that family crises are not a peculiarity of any particular stage of family life cycle. Stress exists in each of the stages of the family's life cycle, but is more marked in childbearing families and those with teenage children.

It is Utopian to expect even a single family in society that does not go through a crisis. Families with their own resources and strength contain the crises within themselves, while those less endowed will make use of a minimal external support like involvement of the extended family and informal networks in crises resolution. Weakening families need stronger and organized support but must also have the ability to utilise available professional help. This ability will determine to what extent these families make "good" or "poor" clients.

The highest frequency is noted in the third stage of life-cycle: Childbearing families. This is a period of highest stress even among normal families. With the addition of each child in the family, the intra-family relationship and communication structure undergoes a change. Every addition to the family means a burden on family expenditure with limitations to the family earnings. The salaried class can only expect normal increments. The occupational data in Table 3.4 indicates the highest frequency among white collar workers.
This is the class that has no additional income or windfall to expect. More or less same income will not get satisfactorily distributed among more family members. With an infant in the house the expense on milk and medical expenses increase. This creates an additional burden. This is an age at which the young couple may also have to support aged non-earning parents and cater to the financial demands made for the education and marriages of their younger siblings.

Families being nuclear by residence, childcare becomes the sole responsibility of the young mothers. Day care facility of infants is scarce and expensive in Pune and Bombay. Creches are not conveniently located near the houses or workplaces of women. Mostly the young mother has to stay home to look after children. This restricts her ability to generate or supplement family income. Income-generating activity is not woven within the family fabric any longer and all earners are compelled to work outside the home.

Some white collar families regard resorting to creches as loss of family prestige. It is a symbol of the failure of the family's childcare function and the maternal role. Thus to keep up the family's prestige the young parents do not place children in creches. Doing so lowers their esteem with the older generation and peers in the family. Careerwise, the white collar man is striving for upward mobility and may have to undertake greater responsibility at the workplace, at times involving extended working hours. He desires a peaceful home
environment but on the contrary has to take up the task of resolving domestic problems, especially related to sicknesses of infants and toddlers. This is the most hazardous period for the growing infant and the father must make the home physically and economically secure to facilitate growth.

The role expectations of young parents thus are adequate income generation, childcare, protection from hazards, appreciation of and response to demands of additional relationship networks within the family and satisfactory time and resource management.

Our families raise infants in an environment of domestic conflict in the spouse system, intergenerational problems at home, competition from peers within the family and multiplied role expectations. Paucity of income and less promise of income generation or windfalls are added strains on the material side of family living. The young mother struggles with the insecurity of her position in the family or the threat of marriage breakdown. Thus although structurally intact, the families rock under severe pressures from within and without. Human service agencies must then provide adequate psychological supports to steer these families through crises. Mothercraft and maternal competencies are expected to grow in the young mothers as a matter of instinct. In the absence of elderly women at home or the lack of sympathy related to care of infants in their mothers-in-law, the young mother has no avenue of training in childcare. This shortcoming in her is treated
as a matter of ridicule by the mother-in-law, who in competition with the daughter-in-law capitalises on her limitations as mother. The urban families need an understanding and cooperative contribution from the older generation. Quite often this need remains unmet due to poor personal relationships among family members. Instead of playing a supportive role, the older generation withdraws from the scene to score over the younger generation. This intergenerational conflict is more in the form of competition for the attention and affection of the young breadwinner. The noneconomic members of the family compete with each other in order to gain materially. The material resource of the income earning families is bound to be restricted and scarce and much competition stems from this fact.

Fathercraft is an unknown and unrecognised resource. Indian families have a lot of sex-typing in their division of labour. Childcare is regarded as a feminine occupation and the father conveniently secures an exemption from this responsibility. Such a value must essentially undergo radical change in urban societies if the nuclear family has to survive. American families have taken a stride towards responsible fathering.

Human service agency workers must sharply record the trends in child neglect and abuse in the childbearing families; for this is quite often a concealed phenomenon. India faces a national problem of a high infant mortality rate. A large number of infants in urban areas are lost to diarrhoeas and
resultant dehydration as well as other uncontrollable infections. An inexperienced young mother preoccupied with her family problems and struggle for emotional and economic survival may inadvertently neglect her infant. When such mothers apply for human services, caseworkers must deliberately examine maternal competencies. All the family casework agencies offer nutritional aid and childcare services. Through these services, proper values related to childcare may be promoted. Crisis opens out willingness to learn. Caseworkers could take a ready advantage of this contingency to alert fathers of fathercraft and emphasize to the elder generation the importance of co-operation in childcare.

Hindu scriptures prescribe to a limited extent the relationships of parents and their growing children of varied ages. A Sloka prescribes that the child must be fondled for the first five years of his life. For the next ten years he must be beaten and disciplined but once he attains the age of sixteen he must be treated as a friend and equal.* However, the Ashram Dharma quite conveniently absolve the parents of their obligation to the growing boy during his student days. His socialization for some fifteen years up to his age of twenty one is singularly left to his Guru and Guru-Patni. Thus with no established norms of child-socialization and parental responsibility for a span of fifteen years and the

* "Lalayet Pancha Varshani, Dasha Varshani Tadayet Prapte tu Shodashe Varshe Putrah Mitra-vadacharet".
absence of guidance from elders, young parents find themselves incompetent in their parenting function and seek the support of organized agencies outside the home. Lack of parenting ability is responsible for the national problem of high infant mortality. Our agencies record that some mothers brought starving children to meet the social workers and hence nutritional aid in kind had to be given to the family.

It is noteworthy that our families do not have too many children, the average number being 2.7 children per family. Thus the large size of the family is not the prime cause of child neglect. It is recorded that some mothers are involved in clandestine prostitution, are distracted and this results in child neglect. Such children receive their well-deserved monitoring from human service agencies.

Some aspects of Family Disorganization

Having examined the dwindling family system by the structure-functional approach, let us examine the family disorganization as an effect of the collapse of the basic social institutions which are the foundations of the institution of the family and the weakening of basic family structures.

Divorce, desertion and separation are the results of the failure of marriage. A look at the classification of marital status and family types as it emerged from our survey speaks for itself.
While there are only 4 applicants formally divorced at the time of application, there are 27 deserted and 53 separated, 6 have love relationships, i.e., co-habitation without marriage, with or without children. 13 men are married twice whereas only one woman is married to a bachelor for the second time. In the cases of four couples, both husbands and wives are married for the second time. The total of such marriages comes to 18 which is a significant figure in our sample as it comes to 4.03 per cent of the total married applicants (447) from our sample. Yet, this is the picture of what is happening to the institution of marriage. Actually we can say that 93 out of the 94 couples in our sample who applied as adoptive parents have had very stable and well established marriages for over 7 to 18 years. 43 out of the 46 single persons from our sample are schooling children who applied for sponsorship. The remaining three persons have not remained single as a matter of choice. Thus family and social disorganization arising out of the breakdown of marriages calls for urgent attention.

Another form of family disorganization is the collapse of parenting function obvious in the 135 cases who applied for institutional placement.

Weakness of the protective function of parents resulted in the institutional help sought by the parents of three young girls who are in moral danger. Unhappiness in the family and poor parent child relationship created in these young girls the
unconscious motivation of finding boy friends to live with - whether or not they were willing to marry them, the girls found pleasure and solace in their company.

A very grave form of social disorganization emerging from failure of marriages is the problem of family violence to victimise women.

Women have complained of cruel treatment by in-laws, husbands and other members of the family.

The social control on sex relations is also disappearing. Our sample indicates incidence of infidelity in 37 cases of marital discord. Two women also admitted deliberate indulgence in extra-marital sex in order to avenge the cruel treatment and injustice inflicted on them by their husbands.

The phenomenon of wife-battering is on the increase in society. Wife-beating was reported by 130 out of 204 of our cases of marital discord. Wifebeating is alcohol related as 73 per cent of these cases report that their husbands are alcoholics. It is important to note that alcohol is not the cause of wifebeating but that both alcoholism and cruelty to wives stem from the same cause, viz., a feeling of inadequacy in the man. He is not able to bear with the general stress around himself, which is a combination of competition in worklife, a feeling of inadequacy within oneself and the incapacity to cope with the demands made on his multiple roles in urban social and occupational systems. A significant contributory
factor to the feeling of inadequacy is the lack of skills to play the specialised occupational roles in a highly competitive world of work.

The home atmosphere is also quite competitive particularly if the wife comes of a better home background, is more educated or earns better than the husband or is appreciated by others for her good looks and qualities. Primary relationships were never devoid of rivalries. With lesser number of members in the urban nuclear families, mutual role expectations have risen very high. The frustration resulting from non-fulfilment of role expectations or unsatisfactory role performance by the marriage partners contribute to the domestic violence. Case Nos. 9.1.1 quoted in Chapter IX clarifies the statement further. Hypergamy is also responsible in promoting family violence. We see in our sample that 108 cases belong to unskilled occupational category. Conscious cultivation of positive trusting marital environments demands skills while abusing or beating require no skill and hence is commonly resorted to. Combined with absence of skill is the breakdown of inherent defences due to the changing family, occupational and social patterns. Old defences ingrained in the traditionally structured societies are either lost or become obsolete in industrial urban environments. Since most activity is now outside the family for economic reasons or due to urban commuting to distant workplaces, the members spend a relatively less time at home, leaving a far lesser leisure time and facility to
mutual understanding and appreciation. Shortcuts to ventilation of frustration lead to domestic violence. Spouse abuse is compulsive and repetitive. Women also indulge in spouse abuse although the dynamics are different. Alcohol and wife abuse gives men the sense of power. Assertive men and women are less likely to indulge in spouse abuse. To what extent their socialization includes assertive training will be a matter worth investigating in future research. The growing sense of powerlessness due to the tremendous growth of other social and corporate institutions in society must also accentuate the need to be powerful and the family environment is used to gratify this human need. Family violence becomes a cognizable offence under Sections 498A and 304B of the Indian Penal Code. The victims are not aware of this provision. Clinical experiments have proved that family violence will not be reduced unless consciously controlled and interfered with. A number of our cases felt that the only way of coping was to bear with the violence. There is a peculiar sex role stereotype associated with some cultures in India. Wifebeating is described by the less educated blue collar clients as an act of masculinity and discipline over the wife’s behaviour. Some of our female cases expressed their economic dependence on husbands as their parents had paid heavy dowries in the marriage and saving the marriage meant securing the money of the father, hence they put up with violence.
Wife battering is not restricted to the lower socioeconomic status groups. The social dependence on the male in the society in general must also be examined while studying the phenomenon. When we come to the therapy aspects of family violence in a later chapter we shall examine in detail the negative role played by female ambivalence in therapy and attitude towards violence.

It is mentioned in one of the sociological works on marriage that breakdown in marriages does not create loss of faith in the institution because people still do get married. The six cases of love relationship in our sample although small in number are individually quite vocal. They also cast their shadows on coming events. The faith in the institution of marriage will have to be measured by different parameters than simply the number of marriages that take place in society.

Exploitation in Society

Failure of social institutions and weakness of social functioning is being exploited by deviants in society. The desire for perpetuation of the family and to become parents is being grossly exploited by deviant agents in the field of child adoption. The phenomenon of exploitation of weakening institutions and social deviance is well depicted in the following news item by Sanjiva Wijesinha in "The Tribune" of 3-11-1986.

Over the last decade, at least 10,000 Lankan children
were taken abroad for adoption—a new type of export from this fertile island... although it takes care of a part of over-population, the trade has produced a host of new evils.

Poor parents with large families have through sheer poverty parted with newborn infants to enterprising agents for sums of money that could not even purchase a pet rabbit in Europe.

The agent then sells babies to eager adoptive parents for a tidy profit. Healthy infants can fetch between $1000 and $5000. Agents arrange for a suitable fee, adoption holidays to Sri Lanka for foreign couples. Most aspiring parents come from Scandinavia. The fee fetches them a package deal of air ticket, adoption fees, one week's hotel accommodation and holiday. Adoption has become a racket in Sri Lanka because in addition to poverty which leaves parents vulnerable to promises of easy money, a stigma attached to an unwed mother in Sri Lankan Society can be wiped out with a tidy sum of money.

In some countries especially Sweden the single mother is entitled to financial allowances and special security benefits and is given community support to raise the child. Our society treats the unwed mothers differently.

The least many can do is to leave their new borns in an orphanage or just abandon them. Mythological stories in Indian classics give us the stories of abandoned babies like Karna and Shakuntala.
For a pregnant girl with no family support the idea of giving her child to a foreign couple for adoption is less unkind than abandoning the baby to the life of a street beggar.

Agents search out such pregnant women and provide them with maintenance until the delivery of the child.

Those adoptive parents who go the legal way wait in long queues as less babies are now available for legal adoption .... with popularisation of birth control measures and MTP Act."

The Patriot 30-12-1986 (From Buenos Aires) - Baby business booming in Latin America.

"The black market baby business is booming in Latin America, with greater demand from abroad. Buyers are mainly married couples from Europe and America. The baby trade has given rise to a vast illicit network of middlemen, adopting clinis and 'Baby Snatchers' to serve the demands of foreign adoptive couples.

There is growth of illegal adoption centres. Mothers of babies are paid upto 1000 dollars for a newborn child. Agencies charge upto 15,000 dollars for paperwork for a legal adoption.

Authorities say that the delay and paperwork in carrying out a legal adoption plus stringent Government requirements for parents who wish to adopt is what usually drives foreign parents to seek a child through underground channels.
The human service delivery system thus has an uphill task to undertake. Let us examine in our next few chapters as to how this system makes its efforts.

The incidence of family disorganization in our sample is recorded in Table 4.14 below.

When we examine family disorganization we used to consider four types of structural sub-systems, viz.:

1. The husband-wife sub-system.
2. The parent-child sub-system.
3. The family relationship sub-system.
4. The extended family sub-system.

The cumulative incidence of disorganization in the four systems is as under:

Table 4.14: Table indicating disorganization in the family sub-systems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Disorganised Sub-system</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Husband-wife</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Parent-child</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>40.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Family Relationship</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>105.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Extended Family</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>58.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 1150 233.26
The percentage disorganisation indicates the severity of disorganisation which led to family crises. These families are incapable of functioning as units of co-operation. 68 families have even acted against the professional system to mar the interests of the client. This action indicates the hostility of the family, towards the problems of persons and the disadvantaged. Desertion is termed as the "poor man's divorce". Generally the lack of ability to economically support his family leads a man to desert the family. The women in our sample being afraid of desertion even agree to take up the entire economic responsibility of the family. Divorce, desertion and separation are all stigmatising conditions, mostly to the disadvantage of the female partner. We do see that women from our sample have insisted on divorce on their own, despite the repeated demands for restitution of conjugal rights by their husbands, leading to the human service agencies insisting on reconciliation. In these cases, it has indeed been the total failure of these marriages and a disillusionment in the female partners.

The Hindu and Catholic marriages are considered sacramental and therefore indissoluble. Yet the women have chosen to break the barriers of their religious sentiments. The concern for family violence is now voiced loudly. The joint family offered a firm control on violence or buried events of family violence within the four walls of the house.
The incidents of disapproved marriages and parental domination \( (f = 60) \) are in fact results of the joint family systems.

Refusal to look after a member of the family in trouble and refusal to help them out in their own problems is indicative of the forms of punishment that exist in these families.

In traditional joint families, the problems of orphanhood, single parent families and broken families would have been compensated for. Obviously that compensatory element is no longer active in the urban nuclear and joint families and hence these forces stand out as forces contributing to family disintegration.

Closed communication is not a problem peculiar to urban nuclear or joint families. Dr. G. Morris Carstairs in her book "The Twice Born" has discussed this character in detail. She observes that there is practically no communication between the ageing father and the young son in rural agrarian joint families. The communication between husband and wife is also restricted to very private moments. A young couple freely talking in family environment is rated as disrespect to the older generation. There is active communication between grand parents and grand children. The older couple is seen freely exchanging words but the young couple must keep silent as a mark of respect for elders.
The incidence of infidelity located in 37 families is an indicator of the fear expressed by sociologists that the bond of morality is loosening. People now do not observe the former taboo on extra-marital sex activity. Tribal communities have no such compunction regarding fidelity, but such behaviour will never be tolerated in the traditional families.

The Tables 3.4, 3.5, & 3.8 indicating the Educational level of families, their occupation and income signify the achieved status of the family. The only ascribed status which continues to support these families in their urban settings is the caste. The combination of the ascribed and achieved status is calculated as the socio-economic status of the family. (Table 3.6)

Correcting Family Dysfunction

Certain functions are termed as Enfuctions, or those functions which facilitate adaptation to various forms of stress.

Marital dysfunction is described by Morgan as "they do not sleep in the same bed and use the children as a weapon in their marital battles". The good for society and good for individual may not be synonymous. Manifest functions are economic, reproductive, socialization.

There is a universal insistence on "Social fatherhood". The mother-child relation is sociologically incomplete. Society lays stress on legitimacy and father provides the social
identity.

There is unequal distribution of power, status and authority between the sexes.

Alongside this functional framework is the recognition of the changing relationship between family and society broadly similar to Parsonian Structural differentiation model. The family gets adopted to the structural arrangements of the society, i.e., the structure of the family may change as society changes.

Parsons provides a major "paradigm" within which "normal" socialization is carried out. His paradigm includes structure-function-change.

The American nuclear family is now left with only two functions 1) Socialization, and 2) Stabilization of adult personality.

Family functions shall now be more specialised, as a unit of consumption, the family ought to acquire skills in selecting the right service and insisting on its good quality.

Parsons speaks of socialization as a process. There is an orderly cumulative sequence of events. Parsons argues that this process is somewhat akin to therapy. The patient enters into a relationship with the therapist. This relationship passes through several stages - permissiveness, support, manipulation of rewards. The patient passes through these stages and finally severs his relationship with the therapist at the
end. Socialization is an interactive process. The child identifies with the mother and then internalizes the values she teaches. After the process of socialization is over, the child achieves independence from the mother.

Our families and their member-clients actually go through a Psychological or medico-psycho-social therapy by interacting with the human service delivery systems. This process may be called a process of re-socialization, during which former attitudes and at times values are given up by clients and new ones are adopted. The ineffective or obsolete methods of coping are given up and new and more effective ones are adopted. Throughout this process of change the caseworker monitors the client, giving his support and encouragement, whenever needed, and reciprocating by approval if a reference to that effect is made, or creating new awareness in the person in case faulty attitudes are again being introduced into the process of personality change and function. The re-socialization process of analysis and change can also be examined with the help of "pattern variables" of Parsons. Dissociation

The present era encourages dissociation of sex activity, marriage and family. Each can exist and even flourish by itself, independent of others, without any external hindrance from economic or social pressures. Lovers need not marry. Couples may marry without being in love. An unmarried mother can head her family when she is uncertain of the child's
paternity. Such divergences from the norm are admittedly in minority (Case Nos. 9.5.1, 9.7.1, 9.9.1) and liable to individual censure, but the state tolerates them.

Monogamy may not remain popular by tradition but may be a practical economic institution and hence survives. The young married couple has a prospect of living together for fifty to sixty years, faithful to each other. This is a factor created by increased life expectancy which their forefathers did not enjoy. The wife usually died young in childbirth, leaving room for multiple marriages.

We may then conclude that:

1. Family is on decline and family will bring delinquency, alcoholism, and other social evils.
2. Family decline is a stage in evolution.
3. Family is not on decline and this is for the good of society.
4. Family is not on decline and this is detrimental to individual and society.

Fletcher upholds that family is not on decline but is better adaptive to the needs of society. In his sample, 60 per cent of divorces (1957) were in marriages that lasted for over 10 years.

A high percentage of divorces is among childless couples.

Under present circumstances, the children of working
mothers do not suffer. Old people are not neglected.

The "essential" functions of the family - sex relations, parenthood and home-making are fulfilled for more satisfactorily than in the past. Family also performs non-essential functions like health, religion, recreation. The family is drawn closer to Governmental tasks than before.

No real evidence is gathered in support of the above.

Merton defines dysfunctions as those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation adjustment of the system.

(1) Individual dysfunction contributing to schizophrenia results in scapegoating of child.

(2) Women's aspirations suffer in a transitory society with a changing outlook towards them.

The changes that the family in the industrial urban society underwent are in the form of very high divorce rates, changes in former sex morality and decline in birth rates. Social scientists refer to these changes as the evidence of disorganization in an absolute sense. These considerations are linked with what is called the "loss of function" of the family. This is emphasized particularly by W.F. Ogburn.

This refers to the fact that so many needs, e.g., clothing which were being formerly provided by family members working in the home are now met by outside agencies. Food-processing,
recreation, etc., now take place outside the home.

Some of the changes involve disorganisation of a serious character. Major structural changes in the social systems always involve strain and disorganisation. An attempt at evaluating symptoms or disorganisation (like marital discord, childlessness) involves a question of what is the trend of general disorganisation, or measurement of "disorganisation of transition".

The distribution of divorces by duration of marriage is significant.

The figures show that divorces are concentrated in early periods of marriage.

Parsons predicts that once people settle down to have children, the marital strains and chances of divorce reduce. This study shows that childlessness is a significant factor in family problems. 151 families out of 493 families are childless (21.3 per cent childlessness).

Divorce or desertion do not seem to create fear of marriage, as 85 per cent of the families in the sample are married and 3.5 per cent married twice.

In primitive societies the kinship dominated the social structure whereas in modern advancing societies other concrete social structures independent of kinship dominate. A greater part is played by the non-kinship structure in society. These are the state, churches, larger business firms, universities,
schools and professional associations. These are certainly not extensions of the kinship systems.

The process by which these non-kinship units become of prime importance in a social structure entails the "loss of function" on part of some kinship units and families.

There is a transfer of functions from the nuclear families to other structures of society, especially the occupationally organized sectors.

**Family Breakdown : An Eclectic Conception**

In order to gain a more complete picture of family breakdown, the application of eclectic concepts is extremely useful. It is necessary to include the following problems in our study of family breakdown:

1) The families are physically intact, as observed in 304 families from our sample. Internally, they are torn by conflicts and dissensions. A correlation between types of families and family supports will give us a clearer picture in Chapter VI. The encyclopaedia of social work observes that such strife ridden families may be more harmful to children than those affected by divorce and separation. The exact magnitude of this problem is not yet known but we could draw conclusions from the status of our 304 families.

2) One observes physically intact families with no outward conflicts. The members discharge their role obligations but fail to provide accompanying emotional support which is the
sine qua non of family relationships. This form of consciously concealed conflict is a challenge to family therapists. Such families are usually identified in child guidance clinics where they report the behavioural problems of their children and project the picture of otherwise a happy family. Goode quite correctly designates such families as "empty shells".

3) A large group of problem families may be labelled as incomplete. An outward symptom of this problem is illegitimacy. These cannot be called broken families but these are families which are prevented from forming. Another deviance of such families is recorded in the form of "couples in love relationships". We have six such families on our record. Polygamy or polyandry is banned by law. Those in love relationships demonstrate how to cross the legal barrier. Children born of such relationships are called not illegitimate but love children. Socially wellknown achievers also demonstrate such arrangements. What lessons they wish to embody is difficult to say. Although six is an insignificant number, these records can be quoted as exceptional examples. The striving of such families is depicted in case No. 9.11 Chapter IX.

4) Some families, although otherwise harmonious are forced into lengthy separations chiefly due to the nature of occupation of the breadwinner, e.g., husbands working in military services, merchant navy or imprisoned husbands. In the recent past we see a large number of Indian families with husbands
working in the middle East or Western countries and the wife and children confined to India. Being large in numbers they will make a sizeable impact on Indian Society. This condition is conducive to family breakdown. Lengthy separations disrupt the performance of marital and family roles, changes in the lifestyles of different members of the family and expose the spouses to opportunities for other heterosexual liaisons. Case No. IX.9.2 is a typical example.

The problem of analysis of family breakdown in such conditions is complicated by the fact that such families live scattered. The magnitude of these various forms of family instability over the world and the inter-relationships among them are not adequately known or understood.

There is no certain relationship between the breakdown of individual family units in society breakdown of the family system as a whole. With the scheme of systems analysis appended to Chapter VI, we shall try to examine our families in crisis and make an effort to establish the relevance of this breakdown to the family system as a whole.

Finally we must observe that family systems that emphasize blood ties over marital bonds may even encourage divorce or make an attempt to distort or break marital ties whenever the marriage fails to re-inforce other kin ties.
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