CHAPTER IV.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF FRIENDSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

"Structural changes do not occur in a vacuum but cause related changes in attitudes and behaviour."¹ Change in one institution creates stresses and strains in the other institutions, which leads to further change in the other institutions to a certain extent, then equilibrium is attained to a certain degree. As there are structural inadequacies between the accepted patterns and the behavioural patterns, we find some ambivalent behaviour in the society by the different members. Society is never static but is always a continuous process of change, thereby

"Old order changeth, giving place to new"—Tennyson.

So we find that Parsons talks of moving equilibrium of a society rather than of static equilibrium.²

In this Chapter social change is studied in terms of changing patterns of friendship and marriage with a view to both understanding the moving equilibrium.

of society and pinpointing the structural inadequacies, which create role conflicts of individuals.

It has been seen in the previous Chapter that the old traditional patriarchal joint family had changed to a particular form of joint family or nuclear family with or without adherents. The nuclear family with adherents is quite distinct from the western nuclear family of husband and wife and unmarried children. The present day urban nuclear family not only has the members of its conjugal family i.e., father, mother and children but also some of the relatives like uncles, aunts, nieces and nephews as permanent or temporary members. This family system has been enumerated as Type D family.

As change is one institution brings further changes in different institutions, the change in the joint family leads to further change in friendship patterns, which lead to change in the marriage patterns also. These will be elaborated later as we proceed.

The traditional joint family used to provide enough number of members to cater to the recreational needs of the various members of the family. There used to be more than ten or fifteen children in the family - the siblings and cousins - which provided enough affectional support and the sharing of mutual interests. There was almost no need to look outside for friends. The children too normally had many cousins and siblings who belonged
to the same family background which made congenial friendships easy for them. Even the distant relatives used to attend marriages and other religious and social rituals, which widened the friendship circle. Fellow caste members and villagers provided the neighbourly contacts because they also shared the mutual interests. There was strict taboo on mixing of sexes outside the family which made it difficult to have friends outside the family.

The modern urban family (Type C and D) of the city does not have enough children to provide adequate member of people of the same age group for the satisfaction of the need of friends for children. So in small nuclear families its members try to seek friendships outside the family circle to share similar interests.

Young children below the age of six play with the neighbouring children and there is no distinction between the sexes. They are allowed to mix freely with the opposite sex. When they join schools, the picture changes. In schools the sexes are segregated, because most of the schools in Poona are either boys' or girls' schools. So we find only in colleges that boys and girls have a chance to become friends irrespective of differences in castes and social backgrounds. In the school and college canteens only, the boys and girls eat with different caste members. The young men have more chances
then the young girls to mix freely with members who are of different sex. Aileen D. Ross points out the freedom given to the young men is more because they have to move more in the world, as more men than women take up employment. 3

In Poona City most of the high schools are not coeducational. Even coeducational schools boys and girls are given different benches to sit and their free mixing is discouraged by both the teachers and the parents. It is quite difficult for boys and girls to make friendship with the opposite sex. Many girls from the sample expressed that "they had girl friends only". The caste barriers are not strictly adhered to in the schools, but most of the girls expressed that they had girls as friends who belonged to the same social class and caste also. Even in graduate colleges, though there is co-education the members of different sexes remain aloof and a person deviating from the norm is looked upon as an offender. However in colleges there are various extracurricular activities like educational excursions, debates, excursions, study tours and dramas which bring boys and girls to mix together to a greater extent. Still in colleges there are special divisions of N.C.C. cadets for boys and girls. Even physical training is given in two different batches for boys and girls. The girls expressed "that they dared

3. Ibid. p. 236.
not greet boys, who were their classmates openly, because of the fear of censure of the parents and society also. We cannot deny that a certain degree of mixing between boys and girls is there in colleges, but it is quite different from western peer groups and cliques. When these educated women were asked about their views on dating, only 20 out of 500 wanted the dating pattern as it is found in western societies. Even when boys and girls go out it is not in a group of two but a big group of boys and girls go together, for which parents permission is always necessary for girls. Many of the girls said that social life is restricted only to girl friends. In the college the participation of girls in extracurricular activities is limited.

From Table I, it is clear that nearly 44% of the girls did not attend picnics arranged by their colleges. 32% of the sample even though attended picnics rarely mixed with boys. Fifty nine percent of the girls said that they mixed with boys but with certain reservations only. Only 18.8% of the respondents actually freely moved with boys and felt it necessary for the development of broader outlook in life. These respondents said that these contacts are useful in that they prepare them for the new division of labour and for more freedom of choice in marriage. The parents try to restrict the girls in mixing with boys. As the
TABLE I.

MIXING BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS AS GIVEN BY THE RESPONDENTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Category of response</th>
<th>No. of respondents</th>
<th>% of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes, mixed with boys freely and attended picnics in groups</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Yes, mixed with boys, not attended picnics.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Not mixed with boys but attended picnics.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Not mixed with boys, not attended picnics.</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mixed to a very little extent attended picnics</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>30.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Mixed to a very little extent, not attended picnics as they were not for education.</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Studied externally, so no scope to meet them in college.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 505 100

Girls are totally dependent on the parents for their college education they have to acquiesce to the wishes of the parents. So the western type of dating and dancing is not prevalent in the Indian setting. Still
there are some parents who had more modern ideas advocated free mixing of boys and girls, which may give them a chance to make friends with the opposite sex and also make it possible for the girls to form romantic attachments and thereby select their future partners. These parents are of course in minority (only 18.8% of the respondents) even these parents insist on the girls to tell them where they are going. One respondent said "even though my parents had no objection to mix with boys, I had to inform them where I am going". Another said, "I could not think of going with boys without telling my parents". "It is always a practice in my family for girls to tell parents where they are going". These replies reveal that the girls had to inform and take permission before going out with boys.

Middle class incomes are so meagre in India, with the greatest emphasis on study the young women from the sample hardly had any time for club activities or organised games. They also expressed that they have to help their mothers in the household work after coming from college, which leaves practically no time for recreation outside the house. The girls also said that clubs and organised games are beyond their purses. The respondents who stayed in hostels felt the importance of friends of the same sex with whom it is easy for them to share their problems and seek advice which
their parents could not given them, as they live in
different environments. The girls who lived in their
family circle only went for pictures and dramas etc.,
only with the family members but sometimes they were
allowed to go with girls for matinees etc. Unmarried
girls in the sample clearly expressed that although
they wanted to go with men it was not possible in India,
which is against the present moral code. Training to
maintain the distance between the sexes both formal
and informal. For/means keeping of boys and girls
apart in play at school. Informal training is accom-
plished through the early indoctrination of sex mores
of social distance. The girls are taught through the
epics and myths of society to regard men as potential
mischief makers and they must keep men at a distance
so that they can have no troubles with boys. Even the
girls who are influenced by western ideologies felt
it difficult to freely mix with boys because they are
afraid of public opinion and the criticism of their
relatives. These girls develop inferiority complex.

In spite of all this 18.8% of the respondents
freely mixed with boys in college. Some sort of change
even though slow is visible in the friendship patterns
between boys and girls and their social contacts. However
since companionship between the two sexes could lead to
marriages outside the endogamous boundaries, there is
still much resistance on the new patterns of friendship.
To cultivate friendships, western type of holidays for the whole family are impossible in India, because of the meagre resources of the household. Even when they go on a holiday it may be to attend some marriages in the joint family in the native village or for a pilgrimage only. In pilgrimages it is very difficult to form friendships with the same age group because the duration is short and even if a friendship is contacted it is difficult to continue with it. In marriages with the huge crowd always watching the girls, it is next to impossible to cultivate friendship with boys, because of segregation of sexes. The holidays for pleasure are rare in India, so forming friendships in different places with different members is ruled out in the Indian context. To sum up in Aileen D. Ross's words—"It is difficult for them (parents) to accept the new marriage patterns which are more appropriate for an industrial than an agricultural society, such as right of men and women to choose their own mates, the new emphasis on romantic love and perhaps most difficult of all, the breakdown of caste endogamy." Even though there is a minority which is preferred to mix freely with boys, the restrictions imposed on them by society lead them to frustrations because they want to have healthy

attitude of friendship with the opposite sex. Most of the girls in urban families felt the inadequacy of the nuclear family to provide them with people of their own age to share their troubles and pleasures. These girls felt that a radical change should come in the friendship patterns. The change in the traditional family which is seen in the present survey made it more necessary to have some outside friendships for children. The girls preferred friendship with girls from schools and colleges to share their views. These girls felt it safe to have friends of their own sex, because society does not look down upon such type of friendships. Some of the girls in the sample felt like having friendships with the other sex members but felt restricted due to family environment and social disapproval. The social change in friendship pattern is very little, so it does not give enough chance for educated girls to find husbands for themselves. The traditional mores of segregation of sexes are so much engrained in our society, that it is very difficult to surmount them. But the minor changes seen in this aspect have wider implications for social change.

CHANGING MARRIAGE PATTERNS.

As it has been already seen, there is a change in the friendship pattern, which in its turn influences the marriage patterns. In the traditional family it was
the moral and religious duty of the parents to find
matters for their children and it was binding on the
children to accept the choice of their parents. As
pattern maintenance in the traditional joint family
was given primary importance in the traditional
family, the children obeyed their parents unquestion-
ingly. The boys and girls were never allowed to see
each other before marriage. Marriage was looked upon
as a sacrament.\(^{5}\) Marriage in traditional families
was considered as an agreement or joining of two
families rather than of two people. So for marriage
neither romantic love is a necessary ingredient nor
courtship before marriage is advocated or approved.
The Hindu ideal holds sway over individual needs
because the greatest emphasis is laid on joining of
two families by the members of both families. The
parents of the bride tried to see that the bride
adjusted well in the joint family environment of the
household rather than her husband. Love between
husband and wife was the result of the marriage only.
Manu did recognize mate selection by mutual choice

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\(^{5}\) K.M. Kapadia, "Marriage and family in India", London,
Oxford University Press (1955). Kapadia says
"Marriage is said to be essential for a woman
because that is the only sacrament that can be
performed on her".
only in the most extraordinary case in which the father or brothers of the girl failed to select a suitable boy at the appropriate time. Manu categorically stated that the father or brothers who failed to find a bridegroom for the girl before she attained puberty would go to hell of the worst type. In very rare cases the girls were given the privilege to select their husbands and this rarely happened. According to Dharma Shastras the wife has to love her husband whatever may be his qualities and she has to respect him at any cost. Sati Anasuya of the Puranic epic story is a case in point. Aileen D. Ross said in the Hindu family in its urban setting "Instead of judging their future partners on their own merit each partner in the traditional Hindu family had an ideal mate in mind and emotions felt towards this ideal mate were expressed as a matter of natural duty towards the ideal mate at the beginning of the marriage." Hence no voluntary choice of partner was possible under these circumstances.

In modern families, which are influenced by the western patterns, which encouraged mixing of boys and girls in college, the mate selection to a certain extent is left to the individual members, even though popular opinion is against the modern views. So we find in many families the parents had to select and choose the boys for their daughters, but here we find a divergence from the traditional pattern. Now-a-days after the tentative selection of the boy is made by the family, the parents arrange a meeting between the boy and girl under strict chaperonage of the parents and elders. In some cases the respondents expressed that "their parents had modern ideas, so they allowed them to go with their fiancés before marriage, but only after the formal engagement was over." These women said that "they had to rely on the parents to select the boys as there was little chance for them to meet eligible bachelors anywhere outside the family circle". In some cases when the boy or girl felt an antipathy for the selected mate, the marriage was cancelled. As many respondents expressed "it is difficult for girls to find another person to marry them if the engagement is broken once, so it is not possible to break the engagement". "The boys have more chances than the girls to refuse the partners selected by their parents" has been voiced by many respondents. In the case of
girls if they refused boys society looks down upon them as of bad character etc., but the boys are not looked down upon by the society" was given out by some of the respondents. There were instances quoted by the respondents of the sample "that in their house the parents disowned their children because they married against their wishes, the persons whom they loved". So it is very difficult for boys and girls to refuse the partners selected by them.

So we find in India, it is still the responsibility of the parents only to select mates for their children even though they are educated and employed.

The views of the unmarried regarding the selection of their mates and the actual facts of the married women's selection of mates differed markedly we can say in the attitude level there is a great change and how far it would be possible for these unmarried women to choose their husbands only time can say.

From the Table II, it is clear that a change is occurring in the ideational level even though it was difficult in the actual situation to implement their ideologies. Seventy two point five percent of the unmarried respondents wanted to select their partners themselves, whereas only 16% of the married respondents selected their partners. Fifty six percent of the married women had their mates selected by the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Choice of partner</th>
<th>Total sample</th>
<th>% of replies</th>
<th>Views of unmarried women</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Actual happenings of married women</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>It was your choice or you like to choose.</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Arranged by parents</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Parents choice and your consent was taken</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>It was arranged by mutual friends and relatives.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Consent was not taken</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
parents with their consent whereas only 19.4% unmarried women wanted their parents to select their mates.
There is an uniformity in the replies of unmarried women to that of married women in their belief in their friends to arrange their marriages. A small minority of 2% of the married women were not even given choice to express their opinions. Twenty percent of the married women and 6% of the unmarried women wanted their parents only to select their partners and they do not want a chance to express their approval or disapproval of the mates selected for them. These women still want to stick to the traditional pattern of arranged marriages.

In the unmarried women category as many as 72.5% persons expressed a strong desire to marry according to their own personal choice, but it is difficult to predict how far that is possible in the present setup of our social structure. Some of the married respondents "Though they wanted to choose their partners could not do so, because in the Indian setup they found no chances to mix with boys and to know them". One woman said, "Suppose the love marriage fails there is no scope to get support either from their family or their father-in-law's family for them, so I prefer the traditional type of arranged marriage only". Another respondent
who is engaged to be married said, "If I go out with my fiancé before marriage, suppose the negotiations fail due to some reason or other, I will never get anybody to marry me, so I do not wish to take risks". Another modest girl put it as "It is better in the long run to obey the parents as they are more experienced in worldly affairs". One cautious girl, who saw some of her friends' love marriages failing said, "It is not worthwhile to take risks in this vital issue". Another woman who married against her parents' wishes the man she loved and is not unhappy quipped, "The boys before marriage pretend to be good and only after you take the plunge you will know the undesirable side of the person". Most of the unmarried women, who wanted to marry according to their own choice complained, "We wish to have more chances to meet men so that we could select our life's partners well without any ill effects". Many unmarried girls wanted more freedom for them to mix with the opposite sex.

The employed unmarried lady doctor with very good income expressed, "If she marries it will be for love, understanding and companionship only. Another modern working girl said, "If the parents choose the boy for me, he may not treat me as an equal, so I want to get acquainted with boys and then choose a boy, who will treat me as an equal
partner and companion to him in life". Another woman stated, "I will marry a person, who is willing to allow me to work after marriage, otherwise I will feel not an equal to him. In that setup it is impossible to have companionship between the partners".

Some of the characteristic replies given by the respondents clearly showed at least some of them are as yet not prepared to choose their husband for themselves, because there is no conducive atmosphere in the society to do so. Some blamed the lack of opportunity. But there are some employed ladies, who wished to select their partners themselves because they want from their husbands companionship, equality of treatment, mutual understanding, which they could get only from love marriages. These women wanted to have economic independence.

In Japan, the parents select the mates for their children, still a sort of formal engagement known as Mari is performed after which the boy and girl get acquainted and then only decide on marriage. Unless such a type of arrangement is made possible in India, it is next to impossible to select boys by girls themselves.

In India though the unmarried women prefer to choose their husbands it is not prevalent in the majority of cases, for the girls and boys to choose their marriage partners.
We can very well infer that most of the girls' parents select boys for the girls and the marriages are also performed in the traditional way only.

Most of the respondents preferred to follow the traditional customs only which shows that even though Indian Society has changed in many ways, traditional social customs are still very much prevalent. 66% of the total respondents, as seen from Table III, preferred to get married by traditional formalities, whereas 82.4% married woman actually got married by traditional way, but only 44.8% of the unmarried wanted to get married by traditional formalities. Forty four point eight percent of the unmarried women wanted to get married by registration and also wanted to marry for love. There appears to be considerable change in the attitude towards selection of partners (72.5%) but not in the performance of the marriage. Out of the married women 11% married by registration eventhough they wanted to marry in the traditional way because they married outside their caste endogamy or against their parents wishes.

One girl said, "as the marriage is arranged by the parents, let them have the pleasure of pomp and show". Another woman said, "If you marry only
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>The way marriage is performed.</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>% of response wish to have</th>
<th>Unmarried Percentage</th>
<th>Married Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>With traditional formalities.</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>By registration</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>44.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Act 1950</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Both traditional formalities</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and registration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>By registration because of inter-caste marriage</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL:**

- Total Sample: 505
- Total % of response: 100
- Total Unmarried: 250
- Total Married: 255
- Total Percentage: 100
by registration, you feel as though it is a contract which could be dissolved by will. Another stated, Registered marriage only looks as though it is not blessed by elders. Another recently married woman said, "If you marry by registration only, the society looks upon as though you are guilty of something and are afraid of facing your relatives. Another girl about to be married expressed, "Unless it is a traditional marriage, where is the scope in modern hard days to meet all your relatives. Another unmarried girl said, "I do not have any objection for traditional marriage in principle but I want to marry only by registration, so that I could save the unnecessary extravagance. Most of the old married women felt it unthinkable for them to marry in any other way except in the traditional way.

Although marriages are celebrated with the sacred rites in the traditional manner, the elaborate five day marriages of olden days are not performed now-a-days. The vedic rites are also custom-tailed to suit the convenience of the members. The heavy expenses involved in the elaborate marriage performance prohibit it to be performed by the poor middle class people who are unable to do so, some rites which could elicit some fun - when bride and groom were young - were also stopped because of the dislike by the couple.
Only 5 of the married women had the five day traditional marriage.

Even though there is some change in the friendship patterns and modification of marriage rites, some of the customs and traditions still persist. Some of the unmarried women wanted to get married by registration, but we do not know what will be the mode of marriage when they actually marry.

How far the customs and traditions are still maintained can be seen by the responses of the respondents to the question of the desirable mode of addressing their partners. The responses correspond equally both by married and unmarried respondents. The attitudes are not much different between married and unmarried women. The educated women 43.6% preferred that each other should address by their names. Even addressing wife by personal name is a departure from the traditional norms. This type of behaviour is possible in a nuclear family; so we can attribute this attitudinal change to the preponderance of nuclear type of families in urban areas. It has greater implication for equality and companionship between partners (See Chapter III) for further elicitation.

Whether traditional ideas and ideals still persist can be seen from the responses given by the respondents, of their regard to consider marriage as
### Mode of Address of the Partners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Mode of address</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Unmarried</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Address each other by name</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Husband only should address wife by name</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Wife only should address her husband by name</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Indirectly by using terms of respect in vernacular</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>like श्री, श्रीमान्, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Depends on the circumstances</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>No response</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**: 505 100 255 100 250 100
a 'sacred samskar'. According to the Hindu attitude marriage in India is considered as a social and religious duty. In Dharma Sastras it is given that if a girl died before marriage, she cannot reach heaven; so the father must celebrate the marriage of the dead girl. It is inauspicious to die for the girl before at least one Samskar is performed on her. The religious importance attached to marriage is still persisting even among the educated women, which is clearly proved from the table below. Marriage, to most of the women is a sacred samskar and it is the religious moral duty of the parents to perform the sacred samskar for their children at an appropriate time.

**Views of the interviewees about marriage, whether it is a sacred samskar or personal contract?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Views of the interviewees</th>
<th>No. of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Marriage is a sacred samskar.</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Contract</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Not just contract but somewhat sacred</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Both are important</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>492</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The majority of educated women (69%) whether married or unmarried felt that marriage is a sacred samskar. That marriage for them is a sacred samskar shows the powerful hold of religion on the belief patterns of the respondents. This is one of the reasons why many women prefer to leave the choice of the partners to their parents. It becomes difficult for them to accept the new marriage patterns emphasising romantic love and the right of men and women to choose their own mates and also the breaking of caste endogamy. The theory of karma gives them the justification for the partner selected by their parents eventhough he is not compatible to them.

The ladies who feel that marriage is a contract are the deviants from the traditional pattern of the belief system. They are influenced by the western ideologies of equality, companionship of married partners and find no sacredness in the marriage. They are only a minority (9%) of the respondents. For them it is purely a personal contract between two members in the present case man and woman. These people who feel that marriage is a contract are the new trend setters. The fourth category are the persons, who have not yet completely modernised and changed nor would conform completely to the traditional patterns. So the majority of women want to get married according to traditional system and also the
majority (69%) feels that it is a sacred samskar. In this respect much change is not seen in the belief system of women. However the trend has taken a slight shift towards modernization. Thirty three percent of the women wanted to get married by registration, 9% felt marriage is a contract; 20% felt it is a sacred samskar and personal contract. Some women preferred to separate marriage from the bonds of religion because Hindu religion only subjugated women and gave them a lower status. This is the influence of education and employment on the institution of marriage which shows a greater preference of educated and employed women towards western ideologies. Some of these changes are due to the rise in the age at marriage of educated women.

**THE AGE AT MARRIAGE.**

The age at marriage of both men and women in India varied from time to time, and religion to religion and from place to place. Caste and language differences made the age at marriage different. Even though the age at marriage at a certain period was set by the customs of the time, it also varied according to the convenience of the families concerned. In olden days the main consideration which determined
the age of a girls' marriage was, that she should be married before she attained puberty in order to ensure the virginity of the bride and for the proper adjustment of the bride in her in-laws house. Till recently this idea held sway over the popular opinion of the people. There is a justification given by Manu for the preference of early marriage for girls is, "the girl she was not married before she attained puberty, by her parents, she had a right to choose a mate for herself as her guardians would surely go to Hell for the lapse of their ordained duties". The Hindus advocated early marriage for the girls because they stressed greatly the chastity of women. Here we find a double standard of morality - on the on hand the girls must be chaste and on the other hand there are no restrictions on men on chastity before or after marriage.

Another reason for the preference of early marriages according to Kapadia in his book on Family and marriage was, "that marriage meant that the bride shifted from the domination of her father to that of her husband" and it was felt to be easier.

7. op.cit.
if this transfer of authority occurred before the girl arrived at the age at which she could question the authority of her in-laws. Pre-puberty marriages of girls began with the higher castes and gradually were taken over by the whole society because of reference group behaviour and anticipatory socialization of the lower caste members for getting higher status in society. In this way the custom began with high prestige and continued until the later half of the nineteenth century when changing circumstances altered attitudes towards it. This is a case of Brahminization wherein whatever the higher castes did, because of the prestige attached to the castes, it was followed by the lower castes.

With the advent of the British rule the child marriage restraint act was passed in 1929, which made it punishable for boys less than eighteen years and girls less than fourteen years to marry. Though legislation had been put into force for a long time, the popular opinion had not gained momentum. So we find even now in villages girls are married before they are fourteen years old. But in urban middle class society there occurred a change, because a great deal of emphasis was laid on education for girls and also because the parents were more ambitious to get well settled boys for their
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at marriage</th>
<th>1. 18 to 20</th>
<th>2. 21 to 22</th>
<th>3. 23 to 26</th>
<th>4. 24 to 28</th>
<th>5. 25 to 30</th>
<th>6. 27 to 32</th>
<th>7. 29 to 34</th>
<th>8. 31 to 35</th>
<th>9. 35 and more</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of women married at the mentioned.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of women married in each group.</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
daughters. So they had to wait for the boys to complete their education. On the other hand educated men want educated wives, so that they would be better companions to them. As it has been pointed already in the chapter of changing importance of roles (Mother to wife) the companionship of women to their husbands is stressed. So men prefer educated wives. Naturally, the girls are given more and more education.

Another major reason is that marriage of girls involves a lot of expenditure for the parents. After completion of education the girls are expected to earn something before marriage instead of sitting idle at home. The fear of the law (child marriage restraint act) is also making the urban parents to postpone the marriage of girls to a later age.

The age at which the married women in the sample married shows that educated women generally married within the age group of 18 to 26 years that no body from the sample married before the age of 17 years shows clearly that educated women are marrying at a later age more voluntarily than even the provisions of Sarada Act which prescribed age of 14 for girls did not seem to have attended such a success.
### TABLE VII.

**DESIRABLE AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR GIRLS AND BOYS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Girls (Age desirable)</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Boys (Desirable age)</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>17 to 18 years</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>20 to 21 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>19 to 20 years</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>22 to 23 years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>21 to 22 years</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>24 to 25 years</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>23 to 24 years</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26 to 27 years</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>25 to 26 years</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28 to 29 years</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>27 and more years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30 and more years</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**TOTAL**

|       |          | 505      | 100       |          | 505      | 100       |

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From the table it is clear that majority of women feel that the desirable age for a girl to marry is within the range of 19 to 24 and for boys the majority felt that it is between 24 to 30 years. This shows that women prefer to marry late so that they can complete at least the graduate study. As is given in chapter on Employment of women only 19 have given it as a first preference to earn money for their marriage and 33 women gave second preference to earning money to get married. It is clear that women want to get married at a later age i.e., post-puberty period only shows the change which has occurred mostly due to education of women in urban areas.

The reasons given by the respondents for their preference for late marriage are quite revealing. "The girls can atleast complete their education". "They are more mature to undertake the responsibilities of the household". "Better choice of partners is possible". "Maturity leads to better mutual understanding". These are some of the replies given by the respondents for the preference of late marriages. But surprisingly majority (65%) preferred that the ideal age at which a girl should get married is within the range of 19 to 22 years only. Even some girls quoted that "they want to earn some money for dowry and marriage expenses because their parents are poor."
The women felt that the ideal age at which a man should marry is only after the completion of education. They felt that men should marry only when they become self-sufficient in order to provide for the daily needs of the family, otherwise they felt that it is a great strain on the women to depend on in-laws for everything. The women as we have seen before preferred mostly nuclear families, so they wanted that men should marry only after attaining economic independence. So group 3 and 6 were the preferred age groups (24 to 25 and 30 and more) in the first instance men start earning after graduation or post graduation and in the second case a person who has taken technical education is settled in life. The educated women want their husbands to have economic independence before marriage.

Even now 25 to 26 years are felt to be the later age limit for a girl to get married. The respondents expressed that it is very difficult for women to get husbands after 27 years of age and they also said that women lose their charm after they pass the age of 27 years without getting married. "The adjustment also becomes a problem if women are above the age of 27 years" was also voiced by some of the respondents. Women generally felt that "child marriages were the cause of degradation and subordination
of women. The women felt that if they are employed in offices there is some individual scope for mate selection, since they are economically independent of their families and also can meet men with more freedom outside their houses.

Kapadia in his book, Marriage and Family, pointed out "that the problems faced by the girls when married as a child are much lessened for girls who marry at a later age." The educated girls above the age of eighteen are more mature, so they can assert their choice and also protect themselves. These women are more independent at the time of their marriage and probably have more education than their mother's-in-law and hence could not be harassed by them. Many of them have the weapon of potentiality to earn so that they can threaten to leave their in-laws home and set up separate households with their husbands.

The general upward trend in the age of educated girls in India was supported in this study both by the data of the age at which respondents had married and the age at which the girls were expected to marry. Even the upward trend in the age of marriage

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for boys was also obvious from the replies of the interviewers regarding the desirable age at which boys should get married.

In the sample more than fifty percent of the respondents are married, that too after the age of 17 only, these women felt it is better to marry late because the women could complete their education (graduation) and they could have some experience in outside jobs also which gives them economic independence, so that the parents cannot force them to marry anybody whom they do not like. The other reason also is that they would feel as contributors to the family exchaquer. An employed women feels that she is an equal partner to her husband in life, which they felt is the necessary footing on which to start the family life.

These are some of the reasons which motivated the women to marry late. Aileen D. Ross, while enumerating the recent problems of marriage for women in India expressed,9 "Some of the recent problems of marriage have been caused by the higher education of women, which tends to make them want to marry men with an education equal to or better than their own. As the number of educated women increases and as

Hindu men still seem inclined to prefer women with less education than themselves, more women will probably remain unmarried. Several of the single women above the age of 28 were afraid that they were unable to find educated mates to their satisfaction. The typical answer given by a Sindhi respondent in the sample, "My parents feel that it would become impossible for me to find a husband if I do Ph.D." She further expressed that "her parents felt even a Master's Degree is a qualification for a girl and makes it difficult to find a suitable husband. Some ladies who are still unmarried in advanced age felt that 'no men are forthcoming to marry them even-though they are good looking, with good education and employment and also from a good family, because they are over accomplished".

From the sample we find nearly 48% of the respondents felt that husband should be more educated and have more income. In the case of employed unmarried women more than 55% wanted to marry a person who is more educated with more salary than her own, for the simple reason that they want to spend themselves their own earning as they may wish. Only one employed women responded that the education need not be more than self, but income should be more to have more harmony in the family. Nearly 39% of the
respondents felt that education and income, high or low do not matter in their cases. Nearly 30% of the unmarried and 47% of the married did not mind about education or income provided they are eligible otherwise. A minority of 2% of the employed respondents felt that the husband should be more educated though he may have less income than self.

In the present sample contrary to what Aileen D. Ross said about men wanting to marry women with less income and education nearly 39% of the respondents did not mind about education and income high or low of the husband. It can be inferred that these highly educated women may find it difficult to get husbands for them in the present day setup of the society.

**TABLE IX.**

DIVORCE : WHETHER THEY ARE IN FAVOUR OR NOT?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Total sample</th>
<th>Unmarried Employed</th>
<th>Married Employed</th>
<th>Unmarried Unemployed</th>
<th>Married Unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>In favour of Divorce.</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Not in favour of Divorce.</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.No.</td>
<td>Response</td>
<td>General Sample</td>
<td>Employed Unmarried</td>
<td>Employed Married</td>
<td>Unemployed Unmarried</td>
<td>Unemployed Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Should be necessarily more educated and have more income.</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Should not be necessarily more educated but should have more income.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Does not matter about education high or low. Should have more income.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Does not matter about education high or low - income high or low - does not matter for either.</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Does not matter about income. Should be more educated.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Equally educated does not matter about income.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL:** 504 218 202 27 57
"As marriage has always been a sacrament in India, it could not be dissolved at the mere will of the participants. Rather the couple remained married until separated by death and indeed, women were supposed to remain bound to their husbands even after death. This meant that widowhood was regarded as a state of celibacy and second marriages were theoretically taboo. Thus divorce was not sanctioned nor was it upheld by the sacred Hindu writings".10

However, men were allowed more leniency in marital matters than women, for in earlier times they were permitted to have several wives although the general tendency was towards monogamy. In recent times, a few castes have permitted divorce, but many of the higher castes have not sanctioned it. And only in a few cases has the wife been allowed to give up her husband.11


"Both polygamy and concubinage were permitted but did not occur frequently. Also religious and secular prostitution occurred. These institutions allowed the male but not the ordinary female to escape the rigorous limitations of indissoluble wedlock".
In effect the women are given an equality with men, before the law now, which was never given previously. The other recent changes in the divorce laws have evoked much discussion and bitterness too. The passing of the legislation and the acceptance of it by the Indians, show that the attitude towards divorce has changed considerably in recent years. From the above table it is clear that 40% of the woman are in favour of divorce wherein the husband did not carry out his marriage obligations or was excessively cruel or drunkard. There is no appreciable variation in this aspect whether the women are employed or unemployed or married or unmarried, but it shows the attitude of educated women towards marriage and divorce.

The women who were for divorce said that "it gives equality to men and women". "The women are not discriminated". "It will be a boon to women suffering untold misery because they have no right to separate. Divorce is better than living death". "In a country where women have been forced to marry some one against their wishes, the safe

guard is necessary". These are some of the attitudes of women who favoured the provision of divorce.

The women who were completely against divorce gave the following reasons. "Divorce spoiled the sacramental nature, of marriage turns it into cheap contract". "As women mature early enough to veto or refuse consent, it is not necessary". "It will make marriage and unstable and decrease the morality of the people". The old women of the sample said "A real Hindu wife would rather die than marry a second time, so the provision of divorce is not necessary". "Divorce should not be a farce as it is in America. Sex will become the major consideration for marriage and will affect family life.

If the views expressed by the sample of respondents are indicative of the general feeling of Indians, it shows that divorce has not yet gained general acceptance and that many conflicts of family life will centre around this crucial aspect in the years to come. However 40% of the respondents wanted that provision should be there for divorce even though they themselves would not want to avail of the provision. Some of the respondents felt that the husbands would be more considerate because the wives can take divorce which they do not like.
Summary: Since the nuclear family is too small to provide a satisfactory social life, friendships were contracted outside of it by children for their recreation and entertainment. Since the larger number of women in a family is not found in the urban families, the women were forced to seek outside advice. The separation of married women in nuclear families from the adult women who were the bearers of traditional family lore caused change to occur more rapidly in the family.

Since the friendships of men and women are viewed with askance, the necessary prelude to personal choice in marriage has not yet been established. But some parents give freedom to the daughters to mix freely with boys in college and so give them the choice to choose their partners in life. However, the change is not occurring as rapidly as one would expect it to.

Interview data showed that some of the former traditional marriage patterns are changing. The dowry system even though still practised is questioned by the women themselves. The wedding ceremony even though performed with traditional Vedic rites is curtailed in time and to a day only. The social function which wedding formerly used to serve in uniting the large kinship group is disappearing.
because of the breakdown of traditional joint family system.

Other changes in marriage patterns which are having an even more profound effect on family relations are the changing age at marriage and the preference of personal choice in the selection of mates. Girls are marrying at a later age which profoundly affected the family relationships.

The ideological change noticed from the replies of the respondents is that women are not insisting on well educated and more income earning partners. For them companionship and equality are more important. So the traditional superiority of men is not expected by women in their life partners.

Eventhough the Indian Society is averse to the idea of divorce of partners, 40% of the women wanted the provision of divorce in law shows a change in the attitudinal structure, eventhough it is not much practised. In the same there are two employed women who divorced their husbands because of their cruelty to them. One of them wanted to marry and the other eventhough preferred to live a single life did not find any disadvantage because she divorced her husband. She said "people treat me as an individual and I do not find any social censure in my day to day life".
The attitude of educated women towards their children showed a marked change from the traditional pattern. Majority of the respondents expressed that "they desired to leave the choice of partners to their children with some reserve. Some elderly ladies expressed that "sons should marry within the same caste, because it is difficult to adjust otherwise. Some unemployed women felt that they wanted to give a chance to their daughters to take up employment before marriage, because it will give them some experience of moving with the outside world. Some women expressed that they wanted to give full freedom to their children which they did not have in their own times.

Marriage is a complicated process involving many aspects of behaviour and all its facets have not changed in the same way or at the same rate. There are many changes occurring in the traditional ideologies and modes of behaviour. The preference of romantic love is due to the dwindling of family size and the children seeking outside friendships. Some of the traditional norms are so much deeply, any grave disruption of these customary ways of behaving will cause much emotional resistance. Even women who wanted to marry for love preferred, the performance of marriage only by traditional pattern only.