

CHAPTER - IV

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ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE .....

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Marriage is the oldest and the basic institution in the human society. It is considered as an essential phenomenon in an individual's life. For Hindus, Marriage is considered as one of the sixteen sacred sanskaras, and a person must marry in order to fulfil his duty towards his religion. This marriage has been a customary practice throughout the Indian society, through the ages and nearly 99 percent of people involve themselves in wedlock.

However, there were a number of forms of marriage like group-marriage, polyandry and polygyny. Some of them are still being practised in some tribal societies. To quote Sur, "India is almost an ethnic museum of marital forms and patterns. Almost all forms known to humanity had their vogue in India" (1973).

Though marriage has been customary and common in the Indian society, it differs in a number of aspects like age at marriage, selection of mate, dowry or bride price, marriage rites and rituals etc. from society to society and from time to time. Similarly, a traditional attitude towards marriage has been observed especially in the rural society.

The last five decades have been marked by a social change in the Indian society as a result of increasing industrialization, urbanization, spread of education, net-work

of communication and transportation and propaganda of modern values like liberty, fraternity, equality and so on. This has greatly affected the spheres of socio-economic life of a particular society. Institutions like family, caste have undergone a tremendous change and an institution of marriage has been changing in all respects, viz., in its form, mode of settlement of marriage rites and rituals performed etc.

It has been observed that new trends are emerging with regards to marriage like, Registered Marriages, Intellectual Marriages, Love Marriages, Inter-Caste, Inter-religious, Inter-provincial Marriages, Dowry has been legally abolished and propaganda against taking or giving dowry is being continuously launched. Lavish hospitality, and heavy expenditure is made on golden ornaments, clothes and feasts etc. are being disapproved. Although the percentage of such marriages might be negligible this indicates that, attitude towards marriage has been changing atleast to a certain extent.

This change in attitude has occurred due to several reasons. One of them is the role that individual occupies in the society. According to the role theorists like New Comb ( 1965 ) and Parsons ( 1956 ), one of the fundamental postulates of the role theory is that a persons attitude is influenced by the role that he occupies in a social system.

The changing attitude towards marriage is being studied because it is of central interest in the life all men and women, and is most fundamental in existence. It is very necessary to study the attitude in order to understand the present as well as future trends of social behaviour with respect to marriage, and it is the attitude that suggests the possible direction of such a change.

"An attitude is a learned tendency to behave positively or negatively towards persons and situations. Its formation depends upon the cultural and social set-up of the society and is subject to cultural and social change in a given society" ( Deshpande 1972 : 136 ).

New Mayer defines it as, "Attitudes are acquired, learned and established tendencies to react towards or against somebody or something. They express themselves in approaching or withdrawing tendencies and they are oriented towards social values".

Studies show that attitudes can be changed and they do change ( Buck 1936, Peterson and Thurston 1933, Knower 1935, Remerress 1934, 1936 and 1938 ) and these facts accounts for social innovations, social tensions and social change.

Various studies like those of Hate ( 1930, 1946 and 1969 ), Merchant ( 1935 ), Kapadia ( 1954, 1955, 1958), Desai ( 1945, 1947 ), Tandon ( 1959 ), Krishnamurty (1970), Tripathi ( 1967 ) and by Promilla Kapur, Ross, Gore etc. have shown that attitudes towards marriage have considerably changed, and attitudes of educated women, especially educated employed woman have changed with regard to marriage.

The last five decades have witnessed great changes in the attitude towards marriage. In general, people, today, are found to be expressing opinions on marriage more freely than ever before. This in itself, is a marked change in their attitude towards marriage, because these opinions may be taken as indices of attitude change.

In the present chapter, thus attempt is made to study the changing attitudes among the graduate males and females towards marriage in the rural setting.

#### Religious Beliefs in Marriage :

Religion is inclusive of all and there is no aspect of life in which religion doesnot have a place in the life of an individual especially in the rural society. Indian rural society has been under predominance of religion throughout the ages and it has still room in the rural society as well as in urban too. There would be hardly

any individual who is an atheist. Religion is, still, largely practised and highly respected in the rural society; and fasts, feasts, rites and rituals, etc. are regularly observed by the villages and hence it can be said that religion has occupied a very important place in the life of an individual.

As far as marriage is concerned, it can be said that, religion is the very foundation of marriage. It has been the faith of villagers that, 'Knots' of the husband and wife are tied in the heaven, "Marriage is a matter of coincidence, and it is "He " who is responsible for it". As mentioned earlier, for a Hindu, marriage is a must in order to fulfil duties, and moreover, it is a sacrament. Thus, religion has a paramount place in the matter of marriage.

One of the objectives of the present study is to see, whether growing educational facilities, especially higher education have brought any change in religiosity in the rural society. The respondents were asked, whether they were religious minded. Of the total sample 80 percent of the respondents gave positive answer as against 20 percent who gave negative answer.

This shows that inspite of education religion is still strongly valued. However, 20 percent had no faith in

religion, that means education and out-side contacts might be the factors, which have made them atheist.

Observance of Fasts :

In day-to-day affairs it has been observed that people are on fasts on particular days in the name of Gods or Goddesses. Why do people observe fasts? Reasons are varied. The reasons range from, "Just for the sake of fasts", to "Health" etc.

In rural society giving a daughter especially educated daughter in marriage has become crucial problem for so many reasons like, scarcity of 'suitable' boys, dowry etc. Higher education was followed by increase in age at marriage, which has given birth to the problem of spinsters. Females, educated or uneducated are more religious. When the problem of their marriage settlement becomes acute they seek advise of a priest or an Astrologer and follow their instructions in the form of observing fasts or reading religious literature or attending temples etc.

Here, an attempt was made to see whether rural unmarried graduates observe fasts with this view. Thus the respondents were requested to make a mention of their fasts, if they observed any. Distribution of observance of fast by respondents is given in Table 8.

Table 8.Observance of Fasts by Respondents

Fasts	Total No.of Respondents
Yearly	3
Monthly	13
Weekly	38
More than one per week	11
None of these	35 ))
Total	100

This shows that 65 percent of the respondents were observing fasts of which 38 percent were observing weekly fasts, and 11 percent were observing more than one fast a week. The period of observance of fasts was ranging from minimum of one year to maximum of fifteen years. In brief, all the respondents were found to observe some kind of fast.

Reasons for the Fasts :

As mentioned above, a number of reasons can be listed. After all observance of fast is one's own totally private affair, and many a time it is associated with religious feelings of a person. However, it was an

unavoidable question, but respondents were requested in humble and polite manner to give reliable information, and hence, reasons given by respondents may be said to be authentic. Respondents were asked the reasons for fasting and were given 4 alternatives, viz., Health, need of mental peace, to get expected partner and any other. Table 9 shows the reasons for the observance of fasts.

Table 9.

Reasons for Fasting

Reasons for fasting	Total No. of Respondents
For Maintaining Health	9
For Securing Mental Peace	31
For Getting Expected Partner	16
Any Other	7
Not Applicable	36
Not Mentioned	1
Total	100

It was found that only 16 respondents were observing fasts with a view to get expected partner in marriage. As anticipated all 16 were female respondents.

It means 32 percent of the female respondents still have faith in the observation of fasts with a view to get expected partner.

Not only in Maharashtra, but all over India, such type of belief are existing in one or the other form.

Mayah Balse writes

"You have the Varlaxmi Puja in the south, Jaiparwati in Gujarath, Mangalagaur in Maharashtra, Karva Chauth in Punjab and U.P. Suhagle in Bundelkhand and many others. Most educated woman even today observe these varatas as a matter of habit; or because of old parents or in-laws who may be hurt by their denials or for a genuine concern for their husbands" ( Balse : 1976 : 24 ).

However, above mentioned fasts are to be observed by woman after marriage for the well-being of their husbands. Similarly, there are some Vratas or Pujas like, Haritalika or Gaurihar or some fasts have been observed by a women in order to get partner to her dream.

To the alternative, "Any other" respondents have mentioned reasons like, respect for god, faith in God Dutta, due to pressure of parents, no intention behind etc.

Reading of religious literature too has a place in religious life of villagers.

This religious literature consists of reading of the 'Ramayana', the 'Mahabharata', the 'Dnyaneshwari' etc. Of course, these religious books have been read publicly and openly in temples. Similarly there are some religious books, which are to be read by individual, with a definite purpose in their minds. They are 'Rukmini Swayamwar', 'Tulsi Mahatmya', 'Shiv-Leela-Amruit', 'Pandav Vijay', etc. which have been existing in the forms of legends; and are recommended by priests to read them.

Every religious book has been designed to overcome a particular kind of calamity or difficulty or for the betterment of the person. Hence, these religious books have been recommended by priests, moreover, the catalogue of books to be read for specific purposes etc. is given in the Hindu Calender.

Thus, "Rukmini Swayamwar" is one, which has been recommended to unmarried girls for reading by priests or parents in order to get a desired husband. In this book, Swayamwar of Rukmini has been described and "as Rukmini got Lord Shri Krishna as her husband, and fulfilled her will, similarly let the wishes of readers be fulfilled like Rukmini, by reading this literature" with this end.

Considering this background, it was decided to see whether individuals highly educated at least graduates, have

faith in such religious beliefs like reading religious literature in connection with their own marriage. With this view respondents were asked to name the "religious book" they read, if any. Their responses are classified in Table 10.

Table 10.

Reading of Religious Books

Religious books read by Respondents.	No.of Respondents Females	No.of Respondents Males	Total
Shiv Leela Amruit	1	1	2
Tulsi Mahatmya	9	3	12
Rukmini Swayamwar	15	4	19
Any Other	3	11	14
None of these	22	31	53
Total	50	50	100

It is seen from the Table 10 that 15 female respondents were reading, 'Rukmini Swayamwar' and 9 were reading 'Tulsi Mahatmya' with a view to get married early and get husbands of their dreams. Surprisingly, it was found that, four male respondents, too, were reading 'Rukmini Swayamwar' and three were reading 'Tulsi Mahatmya'. Later probing revealed that two male respondents out of these

4 were 'Guravs' who are expected to read these sacred books in the temples as a part of their duty. Of the 50 females respondents 28 respondents were reading religious literature that means 56 percent of the girls, and 38 percent male respondents were reading religious literature in connection with their marriage. This again supports and strengthens the traditional beliefs that females have been and are more religious than males.

To the alternative, "Any other" respondents have mentioned, "Mahabharat", "Ramayana", "Harivijay", "Dasbodh", "Sorti Somnath Pothi" and attending pravachanas on "Eknath Bhagawat" etc.

#### Level of Religiosity among the Respondents:

It was necessary to see the level of religiosity among the respondents. Responses towards all the questions asked on "religious background", i.e., whether religious minded, observation of fasts with number of years; reasons for fasting, etc. were scored in order to prepare a level of religiosity among the respondents; and accordingly, this score was classified into three categories, viz., 'high', 'medium', and 'low' .

Table 11.Level of Religiosity Among the Respondents

Sex	Level of Religiosity			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Male	22 (44.0)	15 (30.0)	13 (26.0)	50 (100.0)
Female	9 (18.0)	23 (46.0)	18 (36.0)	50 (100.00)
Total	31 (31.0)	38 (38.0)	31 (31.0)	100 (100.00)

CHI SQUARE = 7.9423 with degree of freedom = 2.

Table 11 indicates that religiosity is not totally absent among the rural graduate youths, both among the males and females. On the contrary more than one-third of the female respondents were having high religiosity and 46 percent medium; whereas only 26 percent of the male respondents were highly religious in their behaviour. This shows that female respondents were more religious than male respondents. This clearly indicates that religion plays an important role in marriage, and graduates do have a faith in the observance of fasts in the name of various Gods and Goddesses, and reading

of religious literature with a view to get a desired partner. Again referring back to the question of fasting for marriage and reading of religious literature though only 16 female respondents have mentioned, "To get expected partner", it is found that 28 female respondents, i.e., 56 percent were reading religious literature in connection with their marriage, which is very significant.

Similarly attempt was also made to see castewise religiosity. It is a general assumption that upper caste especially Brahmins are very religious in their day-to-day life. Reasons are mainly :

- 1) They are considered as sacred,
- 2) Only they can recite mantras,
- 3) Only they can read religious literature, and
- 4) They are heirs of religious treasury.

Level of religiosity according to caste has been shown in Table 12.

Table 12.Level of Religiosity According to Caste

Caste-Groups	Low	Medium	High	Total
Advanced	3 (13.6)	8 (36.4)	11 (50.0)	22 (100.0)
Intermediary	21 (31.3)	28 (41.8)	18 (26.9)	67 (100.0)
Backward	4 (66.7)	0 (00.0)	2 (33.3)	6 (100.0)
Not applicable	3 (75.0)	1 (25.0)	0 (00.0)	4 (100.0)
Not mentioned	0 (00.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (00.0)	1 (100.0)
Total	31 (31.0)	38 (38.0)	31 (31.0)	100 (100.0)

CHI. SUARE = 10.0407 with degree of freedom = 4.

Figures given in the above Table show that 50 percent of the advanced caste-group members had high religiosity. While considering the intermediary castes like Marathas, Malis, Lingayats etc., 26.9 percent had high religiosity as against 31.3 percent who had low religiosity, and 41.8 percent were

having medium religiosity. In the case of the backward castes two extreme poles were found. 33.3 percent were highly religious as against 66.7 percent who were having low religiosity. In general, it was observed that, the respondents of advanced castes were more religious than the rest of the caste-groups.

#### Matrimonial Correspondence :

Traditional joint family was dominant in the Indian rural society and was controlling institutions of marriage as well. Naturally elder members of the family, with the help of kinsmen, were operating as key-figures in the matter of settlement of marriage of their grooms and brides. Generally these settlements were taking place within the geographical territory of the residence of the family. Quite often elder members, generally prestigious figures were operating as mediators in between the two parties.

But in modern times, with increasing Industrialization, Urbanization, Education, Ideas of Individual Freedom and Liberty, Impact of Modernization etc. have shaken the traditional structure and functions of the institutions like family and marriage. Migration from village to city has been taking place due to several reasons like, education, occupation, political reasons, family difficulties etc. As a result of this homogeneity in city has almost disappeared.

However, parents wanted to marry their sons and daughters strictly in their caste, sub-caste, religious groups and even in the province itself. Naturally, it is not practically possible for parents to contact such parties from their caste and sub-caste etc. for marital alliances. This has given rise to matrimonial advertisements, marriage counselling bureaus, bride-bridgrooms information centres etc., which have replaced the traditional mediator in the matter of settlement of marriage. These institutions acting as agents are commercialized institutions.

The present era is supposed to be an era of advertisement, and almost all the daily newspapers, have regular columns for matrimonial correspondence. Some magazines are devoted to matrimonial advertisements only. Interested parties do utilize these media, because anonymity and secrecy of the party is strictly observed. But it appears that, these media are restricted to big cities like Bombay and Poona only.

With a view to see, whether graduates from the rural areas would like to use the medium of advertisement or if they have ever tried so, a question asked was :

Have you ever resorted to newspaper advertisement for matrimonial correspondence? Surprisingly it was found that almost all the respondents had not resorted to newspaper

advertisement so far. Only one had advertised in the newspaper, but she did not receive any response to it. Since 99 percent had given the negative answers, the researcher probed some of the respondents informally about it. It was revealed that, giving advertisement in the newspaper for matrimonial purpose would bring stigma to our family; which may be interpreted as "something is wrong with us", or "those who lack something only they advertise", or "those who donot get relations, only they advertise". It was also reported that generally, "progeny of the parents having incurrable diseases", or "persons with chronic diseases", or persons having leucoderma, progeny of 'mixed'\* marriages, or progeny of "divorcees, widows, widowers, or socially out-thrown people only give advertisement in newspapers for matrimonial purposes. Why should we ?

One cannot deny the fact that it is true to some extent in the rural areas. But people do advertise in newspapers for various reasons other than those mentioned above, e.g.,for wider choice, due to lack of time and man power and possibility of getting wider contact etc.

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\* Those who have involved in Inter-caste or inter-religious marriages.

However, not advertising in newspapers was largely due to misunderstanding and ignorance about the advertisement, and this was the main cause for not using the media of advertisement. The respondents further added that, "Settling of matrimonial relationship is none of our business. It is for the elders to decide and violation of traditional channel of settling of matrimonial relationship might not be appreciated by parents". So where does the question of advertisement arise?, was the counterquestion raised to the researcher.

In short, rural youth is still influenced and controlled by the traditional channel of the selection of mate. There has been lot of misunderstanding and ignorance regarding the use of advertisements for matrimonial alliances, which was highly disapproved in the rural society, and also to some extent in Urban societies of India.

Respondents' expectations about prospective life partners :

In order to study, changing attitude towards marriage, it was necessary to find out, how one goes about in choosing one's mate? What are the criteria being considered? Since, there is a lot of confusion regarding roles in marriage, selection of mate has become rather problematic for both men and women. Hasty and impulsive

choice may lead to permanent in miserable life on the part of the couple. It is quite possible that a person who has studied upto graduate level, would definitely try to select a mate possessing similar characters, traits of his choice and may give priority to factors like beauty, personal charm, good family background with sound economic position, good job, drawing handsome salary etc. However, one cannot forget the basic factor in the process of the selection of mate and that is 'Caste'.

Caste has been an inevitable phenomenon in the Indian society throughout the ages. Eminent Indian sociologists have pointed out significant characteristics of caste-system of which two are very important. (1) Hierarchy, and (2) Endogamy.

Caste has a base of hierarchy and inequality. The element of superiority or inferiority complete caste member to marry within his own caste-group. Though caste ties have been losing their influence due to industrialization and urbanization, means of transportation and social legislation, caste still holds on its members as far as marriage is concerned.

It is significant to note that, caste which otherwise constitutes a significant part in the Indian social life, plays a marginal role in the life of educated youth. It neither

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affects their social attitudes and academic performance, nor does it enter into the formation of friendship groups. It becomes significant in the context of marriage.

Caste is so deeply rooted in Indian society and people are so sentimental and dogmatic about it that Inter-caste marriages are not even thought of. There exists a conservatism in the rural society.

Caste :

In order to find out whether, higher education has brought about any profound change in the rural youth, regarding inter-caster marriage; respondents were asked the question, whether they are prepared to marry outside their caste or sub-caste. If not, what are the reasons for not marrying outside ?

Of the sample, 75 percent of the respondents were not prepared to marry outside their caste. Whereas only 25 percent were prepared to marry outside their caste. Only 27 percent of the respondents showed their readiness to marry in their own sub-caste. Of the 25 respondents 13 are males and 12 females who were prepared to marry outside their own caste.

25 percent of the respondents have shown their willingness for inter-caste marriage. This change towards the acceptance of intercaste marriage was observed long ago by Ghurye :

"Formerly marriage outside one's caste was not even thought of, today many educated young men and women are prepared to break through the bonds of caste if mutual love or attraction demands it".\*

Of the sample 75 percent had shown their reluctance to inter-caste marriages. Attempt was also made to note reasons which were responsible for prohibiting them from inter-caste marriage. Respondents were given fixed alternatives and were requested to tickmark nearest applicable answers appropriate to them. Table 13 shows the reasons.

Table 13.

Reasons for not Marring-out

Reasons	Total No.of Respondents
I dont like it	11
I fear that people will criticize me	12
My parents oppose it	43
I and my parents like, but relatives don't	2
Any other	2
Not applicable	21
Total	100

\* Reproduced from : Promilla Kapur, Love, Marriage and sex in India- Vikas publication.1973. P.150.

Enquires made regarding the attitude to inter-caste marriage, show that the old attitude of "In-Marrying" still continues. Bopegamage has pointed out in his study that:

"Feeling about Inter-caste marriage among the rural people is deeply conservative. Among the Urban Industrial people there is some relaxation in this relationship, but here too it was observed that some element of conservatism prevailed in the minds of men towards marriage. In this act of marriage also it is the upper caste people, specially the Brahmins and the Marathas and some castes who are not favouring any type of material relationship with the other castes except with their own. We could also notice that it is in the middle ranges where people prefer to marry within their own groups" (Bopegamage : 1967 : 78).

Since 25 percent of the sampled respondents have shown willingness to marry outside their own caste, it may be said that, the rural youth have started changing their traditional attitude of "Marring-in", i.e., endogamy has still a strong hold on the rural society. This variable was further crossed with a sex, age, caste, SES level and religiosity.

As far as the sex-group of the respondents was concerned, it was found that male as well as female respondents were equally traditional. 45 females and 43 males

(i.e. 90 percent and 86 percent respectively ) did not want to marry outside their own caste. Only two female respondents were prepared to marry outside their sub-caste as against 5 males.

Endogamy According to Age-groups :

When endogamy of respondents was compared to their age-groups, it was found that 5 respondents in the age-group of 16 to 20 did not want to marry outside their own caste. No body wanted to marry outside his sub-caste; whereas only one wanted to go out from his caste and one was silent on sub-caste.

Of the total sample 90 respondents belonged to the age-group of 21 to 25 years. 80 of them i.e., 88.9 percent of the respondents wanted to marry within their caste; whereas 7 respondents were prepared to marry in their own sub-caste. 2 wanted to marry outside their caste and one was silent on sub-caste, though not wanted to marry outside his own caste.

Only 3 respondents belonged to the age-group of 26 to 30, and all of them have shown their readiness to marry in their own caste only.

Attempt was also made to see whether endogamy has been prevailing in certain caste-groups only. Thus respondents'

castes were taken into consideration with a view to see, whether any caste or caste-groups has been losing its rigidity. It appears from the data, that "Group-Ethnocentrism" still has a place in the rural society. Even among the scheduled castes, respondents were inclined to marry within their respective castes. Table 14 may throw light on it.

Table 14.

## Endogamy According to Caste of the Respondents

Caste	Prepared to marry outside caste.	Not prepared to marry out side caste but silent on sub-caste	Not prepared to marry outside as well as sub-caste	Not prepared to marry outside caste but prepared to marry outside his own sub-caste.	Total
Advanced	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	19 (86.4)	3 (3.6)	22 (100.0)
Intermediary	2 (3.0)	2 (3.0)	60 (89.0)	33 (4.5)	67 (100.0)
Backward	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	6 (100.0)
Not applicable	1 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (75.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (100.0)
Not mentioned	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (.0.0)	1 (100.0)
Total	3 (3.0)	2 (2.0)	88 (88.0)	7 (0.0)	100 (100.0)

CHI SQUARE = 4.3463 with degree of freedom = 6.

Findings of this study support Bopegamage's (1967 : 78) study. On the basis of caste we see that all the 22 respondents of the advanced caste, all of them were Brahmins, 19 respondents wanted to marry in their own caste only. Whereas 3 were a bit liberal and wanted to marry outside their sub-caste. This is very significant.

Secondly, if we look to the respondents' of intermediary caste-group, a majority of them belonged to Maratha caste and 89.6 percent of them were inclined to marry within their own caste only. 4.5 percent were interested in marrying in their sub-caste; whereas only 3 percent respondents were prepared to violate the tradition of "Marrying-in".

Surprisingly, respondents of backward caste-group, too, were interested in marrying in their own caste-group only. None of them wanted to marry outside his own sub-caste except only one respondent wanted to marry in his own sub-caste, i.e., almost all of them wanted to marry in their caste-groups only.

Sunanda Patwardhan, too, in her study, "change among Indias Harijans" (1973) found that, members of backward caste were preferring "Inter-caste Marriage". She writes :

"Enquiries made regarding the attitude to inter-caste, inter-community marriage among the 'Neo-Buddhists' show that

old attitude of "In-marrying " continues (Patwardhan : 1973 : 43 ).

Bopegamage & Veerraghavan ( 1967 : 91-92) in their study of two villages had employed sentence completion test to study attitudes and opinions. They had given an open sentence for the information to be completed. It was as follows :

"I WANT MY DAUGHTER TO MARRY A \_\_\_\_\_"

They found that 92 percent of the respondents wanted to marry their daughters to their own casteman.

The present data also clearly indicate that with the exception of insignificant intermediary castes, almost all the castes of the sample expressed, their wish not to marry outside their own caste.

The phenomenon of insistence on marrying-in one's own caste has a number of aspects like superiority or inferiority complex, ethnocentrism, fear of social criticism, education, income etc. In short, Socio-economic background of the individual is also to be considered. Here efforts were also made to see whether there is any relationship between SES level of the person and his being endogamous.

Table 15.

SES Level and Endogamy

SES level	Prepared to marry outside caste	Not prepared to marry outside caste but silent on sub-caste	Not prepared to marry outside caste as well as sub-caste	Not prepared to marry outside caste but prepared to marry outside his own sub-caste	Total
Low	1 (3.4)	1 (3.4)	24 (82.8)	3 (10.3)	29 (100.0)
Medium	1 (2.6)	0 (2.6)	37 (94.9)	1 (0.0)	39 (100.0)
High	1 (3.1)	2 (0.0)	27 (84.4)	4 (12.5)	32 (100.0)
Total	3 (3.0)	2 (2.0)	88 (88.0)	7 (7.0)	100 (100.0)

There is a co-relation between the socio-economic level and a caste and its practice of endogamy in rural setting. Rich and prosperous families of equal status in respect of wealth, land, family, status, etc. At least the superiority of caste, aristocracy of the family (i.e. Kulinata-Khanadan ) etc. are strictly observed as shown in Table 15. Wealth is a very important factor among the upper castes, because receiving or donating dowry depends on it. Irrespective of the socio-economic level, the phenomenon of "Marrying-in" appears to be stable and unchanged.

Over the last 50 to 75 years the only considerable and visible change that has occurred is that, people have been a bit liberal towards marriages between sub-caste groups. Intercaste marriages in the rural society are quite rare and exceptional even today.

#### Age :

Age of a prospective spouse has an important place in the mate selection. Because development of personality, balance of mind, an emotional development, a sense of responsibility to the confronting situations, and the sense of marital adjustment is closely related to age. Various studies have been made regarding the age at marriage which has revealed that age at marriage differs from time to time

and from society to society. Regarding the age at marriage of girl or a boy, there is a great variety of opinions. The Hindu writer Prabhu says in this respect that :

"It is extremely difficult to say anything specific and uniform about their general opinion. The only thing which they agree about is that it is the age of the bride that must be less than that of the boy" (Prabhu : 1961 : 179).

The age at marriage of both men and women in India was varied from time to time, and from region to region, as well as with religion, caste and language differences. Even when age is supposedly set by customs, it varies according to the convenience of the families.

To take short account of age at marriage through age, it appears that, the marriage age in the age of Manu (200 BC to 200 AD) was 8 years for a female and 24 years for a male.

During the medieval times early marriages gained popularity and were performed in great numbers and pre-puberty marriages became the order of the day.

At the advent of the British rule, eight or nine years of age was the usual marriageable age for the girls. The Child Marriage Restraint Act was passed in the year 1929 fixing the minimum age of marriage at 18 for males and 14 for females. The minimum age at marriage for the bride was raised to 15 years in 1949.

In the year 1977, in the regime of Janata Party again age at marriage rose to 18 and 21 years for females and males respectively.

Not only the age at which men and women marry, but also the differences in age between husbands and wives are also important factors in shaping their relationship. Age differences are important considerations in mate selection in all the known groups, but the socially appropriate age match is not always the same. Normally, spouses are expected to be of the same age.

According to J. Richard Udry & J. B. Lippinock Coy ( 1973 : 153 ) the phenomenon of eldersness of husband is related to three factors.

- 1) In most societies superiority is related to age, and societies are male dominated societies.
- 2) Men of all ages have typically preferred young women as sexual partners.
- 3) The female reproduction period is limited from 20 to 30 years with fertility rapidly declining in the latter part of the period.

Respondents of the present study were requested to specify the age-group from which they expect their marriage partners. Five age-groups ranging from 16 to 30 were given alternatives. It was found that, female respondents though

highly educated, they prefer their husbands to be older than themselves. Of the sample 44 female respondents out of 50 wanted their husbands to be older. This forms 88 percent. Whereas 12 percent wanted their husbands to be in the same age-group.

Various studies pointed out that a majority of the educated women accept the traditional belief that the bride should be younger than the bridge-groom.

Similarly, males, too, have accepted the same traditional belief. 49 respondents out of 50 wanted their wives to be equal in age.

There exists a co-relation between higher age at marriage and higher educational achievements. Educational facilities and its spread in rural setting has definitely influenced general attitude of people and has encouraged higher goal of education, which has ultimately led to higher age at marriage. With this finding it can be stated that spread of higher education would probably help in increasing the age at marriage.

It takes about 20 years for one to be a graduate which is followed by some additional qualifications. Even after obtaining additional qualifications there is an uncertainty of job. This has tended to increase the age at marriage for both boys and girls.

" Recent National Sample Survey shows that the age at marriage has shown a tendency to rise for the country as a whole and more particularly for the Urban areas".\*

Education :

Various factors like age, physical beauty, socio-economic status of a person or of a family etc. operate in the process of selection of mate. Education, too, is not exception to this. Like age, education has a close relationship with an intelligence, emotional development, liberal and broad mindedness and one's social being.

It is but natural for one to enquire about the educational status of his prospective spouse along with other details.

Indian society is the male dominated society and hence, more importance is attached to the male than the female. It has been observed that, male generally expects his wife to be younger in age, less in education, etc. On the contrary females expect their husbands to be better than themselves in all respects. Promilla Kapur (1974: 253) in her study writes :

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\* Reproduced from : M.S.Gore; Urbanization and family change, popular, Bombay 1968. P.198.

"Qualities that an educated Hindu woman wishes to have in her future husband, are his being liberal minded and superior in intellect, so that she could respect him, and look to him for guidance and help. This attitude, in essence, is the traditional attitude towards marriage in which the wife wants the husband to be superior in intellect, education and valour so that she can happily depend on him, respect him and derive inspiration from him".

Further, Promilla Kapur ( 1974 : 14 ) in her study, found that, of the sample more women gave the first preference to a prospective mate who was economically well placed and second to his education.

Krishnamurty in his study found that, 63 percent of the post-graduate students preferred to marry husbands possessing higher educational qualification than theirs".

A.Ramanamma, in her study, (1978 : 37 ) found that "nearly 48 percent of the female respondents felt that husband should be more educated and should have more income. In the case of employed unmarried women more than 55 percent wanted to marry a person who was more educated with more salary than her own".

However, it is to be noted that, above studies have been carried out in an urban setting. If this is the case with urban setting, it is no wonder, if the unmarried graduate girls from the rural setting show the same traditional attitude towards marriage.

Present data also support the above findings by showing the same trend.

Table 16.

Homogamy in Education

Sex	Same level	Higher level	Lower level	Not clear	Total
Male	15 (30.0)	0 (0.0)	35 (70.0)	0 (0.0)	50
Female	10 (20.0)	39 (78.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	50
Total	25	39	35	1	100

Table 16 shows that 70 percent of the males wanted their wives to be less educated than themselves, 30 percent graduates expected their wives to be equally educated. None of them wanted brides having higher education. On the contrary 39 females out of 50, i.e.78 percent wanted their

husbands to be more educated than themselves. (They want double graduates) and 10 females, i.e. 20 percent wanted their husbands to be equally educated. It is significant to note that female respondents have attached primary importance to education. One of the alternatives given was, "Low educated with financially sound position". Not a single female respondent could show her willingness to marry a man who is less educated but financially sound. This is a significant change in the attitude of rural girls which is a result of higher education.

#### Occupation :

Like many other factors occupation, too, matters in the process of settlement of marriage. One's occupation places an individual in a particular class. Moreover, it is closely associated with his status in the society. Certain occupations have been considered as superior and some as inferior; since it is again associated with a type of job to be performed and the monetary gain attached to it. Hence, any educated youth would definitely look at the occupation of the prospective spouse.

When advertisements regarding matrimonial alliances are read in the news papers, it is seen that, a particular occupation of a spouse is given and expected; again it has been observed that, there is homogamy in the occupation too.

A Doctor prefers a doctor wife and a lecturer prefers a lecturer.

Having considered above facts, it was decided to see, which occupation they prefer as far as their prospective spouses are concerned. Thus respondents were asked, What would you like your husband or wife to be ? Alternatives given were, Govt.Officer, Doctor, Professor, Army Officer, School Teacher, Clerk, Typist, and any other. Responses of a sample are shown in Table 17.

Table 17.

## Occupational Preference in Mate Selection

Sex	:Govt. :Officer:	:Doctor :	:Profe- :ssor	:Army :Officer	:School :Teacher	:Clerk	:Typist	:Any :Other	:Not :Clear	:Total
Male	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	10 (20.0)	1 (1.0)	Nil	13 (26.0)	24 (48.0)	50 (100.0)
Female	10 (20.0)	28 (56.0)	4 (8.0)	3 (6.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	Nil	2 (4.0)	2 (4.0)	49 (98.0)
Total	11 (11.0)	28 (28.0)	5 (5.0)	3 (3.0)	10 (10.0)	1 (1.0)	0 (0.0)	15 (15.0)	26 (26.0)	99 (99.0)

CHI SQUARE = 77.8435 with degree of freedom = 7.

If we look at Table 17, we find that 10 male respondents wanted their wives to be school teachers, one wanted to have a clerk and one respondent wanted a Govt. Officer. Under category "Any other" respondents have mentioned, "dont want a working wife" (5), 'Farmer's daughter' (4), 'Housewife' (3), and a 'Businessman' (1).

If we refer back to Table 16, i.e. Homogamy in Education, we observe that, 35 males wanted wives, who are less educated. Naturally those who are expecting just matriculates or even below, would not expect working girls. Moreover this is to be understood in the rural context, that is most of the respondents, i.e., 70 percent don't want employed wives and they prefer girls from farmers' families, so that their being familiar with the duties and responsibilities to be shouldered may help in their family.

Under column "Not Clear" the number of male respondents is greater. Most of the males did not expect working wives, thus, some of them have left that column blank, and some have ticked on all the alternatives, and a few have mentioned none of these or no expectations etc. Only 20 percent of the respondents wanted their wives to be high school teachers, and 2 percent wanted Govt. Officers. It means that occupation of the girl is not considered in the selection of mate among the rural youth.

As far as female respondents' expectations regarding prospective spouses are concerned, we find that, Doctors top the list. 28 females out of 50, i.e., 56 percent have preferred doctors as their husbands. This is mainly because of the status that doctors enjoy and the prestige, wealth and all other luxuries, i.e., a bungalow, a car etc., doctors possess in the society. Next to doctors, was preferred a Govt. Officer. 10 female respondents have shown their preference to Govt. Officers. A Govt. Officer, too, has a status in the society. He is looked upon as an authoritarian personality with a dignity, and draws a good salary per month. Only 4 females have shown their preference to professors. None of the respondents wants her husband to be a clerk or a typist. To the category, "any other" two respondents have mentioned Engineer and a Businessman respectively. One respondent did not mention any liking for a occupation as she did not want to marry throughout life time.

Tungar\* has made an analysis of matrimonial advertisements published in reputed newspapers in the year 1979-80. In all 8000 advertisements were published, 15 percent of it were analysed. He found that, a majority of the women have given preference to education, income and status

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\* W.N.Tungar- daily "Kesari" dated 1st March, 1981.

of their husbands rather than to their physical beauty. 80 percent of the women wanted their husbands to be well established executives or officers in Banks, LIC and private industries. They did not show any attraction towards teachers, professors or lawyers. On the contrary individuals having independent occupation or profession like doctors, chartered accountants, architects who do not bear any responsibility of the members of their families were highly preferred. A majority of them wanted their husbands to be superior to them in education, occupation and economically well-to-do. This shows that, women folk though educated, still like to be dominated by a males. Tungar has not mentioned whether the advertisers hailed from the rural or urban set-up, even though, there is a room to predict that most probably his sample was drawn from the urban set-up.

As far as this aspect is concerned there is no much difference between rural and urban set-up, with regard to attitude towards marriage.

#### Type of Marriage Preferred :

Sociologists and Anthropologists classify marriage on the basis of parties entering into the marriage. They are as given below:

1. GROUP MARRIAGE :

It is a type of marriage in which two or more males marry two or more females. This type of marriage was existing in some tribals in India and abroad.

2. POLYANDRY :

Polyandry is a type of marriage in which one woman marries more than one male. This type is further divided into 2 sub-types, i.e., fraternal and non-fraternal polyandry. Today it is exceptionally prevailing in some tribals like Todas of Nilgiri Hills and Eskimos of North Pole.

3. POLYGyny :

In polygyny one person marries more than one woman. Today this type is common among the Muslims and tribals.

4. MONOGAMY :

Monogamy is a marriage of one man with one woman. This is supposed to be the best type of marriage and this is being widely accepted all over the Indian society, and has become the order of the day.

In modern times sociologists are tending to classify marriage on the basis of the "type of settlement of marriage" such as, "love marriage" , "arranged marriage" and "Registered Marriage".

### ARRANGED MARRIAGE :

As the term indicates the marriage is settled by the parents of the bride and the groom. For over 100 years there have been child marriages in existence in Indian society. Even today also child marriages take place. Traditionally it was customary for the parents to arrange marriages of their children. In this type of marriage an individual had no voice and no other ~~other~~ alternative but to garland the boy or girl selected <sup>by</sup> parents as one's husband or wife. Fortunately, these arranged marriages have been successful.

Over the last 50 years, industrialization, urbanization and wide spread means of transportation, propaganda of higher education and economic independence of women have provided ample opportunities to meet people of different caste, religion, language, and sex. Ideas like fraternity liberty, equality etc. are influencing. As a result of all these factors, males and females are meeting together working together in offices, banks, schools, colleges industries etc. Their long or considerable co-association calls for mutual love and attraction. As a result of this love marriages have been taking place on caste, class, religion and even on provincial lines; in which parents rarely have a voice.

Sociologists and social psychologists have noticed this change in attitude towards marriage and have conducted various studies to that effect.

Merchant ( 1935 ) in his study had found that nearly 78 percent of the women supported marriage by choice. In Hate's study ( 1946 ) 74 percent of her unmarried subjects opined that they would like to choose their partners themselves; whereas in a study by Fonseca ( 1966 ) 56 percent of the educated female respondents reported the same.

Promilla Kapur, in 1959, when she carried out the first phase of the study it was found that the educated working women not only disapproved of purely arranged marriages but a majority of them, i.e., 63 percent preferred love marriages ( Kapur : 1974 : 10-11 ).

Mathew, in her study ( 1966 ) of the attitudes of the college students towards marriage also found that 64 percent of the girl students preferred marriages arranged by the parents with the whole hearted approval of the boy and the girl.

Krishnamurty in his study ( 1970 ) found that 82 percent of the students pursuing higher education in Andhra University wanted their own involvement along with the parents in the process of mate selection.

Deshpande ( 1972 : 49 ) too, found that, 72.66 percent of the respondents indicated 'parental advice' as an important factor in choosing a mate.

Gore, in his study, found that, "A majority of respondents ( 56 percent ) think that marriages should be arranged by elders without any consultation with either the boy or the girl concerned. 42 percent of the respondents think that while marriages must be arranged by the elders, the parties to the marriage should be considered. Only 2 percent of the respondents think that marriages should be decided upon by the boy and the girl concerned. A comparison of respondents from the rural areas with those from the urban area, show that the fringe group has the highest proportion of those who think that marriage should be arranged elders without any consultation with the boy or the girl concerned ( Gore 1968 : 207 ).

However, none of the studies, mentioned above have been carried out strictly in the rural societies, even though they throw some light on the type of marriage preferred.

In order to understand how far an unmarried rural graduate has changed his attitude with regard to the settlement of marriage, the question asked was :

Whether he preferred love marriage or arranged marriages ? Table 18 shows distribution of the responses of the sample.

Table 18.

Type of Marriage Preferred

Type of Marriage Preferred	Total No. of Respondents
Love Marriage	13
Arranged Marriage	73
Not Clear	13
Reluctant to Marry	1
Total	100

Even today 73 percent of the respondents wanted their marriage to be arranged by parents as against only 13 percent who feel that love marriages should take place as shown in Table 18. Though they are graduated, still, they are not prepared to break away traditional channel of the settlement of marriage. Secondly, it is the elders, who are matured, experienced and respected, who would definitely arrange for the betterment <sup>of</sup> their children is the feeling that is strongly prevailing in the rural society. Thirdly, it has been observed that a large number of love marriages

have failed, and fourthly, the most important area in which a child's parents hold complete control over his life is in the selection of ~~the~~ his spouse; which the rural youth does not want to interfere with.

This was, again, examined in relation to sex, age-group, caste, SES level and religiosity of the respondents.

Table 19.

Type of Marriage Preferred According to Sex

Sex	Love Marriage	Arranged Marriage	Not Clear	Relu. Marry.	Total
Male	6 (12.0)	35 (70.0)	9 (18.0)	0 (0.0)	50 (100.0)
Female	7 (14.0)	38 (76.0)	4 (8.0)	1 (2.0)	50 (100.0)
Total	13	73	13	1	100

The percentage of male and female is almost equal to those who preferred love marriage. Of the sample 76 percent female respondents have preferred arranged marriage as against 70 percent males as shown in Table 19. This shows that, as far as sex is concerned attitude towards marriage is much the same.

When this phenomenon was related to age of the respondents, it was found that 71.4 percent of the respondents in the age group of 16 to 20 years, and 72 percent of the respondents in the age-group of 21 to 25 years have preferred arranged marriage. On the contrary these are the ideal age-groups which attract individuals for mutual love and affection, but paradoxically they prefer arranged marriages. Table 20 shows the distribution of responses.

Table 20.

Type of Marriage Preferred According to Age-groups

Age-Groups.	Love Marriage	Arranged Marriage	Not Clear	Reluctant to Marry	Total
16 to 20 Yrs.	1 (14.3)	5 (71.4)	1 (11.3)	0 (0.0)	7 (100.0)
21 to 25 Yrs.	12 (13.3)	65 (72.2)	12 (13.3)	1 (1.1)	90 (100.0)
26 to 30 Yrs.	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
Total	13 (13.0)	73 (73.0)	13 (13.0)	1 (1.0)	100

CHI SQUARE = 1.1105 with degrees of freedom = 4.

On the issue of "marrying-in", or "out" of the caste respondents of the advanced caste, especially Brahmins and the members of the sheduled caste, have shown their willingness

to "marry-in". This in itself has proved to be highly traditional attitude. Thus, it was decided to see, whether there is any relationship between the caste and the type of marriage preferred by the respondents. With this view this phenomenon was related to caste-groups. The responses of the sample are classified in Table 21.

Table 21  
Type of Marriage Preferred by Respondents  
According to Caste

Caste-Groups	Love Marriage	Arranged Marriage	Not Clear	Reluctant to Marry	Total
Advanced	0 (0.0)	20 (90.9)	2 (9.1)	0 (0.0)	22 (100.0)
Intermediary	9 (13.4)	47 (70.1)	10 (14.9)	1 (1.5)	67 (100.0)
Backward	2 (33.3)	4 (66.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (100.0)
Not Applicable	2 (50.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
No Response	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b> <b>(13.0)</b>	<b>73</b> <b>(73.0)</b>	<b>13</b> <b>(13.0)</b>	<b>1</b> <b>(1.0)</b>	<b>100</b> <b>(100.0)</b>

CHI SQUARE = 7.3917 with degree of freedom = 4.

Responses given by the members of the advanced caste, i.e., Brahmin, depict that 90 percent of them have preferred, "arranged marriages", and none of them have shown willingness for love marriage. This shows that Brahmins in the rural set-up have been more orthodox and highly traditional on this issue and do not want to break the traditional frame of caste.

Respondents of intermediary castes represent largely Maratha caste compared to Brahmins, they are becoming tolerant and liberal on this issue. Because 70 percent of them have shown their willingness to marriages to be arranged by parents; whereas 13.4 percent have preferred marriages by mutual love. This shows that, new value trends have been introduced in this caste with the growth of education. It has been found among the respondents of the backward castes that 33.3 percent respondents have shown their preference against love marriage; whereas 66.7 percent wanted themselves to follow the traditional path, i.e., arranged marriage.

There were 4 respondents, 3 of whom were Muslims and one was a christian by religion. One Muslim and One christian respondent wanted to be involved in love marriage. One Muslim respondent preferred arranged marriage, one was not clear on the point, Since the number of respondents of non-Hindus were just four, it is very difficult to make any

generalization about their changing attitudes towards marriage.

One's Socio-economic level and status determines a number of traits like personality, character, temperament, as well as his attitudes, way of life, his beliefs and superstitions and so on. Socio-economic level of a family does play an important role in the matter of marriage. For the present study while determining, socio-economic level, factors like father's income per annum, Rating of the family and education of the parents of the respondents were taken into consideration. Though children are educated and have pursued higher education; illiterate or just literate parents often act in negative terms as far as marriage of their children is concerned. Because of the most important area in which a child's parents hold complete control over his life is in the selection of child's spouse, moreover, they take it as their "exclusive domain". In the case of educated parents, attitude towards child's marriage may be rather liberal.

Therefore, phenomenon of type of marriage preferred by respondents has been related to SES level of parents. Table 22 shows the distribution of responses according to socio-economic status level of the parents.

Table 22.Type of Marriage Preferred by SESLevel of Parents

SES level of parents	:Love :Marriage	:Arranged: :Marriage	:Not :Clear	:Reluc- :tant :Marry	:Total to:
Low	4 (13.8)	24 (82.8)	1 (3.4)	0 (0.0)	29 (100.0)
Medium	4 (10.3)	25 (64.1)	9 (23.1)	1 (2.6)	39 (100.0)
High	5 (15.6)	24 (75.6)	3 (9.4)	0 (0.0)	32 (100.0)
Total	13 (13.0)	73 (73.0)	13 (13.0)	1 (1.0)	100 (100.0)

CHI SQUARE = 6.6473 with degrees of freedom = 4.

The table shows that SES level has very little to do with the type of marriage, whether love or arranged, of the respondents. Because 82 percent of the respondents of low SES level preferred arranged marriages as against 13.8 percent who preferred love marriages. When one considers medium level of SES, one sees that 64.1 percent of the respondents have opted for arranged marriages as against 10.3 percent who have preferred love marriages. Respondents belonging to high SES level of the parents, show some new trend where 15.6 percent of the respondents have preferred

love marriages; whereas 75 percent have preferred arranged marriages.

Girls' expectations about their would-be husbands:

Indian society is patriarchal in authority, patrilineal in descent, and patrilocal in residence. Since time immemorial, women have been given a secondary status in all familial and social matters. Marriage settlement of daughter has been a major duty of parents and it is understood that, it is their field. Thus, where does the question of her voice arise ? She has no voice, even today. Even though one speaks a lot about equality of sexes, woman's liberation etc. girls, even highly educated, have no voice to say anything about their own marriages. They have been kept under constant impression that whatever parents do in this matter would be doing for their well being only, and therefore they are not anxious or aggressive as far as their marriages are concerned.

However, every marriageable girl does cherish some dreams about her future husband having a good bungalow, handsome income, and a reputed family and what not. Moreover, these expectations regarding "would-be-husband" are rather "set" ideas and are ideals. Every girl expects more or less the same. In order to see whether these "set" ideals about would-be-husband, and his position, salary, and traditional opinions

and dogmatic in marring-in etc. have undergone any change with the higher education, female respondents were asked questions regarding age of husband, his physical characteristics, salary, attitude towards family formation and dowry etc.

There exists an understanding in the rural area, elder the off-spring in the family, greater the concentration of power and status in his hands. Indian society being male dominated, naturally a wife of the elder individual enjoys the same ~~a~~ power and status. As a result of this, preference is given to a boy who is the eldest of all. Of the 50 female respondents, 32 respondents mentioned that they wanted the eldest sons as their husbands as against 12 who did not stress on. 5 respondents were not clear in their responses.

This shows that 64 percent of the respondents still show a traditional attitude. However, 24 percent of the respondents denote the symptom of change.

#### Physical features of prospective husband:

Every girl, may be rural or urban, educated or uneducated, does have some expectations about her husband's physical characteristics like, good height, good stature, fair skin, colour etc. A majority of them expect their husband,

to be fair looking, tall and stout, handsome and so on; with or without taking into consideration her own physical features.

Female respondents of the present study were asked one question :

What of the following physical features do you look for in your husband ?

This question was supplied with some alternatives like (a) fair-looking, (b) well-built, (c) just ordinary, (d) tall, (e) smart, (f) match for you.

Further, respondents were requested to mark them in order of preference like 1, 2, 3, 4 and so on.

Data indicate that, 54 percent of the respondents have given first preference to "Match for you". 20 percent have given first preference to "well-builtness", 6 percent to "smartness", 12 percent to "fair-lookingness", 6 percent to "tallness". None of them has given first preference to "just ordinary".

Of the sample 32 percent have given second preference to "smartness of the husband", 22 percent to "well-builtness", 12 percent to "fair-lookingness", 10 percent to "tallness", 6 percent to "just ordinary", 4 percent to "matching husband".

This shows that, graduate females have given priority to suitability of husband to them. That means they did consider their own personality and physical characteristics when they thought of their husbands. Suitability of husband to them was followed by "smartness of the husband". It includes all the factors like body building, colour etc., appropriately balanced which may just be equal to the girl's personality taken as a whole. It is significant to note that none of the respondents has given first preference to "just ordinary", or a majority of them ( 80 percent ) has not given even 6th preference to it.

"An incredible amount of research has been carried on in relation to the physical characteristics of the spouses. Suppler ( 1968 ) lists over 300 studies, including 105 different physical characteristics. As one might expect, numerous studies show similarity of the features about spouses on age, weight and stature but selection of similarities is also documented on many other physical characteristics, including forearm length, hair colour, general health, basal metabolism, and even pulse rate before exercise (Udry & Lippincot 1973 : 177 ). There is evidence that similarity in the physical characteristics is a factor in the mate selection. Murstein ( 1972 ) asked each member of 99 engaged or steadily dating couples to rate his own and his partner's physical

attractiveness on a five-point-scale ranging from "extremely good looking" to "considerably below average in looks" and arrived at the above conclusion.

Salary :

The ultimate aim of the parents is to give their daughter in marriage to a well-to-do boy from a respectable family in order to derive a prolonged happiness. Brides, too, expect generally a rich husband. So that they can lead a comfortable and luxurious life. However, this goes with a salary of the family. It is quite possible that, most of the girls expect their husbands to be superior to them in income also. Even working unmarried girls, too, expect the same.

Ramanamma ( 1979 : 37 ) in her study found that:

"Of the sample nearly 48 percent of the respondents felt that husbands should be more educated and should have more income. In the case of employed un-married women more than 55 percent wanted to marry a person who was more educated with more salary than her own".

Here an attempt has been made to get a view of the female respondents, regarding husband's salary. They were given, four salary groups, ranging from Rs.300/- to Rs.900/- and above. All 50 respondents, i.e.,100 percent mentioned that, salary of their would-be-husband should be above Rs.900/- per month.

This shows that they have set up certain income ideals for minimum standard of living.

Attitude towards family formation :

Marriage results into a formation of a new family. Rural society, in India, has been dominated by joint family. Some inevitable demerits like, lack of privacy, domination of head of the family, domestic clashes or conflicts between mother-in-law and daughter-in-laws etc. may be no longer over looked upon.

Therefore, growing tendency of separation after marriage and establishment of family has been on the increase.

Ross ( 1973 : 289 ) writes :

"One change that can be seen in the Hindu marriage pattern is the increasing desire of young brides to live separately from their in-laws. Modern mothers tend to encourage this more, and many even try to find for their daughters husbands who live separately".

Female respondents were asked question; Whether they preferred to stay with in-laws? Of the sample 48 per cent did not want to stay with their in-laws; whereas 52 percent were prepared to stay with. Further they were asked, " would you prefer to have your own separate settlement after marriage ?".

It was found that, though 52 percent of the respondents were prepared to stay with in-laws, 64 percent of the sample preferred separate settlement after marriage.

Further, phenomenon of preference of staying with in-laws was related to caste.

Table 23.

Preferred to Stay with In-laws or Not

Caste-groups	Not Willing	Willing	Total
Advanced	8 (36.4)	9 (40.9)	17
Intermediary	16 (23.9)	10 (14.9)	26
Backward	0 (0.0)	2 (33.3)	2
Not Applicable	0 (0.0)	2 (50.0)	2
No Response	0 (0.0)	3 (0.0)	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>24 (48.0)</b>	<b>26 (52.0)</b>	<b>50 (100.0)</b>

As per Table 23 it was found that, 36.4 percent of the respondents of advanced caste and 23.9 percent of the intermediary caste were reluctant to stay with their in-laws; whereas 40.9 percent of the advanced caste, and 14.9 percent

of the advanced caste, and 14.9 percent of the intermediary caste and 33.3 percent of the backward caste prepared to stay with their in-laws. Respondents views regarding separate settlement after marriage was related to their caste, which depicted that advanced and intermediary castes were favouring separate settlements after a marriage. Of the sample 59.1 percent of the respondents of the advanced castes and 28.4 percent of the intermediary caste were interested in forming separate settlements. Of the backward castes respondents 33.3 per cent were against it. This can be interpreted as, advanced and intermediary castes being liberal on this issue, and secondly, education has definitely influenced it.

#### Dowry :

Hardly do we to see a newspaper or listen to a radio news without any mention of a suicide committed by a bride due to constant demand of dowry. Dowry had its roots in ancient India and has been continuing today in its crudest form, and hence has become a problem. Though taking or giving of dowry is legally forbidden; it has remained on paper only, and the traditional social custom still prevails.

Some institutions devoted to social work, youth clubs, political parties etc. have raised voice against dowry, by taking collective oath or undertakings for not taking dowry etc. But this traditional social custom has not been eradicated, but still, continues to increase in magnitude day by day.

It is generally expected from the so called intellectuals and educated people, that at least 'they' should not encourage this ugly practice by giving or receiving of dowry in any form. But surprisingly some recent studies have shown that, educated people are more in favour of this practice.

Institute of Economic and Market Research has conducted one survey on behalf of department of social welfare; in the district of Meerut of Uttar Pradesh. The reason of selecting this particular district was, that big number of deaths have been reported from this very district on account of dowry. The conclusions of this survey would make even a layman, introvert. It was found that 60 percent of the males and females are in favour of dowry. According to survey especially graduates and post-graduates were more inclined towards dowry. According to survey 95 percent of the youth, highly agreed to the fact that, instead of decreasing the traditional social custom

of dowry it is on the increase. Further they agreed to heavy pressure being brought upon the parents of the bride for giving dowry.\*

Ross ( 1973 : 264 ), in her study, found that dowry has been strongly looked down upon. She writes :

" A number of men and women interviewed who objected strongly to dowries did so on the grounds that it was a costly and stupid custom, a shameful practice, an insult to manhood, an evil custom. Several thought that Govt. should make it illegal. Only a few of them men and women interviewees who replied to the question were in favour of them".

Ramanamma ( 1979 : 67 ), in her study, writes :

"The educated women with one voice condemned the dowry system. Most of the unmarried girls were vehement in their views that dowry should not be given for educated girls".

In order to find out, what do the graduates of rural society feel about this burning issue, they were asked: whether they oppose dowry? and if so, what were the reasons ?

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\* From editorial, 'Kesari' daily dated 28th April, 1982.

It was anticipated that, with one voice all the 50 percent of the respondents would attack it and condemn it. But surprisingly it was found that 82 percent of the respondents were against this practice; whereas 18 percent were in favour of it.

For opposition to dowry, they were given alternatives like, (a) I dont afford it, (b) It is harmful to society, (c) Both, (d) Not applicable, and (e) Any other; and the responses to these are shown in Table 24.

Table 24.

Reasons for Opposing Dowry

Reasons	Total No.of Respondents
I dont afford it	13
It is harmful to society	27
Any other	1
Not applicable	9
Total	50

This indicates that, only 54 percent of the female respondents felt that, this practice was harmful to the society, and therefore they were disapproving it; whereas 26 percent were against it because it was not within their

reach, had it been affordable to them, they would not have bothered about it. Only 2 percent of the respondents have opposed this practice out of their fear of remaining unmarried throughout their life time. However, 54 percent of the respondents at least opposed this system in principle. This is significant, and shows that an attitude towards dowry has been considerably changed.

This phenomenon of dowry, was related to caste of the respondents, and it was found that, respondents of the advanced castes were strongly against it, 72.7 percent of the advanced castes have opposed dowry. As far as intermediary castes are concerned, 31.3 percent of the respondents of these castes opposed dowry system; whereas 16.7 percent of the backward castes respondents opposed dowry system. Table 25 shows the castewise responses.

Table 25.

Oppose Dowry or Not ? Castewise Responses

Caste-groups	Oppose Dowry	Don't Oppose Dowry	Not Applicable	Total
Advanced	16 (72.7)	2 (3.1)	4 (18.2)	22 (100.0)
Intermediary	21 (31.3)	4 (6.0)	42 (62.7)	67 (100.0)
Backward	1 (16.7)	1 (16.7)	4 (66.7)	6 (100.0)
Not Applicable*	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	2 (50.0)	4 (100.0)
No Response	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
Total	39 (39.0)	9 (9.0)	52 (52.0)	100 (100.0)

CHI SQUARE = 2.0808 with degree of freedom = 2.

A large percentage of the respondents opposing dowry were found among the advanced caste-groups especially among the Brahmins. Since Brahmins are advanced educationally, socially and culturally, they have been changing<sup>ed</sup> their attitudes towards this particular issue.

\* Non-Hindus.

The phenomenon of dowry was also related to income of parents, education of father and mother of the respondents, etc. It was also related with socio-economic status level of the parents. Therefore, an attempt was made to analyse the practice of dowry in relation to socio-economic status level of the parents.

Table 26.

Distribution of Respondents' SES  
Level in Relation to Views on Dowry

SES Level	:Oppose :Dowry :	:Don't :Oppose :Dowry	:Not :Applicable :	:Total No. :of Res- :pondents
Low	8 (27.6)	2 (6.9)	19 (65.5)	29 (100.0)
Medium	15 (38.5)	1 (2.6)	23 (59.0)	39 (100.0)
High	16 (50.0)	6 (18.8)	10 (31.3)	32 (100.0)
Total	39 (39.0)	9 (9.0)	52 (52.0)	100 (100.0)

CHI SQUARE = 27002 with degree of freedom = 2.

When socio-economic status level of the parents was related to respondents views on dowry, it was found that, there exists a clear-cut relationship between SES level of parents and opposition to dowry as shown in Table 26.

Of the lower socio-economic status level respondents 27.6 percent have opposed dowry, 38.5 percent respondents of the middle SES level and 50 percent respondents of the higher SES level have opposed dowry system. This shows that, opposition to dowry increase with the increasing level of SES.

Further, this was related to respondents religiosity level which revealed that, opposition to dowry forms a larger group of respondents having 'average religiosity'. Of this group 52.6 percent of the respondents have opposed dowry; whereas 19.4 percent of the respondents belonging to low religiosity level have opposed it.

In short, it can be concluded that, a girl's attitude towards marriage, especially about her would-be-husband's physical features, his salary, attitude towards family formation and dowry have been undergoing a considerable change.

Boys' expectations about their would-be wives :

It has been observed that, girls generally look for a capable and efficient husbands; whereas boys give priority to the beautiful girls. Most of the boys, expect their wives to be, slim, fair looking, and charming in appearance, with or without considering their own state of being.

In the present study, boys were asked their expectations regarding their would-be-wives, on the points such as their employment, smartness, expert in cooking and whether they expect dowry from them.

Of the sample, 6 percent wanted employed wives, and this was the condition for them. 8 percent respondents wanted their wives to be farmers' daughters'. 10 percent respondents wanted their wives to be smart, and 20 percent respondents expressed that, they should be expert in cooking.

Whereas 48 percent of the respondents wanted their would-be-wives to be with all the traits, in other words, a combination of smartness, expert in cooking and employed as well. One has expected a girl of rational and mature understanding. The phenomenon of expectation about wife was related to caste, which revealed that, 13.6 percent of advanced castes and 31.3 percent of intermediary castes have

expected their wives to be versatile. Surprisingly, none of the respondents of the backward caste has given preference to the employed girl, on the contrary 50 percent have given preference to expert cooks, and 16.7 percent to smartness. Since the respondents of intermediary caste belonged to agricultural families in big number, 6 percent of them have expected farmers' daughters as their wives.

As far as SES level of the parents is concerned, it was found that 31 percent of low SES level, 20.5 percent of medium, and 21.9 percent of higher SES level have expected wives to be versatile ones.

As far as expectation about the occupation of spouse was concerned, 13.4 percent respondents of intermediary castes have expected typists. The alternatives provided to the respondents were, (a) Nurse, (b) School-teacher, (c) Typist, (d) Telephone operator, and (e) any other.

None of them have shown interest in nurse or telephone operator. To the alternative, "any other", respondents of advanced castes and intermediary castes have simply mentioned, "other professions", "prestigious professions" or "professor" etc.

Expectations about Dowry :

Unhealthy practice of giving or receiving dowry is in the form of cash or kind has been existing in Indian society since time immemorial. This has been existing as a traditional social custom and supposed to be inevitable part of marriage. It can be said that, dowry today is on the increase.

With higher education, needs and ambitions of youth, too, are on the increase. A good flat, a plot for hospital, or a scooter or golden ornaments etc. are demanded in the name of dowry, which go in the name of "vardakshina" or "Maan-Pan", etc. Quite often episodes have shown that, boys and girls mutually love each other and both of them are sometimes doctors or employed. But when the matter reaches to the settlement of marriage, a question of dowry is raised by the parents.

Dowry forms a major part of marriage settlement and this has been taking rather cruellest turn. This has been considered as a stigma to humanity and shameful on the part of boy. Some leading political parties have been organising campaign against dowry and are taking undertakings and oaths from the young unmarried graduates, that " they would not accept dowry in their marriage", and young girls are taking oath to the effect that "they would not marry to persons who demand dowry".

With this background, it was decided to, study unmarried graduates attitude on this issue. Of the total 50 male respondents 27 respondents (54 percent) mentioned that they would expect dowry from the opposite party. It was interesting to note the reasons behind their expectations, therefore, further they were requested to state the reasons for accepting dowry. Alternatives given were :

a) I take this to be my right, (b) I don't like but my parents have forced me to do so, (c) It is prestigious for me , (d) any other.

Issue of expectation of dowry was related to caste, SES level of the parents and religiosity level of the respondents, respectively.

Table 27.Expectations about Dowry According to Caste

Caste-groups	Expect Dowry	Don't expect Dowry	Not Applicable	Total
Advanced	2 (9.1)	2 (9.1)	18 (81.8)	22 (100.0)
Intermediary	24 (35.8)	16 (23.9)	27 (40.3)	67 (100.0)
Backward	1 (16.7)	3 (50.0)	2 (33.3)	6 (100.0)
Non Hindus	0 (0.0)	2 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	4 (100.0)
No Response	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	1 (100.0)
Total	23 (23.0)	27 (27.0)	50 (50.0)	100 (100.0)

CHI SQUARE = 1.8794 with degrees of freedom = 2.

Castewise picture about expectations of dowry shows that 35.8 percent of the respondents of intermediary castes most of whom belong to Maratha caste have expected dowry, Whereas 16.7 percent of backward castes and 9.1 percent of advanced caste have expected dowry. This shows that, Maratha caste in the rural setting is vehement as far as dowry is concerned as shown in Table 27.

When related to socio-economic status level, it was found that, whatever may be the level, low or high the phenomenon of expectation of dowry, remains constant. Of the medium level of SES 33.3 percent expected dowry, 31 percent of lower level and 15.6 percent of higher level of SES expected dowry, however, percentage of those who did not expect dowry was found to be equal to those of expecting in higher level and more or less in lower level. It differed only in middle level, i.e., only 20.5 percent did not expect dowry. Table 28 shows the position.

Table 28.

Expectation of Dowry According to SES level

SES level	Expect Dowry	Don't Expect Dowry	Not Applicable	Total
Low	9 (31.0)	10 (34.5)	10 (34.5)	29 (100.0)
Medium	13 (33.3)	8 (20.5)	18 (46.2)	39 (100.0)
High	5 (15.6)	5 (15.6)	22 (68.8)	32 (100.0)
Total	27 (27.0)	23 (23.0)	50 (50.0)	100 (100.0)

CHI SQUARE = 0.9291 with degrees of freedom = 2.

Here also it appears that, respondents of middle SES level were more anxious in getting dowry.

Reasons for expecting dowry are classified in Table 29.

Table 29.  
Reasons for Expecting Dowry

Reasons	Total No. of Respondents	Percentages
This is my right	8	16.0
I don't like but parents force	15	30.0
It is prestigious for me	1	2.0
Any other	3	6.0
Not applicable	23	46.0
Total	50	100.0

The reasons for accepting dowry cited by respondents show that 30 percent of them though graduated were still under the influence of their parents. Other 16 percent considered, expecting dowry as if it was their right and they must abide by it. 6 percent respondents have mentioned reasons other than given by the researcher. One feared the fear of criticism of society in the event of nonacceptance of dowry. One respondent mentioned that, he had already given

dowry to his three sisters and one respondent did not want to violate the custom, and hence was expecting the dowry. One respondent has made it a prestige issue.

To the question, if you get an employed girl will you still expect dowry ?

Of the sample, 21 respondents out of 50 (male respondents) which forms 42 percent gave affirmative answer. Those respondents who were working they, too, have expected dowry. It was found that those who were earning above Rs.1500 p.m. did not expect dowry. Of the respondents who were earning in between Rs,500 to Rs.1000 p.m., 66.7 percent respondents, and 18.2 percent respondents belonging to earning salary in between Rs.100 to 1500 p.m. were also found to expect dowry.

When related to SES level of parents, it was found that, only in middle level of SES, 30.8 percent respondents would demand dowry even though they get working girls as their wives. The percentage of those who expected and of those who did not expect was the same in lower level, i.e., 24 percent, and higher level i.e.6.3 percent.

Further, respondents were requested to mention the amount of dowry they would expect in the form of dowry. Their classification is shown in Table 30.

Table 30.  
Expected Amount of Dowry

Expected Dowry in Rs.	Total No. of Respondents
Rs. 5,000 to 10,000	12
Rs. 10,001 to 15,000	5
Rs. 15,001 to 20,000	3
Rs. 20,001 to 25,000	2
Rs. 36,000 to 40,000	1
Rs. 50,000 and above	1
<u>Any other -</u>	
Decided by Parents	1
Depend upon the opposite party	1
As per circumstances	1
Not applicable	23
Total	50

The Table shows that the expected dowry ranges from Rs.10,000 to Rs.50,000. Of the sample 12 respondents have mentioned Rs.10,000 as their minimum requirement. This shows that they have thought over their own marriage in terms of dowry and they stick to this amount. Here an attempt has been made to analyse overall attitude towards marriage. While

determining attitude, factors like advertisement, caste endogamy, homogamy in education, homogamy in age, preferred type of marriage, i.e., arranged or love marriage and dowry were invariably taken into consideration. Responses of all respondents were calculated, added and score was made to that effect. On the basis of this score, attitude was classified into three categories viz.,

- 1) Less Traditional,
- 2) More Traditional,
- 3) Highly Traditional

This level of attitude was crossed with various variables like sex, age, caste, SES level of parents and religiosity level.

Table 31.

Attitude Towards Marriage by Sex

Sex	Less Traditio- nal	More Traditio- nal	High Traditio- nal	Total
Male	19 (38.0)	13 (26.0)	18 (36.0)	50 (100.0)
Female	16 (32.0)	25 (50.0)	9 (18.0)	50 (100.0)
Total	35 (25.0)	38 (38.0)	27 (27.0)	100 (100.0)

CHI SQUARE = 7.0466 with degrees of freedom = 2.

It is the general observation that females are highly traditional, but surprisingly the data show that males are highly traditional than females. Of the sample 36 percent males were highly traditional as against 18 percent females.

Again 38 percent males are less traditional as against 32 percent females. Females outnumber males only in the more traditional attitude, i.e., 50 percent as against 26 percent males. CHI-square test was applied to it; which proved it significant.

When attitude level was crossed with age-group of the respondents, it was found that a majority of the respondents ( 90 percent ) belonged to the age-group of 20 to 25 years, of which 38.9 percent were more traditional, 33.3 percent were less traditional and 27.8 percent were highly traditional. Respondents belonging to the age-group of 16 to 20, were 7 in number of which 42.9 percent were less traditional, and 33.3 percent were more traditional.

The data show that a majority of the respondents of the marriageable age-group were more traditional.

Attitude level when related to caste, the picture appears as given in Table 32.

Table 32.  
Attitude Level By Caste

Caste-groups	Less Traditional	More Traditional	Highly Traditional	Total
Advanced	7 (31.8)	11 (50.0)	4 (18.2)	22 (100.0)
Intermediary	23 (34.3)	24 (35.8)	20 (29.9)	67 (100.0)
Backward	3 (50.0)	1 (16.7)	2 (33.3)	6 (100.0)
Not Applicable	2 (50.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	4 (100.0)
No Response	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
Total	35 (35.0)	38 (38.0)	27 (27.0)	100 (100.0)

CHI SQUARE = 3.0071 with degrees of freedom = 4.

The Table shows that 50 percent of the advanced castes and 35.8 percent of the intermediary castes were more traditional; whereas 31.8 percent of the advanced castes and 34.3 percent of the intermediary castes were less traditional. Since the percentage of the highly traditional respondents was comparatively less in advanced and intermediary castes, it can be said that high traditionality in the rural society is on the decrease.

Attitude level was also related to SES level which is shown in Table 33.

Table 33.

Attitude Level by SES Level

SES level	Less Tradi- tional	More Tradi- tional	Highly Tradi- tional	Total
Low	9 (31.0)	11 (37.9)	9 (31.0)	29 (100.0)
Middle	18 (46.2)	13 (33.3)	8 (20.0)	39 (100.0)
High	8 (25.0)	14 (43.8)	10 (31.3)	32 (100.0)
Total	35 (35.0)	38 (38.0)	27 (27.0)	100 (100.0)

CHI SQUARE = 3.9296 with degrees of freedom = 4.

The Table 33 shows that there is no relation between SES level and the traditionality of the respondents. Because whatever may be the level of socio-economic status, the level of attitude remains more or less the same.

Attitude level when related to religiosity level of the respondents, it was found that 35.5 percent of the respondents of the high religiosity level were highly

traditional, 35.5 percent were more traditional and 29.9 percent were less traditional.

Of the average religiosity level, 47.4 percent were more traditional, 34.2 percent less traditional and 18.4 percent were highly traditional.

Of the low religiosity level, 29.9 percent were highly traditional and more traditional as well; whereas 41.9 percent were less traditional.

Table 34.

Attitude Level By Religiosity Level

Religiosity	Less Tradi- tional	More Tradi- tional	Highly Tradi- tional	Total
Low	13 (41.9)	9 (29.0)	9 (29.0)	31 (100.0)
Medium	13 (34.2)	18 (47.4)	7 (18.4)	38 (100.0)
High	9 (29.0)	11 (35.5)	11 (35.5)	31 (100.0)
Total	35 (35.0)	38 (38.0)	27 (27.0)	100 (100.0)

CHI SQUARE = 4.2433 with degrees of freedom = 4.

It appears from the Table 34 that higher the level religiosity, higher the level of traditionality, and lower the level of religiosity, higher the level of traditionality. In the case of average level of religiosity, it can be said that they too were traditional.

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