

CHANGING PATTERNS OF FAMILY LIFE IN URBAN GUJARAT:
A STUDY OF TWELVE HIGH-CASTE WORKING WOMEN

by

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ABSTRACT

"Changing Patterns of Family Life in Urban Gujarat" is primarily a descriptive analysis of the family lives of twelve employed Indian women. Data for the study are derived from formal and informal interviews conducted in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, between June 1968 and April 1969. Three areas of family life are examined: traditions of caste and sect, life-style, and intrafamilial relationships. For each area, the women's present behaviour and beliefs are compared to those evident in their recollections of childhood experiences, and to the behaviour and beliefs prescribed by Gujarati tradition. It is hypothesized that the changes in family life made by the employed women are congruent with the values and attitudes of modern individuals, values and attitudes which are said to be indicated by a dynamic and pragmatic approach to life, an individualistic view of self and others, and a cosmopolitan orientation.

Analysis reveals that changes have occurred in the three areas of family life. Traditions of caste and sect pertaining to daily routine and life-cycle events have been abbreviated or omitted, while those pertaining to calendrical events are observed and some all-caste celebrations have been universalized and elaborated upon. In their life-style, the respondents are more mobile than were their parents, and more inclined to reside in suburban areas and in socially heterogeneous areas. The amount of living space has declined, while the number and variety of material possessions has increased. The respondents, their husbands, and their children spend less time in the home than did members of the respondents' families of orientation, but they spend more time together as a family. In their intrafamilial relationships, the respondents favour

less hierarchical, more egalitarian modes of interaction. They follow traditional patterns of interaction if their relationship to a family member is strained or, in the case of husband's elders, if it is intermittent. But positive relationships within the household are characterized by reciprocal, relatively egalitarian behaviour.

It is suggested that the reasons given by the respondents for the changes in family life are congruent with modern attitudes and values. Reasons given for several changes in traditions of caste and sect and in features of life-style indicate the operation of a dynamic, pragmatic approach to life or of a cosmopolitan orientation. Increased individualism is evident in the reasons given for other changes in tradition and life-style, and for changes in intrafamilial relationships. Women's employment appears to be an important factor influencing the direction of change, particularly in the area of traditions. Other variables such as the respondents' caste affiliation, type of marriage, household composition, and educational background are found to influence the extent of change. However, reason for employment does not appear significantly related to the direction or extent of change.

The study is based on a small, atypical, and non-random sample of women. No major conclusions are reached, but the patterns of change and factors in change which are suggested raise questions for further research on a growing and influential element of India's population -- that of the educated and employed woman.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION:
INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES

In this study I seek to analyse changes which have occurred in the patterns of family life of twelve upper-caste working women in Ahmedabad, India. Two interrelated concerns provide focus for the analysis. My first objective is to identify the general nature and direction of the changes. Secondly, I wish to estimate the relative significance of certain variables as they relate to the changes. In pursuing these concerns, I hope to gain an understanding of the implications of the changes for individual members of families, and for the family unit itself.

Information concerning the twelve women and their patterns of family life was gathered between June, 1968 and April, 1969, in Ahmedabad, Gujarat. Research techniques (Appendix A) included preliminary casual visits, focussed interviews by personally administered questionnaire (Appendix B), and observations of the respondents in their own homes, in their parental homes when possible, and at their places of work. No attempt was made to select a random sample, and all formal interviews were conducted in English.

On the basis of the information obtained, I will compare in the following chapters the patterns of family life found in my respondents' present homes with the patterns of family life which they recall having experienced as children. Changes in patterns will be noted in relation to three dimensions of family life: traditions of caste and sect, life-style, and intrafamilial interaction. The women's employment, their reasons for employment, and their caste

backgrounds will be examined as possible factors influencing the nature and extent of the changes.

First, in the present, introductory chapter, I will discuss the key concepts used in the analysis, the character of the sample on which the thesis is based, and the specific questions which each subsequent chapter seeks to answer.

Conceptual Tools of Analysis

A study which deals with changes in contemporary Indian culture inevitably confronts the concept of modernization, a process in which change takes place in a particular direction. An extensive body of literature is devoted to identifying that direction, to defining its supposed outcome, "modernity," and to describing its relationship to the presumed unchanged state, "tradition." Various scholars analyse the modernization of political systems, economic activities, social structures, and religious institutions. The processes of urbanization, Westernization, and industrialization are viewed alternately as prerequisites, concomitants, and consequences of modernization.

The present study utilizes the concept of modernization to evaluate the changes made by the twelve respondents in their patterns of family life. It focusses more on the direction of change than on its causes or consequences, and more on the individual than on any other unit of society. For this expressed and limited purpose, I find the criteria of modernity enumerated by Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph "heuristically useful" (1967: 3-4):

'modernity' assumes that local ties and parochial perspectives give way to universal commitments and cosmopolitan

attitudes; that the truths of utility, calculation, and science take precedence over those of the emotions, the sacred, and the non-rational; that the individual rather than the group be the primary unit of society and politics; that the associations in which men work be based on choice not birth; that mastery rather than fatalism orient their attitude toward the material and human environment; that identity be chosen and achieved, not ascribed and confirmed; that work be separated from family, residence, and community in bureaucratic organizations; that manhood be delayed while youth prepares for its tasks and responsibilities; that age, even when it is prolonged, surrender much of its authority to youth and men some of theirs to women;

In the chapters that follow, usage of the terms "modern" and "modernization" indicates the prevalence of, or an increase in, one or more of these criteria of modernity.

The modern individual, according to the Rudolphs' criteria, has a cosmopolitan orientation and a dynamic, pragmatic approach to life.¹ Above all, the modern individual behaves individualistically.² He selects his own work, determines the degree of his own success or failure, defines his own identity and makes his own decisions. He is the "primary unit of society." The traditional individual has a relatively parochial orientation and his actions are based on "the truths of ... the emotions, the sacred." Not only is his role as worker integrated with his roles as family and community member. His very identity is prescribed and proscribed by his birth into particular family and community units. In India, the traditional individual sees himself as a member of a joint family and of a caste, "the most important groups for an individual" and the primary units of Indian society (Karve, 1965: 114).

¹In using terms such as individualistic, pragmatic, dynamic, etc., I refer to standard dictionary definitions.

²Similar characteristics are attributed to modern man by Inkeles, 1966: 141-144; see also Goode, 1968: 242-246; and Smelser, 1966: 111-117.

Students of Indian culture have long appreciated the fact that when "tradition" meets "modernity" in India, a familistic and community-oriented way of life is confronted with an individualistic way of life (see, for example, Gore, 1968: 42-43; Ross, 1961: 14-26). Whereas a modern man plans and works for his own future and that of his wife and dependent children, the traditional Indian lives for the future of his larger, joint family. As the modern man faces problems of decision making and decision implementation, the member of a traditional Indian family faces problems of decision acceptance and adjustment to a predetermined set of decision makers. But whereas the man in a modern, individualistic culture has little choice except to succeed on his own or to fail in the eyes of others, today's Indian may successfully exert himself either as a member of a family or as an individual.

For the Indian man, the decision to act on his own may be problematic in some respects. Without the background and framework of an individualistic culture, he must develop a sense of self-identity distinct from that of family-identity; he must find an inner security in lieu of the security found within the large family; and he must cultivate his capacity for initiative and achievement, rather than his ability to co-operate and to adjust. But other aspects of traditional behaviour need not alter if, out of necessity or personal inclination, a man acts independently of his joint family. For example, his roles as husband and father may remain unchanged if he furthers his education, pursues a new career, or develops a life-style distinct from that of his natal family.

For the Indian woman, who faces greater problems of decision acceptance than does her brother, the alternative of succeeding as an individual rather than as a member of a family is not as

acceptable socially, and it involves a more comprehensive change in behaviour. Independent action on the part of an Indian woman requires not only new bases of identity, security, and motivation, but also a re-definition of her very purpose in life. She is raised to be a wife and mother, to find security in her husband and his family, and to serve them in return. The pursuit of other interests, for reasons of necessity or personal desire, may easily conflict with these primary roles.

In the first instance, the very decision to hold a salaried position outside the home suggests the operation of modern attitudes: a cosmopolitan orientation, a dynamic and pragmatic approach to life, and an individualistic view of self. Subsequently, employment may foster these attitudes. In either case, it seems reasonable to assume that in a highly familistic culture such as that of India, a woman who undertakes the role of an employee is likely to alter at least some aspects of her familial roles. I hypothesize that the changes in patterns of family life, made by employed Indian women in their capacities as wives and mothers, are congruent with the values and attitudes of modern man. On the basis of information gathered from twelve respondents, and utilizing the above criteria of modernity, I will attempt to explore this hypothesis in the following pages.

Character of the Sample

My respondents are not at all typical of Gujarat's female population, not to mention that of India. Whatever cluster of circumstances and qualifications may characterize the "average" Gujarati woman, it does not apply to the present sample. These twelve respondents are atypical, first of all, because they live in urban areas,

while approximately 75% of all Gujaratis reside rurally (Government of India, 1961: 282). Furthermore, their castes are of Brahmin or Vaishya varna, whereas an estimated 88% of Gujarat's population falls into the lower Shudra or Outcaste categories (Government of India, 1931, VIII: 411; X: 282).³ Economically, too, although these women and their families are not part of the state's wealthier elite, they are more secure financially than the great majority of Gujaratis. Finally, in a state where over 77% of the female population is illiterate, my respondents have earned at least their Bachelor of Arts degree and hold responsible positions in business, governmental, and educational institutions (Government of India, 1961: 381). In sum, the present sample consists of urban, high-caste, middle class, educated and employed Gujarati women.

1) Individual Life-Histories

Exclusive as the category is to which these women belong, important differences sub-divide it. Although the present study focusses on what the women have in common, it first introduces each woman as an individual, noting her childhood experiences, her reasons for seeking higher education and employment, and her present social and economic situation. Differences among the individual life-histories are of interest for two reasons. First, they indicate the breadth of the base upon which the similarities are grounded. Secondly, they help account for differences in present patterns of attitudes and activities.

The life-histories presented below are edited autobiographies, primarily. That is, I am presenting my respondents' perceptions of their childhood experiences, their relatives, and themselves;

³ Definitions of Indian terms, and of English terms whose meanings alter in the Indian context, are listed alphabetically in the Glossary.

but I take the liberty of introducing each woman subjectively, as she appeared to me. The brief descriptions will, I trust, enable the reader to view the respondents as living personalities.

Urmila is a thirty-one-year-old Jain Bania, very intelligent and poised.⁴ She has a somewhat plain, unanimated countenance, and a sincere, frank manner.

Urmila's paternal grandfather was the sheth, or chief elder, of her pōl, or inner-city neighborhood, and manager of a prosperous cotton-waste business as well. His wife, Urmila's grandmother, was a cultured and pious shethānī who held the families of her five sons together peaceably. Urmila, the second of six children born to the eldest son, remembers that as a young child she was well-dressed, well-fed, and surrounded by equally well-off cousins.

When she was ten years old, her grandfather partially retired from business, and at the same time lost most of his power and much of his prestige as sheth because of post-Independence municipal government policy. Urmila's father, who was "unpractical" when it came to household and financial matters, responded to the situation by devoting himself to religious activities, and by leaving the family business in the hands of a partner. Urmila's mother took over management of the family budget and the children's education, and arranged a good marriage for her eldest daughter. But Urmila, although she had never been particularly serious about her studies, was encouraged by her mother to get a college degree, so that she might never have to depend entirely on her future husband for support.

Just before Urmila received her B.A. in Sanskrit and psychology, her "unpractical" father lost the family business to his

⁴The caste and sect of each respondent, mentioned briefly in the life-histories, are discussed in Chapter Two. The characteristics of the various houses and neighborhoods are described in Chapter Three.

fraudulent partner. Urmila tutored while completing her M.A., and then found clerical work at an insurance office. She has the distinction of being the first woman ever hired by the Ahmedabad branch of the company. For four years, she alone supported the family.

At the office, Urmila met and fell in love with the head of her division, a Maharashtrian Brahmin who lived in a pōl-bungalow near her own Jain pōl. After four years, when Urmila's brother had completed his degree and found service, both families blessed the marriage. Urmila started living with her husband's family, and contributing her salary to her mother-in-law's budget.

Urmila feels that as long as her mother-in-law can manage the housework and childcare, her own daily absence is inconsequential, at least as far as her husband and child are concerned. However, she apologizes for her performance as a daughter-in-law and believes that only economic necessity should keep a woman so much away from home.

Aruna is a beautiful, thirty-two-year-old Jain Bania, shy, gentle, and humble. Her father was a small cloth merchant and a highly respected elder of the pōl. Her mother came from a family of well-established Bombay industrialists, and Aruna's brothers were sent to them to be educated. She and her sisters remained at home where they were raised according to orthodox Jain standards.

Aruna did well in school, and her parents permitted her to continue her education while they arranged marriages for her younger sisters. With one year off to help with a sister's confinement, Aruna completed an M.A. in Gujarati and Sanskrit.⁵ During this time, at her cousin's house, she frequently met a boy from her own Jain caste. His mother had died, and his father had responded in a way most uncharacteristic of a Jain: he had given up his textile business and joined

⁵ It is common in Gujarat for a woman to return to her family of orientation several months before delivery, and to remain there for several months after giving birth.

the military. His five sons, only one of them married at the time, were not ostracized because of their father's action, but they were not considered good marriage partners. Aruna's parents opposed the match.

When they still had not consented after four years, Aruna married without their blessings and went to live with her husband and his brothers. At the time, her husband held a job in the textile mill which his father had left. However, because it seemed he would not be promoted, perhaps because of his father's actions, he looked for a more promising position and finally became a salesman for a pharmaceutical company. In the meantime, Aruna found clerical employment in a business office. She regrets the time she must spend away from home and the flares of temper caused by long hours of work. But she and her husband find no other way to maintain the moderate standard of living enjoyed by the husband's brothers and their families, a standard which Aruna considers essential for her children's happiness.

Nandini, a homely, thirty-year-old Hindu Bania, is pretty because of her bright eyes and girlish mannerisms. She impresses me as being what the Gujaratis term "innocent."

Nandini was the eighth and last child born to a Baroda civil servant in a small village near Ahmedabad. The family's modest but steady income ended with the dethronement of Baroda's ruler when Nandini was ten years old. Five years later her father died of cancer. The eldest son of the family, who had been prominent in the nationalist movement, enabled his younger brothers to find jobs.

Together they arranged marriages for all their sisters except Nandini. She had always been an avid reader and was permitted to attend college in Ahmedabad. There she decided to marry a Brahmin

boy, the son of a good friend of her eldest brother and her own acquaintance since childhood. For five years the couple waited for the consent of their families. During this time, Nandini completed her B.A. in psychology and took a clerical job in a government office in Ahmedabad in order to stay near her husband-to-be.

After consent was formally granted, Nandini joined her husband in his one room of an old suburban bungalow. The husband had expected to find a good job so that Nandini could stop working, but he discovered that his engineering diploma did not guarantee him a substantial enough income. Nandini resumed work, this time in a business office, and her husband accepted a position as works manager in a manufacturing company. He does not want his wife to work, and Nandini believes her place is at home with her daughters, but they feel the extra income is essential if the children are to "enjoy life."

Kamala, a thirty-year-old Brahmin, is a graceful and somewhat reserved young woman who expresses herself with unexpected intensity and conviction. Her father was a well-to-do Ahmedabadi physician, temperamental and extremely extroverted. Until Kamala was three years old, her father's three younger brothers and their families lived jointly with Kamala's family. But the eldest brother's behaviour eventually drove them away, and later his own elder son fled to Bombay. Kamala feared her father, and at his wish she took up dancing, gave up drawing, and completed her B.A. in English.

During her final year at college, while living at home, Kamala fell in love with a Muslim man whom she had met at the home of a friend. All relatives forbade the match except for one maternal cousin, with whom Kamala stayed before getting married in a civil ceremony. Disapproval was so intense that even after receiving the announcing telegram, her parents did not "call her" immediately, and

some relatives still refuse to speak to her.

For almost three years the couple lived alone in a Bombay apartment. Kamala's husband, who owns a ready-made garment business, could provide only a small and somewhat irregular income. To supplement the family income, Kamala completed her B. Ed. in one year and started teaching English in a high school. Just before the birth of their child, Kamala's husband's young sister joined them, to help with the cooking and housework. She has stayed on, minding their daughter and relieving Kamala of a great many chores. Nevertheless, Kamala feels that only severe economic necessity should keep a woman away from her home.

Hansa is a plump and motherly thirty-six-year-old Brahmin, pleasant and inquisitive, with a quiet sense of humour. Her father, a prominent member of the highest caste in Gujarat, was a physician and Superintendent of Health in Saurashtra. His wife, who came from the Court of Marwar, bore him seven children, of which Hansa was the fifth. Home life was religious but lively, and free from economic anxiety.

When Hansa's older sisters were growing up, their father opposed women's education. However, his policy changed in time to permit Hansa to study for the B.A. and then the B.Ed. degree. Three years before the completion of her education, she was betrothed to the son of her father's best friend's sister. The sister and her husband, an Ahmedabadi high school teacher, were not as well off financially as Hansa's family, but they were highly respected in the caste community.

After marriage, Hansa and her husband lived with his family six months; then the bank for which the husband worked transferred them

to Baroda. When they returned to Ahmedabad eight years later with two daughters, the husband's family's financial situation had deteriorated. His father had retired, four of his sisters had been married at considerable expense, and the fifth was starting college. As an only son, Hansa's husband had seven persons to support.

At first, Hansa's offers to work were rejected, primarily out of concern for what people would say. The family rented the ground floor of their bungalow and accommodated themselves in its upstairs quarters. But the diet grew more meager, silk clothing could not be replaced, and pilgrimages had to be postponed for lack of funds. When her younger daughter reached school age, Hansa was permitted to accept a teaching position at a nearby private school. She feels that her job occasionally tires her for her duties as mother and as daughter-in-law, but she appreciates both the experience the job has given her and the extra income it provides.

Kusum is a tall and energetic Brahmin woman of twenty-six years with a broad-minded and compassionate attitude towards others. Her father was a High Court Justice of Baroda State. Her mother, a devout gentlewoman, bore him seven children, of which Kusum was the last.

At first, home life was "jolly," as well as religious, and free of financial concerns. But when Kusum was three years old, her father died unexpectedly. Two years later, the new Congress government took charge of Baroda's affairs. Kusum's family lost its main wage earner, and also the possibility of Court positions for Kusum's brothers. The elder brothers applied to the new Congress officials and found modest positions, one as an information officer, the other as a government sales-promoter.

The brothers' heaviest responsibility was that of arranging their sisters' marriages. They managed for the eldest three, but by the time Kusum's turn came, she and her lifelong friend next door had decided to marry. The boy was a Sindhi and a Kshatriya, but his father had served with Kusum's father, and the two families were of equal financial status. Both families agreed to the match immediately.

For seven years, while her fiancé completed his training as an architect, Kusum continued her education in psychology. She also taught nursery school, in order to help her family with her university expenses. No effort was made to regain the style of life enjoyed during the days of the Ruler. In Baroda City, so many acquaintances had suffered the same loss that it was considered "everybody's fate," not an individual's misfortune.

For a year after they were married, Kusum and her husband lived with his family and looked for jobs. Finally, just before the birth of their son, they moved to Ahmedabad so that the husband could accept a short-term apprenticeship. Kusum found work as a teacher at an experimental private school, where she now also analyses behavioural data gathered on the pupils. She enjoys her job, and feels it is necessary if she and her husband are to live away from the pōls, which they consider unhealthy for their son. But Kusum also believes that until her child starts school, she should be at home with him.

Sharda, a Jain Bania of thirty-three years, looks and acts old and despondent for her age. Her father owned a small furniture business in Bombay. Sharda and her younger sister were "the only concentration" of their mother, who raised them according to orthodox Jain standards. From the time Sharda was six, her father's health began to decline; when she was ten, he returned to his native Kaira to die.

Sharda's mother kept her daughters in Kaira with her deceased husband's family. She received a minimum of financial support, and no emotional support. When the time came to arrange marriages for her daughters, the prospect of good matches was poor.

Sharda decided not to marry, but to continue her education. Most relatives, particularly her mother, vehemently opposed the plan, primarily on the grounds that "people will talk." But Sharda secured a scholarship at the University of Baroda, and went to live with her mother's sister. While completing her B.A., she fell in love with a fellow student, not a Jain, but a Hindu Bania. Again, all relatives except for her mother's sister opposed Sharda's plans, and after four years of hoping for their consent, Sharda eloped.

Her husband's family consisted of his mother, one married sister, and an elder brother with a wife and two children. Both the brother and Sharda's husband, who found work as a section head in a business firm, had reasonable incomes. But Sharda wanted to work also, and her husband got her a clerical position in his office. Difficulties arose over the fact that Sharda "just sat" in service, while her sister-in-law did most of the housework. When their first child was five months old, and Sharda's husband wished her to resume work, the couple separated from the husband's family. Their child was left with Sharda's mother in Kaira, and later given to the husband's sister.

After four years of joint effort, Sharda and her husband bought their own bungalow in a new suburb. Their second child was born a year later, and Sharda's mother moved in to help take care of him. It is no longer necessary for Sharda to work, and she seems vague about her reasons for doing so. Possibly her salary helps realize the material goals set by her husband. He takes

great pride in the bungalow, and talks of costly undertakings.

Champa is a lively, sharp-featured Jain Bania of thirty-three, chatty but decisive as a respondent. Her father conducted a business in Bombay eight months of the year, while her mother raised six children in an Ahmedabad pōl. Champa, the youngest daughter, was encouraged to get her B.A., and later her desire to work at an insurance office met with full approval. Even when she decided to marry her brother's good friend, a Hindu Bania, the only objection was to her insistence on an inexpensive ceremony.

At first the couple lived in a bungalow in one of Ahmedabad's older suburbs, but after the birth of their second son they returned to a pōl house situated near the houses of their families. Champa's husband is an assistant in a bank, and Champa continues at the insurance office as a clerk. She enjoys being "out of doors," and feels that her sons are happy without her, surrounded as they are by friends, relatives, and a devoted āyā, or nursemaid.

Malti, a twenty-seven-year-old Hindu Bania, is an accomplished and refined young woman, mild-mannered and articulate. Her father travelled nine months of each year on business, while her mother guided Malti and two younger brothers in household, religious, and scholastic matters. The mother also managed the family budget: money was never a problem, but it was treated as a scarce commodity which had to be saved.

Malti's excellence in school was praised by her parents all the way through her M.A. programme in home science. Only then did they arrange her marriage to the son of a business friend. Malti's husband's family owns one of Ahmedabad's larger new bungalows, and her husband works as manager in his father's mill.

Before her marriage, Malti was asked by a woman's organization to lecture in home science. This she did until one month before the birth of her daughter. Her job was not considered necessary or even useful, but her mother-in-law was pleased to indulge the whims of the new daughter-in-law. Malti has no plans to return to work immediately, but she hopes that after a second child reaches school age, she will be able to participate in activities outside the home.

Asha is a pretty, thirty-six-year-old Brahmin woman who wears a look of consternation and speaks with a slight stammer. Her sensitivity and thoughtfulness make her particularly interesting as a respondent.

Asha and her younger sister were the only children born to a prosperous lawyer and his quiet wife. Her father encouraged even pressured Asha in her studies, and she followed his lead to the point of getting a degree in law. While attending law school, Asha fell in love with another student, a Brahmin from her own caste, but from an impoverished family. Asha's father opposed the match and, for the first time, Asha opposed her father. For five years the couple waited for his blessing, finishing their L.L.B.'s and finding jobs.

After consent was finally given, Asha moved to the rented bungalow where her husband lived with his father's widowed sister, his only living relative except for a married sister. Asha continued serving a manufacturer's association as a legal consultant, and her husband taught in a local vernacular college. After four years of stringent saving, they were able to build their own bungalow in a new suburb.

Both Asha and her husband now feel well satisfied with their economic position. The husband has a good job teaching law, and Asha has become involved in labour welfare work. She enjoys her work and would like to start writing as well. She feels that she needs a personal project for her own well-being and hence for her family's sake.

Jaya is a plump and jolly Brahmin of thirty-two years with a free-spoken manner and an unfailing sense of humour. She was the youngest daughter of ten children born to the manager of Saurashtra's railroad. Her family moved five times, occasionally losing a sister in marriage or a brother in service but gaining widowed aunts and new nephews and nieces through the years.

While doing her B.A. at Baroda, Jaya worked on a social research project in rural areas. Although her mother opposed such travels, her father matched her salary with security bonds. Organizing the project was a Bania whom Jaya decided to marry. However, because her father died just after she received her B.A., Jaya postponed telling her family of her husband-to-be. Instead, she completed her M.S.W. under his tutelage and started work at a Family Planning Clinic. Once again her mother opposed her, so Jaya declared herself engaged and went to live with her fiancé's family. The action was unprecedented, yet when the marriage was celebrated three months later, all was forgiven.

Difficulties arose, however, with the husband's mother. She accepted Jaya's salary without comment, but continually demanded more help with the housework. Even when Jaya was ill during pregnancy, her mother-in-law would not let her rest. Jaya and her husband moved upstairs from his family, but criticism concerning the care of their child and the household expenses increased. Finally, the couple moved to Ahmedabad, where the husband now teaches

at a post-graduate institution. The birth of a second child has meant an intermission in Jaya's career, but she hopes to return to it soon. She enjoys working, and wants to do "something of social value."

Janu, a thirty-eight-year-old Brahmin woman, is strong and quiet and very serious. Her mother was the third wife of an Ahmedabadi income tax officer. In the home, orthodox Brahminical customs were carefully observed, and Janu frequently courted displeasure by her tomboyish activities and her careless attitude towards study.

At first, although the family was far from wealthy, it was financially secure. Then, when Janu was seven years old, her father died suddenly, and two years later her mother's favourite brother passed away. When Janu's eldest brother came down with typhoid, the situation became critical. It was at this point that Janu, then fourteen, assumed the tasks of cooking and housekeeping, and started studying in earnest.

Janu's mother felt seventh standard was enough schooling for a girl, but a teacher persuaded her that an S.S.C. certificate was a good qualification for a bride to have. After securing the S.S.C., Janu chose, from among several possibilities, a young widower from Baroda. Before their marriage, she completed her first year of university and taught high school "to gain experience" and help with expenses. But after the marriage, her mother-in-law objected to the hours spent away from home, and after the birth of her first son, Janu was forbidden by her in-laws to return to teaching.

Quarrels occurred frequently in her husband's home, and Janu spent as much time as possible with her own mother in Ahmedabad.

Her husband joined her there and started his own business. Janu would have taught again, but the death of her second child, a two month-old daughter, left her severely depressed. By the time she bore another son, three years later, her husband's business was doing well.

Since a second income was not needed, Janu decided to continue her education. She earned a B.Ed. and then an M.A. in psychology. When her second son entered nursery school, she organized an elementary school of her own. Janu devotes much of her time to her duties as principal, because she takes a personal interest in each teacher and pupil, and because she feels that the alternative of giving "too much attention" to her sons would affect them negatively.

2) Similarities in Background

Table I. (p. 20) summarizes a few of the basic facts presented in the above life-histories. The names are fictitious, but I have tried to select appropriate pseudonyms, considering the varna and original name of each woman (i.e., whether it is "modern" or "traditional"). It should be noted that half of the twelve respondents are Brahmins, and half are Banias. Their ages range between twenty-six and thirty-eight, with the average being just over thirty.

"Father's Occupation" gives some indication of the setting into which each woman was born, whether urban (six respondents), suburban (five), or rural (one). It also indicates to a certain extent the economic circumstances of each woman's family of orientation. However, economic circumstances may be judged according to

Table I.
SUMMARY OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

<u>Respon-</u> <u>dent</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Father's</u> <u>Occupation</u>	<u>Edu-</u> <u>cation</u>	<u>Occu-</u> <u>pation</u>	<u>Mar-</u> <u>riage</u>	<u>House-</u> <u>hold</u>	<u>Chil-</u> <u>dren</u>
Urmila (V)	31	business, <u>pōl</u> sheth	BA MA	clerk	L	J	1
Aruna (V)	32	merchant, <u>pōl</u> elder	BA MA	clerk	L	J	2
Nandini (V)	30	village civ- il service	BA	clerk	L	N	2
Kamala (B)	30	doctor in suburb	BA BEd	teacher	L	N (HuSis)	1
Hansa (B)	36	doctor in suburb	BA BEd	teacher	A	J	2
Kusum (B)	26	court judge in Baroda	BA MA	teacher	L	N	1
Sharda (V)	33	business, Bombay <u>pōl</u>	BA	clerk	L	N (WiMo)	2
Champa (V)	33	away from <u>pōl</u> for business	BA	clerk	L	N	2
Malti (V)	27	away from <u>pōl</u> for business	BA MA	teacher	A	J	1
Asha (B)	36	lawyer, <u>pōl</u> and suburb	BA LLB	social worker	L	N	2
Jaya (B)	32	R.R. manag- er, suburb	BA MSW	social worker	L	N	2
Janu (B)	38	civil ser- vant, suburb	BEd MA	principal	A	N	2

V = Bania

B = Brahmin

L = love marriage

A = arranged marriage

J = joint family

N = nuclear family

three different criteria: standard of living, amount of liquid wealth, and degree of economic security.

For example, Kamala probably enjoyed the highest standard of living. Her father entertained lavishly, dressed his family extravagantly, and filled his bungalow with the latest items from Bombay and England. However, he lived almost beyond his means. Malti's father, on the other hand, earned as much but kept his family in a modest pol house. Her mother kept account of every peesā spent, and as Malti's lavish wedding indicated, the family saved a great deal. But the incomes of Kamala's and Malti's fathers were subject to considerable fluctuation. By contrast, Janu's father could depend on a regular monthly income and annual salary increase, moderate though these were. Taking into consideration the standard of living, the amount of liquid wealth, and the degree of economic security, I would say that none of my respondents was born into India's wealthier elite, although Hansa's family comes close to fitting this category, now did any of my women come from India's impoverished majority.

Table I also suggests a certain relationship between varna and occupation. Fathers of all the Bania women except for Nandini were engaged in business, while the fathers of the Brahmin women were professional men or salaried government employees. Furthermore, the occupations of the women themselves generally fit their varna traditions. All the Banias except Malti have clerical positions, while the Brahmins are either teachers or social workers. In light of the literati tradition of the Brahmin varna (discussed in Chapter Two), it should also be noted that the three women who have only one academic degree are all Banias.

Finally, Table I indicates a few characteristics of the present sample which suggest that it may be relatively modern in

some respects. First, only three respondents married men selected for them in the customary manner. Nine asserted their individuality by making "love matches:" two with the whole-hearted blessings of their elders, four with formal parental consent, and three without consent.⁷ Although full statistics are not available on the incidence of love-marriages as opposed to arranged-marriages, one recent study of three hundred working women in Delhi found that as many as 46% had been married by arrangement (Kapur, 1970: 57).

Secondly, the distribution of types of household composition suggests an independence from joint families. Although only four respondents had not lived jointly with their husbands' families after marriage, six now live in strictly nuclear families, and two more live with one dependent relative. Kapur's study, referred to above, found that 44% of its sample lived in strictly nuclear families (1970: 65).

Thirdly, none of the twelve women has more than two living children, although three of them plan to have as many as three eventually (see Chapter Three). Several factors probably contribute to the decrease in number of children between my respondents' families of orientation (average 5.58) and their families of procreation (average 1.66). Ahmedabad is saturated with family planning propaganda, the degree of industrialization has been steadily increasing, and half of the respondents are less well off financially than were their parents. But I am inclined to believe that a modern orientation towards dynamic, individualistic inclinations may also contribute to the decrease in number of children (see Goode, 1968: 240, 250). In Kapur's study of working women, 64% of the women had no more than two children, and only 1% had five or more (1970: 67).

⁷Seven of the nine love matches may be considered particularly modern in that they were cross caste, indicating a certain degree of cosmopolitanism. In Kapur's study, only 20% of the marriages were cross caste (1970: 471).

Table II (p. 24) summarizes other basic facts, presented in the life-histories, which suggest that certain factors, or a combination of factors, may have prompted the women of the present sample to seek employment. Before examining the ways in which employment affects the women and their patterns of family life, I wish to note the circumstances that could have facilitated or motivated their decisions to take jobs in the first place.

One fact of possible relevance is that half of the twelve respondents are either the only daughters or the youngest daughters of their parents. Kapur's study does not present birth order information in tabular form, but in reading its case studies I was struck by the number of subjects who were the youngest daughters in their families. Why might women having extra-familial duties in a familialistic culture tend to be youngest daughters? The life-histories of the present study's respondents suggest that a youngest daughter is often indulged. She is kept at home beyond the age at which her sisters are married. Her desire to continue studying is granted. And even her choice of husband is usually given at least formal approval. As a youngest daughter, her behaviour cannot jeopardize her sisters' chances of making good marriages.

A second possible factor in the women's decisions to work is an economic one: all but three respondents have experienced financial loss, five during childhood and four after marriage. High-caste families may be "poor but pure" for generations, in which case economic circumstances may not motivate female members to seek employment. But for nine women in this sample, economic hardship occurred suddenly and without precedent. They sensed a double disparity: between the status of their caste and their own economic status, and between their past and present levels of prosperity.

The seriousness of economic loss suffered by the respondents

Table II.
BIRTH ORDER AND CHANGES IN
ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Birth Order</u>	<u>Economic Loss Before Marriage</u>	<u>Economic Loss After Marriage</u>
Urmila (V)	2nd of 3 Dau 2nd of 8 Chn	<u>sheths</u> dissolved, business lost	none
Aruna (V)	2nd of 4 Dau 3rd of 7 Chn	none	Husband had to change jobs
Nandini (V)	5th of 5 Dau 8th of 8 Chn	Fa' job dis- solved, Fa died	Hu cannot find a good job
Kamala (B)	only Dau 3rd of 3 Chn	none	Hu' business small, unstable
Hansa (B)	4th of 5 Dau 5th of 7 Chn	none	Hu supports joint family
Kusum (B)	4th of 4 Dau 7th of 7 Chn	Fa died, Bros' jobs dissolved	Hu' apprentice- ship pays little
Sharda (V)	1st of 2 Dau 1st of 2 Chn	Fa ill, Fa died	none
Champa (V)	4th of 4 Dau 5th of 6 Chn	none	none
Malti (V)	only Dau 1st of 3 Chn	none	none
Asha (B)	1st of 2 Dau 1st of 2 Chn	none	Hu without money and family
Jaya (B)	5th of 5 Dau 8th of 10 Chn	none	none
Janu (B)	1st of 2 Dau 3rd of 4 Chn	Fa died, Mo Bro died, El Bro ill	none

V = Bania

B = Brahmin

Abbreviations of kinship terms are given in Appendix C.

is in some degree due to the gradual decline in the familistic-orientation of Indian culture. The five women who first experienced economic loss during their childhoods did so when their fathers died or, in Urmila's case, when he proved incompetent. Traditionally, a family left without adult males could depend on relatives for support. With the help of relatives, the family could marry its daughters well and find appropriate positions for its sons when they matured.

But as the histories of Urmila, Nandini, Sharda, and Janu indicate, relatives today are not always willing to assume the extra financial burden, nor is the pressure of caste-community opinion strong enough to oblige them to do so. Furthermore, many positions once considered the preserve of certain castes are now open to competition, and long years of study are necessary to enable sons of traditional holders to qualify for them. India's Independence meant the loss of a great many hereditary and honorary positions. Congress government policy affected the families of Urmila, Aruna, Nandini, and Kusum in this way.

Of the four women whose economic circumstances first declined after marriage, three suffered particularly because they had made love matches. Aruna's and Kamala's families offered their daughters no financial support, and Asha and her husband refused offers of aid. The traditional, familistic system of rights and obligations did not extend to, or was not utilized by, respondents making modern, individualistic marriages. In contrast, the fourth woman first suffering economic loss after marriage, Hansa, did so for a highly traditional reason: her husband assumed financial responsibility for his parents and unmarried sister after his father's retirement.

A third fact possibly related to the women's positions as employees may be extrapolated from Tables I and II. Seven of my

twelve respondents grew up in "fatherless" families, because of the death of the father (four cases), his absence on business (two), or his incompetence (one). In traditional Indian culture, an uncle or elder male cousin could be expected to serve as a "father figure": to look after the family's budget, supervise its children's education, and arrange marriages for its daughters and jobs for its sons. But the mothers of Urmila, Kusum, Nandini, Sharda, Champa, Malti, and Janu received a minimal amount of such support. They coped with financial and educational matters as well as with household affairs. A more extensive survey of Indian women might show that daughters raised in such "fatherless" families are prediposed to assume an essentially male role, that of wage-earner.

In summary, the present sample is atypical for Gujarat in that it consists of urban, high-caste, middle class, educated and employed women. The high frequency of love marriages, nuclear family households, and small numbers of children suggest that the sample may also be quite modern. The women's employment, perhaps another indication of modernity, may be related to certain childhood experiences: that of being the youngest or only daughter, of suffering financial loss, and of growing up in a "fatherless" family. It is on these similarities in background that the similarities and differences in present behaviour and attitudes are based.

Dimensions of the Study

Although certain aspects of background experience such as those discussed above may enable or pre-dispose Indian women to seek employment, the immediate reasons for working which my respondents gave fall into two categories: economic need and personal desire (Table III, p. 27).

Table III.

REASONS FOR EMPLOYMENT AND
ATTITUDES TOWARDS EMPLOYMENT

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Reason for First Job</u>	<u>Reason for Present Job</u>	<u>Attitude Towards Employment</u>
Urmila (V)	economic need before marr.	economic need of joint fam.	R should be home to help Mo-in-law
Aruna (V)	economic need of nuc. fam.	economic need of nuc. fam.	R should be home with children
Nandini (V)	to be in Ahm'd near fiancé	economic need of nuc. fam.	R should be home with daughters
Kamala (B)	economic need of nuc. fam.	economic need of nuc. fam.	R should be home for Hu and Dau
Hansa (B)	economic need of joint fam.	economic need of joint fam.	R enjoys, but tires as Mo & Dau-in-law
Kusum (B)	economic need before marr.	economic need of nuc. fam.	R enjoys, but should be home for son
Sharda (V)	economic need of nuc. fam.	desire for extra income	(no data)
Champa (V)	to be "out- doors"	to be "out- doors"	job makes no dif- ference in home life
Malti (V)	for experi- ence, pleasure	for experi- ence, pleasure	enjoys activities outside the home
Asha (B)	for experi- ence, interest	for pleasure, interest	personal project betters R as Wi & Mo
Jaya (B)	for experi- ence, pleasure	pleasure, val- uable service	job does not inter- fere with home life
Janu (B)	for experi- ence, income	interest, val- uable service	job keeps R from spoiling sons

V = Vaishya
B = Brahmin
R = respondent

nuc. fam. = nuclear family of procreation
joint fam. = joint family, Husband's family of orientation

"Economic need" is a highly relative concept dependent upon each individual's experience of economic plenty: how rich an experience that was, how recent, and how drastically the situation altered. Urmila and Hansa hold jobs "out of necessity," yet Hansa is better off financially right now than Urmila has been since she was ten years old. Janu and Asha work for reasons of personal inclination, yet Asha enjoys a new bungalow complete with bedroom and dining-room sets, while Janu is content with half of a sparsely furnished old bungalow.

The concept of economic need is so relative that the six women who say they work out of personal desire do not necessarily maintain a higher standard of living than the six who work primarily for the salary. Kusum, for example, feels she must work in order to keep her son from living conditions like those to which Champa and her husband freely chose to return. Past experience plays a large role in shaping present values and goals.

Kapur's study of 300 Delhi women found that 36% had originally sought employment for economic reasons, but 60% presently worked primarily for the income. Kapur suggests that the increase may in part be due to the subjects' "newly developing desire for a higher standard of living" (1970: 78). Since only one of my respondents -- Sharda -- gives an economic reason for working while enjoying a higher standard of living than the one she experienced as a child, I am inclined to believe that the women of the present sample seek to regain or to maintain certain standards, rather than to achieve higher ones. Champa and Janu, who could easily afford higher standards of living, maintain the life-styles to which they have been accustomed since childhood. The contrast between Kapur's suggestion and mine may be due to an attitudinal difference between North Indians and Gujaratis with regard to money (see Chapter Two).

Table III indicates a direct correlation between reason for employment and attitude toward being employed. All of the six women who presently hold jobs for economic reasons feel they should be at home, as mothers (five), as daughters-in-law (two), and as wives (one). But the women working for personal reasons feel that their jobs do not conflict with their roles as family members. Indeed, Asha and Janu believe that their performance in the home improves when they participate in out-of-home activities. Kapur suggests that in India, marriage requires "self-negation" of a woman, while a job offers her "self-enhancement" (1970: 15). From the perspective of an individualistically-oriented working woman, this may be true. But from the perspective of a familistically-oriented Indian woman, holding a job may seem to demand a good deal of self-negation.

In seeking to identify the relationship between a woman's employment and changes in her patterns of family life, I will pay particular attention to her reason for working. On the one hand, the facts that she is not in the home and is involved in the "outside world" may affect her behaviour and beliefs regardless of her reason for employment. On the other hand, a woman who works because she feels she has to may retain a familistic and community orientation in her home activities and relationships, while a woman who works for personal satisfaction may permit or encourage an individualistic orientation to permeate her home life.

Six respondents -- Urmila, Aruna, Nandini, Kamala, Hansa, and Kusum -- state that they continue to work because of economic need. The remaining six respondents -- Sharda, Champa, Malti, Asha, Jaya and Janu -- work for personal satisfaction. A second dimension is added to the study since half of each of these groups is Bania (Vaishya), and half is Brahmin. Thus my sample may be categorized

in the following manner.⁸

<u>VARNA</u>		
	Vaishya	Brahmin
<u>REASON FOR EMPLOYMENT</u>	Economic Urmila Aruna Nandini	Kamala Hansa Kusum
	Personal Sharda Champa Malti	Asha Jaya Janu

Just as reason for employment may or may not prove more relevant to the changes than employment itself, so too with varna background. On the one hand, the respondent's urban environment, their education, and their extra-familial involvements may facilitate an equal distribution of similar changes regardless of the respondents' caste affiliation. On the other hand, general traditions and characteristics of varnas (discussed in Chapter Two) have proven tenacious and adaptable in the past, and they may be so in this context. In either case, the dimension of caste background, cross cutting as it does the dimension of reason for employment, helps to balance the basis for my deductions. In analysing the patterns of family life described by the women and observed in their homes, I will look for variations which correspond with the division of the women according to their reasons for employment, and according to their caste backgrounds.

First, in Chapter Two, I will describe the community

⁸I am indebted to Prof. Brenda Beck for pointing out this four-fold division to me. In each table, I list the women according to their reason for employment (economic need, then personal desire) and, within this division, according to their caste background (Banias first, then Brahmins).

traditions of each respondent's varna, caste, and sect. By comparing the women's childhood experiences of social and religious traditions with their present attitudes and activities regarding these traditions, I will try to estimate the extent and the nature of the changes that have taken place: How has daily caste and religious behaviour altered? Are cyclical and calendrical occasions observed in the same way, for the same reasons? In so far as traditional attitudes and activities, remembered from homes of orientation, are not present in homes of procreation, to what extent may a woman's employment be an explanatory factor?

Chapter Three will describe the daily life of the respondents as inhabitants of modern Ahmedabad. Again, comparison with childhood experiences remembered by the women raises questions regarding change: Have attitudes towards the various types of neighborhoods altered? Does the internal arrangement of homes reflect the same priorities? What material possessions have increased or decreased in social value? How have the duties and leisure activities of various family members changed? Finally, may a woman's employment be related to the changes observed?

In Chapter Four, I will examine the intrafamilial relationships of my respondents, their relationships as wives, as daughters-in-law, as mothers, and as sisters and married daughters. For each interpersonal relationship I will note the traditional Indian ideal, the women's personal ideals, and the women's actual behaviour. What discrepancies occur between traditional and personal ideals? Between personal ideals and actual behaviour? Do such discrepancies indicate an actual emphasis on relationships between family members as individuals, rather than as role-players? To what extent does a woman's employment appear to affect her personal ideals and intrafamilial relationships?

Finally, Chapter Five will provide a summary of the changes in patterns of family life indicated by the data. Are there general trends or patterns of change? Does caste background or reason for employment affect the nature or extent of the changes? How does employment relate to the changes observed? Finally, are the general trends or patterns of change congruent with the attitudes and ideals of modern individuals?

The present study is based on a small and atypical group of women. For India, however, such a group may prove highly significant in that it is representative of a growing and dynamic force which cannot help but permeate multiple areas of Indian culture: As employees, women have a unique perspective, and a unique contribution to make. As mothers of sons, working women present a new model for female behaviour which transforms the expectations of future husbands. And for their daughters and acquaintances, their example opens a new possibility, the possibility that economic needs or personal desires can be satisfied by a woman's own individual effort.

CHAPTER TWO

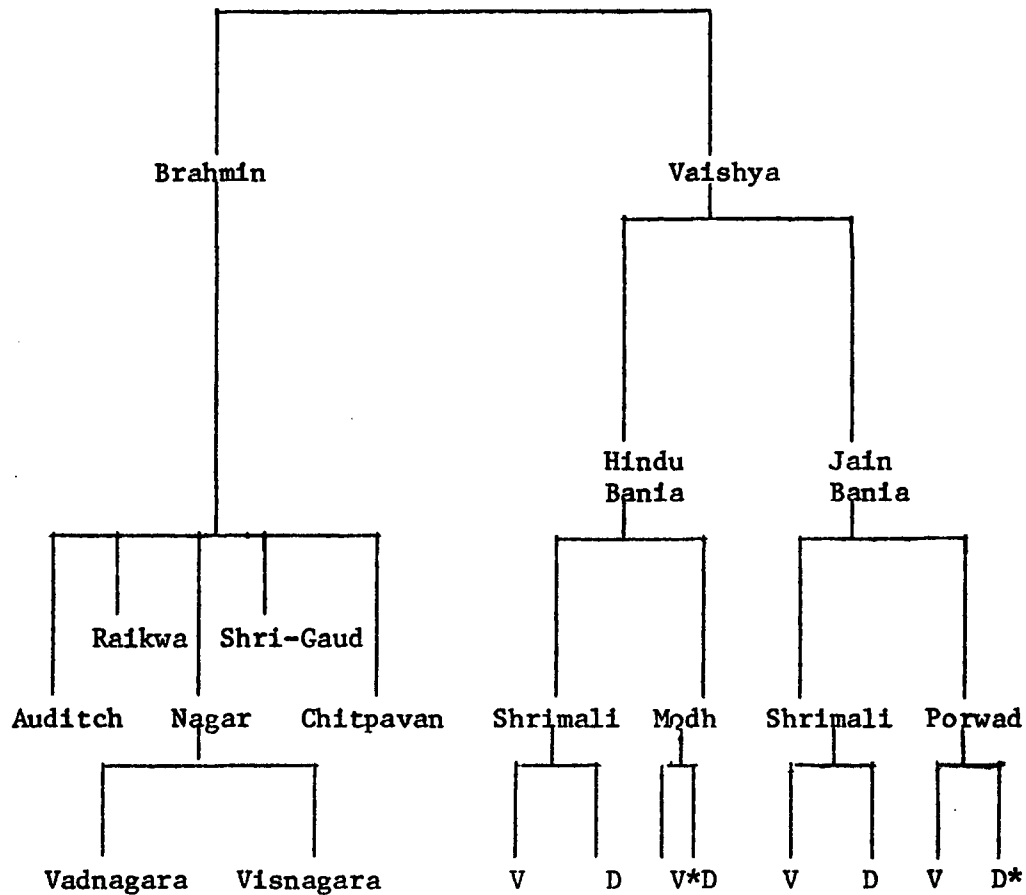
TRADITIONAL BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS:

BRAHMINS AND BANIAS IN GUJARAT

The present chapter focuses on caste, not because it is requisite background material for any anthropological study of India, but because it is directly related to the particular subject of my study: the behaviour and beliefs of employed, high-caste women in urban Gujarat. First, I shall note the relative position of each varna to help explain certain of my respondents' attitudes towards themselves and members of other varnas. Secondly, I shall briefly describe the mythological and historical backgrounds of each jati and sect, to aid in understanding some of the priorities and activities emphasized by the respondents. Finally, I shall examine the social and religious customs maintained in the respondents' homes of procreation, as compared with those found in their homes of orientation, in order to discern ways in which patterns of traditional behaviour appear to be changing.

In referring to the various "levels" of caste, I shall use the terms varna, jati, and gōl, to mean Vedic class or category, caste "proper," and sub-caste, respectively. I realize that each of the terms and each of the suggested translations is subject to lengthy debate, but an attempt to develop a comprehensive model of caste for Gujarat would not further the interests of the present study. Figure 1 (p. 34) indicates how the castes of the twelve respondents may be made to fit a model of caste such as that adapted by Ames (1971: 85) from Bêteille's study of Sripuram (1965: 60-76). Note that while I refer to "Vaishyas" in my discussion of the varna hierarchy, the respondents themselves consistently use the term "Banias." Whether the two names are synonymous, or whether "Banias" refers to a cluster

Figure 1.
DIVISIONS OF VARNAS
REPRESENTED BY RESPONDENTS



V = Visa

D = Dasa

* Not represented by respondents

of mercantile Vaishya jatis as opposed to Vaishya jatis engaged in agriculture, I am unable to ascertain. Further discussion of Figure 1 follows the description of Gujarat's varna hierarchy.

Structure of the Varna Hierarchy

According to Vedic tradition, each of the four varnas -- Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra -- has a distinct set of roles and a distinct system of values. In Gujarat, however, through historical coincidence, assimilation, and conscious emulation, the Brahmin and Vaishya varnas have come to project very similar images. Although the resemblance may in part be due to recent factors of industrialization and modernization, historical sources indicate much earlier grounds for similarities between the Brahmins and Vaishyas of Gujarat.

Theoretically, the classic varna hierarchy prevailed in Gujarat before the spread of Buddhism, c. 300 B.C. Kshatriyas shared with Brahmins the power and prestige of society's elite positions, while Vaishyas, without large cities, safe highways or sea routes, or the commercial networks dependent upon these, remained relatively depressed (Lamb, 1959: 25). Brahminical tradition belittled those who officially dealt with material rather than with spiritual matters, although unofficially Brahmins frequently pursued worldly means and ends. Kshatriyas scoffed at the pursuit of liquid wealth as opposed to landed wealth, although their policies of "taxation, regulation, and outright confiscation" belied their moralistic contempt (Lamb, 1959: 25). While privileged and high-class from a non-Aryan point of view, Vaishyas were the lowest of the twice-born varnas. Brahmins were the highest.

Given the limitations imposed by the social and geographical environments, the only way the Vaishyas of Gujarat could improve

their status was to work outside of the Vedic system. Many tried to do this between 300 and 100 B.C. by embracing Buddhism and Jainism. The heretical sects advocated ahimsā, or abstention from violent action, speech, and thought. Since the indispensability of the Brahmin rested on his right and duty to perform sacrifice, and since the necessity of sacrifice rested on the authority of the Vedas, the doctrine of ahimsā alone threatened the very pinnacle of society and the very foundation of religion.

The fact of their conversion might not, in itself, have helped the Vaishyas' cause. However, paradoxically, many martial Kshatriyas also accepted the non-violent faiths. While Brahminical sacrifice and certain occupations such as brewing were considered himsā, or violent, fighting was approved (Sangave, 1959: 277-279). Kshatriya rulers found they could disregard Brahminical sanctions and still retain or even increase their own powers. Under Buddhist or Jain Kshatriya rulers, the Buddhist or Jain Vaishya merchants enjoyed relative prestige and occupational freedom.

Even after the Puranic Renaissance of c. 500 A.D., a revitalization movement which reinstated the Brahmin and eliminated Buddhism, Kshatriya rulers in Gujarat tolerated and even patronized Jainism (Munshi, 1954: 55-74). Mool Raj, the founder of Gujarat's ancient capital of Anhilwad, erected a Jain temple and protected laymen of that faith, although he himself worshipped Shiva (Forbes, 1924: I, 40-41). A later and more renowned ruler, Sidh Raj, restored and visited Brahmin temples, but entertained certain Jain notions (Forbes, 1924: I, 167-168). "There can be little doubt that from the foundation of Unhilwara [Anhilwad] to its destruction, the religions of Shiva and of the Jain Teerthunkars existed there together, sometimes the one and sometimes the other gaining the

predominance" (Forbes, 1924: I, 236).

Fundamental similarities between the culture of Gujarat's Brahmins and that of her Jain Vaishyas had probably emerged by the eighth century reign of Sidh Raj. Both groups were essentially urban-dwelling, both competed for ministerial positions under Kshatriyas, and both had a literary tradition communicated by a priestly order (Lamb, 1959: 29-30). At the outset, these shared features may have resulted in a heightened awareness on the part of each group of the other's behaviour and beliefs. Eventually, confrontation between Brahmins and Jains of Anhilwad was institutionalized in the form of philosophical debates which took place in Court, with the Kshatriya ruler sitting as judge (Forbes, 1924: I, 236).

Competition and confrontation between Gujarat's Brahmins and her Jain Vaishyas, instead of polarizing the values involved, may have aided in their synthesis. On the one hand, as Shah and Shroff argue (1959: 63), certain Vaishya customs underwent "Sanskritization." On the other hand, it appears that some "Jainization" characterized the development of Brahmin ethics. In particular, behaviour based on the Jain doctrine of ahimsā became generally accepted as prestigious. Brahmins gradually ceased to practice blood-sacrifice, and both Brahmins and non-Jain Vaishyas adopted vegetarian diets. When Gujarat's Kshatriyas lost much of their power following the imposition of Mogul rule c. 1300, their meat-eating and spirit-drinking were regarded by Brahmins and Vaishyas as additional causes for loss of prestige (Shah, 1964: 35). With Kshatriyas no longer dominant, Brahmins and Vaishyas constituted the pinnacle of the varna hierarchy in Hindu Gujarat.

Although oversimplified, Figure 2 (p. 38) indicates relative positions of the twice-born varnas in Gujarat during three historical

Figure 2.

STRUCTURE OF THE
VARNA HIERARCHY IN GUJARAT

Model I.	<u>Before 300 B.C.</u> Brahmins - Kshatriyas Vaishyas
Model II.	<u>300 B.C. - 1300 A.D.</u> Kshatriyas Brahmins - Vaishyas
Model III.	<u>After 1300 A.D.</u> Brahmins - Vaishyas Kshatriyas

periods. Each model reflects the status of the varnas according to the "ritual" standard of prestige, with its criterion of relative purity, and according to the "secular" standard of prestige, determined by relative economic and political power (cf. Pocock, 1954; 1955; 1957). Thus, after 300 B.C. (Model II), Kshatriyas retained secular and ritual prestige, while Vaishyas challenged the Brahmins' ritual prestige and successfully competed for positions of secular prestige. A thousand years later (Model III), after a redefinition of "purity" and the imposition of Mogul rule, Kshatriyas lost both ritual and secular prestige. Under Mogul rule, Brahmins and Vaishyas had little opportunity to rise in secular prestige, but relative to the other Hindu varnas, they topped the hierarchy in terms of ritual prestige.⁹ After the decline in Mogul rule, the basis of economic power began shifting from landed wealth to liquid wealth, and Gujarat's Vaishyas found themselves rising to positions of greater secular prestige.

In summary, the history of the relative positions of Gujarat's Brahmins and Vaishyas indicates a competitive relationship of long standing. Competition both resulted from and fostered the sharing of certain values and customs. Because of the Jain literati tradition, converted Vaishyas debated with Brahmins over intellectual and philosophical issues. Because Gujarat's Kshatriya rulers tolerated and occasionally patronized Jainism, Vaishyas as well as Brahmins sought ministerial positions. And because the Jain doctrine of ahimsā was incorporated into the Brahminical system of ethical values, Vaishyas who also practiced ahimsā competed with Brahmins for positions of ritual purity.

⁹Some Brahmins, granted land and taxation rights by the Moguls, probably retained secular prestige in the rural areas. But Vaishya commercial enterprises appear to have been thwarted by Mogul rule (Moore, 1966: 322; but see also Lamb, 1959: 29).

The history of the varna structure also indicates the nature of the Brahmins' and Vaishyas' status as the elite of urban Gujarat. In the early 1800's, Forbes (1924: II, 236) observed that "'Brahmin-wanee' [-vaishya] is now a synonymous expression for 'oojulee-wustee' [fair-people], or high-caste population". Members of the Brahmin and Vaishya jatis represented by the respondents of this study think of themselves in these terms, and strive to act accordingly. Thus, differences in attitudes and behaviour which correspond to differences in the varna of the respondents must occur not only in spite of the respondents' urban environment, education, and out-of-home activities, but also in spite of certain historical similarities between the customs, values, and statuses of their varnas.

Backgrounds of the Jatis and Sects

While a varna is traditionally distinguished primarily on the basis of its role in society and its value system, a jati or caste "proper" is distinguished primarily by its historical and mythological background. Most of my respondents were aware of their particular community's background and traditions, and several explained instances of personal behaviour or expressions of attitude in relation to their community affiliation.

In answer to my initial query about caste, the women interviewed responded promptly with two or three terms, each one modified by the term preceeding it. But when asked specifically for the names of varna, jati, and gōl, several women hesitated. Their responses (Table IV, p.41) indicate how little agreement there is as to which term of the caste name corresponds to which of the suggested "levels" or categories of caste.

TERMS OF CASTE NAMES AS
CATEGORIZED BY RESPONDENTS

<u>Respon-</u> <u>dent</u>	<u>Caste Name</u> (see Fig. 1)*	<u>Varna</u>	<u>Jati</u>	<u>Gōl</u> @
Urmila	Visa Porwad Jain (Banía)	Banía	Jain	Visaporwad
Aruna	Visa Shrimali Jain (Banía)	Jain	Shrimali	Visa
Nandini	Dasa Modh (Hindu) Banía	Hindu	Banía	-
Kamala	Raikwa Brahmin	Brahmin	Raikwa	-
Hansa	Vadnagara Nagar (Brahmin)	Nagar	Vadnagara	-
Kusum	Chitpavan Brahmin	Brahmin	Maharashtrian	-
Sharda	Visa Porwad Jain (Banía)	Banía	Jain	-
Champa	Dasa Shrimali Jain (Banía)	Jain	-	-
Malti	Dasa Shrimali (Hindu) Banía	Banía	Shrimali	Dasa
Asha	Visnagara Nagar (Brahmin)	Nagar	Visnagar	-
Jaya	Shri Gaud Brahmin	Brahmin	Shri Gaud	-
Janu	Auditch Brahmin	Brahmin	Auditch	

* Terms in parentheses were not initially elicited from the respondents but are included to facilitate comparison with Figure 1 (p. 34).

@ The term gōl is used by staff members of the B. M. Institute to mean the level of caste beneath that of jati. However, some of my respondents did not consider the term relevant to their particular communities.

Had the respondents agreed among themselves on certain points -- for example, that "Jain" constitutes a varna -- I would have been tempted to represent them accordingly in Figure 1 (p. 34). But considering the extent of disagreement among my respondents, I chose to categorize the various terms of each caste name according to my own understanding of their appropriate "levels." A comparison of Figure 1 and Table IV reveals that my categorization and the responses of the women coincide in seven of the twelve cases of varna, or Vedic class, and in five cases of jati, or caste "proper." Only three women mentioned gōls, whereas in response to the question "What is your caste?", eight named sub-castes.

The categorization of castes illustrated in Figure 1 helps systematize and clarify the following discussion of jatis. But the responses of the women shown in Table IV are just as important as my categorization, if not more so, for they indicate an attitude or a sense of identity of each respondent. The following accounts of the various jatis and sects suggest possible sources of some of these attitudes.

1) Brahmin Jatis and Sects

"The Brahmins of Goozerat are believed to be subdivided into more castes than those of any other part of India" (Forbes, 1924: II, 233). Traditionally it is said that there are eighty-four endogamous Brahmin communities in Gujarat, but attempts at enumerating them indicate the existence of well over one hundred. Not surprisingly, no two of the six Brahmin respondents in this study belong to the same endogamous unit. However, Hansa and Asha both belong to the Nagar jati, a level of caste relevant in this case to the historical and mythological heritage of its members.

According to historians of ancient Gujarat, the Nagars are descended from the Maitraka hordes which invaded Gujarat from the north during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. (Forbes, 1924: I, 21; II, 234). They originally settled in Wurnugger, "one of the oldest cities of the province," where they served the Valabhi kings. When one of these kings conquered neighboring territory and founded a new city, Veesnugger, he asked his Brahmins to perform a sacrifice. "Resorting to a stratagem," the king bestowed grants of land on several priests for their services. Those tricked into accepting the alms were excommunicated by the Wurnugger Brahmins and formed their own, Veesnugger community. From these two groups are descended the Vadnagars and Visnagars to which Hansa and Asha belong, respectively.

In terms of both the ritual and the secular standards of prestige, Nagars represent Gujarat's most prestigious community. In matters regarding purity, their precautions are most elaborate and most rigidly adhered to (cf. Forbes, 1924: II, 258). They were the only Brahmin jati which refused, until recently, to dine with other Brahmins. In matters regarding political and economic power, Nagars have long been dominant. "Under the Muslims and Marathas they were diwans, government officers of all sorts, teachers, and scholars. They are the most intellectual community of Gujarat and made themselves indispensable to the rulers of Gujarat." (Gillion, 1968: 81-82). By responding "Nagar" for varna instead of for jati, Hansa and Asha reflect the Nagar sense of superiority.¹⁰

While Nagars are the most prestigious Brahmins in Gujarat, Auditch Brahmins are probably the most numerous. One respondent

¹⁰One Nagar, not included in the present sample, explained that there were originally five varnas, the fifth and highest one being the Nagar varna.

identified them as "the typical Gujarati Brahmin." Like the Nagars, Auditch Brahmins came from the north (Audichya, lit.: Northerner), and at least one group steadfastly refused to accept gifts from their kings. Others, however, accepted gifts of towns and surrounding villages in return for "ratifying" the "fasting, vows, bathing, pilgrimages and penances" of Mool Raj (Forbes, 1924: I, 63-64). Sidh Raj renewed the grants, and when certain Auditches found their land too "terror-causing," he assigned them more civilized territory on the Sabarmati River close to where Ahmedabad now stands (Forbes, 1924: I, 168).

In this location they prospered by extracting transit duties on the grain coming from their former homeland. It is, perhaps, this part of their history, rather than their numerical preponderance, which earns them the title of typical Gujarati Brahmin. For although Gujarati Brahmins of every jati may be found in businesses today, only Auditches are traditionally associated with non-literary occupations other than land-owning. Janu, the Auditch respondent, came from a family of revenue clerks and married into a family with a private business. As I wrote down this information she laughed and added, "We are pukkā Banias."

About Jaya's jati, the Shri Gaud Brahmins, I was able to discover very little. Majmudar (1965: 45) says only that they are immigrants to Gujarat who retained the name of their native place. Unlike my other Brahmin respondents, Jaya was explicitly "not concerned with these matters." She supposed that Shri Gauds might once have served the rulers of Saurashtra, but today they follow "all manner of occupation," such as engineering, government service, and medicine. They are not, however, currently engaged in

agriculture.¹¹

Information pertaining to Raikwa Brahmins came not from Kamala but from her brother's wife's brother, a twenty-six-year-old whose visit to the States had left him somewhat cynical about his own culture. According to him, Raikwas came to Gujarat peacefully before the time of Mogul rule and settled in and around Ahmedabad. Some took to agriculture; others became household priests for agriculturalists and artisans. The group remained small in number and loosely structured. The same informant gives the impression that Raikwas act more independently of one another than do members of other jatis. There are no caste functions per se, although relatives and caste friends do gather "at times of sorrow and times of joy." Individuals aspiring to higher education for their daughters, foreign travel, or non-traditional occupations feel free to pursue their goals. These views may be due in part to wishful thinking. Certainly when Kamala married out of caste, the disapproval of other Raikwas on caste principles was vehement.

The sixth and last Brahmin jati represented by women interviewed is that of the Chitpavans. Kusum, a Chitpavan Brahmin, gave her jati as Maharashtrian, since to anyone in Gujarat this is the second most relevant term of identification. The Chitpavans come from the southern coast of Maharashtra, where certain families traditionally served as chief ministers to the kings (Karve, 1963: 2). During Maratha rule in Gujarat, from 1753 to as late as 1947 in some small pockets, Maharashtrians of various

¹¹One learned principal of a school mentioned that Gaud Brahmins, because they study the Vedas pertaining to life-sacrifice, are considered himsā by other Hindus (cf. Forbes, 1924: II, 232). I am uncertain as to whether "Gaud" and "Shri Gaud" refer to the same Brahmin community.

castes immigrated to serve the Gaikwadi court and its bureaucracy.

Although my sample was to include only Gujarati women, I interviewed Kusum, thinking that as a third generation Gujarati, she would qualify. However, her mother tongue, household rituals, and dietary habits turned out to be very Maharashtrian. In so far as behaviour associated with life-style and intrafamilial relationships is also specific to a former "native place," my observations and interviews with her may provide exceptional data for the present study. But as the descriptions of the other Brahmin jatis indicate, no two respondents represent precisely the same sub-division of Brahminical culture.

Unlike the Bania castes discussed below, almost all of Gujarat's Brahmins belong to the same religious "sect," that of Shiva. Shiva is an "Aryan" deity, represented at Mahenjo-daro and mentioned in the Mahābārata (Majmudar, 1965: 211; Munshi, 1954: 57). In ancient times, as the god of destruction and procreation, he was worshipped by the sacrifice of bulls and cows. During the sixth and seventh centuries, as part of the Puranic Renaissance (see p. 36), Shaivism grew in popularity in opposition to Buddhism. However, the doctrine of ahimsā so influenced Brahminical practice that by the seventh or eighth century, worship by sacrifice had become a "heinous sin." The Brahmin was heralded as the "protector of kings, cows, and women."

A second non-Aryan influence on Shaivism came from the idol-worship of ādivāsīs, or original inhabitants (Majmudar, 1965: 211). Images and symbols of Shiva were installed in temples and homes. The Shiva-lingam, a symbol indicative of an emphasis on the god's reproductive powers rather than his powers of destruction, was worshipped by pouring liquid over it. Reincarnations of Shiva

proliferated, as did his names, of which Mahadev is today the most commonly heard.

Although only the Nagar respondents of the present sample referred to themselves as Shaivite, an image or symbol of Shiva had a central place in the pūjā-area of every Gujarati Brahmin home I visited. Kusum, the Maharashtrian Brahmin respondent, mentioned Ganapati pūjā, or the worship of Ganesh, as being common to "all Maharashtrians." Although both Shiva and Ganesh are worshipped by certain physical signs of devotion such as the pouring of liquid or the presentation of flowers, most of the pūjā consists of recitations or readings from scriptures. Hours not considered ones of puja worship are also spent memorizing and reading religious texts.

2) Bania Jatis and Sects

Not the Brahmin but the mercantile Vaishya jatis subtly "dominate" Gujarat, both its external image and its internal affairs. In other parts of India, a Gujarati is assumed to be a trader or financier. By Western observers, he has been termed "the least other-worldly of all Indian peoples," "the Jew of India." Within Gujarat itself, the "Bania ethic" is pervasive.

The segmentation of Gujarat's Vaishyas is quite complex. As mentioned above in relation to Figure 1, all Gujarati Vaishyas, to my knowledge, are referred to as Banias. Furthermore, today all Jains are presumed to be Banias, although Jain Kshatriyas are known to have played an important role in Gujarat's history. In giving "Jain" as their varna (Table IV, p.41), Aruna and Champa reflect the assumption that all Jains are Banias, and the consequent practice of omitting "Bania" from the caste name.

Figure 1 (p. 34) indicates an initial division of Banias according to doctrinal affiliation, whether Hindu or Jain. The third level of jati categorizes them on the basis of historical and mythological origin. And the fourth level refers to traditional ritual status, one of the major considerations in match-making. In addition to these four levels of segmentation, each caste name may be further modified on the basis of region. Thus, for example, Urmila is an Ahmedabadi Visa Porwad Jain Bania.

To complicate matters, the doctrinal affiliation of both Hindu and Jain Banias is sub-divided according to sect and, in the case of Jains, sub-sect. The significance of divisions based on religion is discussed below.

Three of the six Bania respondents -- Aruna, Champa, and Malti -- belong to the Shrimali jati, the most numerous and possibly the most prosperous community of Bania Gujarat. Shrimalis came to Gujarat from the ancient town of Shreemala in Rajasthan. It is said that there Lord Vishnu created 90,000 Banias to serve 45,000 Brahmins (Sangave, 1959: 93). Forbes states (1924: II, 233) that when Shreemala declined, many of its Brahmins migrated to the growing urban centre of Anhilwad in Gujarat, where a large number converted to Jainism. No mention is made of Shrimali Bania migration or conversion, but it appears likely that they followed the same pattern.¹² As the origin myth related above suggests, Banias depended upon the Brahmins and upon urban activities for their livelihood. If Brahmins left Shreemala because of urban decline, Banias had twice the reason to leave.

¹²An alternative hypothesis to the one suggested here is that Shrimali Jains are indeed descended from Shreemala's Brahmins, but have adopted the Bania varna along with Bania occupations. This would not, however, explain the existence of non-Jain Shrimali Banias such as Malti.

If my historical extrapolation is correct, Shrimali Banias, both Jain and Hindu, have been living in urban Gujarat for more than a thousand years. Their relationship to Brahmins, originally an occupational one, took on new dimensions with the conversion to Jainism. On the one hand, since both Brahmins and Banias converted, a certain amount of cultural exchange probably took place. On the other hand, it was at this time that competition between Brahmins and Jains was institutionalized at Anhilwad, increasing communication between the two groups.

Two of the six Bania respondents -- Urmila and Sharda -- belong to the Porwada jati. Porwadas are also said to have come from Shreemala, where they lived on the east side of town (pragvātā, lit.: east). Like the Shrimalis, Porwadas claim to be Banias. But their history reads like that of many Kshatriya communities in Gujarat: they descended from the Gujara tribe of invaders; they migrated to Shreemala on the king's orders to protect the town; and centuries later, after migration to Gujarat, they still held military and ministerial positions under Kshatriya rulers (Sangave, 1959: 94; Forbes, 1924: I, 107, 233, 252). It is not impossible that the earlier Porwads were also considered Bania, or Vaishya, but more probably, succeeding generations "became Vaishya by taking to commercial activities."¹³

Perhaps because of their later start, Porwadas as a group never founded an entrepreneurial empire like that which the Shrimalis still control. The latter "great merchant princes," originally dealers in jewels, perfumes, and brocades, now manage much of Gujarat's vast textile industry and speculate in "bullion and shares and even in American futures" (Sangave, 1959: 327). A Shrimali business man may boast that when travelling anywhere in India, Europe, North

¹³Sangave (1959: 96) suggests this for Khandelavala Jains.

America, Southeast Asia or East Africa, he may stay at the homes of other Shrimali businessmen.¹⁴

Both Shrimalis and Porwadas are sub-divided into Visas and Dasas. The origin and significance of these terms is not clear. Forbes (1924: II, 237) writes that "Waneeas . . . are again subdivided, as into right and left hand, or into Dusha and Veesha, names implying degrees of rank, and derived from words signifying ten and twenty." Sangave (1959: 95) says that in the case of the Porwadas, descendents or members who once dined with the sons of a remarried widow are Dasa, while descendents of those who refused are Visa. According to Hindu and Jain ethics, Visas would be the ritually purer of the two groups. About Shrimalis, Sangave (1959: 93) relates three stories, one deriving the terms Dasa and Visa from the words for ten and twenty, one from the words for direction and section, and one from a story concerning left and right sides. In each case, Visa is the more prestigious term.

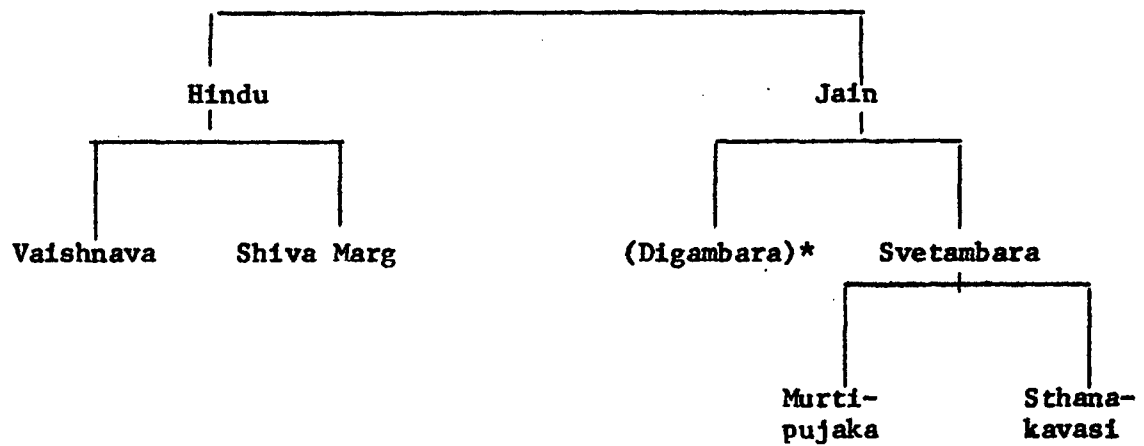
There is some indication that "Dasa" and "Visa" still connote relative ritual inferiority and superiority. For example, marriages are not infrequently arranged between members of different Bania jatis (e.g., between Shrimali and Porwad), but few if any arranged marriages occur between Visas and Dasas, even of the same jati. In terms of secular prestige, however, there appears to be no noticeable difference. Dasa Shrimali Jains constitute one of Ahmedabad's wealthiest communities.

Banias, particularly Jain Banias, are divided into almost as many sects as jatis (Figure 3, p. 51). In Ahmedabad, three sects dominate, their members being most numerous and most prosperous with-

¹⁴Unfortunately, I am not certain of Nandini's jati, but I have reason to believe she is a Modh Bania. Modhs served as administrators and financiers under Saurashtrian rulers.

Figure 3.

DIVISION OF RELIGIONS
REPRESENTED BY BANIA RESPONDENTS



* Not represented in the present sample

in the Bania community: Vaishnava Hindus, Murtipujaka Jains, and Sthanakavasi Jains. All follow the doctrine of ahimsā, but while the Jain sects endorse asceticism and self-mortification, Vaishnavas affirm the "epicurean" and self-indulgent life of good works (Majmudar, 1965: 220; Lamb, 1959: 30). One of the first preceptors to introduce Vaishnavism to Gujarat was himself in the Householder Stage of Life. Majmudar (1965: 214) believes that "this fact explains the ready response given by ... the mercantile communities of Gujarat." They could continue to pursue their earthly goals while, through worship of Krishna (Vishnu), attaining liberation.

But the contrast between "epicurean Vaishnavas" and "puritanical Jains" (Lamb, 1959: 30) could easily be over-emphasized. Gujarati Vaishnavas, in particular, live modestly by comparison with, for example, merchants in parts of North India (cf. Hazelhurst, 1967). Yet it is true that the ultimate in frugality characterizes Jain life, in dress and diet, in prosperous circumstances as well as in lean, even at the time of a daughter's marriage. While good business sense may reinforce such behaviour, the Jain scriptures also sanction it (Sangave, 1959: 217-223).

In addition to the doctrine of ahimsā, the three dominant Bania sects also emphasize injunctions found in the Gītā: the importance of performing one's duty for its own sake; the need for self-discipline, self-knowledge, and self-contentment; and the desirability of a total devotion to Krishna (Vishnu). The sects differ from one another primarily in their manner of devotion. Murtipuja Jains, such as Urmila, Aruna, and Sharda, "are the thorough worshippers of idols. They offer fruits, flowers and saffron, etc., to their idols and adorn them with rich clothes and ornaments" (Sangave, 1959: 56). Vaishnava Hindus such as Nandini worship in a similar manner, but repeat verses derived from Vedic rather than

from Jain literature. In contrast, Sthankavasi Jains such as Champa reject idol-worship entirely. They honour their ascetics with food and gifts, and visit temples regularly to take darshan and to hear readings. The sixth Bania respondent, Malti, belongs to a Hindu sect which worships Shiva. While Shiva worship is not exceptional for a Gujarati Bania, it is far from typical. Possibly her jati's connexion with the Shrimali Brahmins of ancient Anhilwad can explain the doctrinal similarity.

In summary, the backgrounds of my respondents' jatis and sects indicate that although the Brahmin and Vaishya (Bania) varnas have come to project very similar images, Brahmin and Vaishya jatis retain distinct traditions -- traditions reflecting their varna, in several instances. Thus, Nagar, Chitpavan, and possibly Shri Gaud Brahmins are traditionally associated with government service. Shrimali and Porwad Banias (Vaishyas) remain commercially involved. Relative prestige within the Nagar jati is based on past episodes involving acceptance or refusal of alms, an important aspect of Brahminical ethics. Within the Shrimali and Porwad jatis, relative prestige is said to be based on episodes involving acceptance or refusal of "impure" food, an important aspect of Bania ethics. Members of Brahmin jatis include extensive readings and recitations from Vedic and subsequent texts in their worship. Members of Bania jatis stress worship by devotion to the god and by proper action.

In other words, the backgrounds and traditions of my respondents' jatis and sects indicate that similarities between the Brahmin and Bania varnas are far from comprehensive. Differences in attitudes and behaviour among my respondents may indeed be found to correspond to differences in their caste backgrounds, if they are not mitigated by the respondents' urban environment, education, and employment.

Community Traditions of the Respondents

Imbedded in my respondents' patterns of family life are traditions of their castes and sects. Below, I will describe the traditions pertaining to daily routine, life-cycle events, and calendrical occasions. In each case, I will compare the behaviour of my respondents and their families of procreation with the behaviour of their families of orientation. I will note any differences between the two, and suggest what bearing caste background and women's employment may have on the changes indicated.

1) Daily Activities

About 620 A.D., a Gujarati Brahmin described the morning ritual as follows:

He rose early in the morning; having taken his bath he put on a clean white garment; with rosary in hand he recited Vedic mantras . . . He then worshipped the image of Shiva by pouring milk over it, then offering it sweet-smelling flowers and incense and pigments; he also offered ārati . . .

Munshi, 1954: 63.

To a remarkable extent, this passage describes what I saw and heard in Ahmedabad thirteen centuries later.

The actual hour of rising seems to have been postponed over time. Forbes (1924: II, 254-255) reports that Brahmins and Banias start the day about four o'clock, since many of them are under a vow to bathe before sunrise. The women in this study remember that their parents rose by five o'clock, although the children slept an hour or two longer. Today, in their own homes, senior relatives living with them may bathe before sunrise, but the women themselves get up about six or six-thirty.

Each adult, upon rising, bathes by washing feet, hands, and face, and by brushing teeth and tongue. In winter, children's baths may be postponed until later in the day, but several women, all of them Brahmin, remember that in their own childhoods they were never spared the early morning dousing. Three respondents, all Banias, say they occasionally omit an infant's bath on very cold days. According to Urmila, "Brahmins are more particular in these matters [than Banias]."

After changing from the previous day's clothing into a fresh cotton saarii or shirt, each person acknowledges one or more gods. This is done in the same manner daily, but the form varies from one jati and sect to another. For example, the repetition of certain slōkās, the presentation of certain types of flowers, and the application of certain types of make-up to the statue of the god are required. Nandini eats a small piece of clay before a picture of the god. The parents of my respondents appear to have spent a longer time acknowledging the gods before taking tea than the respondents and their husbands do now. Two Jain women report that a morning visit to the temple was compulsory for their fathers before even water could be swallowed.

Depending on his age, a child is also expected to acknowledge the god after bathing and before taking his milk. Parents press an infant's hands together in a gesture of nāmastē and encourage him to say "je-je," much as Western parents pump a child's arm up and down while repeating "bye-bye." By the age of about seven, children greet the god as their parents do, and may be permitted or even required to collect flowers, repeat slōkās, etc. In general, the women interviewed expect less participation of their children than their parents did of them.

My respondents report that as children, after morning tea, they played, helped their mothers in the kitchen, or accompanied their fathers to temple or in the pūjā-area until dinner was ready at about ten o'clock. As wives, they must get their husbands and themselves off to work between eight-thirty and ten-thirty. Dinner is either served earlier, or tea becomes a more substantial meal and dinner is postponed until noon. In either case, the time once devoted to pūjā and temple-going is sharply reduced.

With the exception of Kamala, whose father was "not religious," all of the Brahmin women remember their fathers performing pūjā for one to three hours every morning. As in the case of the initial greeting of the god, the ritual was the same every day, but varied between families. Ārtī, the circling of a flame before the god, was mentioned by most of the Brahmin women as a part of the father's pūjā. If a father died, his wife performed the rituals. Children were usually permitted in the pūjā-area, and frequently spent at least a few minutes each morning listening to and helping their fathers.

Only in Janu's and Hansa's homes are the traditions adhered to today. Kamala, Kusum, and Jaya, who married outside their jatis and sects, neither expect nor desire their husbands to spend more time in morning worship. Kusum tries to devote a few minutes to Ganesha-pūjā each day, but Kamala and Jaya do not try to practice the rituals of their parental homes. Asha's husband spent an hour at pūjā when his father's sister lived with them, but after her death, "as we went on being independent, it gradually went out."

Among the Bania women, the Jains remember morning visits to temple. Urmila and Aruna recall both temple-darshan and pūjā as part of their fathers' morning activities. The non-Jain Banias

describe pūjā rites resembling those of the Brahmins' fathers.

It appears that the mothers of the Bania respondents participated in the morning worship more often than did the Brahmins' mothers. Three possible explanations may be suggested for this. First, both Jainism and Vaishnavism accord women an active and important role in religious activities. Shaivism, on the other hand, regards a woman as a facilitator of her husband's worship. At most she is a companion to him as he fulfills the Householder's duties to the gods.

Secondly, Jain sects and to a certain extent Vaishnavas permit each spouse to practice the rituals of his or her parental home. Thus Champa's mother, a Sthanakavasi Jain, took darshan of holy men only. Her husband, a Murtipujaka Jain, "did not believe in this action, but in God only." Brahmin women, on the other hand, although they normally worship the same god (Shiva) as their husbands, are not free to follow the particular rites of their parental homes.

Thirdly, mothers of the Bania women may have become more involved in the morning worship because their husbands were so often away on business. Like the Brahmin widows, they took over their husbands' duties to the gods.

In general, the Bania respondents, as adults, find as little time for morning pūjā as do the Brahmin respondents. Only Aruna reports that she, her husband, and her son read mantras and visit the temple every morning.¹⁵ Malti's and Urmila's husbands leave the performance of rites entirely to their parents, with whom they live. Nandini, Sharda, and Champa report that their husbands have no time for regular pūjā or temple going before dinner. They must "conduct some small business," such as writing letters and

¹⁵Aruna married a man of her own jati whose family was in disgrace. Their religious activity may be one way to redeem themselves in the eyes of their fellow caste members.

settling household accounts.

The dinner the women prepare is also peculiar to the caste and sect of the cooks. Different ingredients are proscribed by some communities and prescribed by others. The proportions of the seven curry spices and the methods of cooking also vary, so much so that when someone remarks that a preparation tastes like that of a particular community, he subtly conveys a criticism or compliment to the cook. In describing the difficulties of marrying out of caste, two women, both of them Banias, mention their frustration at not knowing how to prepare certain dishes in the manner of their husbands' families.

Although a few recently introduced items such as powdered cocoa and ready-to-eat cereals have been incorporated into my respondents' diets, only three women feel that they eat anything today that was forbidden them in childhood. Urmila, a Jain, married into a Brahmin family and now eats potatoes and other vegetables and fruits proscribed by Jainism. Asha, a Brahmin, can tolerate eggs only in cakes, but since the time of her husband's father's sister's death she has prepared omlette for her children, "so they will not have my prejudice." Jaya and her husband, who found they "enjoyed everything, even some meat" during their year abroad, continue to take non-vegetarian food. It is interesting that although some studies of Indians reveal men to be less restrictive in their diets than women, no husband in the present sample, except for Jaya's, who eats beef, is more risqué in his eating habits than is his wife (see, for example, Singer, 1968: 439).

Several Brahmin customs regarding cooking and eating, well remembered from childhood, are practiced today only on special occasions, or by women living with senior relatives. For example,

the exclusion of menstruating women from the kitchen still applies to Hansa, a Nagar Brahmin living with her in-laws. But it has been disregarded by Janu since her separation from her husband's family, and by Asha since the death of her husband's father's sister. Similarly, the traditional wearing of silk at meals now occurs, for the most part, only on days when family members do not have to leave for work immediately after eating. Only senior relatives chant prayers while washing their hands before dinner, and the offering of food and prayers before eating takes place less frequently, perhaps six or eight times a month.

After dinner, my respondents and their husbands go to work, and their children to school or play. If they pass in front of a temple of their sect, men, women, and children often pause to nāmastē or to take darshan. Afternoon tea is taken in the company of colleagues and co-workers. Although these tend to be members of the same varna, they rarely belong to the same jati, and in a few instances Parsis and members of other religions, as well as Hindus and Jains, take tea together.

Among Jains, the type and the source of any refreshment appear more important than the company in which it is taken. Although few mothers give their children pocket money, only Jains offer the explanation that they fear their children will buy unacceptable things to eat. Both Brahmin and Bania respondents (Jain and Hindu) remember being forbidden food secured from vendors, or from friends of other castes. But as adults today, only my Jain respondents impose such restrictions on their children.

In the evening, women are again busy cooking, but they also perform their own pūjās at this time. Brahmin women recall that their mothers used to spend as much as an hour in the pūjā-

area. Banias report that, at least for their mothers, an evening visit to the temple was "compulsory." For all the respondents, evening worship has become a more or less family affair, which they frequently combine with an evening stroll. Several times a week, family members in groups of two or three walk to the temple to offer flowers, to take darshan of the god or holy man, or to hear readings from religious texts. They stop to chat with friends and to visit relatives along the way.

Children usually are involved in the evening activities. Although none are compelled to go to temple, most seem eager to accompany their elders. It is a "favourite pastime," "they can be with us and with friends also." The period just before bedtime is frequently devoted to telling stories from the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana.

To summarize, specific traditions of caste and sect pertaining to daily routine are maintained in the homes of my respondents in varying degrees. Religious activities (i.e., those activities described in answer to the questions "What religious customs did/does your family do each day?") have altered most noticeably in comparison with the respondents' childhood experiences. The initial acknowledgement of the god has been abbreviated, morning pūjā is generally omitted, and evening has become a family occasion. Bathing and similar acts of pollution avoidance are adhered to more by adults than by children, more by persons living jointly with elders than by persons living separately, and more by Brahmins than by Banias. Cooking and eating habits acquired by the respondents in their childhoods continue virtually unchanged, although the Brahmins are somewhat less rigid in this regard than are the Banias, particularly the Jain Banias.

In general, changes in the observance of community traditions pertaining to daily routine appear to be in the direction of abbreviation and selective application.

2) Life-Cycle Events

Traditions of caste and sect pertain to life-cycle events in two ways: ceremonies and rites mark the event itself, and certain attitudes and expectations affect decisions which must be made in connexion with the events.

Traditions pertaining to the celebration of life-cycle events, like traditions imbedded in daily routine, have been minimized by my respondents. For example, only five women (four Brahmin and one Bania) had three-day wedding ceremonies, whereas the parents of all twelve respondents had been wed in ceremonies lasting between three and five days. Similarly, although several women recall that pregnancy rites were performed for their mothers before the birth of their younger siblings, only Asha participated in pregnancy rites for the birth of her second child.¹⁶ Even for the first child, two women celebrated in the traditional manner because their mothers "insisted."

Life-cycle events given by the respondents for their children, rather than by their parents for them, are even more abbreviated. For instance, the traditional name giving ceremony involves many relatives, particularly the husband's sister who chooses the name. But seven of my respondents and their husbands named their children "with the approval" of the husbands' sisters (or

¹⁶Hansa returned to her "mother's place" for the ceremonies but her second child arrived prematurely, before the rites could be performed.

husband's father's sister) and omitted the ceremony altogether. Similarly, the upanayana ceremony, in which a Hindu upper-caste boy receives his sacred thread, was a major event in the lives of the Brahmin and Hindu Bania respondents' brothers. But Janu's two sons received the thread on the same day, "for economy;" Asha and her husband arranged their son's upanayana so as not to "disappoint" Asha's parents; and the other respondents feel that the ceremony is "not necessary for modern Hindus," or that "some small gifts to Brahmins (priests)" should suffice.

Traditional attitudes and expectations appear not to govern decisions made by my respondents in connexion with stages of their children's life-cycles. Selection of a child's school depends on economic circumstances rather than on caste or sect affiliation. Private schools are judged superior, not because the teachers there tend to be Brahmin, but because the classes are smaller and the tuition fees higher. Senior relatives of one Bania and four Brahmin respondents instruct young members of their families with religious texts, but no child is asked to memorize whole chapters, as were several of the respondents. Academic marks are considered highly important, regardless of the subject or the interests of the child, but this emphasis was also present in the childhood homes of my respondents.

Selection of a career, according to the respondents, should not be restricted either by the caste's traditional occupational affiliation or by the father's occupation. The fathers of at least ten respondents, as noted in Chapter One, followed careers traditionally associated with their jatis, and the husbands of three respondents initially chose the occupations of their fathers. But the sons of the respondents will apparently one day be able to make "free" and "personal" decisions on their own. Among

the Brahmin women, only Janu suggests specifically that her son may go into commerce, however, she is "not pushing him." Among the Bania women, Champa and Aruna have specific careers in mind for their sons: doctor, engineer, and architect. The hope for a son's occupation among Banias seems to be, as Urmila puts it, "not a business man, but someplace where he can use his intelligence." Of the seven women who have daughters, four (Nandini, Malti, Asha, and Jaya) suggest that their daughters may some day have careers, and three (Aruna, Kamala, and Hansa) suggest that their daughters may take jobs "if it becomes necessary."

It is said that the potential strength of traditional attitudes is realized when decisions pertaining to marriage are made. However, since three-fourths of the women in this study made "love-matches," and since over half of them married outside their castes, attitudes towards arranged, in-caste marriages are predictably negative. Even women such as Hansa and Janu, whose husbands were chosen for them, feel that "Marriage is a personal wish. We would like to guide [our children] only." Whether the match is arranged by parents or by the bride and groom, "all should agree, then all must be happy, whatever problems come later." Only Aruna plans to arrange her daughter's marriage and to restrict her son's choice of spouse: "Preferably he will marry a Jain, but if he marries a Hindu (not a Mohammedan, Sindhi, or Punjabi because the customs are different), we will keep them with us so the bride will get to know the customs of our house and relatives." With the exception of Aruna, no woman expressed more permissive attitudes regarding her son's future marriage than regarding her daughter's. However, no woman referred to the possibility that her son or daughter might remain unmarried.

To summarize, traditions of caste and sect pertaining to life-cycle events have relatively little influence on my respondents'

present patterns of family life. Life-cycle ceremonies, performed for most children in the respondents' homes of orientation, are performed in their homes of procreation for the first-born child and first-born male only, or they may be omitted entirely. Decisions regarding the education, career, and marriage of each child are, at least in theory, not to be made by the respondents and their husbands in accordance with traditional attitudes and expectations, but in accordance with the child's inclinations. In general, community traditions regarding life-cycle events no longer appear particularly relevant to the life-cycle.

3) Calendrical Occasions

Unlike life-cycle events, calendrical occasions appear to be celebrated as fully today as when the respondents were young. Calenders in Gujarat frequently note the god, man, or event to be remembered each day; there are three hundred and sixty-five potential occasions for celebration or lamentation. Among these, the five most frequently mentioned by my respondents are festivals in which all castes participate: Diwālī, Navrātri, Rakshābandan, Ūthrārṇ, and Hōlī. In their families of orientation, my respondents celebrated these events by going to temples of their sects, and by gathering at the homes of relatives with fellow jati members. Today, every respondent exchanges visits and gifts with at least one family of a caste other than her own.

Diwālī, the festival of lights, has become a time for the exchange of gifts and visits between friends regardless of their castes. During Navrātri, the songs which the women sing as they dance around the Goddess Ambājī are often peculiar to certain castes and sects, but all women join in the refrains and take

turns leading songs of their own communities. Rakshābandan, once an occasion for a brother to give a gift in exchange for a pledge of sisterly devotion, now resembles a platonic Valentine's day. Girls may present any number of male acquaintances with the wrist-band symbolic of their friendship. Ūthrārṇ, the day of kite-flying, is also an occasion for peer groups. Friends gather on roof-tops to compete with other groups for dominance and excellence in the skies. Although Hōlī is not celebrated as vividly or as extensively in Gujarat as in other parts of India, younger people do throw coloured water, first on members of their own families, then on neighbors, and ultimately on society at large.

The celebration of Krishna's birthday was mentioned by only four respondents, all of them Bania, but children of all castes participate in the festivities at school. The importance granted Krishna's birthday in Gujarat reflects the dominance of Banias in the area. Other groups, particularly the larger and more affluent communities, also gather for their god's day. Nagar Brahmins, for example, parade to and around their pōl temple once a year and then sit down to a large feast. Nandini and her husband, and Kusum and her husband go to temple together on each other's god's days.

The major occasions common to all castes are marked by feasting, particularly by the eating of sweets (see Mayer, 1960: 33-34). Minor occasions, on the other hand, more often involve fasting, a practice frequently observed by Gujaratis on non-calendrical occasions and for a variety of reasons. The abstainer conveys a sense of humility and a sense of power simultaneously. Children compel their parents, pupils their teachers, wives their husbands, and worshippers their gods through proper fasting. M.K. Gandhi, a Gujarati par excellence, often fasted -- in all humility -- to bring a government to its knees (cf. Erikson, 1969: 417-418, et passim).

The sense of blended humility and power is probably less evident in the calendrical fasts undertaken so regularly. Nevertheless, certain goals may be discerned. To get a good husband, three Brahmin respondents have fasted in July, from the age of puberty, by eating only saltless food and only fruit in the evening. Nandini, a Vaishnavite, observed a "five day fast for virgins" once a year from the age of ten until her marriage. Janu and Kusum fast at the time of the moon's eclipse, "for a good husband, for the same husband in the next life, for son's health."

One theory is that fasting purifies, and that purity in a woman increases her power (Beck: 1970). In support of this it is interesting to note that all the Brahmin respondents at one time fasted one day a month to cleanse themselves after menstruation, and three continue to do so. Individual vows to fast one day a week "for health" have been made by Kusum and Malti. And all four Jain respondents observe Paryūshā, the eight-day fast for forgiveness of sins. In general, Jains fast more frequently and more radically than do Hindus. No water is taken, no eating before sunrise or after sunset is permitted, and the diet is extremely limited. Two Jain respondents -- Sharda and Champa -- were never compelled to fast. Others, Urmila and Aruna, remember not being able to sleep because of hunger and thirst. As adults, none of them require their children to abstain "if [the children] do not wish it."

To summarize, traditions of caste and sect pertaining to calendrical occasions are observed in my respondents' homes of procreation with at least as much enthusiasm as they were in their homes of orientation. Occasions common to all castes still tend to be celebrated with visits, feasts, and exchanges of gifts, but today they are also occasions when members of different castes

celebrate together. Occasions peculiar to certain jatis, sects, or to individuals tend to be marked by fasting, as they were in the respondents' childhoods. In general, community traditions regarding calendrical occasions are living traditions, maintained and in some instances elaborated upon in the homes of the respondents.

From the data presented above, it may be concluded that traditions of caste and sect are observed by my respondents in varying degrees. In comparison with community traditions observed in the respondents' childhoods, traditions pertaining to life-cycle events have been all but deleted, those pertaining to daily routine have been significantly modified, and those pertaining to calendrical occasions have been expanded to include members of other castes. It appears that at least two patterns characterize the changes in observance of community tradition: a pattern of abbreviation and omission, and a pattern of elaboration and universalization.

Analysis suggests that both patterns may be related to similar sets of factors. For example, women who have married out of caste tend to modify and delete more traditions than do women who have married within their castes, but they also tend to incorporate members of at least two castes equally in their observance of calendrical occasions. On the one hand, if husband and wife represent different jatis or sects, decisions must be made as to which traditions should be observed, who should officiate, and so forth. On the other hand, traditions common to both castes may be celebrated without difficulty with the relatives of both husband and wife. Similarly, women living in nuclear families tend to abbreviate the observance of certain traditions more extensively than do women living in joint families, but they also include in their celebrations of cross-caste calendrical events many non-

family and non-caste acquaintances.

Caste background does not appear related to the general patterns of change. Both Brahmin and Bania respondents have modified traditions pertaining to daily routines and life-cycle events, and both have universalized their observance of traditions pertaining to certain calendrical occasions. However, caste background does appear related to the traditions themselves. For example, traditions of pollution avoidance were adhered to more rigidly by Brahmin women in their childhoods than by Bania women in theirs, and although respondents of both varnas have become more flexible in this regard, Brahmins continue to be more fastidious, relative to Banias. Similarly, traditions concerning dietary and eating habits were more numerous and more restricting in the Banias' families of orientation than in those of the Brahmins, and they continue to be so, relatively speaking.¹⁷ Thus, although caste does not appear to influence the extent or direction of change in community tradition, it does affect the nature of traditional behaviour. Furthermore, caste background may be related to the reasons which the respondents give for the changes they have made. I will examine this possibility in the concluding chapter of the present thesis.

Since all of my respondents are employed, it is difficult to evaluate women's employment as a factor in the changes observed. Nevertheless, the data on the observance of community tradition suggests that employment may be related to the patterns of change in at least three ways. First of all, women's employment necessitates a re-allocation of time. Women who work have fewer hours :

¹⁷In terms of Erikson's theory of oral and anal cultures (1963: 133-186), the Brahmin emphasis on cleanliness indicates an "anal" preoccupation, while the Bania (particularly the Jain Bania) focus on eating and non-eating indicates an "oral" preoccupation.

in which to devote themselves to the observance of daily rituals, and they are less able to assume household chores which facilitate their husbands' observance of daily rituals. For example, the wearing of silk clothing during meals is time consuming not only for the husband who must change before leaving for work, but also for the wife who must launder the extra apparel. On the other hand, working women do have time in which to observe all-caste calendrical events. Because all castes participate in them, schools and businesses set aside days for their celebration, and all members of the family enjoy the holidays together.

Secondly, women's employment may be related to the changes in traditional behaviour in that it facilitates a re-allocation of interests and sources of personal satisfaction. A woman who works may relegate her role as organizer of social and religious functions to fourth position, following those of wife, mother, and employee. By serving her family as a wage-earner, she need not feel negligent for diminishing her role as mediator of tradition. And by involving herself in her job, she satisfies a need for purposeful activity also satiable through participation in community tradition. Furthermore, my respondents have already violated traditional norms by getting higher degrees, marrying out of caste, and taking jobs. Attention to traditions of caste and sect would do little to further their sense of moral uprightness or spiritual security, and it might appear hypocritical. Jaya and her husband do not instruct their daughter in religious matters, because they wish for her to "find some meaning" for herself. Hansa feels that her in-laws are "very sincere in these matters, but we are thinking of the expense too much." Champa is happy that her sons "enjoy the worship of God and sādvīs, why should we care for [ceremonial] pomp?"

Thirdly, and almost in contradiction to the above suggestion, women's employment may increase the degree to which certain

traditions are observed by creating in working women a sense of guilt. For example, the amount of visiting and gift-giving, done by working women on calendrical occasions for which they have holidays, to some extent may be compensatory for the women's lack of participation on other occasions. Similarly, the practice of fasting may help to reconcile a working woman to her neglect of more time-consuming traditions. Fasting is believed to benefit others and to require only the individual's will. A healthy woman who does not fast appears selfish or self-indulgent -- major vices in the Gujarati scale of values.

Studies of change in Indian culture frequently indicate that although new patterns of behaviour and belief may characterize men's activities outside the home, traditional patterns may still characterize the activities of both men and women inside the home (see, for example, Singer, 1968: 438-439). The present study suggests that when women as well as men participate in outside activities, new ways of thinking and behaving may be introduced in the home. Because my respondents' employment removes them from the home, they must abbreviate the time spent on daily and life-cycle rituals. Their husbands cannot "delegate" to them responsibility for the observance of tradition. Similarly, because their employment places them in the larger community, the respondents are as exposed to new ideas and new forms of behaviour as are their husbands. I have already noted that, with one exception, my respondents are as liberal as their husbands with regard to dietary habits. They also form as many acquaintances with members of other castes as do their husbands. Whereas a man may confine his inter-caste relationships to the "domain" of his office, particularly if his wife maintains a traditional home life, a working woman feels free to invite to her home, and to include in her celebrations of calendrical events, befriended colleagues regardless of their caste.

Thus, what Singer (1968: 438) refers to as the "compartmentalization" of conduct and norms between place of work and place of residence appears not to characterize the behaviour of men whose wives work. The employed Indian woman is not "the stronghold of tradition."

In Chapter Two I have tried to show that while the varnas represented by my respondents have in common certain values, customs, and statuses, the jatis of the respondents retain traditions peculiar to the varnas of which they are a part. In comparison with their families of orientation, my respondents' families of procreation pay little attention to their jatis' traditions pertaining to life-cycle events, and only abbreviated attention to traditions imbedded in daily routine. However, they fully observe traditions pertaining to many calendrical occasions, and have universalized certain of these traditions so as to include members of different castes in the celebrations. I have suggested that while caste background may affect the nature of traditional behaviour, and while family composition and type of marriage may be related to the extent of change in that behaviour, women's employment appears to be a very significant factor influencing the patterns of change. In the concluding chapter to this thesis, I will explore the possibility that the patterns of change in the observance of community tradition -- patterns of modification and deletion on the one hand, and patterns of elaboration and universalization on the other -- indicate the operation of modern values, and constitute part of the process of modernization.

CHAPTER THREE

MODERN LIVING IN AHMEDABAD: EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

As indicated in Chapter Two, most of the jatis represented in this study have long been associated with Gujarat's urban areas. For generations, their members have been accustomed to a monetary economy, to literary and cultural institutions, and to an awareness of social and political developments taking place outside of Gujarat. In their life-styles and in their interpersonal relationships as well, members of these jatis have traditionally exhibited certain behavioural and attitudinal patterns which members of rural, agricultural communities now acquire as new, "modern" patterns, only after exposure to urban areas. Because their families have long been urbanized, the behaviour and beliefs of the present study's respondents are unlikely to change as a result of urbanization.

But industrialization, a process in which inanimate sources of energy are utilized for production and manufacture, is a relatively recent phenomenon in Gujarat. Moreover, the social and political consequences of industrialization, consequences which I regard as aspects of the process of modernization, appear to have been delayed. In his history of Ahmedabad, Kenneth Gillion (1968: 7) focusses on the "limited correlation" between industrialization and modernization: "Ahmedabad's economic progress was achieved within a society which remained socially conservative and politically backward" until the First World War.

Thus my respondents, with the exception of Nandini, were born into families that were urbanized but still adjusting to the

delayed consequences of industrialization. The present chapter will consider three areas of their adjustment: residential patterns, household arrangements, and daily routine. In discussing each area of adjustment, I shall try to assess the effects of my respondents' employment upon their attitudes and actions regarding the changes.

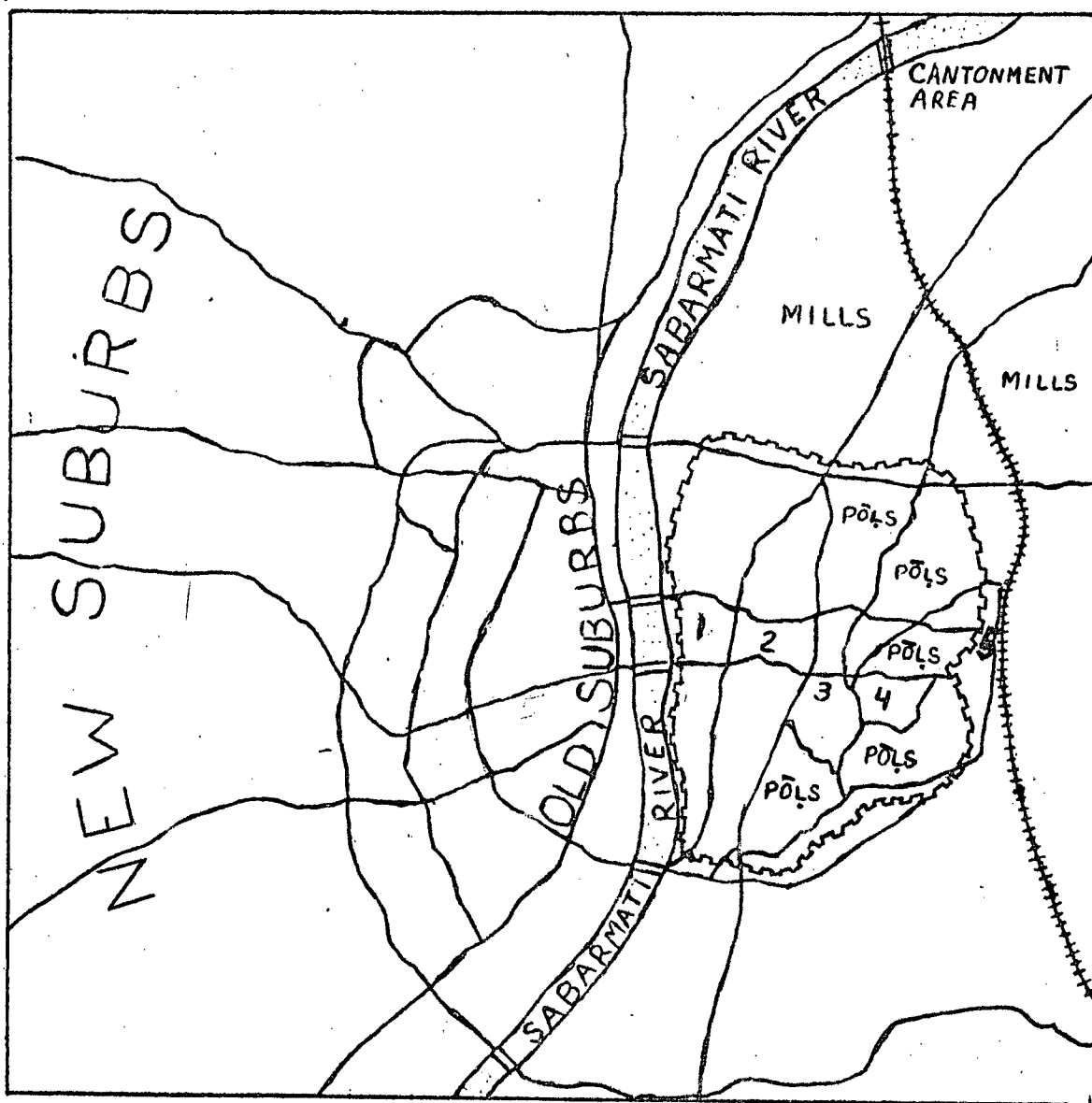
Residential Patterns

Ahmedabad displays most of the features noted by Brush (1962) and Breese (1966) as characteristic of Indian cities. A densely populated old city, with highly mixed land use and socially segregated residential areas, contrasts with relatively planned suburban areas, where land use is specialized and residential areas are less segregated. But unlike most of the cities referred to by Brush and Breese, Ahmedabad did not develop her suburban areas until the beginning of the twentieth century, when intensified industrial expansion, rather than the British presence, stimulated the transformation.

Ahmedabad was founded in 1411 A.D., when Sultan Ahmed Shah enclosed two square miles of land with "impregnable" walls. Originally, in the middle of the western wall, overlooking the Sabarmati River, stood Bhadra Fort, centre for the Mogul municipal government. Although the citadel itself no longer stands, other areas remain essentially unaltered (see map, p. 74). Walking eastward through the centre of town, one first encounters the main bazaar for dry goods and artisans' wares, then the central mosque, and finally the main bazaar for food stuffs. On either side of this public area, but particularly to the south, are clusters of residential-cum-business buildings, or pōls.

MAP

Ahmedabad: Showing Position of
Old Walls and Present Thoroughfares



Legend:

1. Bhadra Fort
2. Bazaar of Dry Goods
3. Mosque
4. Bazaar of Food Stuffs
5. Railroad Station

Outwardly, the Ahmedabadi pōl resembles European neighborhoods which grew up within medieval walled cities, such as Rottenberg in Germany. Three- to five-storey buildings, adjoining one another on two or even three sides, crowd along a labyrinth of narrow, unpaved alleys and cul-de-sacs. At the one or two entrances from the main road are gates, that formerly were locked at night, and latrines. At the center of the labyrinth, in an open area used for feasts and meetings, is the pōl well, now no longer used, and a small temple or shrine. Until recently, these communal facilities were maintained by a system of fines, taxes on the sale of houses, and gifts from wealthy residents (Ahmedabad Gazeteer, 1879, cited in Gillion, 1968: 25).

Three basic features of pōl life -- functional multiplicity, social homogeneity, and economic heterogeneity -- changed significantly in response to increasing industrialization and consequent pressures of population. Most obvious to the outside observer is the shift from functional diversity, or highly mixed land use, to functional specialization. Formerly, in an Ahmedabadi pōl house, an office or shop often occupied the front rooms of the ground floor, a storeroom or workshop was located behind or above, while the family's living quarters took up the top floors. Today, areas still referred to as pōls tend to be residential areas, predominantly. Some artisan groups continue to work in their homes, and Baniyas may have offices on the second or third floor, but enterprises dealing directly with the public are, for the most part, no longer located in pōls. The fathers of half the respondents conducted their business in the home, but none of the respondents' husbands do so.

An interrelated set of factors stimulated functional specialization in the pōls. On the one hand, industries were founded

to the north and northwest of the city's walls. Businesses associated with mills found it convenient to locate near them, and as residential areas for mill managers and workers grew, members of artisan and serving castes left the pōls also. Furthermore, to encourage settlement beyond the walls, land prices were reduced, and new or expanding enterprises found it economical to leave the pōls.

On the other hand, industries stimulated immigration and a rise in the birth-rate. The municipal government thought to alleviate congestion by ploughing thoroughfares through the city (Gillion, 1968: 148). Displaced pōl residents crowded in with their relatives, increasing the already heightened demand for living quarters. The thoroughfares, accessible to the public and negotiable by wheeled vehicles, became centres of commercial specialization. Businesses that could not afford to shift either to the suburbs or to the thoroughfares closed completely. Thus, industrialization and the consequent pressures of population both "pushed" and "pulled" the place of business away from the place of residence.

Only a fine line may be drawn between the effects of industrialization and the process of modernization. The loss of functional multiplicity may illustrate this point. To the men of the pōls, functional specialization meant higher overhead and a sharper division between family matters and business concerns. To women, it meant greater independence and increased responsibility within the home, but at the same time a narrower range of personal experience outside the home. And to children, sons in particular, it meant a reduction of opportunity for the training in, and identification with, their fathers' occupations. The modern emphasis on individuality is no doubt stimulated by numerous factors. The separation of occupation from home-life very probably is one of them.

Industrialization also affected the social homogeneity of pōl life. The original pōl consisted of members of a single jati, and occasionally a few members of serving castes, such as priests, carpenters, and barbers. As businesses left the pōl, homogeneity of jati could be maintained only at great cost to pōl standards (cf. Morrison, 1969: 1-10). One of the few studies done on Ahmedabad pōls contrasts the plight of one traditionally minded pōl with that of one which adapted to modern needs (Doshi, 1968: 19-32). In the case of the latter, rules regarding the jati of residents were "danged" (i.e., ignored), and members of other jatis were welcomed. This pōl flourishes today, while the one that maintained its traditional regulations is impoverished. On the other hand, as Doshi points out, the traditional pōl retains its co-operative and "warm or oppressive" coziness in the urban environment, while in the more pragmatic pōl, "mere co-residence" has replaced the multifaceted jati relationships.

From the perspective of pōl residents, it is probably these intangible implications of social homogeneity and heterogeneity that distinguish traditional urban life from modern urban life. Particularly for women who spend most of their time in the pōl, the scarcity of fellow jati members in a modern pōl permits freer behaviour and more independent decision-making. Furthermore, while most relationships may be neutral, in a heterogeneous pōl there is the possibility that close friendships will develop between persons of different jatis. As two women of this study, Urmila and Kusum, point out, considerable learning takes place in such circumstances. Ideas on child-care, cooking, and caste customs are exchanged. In other words, while functional specialization may narrow a woman's experience in the pōl, social heterogeneity may expand it.

The third feature of pōl life to change in response to industrialization was that of economic heterogeneity. Originally,

the pōl housed jati members of varying economic status. Wealthier residents displayed more elaborately carved shutters and doors, and more expensive household furnishings. They held positions of political power and economic prestige, and contributed substantially to the maintenance of communal facilities and to the relief of the pōl's destitute. This economic heterogeneity dissolved quickly as the pōls became congested, and alternative residential areas opened up beyond the walls. The standard of living for pōl residents deteriorated both absolutely and by comparison with the new suburban alternative.

Wealthy residents left the pōls for several reasons. Some wished to be closer to their recently established mills or offices; others sensed a loss in status. In the new, socially heterogeneous pōl, the position of sheth (leader) and the role of elders in the pōl pānch (the executive and judicial body, which had been coterminous with that of the jati) no longer guaranteed power or prestige. In the suburbs, the elite of the pōls hoped to improve their life-style and regain status. Their leaving not only deprived the pōl of economic support, but of a source of pride as well. Jati members remaining in the pōls had a new goal: to get to the suburbs.

However, there was never a general exodus from Ahmedabad's pōls, and even the initial move was made hesitantly. Through years of famine, fires, and plague, Ahmedabadis steadfastly refused to leave their pōls. Finally, the consequences of greater industrialization left them no other alternative. In 1872, ten years after the founding of the first mill, there were 356 pōls with an average population density of 52,435 persons per square mile, more than double that of London (Gillion, 1968: 25, 144). Thirty years later, when the first suburb was finally founded outside the walls, there were 60,000 persons per square mile in the walled area.

The wealthy pōl residents who first left were mill owners. They built immense, three-storey bungalows near their mills north of the walls.¹⁸ These homes of twenty and twenty-five rooms are built around open courtyards, or chowks, and are surrounded by gardens in which stand servants' quarters, a well, and latrines.

After the government lowered the price of land, cooperative housing "societies," managed in much the same way as the pōls from which their founders came, developed on the western banks of the Sabarmati. The societies are relatively spacious and well planned. Each area is sub-divided into compounds, plots of various sizes enclosed by walls having a single entrance. Within the walls stand one or more bungalows, a tank, and latrines. Unlike the mill-owners' homes, there are no servants' quarters or gardens, and the five- to ten-room bungalows have only one or at the most two stories.

The first societies, like the pōls, were socially homogeneous in composition. Although no pānch restricted the leasing of residences, decisions concerning the construction and ownership of bungalows had to meet the approval of elected representatives. Latrines and wells (eventually taps) were no longer communally owned, but the salaries of some servants, like the night watchman, were paid jointly. Unlike the pōls, the societies served as residential areas only, and the economic status of the members of any given society tended to be homogeneous.

Ahmedabad's population is still growing; its suburbs continue to proliferate. On the western banks of the Sabarmati alone, approximately twelve square miles are inhabited by some 250,000 people, compared to 500,000 in the two square miles of

¹⁸"Bungalow," an anglicized form of the Bengali word for house, is used in Gujarat to refer to free-standing residential dwellings in urban areas.

inner-city (Setya, 1968: 2). But the newer suburbs do not reflect the system that structured life in the pōls and older suburbs. Instead of "Gūsapārekḥ's Pōl" or "Jain Society," new developments tend to be named after groups of professional people or after businesses. Other areas are developed by unassociated real estate agents who place few, if any, restrictions on the caste or occupation of buyers.

In the newer suburbs, compounds are smaller and contain only one bungalow, normally a one-storey structure without a chowk, or inner courtyard. The smaller size reflects the higher costs of land and construction, the lower income of the buyers, and possibly a changed expectation of family size and composition. None of the women in this study who owns a bungalow of her own choosing anticipates having daughters-in-law live with her.

Social differences between the old and new suburbs appear similar to the differences between the traditional and modern pōls described by Doshi (see p.77). In the newer suburbs, people tend to know their near neighbors, but close friendships are formed selectively, with regard to personal preference rather than to caste. Respondents living in a new society, or planning to move into one, praise its "free and friendly" atmosphere. Residents of the older societies, particularly ones which do not yet rent to members of other jatis, scorn the "lonely" life led when one's neighbors are "strangers" and not caste fellows.

From an economic point of view, the crucial division in neighborhoods is between pōls and suburbs. But from a social perspective, jati homogeneity or heterogeneity classifies both pōls and suburbs as essentially either traditional or modern. Using the criteria of geographical location (pōl or suburb), and social

composition (mixed caste or single caste), I have categorized the past and present residences of my twelve respondents in Table V (p. 82). Non-traditional factors appear to influence two aspects of the residential histories: the range of experience with various types of neighborhoods and the patterns of residential shifts.

In traditional society, geographical and social mobility is not unusual for elite members, but most of the population grows, multiplies, and dies in circumstances very much like those into which it is born. The variety of economic surroundings experienced by the women in this study (Table V) is one indication of the fluidity of urban life in Gujarat today. Only Urmila, raised in a well-to-do pōl where her grandfather was sheth, has never lived beyond the city's walls. And everyone but Nandini, who moved from a village to her husband's suburban bungalow, has experienced pōl life. The social differences between traditional and modern neighborhoods are also known to most of the women through personal experience. Both the pōls and the suburbs in which Champa and Aruna have lived are traditional, but the other women have resided in modern, socially heterogeneous areas. Similarly, all the women except Kusum have lived in traditional areas at one time or another.

When the respondents' shifts in residence are analysed chronologically, general patterns emerge. For example, there is evidence of a trend towards the suburbs. Only five of the twelve women lived in suburbs in their childhood, but nine live there now. Even more pronounced is the shift from traditional to modern neighborhoods. Only three women were raised in areas of substantially mixed jati composition, whereas today only three women do not live in such areas. Most noticeable is the increased frequency of residential moves. Nine women never shifted residence until their marriage. Only three have not moved at least once since marriage.

Table V.

LOCATION OF RESIDENCES AND
SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF NEIGHBORHOODS

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>During Childhood</u>	<u>After Marriage</u>	<u>At Present</u> <u>(1968-1969)</u>
Urmila (V)	tP	mP	mP
Aruna (V)	tP	tS	tS (and tP)
Nandini (V)	R	mS	mS
Kamala (B)	tS	mP	mP
Hansa (B)	tS	tS (later mP)	tS
Kusum (B)	mS	mS (later mP)	mS
Sharda (V)	tP (later R)	tP (later mP)	mS
Champa (V)	tP	tS	tP
Malti (V)	tP	mS	mS
Asha (B)	tP (later mS)	mS	mS
Jaya (B)	mS	tP	mS
Janu (B)	mS	tP	mS
<hr/>			
TOTAL tP	6	3	1
tS	2	3	2
mP	-	2	2
mS	3	4	7

V - Bania

B - Brahmin

t - traditional homogeneous jati compositionm - modern heterogeneous jati compositionP - pōl residential area of inner city

S - suburban residential area beyond walls

R - rural area

Of the six respondents whose families of orientation lived in pōls, only Asha's family moved "up and out" before her marriage. As Chapter I suggests, financial setbacks ruled out this possibility in most of the other cases. Rather, it is as wives that Champa, Aruna, Sharda, and Malti first resided in suburban areas.

Champa and her husband, whose natal pōls adjoin one another, moved to the suburbs after marriage, but returned to a pōl house five years later, "to be near the servant who was getting old." Perhaps, too, Champa's husband's family wished that he, their only surviving son, could be closer to home. But the return may also reflect a decision based on traditional Bania values. In their modest suburban bungalow, Champa and her husband could live comfortably, but the expectations and demands of pōl-dwelling relatives limited their ability to save. In their pōl house, Champa and her husband live more frugally, in accordance with the life-style of those around them, but they are able to show bundles of savings bonds and stock certificates accumulated in their sons' names. Recalling the emphasis placed on thrift and savings by Champa's husband's mother (Malti's mother, see pp. 15, 21), the decision to return to the pōl is not surprising.

Aruna also moved to an old suburb after marriage, to her husband's family's large bungalow. As more sisters-in-law came to reside there, however, the atmosphere became somewhat strained. At the same time, Aruna's parents became reconciled to the fact of her "love match". Increasingly, Aruna, her husband and children ate and slept with her parents. Today, their son visits with his maternal grandparents on a more or less permanent basis, and is joined by his parents and young sister several days a week. Aruna and her husband can ill afford their own separate bungalow, but residing full-time with her parents would be "not our custom." They

therefore alternate between inner-city and suburban homes.

Sharda and her husband first lived in his family's pōl house, but as in Aruna's case, a sister-in-law made the situation at home unpleasant. The couple moved to cramped quarters in another pōl, remaining there until they were able to build a modest bungalow four years later. They still do not visit the husband's pōl, but Sharda's mother-in-law visits them two or three days each week.

Malti moved directly to a new suburb after marriage, and continues to live there with her husband's family. There are no inter-personal difficulties with in-laws, and Malti visits her natal pōl with her daughter at least once a week.

It is interesting to note that five of the six women raised in pōls are Baniyas, a fact that may reflect my non-random methods of selection; but other possibilities deserve consideration. Whereas Bania enterprises frequently depend on proximity to markets, transportation facilities, and related enterprises, Brahmins are more likely to require only a local clientele for their professions. During British rule, as the life-histories of three respondents demonstrate, Brahmins frequently found government positions, and lived in suburbs with other government personnel. Furthermore, there appears to be slightly less reluctance among Brahmins than among Baniyas to live as well as their means permit. If Brahmins can afford to live beyond the walls, they tend to do so, whereas Baniyas tend first to save their extra earnings, then to invest them, and only thirdly do they spend them on improving their life-style. Possibly for several reasons, then, traditional pōl life was experienced primarily by the Bania respondents.

The general pattern wherein the Bania respondents moved from pōl to suburb after marriage may be related to their caste background, for Banias, more than Brahmins, stress hypergamy. Malti's arranged marriage illustrates this quite clearly, but the "love matches" happen to support the hypothesis just as well. Champa married Malti's brother, who could afford to move to the suburbs. Aruna married a man whose family already owned a bungalow. And Sharda, whose family had lived on charity since her father's death, married into a family which owned a pōl house. Only Urmila, whose "unpractical" father had lost the family business, married a man whose economic circumstances were no better than her own. At least Malti, Champa, and Aruna got out of the pōls by marrying up the economic hierarchy.

As indicated above, the women who started life in suburbs happen to be Brahmins. Hansa and Kamala lived in traditional societies, but Kusum, Jaya, and Janu grew up in areas of high social heterogeneity. Kusum's neighborhood was composed of Gujaratis and Maharashtrians of various jatis, many connected with the Gaikwad's court. The fathers of Jaya and Janu worked for the British government and were given the opportunity to buy bungalows with other government personnel of comparable rank. Thus the Brahmin women, in contrast to the Banias, tend to have experienced modern suburban life for longer and more formative periods of their lives, a fact to be considered with regard to household arrangements and daily routines discussed below.

The general pattern of moving to the suburbs after hypergamous unions is not illustrated by the Brahmin residential histories. Indeed, when Kamala married, she left her father's large bungalow for a single floor in a pōl house. Her case is extreme in this and other respects, but the contrast with the hypergamous tendency

of the Banias is illustrated by other Brahmins as well.¹⁹ Jaya married the son of a small cloth merchant and went to live in his family's pōl house. Serious problems with her mother-in-law made her husband decide to separate from his family, first by living on a different floor of the house, and later by moving to a small bungalow in a society developed for professors of his college. Janu's arranged marriage was to a man whose family lived in a pōl, but considering her family's financial situation after her father's death, the match was one between equals. Again, conflict with in-laws caused the couple to move as soon as they could into a rented bungalow in an old suburb which had become heterogeneous.

Hansa's arranged marriage took her from one traditional society to another. As in Janu's case, the match was between equals, although her husband's family suffered financial setbacks soon after her arrival. For eight years, while her husband worked in other cities, Hansa experienced life in modern pōls. Kusum's "love match" was also to a man of equal economic status, a fact considered favourable by both families. She moved literally next door, to the bungalow of her husband's family, but when her husband sought work in Ahmedabad, the couple was obliged to rent two rooms of a pōl house. They found their quarters "too warm and somewhat unhealthy," and now rent the upper floor of a suburban bungalow.

In summary, the above discussion illustrates how certain consequences of industrialization have affected residential patterns in Ahmedabad: Inner-city land use has become specialized, separating business from residential areas. Inner-city residential areas

¹⁹Hypogamy is not practiced by Gujarat's Brahmins, however, as evidenced by the attitudes of Asha's family towards her proposed marriage (see p. 16).

have become economically homogeneous, with most of their residents earning moderate to low incomes. Many inner-city pōls and suburban societies have become socially heterogeneous, so that neighbors represent various caste communities.

The residential histories of the twelve respondents indicate the increasing prevalence of heterogeneous, suburban life. In some cases, they also indicate that the specific reasons for moving between pōl and suburb, or between traditional and modern neighborhoods, are themselves consequences of industrialization. For example, the jobs that Kusum's and Nandini's husbands found, and the practice of inter-office transfer which affected Hansa's husband, might not have occurred in pre-industrial Gujarat.

But other residential histories show that the shift to modern suburban neighborhoods may take place in response to highly traditional features of Gujarati life, such as hypergamous marriage among Baniyas, or conflict within the joint family. The response to intra-familial conflict is particularly interesting. The problem arises in a traditional social setting; a solution is provided by the morphology of an industrialized urban area; and the response to both the problem and the solution depends upon the strength of modern values in the minds of the people involved.

Jaya's mother-in-law demanded that her son choose between his wife and herself. He chose his wife, and they left. Sharda's sister-in-law demanded that Sharda leave her job and work as a "proper daughter-in-law" in the house. Sharda and her husband moved, and Sharda kept her job. Janu's father-in-law refused his son any position of authority in the family business. His son left, and started his own business. Only in traditional society would these problems be so extreme. Only in an area affected by increasing

industrialization would these particular solutions be so readily available. And only to modern individuals would the value of a close husband-wife relationship, of an educated and employed woman, and of an independent occupation make the acceptance of the solutions so natural.

Household Arrangements

Consequences of industrialization may be seen not only in Ahmedabad's residential patterns but also in the life-styles of her residents. Below, I will discuss standards of living in relation to two indices: size and type of residence, and number and type of material possessions. I shall compare the women's present and past situations, and the circumstances of one woman in relation to those of another. No comparison with Western standards is intended.

As indicated in the first part of this chapter, the size of accommodation has tended to decrease in recent years, both in pōls and in suburbs. In the pōls, families that once occupied three-to five-storey buildings for business and residential purposes now share purely residential houses with other families. In the suburbs, the older, larger bungalows frequently house two or more unrelated families, and new, single-family bungalows tend to be relatively modest in size.

The typical pōl house never was spacious by comparison with the suburban bungalow, and today it is even less so. Of the four women who presently reside in pōls, three of them occupy two-room quarters, including kitchens. Champa and her husband rent the ground floor of a small house. In their front room, about 10' by 14', they receive guests during the day and sleep at night. In the backroom, which is about 10' by 8', one corner is devoted to pūjā, one corner has a tap and is used for bathing, and the walls are

lined with cooking utensils and supplies. Kamala, her husband, their daughter, and her husband's sister have a similar pair of rooms on the second floor of their pōl house. And Aruna's parents, with whom Aruna and her family spend much of their time, occupy two somewhat larger rooms in the house they once occupied completely.

Among the pōl dwelling women, only Urmila enjoys more than a single living room. In a converted government building, she, her husband, and their son, together with her husband's parents and sister, have four large rooms in addition to a kitchen and a balcony which overlooks an inner courtyard. But like Champa and Kamala, Urmila and her family have private access to only one tap. Latrines are located at a distance, and are shared by several families.

None of the women presently living in pōls expressed any objection to the size or characteristics of her quarters. Indeed, each appeared anxious that I realize the favorable aspects. Champa pointed out that she has both a front and back door for ventilation. Kamala considered herself fortunate to live near to both her school and her husband's business. And Urmila expressed appreciation of the courtyard balcony, where her son can play away from pōl traffic.

Objections to pōl residence were voiced only by those women who had since moved to the suburbs. Sharda, Jaya, and Janu, each of whom first lived in pōl houses with in-laws, found the close quarters conducive to inter-personal conflict. As Jaya said of her mother-in-law and herself: "We were always meeting, and she was telling me what I was doing, and we were not speaking for four-five days." Kusum, her husband, and their son lived happily together in two-room pōl quarters, but in retrospect they consider them to have been unhealthy. Similarly, Hansa enjoyed the years

with her husband in a pōl, but she feels "the air is not good for children. They cannot play freely."

Contentment with limited living space is neither "mere rationalization" nor is it "natural for Indians."²⁰ Rather, acceptance of one's circumstances is a virtue emphasized both in the Gītā and in Jain scripture. For women in particular, any expression of grievance reflects on the husband's ability to provide. For these reasons I take as more revealing the comments of women whose husbands moved them from pōl quarters to more spacious bungalows. Their remarks indicate that privacy, particularly conjugal privacy, and more hygienic surroundings are fully appreciated, once they are available.

Ahmedabad's suburban bungalows are more spacious in terms of number and size of rooms, and also in terms of yard area. But in suburbs, as in pōls, the average size of living quarters has decreased since the first bungalows were built at the beginning of the century. Of the nine women presently residing in suburbs, five of them live in large, old bungalows, but only one -- Aruna -- has access to all rooms of the bungalow. Even her access is qualified, for one of the rooms is allotted to each of the five brothers, their wives and children. Only the veranda, sitting room, kitchen, and pūjā room are used by all members of the family.

Hansa's husband's family owns an equally large, old bungalow, but they are obliged to let the ground floor. Upstairs, one

²⁰However, it is true that Gujaratis tend to interact with one another in closer physical proximity than do, for example, Englishmen. Even in spatial homes, men often sit side by side to talk, and women tend to work together in one small area.

room is used by Hansa and her husband, one by his parents, and one by his unmarried sister. Pūjā, which once took place in a separate room, is now performed in the kitchen. Kusum, Janu, and Nandini reside in rented portions of old bungalows. In each case, their three- or four-member families occupy one or two rooms, plus a kitchen and bathing room. The area of their living quarters is less than that of Urmila's pōl home, but they have compound yards and semi-private latrines.

While the older bungalows have proven either too expensive or too large for the joint families who built them, the newer homes tend to be smaller, one-family dwellings. Jaya, Asha, and Sharda live in bungalows typical of the newer developments. Each has three rooms plus kitchen and bathing room. Only Malti resides in a spacious, two-storied new bungalow. She, her daughter, and her husband, together with his parents, his brother, and his brother's wife, share seven large rooms and a kitchen.

As Table VI (p. 92) shows, the average number of rooms per person ranges from one to one-quarter, excluding kitchens, bathing rooms, and verandas. In general, when the nuclear family has two rooms for its purposes, it uses one as a bedroom and the other as a sitting and receiving room. This eliminates the need to disassemble and reassemble bedding each morning and evening, although mattresses not on bed frames continue to be removed during the day. Kusum and her husband choose to use their second room as a dining room, since it adjoins the kitchen and is too small for their four-poster bed. Furthermore, the bed is their only piece of furniture, so it occupies the central position in their living room.

Families with a third room tend to use it for dining. This is considered a luxury, particularly if chairs and table prevent the

Table VI
SIZE AND ALLOCATION OF LIVING SPACE

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>	<u>Number of Rooms</u>	<u>Rooms per Person</u>	<u>Use of Rooms If More Than One</u>
Urmila	6	4 kv	.66	receiving
Aruna	14	7 kbv	.50	receiving, <u>pūjā</u>
Nandini	4	1 kb	.25	-
Kamala	4	1 k	.25	-
Hansa	7	3 kv	.43	-
Kusum	3	2 kbv	.66	dining
Sharda	3	3 db	1.00	receiving, dining
Champa	4	1 k	.25	-
Malti	7	7 kb	1.00	receiving, dining, <u>pūjā</u>
Asha	4	3 kb	.75	Chn's bedroom
Jaya	4	3 kb	.75	receiving
Janu	4	2 kb	.50	receiving

TOTAL number of rooms used for receiving only: 6

for dining only: 3

for pūjā only: 2

for Chn only: 1

k - kitchen

b - bathing room

v - veranda, large balcony

room from being used for receiving. The dining room is a Western idea, and those who do not have them consider them particularly unnecessary in modern, urban India, where gas and oil burners make cooking a relatively cool, smoke-free operation. Similarly, kitchen counters, such as Malti and Asha have in their homes, are regarded by the other respondents, who work on the floor, as unnecessary features installed only because the idea of them is Western.

Asha and her husband, who designed their own home, chose not to separate the dining and cooking areas, but to give their children a separate bedroom. They were influenced in this decision by Asha's sister, a clinical social worker trained in the United States. No other respondent sleeps apart from her children, regardless of the number of rooms available. Within their single room, Kamala's daughter sleeps with her father's sister, partly because "she [the daughter] is too inquisitive," and partly because few people ever sleep alone. Visiting friends or relatives spending the night in the living room are frequently joined by a like-sexed member of the host family, as a courtesy.

The reluctance to separate children's and parents' bedrooms, and the attitude towards sleeping alone reflect traditional Indian customs. However, the traditional separation of husband and wife is not practiced by these women, even those in joint households. Janu and Aruna sleep apart from their husbands, but in the same room. Janu's husband "wishes it this way. He is somewhat traditional." Aruna and her husband feel that their sleeping together "would create a bad impression" for their six-year-old son. But every couple has a separate room for themselves and their children where they can meet during the day, keep their belongings, and sleep at night.

In summary, an examination of the spatial aspects of my respondents' living quarters reveals, first of all, a general decrease

in size between the women's childhood homes and their present ones. Secondly, the allotment of living space reflects a primary emphasis on the nuclear family unit. Third, after allotment of one room to each nuclear family, one extra room is used for receiving, a second for dining, and only a third for pūjā. In so far as the traditional Gujarati family divides its working and sleeping areas between males and females, and reserves one room for gods, the women of this study may be said to utilize their more limited household space in more modern ways.

The relationship between size of living space and kinds of material possessions appears roughly correlated, as indicated by Table VII (p. 95). All women in this survey have in their homes thin mattresses or pallets, low wooden stools, cooking and eating utensils, and religious pictures. These are typical basic furnishings for a Gujarati home, and although the standard of living of the owner might be judged from their quality, additional furnishings provide more obvious and more interesting criteria for evaluation.

The first piece of furniture purchased by a couple, if it is not given them at their marriage, is a tall, wooden wardrobe. Houses usually have neither closets nor cupboards, so clothing and personal belongings are either hung on pegs and stored in trunks, as in Kusum's home, or they are kept in a wardrobe. Other pieces of furniture, except for the basics listed above, are considered less necessary. Armchairs, couches, and especially dining room furniture, depending on the circumstances under which they are acquired, appear to be valued primarily as status symbols.

For example, Janu's furniture was purchased secondhand from a British civil servant with whom her father had worked. Kusum's

Table VII
SIZE OF LIVING SPACE AND
PRESENCE OF MATERIAL POSSESSIONS

<u>Respon-</u> <u>dent*</u>	<u>Rooms per</u> <u>Person</u>	<u>Western Style</u> <u>Furniture</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Toys</u>	<u>Books</u>	<u>Other</u>
Urmila (V)	.66	C, A	-	-	X	tricycle only toy
Nandini (V)	.25	C, A	X	-	-	glass-topped coffee table
Hansa (B)	.43	B	X	X	X	glassware
Kusum (B)	.66	B,D	-	X	-	portable fan
Sharda (V)	1.00	B,C,A,D	X	-	-	fish tank for god
Champa (V)	.25	B	-	X	-	secretary
Malti (V)	1.00	B,C,A,D	X	X	-	air-condi- tioning, rugs
Asha (B)	.75	B,C,A,D	X	X	X	iron, record- player
Jaya (B)	.75	B,C	X	X	X	chest of drawers
Janu (B)	.50	C,A	X	X	X	Chn's cup- boards
TOTAL		A - 6 B - 3 C - 3 B + C - 4 D - 4	7	7	5	

*Aruna and Kamala are omitted due to lack of data.

A - armchair(s)
B - bed(s)
C - chesterfield
D - dining set
X - item present

husband, an architect, made their dinner table because he could get the materials at nominal cost. But Nandini, Asha, and Sharda purchased their furnishings new. Considering the traditional Bania emphasis on savings and modest living, these costly purchases may indicate a new emphasis on material possessions, an emphasis new to the Banias, Nandini and Sharda, in particular. Not because they are Western in style, but because the decision to purchase them contradicts traditional priorities, the furniture indicates the influence of modern values.

A radio, the second most popular item listed in Table VII, is too common among persons of lower income brackets to be considered a status symbol by these women. Rather, the radio indicates a concern with social and political issues, beyond those of the immediate community. Some of the respondents listen to programmes of devotional songs (bhajans), others permit themselves or their children to hear popular film music. But most of them mentioned news broadcasts or special informative programmes in particular. For instance, Hansa finds she has no time for daily newspapers, but from the radio she can "find out what is happening." Asha notes that her children are very much involved with themselves and their schoolwork, "but they will listen to the radio if we are listening." In contrast, the mothers-in-law of Hansa and Malti show no interest in radio except for bhajan hours, and Urmila's mother-in-law refuses to have a radio at all. Limited though my information is, it suggests that for several of the respondents, radio has a modern value and serves a modern purpose.

The presence of toys other than household artifacts used as playthings does not appear to be related to the size of living quarters or to the number of other possessions. Champa, whose home and furnishings are as limited as any considered here, purchases toys

for her sons. Her elder son participated in a child-study project for which he played with various games. Champa reports he now "demands" toys to keep, and she realizes they are "practical for his education."

Similarly, Asha's sociologist sister introduced toys to Asha's children; Jaya "learnt about toys, how they can teach children" while in the United States; and Kusum and Hansa were persuaded by their training in psychology and education to purchase toys. The novelty of the idea lies in the reason behind it. The playthings are not presented to indicate fond indulgence, as in Malti's case; they are to help the child develop as an individual. As Hansa says, "Even if they are broken, I don't mind. They provide more activities. The essential thing is that children should be self-sufficient. They should do for themselves. This is the new approach." The presence of toys may thus reflect a modern desire, not for material possessions, but for independence and initiative in children. Their presence reflects not the standard of living of the owners, but the latter's contact with and acceptance of principles of elementary education and child psychology.

The presence of books is also unrelated to the size of living space and the possession of other material goods. Rather, it appears related to the varna of the householder. Of the five women in whose homes a significant number of books are found, four are Brahmin. The fifth woman, Urmila, is married to a Brahmin. And the only Brahmin woman who does not have books in her home, Kusum, is married to a Kshatriya. The sample is far too small to permit any firm conclusions, but it raises the possibility that while the radio is utilized by women of both varnas for modern purposes, books continue to serve their traditional users.

In summary, while the presence of material possessions corresponds roughly to the size of living quarters, different items appear to reflect different values of the owners. Books may reflect the traditional Brahmin value placed on literature. Toys indicate an awareness on the part of the purchaser of their value for child development. Radio, depending on how it is used, may serve to satisfy and expand interest in current social, political, and academic issues. And new furnishings appear to reflect a shift from the traditional Bania emphasis on saving to a modern emphasis on consuming.

Modern Behaviour Patterns

In Chapter Two, daily activities and special events were discussed in relation to the traditions of jati and sect. Below, I will examine similar activities in relation to the demands of modern industrialized society. One far reaching effect of industrialization has been the introduction of the concepts of "fixed time" and "regular programme." Industrialization is not so new to Ahmedabad that my respondents did not encounter these concepts in their childhoods. But the impact of the concepts on their patterns of family life has increased significantly in several ways.

As children, the women were not expected to do anything "by the clock" until they entered school. Of the twelve respondents, half of them started school at about age six; four went earlier, to nursery school; and two of them -- Asha and Jaya -- stayed at home under private tutors until the age of ten. By contrast, most of their own children started or will start school at two and a half years of age.²¹ Several factors have helped to lower the

²¹Only Nandini's five year old daughter does not yet attend school: "In India we believe they should go at three years, but I had leave [for the birth of a second child]. At the end of four years we tried for fifteen - twenty days, but the staff was not good, and the āyā is here [for the second child]."

age of first school experience.²² The cost of nursery school education decreased in the 1950's, when the number of nurseries increased. At about the same time, principles of educational psychology began to influence attitudes towards learning. Traditionally, learning was thought possible only when a child's oral comprehension and articulation were such that he could converse with adults. On these grounds, some elders of the women in this study feel that nursery school is an expense "without purpose." However, their daughters argue that the children get "primary learning" in how to "do for themselves." For children in nuclear families residing separately, such as Janu's, nurseries "provide company." For children in joint families, Aruna points out, nurseries help them "get the idea to stay alone two - three hours."

Because of the respondents' employment, the availability of nursery schools, and the changed attitude towards them, are particularly convenient. Indeed, it is difficult to say whether the desire to work stimulated the acceptance of pre-primary education, or vice versa. In any case, the children of the respondents find themselves with a "regular programme" considerably earlier in life than did their mothers. Once in elementary school, they are expected to be in the classroom at eleven o'clock, and to participate in scheduled activities until five o'clock. Kusum mentions "understand timings of school" as one duty for her son when he is older. Aruna feels she is "made most happy" if her son "becomes ready at the proper time." Although tardiness and absenteeism are not systematically punished in the schools these children attend, an explanation is demanded from the errant child or from the servant or parent who brings him to school.

²²Information regarding the development of pre-primary education in Ahmedabad was gathered from interviews with Janu, Shri Ishwarbhai Parikh of B. M. Institute, and Mrs. Ruth Cohen, an American who started her own nursery school in Ahmedabad in 1967.

As working women, my respondents must also keep to a rigid schedule, a "fixed programme" which never regulated the activities of their female elders. After preparing and eating the morning meal, the respondents' mothers "tended to small household matters" or "cared for their hair, did some stitching and handicraft." Following the afternoon rest, they took tea with their children and visited with other women until it was time to prepare the evening meal.

When on leave for childbirth, my respondents follow similar routines. But when working, they must be at their jobs by nine or eleven o'clock, and most do not return until about five-thirty. Tardiness is not punished, but punctuality is expected. If delayed by transportation difficulties or a family crisis, a woman will inform her superior, not directly, but "through some means." Similarly, the respondents expect promptness from those with whom they work. It is worth noting that in anticipating appointments with non-working women, I quickly adjusted to "Indian Standard Time," an adjustment which had to be unlearned when I started interviewing these clock-conscious employed women.²³

Hard work and long hours characterized Gujarati men's daily activities long before industrialization. But for many Brahmin and Bania men, their time was their own. The fathers of at least half the women interviewed could start and stop work each day

²³Adherence to a "regular programme" and respect for a "fixed time" are often thought to be foreign to Indian behaviour and values. As Moddie (1968: 40) has complained: "We usually keep each other waiting. . . we do not carry out projects to a time schedule. . . we habitually squander time, add to cost, and delay returns on enormous investments." While it is true that the women in my study show a great deal of patience in waiting for busses, servants, and friends, there is no doubt that they and their husbands in their own behaviour demonstrate considerable promptness.

when they wished, and take holidays of their own choosing. According to the life-histories related in Chapter One, many chose to spend most of their time at work, or away from home on business.

By contrast, the husbands of most of my respondents keep regular hours dictated by their employers, but spend more time at home. No husband goes "out of station" for business; indeed, Champa's husband refused a better paying job because it would have required travel. Most leave home about 9:30, some of them after their wives have left, and they return between 5:30 and 8:00. Three husbands are able to come home for dinner and rest in the afternoon, and one of them -- Kusum's husband -- eats dinner alone with his son, since his wife cannot return until evening.

The combined factors of early education for children, employment for women, and fixed working hours for men effectively reduce the amount of time which children spend with their mothers, but may increase the time they share with their fathers. The hours family members spend at home may be divided into religious activities (Discussed in Chapter Two), leisure activities, which I will discuss at the end of the present chapter, and household tasks. My respondents appear to divide household tasks into three categories: cooking, personal duties, and servant's work.

Cooking is primarily the task of the mother of the family, and it may be her only task. Others help to clean grain, cut vegetables, and grind spices, but the actual combining of these ingredients is performed by the mother. As children, my respondents and their sisters helped in the kitchen if their family could not afford a cook, and later, sons' wives assisted. Several respondents recall that as very young children, they were permitted to take meals with their fathers, but after starting to help with the cooking at

about the age of seven, they waited to eat until after their father had finished.

As mothers in their own households, most of the women do all the cooking, as their mothers did. Women in joint families -- Hansa, Malti, and Urmila -- still only help their mothers-in-law, and in these cases, fresh meals are prepared both in the morning and evening. The men usually eat before the women, and young girls -- Hansa's daughter and Urmila's sister-in-law -- are not expected to help in the kitchen.

For the women in nuclear families, one meal usually consists of left-overs. Wives and children eat together with the men, or even before them if the men leave later in the morning or return quite late in the evening. Young girls such as Asha's and Jaya's daughters help extensively with the cooking. Although only Kamala mentions that her husband helps in the kitchen, the husbands of Kusum and Jaya display considerable know-how on occasion. No sons, however, assist their mothers with the cooking.

In describing other household tasks which they performed as children, or tasks which they request their own children to perform, most of my respondents qualify their remarks with "after servant left" or "before we had a servant." The division between "personal duties" and "servants' work" appears to vary, depending on how many servants the family has.

In their childhood homes, eight of the twelve women had at least one full-time servant. Accordingly, their own responsibilities were quite light: Kusum, for example, had as her sole duty the gathering of flowers for morning pūjā. Hansa, Janu, and Nandini, with only part-time servants, were asked to put away clean vessels

or clean clothes, and to make their own beds. Sharda, whose family had no servant, washed dirty vessels and clothes, and even swept the floors.

Today, in their own homes, Janu, Malti, and Champa have full-time servants, but the remaining nine women employ only part-time help. The part-time servants come each morning to sweep and swab the floors, wash the dishes, and launder all but personal items of clothing. The women oversee the servant's activities, put away bedding and clean clothes, and note purchases which they or their husbands, whoever works nearer to the bazaar, will make in the afternoon.

In response to questions concerning a child's role in the performance of household tasks, most of the women describe chores their children are capable of doing, but few give examples of regular personal duties. As in households where the mother is home all day, children in my respondents' homes are asked to help "according to their ability." For example, the young sons and daughters of Kamala, Malti, Kusum, Urmila, and Aruna may be asked to "fetch some item" or replace utensils, etc. Older children should put their dinner plates near the tap to be washed, and should help to fold bedding and sārīs upon request. Only Asha and Sharda assign fixed, regular duties to their children, and Urmila plans to do so when her son is older: "He should have experience, but not work and work. He should train how man is independent."

Unlike mothers who are at home all day, my respondents frequently pressure their children for cooperation. For example, Sharda and Asha "scold" if their children do not respond immediately when asked to help. Janu finds herself irritated if her sons "are doing what I ask according to mood." Hansa and Aruna become impatient

and may administer "one or two blows" if their children dally or "make play of their assistance." These women have a precise number of minutes in which to complete their household tasks. They request cooperation not at their children's pleasure, but immediately. Just as they supplement the servants' efforts, they ask their children to supplement their own efforts as it becomes necessary.

While household tasks normally occupy the morning hours, evenings and week-end afternoons are devoted to leisure activities, often in combination with religious observances. In their childhoods, my respondents spent their evenings studying, listening to religious stories, or sitting with their fathers' visitors. Kusum, Jaya, and Malti occasionally went to the cinema, but the other women were forbidden both cinema and restaurants. Their mothers rarely went out in the evening except to temple, and almost never went anywhere with their husbands.

In their own homes today, my respondents utilize evenings and week-ends for more family-oriented activities. Only Janu's, Hansa's, and Nandini's husbands have close friends (bhāī) who visit them frequently in the evenings. The other husbands spend their time "only" with their wives and children. Together they stroll in the evenings, visit friends and relatives, and go to parks and playgrounds on week-ends.

These activities are "for the children's benefit." A few women express feelings such as Kusum's that "We are away too much. Except for work, we never leave him [their son]." On the other hand, Malti goes out with her husband two or three times a week, leaving her daughter at home. The behaviour of the majority of respondents falls somewhere between these two extremes. The women devote most of their free hours to their children, but enjoy "the

rare hour of shopping" alone or the occasional movie with their husbands.²⁴ They do not, however, spend hours drinking tea or chewing pan (a digestive like betel nut) with women from neighboring pol houses or neighboring bungalows. Casual conversations with neighbors, in the street or across the compound wall, are pleasant but brief. And requests from friends and relatives for visits are often met with a sense of obligation, rather than in anticipation of a welcome diversion.

In summary, an examination of the daily routines established by my twelve respondents indicates two basic ways in which the consequences of industrialization effect patterns of family life. The greater emphasis on "fixed time" and "regular programme" obliges employed mothers to manage their household affairs, and their children's role in household affairs, with maximum efficiency. The same adherence to fixed working hours frees the husbands, in the evenings and on week-ends, to be with their families. In general, my respondents spend less time in the home than did their mothers, and less time with neighbors, but more time with their husbands.

In Chapter Three I have tried to show that changes in residential patterns, household arrangements, and daily routines of my respondents are, to a large extent, responses to delayed consequences of industrialization. The general increase in residential mobility, the trend away from inner-city pōls towards suburban societies, and the greater frequency of residence in socially heterogeneous neighborhoods are at least facilitated by consequences of industrialization.

²⁴All the women except Nandini go to the cinema several times a year. Asha permits her children to go, although she tries to "make them aware of the bad features" of certain films. Hansa and her husband take their daughters with them, but recently they have become concerned that the younger daughter "behaves like a film star after viewing."

Similarly, the decrease in size of living space and the increase in number and variety of material possessions reflect the higher cost of living and the greater availability of consumer goods, respectively. Particularly the regularity and punctuality characterizing the behaviour of my respondents and their families may be attributed to the emphases on fixed time and regular programme introduced by industrialization.

The caste background of the respondents appears more significant in relation to the respondents' previous life-styles than to their present ones. For example, most Bania respondents grew up in pōls where their fathers could be close to transportation facilities and entrepreneurial centres, while most Brahmin respondents were raised in suburbs where their fathers had local clientele for their professions, or housing provided by the government for which they worked. Today, one Brahmin and two Bania respondents reside in pōls. Similarly, most of the Banias' families of orientation lived modestly, regardless of their income, in order to accumulate savings, while the Brahmin families of orientation tended to live according to their means. In their families of procreation, all respondents with the exceptions of one Bania -- Champa -- and one Brahmin -- Janu -- display their wealth in the form of consumer goods.²⁵ Only the presence of books in Brahmin homes, and their scarcity in Bania homes, differentiates the women's present life-styles in accordance with their caste background. However, in the concluding chapter to this thesis, I will examine the possibility that the different reasons given by the respondents for changes in their life-styles do correspond with differences in their caste background.

The women's employment, rather than determining changes

²⁵The traditional emphasis on saving among Banias may in part be due to the fluctuating nature of their income, based as it is on cycles in business and economy. The shift to consuming would be understood to accompany the shift from independent business to more stable, salaried positions.

in life-style, appears to intensify and hasten them, for at least three reasons: it provides extra income, demands the women's time, and exposes them to new attitudes and activities.

The extra income provided by the respondents' employment facilitates shifts in residence and acquisition of material possessions. Sharda, Jaya, Janu, and their husbands wished to leave the husbands' families' homes because of interpersonal conflict, and they were able to do so because of the extra incomes. Kusum, Asha, Sharda, and their husbands desired costlier dwellings in suburban areas, and acquired them by saving the women's earnings. All of the respondents, secure in the knowledge that both they and their husbands enjoy salaried positions, feel free to live according to their means. Unemployed women and their husbands might wish to establish separate residences, to move to suburban bungalows, and to acquire new consumer goods, but they would not be able to do so with the confidence and ease of employed women and their husbands.

The demands which employment makes on a woman's time intensifies the effects which the concepts of fixed time and regular programme have on her and on members of her family. For example, most children in urban India must adhere to a school schedule, but the children of employed women, either because their mothers feel they must work, or because their mothers want to work, may be sent to school at a particularly early age.²⁶ Similarly, most employed men in urban India have fixed working hours and work weeks around which their families plan other activities. But families in which

²⁶Alternatively, in so far as earlier schooling is considered desirable for the child, a mother may seek employment to alleviate boredom and satisfy a need for purposeful activity. None of my respondents, however, gave this reason for taking a job.

both husband and wife work have fewer hours to spend on household chores and leisure activities. These hours must be carefully organized and efficiently utilized, and children's prompt cooperation is demanded out of necessity.

The exposure to new attitudes and modes of behaviour given women by their employment may increase the rate at which consequences of industrialization affect their families. Women employed outside the home may acquire a taste for new varieties of consumer goods which they see in the homes of colleagues whose life-styles differ from their own. They may develop an interest in learning more about the larger community in which they work, an interest which can in part be satisfied through listening to news broadcasts and educational programmes on the radio. Women's employment familiarizes them with inter-caste settings, and it may even predispose them towards socially heterogeneous neighborhoods. Finally, women who work outside the home and take meals at their place of work may be less reluctant to enjoy leisure activities outside the home, such as going to the cinema or restaurant. Consumer goods, radio and cinema, and inter-caste neighborhoods are available to most middle class families of urban Gujarat, but the extent to which they affect family life may depend on the mother's readiness to accept them -- a readiness increased by exposure to the larger community of which they are a part.

Thus, the former life-styles of my respondents were in part determined by the caste affiliation of their families of orientation, and their present life-styles appear to be influenced by consequences of industrialization, an influence augmented by the women's employment. In the concluding chapter to this thesis, I will evaluate the changes made between past and present life-styles in terms of my criteria of modernization.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRAFAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF EDUCATED AND EARNING WOMEN

The nature of interpersonal relationships among members of a family affects all aspects of family life. It determines the spirit with which community traditions are observed or modified. It influences the effect which the acceptance or avoidance of a modern life-style has on the family unit. To understand the atmosphere in which other patterns of family life are found, I will describe in the present chapter the attitudes and behaviour characterizing the patterns of interaction among members of my respondents' families. I will note variations in the patterns, and seek to identify correlated variations in the women's caste affiliation, educational background, and other factors suggested by analysis. Finally, I will note any apparent relationship between the women's employment and their patterns of intrafamilial interaction.

My questionnaire (Appendix B) was designed to elicit information concerning socialization methods and principles. Much of my data therefore pertains to the relationship between mother and child. But in answering my questions, the women frequently related their behaviour as mothers to their relationships with other members of the household. Since my observations are not limited to the women's activities as mothers, I will include in the present discussion of their interpersonal behaviour their relationships as wives, in-laws, mothers, and married daughters.

I never directly questioned a respondent about her relationship with a particular family member. Nor did I ask my respondents what they thought the traditionally ideal relationship was. Rather, I tried to elicit personal ideals by asking, for example,

"Please give me your ideas . . . How should a wife be to her husband?" The lack of deviation between my respondents' personal ideals and the traditional ideals described in most literature on India surprised me. Only by observing the women as they interacted with others, and by asking the particulars about decision making, differences in opinion, etc., did I realize how significantly interpersonal behaviour may vary from the traditional ideal.

The Husband-Wife Relationship

The subordinate position of women vis-à-vis their husbands is generally acknowledged in India. Ancient texts such as the Manu Smṛti, and popular folklore such as the Rāmāyaṇa, represent mortal females as vulnerable beings, totally dependent on men: on their fathers when young, on husbands when grown, and on sons when old. Considered both physically and emotionally weak, a woman must concentrate what energies she does possess on keeping her failures of omission from degenerating into failures of commission. Her thoughts should be devoted to her husband and his greater happiness. Her activities should facilitate his activities and those of his parents. Traditionally, loyalty to the husband in thought, word, and deed entails unquestioning compliance with his decisions and obedience to his commands. Indeed, the loving and dutiful Gujarati wife is likened to Sītā, who worshipped her husband, Rām, as Lord and master.

Two aspects of the traditional wife's position reward such subservient and selfless behaviour. Initially, when her husband is in his second Stage of Life, that of the Householder, a wife plays an indispensable role in his efforts to fulfill the Householder's Duties (gṛhastha dharma). She must assist him in

his rituals if the gods, ancestors, and rishis are to be satisfied. She must be a gracious and prudent hostess if her husband is to meet his duties as host. And she must bear sons. The wife who faithfully aids her husband in fulfilling gṛhastha dharma may win the respect and appreciation of her natal family, her in-laws, and her husband.

Selfless wifely behaviour is again rewarded when the husband retires from the worldly life of Sensual Pleasure and Material Pursuits (kāma and artha). He may invite his wife to accompany him in the third Stage of Life, that of the Hermit, or he may leave her in the care of sons. In the latter situation, a woman enjoys a position of prestige and relative power. In the former, she goes with her husband not as a servant, but as a companion, or saatī.

In giving their own ideas about the ideal relationship between husband and wife, few of my respondents modified the traditional expectations concerning a wife, but a majority of them suggested non-traditional roles for the husband.

The key term in the personal ideals relating to a wife's behaviour is "adjust." Nandini feels that, above all else, a woman should adjust her ideas to those of her husband. Kusum states that this should be done for the husband's happiness, even if the wife has opposing ideas. But Janu remarks that a wife should respect her husband by sharing his ideas, not by "rigidly obeying" them. Urmila's reply hints at what a Westerner might term feminine wile: a woman should love her husband and adjust to his wishes, for "the husband will follow after the wife gives in."

Besides Urmila, Hansa and Sharda also mention that a wife should be loving and affectionate. Malti and Aruna emphasize a wife's

duty to facilitate her husband's work and pleasure. Only Champa expresses the idea that a wife should be "like a saatī," or companion, to her husband.

Among the personal ideals concerning a husband's behaviour towards his wife, the key term is "interest." Champa, who feels that a wife should be a saatī, believes that a man should in turn show keen interest in his wife's activities. A married couple should be "like partners." But other women, who feel wives should adjust to their husbands, agree with Champa that men should show interest in their wives' affairs by "enquiring," "helping," and "praising." Three respondents -- Urmila, Hansa, and Malti -- add that husbands should be loving and affectionate.

In a more traditional vein, Kamala and Malti mention that a husband should be a good provider. And Sharda states only that he should be faithful. Thus, while the respondents generally agree that wives should behave more or less in the traditional manner, most suggest that husbands should recognize and appreciate their wives to an extent not demanded by tradition.

The actual behaviour which I observed between husbands and wives, and examples of interaction described by the respondents, illustrate the extent to which husband-wife relationships may vary from traditional and personal ideals, and how much they may vary from one another. Husband-wife interaction, at least in India, is probably the most difficult type of interaction to witness or to describe. But from interviews and observations, I find that the relationships of the couples in this study fall into three general categories: romantic, friendly, and neutral or negative.

By "romantic" I mean affectionate behaviour and attitudes

indicated by praise, solicitude, charity, and expressions of gratitude between spouses. A wife's actions and attitudes in a romantic relationship resemble traditional patterns to a large extent. She conscientiously tends to her husband's needs, prepares his favourite dishes, and listens attentively when he speaks. But a husband's behaviour in a romantic relationship goes beyond the traditional demands for economic provision and socio-religious supervision. Below, I describe briefly the interaction of the four couples whose relationships I consider romantic.

Kamala and Aruna describe their husbands as "devoted" and "very loving." Both praise their husbands' understanding and "flexible nature" with regard to child-rearing and household financing. The husbands, particularly Aruna's, praise their wives' abilities to cope with both home and office work, and they object to the women's confessions to me of temper or mis-management. During one interview, Aruna's husband announced that the next day was their tenth wedding anniversary, and that he planned to take his wife on an outing.²⁷

Asha and Urmila appear to have very mature but equally romantic relationships to their husbands. Praise for and defense of one another's behaviour is mutual between husband and wife. There is also indication of sympathy for the wives, and of appreciation of this sympathy. In Asha's case, her younger sister and only sibling is unmarried at age thirty, a fact which disturbs Asha to the point where she may weep when the issue is discussed. Her husband's efforts to comfort her, and his personal concern about the problem, constitute the most overtly affectionate behaviour between husband and wife that I witnessed in Gujarat. In Urmila's case, she had given birth, after prolonged and difficult labour, to twins, one of which had died. In relating this experience to

²⁷Traditionally, a wedding anniversary is not noted until a man retires from the Householder Stage of Life, when he is congratulated on however many years of marriage he has enjoyed.

me, she reiterated several times how much loving and understanding support her husband had offered and continues to offer in times of need.

While the behaviour of wives in romantic relationships resembles that described by traditional sources, the interaction between couples having "friendly" relationships resembles the interaction between close male friends in Gujarat. Both the "friendly" marital relationship and the relationship between non-blood "brothers" (bhaibandh, lit.: brother bound), involve comradely behaviour indicated by unself-conscious togetherness, a mutual give and take of ideas, and an eager interest in the other's independent activities. At least two married couples, and possibly four, interact in a bhaibandh manner.

Jaya and her husband exhibit something close to a joking relationship. They tease one another about short-comings and personal differences, and illustrate these to third parties by telling humorous anecdotes. On one occasion only, when Jaya suffered from a serious infection of the breasts, did her husband's troubled concern over-ride his customary flippant manner. Theirs is the only such marital relationship I encountered, and it may in part be due to their having spent a year together at a university in the United States.

Champa and her husband are, as Champa says husband and wife ought to be, "like partners." They discuss things freely with each other, regardless of who is present, and they act as a team in dealing with their children or in preparing for an outing. Champa, more than any other woman in this study, shows no sign of deference to her husband; nor does he assume a protective or authoritative attitude towards her. They appear to be each other's best friends.

Kusum's and Hansa's marriages combine "romantic" and "friendly" behaviour. Kusum and her husband have known each other since childhood, and they continue to relate to one another as comrades in discussions and in activities. Hansa and her husband have had a "very happy" twelve years since their arranged marriage, and have worked out a give-and-take relationship which leaves each of them equally independent of, and dependent on, the other. But Kusum, primarily in her comments, and Hansa in her behaviour, express deferential and even worshipful attitudes towards their husbands. They praise the latter's "loving nature," and are, as Hansa says, "greatful to God" for giving them such husbands.

In the positive marital relationships, either the women behave in a traditional manner and their husbands in an equally loving, non-traditional manner, or both act as do bhaibandh male friends. But in the three marriages which I term "neutral" or "negative," the husbands behave in a traditional manner, while their wives manifest everything from comprehensive formality to suppressed hostility. Since there is no discussion of the "ideal negative relationship" in traditional sources, I can only suggest that the behaviour and comments of the women whose marriages are neutral or negative are traditional in so far as they do not suggest divorce or separation, but a minimalization of husband-wife interaction.

Malti's relationship with her husband is a neutral one. She has been married "only a short time," three years. Her husband "keeps busy" in his father's mill, while she is occupied with their young daughter, about whom her husband "knows very little." The couple goes out together, to friends' homes or the cinema, two or three times a week. Their interaction on these occasions seems pleasant, but as formal as that of couples during their engagement.

Janu, on the other hand, has been married seventeen years. She and her husband are fully occupied with their careers, and in the home "each does his duty." In the presence of her husband, Janu seems reluctant to discuss her school activities, or the behaviour of her younger son about which she and her husband disagree. The atmosphere is not unpleasant, but somewhat strained.

Sharda and her husband have the least positive relationship of all couples observed. They disagree on matters of child-rearing, purchasing, and socializing. At one time, according to Sharda, their differences of opinion were vocalized, but now she "keeps mum" except when "it becomes too much." Sharda blames her unhappiness not on her husband, but on the fate which she feels has coloured her entire life.

I find the relationship between Nandini and her husband most complex and most interesting. The husband, although he tends to be dogmatic in his opinions, generally acts in a friendly manner towards his wife. She behaves in a romantic way, while her comments indicate a certain amount of disappointment or confusion. For example, her husband came home one evening, sprawled on the chesterfield, and talked on at length about an incident at the office. Nandini silently brought him a glass of water, prepared his tea and snacks, and sat down to listen. The husband's close friend, his bhaībandh, came, and the husband repeated his story in the same tone of voice. Later the topic shifted to the husband's gūrū, who had produced a ring out of thin air the previous week and had presented it to the husband with the advice that he should find a new job. In referring to this evening on another occasion, Nandini said in an almost questioning way that she does not understand why such incidents as the one at the office occur nor why her husband puts so much faith in the gūrū. If her relationship to her husband were

like that of a bhāibandh friend, she would probably ask him about his assessment of these issues. If her feelings were negative, she might express doubt to others about his judgment. But her romantic concept of their marriage and of herself as wife prevents her from questioning anything except the motives of the office colleagues and the gūrū.

The similarities between the personal ideals of the women and the actual husband-wife behaviour suggest that most of the women enjoy marital relationships which they consider satisfactory. Certain personal ideals, for example Sharda's assertion that a husband should simply be faithful, may represent an accommodation to personal experience and reality. But most of my respondents' ideals seem to refer to the relationship thought best for all marriages, as well as to the relationship achieved by the women and their husbands specifically. All the women except Champa believe wives should behave in the manner prescribed by tradition, and all of them except Champa and Jaya do behave traditionally as wives. Similarly, all except Sharda and Malti express non-traditional ideals for a husband's behaviour, and all husbands except Sharda's, Malti's and Janu's act in non-traditional romantic or friendly ways.

While personal ideals and the nature of actual relationships depend primarily on the individuals involved, one other factor deserves mention. During the informal conversations preceding the administration of the questionnaire, the first fact volunteered by each woman about her marriage concerned its origin as a "love match" or as an arranged marriage. The three women whose marriages were arranged -- Janu, Hansa, and Malti -- consider the procedures to be customary for their communities and acceptable to themselves, given the intelligence and sensitivity of the elders who did the match making. Each of the nine women who made love marriages considers the action to be most unusual for her community, and each, except for Kusum

and Champa, feels that her decision to marry was a particularly weighty one.

But although my respondents categorize their marriages according to the origin of the match, a factor more relevant to the husband-wife relationship may be the nature and extent of each couple's interaction before marriage, as determined by parental approval or disapproval of the match. As Table VIII (p.119) shows, what I term romantic behaviour characterizes five of the six long-awaited love matches, while friendly behaviour is associated with four of the six matches made with little or no opposition.²⁸ The circumstances under which disapproved courtships take place help to explain how romantic marital relationships result.

Asha, Urmila, and Nandini each waited almost five years for parental consent to marry. Urmila's elders felt that her proposed out-of-caste marriage would jeopardize her younger sister's chances for a proper match. While waiting for her sister's marriage to be arranged, Urmila supported her family financially. Once the sister had been married and the eldest brother had found a job, Urmila's parents "saw the good nature" of her fiancé and consented to the marriage.

In Asha's and Nandini's cases, consent eventually was given because the parents "saw my misery" or "loved me too [so] much." A Westerner might ask if the parents' recognition of misery or expression of love could not have occurred earlier. He might also ask why the

²⁸In her study of 300 working women in Delhi, Kapur (1970: 57) found that the percentage of well-adjusted marriages was considerably higher where parents of both spouses had given wholehearted consent. Since she does not differentiate between "romantic" and "friendly" marriages, her conclusions would not necessarily contradict my suggestions.

TABLE VIII
PARENTAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS PROPOSED MATCH
AND NATURE OF MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Parental Attitude Towards Match</u>	<u>Hu-Wi Relationship After Marriage</u>
Urmila	approval after 4-5 years	romantic
Aruna	disapproval; elopement after waiting 4 years	romantic
Nandini	approval after 4-5 years	romantic
Kamala	disapproval; elopement after waiting 2 years	romantic
Hansa	arranged match	friendly
Kusum	immediate approval	friendly
Sharda	disapproval; elopement after waiting 4 years	negative
Champa	immediate approval	friendly
Malti	arranged match	neutral
Asha	approval after 4-5 years	romantic
Jaya	parents not informed	friendly
Janu	arranged match	neutral

SUMMARY TABULATION

<u>Parental Approval of Match</u>	<u>Delayed or Never Given</u>	<u>Hu-Wi Relationship</u>	
		<u>Romantic</u>	<u>Other</u>
		1 1 1 1 1	1
	<u>Immediate or Match Arranged</u>		1 1 1 1 1 1

young couples waited as long as they did for permission which might never have been given.

One answer may be that both Nandini and Asha, and their parents, were all but immobilized -- by traditions on the one hand, and by personal desire on the other. The parents, for the sake of their forefathers, their own status, and that of their posterity, were obliged to marry their children well -- within the caste and within a certain economic range. Furthermore, at least Asha's parents sincerely believed that she would be unhappy, married to the poor and familyless man she had chosen. But the parents could not arrange alternative marriages without their daughters' consents. To have done so would not only have been viewed as old-fashioned and harsh by their peers, it would also have risked their daughters' happiness and even their lives.²⁹

For their part, Nandini and Asha felt they could not violate the wishes of elders who had always given them "as much as they could," or, as Asha says, "everything." Neither woman saw her attachment to her fiancé as an act of defiance or as an experiment with Western romantic behaviour. It was, to each, a unique and irrevocable relationship, regrettable only in the anguish it caused the parents. Elopement, therefore, was not discussed. Instead, what can only be described as non-violent, passive resistance was brought to bear. For five years, Asha and Nandini "could not eat well," but neither could Nandini's mother. A silence pervaded both households as the young women "kept mum," while Asha's mother related sadly how sleepless and despondent Asha's father had become. Ultimately, consent was given when the parents had done their best

²⁹Stories of young women who commit suicide because of thwarted love or unhappy marriages abound in Gujarat. They usually refer to "long ago" or to rural areas or to other castes, but they are part of these women's thoughts.

to dissuade, and their duty to marry their daughters and secure their happiness became their primary concerns.

For Aruna, Sharda, and Kamala, similar waiting periods did not result as satisfactorily. The adamancy of Aruna's parents is somewhat difficult to understand, for they, like Asha's and Nandini's elders, had always indulged the wishes of their daughter. Sharda's elders, on the other hand, had opposed their daughter's every move towards "progressive" behaviour, from the wearing of frocks to the writing of the S. S. C. exam. And Kamala's father had consistently displayed intolerant and violent attitudes toward independent behaviour, to the point of disowning his own son. Kamala waited only two years before being married in a civil ceremony. But Aruna and Sharda waited four years until they "lost all hope" of approval.

Romantic relationships may "incubate" during the years of patience, faith, and semi-martyrdom which couples making disapproved matches must endure. My respondents' histories of thwarted love resemble romantic tales of Indian folklore, and their behaviour toward their husbands in marriage continues to follow traditional romantic patterns. Friendly relationships, on the other hand, may develop when couples know one another over long periods of time without parental opposition. Kusum and Champa grew up next door to their future husbands, and their proposed marriages met with immediate approval. Jaya's parents did not even know of her relationship to her future husband until it had developed for several years at a university.³⁰ In general, it appears that romantic marital relationships are preceded by years of parental opposition to the matches,

³⁰Hansa and her husband interact in the friendly, bhaibandh manner after twelve years of a successful, arranged marriage.

while friendly marital relationships follow years of unopposed interaction between fiancées.

How do the educations and the earning positions of the respondents influence their relationships with their husbands? All the women hold degrees comparable to those of their husbands, and four surpass their husbands in education: Janu had only her S. S. C. when her marriage was arranged, but she earned two degrees after the birth of her sons. Hansa and her husband were matched as "equals in education," but during their three-year engagement, Hansa got a second degree. Aruna pursued an M. A. before leaving her family of orientation, and Kamala earned her B. Ed. in order to help support her family of procreation.

With the possible exception of Janu's husband, no husband displays a negative attitude towards his wife's academic achievements. The husbands of Nandini, Champa, Malti, and Sharda regard their wives' educations matter-of-factly, but the other seven husbands refer to their wives' accomplishments with varying degrees of pride and pleasure. Of course, "pride and pleasure" is not the same as intellectual appreciation. In spite of the fact that three women -- Asha, Champa, and Jaya -- had majored in the same fields of study as their husbands, only Asha and Kamala indicate that they ever discuss books, current affairs, or other academic issues with their husbands. At least overtly, a wife's education appears to be a source of pride rather than a basis for communication. On the other hand, since five of my respondents met their husbands-to-be at college, higher education may offer opportunities for the establishment of relationships. Furthermore, during informal conversations with my respondents and their husbands, I noted that all except Nandini contributed to discussions on various political, economic, and social issues.

Although several women surpass their husbands in education, none holds an occupational position or earns a salary superior to her husband's. Indeed, all the women except Janu, who is principal of her own school, are engaged in "service": the Brahmins serve as teachers or social workers, and the Banias, with the exception of Malti, who teaches, serve as clerks or assistants in offices. In contrast, only Hansa's and Champa's husbands, who are assistants in banks, hold less than managerial or professional positions. No woman expresses a desire for, or an expectation of, promotion. But I am unable to say whether this is due to a reluctance to do better than their husbands, or to a realistic assessment of the opportunities for women, or to the influence of the Gītā's doctrine of contentment (see pp. 52, 90).

Their salaried positions do not guarantee the women a voice in the financial decision-making of the household. Only three women -- Asha, Kusum, and Jaya -- share the problems of household economics with their husbands, while four women -- Urmila, Hansa, Malti, and Sharda -- are not consulted at all. The extent to which wives participate in the decision-making appears unrelated to the nature of the husband-wife relationship. For example, since wives having romantic relationships tend to behave in the traditional manner, it might be hypothesized that they would not be involved in money matters, yet Asha and her husband work out both short-term and long-term budgets together. Similarly, one might expect couples having friendly relationships to cooperate on financial matters, but Champa is only consulted (often, I believe, at her own insistence).

Rather than the nature of the marital relationship, the independent variable appears to be the presence or absence of the husband's elders. All but one of the four women who are excluded from financial decision-making live jointly with their husband's

elders. And all but one of those consulted live in nuclear households. The two exceptions deserve mention: Aruna's husband, who does discuss family finances with his wife, lives not with his father but with his brothers, each of whom manages his own budget. Sharda and her husband, although they do not live with his elders, no longer discuss money matters, perhaps because they disagree so heartily on how salaries should be spent. Moreover, Sharda's mother stays in their home most of the time. It is possible that Sharda's husband asserts himself to the extent that he does either to reassure himself of the headship in the presence of his mother-in-law or to prevent undue amounts of money from flowing to Sharda's relatives. The accusation that a wife passes goods to her family of orientation is a common rumour in Gujarat.

To summarize: in their interpersonal behaviour as wives, my respondents follow either traditional patterns of behaviour, or patterns characteristic of male bhāibandh friendships. Those behaving in the friendly, bhāibandh manner enjoy similar reciprocal behaviour from their husbands. Those behaving in the traditional manner receive non-traditional appreciation and concern from their husbands if the relationship is positive, or traditional "provision and supervision" if the relationship is neutral or negative.

The nature of pre-marital interaction between my respondents and their husbands appears to affect their marital relationships more than their education or occupation does. Similarly, the composition of the respondents' households appears to affect the women's involvement with financial decisions more than their position as educated women commanding salaries. In general, neither the nature of husband-wife interaction nor the wife's role in economic decision-making appears to be determined by the fact of a wife's employment. However, certain aspects of a husband's

non-traditional appreciation of his wife concern her double duty as home-maker and wage-earner. And the absence of such appreciation may be a factor contributing to neutral or negative marital relationships (cf. Kapur, 1970: 84-87).

The Employed Daughter-in-Law

Traditionally, a woman's devotion to her husband manifests itself to a large extent in her respectful behaviour towards his family, particularly his mother. Conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law constitutes one of the most common themes in Gujarati folklore and daily gossip; but ideally, the mother-in-law assumes a role of director and substitute mother, while the daughter-in-law acts as a willing helper and loving daughter. For a girl married at an early age, the relationship with her husband's mother all but determines her happiness or misery.

The father-in-law, in traditional families, rarely interacts with his son's wife. The latter does not sit in his presence unless invited to do so, covers her head in his presence, and speaks only if asked a question. There is little opportunity for direct conflict between father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but neither is a friendship between them possible.

A husband's elder brothers, depending on their seniority and on the extent to which they assert their rights, receive the same respect and avoidance shown the husband's father. Younger brothers, on the other hand, are free to establish a friendly or joking relationship with an elder brother's wife. They may chaperone her outside the home, discuss problems with her, and even tease her about her husband.

The role of a husband's sister is not clearly defined, either in traditional texts or in folklore. But for several reasons, she is unlikely to be a close friend of her brother's wife. A young, unbetrothed husband's sister enjoys activities not permitted a circumspect new wife. If married, the sister's visits with her family are considered respites from her own duties and restraints as daughter-in-law. And if widowed, a husband's sister may be a bitter presence in the home, for several reasons. Her husband's family considers her "bad luck" and may blame her for her husband's death.³¹ If upper-caste, she will never be able to remarry, and, particularly if she is childless, her future looks bleak. Not only may she envy her brother's wife, but the latter may also resent her presence, since the traditionally ideal relationship between brother and sister is close and affectionate -- closer than that between the brother and his new wife.

Although I did not question my respondents about their personal ideals concerning relationships with particular in-laws, I did query them regarding the advantages and disadvantages of joint family living. Eight of the twelve women have lived with their husband's families at some time since marriage, and many of their comments are based on personal experience. With the exceptions of Urmila, who has lived jointly since marriage, and Champa, who has never lived with her husband's elders, all the women mention negative aspects of joint family life. Although the comments vary considerably, they relate to two general problems: differences of opinion and differences in economic circumstances among the nuclear units comprising the joint family.

³¹Two women not included in the present sample recall that their mothers were called "Murderer" and "Untouchable" by their deceased fathers' families.

Nandini, Kamala, Sharda, Malti and Janu consider differences of opinion negative aspects of joint family life because "they cannot be expressed." For instance, Sharda and her husband wished to send their child to nursery school, but the husband's eldest brother "did not agree." The couple "kept silent for respect" and enrolled the child just before leaving the brother's home. Janu believes that in the joint family situation, children stop respecting their mother because she is constantly contradicted by her mother-in-law. Kamala, although her husband's mother is "better than my own mother," feels that she would not be free, living with the joint family, to read, to talk with her husband, or to express her ideas (e.g., about how many children she should have.) Only Hansa considers differences of opinion detrimental to joint family life precisely because they are expressed, and "children won't learn anything but quarrels" in such circumstances.

By contrast, differences in economics are believed to cause arguments by all five respondents who consider them a negative aspect of joint family living. Jaya's mother-in-law complained constantly that although her son earned more than her husband, he contributed the same amount to household expenses.³² Kusum feels there is an inevitable "comparison and clash" if one brother earns more than another and Janu agrees that quarrels occur "if one child gets more or less milk." In Aruna's husband's family, where all five brothers earn comparable salaries and none supports more than two children, arguments frequently occur when "the sisters-in-law become selfish, hide things or give more [to their children] than is allowed." A woman should not argue with an elder's opinions regarding herself or her child-rearing methods, for "elders have experience here," but she may vent

³²According to Jaya, her husband wished to save the remainder of his salary for the purchase of a separate bungalow, but his mother accused him of squandering it on Jaya.

consequent frustrations by fighting for equal economic benefits for her children.

With the exceptions of Nandini, who has never lived jointly, Kusum, who lived two years with her husband's family, and Sharda, whose husband still does not speak to his brother ten years after separating from him, all my respondents mention positive aspects of life in a joint family. In general, their comments refer to two "lessons" which the presence of numerous relatives teaches the individual: "adjusting" and "mixing."

According to Urmila, Hansa, Champa, and Malti, the happiness of a joint family depends upon the adjustment of "all the different natures" to one another. To achieve this adjustment, each individual has to learn patience, a "let-go policy," and a willingness to cooperate with others. Urmila feels that the sense of emotional security in a joint family, "the feeling that there are others," enables the individual to give to others and to be agreeable.

At the same time that the individual learns to adjust to others, he learns to mix with them. Urmila, Aruna, Kamala, and Malti feel that joint family life is particularly advantageous for children, who learn to be "outgoing" and independent of their parents, rather than shy and hesitant. Shyness is often thought to be characteristically Indian, and I am under the impression that it is generally considered a virtue, particularly in women. My respondents, however, refer to shyness as a fault in themselves and as a problem in their children.

In addition to the lessons they teach, joint families are considered advantageous by Janu and Hansa because elders help with child care and household tasks, and by Aruna because children learn quickly, by imitation, how to dress, eat, and behave. In general,

however, my respondents find joint family living advantageous for its effects on personality, and disadvantageous in so far as it restricts the individual's freedom of expression or causes quarrels.

The nature of the actual relationships between my respondents and their in-laws appears to vary with the frequency of contact between them. Wives living apart from their husbands' families tend to interact in a traditional manner with the various members, while wives living in joint families tend to behave in what I define below as a modern way. In most cases, unique explanations may be found for the nature of the interaction, yet as Table IX (p.130) indicates, the general pattern is clear enough to deserve mention.

Nandini, Kusum, and Janu live apart from their in-laws and relate to them in a traditional manner, both on ritual occasions and during daily interaction. They touch their father- and mother-in-laws' feet at each meeting, keep their heads covered at all times, and refrain from speaking to anyone except their own children, their husbands' younger brothers, and some of the other daughters-in-law. While visiting the joint family, each of the three women silently assists her mother-in-law with cooking and housework, waits to eat until after the men have finished (the husband's mother serves the food), and sleeps with other women and with children.

Nandini's behaviour might be explained by the fact that her husband's family lives in a village, where the expectation of traditional behaviour perhaps is stronger than in urban areas. Janu's behaviour might be due to the facts that hers was an arranged marriage, and that the relationship between her husband and his father remains negative. Just as the husbands and wives whose relationships are neutral or negative depend on traditional patterns of behaviour for co-existence, so do sons and daughters-in-law tend to act traditionally when their relationships with elders are strained.

Table IX

RESPONDENTS' RELATIONSHIPS
WITH HUSBANDS' ELDERS

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Structure</u>	<u>Frequency of Contact</u>	<u>Ritual Behaviour</u>	<u>Daily Interaction</u>
Urmila	J	daily	no	modern
Aruna	J	daily	no	modern
Nandini	N	4-5x a yr.	yes	traditional
Kamala	N	4-5x a yr.	no	traditional
Hansa	J	daily	yes	modern
Kusum	N	6-8x a yr.	yes	traditional
Sharda	N	1x a wk, (HuMo comes)	no	modern
Champa	N	daily	no	modern
Malti	J	daily no	no	traditional
Asha	N	(Hu has no living elders)		
Jaya	N	3x a yr. (HuFa comes)	no	modern
Janu	N	2-3x a yr.	yes	traditional

SUMMARY TABULATION

		<u>Nature of Daily Interaction</u>	
		<u>Traditional</u>	<u>Modern</u>
<u>Frequency of Contact</u>	<u>Daily</u>	1	1111
	<u>Occasional</u>	1111	11

HH - household

J - joint

N - nuclear

Kusum's traditional behaviour toward her in-laws might be explained by the fact that her husband's parents are North Indian Kshatriyas. Since Gujarati Kshatriyas generally insist on traditional restraints on women more than do Brahmins or Banias, and since Kshatriyas in North India often follow Muslim practices concerning women to the point of keeping them in purdah, it is possible that Kusum acts as she does to meet her in-laws' expectations. But Kusum grew up next door to her in-laws. As she herself points out, her father-in-law saw her in frocks for over twenty years. The transformation in their relationship occurred when Kusum and her husband left the joint family in Baroda for a job in Ahmedabad.

Kamala, who is married to a Moslem, does not follow the traditional ritual behaviour with her in-laws, but with her husband's mother she restrains herself in daily interaction, and with his father she rarely interacts. The difference between her relationships as an in-law, and those of Nandini, Janu, and Kusum, might be due to the Moselm traditions of her husband's family, but for lack of information on Moslem intrafamilial patterns I cannot say to what extent this is so.

Three other women -- Sharda, Jaya, and Champa -- also live separately from their husband's families but do not interact with them in an entirely traditional manner. Neither Sharda nor Jaya ever visits her in-laws' homes, since their husbands are not on speaking terms with certain relatives there. Instead, Sharda's mother-in-law and Jaya's father-in-law come to visit their sons. In their own homes, Sharda and Jaya do not follow the rituals of feet-touching or head-covering. In daily interaction they occasionally "keep mum for respect," but they address their husbands in the presence of the elders and "carry on [normally] in every respect."

Champa's pōl house is situated on the border between her own family's pōl and that of her husband's family. Visits back and forth take place daily, and both ritual and normal interaction deviates from traditional patterns. Champa chats freely with her father-in-law, and covers her head "only in the presence of God." The nature of Champa's interaction with her in-laws is consistent with her behaviour and attitudes toward all persons. But I feel that the proximity of the husband's family may also motivate at least educated and employed women such as my respondents to establish freer, less traditional relationships with their in-laws.

In general, the four women who live jointly with their husband's families -- Urmila, Aruna, Malti, and Hansa -- relate to their various in-laws in modern ways: they sit and chat with them, and with their husbands when the elders are present. They share a room with their husbands, and occasionally take meals with them. Except for Malti, the women discuss differences of opinion freely with their mothers-in-law. Except in Hansa's home, ritual feet-touching and head-covering takes place only on ceremonial occasions, or when a family member is leaving for, or returning from, an extended journey.

As was the case with women living apart from their in-laws, the behaviour of each woman living jointly may be explained by unique factors. For instance, Malti's in-laws pride themselves on their "progressive notions." Her mother-in-law martyrs herself in the name of modernity, indulging Malti's desire to work and encouraging the young couple to go out in the evening while she minds her granddaughter.

Aruna's lack of traditional behaviour toward her in-laws might be due to the facts that the family is laterally, not lineally,

joint, and that her husband is the second eldest brother. But considering how very traditionally Aruna behaves toward her husband and with regard to community traditions, I find her matter-of-fact attitude toward her in-laws particularly noteworthy.

Between Urmila and her mother-in-law exists the most loving relationship of all those I witnessed. They observe no rituals, do housework as a team without "director" and "helper" divisions of labour, and discuss personal problems like intimate friends. Possibly the disparate socio-religious backgrounds -- Gujarati Jain Bania and Maharashtrian Ganesha-pūjā Brahmin -- compelled Urmila and her in-laws to work out such a unique relationship. But it is my understanding that the basic intrafamilial patterns of the two communities do not vary in such a way as to explain the total absence of formality regarding both ritual and daily interaction.

Hansa is the one respondent who lives with her in-laws and behaves, in some respects, in the traditional manner.³³ Although she and her husband lived independently for eight years, Hansa now refrains from addressing him in the presence of her in-laws, covers her head in their presence, and usually takes meals after her father-in-law. On the other hand, she initiates discussions with her husband's mother, and replies more than the traditional "Jii" (Sir) to her husband's father's comments. Perhaps the eight years of separate residence established the patterns of ritual behaviour, while the more recent years of joint living have resulted in a non-traditional form of daily interaction.

³³Asha's husband has no living relatives other than a married sister. However, for ten years until her death, his father's sister lived with them. During this time, Asha behaved in an orthodox traditional manner, "never talking or laughing, only serving."

To summarize: although the apparent reasons for the differences in the relationships between my respondents and their in-laws vary considerably, the general correlation between frequency of contact with husband's elders and observance of traditional behaviour deserves further testing. I would hypothesize that educated women, particularly women who hold jobs in the outside world, willingly behave in the traditional manner during occasional visits to their in-laws. But when interacting with in-laws on a daily basis, the same independent spirit which motivated the women to attain higher educations and salaried positions compels them to establish frank and open relationships with their in-laws, to assert themselves in their husbands' homes.

One indicator by which this hypothesis could be tested is the way in which a woman handles her objections to her mother-in-law's ideas or practices. If behaving in a traditional manner, a wife will either "keep mum" or appeal to her husband. For example, Kusum's mother-in-law applies eye-black to children with a metal stick. Kusum expresses no objection, and when visiting her in-laws she permits it and even does it herself. In her own home, however, she applies it with her finger. Similarly Asha, during the ten years when her husband's father's sister lived with her, and Jaya, before she and her husband left his family, silently accepted reprimands from their husbands' elders, but appealed to their husbands to argue their cases: why breast feeding could not be prolonged, why a doctor must be called, why a friendship with a neighbor should be permitted. If a modern relationship exists between the wife and her in-laws, the same issues are discussed directly, without a go-between.

If the manner in which a woman handles her disagreements with her in-laws is noted, traditional ritual behaviour or the lack

of it may prove to be a false indicator of the nature of daily interaction. Thus Hansa, who consistently observes the symbolic actions of a traditional daughter-in-law, discusses and even argues issues with her mother-in-law. The latter once scolded her for slapping a child, and Hansa explained what the child did and how physical punishment could be effective and beneficial. The mother-in-law mumbled something about book-learning, but conceded that a swat now and then might be necessary.

Conversely, Malti never observes symbolic ritual behaviour as a daughter-in-law, yet her daily interaction follows the traditional pattern of "silence for respect." For instance, Malti wanted to put her daughter in diapers, but the mother-in-law objected on the grounds that the child would be uncomfortable. Malti removed the diapers and appealed to her husband who, "after some days," spoke to his mother. Between them they worked out a compromise whereby the daughter might wear diapers when visitors were present, but not otherwise. At no time did Malti discuss the issue with her mother-in-law.

With the exception of Malti, the women in this sample express their opinions and argue for their ideas directly, when in their own homes. For those living separately from their husband's families, this requires temporary restraints during visits to their in-laws. But for those living jointly with their husbands' families, it requires the establishment of a modern pattern of interpersonal behaviour. As noted above, my respondents hold joint family living to be advantageous in its effects on personality, but disadvantageous in so far as it curbs the expression of individuality. In their actual behaviour, when visiting their in-laws, the respondents manifest the "adjusting" personality of ideal joint family members. But when living with in-laws on a permanent basis, the respondents assert their individuality.

The Educated, Working Mother

Just as a woman's devotion to her husband is thought to be reflected in her attitudes toward his parents, so is her devotion to his parents thought to be reflected in her attitudes toward childbearing and child-rearing. Traditionally, a woman is expected to bear several children, particularly sons, for her husband's family (see Poffenberger, 1968: 31-104). She should raise them according to the practices of her husband's family, as dictated by her husband's mother. Any lack of care or undue disciplinary measures on her part may be interpreted as an attack by an "outsider" on a new member of the "inside" family. On the other hand, a woman's affection for her child must not interfere with her duties in the household.

Nursing is both a legitimate cause for relief from housework and a symbol of the indispensable role which only a "mere daughter-in-law" can fill.³⁴ Children generally nurse on demand until the birth of the next child. Otherwise, weaning takes place after two or more years, often when the child himself no longer shows an interest in nursing. Toilet training, whereby children learn not to eliminate in certain places, is similarly untraumatic. Mothers or older siblings usually clean up after infants, until, after three or four years, children begin to care for themselves by imitating their parents' actions.

While a mother's overt affection for her child is limited primarily by the amount of time she has to devote to him, a father's affection is limited by his role as a disciplinarian and by traditional

³⁴Information on customary socialization methods is derived from Carstairs, 1961; Cormack, 1953; Dube, 1955; Kennedy, 1954; Minturn and Hitchcock, 1966; Steed, 1950; and Wiser and Wiser, 1963; and other sources listed in the Bibliography.

beliefs that it is disrespectful of a father to express positive feelings for his child in front of his own elders. While a mother cultivates a loving relationship with her son, oriented toward his eventual care for her in her old age, a father must maintain an authoritative relationship, oriented toward the day when his son must obey him in matters of public behaviour and family business. On the other hand, a somewhat closer relationship is permitted between a father and daughter, while a mother must train a daughter for her future role as a daughter-in-law.

Almost all my respondents express highly traditional personal ideals concerning the relationships between parents and children. Mothers should "love and teach" their daughters, while daughters should "love and help" their mothers. Fathers should protect their daughters and "see to their futures," while daughters should make their fathers happy by behaving well, dressing properly, and "showing respect for his wishes." Similarly, my respondents believe that sons should give "love and care in old age" to their mothers and "respect and obedience" to their fathers. But somewhat less traditional personal ideals were expressed with regard to the parents' relationships with their sons. A mother's love should be tempered by discipline and by an awareness of the son's eventual independence, while a father's discipline should be tempered with friendship and "understanding."

Four or five women who expound on their personal ideals refer not to their own children but to themselves and their brothers. For example Aruna, who feels that a daughter should "behave well and listen to her father so as not to hurt his feelings," adds that she herself was not a good daughter. And Kamala, whose ideal father "finds time, talks with his son, always gives a proper answer, doesn't reject him," adds that her father was "just the opposite." If the respondents do have as their frame of reference their own

childhood experiences, then the traditional nature of their personal ideals concerning daughters may be due to feelings of guilt or regret about their own filial behaviour. And their more modern ideals about parent-son relations may reflect their feelings of sympathy and loyalty for their brothers. Furthermore, if families of orientation constitute the frame of reference, then the ideal mother, who is "loving but also strict" with her son, is not necessarily more of a disciplinarian than the ideal father, who is "not strict, like a friend." Rather, she is more of a disciplinarian than were the respondents' mothers, and the ideal father is friendlier than were the respondents' fathers.

The attitude toward having children has been greatly influenced by Gujarat's family planning programme (Table X, p. 139).³⁵ Of my respondents' twelve first-born children, eight were planned pregnancies; two children -- Hansa's and Jaya's -- arrived in spite of preventive measures; and two -- Nandini's and Sharda's -- surprised non-planning parents. In contrast, all eight second-born children were planned. At least five women take contraceptive pills, and two have had sterilizing operations. Six respondents, each of whom has two children, do not want any more. Women with only one child -- Urmila, Kamala, Kusum, and Malti -- hope to have one more, "or two at most." Only Nandini and Hansa, who have two daughters each, plan to have one more child, in the hope that it will be a boy.

The desire for sons expressed by my respondents could not reinforce anthropological clichés about India more strongly. All twelve women, their husbands, families, and in-laws, wished for the first-born to be a boy. And all assumed that the mothers were

³⁵An article appraising family planning programmes in Gujarat's rural areas appears in the January 14, 1968 edition of The New York Times Magazine.

TABLE X
NUMBER AND SEX OF CHILDREN
DESIRED AND REALIZED

<u>Respon-</u> <u>dent</u>	<u>Age of</u> <u>Child</u>	<u>Sex of</u> <u>Child</u>	<u>Child</u> <u>Planned</u>	<u>Desired</u> <u>Sex</u>	<u>Plans for more</u> <u>Children</u>
Urmila	3 yrs	M	yes	M	1 more: F
Aruna	7	M	yes	M	none
	2	F	yes	F	
Nandini	4	F	no	M	1 more: M
	1	F	yes	M	
Kamala	3	F	yes	M	1 more: M
Hansa	9	F	no	M	1 more: M
	5	F	yes	M	
Kusum	1	M	yes	M	1 or 2 more: M or F
Sharda	10*	F	no	M	none
	4	M	yes	M	
Champa	6	M	yes	M	none
	2	M	yes	F	
Malti	1	F	yes	M	1 more: M
Asha	11	F	yes	M	none
	9	M	yes	M	
Jaya	8	F	no	M	2nd F born after interview; now none
Janu	15	M	yes	M	none
	(died)	(F)	(yes)	(F)	
	8	M	yes	F	

*Sharda's daughter resides permanently with Sharda's husband's sister (see p. 14).

responsible for the sex of the child. Kusum's brothers "were confident, because all the sisters have sons." Sharda's in-laws despaired, because her father and his brother had had only daughters. Of the twelve first-borns, seven were girls, and of these seven, only one "got a good reception." This was Malti's daughter, the first child born into her father's household in twenty-two years.

When Asha and Sharda, who had first given birth to daughters, produced sons, the "receptions" were very good indeed. Asha's husband's father's sister was "mad with joy," and Sharda's mother-in-law first started visiting her son after the birth of the grandson. But Nandini and Hansa each had second daughters.³⁶ Hansa's in-laws "tried to say 'in modern age it is not important,' but I was very sad." Nandini "cried for two days," and could not (or would not) nurse her new daughter for over a week.

Daughters are hoped for, though not as fervently, once a son has been born. Champa "would have preferred" that her second child be a girl, but it was "no matter" when a second son arrived. Aruna wanted "anyone, preferably a girl," and was happy to have a little daughter. And Janu, whose second child and only daughter had died, was disappointed that her third child was a boy -- a disappointment not shared by her in-laws. As Kamala says, "old people are anxious to have sons for economic reasons, but daughters give happiness to their mothers."

Although highly traditional in their desire for sons and in their concepts of most aspects of the parent-child relationship,

³⁶Jaya also had a second daughter, two months after the administration of the questionnaire. I did not ask her how the child was "received."

my respondents express and to a certain degree implement non-traditional notions on child-rearing. As Table XI (p. 142) indicates, most women are advised by relatives on how to deal with their new-born infants: how to bathe them, when to feed them, and "what to give for slow motion." Only Sharda depended on books and on discussions with a colleague for information on infant care. But ten of the twelve respondents state that college courses, and books read since college, furnish them with ideas on how to deal with older children.

During the first year of her infant's life, when her relatives are advising her, a mother's position as a working woman influences her interaction with her child more than does her educational experience. Women receive a three-month maternity leave with pay, and with the guarantee that their jobs will be held for them. Depending on the economic need of her family and on the relationship with her employer, a woman then returns to "full service." Since six weeks of the three months are supposed to be taken before delivery, the traditional forty-day confinement of mother and child is barely over when the mother resumes work. I am under the impression that among employed women, the length of maternity leave has become something of a status symbol: the more extended leave indicates greater economic and job security.

Eight women give their return to service as the reason for early weaning and for the introduction of bottle-feeding.³⁷ They nursed their children for an average of four months and would have liked to nurse two to four months longer, "until he could take food, and milk from a cup." But in spite of their own reservations and

³⁷Of the other four mothers, three stopped nursing for medical reasons, and only one -- Janu -- nursed for a full year and weaned because "they are too big after twelve months."

TABLE XI
SOURCES OF INFORMATION
REGARDING INFANT CARE AND CHILD-REARING

Respondent	Infant Care			Child Rearing		
	<u>Relative</u>	<u>Friend</u>	<u>Studies</u>	<u>Relative</u>	<u>Friend</u>	<u>Studies</u>
Urmila	Mo HuMo					psych. BA
Aruna	Mo HuElBroWi			Hu		
Nandini	Sis	office clerk		Sis		psych. BA
Kamala	BroWi MoSisSoWi			BroWi		B.Ed.
Hansa	HuMo					BEd, conferences
Kusum	Mo					psych. MA, conferences
Sharda		office clerk	1 text			1 text
Champa	Aya	office clerk		"all"		
Malti	Mo HuMo		home science MA			home science MA
Asha	HuFaSis			Sis		extensive reading
Jaya	Mo	neighbor				MSW
Janu	Mo					B.Ed. psych. MA

See Appendix C for meanings of kinship term abbreviations.

in spite of criticism from some relatives, all eight introduced supplementary bottle-feeding about one month before returning to their jobs.

No woman feels that she would have toilet-trained later had she remained at home longer. Diapers are not used except on infants in cradles, and in urban homes accidents are more inconveniencing than they are in village houses which have dirt and dung floors. Champa took her children regularly to bathroom and latrine when they were one month old, and the latest toilet-training (by Janu) started at eight months. All children were fully trained by the age of three, and the majority by the age of two.³⁸

Jobs do not appear to relieve women of their responsibilities as mothers. Each of my respondents gives the bottles whenever at home, toilet-trains and cleans up after her children, and bathes and dresses them before leaving for work. The women in joint families report with "regret" that their mothers-in-law must occasionally help them. But except for Kusum and Kamala, no woman gets help from her husband. Instead, āyās (nursemaids) "do the necessary" while the women are away.³⁹

Once the child can walk and is able to understand simple sentences, two aspects of his socialization gradually start to

³⁸Differences in feeding and toilet-training patterns do not correspond to differences in the respondents' varna affiliation, as the "oral" and "anal" emphases of Bania and Brahmin community traditions might suggest, (pp. 53, 55, 58-60, and 68).

³⁹Sharda provides an interesting exception. Her own mother lives with her and does at least half the work. She is there out of economic and social need, a poor relation in an area where most mothers do not visit their married daughters even a block away.

change. His father participates more frequently in his training, and his mother's education and reading become increasingly relevant to the manner in which he is handled. In some instances, the two appear to be inter-related: women studying child psychology may encourage their husbands' interest and participation.

Four respondents, all of them Brahmin, have read extensively in child psychology (see Table XI, p. 142). Hansa has a degree in elementary education and participates in weekly conferences on child behaviour at the school where she teaches. Kusum, whose Master's degree is in psychology, also participates in the conferences where articles by child psychologists are frequently discussed. Janu, who has both a B. Ed., and a Master's degree in psychology, continues to read extensively in the field. Asha has never had formal training related to children, but her sister, an active case-worker and clinical sociologist working with children, discusses every aspect of childcare with Asha and provides her with literature on the subject.

Each of these four women encourages her husband to play and talk with his children, and to discuss the older childrens' misbehaviour with them "quietly, like adults." Ironically, all four find themselves being more strict than their husbands. For example, Hansa frequently says "no" to a request for sweets or small favours, "but Poppa is bringing anyway." Asha wishes her children would respond more quickly to her directions and her requests for help, but her husband says "'this isn't a military camp.' He is not particular. He says I am unnecessarily strict." Similarly Janu would like more regularity in her sons' habits, while her husband tends to be quite lenient. After one morning meal, the younger son refused to brush his teeth. Janu insisted, saying he should be clean for school. When the son objected, his father told him he could just gargle. It is interesting, in terms of the relationship postulated between a woman's education and her husband's interaction with his children,

that Janu's husband "did not much bother" with their first-born son. Only since her training in child psychology has he taken an interest in the behaviour of his children.

Six respondents, four Bania and two Brahmin, have read a few books and articles on child rearing. Urmila and Nandini studied psychology while in college, and Kamala, Malti, and Jaya have degrees in education, home science, and social work, respectively. Sharda read one text recommended to her by an office colleague. The remaining two respondents, Aruna and Champa, both of whom are Bania, have not read anything on child-rearing except a few newspaper articles. Of these eight respondents who have not studied matters regarding children extensively, five state that there are no differences of opinion between their husbands and themselves about child-rearing methods. Urmila, Kamala, and Malti say their husbands have "full confidence and trust" in their abilities. Each of these women has a very young child, and each encourages her husband to "find some time for play." Champa and Jaya have older children, and their husbands willingly spend an hour or so most mornings and evenings with them. Neither Champa nor Jaya can think of a specific issue over which they and their husbands disagree; in general, "each does according to his own way."

The three respondents who have not studied child-rearing and do disagree with their husbands' ideas on the subject do so for different reasons. Nandini would like to be stricter with her daughters than her husband permits her to be. During one interview, her husband stated that his daughters "should enjoy. We could not enjoy. They should have whatever they wish -- Cadbury's, dancing. I will not say 'no'. Even if they break this glass [tabletop, his prize possession] we will not scold." Nandini looked at her lap throughout his statement, and on another occasion she told me she feels it is necessary, at

times, to "discipline and deny."

Like Nandini, Aruna is more demanding of her children than her husband, who has ideas of his own: "don't beat or scold; be polite; treat as a friend; play with them." Unlike Nandini, Aruna admires her husband's ways with children and consciously tries to emulate them. But she finds that after a day's work, "if they don't do a thing after two-three times asking, I become angry and sometimes beat."⁴⁰

Sharda is the one respondent whose relationship with her children is far less disciplinarian than that of her husband. She encourages her husband to play with his son on Saturday, while she and her mother do housework. But the husband believes that a child should stay indoors and clean. He scolds his son "for spoiling while eating or playing, but I [Sharda] am thinking, 'let him enjoy.'"

It appears that among the women who mention differences of opinion, those with less education in matters of childcare -- Nandini, Aruna, and Sharda -- bow to their husbands' wishes. But those who have read or trained extensively in the subject -- Hansa, Kusum, Asha, and Janu -- discuss the differences with their husbands and "reach some conclusions." Perhaps women who have learned non-traditional methods of rearing children both surprise their husbands with their ideas, and defend their ideas with confidence. Women without extensive reading either employ methods with which their husbands are familiar and in agreement, or they are unable to defend the methods with which their husbands disagree.

While a woman's educational experience may influence her

⁴⁰"Beat", to Gujaratis, means "cuff" or "slap", unless modified by adverbs such as "thoroughly" or "severely."

own and her husband's relationships with their children, her position as a working woman continues to be a factor as well. Just as in infancy weaning is hastened due to a mother's employment, so in childhood, training is intensified. The strictness of my respondents' interaction with their children, as compared to that of their husbands, is not only a result of their encouraging the husbands' involvement with the children; it is also due to the pressures of time and occasional fatigue under which the women themselves operate. Out of some twenty-eight examples of childrens' "naughtiness" listed by my respondents, eighteen examples concern time-consuming behaviour: demands, pranks, or non-cooperation. In general, the response to time-consuming behaviour tends to be more negative than the response to other types of "naughtiness." For example, Asha is annoyed by her son's absorption in his books and by his copying his sister's behaviour. About his reading, she gets very angry: "You don't care about others," she once shouted when he did not get up to answer the door. "I should do everything when I don't have time to read." But when he wanted to dance with his sister and her friends, she reasoned with him quietly that he should "learn to distinguish" himself.

Several women mention that their responses to time-consuming behaviour are less than ideal. Janu, with her second son in particular, tries to be "more relaxed." Hansa feels she should distract her daughter with stories and games, rather than scold. Urmila does not want to threaten her son to get him to eat. As women educated in the field of child psychology, my respondents strive to reason with their children, to let them "express themselves." But as working women, their time is precious and their patience limited.

To summarize: my respondents encourage direct and positive

interaction between their husbands and their children, and theoretically desire a similar relationship for themselves. As working mothers of small infants, they depend on advice from relatives and help from āyās. As working mothers of older children, they try to implement book-learned child-rearing methods but find that these demand patience which is not always theirs. Thus, the woman who is both educated in the field of child-care and employed in a full-time job finds that in relation to her children, her goals conflict and her capabilities are limited.

The Independent, Married Daughter

A daughter, in traditional Gujarat, is in some respects a burden to her family. As a child her behaviour must meet certain standards or she will not be marriageable. Her marriage costs her father as much as he can afford, and gifts must accompany her whenever she returns to her in-laws after a visit at home. As a wife, her behaviour in her husband's home and her ability to bear children reflects on members of her own family, particularly on her sisters. Potentially, a daughter can become a permanent financial and emotional burden to her family, for if widowed, although her husband's family is traditionally obligated to provide for her, she frequently returns to her own family after the period of mourning.

In other respects, a daughter may be a source of pride and joy. Particularly when visiting her family as a married woman, her relationships with its members may be pleasant and free from strain. She can now provide adult female companionship to her mother, and leadership to her younger sisters. She takes great interest in her brothers' problems and prospects, and he in hers. Although her children belong to her husband's lineage, her own parents feel free to demonstrate as much affection as they wish. And

it is expected that between her brother and her children there will develop an affectionate, comradely relationship.

Girls who marry early may return, after two or three weeks with their husbands' families, to spend months with their own families. The frequency and length of visits dwindle as a woman adjusts to married life, bears children, and takes over the responsibilities of her aging mother-in-law. Eventually, depending on the geographical distance of her family, a woman returns home only for life-cycle events (to give birth to a child, or to name her brother's child), and for calendrical festivities such as Rakshabandan (see p. 65). Among traditional Gujaratis, the geographical proximity of a woman's home to her husband's depends to a certain extent on caste. While Brahmins tend to arrange marriages between families of equal social and economic status, they have no rule regarding regional endogamy. Baniyas, on the other hand, feel free to arrange socially and economically hypergamous marriages, but only within their own regions.

Certain attitudes and practices regulate the interaction between members of a woman's family and members of her husband's. The two sets of elders tend to avoid each other; indeed, older Brahmin women not included in this sample informed me that their mothers never saw their mothers-in-law after the wedding, nor set foot in their daughters' homes as long as their sons-in-law were alive, and that their fathers, on rare visits to them, would accept only water in their daughters' homes of procreation.⁴¹

Most frequently it is a woman's brother who visits her

⁴¹I do not know how common this practice is in Gujarat. Certainly among Baniyas, where regional endogamy and hypergamy prevail and marriages frequently take place between the children of business associates, I would not expect the restrictions to be as severe.

after marriage. When she is to return home, he fetches her. If she has problems, he may speak for her to her husband, or to the community at large if pressure must be brought to bear. And when she has children, he will bring them gifts, play and joke with them, and later counsel them. Theoretically, in an hypergamous marriage, a woman's brother would not be the honoured guest in her home of procreation that her husband is in her home of orientation. But I have never heard it said that a brother-in-law is treated with any disrespect in Gujarat.

New dimensions of the positive relationships between sisters and brothers, and between children and their mother's siblings, are illustrated by my respondents' life-histories. Nandini, Champa, and Aruna met their husbands-to-be through their brothers or "cousin brothers." Nandini's marriage took place at her brother's bungalow, and her first child was born there. When Aruna married without parental approval, it was her brother who came to "call her" for the reconciliation. Urmila's mother's brother was the only relative who "reasoned" with her parents in favour of her proposed love-match. And Sharda's mother's brother was the only relative to witness her civil-ceremony marriage. Sharda also had a friend in her mother's sister, who provided room and board while Sharda attended college against her mother's wishes and who permitted visits from Sharda's fiancé. Similarly, Kamala lived with her mother's sister's son and his wife for a few months before eloping.

Although the children of my respondents are for the most part too young to have developed mature relationships with relatives, it is interesting to note how many have as their "favourite" relative members of their mothers' families (Table XII, p. 151). The mothers themselves facilitate these positive relationships by

TABLE XII
CHILD'S FAVOURITE RELATIVE

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Child</u>	<u>Maternal Relative</u>	<u>Paternal Relative</u>
Urmila	Son 3	MoMo	FaYoSi*
Aruna	Son 7	--	--
	Dau 2	--	FaBroWi*
Nandini	Dau 4	MoSis	--
	Dau 1	--	--
Kamala	Dau 3	MoElBro	--
Hansa	Dau 9	--	FaYoSi*
	Dau 5	--	FaMo*
Kusum	Son 1	MoMo	--
		MoElBro	
Sharda	Son 4	--	FaBroDau
Champa	Son 6	MoMo	FaMo
	Son 2	MoYoBro	--
Malti	Dau 1	MoMo	--
		MoYoBro	
Asha	Dau 11	MoSis	--
	Son 9	MoSis	--
Jaya	Dau 8	MoSisDau	--
Janu	Son 15	MoMo	--
	Son 8	--	--

* Relatives residing in the same household as child

See Appendix C for meanings of kinship term abbreviations.

seeing their families often, and by regarding visits with them as pleasurable occasions. Janu, Malti, and Urmila take their children to their parental homes one to three times every week. Sweets are served, quiet games are played, and the children are often praised and complimented directly, or indirectly but within earshot. Kusum's son is rarely out of arms when he visits his mother's family every six or eight weeks, and Champa's children enjoy daily doses of affection and small gifts from their mother's relatives, who live down the street.

If the relationship between a woman and her parents is less than cordial, it is unlikely that her children will attach themselves to their maternal grandparents; however, other maternal relatives may still be favourites. Thus Asha, who visits her elders regularly once a week, and Kamala, who visits for several days two or three times a year, do so "for respect." Their positive emotional ties, and those of their children, are to their sister and brother respectively, whom they meet in the parental home. Similarly, Nandini sees her mother about once a year, but one of her sisters visits frequently and "loves the babies too much." Of course, the relationship depends also on the personal inclination of the child. Hansa's sister visits two or three times a week, but her daughter "wants Dādī (grandmother) only."

Under unusual circumstances, when a woman's relatives are responsible for disciplining her children, the relationship may not only not be positive, it may be quite negative. For example, Sharda's mother, who lives with her daughter and takes care of her grandson, "beats" her charge for the slightest misdemeanour. And Aruna's parents, with whom Aruna, her husband and children stay several days a week, "baat" their grandchildren, and reprimand Aruna regularly for having such unruly children. Disciplinary

measures taken by maternal grandparents may not be mitigated, as they are in the case of paternal grandparents, by the fact that the grandchildren are of their own lineage, and represent that lineage's future happiness and prosperity. But such cases are rare: the relationship between a married woman's children and her own parents normally remains care-free and affectionate.

The relations between my respondents themselves and their families of orientation range from very positive to neutral and even to negative. The differences, at least for this small sample, do not correlate with differences in caste, proximity of relatives, age of parents, or structure of the daughter's family of procreation. Rather, the nature of parent-married daughter interaction appears most directly related to the parental attitudes toward the daughter's marriage and education (see Table XIII, p. 154). In the eyes of their husbands, my respondents are primarily wives and mothers. But to their parents, they are on the one hand wives and mothers, and on the other hand educated and employed women. Parents may take credit for their daughters' success in both sets of roles, particularly if they favoured the marriage and encouraged the education. However, if they opposed their daughter's marriage, it is unlikely that they will manifest great pride or pleasure in her activities as wife and mother. And if they never took an interest in her education, they are unlikely to appreciate her success in utilizing that education.

As Table XIII indicates, six of my twelve respondents enjoy positive relationships with their families of orientation. They chat freely with them about their children and their jobs, borrow and lend cooking utensils and saarīs, and leave the children with the grandparents when they are particularly busy. The parents of four of these six women -- Kusum, Hansa, Champa and

TABLE XIII
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
RESPONDENT AND HER ELDERS

<u>Respon-</u> <u>dent</u>	<u>Elders' Attitude</u> <u>Towards Marriage</u>	<u>Elders' Attitude</u> <u>Towards Education</u>	<u>Respondents' Rela-</u> <u>tionship to Elders</u>
Urmila	--	+	+
Aruna	--	0	--
Nandini	--	0	--
Kamala	--	+	0
Hansa	+	+	+
Kusum	+	+	+
Sharde	--	--	--
Champa	+	+	+
Malti	+	+	+
Ashe	--	+	0
Jaya	--	+	0
Janu	+	--	+

+ = positive

0 = neutral

-- = negative

SUMMARY TABULATION

		<u>Relationship to Elders</u>	
		Positive	Neutral or Negative
<u>Elders' Attitudes</u> <u>to Marr. and Educ.</u>	Positive to both	1111	
	Negative to one or both	11	111111

Malti -- both approved of their daughters' marriages and encouraged their education. Janu's family lauded their daughter's housework more than her studies, but they take full credit for arranging her marriage. Urmila married in opposition to her parents, but was encouraged by them to continue her education and to take a job.

Three respondents interact with their parents in what I have termed a neutral manner. They visit them regularly, discuss the parents' activities with them "sympathetically," and "listen respectfully" to what the parents have to say. Asha's and Kamala's visits to their parental homes show the neutral parent-married daughter relationship to be somewhat one-sided. The women give a great deal in terms of emotional support, service, and respect, but receive very little. Asha, whose father takes great pride in her law degree, discusses her job with him, but not her children. Kamala's father praises his daughter's academic achievements repeatedly to visitors in his home, but Kamala avoids mentioning anything about herself. Although I never saw Jaya in her home of orientation, the fact that her father, who encouraged her education, has since died probably limits the extent to which she is appreciated as an educated or employed woman in her parental home.

In contrast to the women whose marriages were approved, Asha, Kamala, and Jaya refrain from borrowing anything from their families, even in the most casual way. To do so would be to admit to need, or to failure on their husbands' part to provide for them adequately. Asha, whose family lives about ten minutes away by bus, has never requested her parents to mind her children, since this would invite comments: "You must labour too much, this comes from a love-match."

The women's continuous efforts to serve and respect their

parents may stem in part from the desire to be good daughters as defined by Indian tradition. But it may also be due to a sense of guilt and desire to atone for what they feel was unfilial behaviour. Although Asha, Kamala, and Jaya each assesses her parents' shortcomings in an objective and almost clinical manner, each also feels that her parents loved her very much and "looked to my benefit only." Having crossed their parents by marrying against their wishes, the women now selflessly do what they can to rectify what they view as a selfish, but necessary, wrong.

The three women whose relationships with their elders I term "negative" maintain a strained silence except for necessary exchanges of information and occasional outbursts. Since Aruna must live several days a week with her parents, who disapprove of her being employed, the silence is a very tense one. Sharda's mother lives in her daughter's home, rather than the reverse, and the outbursts are more frequent. Just as educated women living with their in-laws tend to express their opinions despite traditional restrictions, daughters living with their parents may establish a traditionally unfilial mode of behaviour. Among the women whose relationships with their parents are negative, only Nandini, who rarely sees her mother, has avoided quarreling with her directly since marriage.

To summarize: it appears that highly positive relationships obtain between my respondents and their siblings and mother's siblings. Brothers and mothers' brothers function in new capacities with regard to love matches, but traditional behaviour still characterizes the relationships between brothers and their sisters and sisters' children. The interaction between a respondent and her parents tends to be positive, free and affectionate, if the latter approved the respondent's marriage and encouraged her

education. If parents disapproved of their daughter's marriage or discouraged her education, the relationship between them tends to be formal and in some cases hostile.

In Chapter Four I have tried to show how my respondents' personal ideals of intrafamilial relationships vary from traditional ideals and from their actual relationships. In general, my respondents favour interaction among family members which is less hierarchically differentiated and more reciprocal than that prescribed by tradition: Tradition maintains that a wife should adjust to her husband and his activities, but my respondents believe that a husband should also take an interest in his wife's activities. Tradition declares that members of a younger generation should hearken to members of an older generation, but my respondents believe that both children and grown sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law should also be able to express themselves. In effect, the intrafamilial relationships considered ideal by the respondents are more egalitarian, relative to the traditionally ideal relationships.

Many of the actual relationships within the respondents' families reflect the more egalitarian ideals. As wives, nine of the twelve women interact with their husbands in a reciprocal, "friendly" or "romantic" manner. As daughters-in-law, six have established direct, give-and-take patterns of interaction with their husband's elders. Nine women try to discuss their childrens' behaviour with them, and encourage their husbands to do the same. Finally, six of the twelve women interact with their own elders in a mutually free and casual manner. At least quantitatively, egalitarian ideals appear to affect husband-wife and parent-child relationships more than they do the relationships between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law, or between parents and married daughter.

Various factors appear associated with the frequency and extent of reciprocity in intrafamilial relationships.⁴² Mutual consideration and interest between spouses may be related to the origin of the marriage as a love match. Open discussions between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law tend to occur when the two interact on a daily basis. Exchanges of opinion and reasoning with children are encouraged by mothers who have read or trained in child psychology. Exchanges of help, information, and advice are made by married daughters with elders who approve of their choice of spouse and their decision to work.

Cross-cutting the variables of origin of marriage, composition of household, and area of education is the factor common to all respondents, their position as working, earning women. On the one hand, a woman's employment may have a negative effect on interpersonal interaction and may even hinder any trend toward egalitarianism. At least one respondent's husband's lack of appreciation of his wife's activities is a source of strain in their relationship. Three respondents and their husbands separated from their husband's families when their employment became a source of conflict. At least five respondents find that their employment, by exacting time and energy, occasionally prevents them from implementing the child-rearing methods they favour. And six respondents maintain formal relationships with their elders who indicate disapproval of their employment, either by terming it inappropriate or by considering it an unfortunate consequence of the respondent's love-marriage.

⁴²In general, it appears that differences in the respondents' caste backgrounds do not correspond to differences in their interpersonal relationships. However, the three women who do not discuss problems of behaviour with their children, are all Bania, and the four women who have read extensively in child psychology are all Brahmin.

On the other hand, a woman's employment may affect her intrafamilial interaction positively, and may even foster a trend toward egalitarianism. Four husbands in the present sample express admiration specifically of the ways in which their wives cope with both home and office work. Four of the six respondents who enjoy mutually expressive relationships with their husbands' elders are appreciated by the latter as employed daughters-in-law. Six women encounter concepts of child psychology as a direct result of their employment, and two more have learned some child-rearing methods through conversations with office colleagues. Finally, the six respondents who enjoy reciprocal, friendly relations with their own parents, and two respondents whose relations with their elders are strained for other reasons, are celebrated by their parents as employed women.

The data presented above suggest traditional, hierarchical and differentiated modes of interaction tend to characterize relationships which are either strained or, in the case of in-laws, intermittent. Generally, however, the ideal relationships of my respondents and, to a lesser extent, their actual relationships are more reciprocal and egalitarian than the relationships of Indian and Gujarati tradition. In the concluding chapter to this thesis, I will evaluate the trend toward egalitarian intrafamilial relationships in terms of the criteria of modernity set forth in Chapter One.

CHAPTER FIVE
PATTERNS OF CHANGE:
SUMMARY AND HYPOTHESES

At the outset of this thesis, I expressed an intention to identify the ways in which the family life of twelve respondents differs from the family life they experienced as children. To this end I presented in Chapters Two, Three, and Four descriptive material concerning community tradition, life-style, and intrafamilial relationships, respectively. Analysis revealed that in all three areas, certain important changes between the women's past and present home lives have taken place, and that these changes may be related to a number of factors.

In this concluding chapter I will summarize the changes, in order to answer the following questions: Do the changes indicate any general trends or patterns of change? Which circumstances or conditions appear related to the occurrence and strength of the patterns? What hypotheses concerning the patterns and conditions of change warrant further investigation? Finally, how significant are these changes for individual members of families, and for the family unit itself?

Patterns of Change

Comparison of my respondents' past and present family lives suggests that both behavioural and attitudinal changes have taken place. The behavioural changes, described in the preceding chapters, may be summarized as follows: With regard to traditions of caste and sect, daily rituals and life-cycle events tend to be abbreviated or omitted in the respondents' homes of orientation (pp. 54-64). Calendrical events, on the other hand, are still

observed, and several all-caste occasions have been elaborated upon (pp. 64-67).

With regard to life-style, residential patterns indicate a greater separation of occupational and family life, an increase in residential mobility, and trends toward suburban and multi-caste neighborhoods (pp. 75-88). Household arrangements in the respondents' present homes show a decrease in living space, a re-allocation of that space in favour of the nuclear family, and a tendency to acquire a variety of consumer goods (pp. 88-98). Daily activities of the respondents and their families of orientation are more rigidly scheduled than were the activities of their families of procreation, but the families of orientation spend more time together as families (pp. 98-105).

With regard to intrafamilial relationships, interaction between my respondents and members of their families tends to be more egalitarian and less hierarchical than the interaction described by traditional sources. Particularly the husband-wife relationship is characterized by reciprocal rather than differentiated modes of behaviour (pp. 110-125), although the respondents in their personal ideals favour reciprocity between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law as well (pp. 125-135). The parent-child relationship for the most part follows traditional patterns when the child is an infant, but when he is older his interaction with both mother and father tends to be based on principles of mutual explanation and understanding, rather than ones of discipline and obedience (pp. 136-148).

Not all aspects of behaviour discussed in the preceding chapters have changed since the women's childhoods. For example, dietary proscriptions and calendrical fasts are observed by most respondents as they were by the respondents' mothers. Similarly,

the desire for sons, the practice of children sharing a bedroom with their parents, and the lack of regular chores for children are features of my respondents' lives as they were features of my respondents' natal families' lives. Interpersonal relationships between brother and sister, between mother's siblings and sister's children, and between parents and married daughter also remain relatively unchanged.

Why might certain aspects of community tradition, life-style, and intrafamilial relationships change while others remain unaltered? In the introduction to this thesis, I hypothesized that changes made by employed Indian women in their patterns of family life are congruent with the values and attitudes of modern individuals -- values and attitudes accompanying a dynamic and pragmatic approach to life, an individualistic view of self, and a cosmopolitan orientation (pp. 2-5). It follows that patterns of family life not changed by employed women either congrue with these values and attitudes, or at least do not hinder their manifestation. In order to test these hypotheses, it is necessary to determine what attitudinal changes are indicated by the observed behavioural changes, and whether the unaltered behavioural patterns reflect similar attitudes.

Differences between the attitudes and values of my respondents and those of their elders are evidenced by the reasons which the respondents give for the changes that they make in their patterns of family life. One group of changes in community tradition and life-style is attributed by the respondents to the costliness of the previous mode of behaviour, its time-consuming nature, or its impracticality. But these customs were just as expensive, time-consuming, and practical or impractical for the respondents' elders. Furthermore, the respondents do find money, time, and uses for other

items of behaviour which were not part of their parents' lives.

For example, life-cycle ceremonies are modified or omitted because they are too costly, yet expensive and unessential furniture is acquired for the home. Daily rituals are abbreviated and deleted because they demand too much time, but time is found for the women's jobs. Pūjā rooms are "not necessary" but extra room is provided for dining. In other words, my respondents' have made certain changes in community tradition and life-style because their priorities differ from those governing the community tradition and life-style of their childhoods. I suggest that these priorities reflect a dynamic and pragmatic approach to life, such as that attributed to modern individuals.

Reasons given for another group of changes indicate that the respondents also grant high priority to the interests and inclinations of the individual. For example, several shifts in residence were made because the respondents or their husbands felt thwarted when living with the husbands' elders. Life-cycle events and daily rituals are abbreviated or omitted by some respondents either for lack of personal conviction or for lack of interest. Particularly in relation to their children, my respondents demonstrate an orientation toward principles of individualism: they spare the children the early morning bath, the shaven head during upanayana, and the ordeal of fasting if the children do not desire these; they favour early schooling and the use of toys for child development; and, at least in theory, they leave decisions concerning the future careers and marriages of the children up to them.

A third group of behavioural changes made by the respondents indicates that their orientation is also more cosmopolitan than was that of their elders. On the one hand, they have universalized

all-caste traditional activities so as to include in them friends, neighbors, and colleagues regardless of jati affiliation. On the other hand, they participate in new activities, such as cinema-going and restaurant-dining, which their parents forbade. In general, the respondents demonstrate a willingness to expand their realm of experience: they shift to heterogeneous neighborhoods, listen to radio programmes for news and discussion, and experiment with new ideas.

It appears that the attitudinal changes which are indicated by the behavioural changes made by the respondents are congruent with the values and attitudes of modern individuals. The respondents' changed patterns of family life reflect a dynamic pragmatism, a belief in individualism, and a cosmopolitanism not reflected in their elders' patterns of family life. Do the unchanged aspects of the respondents' behaviour also indicate these attitudes? Certainly the intrafamilial relationships that remain unaltered are those which traditionally are least hierarchical and most egalitarian. Traditional relationships between brother and sister, between mother's siblings and sister's children, and between parents and married daughter permit a good deal of reciprocal behaviour, and they are congruent, relative to other traditional relationships, with the expression of individualism.

Other unaltered patterns of family life do not appear to reflect modern attitudes, but neither do they interfere with their manifestation.⁴³ For example, the continued observance of dietary

⁴³The absence of regular household duties for children may be congruent with a dynamic, pragmatic attitude if, as Hansa says, it is due to the fact that it takes more time and energy to see that a child does the job than it does to do it personally.

proscriptions and calendrical fasts is attributed by the respondents to "custom" and to personal belief in their efficacy -- explanations which congrue with traditional Indian values. But neither dietary proscriptions nor fasts are time-consuming, costly, or (unless carried to extremes) "impractical." Since the respondents observing them believe as individuals in their worth, their observance does not transgress principles of individualism.⁴⁴ And since they are easily observed outside the home, they do not interfere with cosmopolitan interests or activities.

The novelty of pragmatic, individualistic, and cosmopolitan attitudes could easily be over-emphasized. As mentioned in Chapters Two and Three, the families and jatis represented in the present sample have lived in urban, relatively cosmopolitan areas for centuries. Sources of Indian tradition such as Kautilya's Artha Śāstra, the Dharma Śāstra, and the Manu Smṛti embody highly pragmatic and, in some respects, individualistic values.⁴⁵ Particularly for Gujarati Baniyas, considerations of time, money, and practicality are not new (see, for example, Spodek, 1969). And for Brahmins especially, I believe that the traditional religious and philosophical focus on the "Self" -- whether the Self is affirmed or denied -- fosters at least a consciousness of individuality (cf. Biardeau, 1965).

⁴⁴"Individual" here refers to the 'self-determined' being rather than to "the empirical subject . . . the particular man" (Dumont, 1965: 15-16).

⁴⁵The sources outline the rights and obligations of each individual, but they do so according to each person's varna and āshrama (Stage of Life), i.e., his "socially-determined" being. Furthermore, the rights and obligations involve, for the most part, pairs of hierarchically related persons -- the Indian "functional equivalent" of a single, "self-determined" individual in modern society, according to Dumont (1965: 91).

But there is something different about the pragmatism, individualism, and cosmopolitanism manifested in my respondents' patterns of family life, a difference which, I submit, is "modern." Their pragmatism, for lack of a better word, is "dynamic": they consume rather than save; they work rather than worship; "the truths of utility, calculation, and science take precedence over those of the emotions, the sacred, and the non-rational" (Rudolph, 1967: 3). The individualism of the respondents is also manifested at the expense of religious customs, but above all at the expense of familial and caste ties: the associations in which the respondents work are "based on choice not birth," and are "separated from family and residence;" the respondents' identity, relative to that of their elders, is "chosen and achieved, not ascribed and affirmed;" the older generation has surrendered "much of its authority to youth and men some of theirs to women" (Rudolph, 1967: 3-4). Finally, the cosmopolitanism of the respondents constitutes a "different" attitude in so far as it represents not only an awareness of diverse and alternative patterns of life, but also a willingness to experience them personally: "'Modernity' assumes that local ties and parochial perspectives give way to universal commitments" (Rudolph, 1967: 3). My respondents do not reject "tradition" as such; they modify it and adapt it, where necessary, to congrue with their modern attitudes and values.

Factors in Change

Throughout this thesis I have tried to estimate the significance of my respondents' employment for their patterns of family life. In Chapter Two (pp. 68-71) I suggested that women's employment, by necessitating a re-allocation of time and facilitating a re-allocation of interests, contributes significantly to the abbreviation and deletion of daily rituals and life-cycle events. On the

other hand, by exposing women to mixed-caste settings and perhaps by creating in them a sense of guilt, employment prompts the celebration of all-caste calendrical events and the observance of fasts. In Chapter Three (pp. 105-108) I found that while consequences of industrialization account for most changes in the respondents' residential patterns, household arrangements, and daily routines, women's employment intensifies and hastens the changes by providing extra income, demanding the women's time in a fixed and regular programme, and by familiarizing them with different life-styles. In Chapter Four (pp. 158-159) I concluded that several variables appear related to the egalitarian nature of the various family relationships, but that women's employment may affect those relationships either negatively or positively, depending primarily on the attitude of family members toward women's employment.

Possibly most significant is the effect of women's employment on the attitudes which are reflected in behavioural changes. A woman who works is aware of job opportunities and job requirements, and has a personal stake in the allocation of income. She develops a sense of identity and sense of purpose apart from those gained through her familial roles of wife, daughter-in-law, and mother. And through her activities in the "outside world," she expands her realm of experience. In effect, employment may foster in women a dynamic and pragmatic approach to life, an individualistic view of self, and a pragmatic orientation -- the attitudes which are manifested in her patterns of family life.

In addition to employment, the preceding chapters suggest a number of variables which appear related to the nature and extent of change. For example, love marriage may influence the degree of reciprocity between husband and wife. Cross-caste marriage and nuclear household composition tend to increase the extent to which

daily rituals and life-cycle ceremonies are abbreviated and omitted. A woman's educational background appears related to her and her husband's modes of interaction with their children. Due to the limitations imposed by my small and non-random sample, I can only suggest that these variables appear significant and may warrant further investigation.

Within the limits of my data, however, I am able to explore the relevance of two possible factors in change: varna affiliation and reason for employment. As noted in Chapter I (pp. 29-30), three of my respondents are Baniyas, or Vaishyas, working for reasons of economic "need," and three are Brahmins employed because of economic "need." Three respondents are Baniyas working for reasons of personal inclination or interest, and three are Brahmins employed for similar personal reasons. Other variables are distributed fairly equally among these four groups. An arranged marriage occurs in each division except that of Baniyas (Vaishyas) working for economic reasons; at least one joint family is represented in each division except that of Brahmins working for personal reasons; and education in child psychology occurs in all four groups, although extensive training in the field is found only among the Brahmins.

It would be possible to chart the distribution of specific behavioural changes according to the respondents' varnas and reasons for employment. But all of the women, in one way or another, have modified community tradition, changed their life-style, and redefined intrafamilial relationships. More significant, I believe, is the distribution of attitudinal changes, as indicated by the various behavioural changes. Below are listed fifteen items of behavioural change, five which I consider indicative of increased dynamic pragmatism, five indicative of increased individualism,

and five indicative of increased cosmopolitanism.

Behavioural Changes Indicating Dynamic Pragmatism:

- 1) modification of one or more aspects of community tradition because of expense or time;
- 2) modification of one or more aspects of community tradition because of "impracticality";
- 3) shift in residence or plans to shift residence for higher standard of living;
- 4) allocation of living space for social rather than for personal or traditional (pūjā) use; and
- 5) hopes for child's career expressed in terms of economic rather than personal or traditional (jati or varna) considerations.

Behavioural Changes Indicating Individualism:

- 1) modification of one or more aspects of community tradition because of personal disinterest or disbelief;
- 2) shift in residence or plans to shift residence for personal fulfillment;
- 3) allocation of living space for personal rather than for social or traditional (pūjā) use;
- 4) consideration of woman's extra-familial activities and consequent needs received from husband; and
- 5) initiative and independence consciously fostered in children.

Behavioural Changes Indicating Cosmopolitanism:

- 1) modification of one or more aspects of community tradition to include members of other castes;
- 2) shift in residence to neighborhood having a significantly heterogeneous social composition;'
- 3) utilization of radio and/or cinema for (broadly defined) educational purposes;

- 4) acceptance of restaurant dining as a leisure time activity; and
- 5) denial of caste as a factor relevant to the selection of child's future spouse.

These fifteen indices represent pronounced differences between the women's present patterns of family life and those they experienced as children, and they are general enough to apply equally to each respondent, regardless of her varna or reason for employment. For example, "modification of tradition" applies to the Brahmin who has changed her bathing customs, or to the Bania who has relaxed her dietary proscriptions. Similarly, "shift for higher standards" would be less likely to apply to women working for economic reasons, but I include both "plans to shift" and shifts made because of better paying job offers. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter One, all the respondents fall within approximately the same economic bracket (p. 28).

Using the fifteen items of behavioural change, I obtain attitudinal scores for each respondent (Table XIV, p. 171). For example, Urmila's scores are 2/3/5. She has made two out of five changes indicative of a dynamic, pragmatic attitude; three changes indicative of increased individualism; and five indicate of an increased cosmopolitan attitude. By adding each of her three scores to the comparable ones of Aruna and Nandini, I obtain composite attitudinal scores for the Bania respondents employed for reasons of economic "need."

Before arriving at these composite scores, I had the following expectations:

- 1) Women working for economic reasons would be more dynamically pragmatic than women working for personal reasons.
- 2) Banias would be more dynamically pragmatic than Brahmins.

TABLE XIV
ATTITUDES OF RESPONDENTS AS
INDICATED BY BEHAVIOURAL CHANGE

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Attitude</u>			<u>Score</u>
	<u>Dynamic Pragmatism</u>	<u>Individualism</u>	<u>Cosmopolitanism</u>	
Urmila	1 2	3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	2/3/5
Aruna	1 3 5	2 3 4	4	3/3/1
Nandini	1 2 3 4		1 2 5	4/0/3
Kamala	2 5	1 3 4 5	1 2 4 5	2/4/4
Hansa	1 3 5	3 4 5	1 2 3 4	3/3/4
Kusum	1 2 3 4	2 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	4/3/5
Sharda	1 2 3 4 5	2	1 2 4 5	5/1/4
Champa	1 2 3 5	1 4 5	1 3 4 5	4/3/4
Malti	1	1 3 5	2 3 4	1/3/3
Asha	2 3	1 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	2/4/5
Jaya	2 4	1 2 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	2/4/5
Janu	1	2 3 5	1 2 3 5	1/3/4
TOTAL	9 8 7 4 5	5 5 7 8 9	10 10 8 10 9	

- 3) Reason for employment would be more relevant to the degree of dynamic pragmatism than caste.
- 4) Women working for personal reasons would be more individualistic than women working for economic reasons.
- 5) Brahmins would be more individualistic than Banias.
- 6) Reason for employment would be more relevant to the degree of individualism than caste.
- 7) Women working for personal reasons would be more cosmopolitan than women working for economic reasons.
- 8) Brahmins and Banias would be equally cosmopolitan.
- 9) Reason for employment would be more relevant to the degree of cosmopolitanism than caste.

As Table XV (p. 173) shows, only five of these nine expectations (#1, 2, 4, 5, and 7) are confirmed by the tabulations of data used to "test" them. As predicted, women employed because of economic "need" are more dynamically pragmatic, less individualistic, and less cosmopolitan than women employed because of personal inclination or interest:

	<u>Dynamic Prag-</u> <u>matism Score</u>	<u>Individual-</u> <u>ism Score</u>	<u>Cosmopolitan-</u> <u>ism Score</u>
<u>Employed for</u> <u>Economic Reason.</u>	18	16	22
<u>Employed for</u> <u>Personal Reason</u>	15	18	25

However, the differences between their composite scores -- differences of three, two, and three for pragmatism, individualism, and cosmopolitanism, respectively -- are very slight.

The expectations that Banias would be more dynamically pragmatic and less individualistic than Brahmins are also confirmed. But whereas I predicted that respondents from both varnas would be

TABLE XV

COMPOSITE ATTITUDINAL SCORES* BY
VARNA AND REASON FOR EMPLOYMENT

<u>Dynamic Pragmatism Score</u>				<u>Individualism Score</u>			
REASON FOR EMPLOY- MENT	VARNA			REASON FOR EMPLOY- MENT	VARNA		
	<u>Eco- nomic</u>	<u>Bania</u>	<u>Brahmin</u>		<u>Eco- nomic</u>	<u>Bania</u>	<u>Brahmin</u>
		9	9			6	10
	<u>Per- sonal</u>	10	5		<u>Per- sonal</u>	7	11
<u>Cosmopolitanism Score</u>				<u>Overall Attitudinal Change</u>			
REASON FOR EMPLOY- MENT	VARNA			REASON FOR EMPLOY- MENT	VARNA		
	<u>Eco- nomic</u>	<u>Bania</u>	<u>Brahmin</u>		<u>Eco- nomic</u>	<u>Bania</u>	<u>Brahmin</u>
		9	13			24	32
	<u>Per- sonal</u>	11	14		<u>Per- sonal</u>	28	30

*Each composite attitudinal score is obtained by adding together the number of behavioural changes made by my respondents which indicate that attitude (as listed on pp. 169-170).

equally cosmopolitan, the composite scores indicate that Bantias are considerably less cosmopolitan than Brahmins:

	<u>Dynamic Prag-</u> <u>matism Score</u>	<u>Individual-</u> <u>ism Score</u>	<u>Cosmopolitan-</u> <u>ism Score</u>
<u>Bantias</u>	19	13	20
<u>Brahmins</u>	14	21	27

The differences between these composite scores -- differences of five, eight, and seven -- are more significant than the differences between the scores obtained according to reason for employment (differences of three, two, and three). Hence, the expectations that reason for employment would be more relevant to the degrees of attitudinal change than caste are not confirmed. By subtracting the differences found between the "reason for employment" scores from the differences between the "varna affiliation" scores, it may be noted that caste is more relevant to the degree of dynamic pragmatism by two "points," to the degree of individualism by six "points," and to the degree of cosmopolitanism by four "points."

On both methodological and theoretical grounds, the soundness of the above findings may be questioned. However, in so far as they correctly indicate differential patterns of change among my respondents, the findings help to answer questions posed in Chapter One (pp. 29-30). First of all, they suggest that the general tradition and character of a varna, its ethos, may indeed permeate the family lives of urbanized, educated and employed women. While my respondents are explicitly oblivious to many overt aspects of community tradition, the above tabulations indicate that they are subject to less tangible implications of varna affiliation. Secondly, the findings suggest that a woman's employment affects

her behaviour and beliefs to the extent it does regardless of her reason for working. The facts that my respondents are not in their homes and are involved in the "outside world" appear more relevant to the changes they make in their family lives than do their motivations for employment.

In summary, analysis of the available data reveals that several variables such as origin of marriage, household composition, area of education, and caste affiliation influence the extent of change in family life. In relation to intrafamilial relationships, these variables may also affect the pattern and direction of change. With regard to features of life-style, however, consequences of industrialization appear most relevant to the patterns of change. And in relation to aspects of community tradition, women's employment appears to be an important factor in change.

Implications of Change

My primary concern throughout this thesis has been to identify the nature, direction, and possible causes of change in family life. I wish to end with a note on the consequences of those changes for the family. The new patterns of behaviour appear to affect the family in two basic ways. On the one hand, extended family functions and ties decrease in number and importance. On the other hand, functions and ties of the nuclear family increase.

The diminishing importance of extended family ties may be seen in all three areas examined for behavioural change. With regard to community tradition, the participation of numerous relatives in life-cycle events has been drastically reduced. In some cases, respondents state that they abbreviate or omit the celebration of life-cycle events because of the expense or time involved, and

because a cross-caste marriage poses difficulties for the function's planners. But in other cases, relatives are excluded from life-cycle events (such as the naming of a child) because the conjugal couple does not wish to involve them. Similarly, in celebrating all-caste calendrical occasions, the respondents not only include friends and neighbors of other castes, they also reduce, at least proportionately, the extent to which relatives are included in the celebrations.

With regard to aspects of life-style, the increased mobility of the respondents decreases the frequency of joint family households. Of the twelve shifts in residence made by the respondents, six separated nuclear family units from joint families. Two of these moves were made for better job opportunities or because of inter-office transfer, but the remaining four were made for the expressed purpose of getting away from the joint family. For those respondents living jointly with, or in close proximity to, their husbands' families, the new patterns of egalitarian intrafamilial interaction transform the hierarchical system of rights and duties which traditionally tie daughters-in-law to their husbands' relatives.

More pronounced than the decrease in extended family ties and functions is the increased focus on the nuclear family. Again, behavioural changes in all three areas affect the pattern. Community traditions such as evening pūjā and the order of dining are modified so as to include husbands, wives, and children. Living space is allocated for nuclear families as wholes, and new bungalows are built for the needs of a single, nuclear family. Of all intrafamilial relationships, those between husband and wife and parent and child most frequently reflect the new egalitarian ideals. Furthermore, members of nuclear families spend more time all together than did members of the respondents' families of orientation. Instead of sitting with their fathers and the fathers' bhāibandh friends, or

accompanying their mothers and female neighbors, the respondents' children enjoy evenings in the home or weekend outings with both their mothers and their fathers.

Some behavioural changes strengthening the nuclear family (such as residential mobility) may be facilitated or even necessitated by the consequences of industrialization (see Goode, 1968). But in other respects, the ties and functions of my respondents' families appear to increase almost in spite of factors affecting changes in their attitudes and behaviour. For example, the combination of early schooling for children, fixed working hours for men, and employment for women effectively reduces the number of hours which family members spend at home. Yet the time spent together as families has increased. Similarly, women's employment exposes them to opportunities and activities outside the home, yet they continue to concentrate energy and time inside the home. Even the dynamic pragmatism evidenced by the respondents does not appear to detract from the emotional ties and functions of the nuclear family (see Smelser, 1966: 115).

I have argued above (pp. 162-165) that the attitudes reflected in my respondents' changed patterns of family life are modern attitudes. It follows that the changed familial behaviour may itself be "modern." Certainly the decrease in extended family ties and functions, and the increase in nuclear family ones are considered characteristic of "modern" families by Goode (1968), Smelser (1966), and others. But as suggested in Chapter One (pp. 3-5), the opposition in today's India may not be between joint and nuclear families as much as it is between families, or familism, and individuals, or individualism. With few exceptions, the respondents of the present study behave and believe individualistically. Whether they live jointly or in nuclear households, and however much they maintain

joint family ties or emphasize nuclear family integrity, my respondents demonstrate in their changing patterns of family life that they are individuals -- "self-determined beings" -- in families.

GLOSSARY

<u>Gujarati</u>	<u>English</u>
ādivāsī	aboriginal; tribal
ahimsā	non-violence
Ambājī	goddess; incarnation of Shakti
ārati, ārtī	circling of flame before image of god during worship
ārtha	material pursuits
āshrama	stage of life
āyā	nursemaid
Bania	merchant; Gujarati Vaishya
bhāī	brother; common suffix on Gujarati male names
bhāībandh	lit: brother bound; intimate male friend
bhajan	hymn
Brāhmin	the priestly class; top Hindu social stratum
chowk	living space in house open to the sky
darshan	awe felt in the presence of someone highly esteemed
Diwālī	festival of lights
diwān	chief minister in a princely state
Gāikwād	princely ruler of Baroda State
Gaṇesh, Gaṇapati	god of fortune, having head of an elephant; son of Shiva
Gītā	Bhagwad Gītā; sacred text
gōl	sub-caste; endogamous group
gṛhastha dharma	householder's duties
guru	teacher; spiritual mentor
himsā	violence

Hōlī	festival at the vernal equinox, celebrated with throwing of coloured powder or water
jātī	caste
je-je	salutation
kāma	sensual pleasure
Krishṇa	god; incarnation of Vishnu
Kshatriya	the warrior class; second Hindu social stratum
Mahābhārata	epic celebrating the battle between the Pandava and Kaurava princes
mantra	prayer, incantation
Marāṭha	dominant ethnic group in Maharashtra; ruled Gujarat during last half of eighteenth century
Mōgul	Muslim imperial rulers of India; ruled Gujarat from 1473 to 1753
Mohenjo-daro	site of prehistoric Indus civilization ruins
nāmastē	salutation made with palms folded
Navrātri	festival of the nine nights before Dussehra
pān	digestive made from betel leaf and nut
Parsi	member of Zoroastrian religious sect
Paryusha	eight-day fast observed by Jains for forgiveness of sins
pōl	inner-city neighbourhood
pōl pānch	executive and judicial body in the <u>pōl</u> , previously coterminous with that of a <u>jāti</u>
pūjā	worship
pukkā	lit: baked; good, well-made
puṛdāh	lit: curtain; protective veil for women

Rakshābandan	festival celebrating mutual devotion of brothers and sisters
Rāmāyaṇa	epic celebrating the adventures of Rama, an incarnation of Vishnu
rishī	ancient Hindu sage
saarii	prevalent costume of adult women consisting of several yards of wrapped cloth
saatī	companion
sādvi	holy man of Sthanakavasi sect among Jains
Saurashtra	peninsular region of Gujarat
sheth	chief elder of a <u>pōl</u>
shethānī	wife of <u>sheth</u>
Shiva	God of destruction and procreation
Shiva-lingam	one of many idols of Shiva in form of phallus
Shūdra	the labourer class; fourth Hindu social stratum
Sindhi	Hindu from Sind, ordinarily a post-partition refugee
slōkā	verse
Teerthunkar	deified preceptor in the Jain religion
upanayana	ceremony in which upper-caste Hindu boys receive sacred thread
Ūthrārṇ	winter festival celebrated with kite-flying
Vaishya	the merchant class; third Hindu social stratum
varna	Hindu social stratum; Vedic class
Veda	most ancient collection of Hindu songs and prayers
Vishnu	God of preservation

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APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGY

As an undergraduate at Barnard College, I wrote a Senior Thesis entitled "Some Aspects of Hindu Socialization Patterns: A Rural-Urban Comparison." It was to have been researched in India, but as the date of my arrival there had to be postponed, it was based entirely on library resources. Once in India, however, I became interested in pursuing some of the questions raised by the B.A. Thesis. The nature of the mother-son relationship and the concept of group identification seemed particularly worthy of pursuit.

In their preface to In the Minds of Men (1953), Lois and Gardner Murphy acknowledge help received from the staff of the Bakubhāi Mansukhbhāi (B. M.) Institute, in Ahmedabad. Here I, too, found a good library, interesting seminars on case-studies and social surveys, and very helpful friends. With these aids I drew up a questionnaire (Appendix B) and was introduced to my first respondents.

No attempt was made to select a random sample. I interviewed any Gujarati woman who spoke some English, had a child under ten years of age, and was interested in participating in the study. Several persons, including one man and seven unmarried women, were also interviewed upon their request. Out of some thirty respondents, the twelve included in the present sample attracted me in particular because of their positions as employed women, and because my relationships with them were relatively close and comprehensive.

My relationship with each woman developed in three stages. First, a mutual acquaintance introduced us, either in her home or

at the respondents' place of work. My interest in Gujarati child-rearing methods was explained, usually by the mutual acquaintance. The respondent then invited me to her home (in Kamala's case, to her mother's home) for afternoon tea. She introduced me to members of her family and chatted about her work, her children, and about topics of general interest such as the cost of living and fashions in saariis. I took no notes during these initial, informal sessions but wrote down as much as I could after leaving.

Next I met with each respondent in her home at an appointed time, usually late afternoon, to administer the questionnaire. I did not request privacy, nor did I request the presence of anyone but the respondent. The husbands of Urmila, Aruna, Nandini, and Champa sat with their wives during at least part of the formal interview. I addressed my questions exclusively to the women, but their husbands occasionally contributed answers. No mother-in-law came into the room where the interview was held for more than a few minutes, but the children of the respondents ran in and out, or sat staring at me, throughout the proceedings. Only during the first formal session with Champa did I feel that the presence of other persons -- there were eighteen crowded into the two-room pōl house -- might have affected the responses to questions. However, in subsequent interviews, Champa's replies seemed consistent with those given during the first session. The administration of the questionnaire took between three and four hours, and was completed in most cases on two successive days.

Finally, I continued to see my respondents informally. I accepted invitations to their homes of orientation, to their husbands' families' homes, and to their places of work. I visited some of the schools attended by the women's children, and accompanied the families of several respondents on outings to temples, bazaars, or parks.

Naturally I came to know some respondents better than others, but even those with whom I spent the least amount of time (approximately seven hours) seemed to give frank and open answers consistent with my observations of their actual behaviour.

Needless to say, I am very grateful to my respondents and their families, and to the staff of Bakubhai Mansukhbhai (B.M.) Institute, for their cooperation, advice, and friendship.

At the University of British Columbia, I have received both intellectual stimulation and helpful guidance from Professors Michael M. Ames and Brenda E. F. Beck. I wish also to thank Professors Kenelm Burrige, Tissa Fernando, and Helga Jacobson for their comments on the thesis and their encouragement. My husband, John, saw the thesis through all its stages and, with me, has learned a lot about working women.

APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE

Basic Information

Full Name

Father's Name

Address

Date of birth; husband's

Place of birth; husband's

Caste; husband's

Varna; husband's

Jāti; husband's

Gōḷ; husband's

Religion; husband's

Sect; husband's

Native Place; husband's

Education; husband's

Service/Occupation; husband's

Child's name

Child's date of birth

Orientation

A. Structure of Household

1. Who was staying in your house when you were born?
2. Who was born after you? (Kākī's, Bhābhī's children, brothers and sisters).
3. Who came to stay with your family after your birth (Dādī, Fōī, Bhābhī)?
4. Which relatives and friends did you see most often? Was there one favorite?

5. Did anyone in your family go out of station often or for some time?
 6. Did anyone leave the house before your marriage (for education, service, marriage)?
 7. Did any close relative expire before your marriage?
- B. Childhood Experience
8. What housework did you do? Who was cooking? What were servants doing?
 9. What did you do with the younger children? What was Aya doing?
 10. Did you have peesa sometimes? How did you get one sweet, bangri, etc.?
 11. What things do you remember doing each day? Who was playing with you?
 12. What religious customs did your family do each day? Week? Year?
 13. What good things did you do that made your family happy with you?
 14. When they were happy with you, how did they express this? What did they say?
 15. What naughty things did you do that your family did not like?
 16. When you were naughty, what did your family do? What did they say?
 17. Did your family change residence? (When, to where, and why?)
 18. When did you start school, what did you enjoy and not enjoy at school?
 19. What were your special interests, activities, and hobbies?
 20. Did you travel before marriage? (Where, when, with whom, for what reason?)
 21. Did you have any service or occupation before marriage?

C. Marriage

22. Date of Marriage
23. How did you meet your husband?
24. For how long were you engaged? What was your relationship then?

25. Where did you marry; what ceremony and functions did you have?
26. Where did you stay after marriage? Who was in that household?
27. Where have you stayed since marriage? Why did you change residence?

Procreation

A. Infancy

28. Pre-/Post-natal factors

- a) Place of birth; months at mother's place; Aya for how long?
- b) Health during pregnancy and delivery
- c) Did you plan to have a child at this time? How many more do you want?
- d) Was a boy or girl hoped for (by you, your husband, in-laws, etc.)?

29. Feeding

- a) How much did the child cry, and at what time? What did you do first?
- b) How often each day did you give mother's milk? For how many months? Why did you stop giving mother's milk? How did you get him to stop?
- c) When did you first give bottle? Who was giving? Was there any problem?
- d) When did you first give cup/glass? When could he take by himself?
- e) When did you first give food? When did he take by himself? Does he take food everyday at the same time, or whenever he is hungry?

30. Cleanliness

- a) Who bathes the child, and how often? When did he first bathe himself?

- b) When did you first take the child to the bathroom? When did he first go there by himself, and pour water after?
- c) Until what age did he sometimes wet the bed at night?
- d) When did you first take him to latrine? When did he go by himself, and when could he wash himself after?
- e) If he had an accident and soiled in the house, what did you say/do?

31. Socializing

- a) Where did the child sleep after birth at night? When did he first sleep on his own bed? What are the sleeping arrangements now?
- b) When could he say a few words? How much does he talk now?
- c) When did he first walk? Is this early or late? How much does he move about?
- d) How many times do you go out each week without your child? Who takes care of him then?
- e) Where do you go when you take the child out with you?

B. Childhood

32. Responsibility

- a) How does your child help you in the housework? Do you ask him to do some things? What should he do regularly when he is 10 years old?
- b) When a younger child is with him, what does he do? What should he do?
- c) If your child asks for one thing from bazaar, who will give it to him? When will you not give it? When will you first give peesa to him?

33. Discipline/Affection

- a) What does your child do that makes you most happy? your husband most happy?

- b) How do you show him you are happy?..What does your husband do or say to him?
- c) What naughty things does your child do? What does your husband not like?
- d) When he is naughty, what do you do? What does you husband do? (Other?)
- e) If your child will not eat/stop quarreling with another child, what do you do?

34. Socializing

- a) Which relatives and friends do you visit/visit with you most often? Does your child have one favorite relative?
- b) Are you, your husband or other family members going out of station?
- c) When did/will your child first go to school? Who wanted him to go?
- d) Please describe your typical daily routine, briefly.
(Eating, sleeping, going and coming, child's activities)
- e) What religious custom do you do in your house each day? week? year?

Attitudes

- 35. What hopes do you and your husband have for his education? occupation? marriage?
- 36. How did you learn about child care? What is the best way for a girl to learn?
- 37. In what way does your husband (other) disagree with your ideas about child care?
- 38. Please give your ideas about the following relationships:
 - a) A boy sould be ____; girl ____
 - b) Son to father; daughter to father.
 - c) Son to mother; daughter to mother

- d) Father to son; father to daughter
 - e) Mother to son; mother to daughter
 - f) Brother to sister; sister to brother
 - g) Husband to wife; wife to husband
39. For children in Ahmedabad, is a joint or separate family better, and why?

Environment

40. Neighborhood/Society
41. Compound/Bungalow
42. Family's quarters
- a) Sleeping
 - b) Cooking/eating
 - c) Bathing
 - d) Other
43. Articles: books, toys, etc.

APPENDIX C
KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Kinship Term</u>	<u>Gujarati Equivalent</u>
Fa	father	bāpū
Mo	mother	bā
So	son	dīkrō
Dau	daughter	dīkrī
Bro	brother	bhāl
Si	sister	bhen
Hu	husband	patī
Wi	wife	patnī
El	elder	mōṭā (mōṭī)
Yo	younger	nānō (nānī)
FaFa, MoFa		dādā, ājā*
FaMo, MoMo		dādī, nānībā*
FaBro, FaBroWi		kākā, kākī
FaSi, FaSiHu		fōī, fōā
MoBro, MoBroWi		Māmā, Māmī
MoSi, MoSiHu		Māsī, māsā
BroWi, SiHu		bhābī, bānevī
HuBro, HuSi		jethā, nāṇand

*Noted by Karve (1965:197) but not elicited from respondents.