

ALLOCATION OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND
LEGITIMATE SEXUAL MATURITY IN THREE
NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE CALCUTTA
METROPOLITAN DISTRICT

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
MARY JANE HIGDON BEECH
1973



This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

ALLOCATION OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
AND LEGITIMATE SEXUAL MATURITY
IN THREE NEIGHBORHOODS
IN THE CALCUTTA METROPOLITAN DISTRICT

presented by

Mary Jane Higdon Beech

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. _____ degree in Sociology and
Anthropology

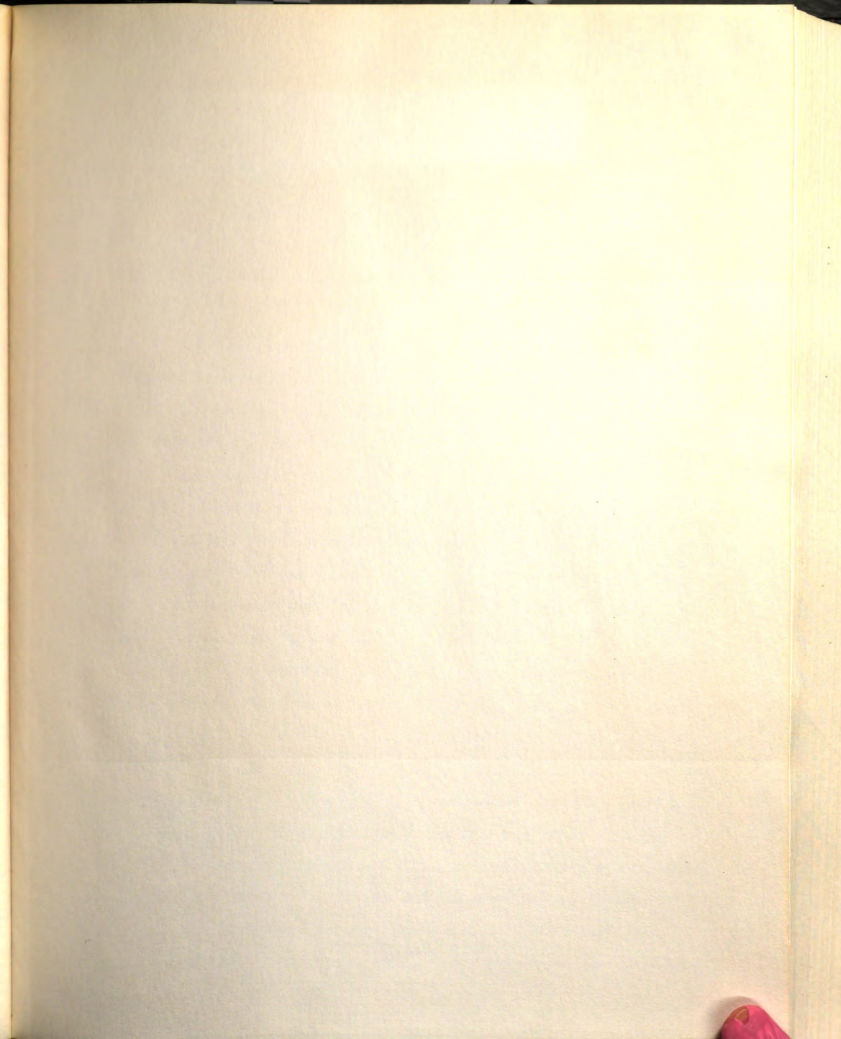
A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ralph W. Nicholas", written over a horizontal line.

Major professor

Ralph W. Nicholas

Date Feb. 14, 1973





ABSTRACT

ALLOCATION OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
AND LEGITIMATE SEXUAL MATURITY
IN THREE NEIGHBORHOODS
IN THE CALCUTTA METROPOLITAN DISTRICT

By

Mary Jane Higdon Beech

Achievement has generally been opposed to ascription in analyses of status allocation. The practice of referring to ascribed and achieved statuses as types of statuses blurs the extent to which both ascription and achievement operate in the assignment of most statuses. In this thesis I analyze variations in the application of the principles of ascription and achievement to determine not which statuses are chosen and achieved or ascribed and affirmed, but rather how these principles coexist and interact in the allocation of adult occupational and familial statuses.

The data on which the thesis is based were collected in upper-middle class, lower-middle class, and lower class Bengali, Hindu neighborhoods in the Calcutta Metropolitan District in 1967 and 1968. Two sets of structured interviews were conducted: the first with household heads to obtain basic social statistics describing the residents of each neighborhood and the second with unmarried males and females between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five to obtain data on their education, occupational aspirations, friendship choices, club membership, family relationships, and attitudes toward marriage.

In Calcutta the examinations by which educational achievement is measured are universalistic in content and administration, but competition is restricted especially at the primary level by limited access to the resources necessary for learning. The increase in primary education has not kept pace with increases in secondary, college, and university education. The percentages of both boys and girls from the upper-middle class neighborhood who have entered college is higher than the percentage of boys in the lower class neighborhood who have continued in school beyond the primary level. In each of the neighborhoods girls receive fewer years of formal education than boys of the same socioeconomic status, with three-fourths of the girls in the lower class neighborhood remaining illiterate.

Occupational placement for males is closely related to educational attainment and reflects a similar admixture of achievement and ascription. For Bengali women, however, there are few occupational opportunities except for well-educated professionals and for domestic servants. Though relatively few of them succeed, most students, both male and female, aspire to becoming professionals. The process of accommodating their aspirations to the available job opportunities which most boys must accept, is paralleled for middle class girls by the process of accommodating themselves to becoming housewives, for the marriage.

A differing emphasis on ascription and achievement in the socialization of girls and boys is shown to be related

Mary Jane Higdon Beech

to contrasting patterns of friendship and club membership. In this thesis, Eisenstadt's postulate that "age groups arise in societies in which the family (or kinship group) does not constitute the main unit of the social and economic division of labor" (Eisenstadt 1956: 270) is extended to include variations in status allocation between males and females. Although middle class girls report more friendships than boys, they are less likely to belong to clubs and have few opportunities to participate in the relatively complex patterns of interaction--team sports, adda ("a form of group discussion"), and arrangement of community pujas--which characterize boys clubs in Calcutta.

Nuclear households predominate in each of the neighborhoods studied, with well under half of the population and fewer than one-fourth of the households being commensally joint. Simultaneously, the joint family is demonstrably strong as an ideal family type which almost all respondents advocate. Two processes appear to minimize the impact of this apparent contradiction. The first is a redefinition of the essential qualities of family jointness to allow for the geographic separation required by occupational mobility. The second is the granting of more individual prerogatives within the family. Youth increasingly participate in the process of mate selection, but almost all want their elders to make the formal arrangements for the marriage.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many persons have contributed to the completion of this thesis. I am indebted to them for their advice, criticism, and the means which enabled me to complete this thesis. I am especially indebted to the following persons for their help and advice. I am indebted to them for their help and advice. I am indebted to them for their help and advice.

ALLOCATION OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
AND LEGITIMATE SEXUAL MATURITY

IN THREE NEIGHBORHOODS

IN THE CALCUTTA METROPOLITAN DISTRICT

By

Mary Jane Higdon Beech

A THESIS

Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology

Department of Anthropology

1973

G80296

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many persons have contributed to the motivation, the education, and the means which culminated in the writing of this thesis. My debts to them are greater than I can adequately acknowledge.

I especially want to thank those who have most closely guided my professional socialization. John Useem has combined continued encouragement with careful probing into the sociological assumptions underlying comparative research. Ralph W. Nicholas' extensive knowledge and perceptive appreciation of Bengali culture stands as a model to emulate. His willingness to provide careful tutorial guidance and his demonstration of analytic virtuosity have stimulated intellectual curiosity among his students. William T. Ross first raised the possibility of study in South Asia and I am grateful that he recruited me into the program in Bengal studies and for his continuing concern. John T. Gullahorn's kind and straightforward suggestions have been most appreciated. Rachel van Meter Baumer was a patient teacher of the Bengali language and a most gracious guide and hostess during our introduction to Calcutta. Ruth Hill Useem has been a vital presence, promoting the best interests of the woman in graduate school. Robert C. Hanson and Edward Rose at the University of Colorado provided the early training in research which attracted me into the social sciences. Margaret Hanson has been a dynamic role model and creator of options. My fellow students at these universities and in Calcutta have enriched my

education through informal discussions and personal friendship.

I am obliged to many people in Calcutta who provided an intensive experience in adult socialization and who facilitated the research process. First among them is Sabita Bhattacharjee Sarkar who worked with me patiently and productively throughout the study. My personal affection for her has grown out of the intensity of her efforts to communicate the elements and the nuances of her culture. Swaraj Sircar and Kumaresh Kar also contributed able assistance in interviewing and processing the data. Sandip Sarkar furnished both special assistance and continuing friendship. Tarun Mitra facilitated the arrangements for our research and living in Calcutta.

I am grateful to a number of social scientists at the University of Calcutta, the Anthropological Survey of India, the Indian Statistical Institute, the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization, and the Indian Institute of Management who discussed the research with me and advised me at various stages. Nirmal K. Bose, Meera Guha, and Santi Priya Bose were especially helpful immediately after our arrival.

I am also deeply indebted to the residents of Panchantala, Mallik Para, and Badur Bagan who took time out from their busy schedules to be interviewed. I feel a special gratitude to those residents of Mallik Para who first took me into their homes, enduring my faulty comprehension and strange customs, to explain their way of life. I hope I

have not betrayed their trust. Any inaccuracies in my portrayal of their neighborhoods are unintended, and represent my inadequate understanding.

The field research which was the basis for this dissertation was supported by an NDEA-related Fulbright-Hays Graduate Fellowship. Support for predoctoral research was also provided by a grant from the Midwest Universities Consortium and an NDFL Summer Fellowship.

Throughout my life Archie Higdon and Alice Mae Higdon have given the loving support and continuing intellectual stimulation without which a graduate education would have been impossible. Robert P. Beech played a crucial role in the development of this dissertation. He helped refine many of the explanations and served as a sounding board and intellectual stimulus during long periods when I worked away from my fellow students and academic advisors. His concerted efforts to reduce the role conflicts facing me are greatly appreciated. Robert D. Beech, whose conception preceded my arrival at Michigan State, has from his earliest years accepted the process of field research and endeavored to understand its content. Richard A. Beech, whose earliest memories are of Calcutta and who refers to himself as part Indian, has helped me appreciate the impact of that period of intensive socialization.

.....	40
Educational Facilities	43
Duration of Formal Education	47
Educational Curricula	51

Intergenerational Changes in Education	92
Educational Goals	96
Achievement and Ascriptive Factors in Educational Stratification	99
TABLE OF CONTENTS	
Chapter III: Occupational Entry	99
List of Tables Occupational Entry	99
Chapter I: Introduction	1
Status Allocation	1
Description of Research Sites	7
Badur Bagan, an Upper-Middle Class Neighborhood in North Calcutta	7
Mallik Para, a Lower-Middle Class Neighborhood in Howrah	8
Panchanantala, a Lower Class Bustee in South Calcutta	10
Female Occupational Entry Neighborhood Selection	12
Occupations of Adult Women	13
Caste Distribution	18
Occupational Aspirations of Adolescents	20
Income Distribution	20
Perceived Socio-Economic Stratification	24
Chapter IV: Perceived Vertical Mobility	28
Geographical Mobility	30
Data Gathering	33
Household Survey	35
Adolescent Interviews	36
Chapter II: Education	40
Literacy and Primary Education	40
Educational Facilities	43
Chapter V: Family Structure and the Allocation of	47
Duration of Formal Education	47
Educational Curricula	51

Intergenerational Changes in Education	52
Educational Goals	56
Achievement and Ascriptive Factors in Educational Stratification	60
Chapter III: Occupational Entry	66
Male Occupational Entry	66
The Professions as the Ideal	66
The Science Line	74
The Technical Line	76
The Commerce Line	82
The Arts Line	85
Business as an Alternative	89
Caste-Related Occupations	90
Female Occupational Entry	92
Occupations of Adult Women	93
Occupational Aspirations of Adolescent Females	98
Chapter: Role Models	103
Chapter IV: Relationships with Peers	106
Friendships	107
Formal Friendships--Patano Bandhu	119
Clubs	124
Sarvajanan Pujas	129
Brata	132
Relationship between Age Groups and Status Allocation	135
Chapter V: Family Structure and the Allocation of Legitimate Sexual Maturity	138
Family Structure	139

	The Conjugal Family and the Joint Family as Ideal Constructs	143
	The Conjugal Family and the Joint Family as Sets of Ideals	145
	The Conjugal Family and the Joint Family as Observable Patterns of Behavior	150
1.1	Distribution of Lineal Juncture	155
1.2	Distribution of Collateral Juncture	161
1.3	Socio-Economic Status of Less-Than-Nuclear Households	163
	Household Head Fertility	167
1.4	Present Position of the Relationship between Ideal and Observed Family Structure	172
1.5	Perceived Vertical Mobility in Terms of The Allocation of Legitimate Sexual Maturity	176
1.6	Birth Types of Marriage	176
1.7	Proposed Courtship	187
2.1	Proposed Criteria for Mate Selection	194
2.2	Percentage of Marriages by Age Cohorts	203
2.3	Educational Freedom of Marital Choice	210
	Chapter VI: Summary	214
	Footnotes	226
	List of References	232
	Appendices	
3.1	Occupational Goals of Male Students	71
	Appendix A: Household Survey	
3.2	Distribution of Occupations of Male Workers over Appendix B1: Adolescent Survey, English Form	72
3.3	Appendix B2: Adolescent Survey, Bengali Form and Ages of Thirteen and Twenty-five	74
3.4	Distribution of Occupations of Female Workers over Age Twenty-five	84
3.5	Occupational Goals of Female Youth	101
4.1	Distribution of Reported Friendships	111

4.2	Relationship between Number of Reported Friendships and Neighborhood	110
4.3	Relationship between Number of Reported Friendships and Student Status	111
LIST OF TABLES		
4.4	Relationship between Number of Reported Friendships and Respondent's Sex	112
1.1	Distribution of Population by Sex and Age	17
1.2	Distribution of Reported Caste Membership	19
1.3	Socio-Economic Class of Neighborhood, Reported by Household Head	25
1.4	Present Position on Ladder of Economic Status, Reported by Household Head	27
1.5	Perceived Vertical Mobility in Terms of Past, Present, and Future Positions on a Status Ladder.	29
1.6	Birthplace of Household Head	32
1.7	Proportion of Youth Interviewed	37
2.1	Proportion of Youth Who Completed Class IV	41
2.2	Percentage of Students by Age Cohorts	48
2.3	Educational Achievement of Youth	50
2.4	Curricula Studied by Female and Male College Students	52
2.5	Educational Achievement of Parent of the Same Sex	53
2.6	Educational Goals of Student Respondents	57
3.1	Occupational Goals of Male Students	71
3.2	Distribution of Occupations of Male Workers over Age Twenty-Five	72
3.3	Distribution of Occupations of Male Workers between the Ages of Thirteen and Twenty-Five	74
3.4	Distribution of Occupations of Female Workers over Age Twenty-Five	94
3.5	Occupational Goals of Female Youth	101
4.1	Distribution of Reported Friendships	111

4.2	Relationship between Number of Reported Friendships and Neighborhood	112
4.3	Relationship between Number of Reported Friendships and Student Status	113
4.4	Relationship between Number of Reported Friendships and Respondent's Sex	114
4.5	Relationship between Activities Shared with Best Friend and Respondent's Sex	116
4.6	Relationship between Place where Best Friends Congregate and Respondent's Sex	118
4.7	Relationship between where Best Friendship Originated and Respondent's Sex	118
4.8	Distribution of Club Membership	125
4.9	Relationship between Club Membership and Respondent's Sex	125
5.1	Distribution of Preferred Family Type--Lineal Juncture	148
5.2	Distribution of Preferred Family Type--Collateral Juncture	148
5.3	Distribution of Observed Household Types	151
5.4	Summary of Household Structures	152
5.5	Distribution of Households with Possible Juncture.	156
5.6	Patterns of Lineal Juncture	158
5.7	Form of Lineal Juncture by Number of Sons	160
5.8	Distribution of Widows and Widowers	165
5.9	Distribution of Families in Which Spouses are Geographically Separated	166
5.10	Mean Number of Births per Couple by Effective Marriage Duration	169
5.11	Number and Sex of Children Preferred by Youth	170
5.12	Type of Marriage Preferred by Youth	181
5.13	Distribution of Household Heads Who Will Accept an Intercaste Marriage	186

5.14	Distribution of Youth Who Report Romantic Heterosexual Friendships	189
5.15	Relationship between Preferred Type of Marriage and Dating	193
5.16	Criteria for Mate Selection Reported by Household Head	195
5.17	Criteria for Mate Selection Reported by Youth	196
5.18	Preferred Age for Marriage Reported by Household Head	204
5.19	Median Age at Marriage for Men	205
5.20	Median Age at Marriage for Women	205
5.21	Proportion of Young Men Ever Married by Age Cohort .	207
5.22	Proportion of Young Women Ever Married by Age Cohort	207
5.23	Median Age Difference between Husband and Wife by Present Age of Husband	209

Linton emphasizes the flexibility of role behavior and the extent to which most, if not all, persons can be taught the behavior deemed culturally appropriate to the statuses which they are assigned. The primary reference points for the ascription of status are sex, age, family relationships, and "birth into a particular socially established group, such as a class or caste" (203). As originally described by Linton, achieved statuses are always relatively few, often serve as "baits for socially acceptable behavior or as escapes for the individual" (207), and are filled by a few people with unique

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Status Allocation

The paired concepts of ascribed status and achieved status have dominated the sociological literature on status allocation since Linton introduced them in 1936. Achievement has generally been opposed to ascription in models of status allocation. In this dissertation I analyze variations in the application of achievement-oriented or performance principles and ascriptive principles in status allocation and suggest how they conflict with and complement each other.

Ascribed statuses are those which are assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities. They can be predicted and trained for from the moment of birth. The achieved statuses are, as a minimum, those requiring special qualities, although they are not necessarily limited to these. They are not assigned to individuals from birth but are left open to be filled through competition and individual effort (Linton 1961: 203).

Linton emphasizes the flexibility of role behavior and the extent to which most, if not all, persons can be taught the behavior deemed culturally appropriate to the statuses which they are assigned. The primary reference points for the ascription of status are sex, age, family relationships, and "birth into a particular socially established group, such as a class or caste" (203). As originally described by Linton, achieved statuses are always relatively few, often serve as "baits for socially acceptable behavior or as escapes for the individual" (207), and are filled by a few people with unique,

innate talents or abilities.

... a limited number of statuses do require special gifts for their successful performance. Since such gifts rarely manifest themselves in early childhood, these statuses are, of necessity, thrown open to competition. All societies rely mainly on their ascribed statuses to take care of the ordinary business of living. Most of the statuses which are thrown open to achievement do not touch this business very deeply (Linton 1961: 207).

Parsons modified the concepts somewhat when he defined achievement in terms of performance and ascription in terms of the prospective incumbent's attributes.

Ascription: the role-expectation that the role incumbent, in orienting himself to social objects in the relevant choice situation, will accord priority to the objects' given attributes (whether universalistically or particularistically defined) over their actual or potential performances.

Achievement: the role-expectation that the role incumbent, in orienting to social objects in the relevant choice situation, will give priority to the objects' actual or expected performances, and to their attributes only as directly relevant to these performances, over attributes which are essentially independent of the specific performances in question (Parsons and Shils 1951: 83).

Both Linton and Parsons recognize that ascribed statuses, as of royalty in a hereditary monarchy, may require extensive and sometimes rigorous training. Although failure to complete the required training may eliminate a few potential status incumbents, on the whole the ascribed status is filled by persons having certain specifiable attributes. Both theorists also recognize that the competition for achieved statuses may be limited by law or custom to persons having certain attributes, including previously ascribed or achieved statuses. The differentiation becomes complicated when, on

the one hand, competition for what is considered to be an achieved status is limited to a tiny segment of the population, or on the other hand, when an ascribed status is assigned on the basis of attributes, such as an academic degree, which although they are often irrelevant to the status being assigned, are competitive to some extent. In fact, virtually all statuses are assigned on the basis of both attributes and performances. Thus, following Parsons, one may refer to ascriptive factors or principles and achievement factors or principles which operate in the assignment of a particular status.

A greater reliance on ascriptive status allocation in more traditional societies has been contrasted with a greater reliance on achievement-based status allocation in more modern societies. The opposition of ascription and achievement is part of a pattern of contrasted variables which are components of various models defining tradition and modernity. The Rudolphs summarize those contrasts which they find heuristically useful:

"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 live and 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 affirmed; 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; that mankind cease

to live as races apart by recognizing in society and politics its common humanity; that government cease to be a manifestation of powers beyond man and out of the reach of ordinary men by basing itself on participation, consent, and public accountability (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967: 3-4 Note).

Global social changes throughout the world appear to be in the general directions indicated by the Rudolphys. In large part the roots of these changes can be traced to industrialization.

Both the prime social characteristic of modern industrial enterprise is that the individual is ideally given a job on the basis of his ability to fulfill its demands, and that this achievement is evaluated universalistically; the same standards apply to all who hold the same job. His link with the job is functionally specific; in other words, the enterprise cannot require behavior of him which is not relevant to getting the job done.

Being achievement-based, an industrial society is necessarily open-class, requiring both geographical and social mobility. Men must be permitted to rise or fall depending on their performance. Moreover, in the industrial system, jobs based on ownership and exploitation of land (and thus on inheritance) become numerically less significant, again permitting considerable geographical mobility so that individuals are free to move about in the labor market (Goode 1963b: 11-12).

However, having accepted that the general directions of change, not just in India, but throughout the world, are from relatively more ascriptive, particularistic, diffuse, and collective orientations toward more performance-oriented, universalistic, specific, and individualistic orientations, it is doubtful whether the terms "modern" and "traditional" are more illuminating than ambiguous. During his continuing research on the processes of cultural and social change in India, Singer

...was convinced that the dichotomy between "traditional" and "modern," whether in the popular form of Western "materialism" versus Eastern "spirituality," or in the more sophisticated social science form of "traditional" versus "modern" societies, was not a useful theoretical guide for understanding India. There were just too many cases of coexistence and interaction between the "traditional" and the "modern." The more important and interesting task was to find out more about the processes and mechanisms of cultural change involved in these coexistences and interactions and about how Indians were becoming "modern" without becoming less Indian (Singer 1972: 247).

Both Singer in detailing the process by which both orthogenetic and heterogenetic innovations gain legitimacy through "traditionalization" and the Rudolphs in documenting the modern elements in traditional Indian institutions have shown the error in dichotomizing tradition and modernity.

The cumulative effect of the misdiagnosis of traditional societies and the misunderstanding of modern societies has been to produce an analytic gap between tradition and modernity. We find the literature speaking of an abyss between them; stressing incompatibilities between their norms, structures, and personalities; and describing the hollowness of men and institutions in midpassage. Because they are seen as mutually exclusive, to depart from one is disorienting and traumatic, to enter the other alienating and superficial. Nor does the notion of transitional society escape the preoccupation with the dichotomy between tradition and modernity, for it assumes rather than challenges it. If the two systems are taken to be fundamentally different and incompatible, then social engineers working with new blueprints and new materials are required. Change takes on a systematic rather than adaptive character (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967: 6).

Typologies of traditional and modern institutions have been based on this dichotomy. As ideal-type constructs, caste and class, the jājmāni system and the bureaucracy, and the joint family and the conjugal family have been contrasted. Failure to differentiate among varying levels of abstraction--

the ideal-type construct in the Weberian sense; the set of ideals viewed as legitimate, proper, or good; and the observable pattern of behavior--has further obscured the study of particular institutions.

The difficulties that can arise from the use of ideal-typical concepts in empirical investigation have often been recited. They can screen out perceptions of the particular and the exceptional that contradict dominant trends and motifs. Such theoretical screening is especially inimical to the analysis of social change because it eliminates from consideration latent, deviant, and minority alternatives. With some alteration in historical circumstances, such alternatives may become the source of new or transformed identities, structures, and norms. Social change and the new realities it creates arise not only from the impact of objective, exogenous, or revolutionary forces on established systems but also from alternative potentialities within such systems. Marxist theory brilliantly stresses this insight when it emphasizes the creative possibilities of historical contradictions. Ideal-typical or heuristic analyses of modernity and tradition in particular historical and national settings are likely to miss these creative possibilities in so far as they assume that the characterological, structural, and ideological components of each are absent in the other and thereby place modernity and tradition in a dichotomous rather than a dialectical relationship. Such a divorce of modernity and tradition can be and sometimes is compounded by deducing a model of tradition from a model of modernity and proceeding, in the study of modernization in particular traditional societies, on the assumption that the deduced model provides the point of departure for change (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967: 8-9).

What has been said about dichotomizing tradition and modernity may also be said about dichotomizing the principles which have been used to define these concepts. Thus, positing a dichotomous rather than a dialectical relationship between ascription and achievement has hindered the analysis of status allocation by failing to consider the

extent to which these two principles coexist and interact. The practice of referring to ascribed statuses and achieved statuses as types of statuses blurs the extent to which both ascriptive and achievement-oriented principles operate in the assignment of most statuses.

My task, then, is to try to examine the process of status allocation in three small neighborhoods in Calcutta, to determine not which statuses were chosen and achieved or ascribed and affirmed, but rather how these principles coexist and interact, conflicting with and complementing each other in the allocation of adult statuses in the economic and familial spheres. I am not concerned primarily with economic or family institutions as ideal types, but with the process of placement through which the residents of these neighborhoods assume adult roles.

complete at least a secondary education and many go on to college. Amenities such as underground

Description of Research Sites

The three neighborhoods in which the study was conducted are small, primarily residential, relatively homogeneous, Bengali, Hindu pārā¹ or "neighborhoods." Family households rather than "messes"² predominate with almost equal numbers of males and females.

Badur Bagan, an Upper-Middle Class Neighborhood
in North Calcutta

Bādūr Bāgān is a middle to upper-middle class neighborhood in North Calcutta where two and three-story, owner-occupied houses face onto a small park about the size of

a football field. It is one block west of Upper Circular Road, near the Bose Institute and the University of Calcutta Science College. I interviewed the heads of eighty-five of the approximately one hundred families living in the houses surrounding the park and in the immediately adjacent alleys. Settled in the nineteenth century by Bengali bhadralōk,³ eighty-seven per cent of the residents are of the three upper castes: Brāhmaṇ, Kāyasthā, and Baidya. As professionals, office workers, and businessmen, adult males earn from a few hundred to several thousand rupees per month, with a median reported household income of Rs. 600. Fifteen per cent of the adult females work outside the home, mainly as educators. Children in Badur Bagan attend the better Bengali-medium schools. Most boys complete at least one college degree. Girls typically complete at least a secondary education and many go on to college. Amenities such as underground sewers and drains, city water, and electricity are taken for granted, while telephones and refrigerators are neighborhood prestige symbols. Badur Bagan Lane and Ramkrishnadas Lane which form the sides of the park are wide enough for a car, but one sees few automobiles in the immediate neighborhood, in quiet contrast with the adjoining Upper Circular Road which is choked with traffic.

hoods, is necessarily somewhat arbitrary. Men in Mallik Para

Mallik Para, a Lower-Middle Class Neighborhood in Howrah

agents of their own local businesses and in the small-scale engineering industries for which Howrah is known. The Indian

Mallik Pārā is a lower-middle class neighborhood in Howrah, the industrial suburb across the river from Calcutta.

Although forty-five per cent of the households are upper caste, the Mahisyas, an agricultural caste, with twenty-eight per cent of the households are the largest single caste group, own more property, and are generally the dominant caste. Land acquired in 1828 by the para founder has gradually been filled, partitioned, and sold both to accommodate his own extended family and the influx of migrants from Howrah and Hooghly districts. In parts of Howrah to the east of Mallik Para buildings now occupy all land except for the narrow roadways, but in Mallik Para three small tanks and an open area where boys play soccer remain. One and two story houses are set on both sides of the bicycle path which is paved as it leaves the road, but narrows to a dirt path as it extends into the interior of the neighborhood. The land in the interior section is owned by outside landowners and the housing is of the type prescribed by the laws governing bustees. Drains are open and there is no underground sewage system. Electricity is available only where house owners also own the land on which the house is situated. At the time of the study ninety-three families lived in houses which opened onto Mallik Para Lane. However, because of continuous settlement and the absence of a grid, the definition of the boundaries of this, as of many urban neighborhoods, is necessarily somewhat arbitrary. Men in Mallik Para work as clerks and accountants in Calcutta, as managers of their own local businesses and in the small-scale engineering industries for which Howrah is known. The median

reported household income is Rs. 255 per month. Only seven per cent of the eighty-one adult women over age twenty-five work outside the home. They are from the poorest families and typically are hired to do housework for their neighbors. Most boys in Mallik Para complete a secondary education, while girls frequently drop out of school a year or two earlier.

Panchanantala, a Lower Class Bustee in South Calcutta. Panchānantalā, is a bustee⁴ located on railway land in South Calcutta. It derives its name from a small temple dedicated to the god Panchanan. The dieties Panchanan and Sitāla, represented by stones, a Narayan śīla, a Śib liṅga, and a ghoṭ for Ṣaṣṭī are housed in a pakka or "permanent" building on debatra land immediately to the north and west of the bustee. A Brahman priest performs pujas in exchange for free housing, but derives his income from an office job. Only one section (22 Panchanantala Road) of the bustee was surveyed. It is the central section in which the neighborhood school-cum meeting room is located and in which the panchayat ("council") secretary lives. This section and the areas to the north and west of it are inhabited almost entirely by Bengali Hindus. Another section to the east and slightly south is inhabited primarily by Hindi speakers from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Panchanantala was among the bustees included in the Bustee Survey in Calcutta (Gov't. of West Bengal 1959, Vol. VIII: 56). When that survey was conducted only sixty-eight

families were reported to be living in the bustee. In the section I surveyed in 1968, we identified 152 households but I would estimate that there were about 160 households in that section and a total of between five and six hundred households in the entire bustee, with more huts being built to accommodate the continuing influx of people from rural areas. The houses in Panchanantala are constructed of clay with tile roofs and arranged in parallel rows of four to twelve adjacent rooms. Typically the houseowner lives in one or two rooms and rents the remaining rooms of his house to tenants for ten to fifteen rupees per month. The occupancy rate is 4.3 persons per room with ninety-seven per cent of the households occupying one small room. There is no electricity; open ditches serve as drains; and water comes from one city tap or from a tubewell outside the neighborhood. The caste composition is more varied than in either of the other neighborhoods studied, with only eighteen per cent of the households claiming upper caste status. Many men work in the construction industry as painters and masons. Other men sell vegetables or fish in nearby Gariahat Market. Permanent unemployment is rare, but intermittent days or weeks of unemployment are common, especially for day laborers and workers in the construction industry. In an economic strata where earnings are used almost entirely for food, the steady, though lower wages of the women are often needed. Fifty-eight per cent of the adult women work, most of them as maids in middle class Bengali homes. Family

incomes between Rs. 100 and Rs. 200 are common, with a median reported household income of Rs. 130. Seventy-one per cent of the female youth have received no schooling and few male youth get more than a primary education.

The research was extended to Nadur Para and Panchanatala in December.

Neighborhood Selection

The research was started in Mallik Para about two months after our arrival in Calcutta in January, 1967. I had met with several social scientists in Calcutta and discussed with them the nature of the study I hoped to do, but the actual selection of Mallik Para as a research site was more fortuitous than systematic. Having visited the area where Raymond Owens (1971) was studying small scale engineering workshops and the neighborhoods where one or two of the entrepreneurs in his sample resided, I went alone to look at other neighborhoods in Howrah. Getting down from the bus I wandered through several neighborhoods--the object of considerable curiosity--until I was engaged in a conversation by several children. An outgoing young Brahman woman invited me into her home so that the women could talk to me. While there an invitation came for me to visit the home of the para founder. Then a young man invited me to have lunch with his family. After this hospitable welcome I returned several times to determine if the neighborhood met the criteria I had specified. Mallik Para was indeed a Bengali, Hindu, primarily residential, and relatively homogeneous neighborhood. The

caste composition was typical of the Bengali population in Howrah and the distribution of occupations, income, and education appeared to be typical of the lower range of the middle class.

The research was extended to Badur Bagan and Panchantala in December, 1967 to investigate the ways in which the patterns of status allocation observed in Mallik Para differ among families of higher and lower socio-economic status and education and the extent to which they are more generally typical of the urban, Bengali, Hindu population. Of course, three neighborhoods with a total population of under two thousand can not encompass the variation found in a metropolitan district with a population of over six million in 1961. Still, I felt it necessary to study these two additional neighborhoods to gain what understanding I could, in the remaining five months, of the effects of differing socio-economic status on status allocation. North Calcutta, an area where Bengali bhadralok have been concentrated for two hundred years, is an appropriate part of the Calcutta Metropolitan District in which to study the largely professional, middle to upper-middle class. However, it should be noted that, in part because it is an older area, neighborhoods like Badur Bagan retain a relatively conservative segment of the middle class, while Western-oriented and upward mobile sections of the middle class have tended to move to South Calcutta and the newer suburbs. Badur Bagan, like Mallik Para, was selected from

among other potential research sites in the area because of the relative homogeneity of the population and the relative absence of industrial and commercial establishments. Panchanantala was selected in large part because of its convenience to our residence and because of the relative ease of entry through my acquaintance with several bustee residents who worked in the neighborhood where we lived. I did, however, check with the bustee survey (Gov't of West Bengal 1960) to be sure that Panchanantala was not markedly atypical of other bustees in Calcutta.

The neighborhood, rather than the school or college, was selected as the unit of study because I wanted to know a cross section of Calcutta's population, not just the educated and sophisticated higher class segment of the population. I also wanted to see youth operating in the confines of the family, not only in the university setting where they may appropriately adopt the stylish, Western-oriented, English speaking mode of internationally oriented students. I felt I needed to immerse myself in the relatively conservative home life of the Bengali family to grasp the significance of the changes which are taking place. Of course, those "modern" practices which are generally accepted by Bengali families in urban neighborhoods of varying socio-economic status, may remain outside the experience of the typical Bengali, the rural youth growing up in the villages of the delta. In addition, the Bengali residents of Calcutta see their city as being composed of

a series of discrete, bounded neighborhoods. Even though the neighborhoods can be ranked by social class, they are identified by a variety of distinctive characteristics including local religious sites, crafts or trades concentrated in the area, the names of early residents, especially land owners, caste or ethnic groups which are heavily represented, and particular geographic features. As widely recognized and "important" units of social organization, Calcutta's neighborhoods provide "natural" avenues for access to samples of homes and families.

There are, certainly, limitations in using the neighborhood as the primary unit of study. The number of youth in a particular age group is limited. Because youth in any one neighborhood go to a variety of private and municipal schools (over thirty from Mallik Para and over forty from Badur Bagan), it becomes difficult to view the same youth in the school setting. Even clubs (sports, dramatic, literary, and political) typically draw membership from a larger area, and the youth in each small neighborhood belong to many outside clubs as well as to the informal neighborhood age groups described in Chapter IV. Even in neighborhoods not so exclusively residential as these, the sources of employment for most men and women are located outside the immediate neighborhood. Marriages are almost always arranged outside the para and bilateral kinship networks thus extend well beyond the neighborhood. In spite of these drawbacks for the study of any one institution, the

neighborhood was found to be a compatible setting for me as a foreign researcher as much in need of enculturation as of studying a particular social process.

It was stated above that these three neighborhoods cannot be considered representative of the total population of the Calcutta Metropolitan District.⁵ One way in which they are atypical is indicated by the fact that one third of Calcutta's total population and more than half of the total working population in the Calcutta Metropolitan District does not speak Bengali as its native language (CMPO 1966: 11-12). There is only one Hindi speaking family in Mallik Para and there are only three Hindi speaking, one Oriya speaking, and one Tamil speaking households in Panchanantala.

In the total population of Calcutta there are almost twice as many males as females, the ratio in 1951 being 57 females to every 100 males (CMPO 1966: 12). Most of these are non-Bengalis, but many Bengali men also come to Calcutta leaving their families in the village where living costs are lower. In the three neighborhoods studied many sections of Calcutta and Howrah are characterized by the numbers of men and women are more nearly equal. In Panchanantala there are 89 females for every 100 males, in Mallik Para the ratio is 95 females for every 100 males, and in Badur Bagan the ratio is 99 females for every 100 males. The distribution of the population in each neighborhood by sex and age is shown in Table 1.1.

In addition to selecting Bengali neighborhoods with

TABLE 1.1

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE

Age	Panchanantala				Mallik Para				Badur Bagan			
	Females		Males		Females		Males		Females		Males	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-9	97	31%	93	26%	54	23%	64	26%	26	12%	25	11%
10-19	61	19%	92	26%	63	27%	48	20%	53	25%	41	19%
20-29	30	10%	45	13%	42	18%	45	18%	42	19%	45	21%
30-39	58	18%	42	12%	26	11%	42	17%	37	17%	33	15%
40-49	27	9%	51	14%	18	8%	16	7%	17	8%	22	10%
50-59	23	7%	15	4%	10	4%	15	6%	19	9%	25	11%
60-69	8	3%	14	4%	9	4%	10	4%	15	7%	17	8%
70+	11	3%	1	0%	11	5%	5	2%	7	3%	11	5%
Totals	315	100%	353	99%	233	100%	245	100%	216	100%	219	100%

Numbers exclude persons whose age was not reported.

predominantly family households, I attempted to select neighborhoods in which the population is relatively homogeneous in socio-economic status and primarily residential. Many sections of Calcutta and Howrah are characterized by mixed industrial, retail, and residential occupancy and by sharp discrepancies in socio-economic status (Bose 1965). Even though broadly homogeneous there is considerable variation in economic status among the residents of each neighborhood. The income and life style of many of the bustee tenants in the interior section of Mallik Para is

not unlike that of people in the Panchanantala bustee. At the other end of the scale, a few families in Mallik Para who have recently built houses are probably wealthier than the average family in Badur Bagan.

Caste Distribution

The reported jāti or "caste" membership of the households in the three neighborhoods studied is shown in Table 1.2. In Badur Bagan none of the household heads hesitated to report his caste, though there was at least one instance of an intercaste marriage in which the household head reported the husband's and wife's castes as the same. In Mallik Para most residents were frank about reporting caste, the few exceptions being among the households with status inconsistency and in households with a mixed marriage. In Panchanantala, however, inquiring about caste was a very sensitive subject, more offensive than asking about income. One reason for this sensitivity is that members of the lowest-ranking jāti will not be knowingly hired for domestic service in many households. There are several extended families in which different households reported different caste membership. I suspect that in Panchanantala the self-reported membership of both Kayastha and Mahisya jāti is somewhat higher than would be granted by the community.⁶

The caste composition of these neighborhoods appears to be fairly representative of that in the greater Calcutta Metropolitan District. In statistics taken from the 1931

TABLE 1.2

DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTED CASTE MEMBERSHIP

Caste	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Households	%	Households	%	Households	%
Brāhman	7	5%	23	26%	30	35%
Baidya	--	--	--	--	5	6%
Kāyasthā	20	13%	18	21%	39	46%
Mahisya (including Kai-barta)	44	29%	24	28%	--	--
Paundra Khatriya	20	13%	1	1%	--	--
Nāpit	8	5%	--	--	--	--
Gōālā	10	7%	1	1%	1	1%
Keōrā	9	6%	--	--	--	--
Other or not ascertained	<u>44</u>	<u>29%</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>23%</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12%</u>
	152	100%	87	100%	85	100%

The name of the caste is listed above if five or more households belong to it.

In Badur Bagan six other castes are represented by one household each.

In Mallik Para there are several families of Sarnakārs, Subarṇabāniks, Sutrādhārs, and Aswina Tāntis. Eight other castes are represented by one household.

In Panchanantala twenty-five castes were recorded. In addition to those listed above, families belong to Bārui, Kumōr, Baisnāb, Kolu, Tiyaṛ, Rājbañsi, Dhōpā, Sāhā, and Jugī castes.

Other also includes those households for which no description of caste was obtained either because the household head was not interviewed or did not wish to reply.

Census, which was the last to enumerate population by caste, Owens (1971: 90) shows that Brahmans, Kayasthas, and Mahisyas, in that order, are the most populous castes in both Calcutta City and Howrah City, while in Howrah District the Mahisyas are the most populous caste. (The Muslims, however, did outnumber any single Hindu caste in undivided Bengal and in both Calcutta and Howrah in 1931.) These same three castes are most numerous in the neighborhoods studied. 1966: 13) reports that the average per-

The proportion of upper caste families varies directly with the social class of the neighborhood, but within each neighborhood social status is not related to caste rank. Particularly noticeable in this respect is Mallik Para where the founding family and several other relatively affluent, land-owning families are Mahisyas and where most Brahman and Kayastha families are tenants. 2a, 1500 in Badur Bagan.

It seems safe to say that even after discounting something for inflation, the Income Distribution in Panchanantala with two

In the household survey each household head was asked to report his total family income. In Panchanantala there was little resistance to this question, and respondents clearly stated either a daily wage (typically Rs. 3) or a monthly salary, with vendors giving an estimate of their earnings. However, in Mallik Para and especially in Badur Bagan, there was considerable resistance to reporting income, and a number of men in Badur Bagan explicitly reported only household expenses, not their total incomes. This

was more often done where household income was derived partially or entirely from investments, rents, fees, or sales rather than entirely from a fixed salary. Even where income was reported candidly, the figure reported typically did not include tips, travel, or lunch allowances, overtime or bonuses, or the annual puja bonus which may equal one month's salary. Thus, the reported averages are somewhat below real earnings.

The CMPO (1966: 13) reports that the average per capita income in West Bengal in 1961-62 was Rs. 327, higher than that of the surrounding states. In each of the three neighborhoods the per capita income in 1967-68 was above that state average. Figured as a median of the per capita monthly incomes of each household, multiplied by twelve, the median annual per capita income is Rs. 384 in Panchanantala, Rs. 600 in Mallik Para, and Rs. 1500 in Badur Bagan. It seems safe to say that even after discounting something for inflation, the typical family in Panchanantala with two earning members has an income as large or larger than the Bengali villager who cultivates a small plot of land as a share cropper. On the other hand, living conditions in a bustee are much more congested; sanitation and health conditions are horrible. Furthermore, the primary school enrollment in the Calcutta Metropolitan District is well behind the rural areas of the state, mainly due to the lack of provision for free education in the city (CMPO 1966: 31). Bustee families who must depend on free municipal schools

thus have less opportunity to educate their children than rural families. grounds found in some parts of Allipur and Nav. "About one-quarter of the total population of Calcutta City and one-third of the population of Howrah Municipality live in bustees" (CMPO 1966: 91). Among the bustees in Calcutta, Panchanantala is said to be in relatively good condition because it is relatively new, because it is out of the central city and near a pond where bathing and laundry are possible, if unhygienic, and because there is a panchayat which takes an active interest in improving the bustee. Certainly there are other bustees which are more congested and more deteriorated than Panchanantala. There are also bustees and colonies inhabited by sweepers and other very low ranked castes whose social status, if not always economic status, is much lower than that of the residents in Panchanantala. In addition, there were estimated to be at least 30,000 homeless pavement dwellers in Calcutta in 1966 (CMPO 1966: 27). So while Panchanantala and part of the interior of Mallik Para are bustees, their residents do not represent the bottom-most stratum of Calcutta's population, and if they are said to belong to a lower class it is with the understanding that they share the position with more than a quarter of the population of the Calcutta Metropolitan District. in Calcutta, and if, At the other end of the socio-economic hierarchy, Badur Bagan is certainly not an upper class neighborhood, nor in any way typical of the upper-most stratum of Calcutta society.

Badur Bagan is not characterized by the multistoried mansions with large grounds found in some parts of Alipur and New Alipur. As a neighborhood it is older and more congested than many of the middle class sections of South Calcutta, such as the Lakes Area surveyed by Sarma (1964). With a median reported household income of Rs. 600 and few personal incomes above Rs. 3000 per month, Badur Bagan falls somewhere in the middle strata, especially in comparison to Western salaries. And a comparison with Western salaries is not out of place in an urban metropolis like Calcutta where many foreigners regularly reside. Within the professional and managerial upper-middle strata of Calcutta there is a Western-oriented, mainly English speaking status group many of whose members are employed in third culture occupations (see Useem and Useem 1955). However, relatively few of the residents of Badur Bagan have been abroad, although many of them have relatives who have studied or worked abroad. Similarly, in Badur Bagan Bengali is the ordinary language of conversation, though it is heavily interspersed with English and though many of the men and some women speak English fluently as a second language (and definitely better than I speak Bengali). But, if Badur Bagan and Panchanantala are not representative of either end of the socio-economic continuum in Calcutta, and if, as stated earlier, there is some overlap between neighborhoods in the income, education, occupational types, housing conditions, and caste membership of their residents, there is

nevertheless a considerable disparity between the average levels of these indicators of socio-economic status between Panchanantala and Mallik Para and between it and Badur Bagan.

Perceived Socio-Economic Stratification

To gain an understanding of the relative position of the three neighborhoods studied in the pattern of socio-economic stratification, it is also helpful to know how the residents place themselves. For that reason each household head was asked to which socio-economic class he would say most people in his neighborhood belonged. The distribution of responses is shown in Table 1.3. The residents of Badur Bagan typically responded in terms of class: madhyabitto ("middle class") or ucco madhyabitto ("upper-middle class"). Most household heads in Mallik Para also replied that the people were madhyabitto, but some replied simply that they were mājhā mājhi ("in the middle") or mōtāmuti ("so-so"). Quite a few said the population was mixed with some middle class and some "working class" (śramik śrenī) residents. A number of respondents used the English words "middle class" or "labor class". One man, noting the tendency for status inconsistency with matriculated clerks from Mallik Para earning less than factory workers in other neighborhoods, replied that people in Mallik Para are generally garib kintu śiksito or "poor but educated."

In Panchanantala the most frequent response was simply that the people are garib or "poor." The next most frequent

response was to class: TABLE 1.3 śramik śrenī or working class. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS OF NEIGHBORHOOD, śrenī describes the class. REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS

	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper class	--	--	--	--	2	3%
Upper-middle class	--	--	1	1%	23	36%
Middle class ^a	8	7%	44	66%	35	55%
Lower-middle class ^b	33	28%	18	27%	3	5%
Lower class ^c	<u>76</u>	<u>65%</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6%</u>	--	--
Totals	117	100%	67	100%	64	99%

^aIn addition to madhyabitto or "middle class," this category includes mājha mājhi or "middling," mōtāmuti or "so-so," and sādhārōn or "ordinary."

^bIn addition to nimno madhyabitto or "lower-middle class" this category includes the following responses: śramik śrenī or "working class"; "mixed middle and working classes;" and "some middle, some garib" or "poor."

^cThe most common response in this category is garib or "poor." Other responses include nimno-bitto or nimno śrenī meaning "lower class" or "low born" and the expression din āne, din khāi meaning "what one brings [earns], he eats."

When used alone, the terms bhālo ("good"), bhālo noi ("not good"), and kharap ("bad") were not classified, because they were used by other respondents in conjunction with several class designations and probably tell more about the relationship between ideal and actual circumstances than about the relative circumstances of different status groups.

asked his present position, his position five years ago, and what his position would be five years in the future.

response was to classify them as sramik sreṇi or working class. Another frequent response which adequately describes the circumstances of many people in Panchanantala was din āne; din khāī which means, literally, "what one brings [or earns], he eats," or colloquially, "from hand to mouth." In Table 1.3 I have classified "working class" with "lower-middle class" and "poor" with "lower class," although I think it is debatable whether they have different referents. In their ordinary thinking, most people appear to distinguish among the "aristocracy" or abhijāt-bargo (to which none of the respondents claimed membership), the "middle class" or madhyabitto, and the "working class" or sramik sreṇi. People do, of course, make finer distinctions when comparing the status of one person with another, usually on the basis of one or more of the specific component attributes of socio-economic status.

In the household interview another question was asked (prior to the one on social class) which avoided the problems of semantics by simply asking the respondent to indicate his position on a diagram of a ladder which had seven steps with the highest step representing the position of a man whose abosthā or "circumstances" are very good and the bottom step representing the position of a man whose circumstances are very bad. Each respondent was asked his present position, his position five years ago, and what his position would be five years in the future.

TABLE 1.4

PRESENT POSITION ON LADDER OF ECONOMIC STATUS,
REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Position on Ladder	Panchanantala	Mallik Para	Badur Bagan
Circumstances very good			
7	--	--	--
6	1 1%	1 1%	7 11%
5	2 1%	9 12%	6 9%
4	11 8%	24 32%	38 58%
3	13 9%	17 23%	11 17%
2	38 28%	18 24%	--
1	72 53%	5 7%	3 5%
Circumstances very bad			
Totals	137 100%	74 99%	65 100%

The distribution of the respondents' reported circumstances at present are shown in Table 1.4 above. The range and variation of reported individual circumstances, shown in Table 1.4, is remarkably similar to the distribution of responses describing the social class of most neighborhood residents, shown in Table 1.3. In both Badur Bagan and Mallik Para most household heads describe the neighborhood residents as "middle class" and place themselves on the fourth or middle step of the seven step ladder. (In Mallik Para the fourth step is the modal response, but is not the response

of the majority.) Of those who don't describe the neighborhood residents as middle class, the majority in Badur Bagan assign them to the upper-middle class, while the majority in Mallik Para assign them to the lower-middle class. Similarly, of those who don't place themselves on the fourth step, a much larger proportion of household heads in Mallik Para than in Badur Bagan place themselves below the middle step. The major difference in perceived status is between Panchanantala and the two middle class neighborhoods. The majority of household heads in Panchanantala describe the neighborhood residents as poor and assign themselves to the first or bottom step of the ladder.

Perceived Vertical Mobility

A comparison of past, present, and future positions on the status ladder yields a measure of perceived vertical mobility, as shown in Table 1.5. The majority of household heads in Panchanantala report that their circumstances now are worse than they were five years ago, while only twelve per cent report that their circumstances have improved. In Badur Bagan and Mallik Para the proportions of respondents who report that their circumstances are better, the same, or worse are more nearly equal so that although almost two thirds of the respondents report some change up or down, there is not an overall pattern of upward or downward mobility in these two neighborhoods. In Panchanantala the high proportion of responses indicating worsening

Geography TABLE 1.5

PERCEIVED VERTICAL MOBILITY IN TERMS OF PAST,
PRESENT, AND FUTURE POSITIONS ON A STATUS LADDER

Circumstances (abostha) shown by position on ladder	Panchanantala				Mallik Para				Badur Bagan			
	Present N	Future %	Present N	Future %	Present N	Future %	Present N	Future %	Present N	Future %	Present N	Future %
Better (up)	17	12%	54	40%	26	35%	44	60%	16	25%	34	54%
Same	47	34%	26	19%	24	34%	15	21%	26	41%	10	16%
Worse (down)	74	54%	6	4%	23	32%	11	15%	21	33%	3	5%
Don't know	--	--	51	37%	--	--	3	4%	--	--	16	25%
Totals	138	100%	138	100%	73	101%	73	100%	63	99%	63	100%

conditions appears to reflect primarily the large number of residents who had recently been forced to leave their village homes to come to Calcutta because of the drought and food shortages in West Bengal in 1967, and secondarily the acute unemployment situation in Calcutta with recurrent strikes that left many daily wage earners dependent on their wives' earnings for long intervals. In spite of recent deterioration, however, most of the respondents who were willing to make a prediction were optimistic that conditions would improve in the future.

ed, still bring substantial income from inherited land-holdings in the country. All of these families own houses in Badur Bagan as well as village property.

Geographical Mobility

The gradual movement of Bengali Brahmins and Kayasthas from an early participation with the British in commerce in the eighteenth century to widespread investment in zamindari land is described by Bose (1967: 320) and Calkins (1971). The Permanent Settlement of 1793 and the Sunset Law compelled many zamindars to mortgage their land to the newly prosperous classes of the city who generally became absentee landlords. The upper castes "...also recognized the need of Western education; and their familiarity with the English language made ready berths available for them in mercantile houses as well as in administrative services" (Bose 1968: 31). Several factors, including the loss of property in East Bengal after Partition, the statutory abolition of zamindari in West Bengal, and the progressive reduction of income from rural property through the fragmentation of holdings, have led the descendants of nineteenth century Brahmin and Kayastha zamindars to place a greater reliance on income from the professions, especially law, medicine, engineering, education, and accounting (Bose 1968: 31).

The homes in Badur Bagan were, for the most part, built by Bengali landlords who controlled revenue-producing land outside Calcutta, but who also had urban jobs. At least five zamindari families, including nine of the eighty-five households interviewed, still bring substantial income from inherited land-holdings in the country. All of these families own houses in Badur Bagan as well as village property.

One family employs a rent collector (gōmastā) to supervise its village estate; the other families have at least one family member (father, brother, or son) overseeing their land in the village. These zamindari families are not from any one area, but have land in Howrah, Hooghly, the 24 Parganas, and Midnapore districts. Thus, about ten per cent of the households in Badur Bagan--and they are among the wealthier households--still depend, in part, on revenue from rural property and have an active tie to a village.

The typical family in Badur Bagan still claims a share in family land somewhere in Bengal, but no longer derives any economic benefit from rural property. As shown in Table 1.6, about one-fifth of the present household heads in Badur Bagan were born in areas of West Bengal outside Calcutta, and another one-fifth were born in East Bengal, many of them in villages where their families were land owners. Most of them came to Calcutta for education and remained on in government or professional positions.

Among the neighborhoods studied, only in Badur Bagan were as many as half of the present household heads born in the cities of Calcutta or Howrah. In Panchanantala fully ninety per cent of the household heads were born outside Calcutta, and most of them have come to Calcutta from villages within the last ten years. The main sources of immigrants into Panchanantala are villages near Laksmikantapur, Canning, Diamond Harbor, and other stops on the South Eastern Railway. Panchanantala stands on the railway right

— 2 —

TABLE 1.6
BIRTHPLACE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Birthplace	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Calcutta or Howrah City	15	10%	33	40%	38	51%
Howrah District	5	3%	29	35%	5	7%
24 Parganas	87	59%	2	2%	2	3%
West Bengal, other districts	7	5%	13	16%	10	13%
East Bengal	26	18%	4	5%	16	21%
Other states in India	<u>7</u>	<u>5%</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1%</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5%</u>
Totals	147	100%	82	99%	75	100%

of way north of Dhakuria station and so is ideally situated to absorb incoming families as they arrive.

In Mallik Para, also, the main sources of immigrants have been rural areas reached by the rail lines which radiate out from Howrah. Most of the immigrants to Mallik Para have come from villages on the Amta line or the Champadanga branch of the narrow gauge railway which fed into its own small station in Howrah. Other immigrants arrive on the regular railway lines which run north and south out of Howrah Station.

The effect of the transportation network in determining residence is also evident in the placement of the East

Bengali population. Coming into Calcutta from the north and east, most of them settled in Calcutta with relatively few making their homes in Howrah. In both Badur Bagan and Panchanantala the proportion of household heads who were born in East Bengal is about the same as the eighteen per cent of Calcutta's total population whose birth place was in East Bengal. Many of the East Bengali residents of Badur Bagan had homes in Calcutta or had studied there before Independence, but in Panchanantala most of the East Bengali residents came as refugees in 1947 or during one of the later disturbances.

Whereas the migration patterns into Calcutta and Howrah follow the rail lines, the emigration back out to the suburbs follows the bus lines. This pattern is most obvious in Mallik Para where several families have bought land and eventually moved out to Ramrajatala which is the last regular bus stop on the line which goes west past Mallik Para. In Badur Bagan expanding families generally prefer to look for housing in South Calcutta, but some move to Dum Dum or other northern suburbs. Even in Panchanantala families tend to move south to Dhakuria and the south eastern fringe of the Calcutta Metropolitan District where at least one or two families have bought land.

Data Gathering

In Mallik Para an initial period of about four months was spent observing neighborhood activities and conversing

informally with the neighborhood residents. After the first few weeks during which I struggled with my own inadequate Bengali, I was able to hire a research assistant, Sabita Bhattacharjee, who had just completed her M.A. in social geography. We worked together meeting, talking with, and later formally interviewing the residents of Mallik Para and then Badur Bagan and Panchanantala.⁷ My understanding was increased by her translation into English, or more typically into simplified Bengali or a mixture of Bengali and English. The two major survey schedules, the household survey and the adolescent survey, were prepared during these first few months of casual contacts, on the basis of activities and interests reported by the residents of Mallik Para. Most of the formal interviews were conducted and recorded in Bengali by Sabita and by the two male research assistants who were hired for periods later in the study. I was present at most of the interviews, especially of the girls, and often asked the respondents to explain their answers further or to amplify particular points. I did conduct a few interviews alone, but my slowness in recording the answers in transliterated Bengali and my lack of comprehension of the finer distinctions being made by the respondents made me reluctant to do so more often than necessary.

Household Survey

The heads of the households in the three neighborhoods were interviewed to obtain basic information including household composition and the age, sex, caste, education, occupation, and marital status of the household head, his parents and siblings, his wife (or husband) and children, and their spouses and children, if any, as well as of any other members of the household. Questions on birthplace and subsequent residences, on household facilities, on social status, and on household income were also asked. The final section of the household survey consisting of questions on educational, occupational, and marital aspirations was presented to the heads of households including youth between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five. A copy of the revised household schedule is included as Appendix A. The original schedule used only in Mallik Para included a variety of questions about caste relations which are not directly relevant to status allocation and which were eliminated in the revised survey to reduce the amount of time required from each household.

Within the somewhat arbitrarily designated boundaries of the three neighborhoods I attempted to interview the head of each household. In Mallik Para the heads, or in a few cases another member, of all but six households were interviewed. The heads of four of these households refused to be interviewed after a misunderstanding resulting from a discussion of the caste membership of the households. The

other two were widows living alone who were too old and ill to be interviewed. The composition of these households is known and included in the tabulation. However, most of the other data were not available. Because of the extended period of research in Mallik Para, I am quite certain that no households inside the designated boundaries of the neighborhood were overlooked. In Badur Bagan and Panchanantala where the research period was much briefer and where there was no preliminary period of observation, I am equally sure that I missed some households, probably from five to ten per cent of the total, because they were not known to us. The households which were hardest to find were those in which the tenants rent only one or two rooms in a larger house and those in which most or all of the members are gone all day.

Adolescent Survey

The youth in each of the three neighborhoods were interviewed individually on various aspects of their education, occupational goals, previous work experience, friendship, membership in voluntary associations, family relationships, relationships with friends of the other sex, and expectations regarding marriage. The revised adolescent Schedules in English and Bengali are included as Appendices B1 and B2 respectively. A few of the questions asked in Mallik Para were eliminated when additional forms were prepared for Badur Bagan and Panchanantala, generally because

TABLE 1.7

PROPORTION OF YOUTH INTERVIEWED

	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
All youth ages 13-25 reported in household survey	54	87	85	64	84	60
Single youth ages 13-25	22	70	54	62	73	60
Number of single youth interviewed	15	37	49	46	64	40
Number of married youth interviewed	12	3	--	--	--	--
Total interviews	27	40	49	46	64	40

answers to them were not readily forthcoming from the youth in Mallik Para or because the information obtained did not appear to be relevant to status allocation.

My goal was to interview all the single youth between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five in each of the three neighborhoods. This age range was selected to extend from approximately the age of puberty to the age at which youth enter occupations and marry. Nevertheless, on the one hand, virtually all of the young men in Mallik Para and Badur Bagan remain single up to age twenty-five and more than half of the men between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine also remain single, while on the other hand, the age

at marriage of girls in Panchanantala is low enough (median sixteen) to limit the number of single girls available to be interviewed. Thus, in Panchanantala twelve married girls were also interviewed to increase the number of females about whom generalizations are made.

Even with the interviews of these married girls, the number of girls interviewed in Panchanantala is smaller than the number of either boys or girls interviewed in either of the other neighborhoods. A major factor is the difference in the sex ratios in the age range studied in these neighborhoods. As shown in Table 1.6, in Panchanantala there are fewer girls than boys in the age range studied, whereas in the other two neighborhoods there were more girls than boys reported in the household survey. In the total population of the three neighborhoods the ratio of women to men is less in Panchanantala than in Mallik Para or Badur Bagan, as was shown above in Table 1.1, primarily because of the somewhat larger number of men residing in Panchanantala whose wives and children remain in villages. Only in Panchanantala is the number of boys studying or working and living away from home (usually outside Calcutta) matched by the number of young men coming into Calcutta for work or education. However, even adding in the absent unmarried sons and daughters whose fathers live in each of the three neighborhoods and subtracting the unmarried youth whose fathers reside elsewhere doesn't create a substantially more balanced sex ratio.

Another reason for the unequal numbers of boys and girls interviewed in each neighborhood is in the proportion of the total number who were interviewed. In each neighborhood a larger proportion of girls than of boys was interviewed. In Badur Bagan and Mallik Para many of the older boys and in Panchanantala many girls and boys throughout this age range are away at work during most of the day, during the hours when we were ordinarily in the neighborhood, thus making it difficult to schedule interviews with them. The lower proportion of interviews with male youth also reflects the difficulty of a female researcher working with a female research assistant. The two male assistants interviewed most of the boys and because they worked with me for a shorter time, we never developed the same thoroughness in interviews with boys which we had with girls. For a variety of reasons, then, I did not achieve my goal of interviewing all the single youth in the designated age range in each neighborhood. The responses of those who were interviewed are presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 2

EDUCATION

Literacy and Primary Education

Universal primary education is a goal specified in the Federal Constitution of India (1949: 20) and reaffirmed in each Five-Year Plan (Laska 1968: 58-85). India is progressing toward this goal, but by 1961 only one state had a primary level enrollment ratio of 100% in the terminal grade. In Kerala virtually all children complete the four years of primary education considered necessary to establish permanent literacy. In West Bengal 399,400 children were enrolled in Class IV in 1961, a number equal to 47.5% of all those ten years old in that year. For boys only the corresponding figure is 55.9% and for girls 38.8% (Laska 1968: 50). This is higher than the primary level enrollment ratio for India as a whole, but lower than for Kerala, Maharashtra, Madras, Gujarat, and Mysore. The literacy rates irrespective of age are higher for Calcutta than for other districts in West Bengal (Census of India, Paper No. 1 of 1962: 368), but although the coverage for primary education was expected to reach eighty per cent in the rural areas of West Bengal, it was only expected to reach seventy-one per cent of the children between six and ten years in the Calcutta Metropolitan District by the end of 1966 (CMPO 1966: 30).

The percentages of adolescents in Panchanantala, Malik Para, and Badur Bagan who remained in school through

Class IV are shown in Table 2.1. Badur Bagan and Mallik Para have high primary level completion ratios, while Panchanantala has a ratio much lower than that for the state as a whole. The proportion of children completing a primary education is directly related to the socio-economic circumstances of the neighborhood. In each neighborhood, as in all the states of India, more boys than girls remain in school through Class IV.

TABLE 2.1

PROPORTION OF YOUTH WHO COMPLETED CLASS IV

	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan ^a	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Percentage who completed Class IV	13%	39% ^b	88%	95%	98%	100%
Persons age 13-25	53	87	83	62	84	59

^aNot including resident servants of this age.

^bWhen the household head could not specify the extent of a family member's education, it was sometimes necessary to use the designation "literate." In cases where an adolescent later provided information on his school attendance, most of those classified as literate had less than four years of schooling. Fourteen boys in Panchanantala are categorized as literate and are not included in the percentage who completed Class IV. Thus, the proportion of males in Panchanantala who actually completed a primary education may be slightly higher than the percentage shown. No other column has more than three persons categorized as literate. On the other hand, a few persons who reported remaining in school through Class IV may have dropped out before the end of the year or before taking the Scholarship Examination, given to all students at the end of Class IV.

The proportion of children who complete the primary level of education is closely related to the number who enter school. In Badur Bagan all and in Mallik Para all but three persons between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five have been to school. In Panchanantala, however, three-quarters of the girls and one-quarter of the boys between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five never went to school.

When children in Panchanantala do not go to school, it is usually because their parents need their labor and cannot afford their schooling. In the bustee a girl's labor is often needed by the time she reaches school age. Many women in Panchanantala work as domestic servants in middle class homes in South Calcutta. A girl is expected to care for her younger siblings while her mother works. If she has no younger siblings or if another sister looks after them, a girl often accompanies her mother to the houses where she works. What she learns while helping her mother makes it possible for her to work alone in other homes by the time she is twelve or thirteen. Boys, too, are sometimes sent out as domestic servants, often living and working full-time in a single household. Even by the age of eight a boy may begin hawking firewood, vegetables, or other goods or may work with his father if the family's financial circumstances make it necessary.

Educational Facilities

Children from Panchanantala attend several primary schools. There is a one room school within the bustee run by the Panchanantala Pally Panchayet. Many of the adolescents who have gone to school started at the Panchanantala School. However, at the time of the study, the panchayat had been able to hire a teacher for only one hour each morning. The Corporation School on Cornfield Road, about a mile from the bustee, serves most of the boys who continue beyond the early primary classes. This corporation school is one of the 254 operated by the municipal government of Calcutta. (Separate sessions in the same building are counted as separate schools in this enumeration.) At the school on Cornfield Road a morning session, from 6:30 A.M. to 10:30 A.M. is held for boys and a day session is scheduled for girls from 11:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. with classes at the primary and intermediate levels. Neither the Corporation School nor the Panchanantala School charge fees. When scholarships can be obtained, or if parents can afford it, children go to other schools in the vicinity. Some of the adolescents in Panchanantala have gone to village schools before coming to Calcutta.

No single primary or secondary school serves a majority of the students in any of the neighborhoods studied. Adolescents who grew up in Mallik Para went to over thirty schools. The typical student changed schools once or twice before completing high school, though a few students

remained in one school from Class I through Class XI. It is not uncommon for a child to be tutored in his home at the primary level, entering school in Class II or III or even later. Primary schools, such as the Puratan Sayer Primary School and the Kalitala School take many children from Mallik Para in their first few years. However, by the end of Class IV, and often sooner, most boys and girls transfer to high schools, which include primary as well as secondary classes. Most high schools attended by students from Mallik Para and Badur Bagan are operated on a non-profit basis, many of them by religious organizations.

Most girls in Mallik Para went to the Mahakali Girls' School, the Kasundia Christian School, the Sri Durga Girls' School, or the Deshbandhu Girls' School. Most boys attended the Vivekananda Institution, the Ramkrishna School, the Harendra School, or the Deshbandhu School. Several of these schools and the other schools attended by students from Mallik Para, especially the girls' schools, still have the curriculum leading to the school final examination, whereas most of the schools near Badur Bagan have adopted the higher secondary program. Howrah Girls' College enrolls most of the local girls who continue their schooling beyond the school final or higher secondary examinations. Several technical institutes and colleges in both Howrah and Calcutta enroll boys from Mallik Para for job training and formal education beyond the secondary level.

The number of schools attended by youth in Badur Bagan exceeds that in Mallik Para, with the youth interviewed in Badur Bagan reporting attendance at over forty schools. Quite a few children attended the Jitendra Narayan Kindergarten School and the Sisu Siksha Bhavan at the nursery and primary levels. Fourteen girls, but no boys, received their elementary education at a Corporation School. (Girls from families with many children more often went to the Corporation School.) The school to which the largest number of girls from Badur Bagan were sent is the Mahakali Pathsala "founded by the Marathi Sannyasini, Mataji Tapaswini, . . . where Bengali girls were to be educated in the best Sanskrit traditions of India" (Bose 1968: 45). Other high schools drawing girls from Badur Bagan include the Brahmo Girls' School, the Central Calcutta Girls' Academy, and the Sri Vidya Mandir. Boys in Badur Bagan attended the Brahmo Boys' School, the Calcutta Academy, the Rani Bhabani, and St. Paul's School. From Badur Bagan about half of the college students, including two-thirds of the female students, go to City College. Vidyasagar College, which like City College is very near Badur Bagan, also attracts many students, with twelve additional colleges throughout Calcutta enrolling the remaining students.

From the pre-primary or kindergarten classes, children are assigned homework which includes reading, copying, and figuring simple sums. Typically some older person assists the child with his homework each day. In many middle class

families it is the mother or an older sibling who supervises a child's homework. In other families a tutor is hired to perform this function. The proportion of students who are tutored regularly increases up to the higher secondary examination and decreases somewhat after that. The coaching class, where a small group of students is tutored together, is an alternative form of extra-curricular instruction, particularly popular at the secondary and college levels. As Bose (1968: 47) indicates, coaching classes are often attended by students who have failed an examination and want to appear again as private candidates. A tutor receives from five to fifty rupees per month depending on the number of children in the household, the time spent, the difficulty of the subjects tutored, and his own qualifications. Ten rupees is a typical fee for a high school girl who tutors one or two primary level students an hour each day.

The need for tutoring at the primary level is greatest in families where the parents are less educated and less familiar with the demands of the school. Even in Panchantala those parents who can somehow manage the expense, hire a tutor for their children. In Mallik Para about half of the students had tutors at the time of the study; others had been tutored previously. This is higher than the proportion of students receiving tutoring in either of the other neighborhoods.

Duration of Formal Education

In Panchanantala the effect of the demand for their labor and of the small, but significant, cost of education is that most girls never go to school, and though most boys enter school, the majority drop out before completing the primary level. While all but one of the girls and two-thirds of the boys interviewed in Panchanantala had dropped out of school before age thirteen, the majority of boys and girls in Mallik Para have remained students through their teens. In Badur Bagan it is only after the age of twenty-one that more than half of either the boys or girls have completed their formal education, as shown in Table 2.2.

Not only do boys and girls from lower income neighborhoods drop out of school sooner; even those who remain in school are generally reading in a lower class. The median class in which students between the ages of thirteen and fifteen are enrolled is Class IX in Badur Bagan, Class VII in Mallik Para, and Class V in Panchanantala. Thus, it takes longer for a child from a lower or lower-middle class neighborhood than for a child from an upper-middle class neighborhood to obtain an equivalent education. In Panchanantala almost all of the students had stayed out of school for a year or more, or had repeated at least one class. Even in Mallik Para more than half of the boys and girls had repeated at least one class. In most instances the student failed the annual examination. In some cases personal or family illness resulted in high absenteeism, often

TABLE 2.2
PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS BY AGE COHORTS

Ages	Panchanantala						Mallik Para						Badur Bagan					
	Females			Males			Females			Males			Females			Males		
	N	%	Pop	N	%	Pop	N	%	Pop	N	%	Pop	N	%	Pop	N	%	Pop
13-15	1	6%	16	8	35%	23	20	77%	26	15	94%	16	22	92%	23	14	100%	14
16-18	0	0%	16	3	12%	24	10	59%	17	7	78%	9	21	84%	25	11	100%	11
19-21	0	0%	10	0	0%	15	5	33%	15	8	42%	19	11	92%	12	9	69%	13
22-24	0	0%	6	1	6%	17	0	0%	17	3	27%	11	8	40%	20	7	44%	16
25	0	0%	5	0	0%	8	0	0%	8	1	14%	7	1	25%	4	1	20%	5
13-25	1	2%	53	12	14%	87	35	42%	83	34	50%	62	63	75%	84	42	71%	59

N = Number of students

Pop = Persons in age cohort

% = Percentage of persons in age cohort who are students

----- In age cohorts below the dotted line less than half the persons are students.

including absence from the final exam. Inability to pay the school fees was another cause for delayed advancement. A student might also be put back a year after transferring to another school which did not accept his previous school's standards.

The highest level of education attained by boys in Panchanantala, Mallik Para, and Badur Bagan is shown in Table 2.3. There is a clear disparity among the neighborhoods in the level of education attained. In Panchanantala the median level of education attained by boys is primary, in Mallik Para it is secondary, and in Badur Bagan it is college. With more than half of the boys in both Mallik Para and Badur Bagan still studying, the disparity will certainly increase as these boys also complete their schooling. In the upper-middle class neighborhood, Badur Bagan, the percentage of boys who have entered college is higher than the percentage of boys in the same age cohort in Panchanantala who have remained in school beyond the primary level.

The educational achievement of girls is shown in Table 2.3. The disparity among the three neighborhoods parallels that shown for boys. The median level of education attained ranges from no schooling for girls in Panchanantala, to the middle classes for girls in Mallik Para, to the secondary level for girls in Badur Bagan. As the girls in Mallik Para and Badur Bagan complete their schooling, the average level of achievement for females in these two neighborhoods can

TABLE 2.3

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF YOUTH

Males												
Highest level attained	Panchanantala				Mallik Para				Badur Bagan			
	NS	S	Σ	%	NS	S	Σ	%	NS	S	Σ	%
No schooling	24	--	24	28%	1	--	1	1%	0	--	0	0%
Primary	32	4	36	41%	2	2	4	6%	0	0	0	0%
Middle	13	5	18	21%	7	13	20	32%	3	4	7	12%
Secondary	5	2	7	8%	13	10	23	37%	6	15	21	36%
College	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2%</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>23%</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>53%</u>
Totals	75	12	87	100%	28	34	62	99%	17	42	59	101%

Females												
Highest level attained	Panchanantala				Mallik Para				Badur Bagan			
	NS	S	Σ	%	NS	S	Σ	%	NS	S	Σ	%
No schooling	40	--	40	75%	2	--	2	2%	0	--	0	0%
Primary	9	0	9	17%	14	2	16	19%	3	0	3	4%
Middle	2	1	3	6%	21	16	37	45%	2	5	7	8%
Secondary	1	0	1	2%	10	14	24	29%	8	36	44	52%
College	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5%</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>36%</u>
Totals	52	1	53	100%	48	35	83	100%	21	63	84	100%

NS = Non-students

S = Student

Σ = Sum of students and non-students

----- Underlines median level.

Primary = Classes I-IV and persons classified as "literate"

Middle = Classes V-VIII

Secondary = Classes IX-XI and Pre-university

College = All baccalaureate and higher degree programs and technical training for which a higher secondary diploma is required.

be expected to increase somewhat. Already a higher percentage of girls from Badur Bagan have gone to college than the percentage in Panchanantala who have learned to read.

In comparing the educational achievement of males and females a consistent disparity is evident. In each neighborhood the median educational level attained by males is one level higher than that attained by females. Thus, in Panchanantala while most girls have never gone to school, the typical boy has a primary level education. In Mallik Para while the typical girl has not progressed beyond the ~~middle~~ classes, most boys have some secondary level education. In Badur Bagan the typical adolescent girl is finishing secondary school, though the typical boy is in college.

Educational Curricula

The education of girls and boys differs in the curricula pursued as well as in the amount of schooling. Eighty-two per cent of the female college students take a program leading to a Bachelor or Master of Arts degree, while only thirty-one per cent of the male students take arts. In Badur Bagan there are more boys than girls in the science and commerce curricula. In Mallik Para most male college students study commerce or engineering. Altogether a considerably higher proportion of male than female college students specialize in scientific, commercial, and technical subjects.

TABLE 2.4

CURRICULA STUDIED BY FEMALE AND MALE COLLEGE STUDENTS

Curriculum	Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%
Arts	28	82%	15	31%
Science	5	15%	12	24%
Commerce	1	3%	11	22%
Engineering			8	16%
Law			2	4%
Medicine	--	—	<u>1</u>	<u>2%</u>
Totals	34	100%	49 ^a	99%

^aThis is more than the number of male college students because three boys are pursuing degrees in two fields. Multiple degrees in the same line (i.e., B.A. and M.A.) are counted only once.

Intergenerational Changes in Education

At least in the three neighborhoods studied, the disparity in the amount of schooling received by persons from neighborhoods of differing socio-economic class is not recent, but has persisted at least from the parental generation. The highest level of schooling attained by the fathers of the boys in Panchanantala, Mallik Para, and Badur Bagan are shown in Table 2.5. In each neighborhood the median level recorded for boys between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five (Table 2.3) is the same as that of their fathers, a remarkable similarity over a period of about thirty years. To be sure, in Panchanantala and Mallik Para a higher percentage of boys

TABLE 2.5

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF PARENT OF THE SAME SEX

Fathers of boys						
Highest level attained ^a	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No schooling	20	36%	1	2%	0	0%
Primary	25	45%	8	20%	0	0%
Middle	7	13%	8	20%	3	8%
Secondary	3	5%	16	39%	12	32%
College	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>20%</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>60%</u>
Totals	55	99%	41	101%	37	100%

Mothers of girls						
Highest level attained	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No schooling	15	71%	6	18%	1	3%
Primary	6	29%	17	50%	15	44%
Middle	0	0%	10	29%	7	21%
Secondary ^a	0	0%	1	3%	9	26%
College	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6%</u>
Totals	21 ^b	100%	34	100%	34	100%

^aThe levels of education are defined as in Table 2.3 except that Secondary includes only Classes IX and X. The Intermediate Arts and Intermediate Science courses are included in the college level.

^bThe number of mothers whose educational achievement is recorded is relatively small because information was not collected on the mothers of married women, unless they reside in the neighborhood. The existence of siblings of the same sex also decreases number of parents.

than fathers have more than the median level of education. Moreover, boys in each neighborhood are still enrolled in schools, colleges, and universities. In Badur Bagan over two-thirds of the boys have not completed their schooling. Thus, the younger generation of males will eventually be more educated than their fathers. Nevertheless, in the typical family there is no sharp discontinuity between the education of a father and his sons, but rather an average increase of a few years with, perhaps, one or two sons having less education than their father and the other sons having more education.

Middle class girls stay in school longer than their mothers did. In Mallik Para girls have stayed in school twice as long, on the average, as their mothers did. While their mothers typically left school after Class IV, girls between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five have completed a median of eight years of schooling and almost half of the girls are still in school. In Badur Bagan thirty girls between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five have passed the pre-university or higher secondary examinations and are in college. Only two of their mothers were reported to have attended college. In Badur Bagan the gap between the number of years of schooling received by men and by women has narrowed in the present generation. In the parental generation, the typical man in Badur Bagan had been to college; his wife left school after Class IV or Class VI. In the present generation the typical girl completes a secondary

education and may, as the majority of boys do, go on to college. In Badur Bagan as high a proportion of girls as of boys in the age cohort studied are still in school or college.

In contrast, the data do not show any increase in the education of women in Panchanantala. The proportion of girls who are illiterate is as high as the proportion of their mothers who are reported to be illiterate. Where the illiteracy rate is highest, there has been the least intergenerational change in education. In Panchanantala the labor of girls is needed in more families and at earlier ages than that of boys. Parents in Panchanantala can see the potential economic advantage of educating a boy, but if girls are educated, it is usually so that they can be married into a family where they will not have to work.

The intergenerational changes in education in Panchanantala, Mallik Para, and Badur Bagan are consistent, for the most part, with Laska's finding of a more rapid increase in secondary level enrollment than in primary level enrollment. In West Bengal between 1957 and 1961 primary level enrollment increased by 16.3%, while enrollment in the middle classes increased by 28.8%, and in the secondary level by 26.8%. Even university enrollment increased by 18.4% (Laska 1969: 101-04). "In the absence of effective procedures for restricting access to the higher levels of the school system, there has been an increasing tendency for those students who apparently complete the primary level to undergo schooling

at the higher levels of the educational system" (Laska 1969: 98-99). He also shows that at each level the proportional increase in enrollment was greater for female students than for male students.

Educational Goals

Each of the adolescent respondents was asked, "How much education would you yourself like to have and in what subjects?" The answers varied with the respondent's sex, with the social class of the neighborhood, and with his educational experiences up to that time. The rankable replies of respondents who are still students are shown in Table 2.6. Almost all of the students set their sights above the secondary level.

Even in Panchanantala seven of the nine male students who gave specific replies hope to continue their education after passing the higher secondary or pre-university examinations. Three want to be licensed or degree-holding engineers, three would like to earn bachelor's degrees, and one wants a Master of Commerce degree.

In Mallik Para baccalaureate degrees are the goal of most students, both male and female. The boys are almost equally divided among those seeking higher education in the arts, commerce, and engineering. The girls, with few exceptions, hope to earn Bachelor or Master of Arts degrees.

In Badur Bagan most male students hope to complete a program of graduate training, such as a master's degree or

TABLE 2.6

EDUCATIONAL GOALS OF STUDENT RESPONDENTS

	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Males		Females		Males	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Secondary	2	22%	1	3%	4	13%
Baccalaureate	6	67%	21	70%	19	63%
Post graduate	<u>1</u>	<u>11%</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>27%</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>23%</u>
Totals	9	100%	30	100%	30	99%

Secondary = School Final, Pre-university and Higher Secondary diplomas

Baccalaureate = B.A., B.Sc., B. Com., B.A.B.T., B.E. and engineering licentiate programs requiring three years beyond the Higher Secondary diploma.

Post graduate = M.A., M.Sc., M. Com., M.B.B.S., L.L.B., Ph. D. and certification such as C.A. which requires an additional examination beyond the baccalaureate.

medical training (M.B.B.S.) or to pass the examinations to be certified as a chartered accountant (C.A.) or lawyer (L.L.B.). Engineering alone among the fields requiring only a baccalaureate degree is attractive to male students in Badur Bagan. Girls in Badur Bagan also want graduate training, primarily in the arts, although as many girls as boys hope to train to be physicians. More girls than boys hope to do research after the M.A. leading eventually to a Ph. D.

The aspirations fathers have for the further education of their adolescent children are generally similar to those expressed by their sons and daughters. Most fathers of male students in Mallik Para hope their sons will complete a bachelor's degree. Fathers of female students typically hope their daughters will at least complete a secondary education and many would be pleased if their daughters went to college. In Badur Bagan most fathers hope their sons will eventually earn an advanced degree or certification. Fathers of female students typically expect their daughters to go to college, but fewer fathers are eager to have their daughters earn master's degrees than girls are to earn them. The typical father has higher educational aspirations for his sons than for his daughters, although many fathers have the same high aspirations for both sons and daughters. None of the fathers stated that girls should have more education than boys. When it occurs, there is more likely to be a difference of opinion on educational goals between a daughter and her parents than between a son and his parents.

To some extent an individual's educational goals are limited by his horizons. For example, doctoral research was not generally understood in Panchanantala or Mallik Para and a Ph. D. degree is not the goal of any adolescent respondent in those neighborhoods. In Badur Bagan several persons have doctoral degrees, research is understood to be a prerequisite to getting the degree, and a few of the adolescent respondents hope to continue their education up to the Ph. D.

The countervailing tendency is for a student's sights to be readjusted upwards or downwards as he progresses through the educational system. Educational goals are frequently couched in terms of performance. A father expects his son to continue his education "as far as possible." As long as a middle class student continues to pass successive examinations with scores high enough to allow him to continue in the program of his choice, he will aspire to progressively higher levels. However, if a student fails an annual examination and if after repeating the class, perhaps in a different school, he again fails the exam for that class, it is usually conceded that he has gone as far as was possible for him. A single failure on an annual school examination or on the statewide school final or higher secondary examination does not ordinarily terminate a person's education, but it may lower his and others' estimates of his ability. Two successive failures, however, are usually taken to indicate that a student has gone as far as possible and someone will suggest that it is time he had a job.

Financial difficulties sometimes cause the middle as well as the lower class student to drop out of school. The loss of a man's income through unemployment, a business reversal, or death often produces an economic crisis in the family, and as a consequence his children may have to leave school. If his father dies prematurely, the oldest son usually must go to work almost immediately. In a few families, the mother's early death has meant that the oldest daughter

had to leave school and take over the cooking and other housework. Families at the lower end of the middle class, without extensive investments or savings and more often with a single wage-earner, are particularly vulnerable.

Many girls, especially in Badur Bagan, remain in college or the university until their marriages have been arranged. Prolonging a girl's education gives her family a ready explanation for those who ask why she is not yet married. It also improves the chances that she will appeal to some family with a highly qualified son, if perhaps narrowing the field of potential mates. One father thus answered the question on how long a girl's education should continue with the phrase, "until she is married." It is not unusual for a girl's education to be terminated abruptly once her marriage has been arranged.

Achievement and Ascriptive Factors in Educational Stratification

Two of a person's attributes, his sex and the social class of the neighborhood in which he lives, have been shown to affect his chances of success in school. The education system is ostensibly more achievement-oriented than other institutions which socialize the adolescent. However, the demands for performance differentially affect youth from diverse status groups.

At the primary level the demands for performance press hardest on students from poor families. They have the least choice of schools. They cannot afford books and do not have

supplementary materials in their homes. Their parents often cannot help them, and few can afford the extra tutoring which is provided for many middle class children. Yet the standards are the same for lower as for middle class students. All compete on the statewide Scholarship Examination at the end of Class IV.

Through the primary and middle classes the education system is a one track system. For students who remain in school and who can qualify, there is a choice of science, arts, commerce, and technical training in Classes IX through XI. This creation of additional educational options has paralleled the pattern of increasing industrialization and the diversification of the occupational system, and has in turn created an additional opportunity and necessity for choice making in the process eventuating in occupational allocation.

Upper-middle class students, most of whom have comparatively little difficulty at the primary level, begin to feel the pressure for achievement at the secondary level in the competition for entrance into the science course in the higher secondary school, for a good showing on the terminal examinations, and for entrance to the better colleges. A student's family can send him to good schools, provide him with materials, and hire tutors, but even the upper-middle class student must validate his position by performing adequately on a series of examinations.

For males the pattern of educational mobility which

27

ed

a

ti

Fe

21

21

0

:

:

2

a

:

:

6

:

1

emerges from these data is one of relative consistency in educational background, performance, and aspirations with a gradual increase in education. For middle class females there is a pattern of rising educational aspirations and performance, with greater divergence between the present and parental generations both in expectations and performance. For lower class girls the educational system remains outside their realm of experience. In the bustee the assumption is that most families cannot afford to send their children, especially their daughters, to school. A decision must be made to send a particular child to school and to encourage him to study although his peers are not students. In the middle class neighborhoods the expectation is that children will go to school and college. Decisions must be made when a student is having difficulty or if the family's financial condition changes so that a particular type of education is no longer feasible.

As Collins hypothesized and attempted to demonstrate for the United States,

The power of "ascribed" groups may be the prime basis of selection in all organizations, and technical skills are secondary considerations depending on the balance of power. Education may thus be regarded as a mark of membership in a particular group (possibly at times its defining characteristic), not a mark of technical skills or achievement. Educational requirements may thus reflect the interests of whichever groups have power to set them (1971: 1008).

A "contest mobility" school system (Turner, 1960) has produced a widely educated middle stratum because of the many dropouts who never achieve the elite level of schooling to

which they aspire and at which expert skills and/or high cultural status is acquired. Increasingly higher levels of education are recognized as the goal and a moderate level of education has become a requisite attribute of respectable middle-level status (Collins 1971: 1015). The result is a system of allocation in which status groups are competing to gain or retain power through control over an ostensibly universalistic educational system.

Calcutta's bhadralok, who have the resources (money for tuition and tutoring, educated family members and reference materials in the home, access to school authorities, etc.) to support their youth through the better private schools and colleges, attempt to maintain their position as the city's elite against the demands of lower ranking status groups who are trying to better their position in the hierarchy through performance in the educational system. Because specific levels of performance on universally administered examinations are set as the chief criteria for entrance to professional training, to government positions, and to most positions in the large industrial and commercial firms as well, the competition is fierce and individual youth from high status families sometimes fail to meet the standards set. On the whole, however, the control of the bhadralok over access to quality education is sufficient to guarantee stability in the system of stratification, while allowing limited mobility from the lower levels of the middle class. However, in the present circumstances

with the movement of capital and employment opportunities out of Calcutta, even with somewhat reduced immigration into the city, there are many educated unemployed, and the competition for good examination scores is grim with correspondingly high rates of cheating and examination disturbances.

Broomfield outlines the character of this struggle in the early part of the twentieth century.

The problem the Hindu bhadralok faced from the beginning, a problem which they never solved and which played its part in the tragic finale to this story, was the problem of a caste elite whose economic and political strength rested on its successful participation in imported, liberal institutions--the bureaucratic, educational, legal, and legislative systems--which were by their nature 'open ended' (that is, the basis for recruitment was ability, not birth) and which therefore tended to create an open society. The Hindu bhadralok were proud of their achievement, but they also valued their high-caste status. They wished to develop the adopted institutions, which had served them so well in the nineteenth century, and yet they were concerned to preserve the social order, with its ascribed advantages for themselves. They knew that further institutional development would bring increasingly insistent demands from the lower orders for accommodation: for the wider opening of the doors of schools, colleges, and offices to non-bhadralok. They were understandably apprehensive of the social effects of such accommodation, and uncertain of their own ability to control the pace and direction of change(1968: 318).

The real losers in this struggle for increased education as an avenue to higher social status have been the lowest ranking status groups, those with the least power to set the standards or obtain the facilities to meet them. The increase in primary education in West Bengal has not kept pace with the increase in secondary, college, and university education. The Calcutta Metropolitan District has

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

lagged much behind the average for other urban areas in India in providing primary education and especially free education for the poor (CMP0 1966: 30). At the local level, the result is that three-fourths of the female youth in Panchanantala have never attended school. In short although the examinations by which educational achievement is measured in India are universalistic in content and administration, they are not relevant to the lifestyle of much of the population nor specific to the demands of the occupational system, and competition is restricted especially at the primary level by limited access to the resources necessary for learning.

CHAPTER III

OCCUPATIONAL ENTRY

Male Occupational Entry

The Professions as the Ideal

Almost all adult men in Badur Bagan, Mallik Para, and Panchanantala have urban occupations which are the primary source of household income. Men in the professions, including medicine, law, education, engineering, civil service, and accounting, generally are more highly educated and highly respected than men in other occupational categories. With the exception of a few official and executive posts and some businesses, the professions are also the most remunerative occupations held by men in the neighborhoods studied.

An indication of the prestige of the professions is the disproportionate frequency with which adolescents aspire to the professions. As shown in Table 3.1, among the male students between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five, ninety per cent of those in Badur Bagan and the majority of those in Mallik Para and Panchanantala ~~aspire~~ to professional occupations.

In the individual interviews, each adolescent was asked what occupation he wanted to have as an adult, as well as what occupation his parents wanted for him. In Badur Bagan, where almost all of the thirty-one students interviewed

hope to be professionals, the occupations most frequently given in response to this question are: chartered accountant (7), engineer (6), physician (5), educator (5), and lawyer (4). Fewer of the thirty male students interviewed in Mallik Para aspire to being physicians (3), educators (3), accountants (2), and none wants to be a lawyer, but a larger proportion of the students who aspire to professional occupations want to be engineers (8). Similarly, in Panchanantala five of the seven male students who aspire to the professions want to be engineers.

In each of the neighborhoods the proportion of adolescent males who aspire to professional positions is much higher than the proportion of men in that neighborhood who are professionals. Badur Bagan was classified as an upper-middle class neighborhood, in part, because of the high proportion of men in professional positions. Even there only twenty-five per cent of the men are professionals. The thirty men classified as professionals include eight physicians, five lawyers, six accountants and auditors, six engineers and technicians, a professor, a research scholar, a personnel officer, a professional musician, and a school teacher. In Mallik Para, the lower-middle class neighborhood, eight per cent of the men have been classified as professionals. They include a lawyer, two accountants, an engineer, a navigator, and three school teachers.

These classifications are, to a certain extent, arbitrary. Some men do not perform the roles for which they

have been trained and licensed. Other men fill positions for which they do not have the formal qualifications. For example, one of the physicians has become a sannyasi and sees very few patients. A man with a law degree (B.A.B.L.) works as a railway clerk. Of the accountants and auditors only two are chartered accountants. Of the engineers only one has a degree specifically in engineering; most of the others have bachelor's degrees in science. Of the four school teachers only one has a bachelor's degree, making them the least educated of the men classified as professionals. Both men with specialized degrees (M.B.B.S., B.A.B.L., and C.A.) and those who have professional roles were included among the professionals. Although these criteria are relatively unrestrictive, the men classified as professionals constitute, on the whole, a highly prestigious, highly educated, and highly paid category of workers.

Professional placement is the goal of the majority of male students in each of the neighborhoods studied, yet relatively few of them will become professionals. Among males up to age twenty-five who have already taken jobs, the percentage of those in professional positions is the same as the percentage of older men in the same neighborhood who are professionals, as shown in Tables 3.2 and 3.3. The educational qualifications of those who are still students will eventually be higher than that of adolescents who have left school and joined the labor force at younger ages. Thus, as the students in this age cohort gradually complete their

education and get jobs, the proportion of professionals in the younger age cohort seems likely to increase somewhat above the proportions in older age cohorts. Still, most students who aspire to professional positions will not succeed in obtaining them and will enter other occupations.

The high frequency of professional aspirations seems best explained as an awareness and acceptance of certain professions as the culmination of a line or curriculum in which a student is enrolled, rather than a firm expectation that he will achieve that goal. As described in Chapter 2, students in higher secondary schools are placed in four major curricula: science, commercial, technical, and arts in Classes IX through XI. The division is continued at the college level with baccalaureate curricula in science, commerce, engineering, and arts. These curricula are generally referred to by the English term, "lines." Many parents phrase their aspirations for their son, not in terms of a particular occupation, but rather in terms of one of these lines. For example, a father, when asked what occupation he wants for his son, may reply, "in the technical line" or "in the science line." Thus, a certain latitude remains for the youth's own preferences and abilities as well as for the uncertainties of the labor market. The cognitive classification of occupations by lines is not limited to parents whose children are in higher secondary schools, but is used as well by parents whose children will probably not attend high school.

The most frequently aspired to professions may be seen as end points of these lines: to become a physician is the culmination of the science line; to become a chartered accountant is the culmination of the commerce line; to become an engineer is the culmination of the technical line; and to become a lawyer or a professor is the culmination of the arts line. Such a view is overly simplistic. Within each line there are other specialities, such as becoming a research physicist or a pharmacist, which may be as selective and require as much education. In addition, some professions, including law and engineering, may be attained through either of two of the four lines.

The cognitive classification of occupations into lines with a limited number of high-ranking professions as goals for students who succeed in each line, is consistent with the pattern of educational aspirations couched in the conditional terms, yatōdur sambhab or "as far as possible." As an indication of this tendency, parents sometimes qualified their statements of educational or occupational goals with the phrase, parjanta, or "up to." An example is "commerce line-e, C.A. parjanta." Especially in Badur Bagan, minimal expectations were often expressed too, for example, "at least B.A." In short, the stated occupational aspiration is the ultimate goal; the line is the means; and the student proceeds as far as possible.

The subject matter and related skills which are taught to the student are defined by the line or curriculum. His

TABLE 3.1
OCCUPATIONAL GOALS OF MALE STUDENTS

	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professions	7	64%	17	57%	28	90%
Office workers	--	--	4	13%	2	6%
Business	--	--	1	3%	1	3%
Industrial labor	1	9%	1	3%	--	--
Athlete	--	--	2	7%	--	--
Good job, educated man, service to country	2	18%	4	13%	--	--
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>9%</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3%</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>
Totals (male students who were interviewed)	11	100%	30	99%	31	99%
All male students	12		34		42	

achievement in that line is a function of the student's ability, his persistence and especially the resources at his disposal, as discussed in Chapter II. Alternative occupations are open to persons in each line who terminate their formal education at various points. The discussion of male occupational entry is organized according to these lines to illustrate the ways in which professional aspirations are modified upon leaving the educational system.

TABLE 3.2

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS OF MALE WORKERS
OVER AGE TWENTY-FIVE

	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professions	--	--	8	8%	30	25%
Office workers	--	--	38	36%	42	35%
Business	4	3%	16	15%	26	22%
Industrial labor	13	10%	24	23%	8	7%
Service workers	25	18%	8	8%	--	--
Small scale trade	30	22%	4	4%	1	1%
Construction workers	40	30%	--	--	--	--
Day laborers	14	10%	1	1%	--	--
Insufficient information or no urban employment	<u>9</u>	<u>7%</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7%</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10%</u>
Totals	135	100%	106	101%	119	100%

Description of Occupational Types

Professions include medicine, law, accounting, engineering, teaching, and research.

Office work includes primarily clerks, typists, stenographers, cashiers, etc. A few officers, superintendents, inspectors, and a few peons were also included.

Business includes work shop owners, order suppliers, wholesale trade, sales representatives, and other businessmen with a reported household income of Rs. 150 or more per earning member.

Industrial workers include mechanics, welders, machinists, refrigeration and air conditioning workers, fitters, and other factory workers.

TABLE 3.2 (cont'd.)

Service workers include drivers, bearers, cooks, barbers, laundry workers, servants, rickshaw pullers, tailors, and restaurant workers.

Small scale trade includes fish and vegetable dealers, tea stall owners, biri shop owners, and hawkers; those with an income less than Rs. 150 per working member. Although a couple of fish dealers earn over this amount they are included here since most fish sellers earn less.

Construction workers include masons, painters and decorators, carpenters and molders, and their assistants.

Day laborers contract for work on a daily basis typically earning about Rs. 3 per day.

Retired and temporarily unemployed workers are categorized by their previous employment. Only three men over age twenty-five in each neighborhood reported themselves as unemployed, though, as noted previously, many laborers, especially in Panchanantala, may go for days or weeks without work or work part time or fewer hours per week than they want to, in a situation of chronic underemployment. Many other men work at jobs which require less education, experience, or skill than they have. Some workers also receive income from rural land or from part time work as agricultural labor. Income from rural land and rural employment are discussed in Chapter I.

Although the questions on employment specified the type of work rather than the specific employer, many men reported working in various government services, including railway, bus, airport, customs, tax, printing, post and telegraph, telephone, and police services and the courts. I would estimate that about one-fourth of the men in both Badur Bagan and Mallik Para work for some government agency at the municipal, state, or national level. The railway service employs more men from these neighborhoods than any other single government agency. The government employees range in rank from peons to officers.

TABLE 3.3

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS OF MALE WORKERS BETWEEN
THE AGES OF THIRTEEN AND TWENTY-FIVE

	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professions	--	--	2	8%	4	25%
Office workers	3	5%	9	38%	4	25%
Business	--	--	4	17%	4	25%
Industrial labor	16	28%	6	25%	2	13%
Service workers	11	19%	2	8%	1	6%
Small scale trade	11	19%	1	4%	--	--
Construction workers	13	23%	--	--	--	--
Insufficient information	<u>3</u>	<u>5%</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6%</u>
Totals	57	99%	24	100%	16	100%
Unemployed non- student males	21		11		4	

The Science Line

Students and their parents generally consider the science line to be the most difficult of the four curricula. Although it is possible to enter the science line at the college level, a student who plans a career in medicine or any science has a better chance of being admitted to a B. Sc. program at the college level if he has taken the science

curriculum in a higher secondary school. Entrance to the high school science course is limited by examination and in Badur Bagan not all of those who wanted to be admitted passed the qualifying examination. Male students in Badur Bagan who don't show an early aptitude for science are typically counselled into the commerce or arts curricula.

In Badur Bagan fourteen male students between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five are studying for or have recently completed a B. Sc. degree. In Mallik Para only one student in this age cohort has earned a B. Sc. and there are no male students in either Mallik Para or Panchanantala who are studying for a B. Sc. degree.

Although the number of students is too small to make more than a guess about the trend, it appears that the many young boys who aspire to careers in medicine are attracted or pushed towards other fields of specialization by the time they graduate from college. Several younger boys aspire to careers in medicine, but of those already in college in a B. Sc. course, almost all have opted for occupations other than medicine. In Badur Bagan four of the five male students who want to be doctors are still in high school, two of them still in eighth grade and not yet in the science course. Similarly in Mallik Para none of the three boys who want to be doctors is yet in Class IX. The one older student in Badur Bagan who plans to be a doctor is studying for a B. Sc. with honors in chemistry. He passed the Higher Secondary exam in Division I and was among the top

ranking students in his class in the annual school examinations each year. His older brother, who was not interviewed, is already in medical school. Of the nine male college students interviewed who are studying for or have recently completed the B. Sc., two want to be professors--one in zoology, the other in physics--and six want to be or have jobs as engineers or technologists.

In Badur Bagan students who want to be engineers generally prefer to complete the relatively prestigious B. Sc. before entering a college of engineering. For the student who has the early preparation for entrance to the science curriculum this path gives him a more general scientific background for engineering and keeps more options open for future employment. Students educated in this way, however, often lack the practical experience with materials which is part of the technical program in the higher secondary school and of the licentiate training programs in engineering.

The Technical Line

The technical line is popular in all three of the neighborhoods studied. Altogether more students aspire to be engineers than to be in any other profession. New jobs have opened in the industrial sector at the same time as the prestige and relative income of clerical jobs are declining. Certainly, there is unemployment among young engineering graduates, but less than among recent graduates in the arts.

Many parents in each of the neighborhoods think that the best employment opportunities for their sons lie in the technical line.

This is a relatively recent change. In Badur Bagan only one man over twenty-five is a licensed engineer, although about fifteen men work in engineering and technical jobs or have businesses of a technical nature, such as electroplating and sound recording. In Mallik Para there are no licensed engineers, although many men work in engineering firms and a few have established small scale factories.

The technical course in the higher secondary school and the engineering licentiate programs offer many lower-middle and working class students an opportunity to become engineers. The high school technical course includes not only an emphasis on mathematics and the physical sciences, but also practical training in the operation of industrial tools, such as the lathe and welding torch. The student who passes this course can go on to a three year licentiate program in engineering, specializing in electrical, mechanical, or civil engineering. The licentiate program is offered not only by the larger engineering colleges, but also by technical training institutes, such as those run by the Ramkrishna Mission.

Two families in Mallik Para exemplify the increasing interest in engineering as a profession and in the technical line generally. In both of these families the fathers have

more than a high school education. One father is a school teacher, the other works in a government office. All of their sons are or want to be engineers.

The first family moved to Mallik Para from their village home ten years ago when the older of the two sons had a broken leg and needed extended medical attention. Both sons took the technical course at the Vivekananda Institution, one of the better high schools in the vicinity of Mallik Para. The older son completed the Licentiate in Mechanical Engineering (L.M.E.) at the Ramkrishna Mission. He has applied for admission to a program leading to the A.M.I.E. The younger son, who is still studying for the L.M.E., transferred to Jadavpur Polytechnic which has night classes so that he could take an apprenticeship at a large engineering firm. He likes this arrangement, he said, because it gives him an opportunity to get practical experience related to the theoretical course work. Like his older brother, he wants to get a higher degree in engineering after completing the L.M.E.

In the second family the oldest son, age twenty-five, is a civil engineer working outside West Bengal. He is admired by his two younger brothers, both of whom also want to be engineers. The middle son who became involved with a local gang some years ago, and dropped out of school after finishing Class IX, has recently gone back to complete a high school diploma. He wants to be an engineer, but is uncertain about the likelihood of achieving his goal. The

youngest son was not yet in high school, but has consistently done well in school.

Boys who do not have an engineering license or a bachelor's degree generally must begin as apprentices. Approximately one-fourth of the male job holders twenty-five years old or under in Mallik Para and Panchanantala are apprentices or workers in the engineering industry. Those with a high school diploma or some formal technical training typically get jobs with the larger established engineering firms. The beginning wages of workers in the engineering industry are closely related to the years of schooling and to the amount of scientific and technical training they have had. For example, one boy who passed the school final examination has worked for two and a half years as an apprentice in an air conditioning company, checking and repairing air conditioners. As an apprentice his salary is about one hundred rupees per month. Another boy who quit school after Class VIII, but later took a technical course at a local training institute, has worked in four different large industrial workshops in the past three years. He started at fifty rupees per month and at the time of the interview earned one hundred and thirty rupees.

Boys with less education more often must take apprenticeships at small workshops where the wages are lower and there are fewer fringe benefits. A seventeen year old who left school after Class VI has worked as an apprentice welder for one and a half years and earns seventy rupees

per month. Similarly, another boy who left school after Class VIII has worked as an apprentice machinist for one and a half years and earns sixty rupees per month.

The first student from Panchanantala to become an engineer is in the third year of the licentiate program. He is highly regarded by other boys in the neighborhood and was frequently named as the person they want most to be like. Two or three other boys in the neighborhood seem likely to complete high school in the next few years and may go on to a licentiate program. For the majority of boys in Panchanantala, who have no hope of completing even the technical course at a higher secondary school, the technical line, as they also refer to it, still offers the most attractive job opportunities. Many boys are willing to spend many years as a lathe or welding apprentice earning little more than fifty rupees per month in order to qualify for a semi-skilled job in an engineering firm. Like the less educated boys in Mallik Para, they face keen competition for regular jobs in the larger unionized factories where salaries are somewhat higher and where there are generally more employee benefits.

The starting salaries of those with engineering licenses or bachelor's degrees are much higher than those of apprentices. One respondent with a B. Sc. degree earns about four hundred rupees per month as a supervisor in a metallurgical firm. This appears to be typical of the salaries of recent graduates who have been working in industry for a few years.

It is more than double what boys with high school diplomas typically earn and several times more than the younger and less educated apprentices in small workshops earn.

In spite of annual increases, the initial disparity in income based on prior education appears to continue as long as men remain employees of an engineering firm. One way to break out of the lock-step pattern of advancement is through entrepreneurship--the establishment of a small scale workshop. Those who become factory owners have the possibility, regardless of their formal education, of moving well above the salary level of most men in the professions. To succeed as a factory owner, however, typically requires very long hours and hard physical labor.

Howrah is known as an important center of the engineering industry in India. Most engineering firms in Howrah started with fewer than ten workers and with very little capital. It has been "estimated that within Howrah City more than one hundred and twenty-five men (almost all Mahisyas) have started with almost no capital other than savings from their wages and have in their lifetimes become millionaires in the engineering industry of Howrah" (Owens 1971: 4).

Mallik Para is almost entirely residential, but one small-scale engineering firm has recently begun operating in the neighborhood. Scales for use by retail shops in weighing food and other commodities are manufactured here. A brochure, printed in English, advertises two models, one for packed goods, the other with a pan for grain or other loose products.

The factory owner worked in a larger factory before starting his own shop. His work experience rather than extensive formal education prepared him to establish this enterprise while still in his thirties. Several other men in Mallik Para own small workshops elsewhere in Howrah, none of which, however, has yet produced a millionaire. In Badur Bagan there is also at least one factory owner. None of the men in Panchanantala own factories individually, but the Panchayat operates a cooperative workshop which provides work for some of the men. Thus, persons in all three neighborhoods have an active interest in the engineering industry, and boys in each neighborhood are being encouraged to get the type of education which will qualify them as engineers, or if that is not possible, at least the training to be skilled industrial workers.

The Commerce Line

Like the technical line, the commerce line is increasingly popular with middle class male students. The Bachelor and Master of Commerce degrees are sought by more and more students who hope eventually to become chartered accountants or, in some instances, lawyers. A few of the students who are studying for commerce degrees expressed interest in careers in business or commerce as such. Some plan to go into a family practice or to establish a separate practice in accounting or law. The typical commerce student, however, expects to find employment as an accountant or an officer in an established firm.

Some students take the commerce course in a higher secondary school; others enroll in a program leading to a Bachelor of Commerce degree after completing the arts course in a higher secondary school or after taking the pre-university examination in arts or commerce. Many colleges do not demand the same high levels of performance on early tests from commerce and arts applicants as from science applicants. For example, one student who passed the school final exam in the third division and the pre-university examination in arts in the second division was admitted to City College and graduated with a Bachelor of Commerce degree. He was currently enrolled in the University of Calcutta Law College. In spite of low scores on the school final exam, he has attained a reasonably good prospect of becoming a lawyer.

In Badur Bagan four of the six accountants, of whom two are also chartered accountants and one is also a lawyer, have degrees in commerce. Eight additional men in Badur Bagan and two in Mallik Para have also completed the B. Com. and four have some college training in commerce. One man is in the West Bengal Civil Service. Of the others who have no further degrees or certification beyond the B. Com., three have businesses, one is a bank clerk, one is an advocate, one works for the post office, two have other office jobs, and one supervises his family's agricultural land. Those who completed less than a B. Com. are employed in clerical and typing jobs. The recent commerce graduates

and dropouts are similarly employed. Thus, if the careers of these older men are typical, relatively few of the commerce students will ever become chartered accountants. Still, like other students, they aim for the profession at the end of the line.

Sons of both of the chartered accountants in Badur Bagan aspire to being chartered accountants. In the first family the oldest son is only sixteen and a student in the commerce course at a higher secondary school. Along with playing car-om, helping his father with his accounting work was reported to be his favorite leisure time activity. In the second family the older son is an engineer. The younger son has completed the B. Com. and is studying simultaneously for a master's degree in commerce, a law degree, and the accounting examinations. These two boys are perhaps atypical in making early decisions to study commerce, in the apparent strength of their aspirations, and in having parental models.

The two first year commerce students in Mallik Para are probably more typical of the commerce students. Both come from families who own their homes and have lived in the neighborhood for many years. Neither of their fathers attended college. One studied commerce at the secondary level at the Vivekananda Institution. After graduating he wants to become a chartered accountant. The other student passed the higher secondary exam in the third division on his second try. He is one of the few boys who would prefer to go into business, but he says that if a "salaried position"

(cākri) is available, he will have to take it.

Commerce is, thus, a line which accepts the ordinary as well as the exceptional student. The commerce course prepares them for diverse office jobs, especially those like bank jobs which require some knowledge of mathematics, as well as for business and, with further education, for accounting or law.

The Arts Line

A general education in the liberal arts was sometimes said to be the best education for a gentleman. A young man with a B. A. or an M. A. from one of the better colleges may go on to such prestigious government services as the I. A. S., into law, to an academic or literary career, or into business. Of the boys who were interviewed all of those who are now in college studying for the B. A. either want or think their parents want them to complete the M. A. before taking a job. Four of the seven want to be teachers or professors and see the arts line as preparatory to a career in education. Two of the others plan to go into family businesses and the third wants to be a tea estate manager. For them the arts line provides a general education, rather than specific career training. One younger boy, who is preparing for the higher secondary exam, plans to complete an M. A. and then take the examinations for entrance into the Indian Administrative Service.

In Badur Bagan the men over twenty-five who have

completed an M. A. include a jute technologist, an officer in the post office, and a bank clerk. In Badur Bagan and Mallik Para men with B. A.'s have a variety of jobs including ones in banking, business, customs and other government service, teaching, and clerical work.

For many young arts and commerce graduates clerical jobs are the most readily available white collar work. For the arts or the commerce student who drops out of college before graduating, whether for academic, financial, or personal reasons, and for the youth with a general secondary education and no specific skills, clerical jobs are often the only kind of white collar jobs they can find. Many middle class young men want the respectability of an office job, are reluctant to enter industry, and don't have the capital or inclination to start a business. For these and other reasons they turn to clerical work.

As shown in Table 3.2, the occupational category which subsumes more men in Badur Bagan and in Mallik Para than any other is office work, most of which is clerical work. The railways have provided clerical jobs for some men in both neighborhoods. Others have clerical positions in the various branches of the federal, state, and municipal governments, in banks and in large commercial and industrial firms. Many clerical workers in Mallik Para cross the Howrah Bridge daily to work in offices in Calcutta.

The educational attainment of clerical workers ranges from some secondary education through matriculation to

intermediate and baccalaureate degrees in arts and commerce. On the average office workers have less education than professionals, but about the same as businessmen. Their household incomes, however, are generally considerably less than those of businessmen.

Clerical jobs were formerly more prestigious and relatively more remunerative. Clerks educated in the English language once controlled the access of the Bengali population to the colonial power structure. With independence and increasing bureaucratization clerical work is more routine and less influential. With increases in education a much higher percentage of the population has the necessary qualifications for clerical work. Until relatively recently clerical work, and the supervisory and officer's posts into which clerks may be promoted, provided a respectable middle-class life style. This was especially true in Mallik Para, where the cost of living is slightly lower and the standard of comparison is less grand than in Badur Bagan. However, salaries for office workers have not risen as fast as those in industrial jobs. It also appears that opportunities for earning additional income on the side have been reduced. Some clerks, as well as many teachers, now find it necessary to supplement their household incomes by tutoring neighborhood students.

Changes in the economic rewards and status accorded to clerical workers are recognized by many youth and their parents. Although clerical and other office work occupy

more men than any other type of work, none of the male students aspires to a clerical position. That no male student aspires to being a clerk does not mean that none will become clerks. In Badur Bagan four of the seventeen males age twenty-five and under who are already working are clerks. In Mallik Para five of the twenty-three workers age twenty-five and under are clerks. Of these nine young clerks, two studied arts in college, four studied commerce in college, and three have a secondary education.

A tight job market with high unemployment among the college-educated still forces many young men into clerical positions, though few if any of them wanted to be clerks. That clerical work does not represent the end point of a line, but is rather an occupational category in which those who cannot attain the goal of professional placement find work, is a partial explanation for the lack of aspirants to clerical jobs. In addition, the down grading of the social and economic status of clerical work, along with the increasing acceptance of women in clerical positions, which is discussed below, seems to indicate the beginning of a trend common to many industrializing countries. "In developing countries, we never find women in the majority in clerical occupations. . . . With economic development, the percentage of women in clerical occupations increases and there is a fair degree of correlation between the stage of economic development reached in a given country and the percentage of women in the clerical sector" (Boserup 1970: 130-131).

Business as an Alternative

The family or individually owned business enterprise is one alternative to salaried employment. As mentioned in Chapter I, Bengalis have tended to opt for investment in land rather than in manufacturing or trade. They have generally preferred professional and white-collar office jobs to the risks of entrepreneurship. Still, in the neighborhoods studied, between nineteen and twenty-five per cent of the adult men are engaged in small and medium scale trade and manufacturing of various sorts, as shown in Table 3.2.

In Badur Bagan families have businesses dealing in a variety of products from milk and fish, to cloth, books, drugs, and machine parts. In several of these enterprises a man's sons work with him. A few family concerns have been passed on from the previous generation, but most of the businesses were started by the present household head. In two households sons of the household head have started technical businesses.

In Mallik Para most of the men classified as businessmen own small engineering workshops or work as independent order-suppliers in the engineering or textile markets. One man has a wholesale tea business. Another owns a restaurant. One large joint Mahisya family has diverse business interests. The oldest brother operates the grocery store which was established by their father. The second brother, who was also in the grocery business, died almost ten years ago. The third brother has a wholesale business in rice

products, such as muri and khaī, and in gur. He also owns a dress shop. The youngest brother has a ready-made clothing business. At the time of the study there was a possibility that they would buy into an engineering workshop as well. The two younger brothers, who are particularly enterprising, are both under thirty-five years old.

In Panchanantala most of the trade is in unprocessed food products, chiefly vegetables and fish. Selling vegetables or fish in Gariahat Market is typically a family business in which young boys are gradually included. Family members with residences in both a village and the bustee may catch fish or buy fish or vegetables in the country and bring them north to the market by railway. Vegetable sellers tend to be relatively poor; fish sellers are somewhat better off, and men who own cattle or buffalo khātāl typically make good incomes.

Caste-Related Occupations

Few adult men in the three neighborhoods studied work at jobs which are traditionally associated with their particular castes (jati). In Badur Bagan one Goala family has a milk business. In Mallik Para there are two Brahman priests. In the preceeding generation a couple of men of the Svarnakar jati did gold work, but among the men now living in Mallik Para the only goldsmith is a Mahisya. In Panchanantala more men work in caste-related occupations, but even allowing for the occasional misrepresentation of

of a household's jati, fewer than ten per cent of the adult men work in caste-related occupations. Several Brahmins work as cooks, but not all men who work as cooks are Brahmins. One Baisnab lives on the money he collects while singing religious songs on the street. Two of the families with a fish business are of the Kaibarta jati, traditionally a caste of fishermen, but the other families in the fish business are of other castes (Keora, Bengali Christian, and Kayastha). Kaibarta men are also employed as a house painter, an office bearer, and as day laborers. There are Sutradhar families in two neighborhoods, but none of them are carpenters. Conversely, none of the men who are carpenters by trade are Sutradhar by caste.

Two occupations which remain closely tied to caste are the washing of clothes and hair cutting. These services may be performed within the family and personal laundry may be done within the home by domestic servants of various castes. As publicly contracted services, however, they are almost always done by members of the appropriate castes. In Panchanantala, several Napits work as barbers and a family of Dhopas runs a laundry business.

Even fewer of the young men than of those over twenty-five will go into caste-related occupations. Those most likely to remain in caste-related occupations are the sons of men who have organized their caste role into a business. For example, the laundry shop to which customers bring their laundry and pay by the piece or on a monthly basis

can be relatively remunerative for a family whose members have little formal education, though the work is both hard and hot. Businesses dealing in particular foods such as milk, sweets, oil, and fish, while not limited to members of a particular caste frequently have been established by members of the jati traditionally associated with that trade, and their sons are likely to continue the business if it is successful.

Although a few of the non-student males age twenty-five and under have gone into family caste-related businesses, none of the male students interviewed aspired to a caste-related occupation. For those who remain in school up to or beyond the secondary level, factory or office jobs are more appealing and lack the stigma of many of the caste-related occupations.

Female Occupational Entry

It is generally assumed, in Calcutta as elsewhere, that every healthy adult male will have a job by which he can support himself and his dependents. The same assumption is not made for adult females. There is a norm against employment for women, especially in jobs which involve contact with unrelated males. However, that norm is weak in the city and many exceptions are made both for poor women and for highly educated women. Although the employment of women may not be preferred, it is sometimes accepted. The decision to permit or encourage a particular female to have a

job may be made at any of several critical junctures including when she is enrolled in school, at the termination of her formal education, in the negotiation for her marriage, when family expenses increase, if her husband is ill or unemployed, or following the death of her husband.

Occupations of Adult Women

The proportion of adult women who have jobs varies considerably among the neighborhoods studied, as shown in Table 3.4. There is a curvilinear relationship between the social class of the neighborhood and the proportion of women who have jobs. In Panchanantala a majority of the adult women work. In Mallik Para very few women work. In Badur Bagan the percentage of women with jobs, though lower than in Panchanantala, is about twice as high as in Mallik Para. This relationship reflects the kinds of occupations which are open to Bengali women in Calcutta.⁸

Most lower class women must work to help feed themselves and their children. The salaries of men in unskilled or semiskilled labor are not enough to provide food and a minimum of clothing and shelter for a family, especially if there are several children or if a period of unemployment or illness puts a family into debt. The women in Panchanantala have jobs because they must. In Mallik Para, too, only the poorest women work, women whose household income, housing and family circumstances are similar to those of women in Panchanantala. In these two neighborhoods almost all of

TABLE 3.4

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALE WORKERS
OVER AGE TWENTY-FIVE

	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Physician					1	
Psychologist					1	
Principal					1	
Teachers					8	
Tutor			1		2	
Clerk					3	
Peon	1					
Mill worker	1					
Tea shop owner	1					
Hospital ayah	5		1			
Domestic servants	<u>71</u>		<u>4</u>		—	
All women with jobs	79	58%	6	7%	16	15%
Women without jobs	<u>58</u>	<u>42%</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>93%</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>85%</u>
Totals	137	100%	81	100%	104	100%

the employed women work as domestic servants. A jhi ("maid" or, literally, "daughter") washes pots and pans, does general cleaning (excluding bathrooms), and makes preliminary food preparations such as peeling and chopping onions and other vegetables. A jhi usually works at several houses, spending a couple of hours at each house once or twice every day. She typically earns from twenty-five to sixty rupees per month depending on the number of households she serves. A few women work as āyās ("nursemaids") or cooks in well-to-do households which employ several full-time servants. In addition to work as domestic servants, uneducated women can get work as hospital ayas, caring for the personal needs of patients.

In Panchanantala the proportion of women with jobs varies with age. Above the age of thirty and up to about sixty the majority of women are working. Between the ages of fifteen and thirty, however, only about one third of the women have jobs. A higher proportion of single girls than of young recently married girls have jobs. The ideal is for a girl to be married into a household with ample means so that she won't have to work. The temporary realization of this ideal is usually facilitated by factors associated with the stage of the family cycle. A son's marriage typically occurs at a time when there are relatively few dependents in the family. If the groom has brothers, they are probably old enough to contribute to the family income. If he has sisters who must be married, or extra financial burdens, his

marriage is typically postponed for a few years. The groom's father is often still working, and if the groom is a laborer, he is near the peak of his own earning capacity. Thus, most brides in Panchanantala have several years after marriage during which they do not work outside the home. This is the time when their first children are born. Later as the children grow older, the wife too must get a job in order to feed them.

The characteristics of employed women in Badur Bagan differ markedly from those of employed women in the other two neighborhoods. Most of the employed women in Badur Bagan are educators: professors, teachers, or tutors. There are also three women with clerical jobs and one physician. Their occupations are possible because of their educational qualifications. Ten of the sixteen have bachelor's or master's degrees. Whereas employed women in Mallik Para and Panchanantala tend to be less educated than other women in their neighborhoods, employed women in Badur Bagan are more educated than their peers. In Mallik Para and Panchanantala women generally work outside the home only when their earnings are necessary to provide the basic essentials of food and shelter. In Badur Bagan, by contrast, only three of the sixteen employed women provide the entire household income. Although most of the others contribute significantly to household income, they typically also express the desire to participate professionally. Another distinguishing characteristic of employed women in Badur Bagan is the high

proportion who are single.⁹ Ten of the sixteen employed women in Badur Bagan are single, compared to only three of the ninety-eight unemployed women over age twenty-five. Five of these ten single women are between twenty-six and thirty years old and are likely to marry in the future. Still the single professional woman is present in Badur Bagan as an alternative role model for girls.¹⁰

As Boserup indicates, professional women are a functional part of a society which secludes women. "Even in countries with a tradition of seclusion for women and with few girls among the students there is a demand for professional women, simply because custom requires that if a girl is to be educated, she should be educated by female teachers, in special schools for girls. Similarly, it is thought that decency requires women to be taken care of by female health personnel, female social workers, etc. In other words, in countries where women live in seclusion, the demand for professional women does not violate the rules of seclusion, but indeed is a necessary result of those rules" (Boserup 1970: 125-26).

Until recently there has been very little opportunity for Bengali women to work unless they were either well educated professionals or very poor and willing to work as domestic servants. If necessary a middle class woman with less than a secondary education, who couldn't qualify as a teacher, might tutor or teach needlework or singing to neighborhood children. Many high school and college

students, both male and female, earn extra money by tutoring in the early morning or late afternoon. The low income of tutors reflects the supply of persons who are looking for such work.

Gradually clerical positions are being opened to women. In Badur Bagan three women over twenty-five and one under twenty-five work as clerks. Their education varies from high school matriculation to a B. A. degree. The growing tendency for household heads to recognize office work as suitable for girls, discussed below, should increase the opportunities for girls with a secondary education to find acceptable jobs.

Factory work is another possible source of employment for women. However, in the neighborhoods studied only one woman and two girls under twenty-five have found industrial jobs in a mill, a soap factory, and a light-bulb factory. With high unemployment and strong competition from unionized men, it may be some time before women are generally accepted in factories. Job opportunities in Calcutta for lower-middle class women with less than a high school education thus remain extremely limited.

Occupational Aspirations of Adolescent Females

In the individual interviews each girl was asked what she wished to be when she grew up. The same wording was used as in the interviews with male adolescents. The girls' responses tended to be of three types: an occupation,

further education (including training in singing or sewing), or marriage. Girls who specified a career or further education sometimes, but not always, added ". . .and marriage" or ". . .before marriage." The type of response is closely related to whether or not the girl is a student. Almost all female students hope to have a job or at least to have enough education to get one, but girls who have left school typically do not express occupational aspirations. A few exceptions are girls who have recently completed a degree and are looking for a job. Because the proportion of students is related to the social class of the neighborhood, the percentage of girls who hope to get jobs also reflects the social class of the neighborhood. There are more girls in Badur Bagan, fewer in Mallik Para and only two in Panchantala who want to have jobs.

Like the male students, most female students aspire to the professions. Most hope to be teachers (16) or professors (12). About the same proportions of girls (10) and boys (8) want to be physicians. One middle class girl wants to be a nurse. Only one girl wants to be a chartered accountant, one wants to be a lawyer, one an engineer, one a research scholar, and one a pilot, and these few girls who aspire to traditionally male occupations are not always optimistic about their chances of entering them. For example, the girl who says engineering is her first choice, and that her older brother encourages her to be an engineer, still thinks that she will probably become a professor. In

addition to the professions, one girl wants to go into business and two specify that they would like office jobs. Seven girls say only that they hope to have cakri which can refer to any salaried position, but most often refers to a clerical or similar office job.¹¹

In the household survey the heads of households with adolescent girls were asked, "Do you think girls should have an occupation?" The majority in Badur Bagan and Mallik Para answered, "Yes." The proportion of household heads who approve of girls having jobs is related to the social class of the neighborhood, but is not directly related to whether or not the adolescent girl in that household is a student. In addition to those who think it is acceptable for girls to work, several household heads gave qualified approval. One said he is not opposed if it is necessary for a girl to have a job. Another man said he would approve if his daughter's future husband allowed her to work. Informal conversations indicated that many of the parents who responded positively also have reservations about their daughters having jobs. Still the high rate of positive responses was surprising in view of the low proportion of adult females with jobs in Mallik Para and Badur Bagan.

Of the nineteen household heads in Badur Bagan who specified the type of job they thought acceptable for a girl, fourteen favor jobs in education. One wants his daughter to be a physician. Two specify office work, and two say any type of work is acceptable. In Mallik Para seven of the

TABLE 3.5

OCCUPATIONAL GOALS OF FEMALE YOUTH

Females who specify	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Student	Non- student	Student	Non- student	Student	Non- student
An occupation	--	1	19	1	36	2
Further education or training in singing or sewing	--	1	6	2	16	--
No occupational goal	--	18	4	13	1	8
No answer or don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>1</u>
Totals	1	26	32	16	53	11

Marriage was sometimes mentioned in addition to a job or further education, but was always mentioned when neither a job nor further education was mentioned. The number of girls who would prefer to remain single through life can not be determined from the questions asked.

	Students	Non-students	
Occupation or further education	77	7	84
No occupation	5	39	44
Totals	82	46	128

Chi square = 134.1, df=1, $p < .001$

fifteen household heads specify office or clerical jobs, one says sales clerk, and two say any good job. Only four specify teaching and one medicine. In Panchanantala although most of the eleven respondents who approved of girls having a job said any job was acceptable, two specified office work, one teaching, and one handwork. On the whole, those household heads who approve of girls having jobs are more realistic than their daughters about the kinds of work which are available to girls with their educational qualifications. In particular, fathers in Mallik Para are more likely than their daughters to accept clerical or other office work as suitable for girls.

The lack of realism in many girls' occupational aspirations is also indicated by the sharp contrast between student and non-student aspirations. In the neighborhoods studied most boys who are not in school or college are working, often in jobs other than the professional positions to which they once aspired. However, most girls who are not in school or college not only are not working but, in contrast to female students, do not report any occupational aspiration. If they can not be doctors, professors, or teachers, they can rarely find jobs. The process of accommodating one's aspirations to the available job opportunities, which most boys must accept, is paralleled for middle class girls by the process of accommodating themselves to becoming housewives. The end of a middle class girl's formal education is often a time of personal crisis. No matter how much the

typical boy readjusts his occupational goals, the process is rarely as discontinuous as the abrupt change in aspirations which is typical for a girl at the termination of her schooling.

Role Models

In the individual interview, each adolescent was asked, "Among the adults you know: people in your household, relatives, neighbors, teachers, and others -- whom would you most like to be like?" Less than half of the total number of adolescents interviewed were willing to name someone they emulated. The proportion was lowest in Panchanantala where only two girls and nine boys named someone, but even in the other neighborhoods more than a third of the adolescents said there is no one person they emulate.

A boy, in designating whom he emulates, typically chooses an older male in the same occupation to which he aspires or, less frequently, whose behavior is admirable. One fourth of the boys selected a member of their household: father, father's brother, or an older brother -- and several boys selected other relatives outside the household. The frequency with which males mention family members and the high rate of congruence of the model's occupation with their own occupational goals suggest again the continuity of the typical boy's socialization.

In contrast, girls in Mallik Para and Badur Bagan do not want to follow in their mother's steps. Only one girl,

one of the two in Panchanantala who designated a role model, named her mother. Nor did any girl name any other female member of her household, though some designated relatives who live outside the neighborhood. With few exceptions, the mothers of girls interviewed in Badur Bagan and Mallik Para have only a primary or secondary education and pass their time as housewives. The women identified as role models are characterized by higher education and by occupational roles. Eleven of the twenty-four women designated as role models by girls in Badur Bagan are explicitly described as having at least an M. A. degree; others also may have master's degrees. Eleven of the twenty-five women designated as role models by girls in Mallik Para were explicitly stated to have at least a bachelor's degree. Professors, school teachers, and doctors, and also a chartered accountant, an advocate, a social worker, a nurse, an office-worker, and a professional singer were among the women whom girls in Mallik Para and Badur Bagan want to be like.

Where the role characteristics emulated by a girl are traditionally held by males, a man is often named as the person she emulates. No boy designated a woman as his role model, but seven girls in Mallik Para and twelve in Badur Bagan named men as role models. A unique example is the girl who wants to be a pilot like Tapan Chowdhury, an Air Force flyer killed in action in 1965. Six girls want to follow the example of male relatives who have gone to Great Britain or the United States for doctoral studies. Others

have fathers, older brothers, or professors in fields like medicine, law, engineering and the physical sciences which these girls hope to enter. Achieving, active, socially recognized people demonstrate the possible alternatives to passive womanhood. Thus, in Badur Bagan where some girls can conceptualize an individualistic life-style, but where far fewer women than men pursue careers, one third of the girls who designated a role model specified a man.

After education and occupation, appearance and marital status are the characteristics of role models most frequently remarked upon by girls. The inclusion of a favorable comment on her appearance appears to be an affirmation of the marriageability of the role model. In Badur Bagan five of the ten female role models whose marital status is designated are single. A girl who says that the woman she emulates is good looking implies that the model has chosen to have an occupation, and is not working simply because her family can not find a suitable husband for her. The role model is not only a progressive, working woman, but also meets the traditional criterion of feminine acceptability--beauty. The physical appearance of a male role model was never mentioned by girls or by boys.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEERS

A basic premise of this chapter is that the interpersonal skills learned in clubs, which are age groups with multiple relationships, differ qualitatively from skills learned in friendships, which are diadic. Friendships are an important extension of an individual's diffuse, particularistic, and affective bonds outside the kin group to his social peers. Age groups, including clubs, serve as channels for the learning of universalistic, achievement-oriented role dispositions. Clubs with an emphasis on games, especially sports, facilitate the development of the generalized other; that is, in getting the attitude of the group as distinct from that of a separate individual. This ability to put himself into relation with whole groups is a primary element in leadership (Mead 1964: 216-228).

Eisenstadt postulated that "age groups arise in societies in which the family (or kinship group) does not constitute the main unit of the social and economic division of labor, and in which the individual must acquire and learn various general role dispositions which cannot be learned within the family" (1956: 270).¹² The prevalence of clubs as age groups in the three neighborhoods studied in an industrializing metropolitan area in which jobs are not effectively controlled by the kin group is consistent with Eisenstadt's postulate. There is some evidence that peer

relationships in Bengali villages were, and perhaps still are, primarily diadic, with an emphasis on friendships rather than age groups.

Eisenstadt's theoretical formulation may be extended to include variations in the socialization of different segments of a single society. In the neighborhoods studied age groups are an important socializing force for most adolescent boys but not for most adolescent girls. The relative importance of friendships and clubs in the socialization of adolescent girls and boys is found to differ significantly. The peer relationships of boys are centered around neighborhood clubs. Each of the neighborhoods has an active sports and puja club formed by local boys. Many boys are also members of clubs outside the neighborhood. The peer relations of girls, however, are primarily diadic, consisting of friendships with specific others.

Friendships

Friendships are characterized by diffuse, particularistic, and affective interpersonal bonds. Friendships are intimate, encompassing, and enduring. However, some relationships within the family also have these same qualities. An element of choice and the equalitarian nature of friendship differentiate it from kinship.

Although a child's family and kin group are almost entirely fixed by birth, he has some choice of his friends. A child's range of choice is limited by the supply of

potential friends among children of the same sex and similar age within his area of mobility. Within their circle of acquaintances, children form a few friendships which, for whatever reasons, are mutually satisfying. In Bengal friendships may be encouraged, but cannot be imposed by adults, even though marriages are often arranged by adults. Friendships may also be formed with classmates or other peers whose families are not directly known to each other. The word "bandhu" is not used as casually as Americans use the word "friend." A Bengali friendship is typically intimate and enduring, but over time may fade or be broken. In discontinuing friendships, as in forming them, youth have considerable choice although parental injunctions are not unknown.

The equalitarian character of friendship contrasts with the elaborate ranking within the Bengali Hindu kinship system. In this system siblings and cousins are ranked by their age relative to ego's. Ego addresses and refers to brothers older than himself as dādā and to older sisters as didī. Younger siblings are referred to by the generic term for brother, bhāi, or sister, bōn, and are addressed by name. If ego has more than one older brother, the brothers are ranked according to birth order: baro for the oldest, mejo for the second, sejo for the third, and choto for the youngest. These terms are prefixed to dada and contracted as bardā, mejdā, sejdā, and chodā. Brothers and sisters are ranked separately. The same set of prefixes is used for older sisters and also for ego's parents' brothers and

sisters and their spouses. The children of ego's father's and mother's siblings are classificatory siblings to ego and are addressed and referred to as siblings, with adjectives specifying the exact relationship, if necessary for clarity. The terms dada and didi are also used to indicate respect in addressing unrelated persons somewhat but not too much older than ego (unless of considerably lower status).

Relations among children of the same age, chiefly neighborhood children and classmates, are equalitarian. It is among these children that friendships are formed. The form of address is familiar (tumi) or intimate (tui) and names are used reciprocally.

In the individual interviews, each adolescent was asked a series of questions about his best friend and then about each of his other friends. The number of friends described by the respondents ranged from none to eight, with a median of two, as shown in Table 4.1. The patience of the interviewers and their rapport with the respondents may have influenced the number of responses. One interviewer failed to record the particulars about some of the friends named, mainly by male respondents in Badur Bagan and Panchanantala, and it is possible that he may have elicited fewer responses as well. However, in Mallik Para where there was a long period of observation and casual conversation before interviewing was begun, and where another interviewer, who was very thorough, interviewed most of the boys, the discrepancy in the median number of friends named by the boys and girls

is even greater. The reliability of the findings would be increased if the study were repeated in other neighborhoods, but I am reasonably confident that the differences in the number of friends reported reflect differences in the opportunities to form friendships and in the relative importance of diadic relationships.

The number of reported friendships varies with the social class of the neighborhood, according to whether the respondent is a student or not, and with the respondent's sex as shown in Tables 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4

Adolescents in Panchanantala report significantly fewer friendships than adolescents in either of the middle class neighborhoods. The number of friends is especially low for married girls. (Married as well as unmarried girls were included in the sample in Panchanantala because there were so few unmarried girls between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five.) After their marriages girls typically lose contact with childhood friends. Most of these girls have not been married long enough to form friendships in Panchanantala. Several of the girls and their husbands have only recently migrated to Calcutta after spending the first years of their marriages in the husbands' villages. By contrast unmarried girls and boys in Panchanantala usually report at least one friendship. Still, the number of friendships reported by unmarried adolescents in Panchanantala is lower than the number reported by youth in other neighborhoods. High mobility, early entry into the

TABLE 4.1

DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTED FRIENDSHIPS

Number of friends	Panchanantala				Mallik Para				Badur Bagan			
	Females		Males		Females		Males		Females		Males	
	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S
0	12	1	10	0	2	0	0	1	4	4	0	1
1	5	0	12	3	4	1	3	4	2	4	4	8
2	4	0	3	2	1	3	5	10	4	6	3	6
3	3	0	3	5	0	3	1	6	0	11	1	10
4	1	0	1	1	4	9	0	3	2	19	0	5
5	0	0	0	0	2	11	1	4	0	4	0	1
6+	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Totals	26	1	29	11	16	33	14	29	12	52	8	31
NS = Non-students S = Students												

labor force, little leisure time and low self esteem are probably among the factors which discourage the development of enduring interpersonal relationships by lower class youth.

Students report significantly more friendships than adolescents who are not in school or college. The relationship exists for both girls and boys in each neighborhood except for girls in Panchanantala where there is only one female student and for boys in Mallik Para where students and non-students report the same average number of friends. Further examination of the relationship between student

TABLE 4.2

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NUMBER OF REPORTED FRIENDSHIPS
AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Number of Friends	Panchanantala	Mallik Para	Badur Bagan	Totals
0-2	52	34	46	132
3+	14	58	57	129
Totals	66	92	103	261

Chi square = 29.28, df = 2, $p < .001$

status and number of reported friendships in each of the columns in Table 4.1, indicates, moreover, that male students in Panchanantala report as many friendships, on the average (median), as male students in Mallik Para or Badur Bagan. Education is, thus, an important leveling factor, whether because students have more leisure in which to form friendships or because the prestige of educational achievement makes them more desirable as friends.

The number of reported friendships has been shown to be related to the social class of the neighborhood in which the respondent lives and to his student status. In the preceding chapters a series of educational and occupational variables have been consistently shown to be related to

TABLE 4.3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NUMBER OF REPORTED FRIENDSHIPS
AND STUDENT STATUS

Number of friends	Non-Student	Student	Totals
0-2	78	54	132
3+	26	103	129
Totals	104	157	261

Chi square = 41.26, df = 1, $p < .001$

social class, student status, and also to the sex of the respondent. Males have scored higher on these variables along with youth from higher class neighborhoods and students. In the number of reported friendships, however, females report significantly more friendships than males. This relationship is not established by females in Panchanantala who have few friends, but by females in Mallik Para and Badur Bagan who report many friendships.

This finding seems to contradict the accumulating evidence that adolescent males generally have greater opportunities for personal development. However, further consideration of the alternative modes of interaction developed by boys in clubs indicates that the middle class girl's continuing emphasis on friendship through adolescence is a fixation rather than a progression. The high number

TABLE 4.4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NUMBER OF REPORTED FRIENDSHIPS AND SEX

Number of friends	Female	Male	Totals
0-2	57	75	132
3+	82	47	129
Totals	139	122	261

Chi square = 10.89, df = 1, $p < .001$

of friendships reported by middle class adolescent females is interpreted to reflect a blockage of their movement into the kind of group relationships formed by adolescent males in clubs and a consequent over-emphasis on diadic relationships. Because their marriages are typically postponed to the late teens or early twenties and because they are not in the labor force, middle class female adolescents have the time and resources to develop interpersonal relationships. However, restrictions imposed on girls at about the time of puberty limit their modes of interaction.

Physical activity is restricted by the change from the frock to the sari. Girls wear cotton dresses until they reach puberty, but begin wearing saris regularly thereafter. The school uniform for girls in the lower school classes is typically a white dress with a sash in the school's color; for girls in the upper classes it is typically a white sari with a border in the school's color. Many schools make the

transition in Class IX; other schools change a year or two earlier. In some schools the dress varies with the individual girl's age and development rather than by class. Bengali girls sometimes wear the Punjabi style of dress, usually for specific periods of physical activity. Punjabi dress may be worn frequently during the transition to saris, but "modesty" (lajjā) was said to keep older girls from wearing it.

The relationship between the activities which the respondents reported sharing with their best friends and the respondent's sex are shown in Table 4.5 (In this and the following tables only the characteristics attributed to the best or first named friend are included, to avoid any bias towards the type of friend preferred by those adolescents who report many friendships.) Conversation is the activity most frequently reported by both girls and boys. For girls, however, conversation is almost the only pasttime shared with friends. Boys report playing games or sports almost as frequently as conversation. A few girls also mention playing, but these are girls between the ages of thirteen and fifteen who have not made the transition to the sari and still wear "frocks." Among the other activities mentioned, boys more often report walking around the city, whereas, if girls report an activity other than conversation, it is most often studying, especially in Badur Bagan. Both boys and girls occasionally reported going to the movies with their friends.

TABLE 4.5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACTIVITIES SHARED WITH BEST FRIEND
AND RESPONDENT'S SEX

	Female	Male	Totals
Conversation	102	48	150
Sports and games	11	43	54
Other activities	38	30	68
Totals	151	121	272

Chi square = 36.37, df = 2, $p < .001$

Conversation - galpa karā is the term generally used. Adda, used by a few older boys, was also coded as conversation. Adda has a group rather than diadic connotation.

Sports and games - khelā karā refers to the playing of any sport or game and was sometimes preceded by the game played: soccer (football), cricket, badminton, caroms or cards.

Other activities include: "Walking or wandering about the city" - beranō yāōyā, ghuriyā beranō; "studying" - lekhā parā; movies - cinema; bathing and singing.

More than one activity was often reported and is included.

Restrictions are imposed not only on the activities of girls, but also on the places where they can gather for informal interaction. Girls are discouraged from hanging around the neighborhood after they have reached puberty. Older girls generally talk with their friends inside their homes whereas boys more often sit on a low wall, lean against a tree, loiter around the playing field, or stroll up and down the street. There is usually no restriction of a girl's movement between houses within the neighborhood, but standing leisurely and waiting for something to happen, as boys may do, is criticized if done by girls. These differences in the restriction of casual interaction in public places are reflected in the places where girls and boys get together with their friends, as shown in

Table 4.6. Boys usually meet their friends in the neighborhood or on the street. Girls, and especially the older girls, get together with their friends at home, school, or college. In Panchanantala, where the rooms are barely large enough for a bed, and where girls are not in school, girls as well as boys must meet their friends in the neighborhood. Because there is no substantial relaxation of norms on public modesty, the effect seems to be to limit interaction among older girls in the bustee.

The relationship between where a respondent first met his best friend and the respondent's sex is shown in Table 4.7. Most boys and girls met their best friend in the neighborhood, but a larger proportion of girls than boys met their best friends at school or college. Of all reported friendships (not only the best or first-reported friendships), most female friendships are initiated at school or college, but most male friendships are initiated in the neighborhood. Adolescent girls more often than boys accord their classmates the status of friend. There appear to be no differences in the structure of the schools or colleges which boys and girls attend or in the time spent at school, which account for the differences in the proportion of friends who are classmates. The explanation appears rather to lie in the relative attractiveness of the alternative modes of interaction open to boys and girls. The activities of boys after school are mainly group sports whereas girls sit at home talking or studying with a friend. Visiting and talking with school friends appears to be relatively more attractive than staying home, but less attractive than playing soccer. Moreover, it is relatively easy for one

TABLE 4.6
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PLACE WHERE BEST FRIENDS
CONGREGATE AND RESPONDENT'S SEX

	Female	Male	Totals
Neighborhood	32	52	84
Home	49	13	62
School or college	35	12	47
Other places	7	18	25
Totals	123	95	218

Chi square = 38.8, df = 3, $p < .001$

Other places include the respondent's home village, a club or playing field, or a friend or relative's home.

If the respondent meets his friend in two places, both have been recorded.

TABLE 4.7
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WHERE BEST FRIENDSHIP ORIGINATED
AND RESPONDENT'S SEX

	Female	Male	Totals
Neighborhood	57	71	128
School or college	48	19	67
Other places	9	20	29
Totals	114	100	214

Chi square = 18.4, df = 2, $p < .001$

Other places where respondents met their best friends include their home villages, a club or playing field, and a friend's or relative's home in order of their frequency.

student to make arrangements to visit another after school. However, unless a school or club formally arranges for sports, the easiest way for a group of boys to gather regularly for playing is within the neighborhood. It is apparently as a consequence of factors such as these that girls attach greater importance than boys to relationships formed at school or college.

Formal Friendships--Patano Bandhu

In Bengal there is a traditional procedure for the formalization of friendships through the adoption of a special form of address and a ritual exchange. The generic name for "formal friends" is pātāno bandhu. Day describes formal friendship among boys in a Burdwan village in the late nineteenth century.

Indeed, a Bengali peasant lad has generally three friends, all of them close and intimate; and there does not seem to be the slightest jealousy manifested by them. The three friends have three different names. A boy generally has a sāṅgāt, a bandhu, and a mitā--all meaning the same thing, namely, friend. But when one peasant boy says to another peasant boy "you are my sangāt," he can never become his bandhu or mita; the sangāt remains sangāt all his life; and the same is true of the bandhu and the mita. Nor do these words indicate different degrees of intimacy, as a boy is equally intimate with all three. A mita is usually one's namesake, but this is by no means invariably the case (1872: 150-151).

Girls formalize friendships in the same way. Sai, meaning female friend, is mentioned by Day and seems to be the most common friendship term used by Bengali girls. Sai is the name used in five of the eight formal friendships reported in Panchanantala and in two of the three

reported in Badur Bagan. A sai friendship was reported only once in Mallik Para, by a girl who formed the friendship at her mother's brother's house (māmār bārī) in the village. Mīta, especially between girls with the same name, and bandhu are used by girls as well as boys, but I have never heard sāṅgāt, which has a rather coarse connotation, used between girls.

There are also friendship names which indicate the ritual object exchanged or the ritual occasion on which the ceremony is performed. Makar, phāg, and phul are the friendship names most frequently used by girls in Mallik Para and are of these types. A Makar friendship is initiated on Makar Saṅkrānti, "the last day the sun is in the zodiacal sign of Capricorn" (Makar), which is the last day of the Bengali month Paus, in the middle of January. The two friends feed each other Makar cāul, a special rice. A sāgar friendship is initiated by the exchange of sāgarjal, "water brought from the Gaṅgāsāgar," the confluence of the Ganges River with the Bay of Bengal. This is an important pilgrimage site on Makar Sankranti. Makar is the mount or vehicle of the Goddess Ganga. A phag friendship is initiated on Holi, called Dōl in Bengal, by the exchange of phag or ābīr, "a red powder" used to smear one another on this spring holiday. A phul friendship is initiated through the exchange of flowers (phul) and is not limited to any one day. Several kinds of flowers may be used, and in a variation of the phul friendship, friends call each other by the name of

the flowers exchanged, such as chanpā, jui, or belphul. In addition to the ritual object exchanged, the friends may exchange sweets and sometimes a dress or sari.

Formal friendships may be initiated at any age during childhood, adolescence, or adulthood. The forty formal friendships for which the age of initiation was reported by girls in Mallik Para were formed between the ages of six and seventeen with the median at eleven years.

Patano bandhu may be of the same or different castes. In Mallik Para less than one third of the patano bandhu are between girls of the same jati. Day, though noting that interdining may be restricted, also says that patano bandhu may be of different castes. "Amongst the different classes of the peasantry and artisans of Bengal, there is a vast deal of friendly intercourse; and it is by no means an uncommon thing for lads of different castes to vow eternal friendship with one another" (1872: 149). Nor is caste ordinarily a consideration in any of the friendship choices an adolescent makes. Less than one third of all the friendships reported by boys and girls were between members of the same jati, which is about what might be expected by chance, especially in Badur Bagan where two castes account for eighty-one per cent of the households and in Mallik Para where three castes account for seventy-five per cent of the households.

Caste is indirectly related to social class, and the neighborhoods studied were selected on the basis of

differences in social class. In each of the neighborhoods studied there is a range of castes, but the proportions of different castes vary, and the lowest ranked castes are not included in any of the neighborhoods studied. Both Mallik Para and Panchanantala include a few families belonging to scheduled castes, but there are no practicing sweepers or scavengers in any of the neighborhoods studied. Thus, residential patterns limit the contact of adolescents with others of sharply divergent means and indirectly limit their contact with members of other castes. But within the limits of his acquaintance a boy or girl can choose friends without regard to caste.

Boys and girls rarely choose their relatives as friends, perhaps only because they are seldom of the same age. In no instance did a boy or girl name his own brother or sister as a friend or patano bandhu, and well under five per cent of all friendship choices were between recognized relatives.

In villages the tradition of formalizing friendships seems to be practiced as much by boys as girls. In the three neighborhoods studied, however, only girls have formal friendships. Adolescent boys stated that formalizing friendships was only for girls, even though I found examples of formal friendships between boys in villages where I was taken by neighborhood families. A few older men in the three neighborhoods did admit having patano bandhu in the villages where they grew up, but not in the city.

The rejection of the custom of formalizing friendship by one sex, while it is maintained by the other suggests sex-specific changes in the structure of peer relationships. The cessation of formal friendships between boys is another example of the emphasis on diadic relationships between boys being displaced by the increasing involvement of urban male adolescents in neighborhood athletic clubs.

Even among girls the frequency of formal friendships differs among the three neighborhoods studied. Formal friendships are initiated by more girls in Mallik Para than in Panchanantala or Badur Bagan. Over half of the adolescent girls in Mallik Para reported having from one to four patano bandhu. In Panchanantala one third of the girls reported having patano bandhu, but in Badur Bagan only three of the sixty-four girls interviewed have patano bandhu. Girls in Badur Bagan suggest that the custom is "rural" (deśī) and unsophisticated. The custom of formalizing friendships is mainly rural. However, boys in Mallik Para are as "rural" as girls in Mallik Para, but only girls have patano bandhu. Variation along a continuum from ascription to achievement-orientation differentiates girls and boys in Mallik Para, and more generally also differentiates the rural and urban patterns of division of labor. In the predominantly ascriptive rural social system diffuse, particularistic relationships, including friendships, are emphasized. By contrast, in an achievement-oriented neighborhood like Badur Bagan, where girls as well as boys

can become professionals through educational achievement, relatively specific, universalistic relationships are emphasized. In Chapter III it was shown that with the present employment pattern for women, girls in Mallik Para have less opportunity than girls in either Badur Bagan or Panchanantala to find employment. Girls in Mallik Para, like rural adolescents, are caught in an ascriptive system in which their futures are largely determined by the family through arranged marriages.

Clubs

The distribution of club membership by neighborhood and sex is shown in Table 4.8. For both boys and girls separately the proportion of adolescents who have been club members increases with the social class of the neighborhood. There are proportionately fewer club members in Panchanantala than in either of the middle class neighborhoods. In each neighborhood a much higher proportion of boys than girls belong to clubs. Over three-fourths of the boys in both Mallik Para and Badur Bagan belong to clubs, but even in Badur Bagan less than one-fourth of the girls reported having ever been a member of a club.¹³

Not only do a significantly higher proportion of boys than girls join clubs, as shown in Table 4.9, but boys also remain club members over a longer period than girls. Girls generally belong to special girls' sections of predominantly male clubs. The activities for girls

TABLE 4.8

DISTRIBUTION OF CLUB MEMBERSHIP

	Panchanantala				Mallik Para				Badur Bagan			
	Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Club members	2	8%	12	31%	9	18%	34	79%	14	22%	29	81%
Non-members	<u>24</u>	<u>92%</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>69%</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>82%</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>21%</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>78%</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>19%</u>
Totals	26	100%	39	100%	49	100%	43	100%	63	100%	36	100%

A person was classified as a club member if he had ever been a member of a club. Fifteen of the twenty-five girls, but only two of the seventy-five boys are no longer active members of clubs to which they formerly belonged.

Eight respondents who did not answer the question were not included in the tabulation.

TABLE 4.9

 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLUB MEMBERSHIP AND
 RESPONDENT'S SEX

	Female	Male	Totals
Club members	25	75	100
Non-members	113	43	156
Totals	138	118	256

Chi square = 55.17, df = 1, $p < .001$

include bratacārī (a type of folk dance), drill, exercises, singing, and dramatics. These activities are intended primarily for preadolescent girls, and most girls drop out of such clubs before the age of sixteen. Over half of the adolescent girls who reported having belonged to clubs, are no longer members of these clubs.

Each of the neighborhoods studied has a boys' sports and puja club. The Bangiya Taruṇ Samiti, "Bengali Young Men's Club," includes the majority of the boys interviewed in Badur Bagan. The members range in age from fourteen to twenty-four. At present the club is only for boys, but there was formerly an active girls' section with bratacari, drill and other activities. In Badur Bagan there is also a club, the Netaji Bālyak Saṅga, "Netaji Boys' Club," for boys between the ages of nine and fourteen. Like the older boys' club it is primarily a sports and puja club.

The Mallik Para Boys' Association is the neighborhood sports and puja club in Mallik Para. Its members ranged in age between fifteen and twenty-two.

The Panchanantala Bhrātri Saṅga, "Panchanantala Brother's Association," like the other neighborhood clubs, is a sports and puja club. Its members range in age from fourteen to eighteen and are generally somewhat younger than boys in the other neighborhood clubs.

Residence in the neighborhood is the primary criterion for membership in each of these clubs. None of the clubs owns a club house. The dues vary but are collected primarily

through subscriptions to pay the expenses of conducting a puja. Additional funds are raised, if necessary for buying athletic equipment. When they are not playing or practicing, club members often hang around together talking. For this kind of free-flowing group conversation, the term adda rather than galpa karā is generally used. Smoking, which is strictly proscribed in the presence of one's elders, is often enjoyed by club members among themselves.

In addition to the relatively informal neighborhood clubs, there are numerous athletic clubs in Calcutta and Howrah which offer programs for both adults and adolescents. Many of these are well organized institutions, with their own club houses and playing fields and with substantial budgets. Some clubs are organized for a specific sport, such as hockey, soccer, cricket, swimming, shooting, or gymnastics. Others offer a variety of sports and some may have a library or reading room, a dramatic section, or programs of community service. Some clubs have ties to political organizations (see Bose 1968: 49-59).

Because adults plan the programs and control the finances in the larger athletic clubs, youth do not get as much opportunity to develop organizational skills as in neighborhood clubs. Athletic clubs may, however, offer superior facilities and instruction for developing physical skills. In addition, athletic clubs often provide the model on which neighborhood clubs are organized. The opportunities for development which the two types of clubs offer, thus,

compliment one another. To the extent that adults impose stability and expertise, adolescents must relinquish the initiative in planning and executing their activities.

Neighborhood boys clubs were passed over quickly by the researchers studying voluntary organizations under Bose (1968: 58-59) because they are transitory, unstable, too small to be powerful, and too numerous to catalogue. Neighborhood clubs do not ordinarily contribute tangible social services, but it is my contention that they are more effective than larger clubs in developing the social orientations and skills necessary for group leadership. In order to be effective in this way, neighborhood clubs must be relatively unstable. Because adolescence is brief, there must be a rapid turnover of boys exercising authority, lest one age group lose the opportunity to learn organizational skills. In some neighborhood clubs there is a gradual transition in membership as older members drop out and younger boys are included. In other neighborhoods where there isn't adequate recruitment and transfer of power, one informal club is replaced by another, generally younger, group with a new name. Neighborhood clubs must also be relatively small if they are to be democratic, offering a maximum opportunity for each adolescent to participate in the decision-making process.

Sarvajanin Pujas

In his discussion of the conditions under which adolescent age groups become deviant, that is, work in opposition to the goals of the larger society, Eisenstadt outlines three levels of the extent of harmony between age-groups and the general social structure. The degree of integrative orientation of age-groups is indicated, at the highest level, by "the extent to which fully institutionalized roles are allocated to age groups" (Eisenstadt 1956: 277). The performance of Sarvajanin Pujas by neighborhood clubs has this kind of integrative potential. A puja is an expressive, integrative religious ceremony which demonstrates and enhances the solidarity of the group which sponsors it, whether that group is a family, a neighborhood club, a caste association, or some other institution. In the neighborhoods studied, adults delegate to the youth in the neighborhood clubs the arrangement of Saraswati, Kali, and sometimes, Durga Pujas. Saraswati Puja is also celebrated separately by some families and is celebrated in many schools. Durga Puja is the most important and most expensive puja and is typically sponsored by the larger clubs with adult supervision. Bose describes the change from family to Sarvajanin Pujas.

The net result has been that the loyalties to the joint family or the parish have no longer very much opportunity to feed upon. New social integrations tend to spring up in their place; and one of the curious directions in which this has been taking place happens to be temporary and very casual in character. In every quarter inhabited by Bengali residents, there is a multiplicity of public worship

of various gods and goddesses. Formerly, the worship of Durga or Saraswati or Viswakarma was a matter in which particular families or castes were privately concerned. Even if there was ostentation, the functions remained, in most cases, private. Barwari or public organizations were not very numerous. In contrast, today, the soaring number of Sarvajanin Puja, or "collective worship" gives the young men of a locality an excuse for clubbing together for a while. The rise and enthusiasm created by sporting clubs all over the town affords another excuse of a similar nature; only, in the latter event, the integration happens to be on a comparatively more durable scale (Bose 1967: 347-48).

The urban neighborhood is not a center for the productive or expressive activities of the majority of adult men who work and find recreation outside the neighborhood. Nor are urban neighborhoods an important locus for women's activities. Most women have a few friends in the immediate vicinity of their homes, but for social interaction a woman is as likely to visit relatives in another part of the city as to go to the far side of the neighborhood. A social definition of urban neighborhoods seems to require consideration of the groupings of adolescent and preadolescent boys. It is the solidarity of these boys in their neighborhood clubs which is enhanced by the performance of Sarvajanin Pujas. At another level neighborhood pujas also express the respect of youth for the religious values and symbols of the larger community. With adult support for the youth through contributions and sponsorship neighborhood pujas increase the harmony between adolescents and their elders. There is a tremendous potential for intergenerational conflict in Calcutta in an economic situation in which adults cannot adequately fulfill the demand for

education or provide for the entry of youth into the occupations for which they have been trained. The importance of the integrative activities of neighborhood boys clubs in this situation should not be overlooked.

Making the arrangements for a neighborhood puja also provides practical experience in organizing a complex social event. The boys must collect contributions, negotiating with each household for a suitable sum. Accounts must be kept and are usually published in the puja brochure. Almost every club which organizes Durga Puja has a puja brochure for which advertisements must be solicited, articles written, photographs and art work assembled, and arrangements made with a printer. The pandal must be built and arrangements made for lighting and sound. The image must be ordered. Lumber, cloth, decorations for the pandal, and the food to be used as offered to the deity must all be purchased.

The collective acts of bringing the image from the potter, keeping watch over it through each night, hiring a truck, and finally, culminating in the procession to the Ganges for immersion enhance group solidarity. They also ostentatiously demonstrate to other clubs each group's ability to command support in the locality.

Generally, neighborhood girls play a relatively small part in the final stages of the preparations in such tasks as drawing ālpanā, which are designs made with a thin paste of ground rice, making flower garlands, and preparing the

fruit which is to be offered to the Goddess. The planning and supervision of the puja are done almost entirely by boys. A few girls get experience in planning a puja if their schools celebrate Saraswati Puja.

Brata

Brata, "devotional vows," are the primary religious rituals performed by girls in all of the neighborhoods studied. Brata are performed individually by a girl or woman to increase her punya, "virtue" or "religious merit," as well as for specific objectives. In Mallik Para a larger proportion of girls have performed brata, and they have generally performed more brata than girls in Badur Bagan or Panchanantala. That this is not simply a carryover of a rural custom is indicated by the frequency with which books are consulted to learn additional brata as well as to learn the "correct" way of performing a brata with which a girl or woman is generally familiar.

The brata most frequently performed by girls in Mallik Para are Śibbrata, Kulkulti, Jaymaṅgalbar, Puṇyapukur, Harir Caran, and Daś Putul. Girls in Badur Bagan observe Itu, Sibbrata and Jaymangalbar. Perhaps a dozen more brata which may be observed by unmarried girls were reported by a few girls or by girls who lived outside the neighborhoods studied. Śibrātri is observed by the majority of the girls in all three neighborhoods.

Sibbrata is performed by girls every morning in the

month of Baisākh (April-May). A girl rises very early and bathes, in the Ganges if possible. She makes a Śib liṅga, a phallic representation of the god Śiva, of clay and worships it with flowers and leaves, so that she will have a husband like Siva.

Kulkulti is performed by girls every evening in the month of Kārttik (Oct.-Nov.). A girl lights three pradip, "small clay lamps," under a tulsi tree, a symbol of Visnu. Kul, "plum," leaves are used in the worship.

Jaymangalbar, "Victorious Tuesday," is observed every Tuesday in the month of Jyaiṣṭha (May-June). Both girls and married women perform this brata, fasting until noon, performing puja to the Goddess Candi and eating only nirāmiś or "vegetarian" food for the rest of the day.

Punyapukur, like Sibbrata and many other brata, is performed by girls every morning in the month of Baisakh. A girl digs an elaborate hole in the courtyard. A branch from a bel, "wood apple," tree or sometimes from a tulsi, "basil," tree or both are planted in the hole. Worship is conducted with cowrie shells, vermilion, and flowers.

Harir Caran, "Hari's Feet," is also observed in the morning during the month of Baisakh. A pair of footprints is drawn with sandalwood paste on a metal plate and worshipped with flowers or durba grass.

Das Putul, "Ten Dolls," is also performed in the morning in the month of Baisakh. Ten figures are drawn in the courtyard with ground rice paste. They represent ten gods

and goddesses whose qualities a girl wishes for herself or family members. Repeating a verse, the girl prays that her husband will be like Ram, and her devotion to him like Sita's, that her deor, "husband's younger brother," will be like Lakṣman, her husband's father like Daśarath, her husband's mother like Kausalyā, and that her sons will be like those of Kuntī, etc.

Itu Puja, worshipping Itu, a form of the Sun God, is more popular in Badur Bagan than in Mallik Para and may be done by married women as well as girls. Seeds are planted in an earthen pot in the month of Agrahāyan (Nov.-Dec.) and allowed to sprout. At the end of the month the pot, like the image of a goddess, is immersed.

Sibratri, "Night of Siva," in the month of Phālgun (Feb.-March) is not ordinarily thought of as a brata, or "vow," because it is done on only one day of the year. However, it requires an individual act of fasting and worship and is thus similar to brata. A girl fasts the entire day without food or water and then remains awake through the following night worshipping Siva at approximately three hour intervals. Many movie theaters offer all night programs, ostensibly to help the girls stay awake, but also adding an aura of festivity. Another option is for girls to go to public temples. Several of the girls in Panchantala go to Kalighat to worship. The more serious girls, however, maintain quiet vigils at home. Most girls in Mallik Para continue to fast without water through the night

and break the fast only after feeding a Brahmin the next morning. In Badur Bagan an abbreviated form of the ritual, in which a girl breaks her fast after sundown, is more common.

All of these brata and many others may be performed by a girl after she reaches the age of five. Any brata undertaken should be observed for four consecutive years and may be repeated for four year periods. Several brata may be done during the same years. There are additional brata specifically for married women and a few for widows.

Relationship between Age Groups and Status Allocation

Whereas boys organize religious ceremonies as a group for the entire neighborhood, girls attempt to improve a future over which they have little control by making and keeping individual vows. Girls may develop patience and fortitude through fasting and careful adherence to prescribed patterns of behavior, but they have little opportunity to develop leadership or organizational skills.

Similarly, while boys are developing teamwork through group sports, the physical activity of girls is sharply curtailed. Even during the preadolescent period when greater physical activity is allowed, the types of activities which are planned for girls are individualistic. In drill and exercises girls repeat the actions of a leader. There is no multiplicity of roles corresponding to the various positions in team sports. Girls rarely have any opportunity to play any team sport or game.

The few girls who belong to clubs for a short period almost all belong to clubs which are directed and supervised by adults. Girls rarely have the opportunity to establish informal neighborhood clubs, and thus less chance to make or implement group decisions or to develop leadership skills. The role dispositions developed through intense diadic friendships and through individualistic rituals are particularistic, diffuse, and ascriptive.

Bose indicates that the widespread proliferation of Sarvajanin Pujas and sporting clubs among boys in Calcutta is relatively recent. The emergence of local sports and puja clubs has apparently paralleled the transfer of the allocation of productive labor from family and caste to government bureaucracies and business and industrial corporations. This is consistent with Eisenstadt's postulate that age groups are formed where the individual must acquire universalistic, achievement-oriented role dispositions to operate effectively in occupational systems which are not controlled by the family.

Age groups have not, however, arisen in those segments of the population in which the family still constitutes the main unit in the social and economic division of labor. Age groups have not arisen among females in Calcutta and Howrah; for them the arranged marriage is still the primary allocative mechanism.

Age groups serve as a channel for the learning of some of the general role dispositions which the individual must

acquire to function in the economic and political spheres of an industrialized society. Universalistic, instrumental, achievement-oriented role dispositions are among the role dispositions which are generally learned outside the family, in age groups. The two principal activities of neighborhood clubs in Calcutta, competitive team sports and the organization of Sarvajanin Pujas, are ideally structured to foster the development of these role dispositions and to integrate the age group with the larger community.

CHAPTER V

FAMILY STRUCTURE AND THE ALLOCATION OF LEGITIMATE
SEXUAL MATURITY

As in economic and political institutions, there are adult statuses in the family which are allocated according to cultural and societal standards of maturity. "One of the main criteria of adulthood is defined as legitimate sexual maturity, i.e., the right to establish a family, and not merely the right to sexual intercourse" (Eisenstadt 1956: 30). The definition of legitimate sexual maturity as the right to establish a family is not without ambiguous implications. Just as the English word, family, has several referents, the Bengali word, paribār, has at least three denotations: wife, wife and children, and members of a man's household. The right for a man to have a wife and children must be distinguished from his right to set up a separate household which is determined not only by sexual maturity but also by normative patterns of residence and rules of succession.

It is also necessary to distinguish between legal rights and customary practices. In Bengal the two are often contradictory, with the legal system offering the individual certain options which, however, may be exercised only at the risk of social ostracism. Similarly, the words "right" and "establish" in Eisenstadt's definition imply a high degree of individual control or choice, whereas the extent of

individual choice in deciding when or even whether to marry and in the selection of a mate varies considerably among and within societies.

Thus, the norms governing the allocation of legitimate sexual maturity are imbedded in the family structure of a particular society. Nevertheless, the use of generic terms to describe family structure and status allocation facilitates cross cultural comparison and the development of theoretical formulations.

Family Structure¹⁴

A modicum of specificity in the analysis of family structure may be obtained by specifying the level of abstraction, what is shared, and who shares it. From among the many family typologies, the definitions of these three dimensions drawn up by Goode (1963a), Ames (1970), and Kolenda (1968) are used here.

Goode describes three facets of the conjugal family differing in the level of abstraction: the conjugal family as an ideal-type construct, in the Weberian sense; the conjugal family as a set of ideals viewed as legitimate, proper, or good; and the conjugal family as an observable pattern of behavior (1963a: 240, 251). Analyses of the joint family also refer variously to an ideal construct, a set of ideals, and an observable pattern of behavior.

With reference to what is shared by the Indian family,

Ames defines five "complementary structural dimensions that are both closely interrelated and independently variable" (1970: 3).

First, there is the custom or routine of budgeting, cooking, and eating together in one common mess with other family members (the commensal dimension, or what some Indians call "messing together"); second, there is the grouping of those who normally live under one roof (residential or household dimension); third, there is the unilineal corporation of those who share joint rights to property (property or coparcenary dimension); fourth, there is the bilateral network of mutual aid and obligation, the members of which share certain institutionalized responsibilities and privileges (network dimension); and finally, there is the subjective dimension of the peoples' idealized concepts or "models" of their own social structure (ideal dimension) (Ames 1970: 3 - 4).

The first four of these dimensions refer to observable patterns of behavior; the last to what Goode calls a set of ideals. The principal differences between Ames' terminology and that used here are my use of the word "household" to refer to the commensal dimension not the residential dimension and my use of the term "extended family" to refer to a group of households which are commensally separate, but share the same house or a cluster of adjacent buildings (i.e., Ames' residential dimension). The emphasis in this chapter is on the relationship between the set of ideals accepted by the residents of the three neighborhoods and the patterns of commensal, residential, and coparcenary groupings.

Commensality is the criterion used by the Census of India for defining households. Kolenda (1968: 344) compiled the available quantitative data from twenty-six studies of

Indian family structure, and she found that although no two social scientists had used precisely the same rules for defining family types, commensality was the most frequently used criterion for defining what is shared.

Legally a family is joint so long as it maintains a joint estate regardless of whether it remains joint in food or worship, though it need not own property to be joint. In his review of studies on Indian family structure Bailey (1960: 347) recommends using property ownership as the principal criterion of family jointness. However, among urban residents who receive monetary incomes from non-family enterprises, complete coparcenary jointness is rare among brothers and uncommon even between a father and his married sons. In families which are commensally joint, members often have separate bank accounts and may own personal or business property individually. Earning members often contribute a fixed amount rather than their total salary to a common household fund for food and other regular expenses. Simultaneously they may be saving to build a separate house or to pay for educational and marriage expenses for their children. The urban property most frequently held jointly is a house or houses built by an immediate ancestor. A few families own business or industrial firms jointly. Many respondents also retain a share in village property ranging from the small house plot of a day laborer to large agricultural holdings and brick country homes. The wide variation in the extent of village property and the diverse nature

of coparcenary ties with village relatives complicates the study of the urban joint family estate.

Propinquity and mutual kinship obligations bring together the extended family, defined here as two or more households united by kinship bonds and living in adjacent dwellings. Even when not reinforced by commensal or coparcenary jointness, the presence of several households of a single group of kinsmen affects the social structure of a neighborhood. When organized by an effective leader, an extended family can be the focus of local power and social activity.

Kolenda defines twelve family types describing the composition of the commensal household based on four classificatory principles.

First, a joint family must include two related married couples. Second, these couples may be related lineally (usually in a father-son relationship, occasionally in a father-daughter relationship), or collaterally (usually in a brother-brother relationship, occasionally in a brother-sister relationship). Third, the unmarried relatives (including widowed or divorced) who are not children of any of the married couples in a family supplement the family, whether it is a joint, nuclear, or subnuclear family. Fourth, where there is no married couple and the relatives were formerly part of the same nuclear family, then it is a subnuclear household. If not, it is either an "other" type of household or a single person household (Kolenda 1968: 347-348).

Kolenda's definitions are used here in describing those who comprise particular family types to increase the number of studies using comparable categories, even though they differ slightly from the popular Bengali understanding of family jointness.¹⁵ Particularly with reference to a widowed

male head of a household who owns agricultural land or other property which will be inherited and divided only after his death, there is considerable logic in the local understanding that this widower heads a joint household including his married son. A widowed woman, however, is typically viewed as supplementary to the household, if control of family land or other property has been assumed by her son. Thus, with respect to the coparcenary dimension, Kolenda's requirement that there be two married couples for a joint family is at times arbitrary, being contrary to the fact of shared property.

The Conjugal Family and the Joint Family as Ideal Constructs

A major focus in the study of the family has been on the relationship between family structure and economic structure. It has been widely argued that the conjugal or nuclear family as an ideal construct is functionally appropriate for an industrial economy. Goode concludes his review of studies of the relationship, "In general, the ideal type of the conjugal family demonstrably does fit the central demands of an industrial system. On the other hand, there are necessary strains between the two, and there are theoretical and empirical limits on the adjustments between them" (1963a: 251). The emphasis in industry on universalistically measured achievement as a criterion for economic role allocation creates a stress on the family for greater individual autonomy. The

conjugal family ideally allows greater personal autonomy than most forms of joint family structure, though perhaps not so much autonomy as in some forms of communal family structure.

While recognizing that many forms of joint family structure exist, Linton posited a generic "consanguine family" as the principal alternative to conjugal family structure and discussed its properties as an ideal construct (1936: 159-63). Students of the Indian family have been more specific in considering the relative compatibility of the patrilineal, patrilocal extended or joint family with urbanism and industrialism (Karve 1956; Kapadia 1966; Ross 1961; and Sarma 1964). Kolenda summarizes many factors which appear to be conducive to the formation of conjugal households, including: the development of market cash economies displacing subsistence agriculture, salaried occupations and secular education, changes in family law and in legal practices relating to joint property, and the influx of people to the cities. Conversely, she summarizes various manifestations of industrialization which may serve to strengthen the joint family, including: the formation of an economic base to support a joint family, the demand for educated males which has increased the extent and cost of dowry, the need for a concentration of capital and labor in new family enterprises, and the possibility of complementing the urban cash income of some males with the security of rural property and lower living

costs for the rest of the family who remain in the village (Kolenda 1968: 340-341).

The Conjugal Family and the Joint Family as Sets of Ideals

Both the joint family and the conjugal family also exist as sets of ideals. In Bengali the joint family is referred to as the ek anno-bartti paribār or "family which shares food" (literally, "the one rice family"). Bengalis think of this as the natural condition of the family. Although at any given time less than half the population actually lives in joint households and all families have been partitioned, most within the memory of someone still living, "the point is that the partitioning itself requires some special positive action. If the family is merely 'left alone,' it will be joint" (Nicholas 1961: 1059). A married son or brother who establishes a conjugal household apart from his father or brother(s) is said to ālādā thāke or ālādā khāi, "to live separately" or "to eat separately." He has separated or removed himself from the pre-existing family.

In Calcutta the conjugal family as an ideal is known primarily through Western literature and foreign contact. I know of no Bengali term which denotes the conjugal family as a system of family relationships precisely comparable to the ideal-type construct of the conjugal family described by Goode and others. The Bengali term paribar may refer to a man's wife and children, but it may equally be applied

to a lineally or collaterally "joint family" as a group of persons dependent upon the male kartā ("doer," "actor") whose "family" it is said to be. The paribar "belongs to" the male household head, in contrast to the conjugal family in which the primary bond is, ideally, an equalitarian union between the two spouses and in which the phrase "my family" may be used by any member. In the absence of a Bengali word with the same connotations, middle class Bengalis (especially those who are not household heads) sometimes use the English word "family" to refer to members of the household. Alternatively and more typically, the word "bārite" is used to refer generally to members of the household, as in "bārite pachanda kare nā" ("in the household they do not approve"). Additional elements of a Euro-American type of conjugal family system, like the "love marriage," have been recognized and incorporated into colloquial Bengali and are debated as alternative ideals. Furthermore, certain norms, like that requiring a demonstrated earning capacity for males as a prerequisite to marriage, which are logically part of the conjugal family construct, have been accepted as part of the joint family ideology.

Social scientists studying Indian family structure regularly differentiate the lineal joint family between a father and his married son(s) and the collateral joint family among married brothers. Although Bengali Hindu norms on remaining joint with one's father differ from norms on

remaining joint with one's brothers, I am not aware of any Bengali phrase which is generally used to distinguish between the lineal joint family and the collateral joint family.

It is still considered a breach of filial duty to leave one's parents in their old days, and social opinion also discourages break-up of the family so long as the parents are alive. The father's ownership of the family lands also works as a deterrent to the splitting up of the family. . . . But the attitudes and values for joint families extended through collateral relationship are different. The accepted social code is that brothers should and do separate (Basu 1962: 90).

The adolescent respondents in Panchanantala, Mallik Para, and Badur Bagan were each asked if they preferred to live jointly or separately. In order to distinguish between the lineal joint family and the collateral joint family, two questions were asked.

After your marriage, if you have your choice, would you prefer to live with your mother and father/ husband's father and husband's mother or alone with your wife/husband?

Many years later after your father/husband's father has died, would you prefer to live with your brothers/ husband's brothers and their wives and children in a joint family or separately with only your own wife/ husband and children?

Almost all male youth state a preference for continuing to live with their parents after their marriage, as shown in Table 5.1. Female youth, in virtually the same proportions, state a preference for living with their husband's parents. Accordingly, there are no significant differences between the proportions of male and female youth in each neighborhood who prefer to maintain a lineal joint household.

TABLE 5.1

DISTRIBUTION OF PREFERRED FAMILY TYPE--LINEAL JUNCTURE

	Panchanantala				Mallik Para				Badur Bagan			
	Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Joint family	21	81%	32	80%	47	98%	41	95%	58	91%	37	95%
Conditionally joint ^a	--	--	2	5%	--	--	--	--	1	1%	--	--
Conjugal family	5	19%	3	8%	1	2%	--	--	4	6%	1	2%
No parents	--	--	1	2%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
No answer	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5%</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5%</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1%</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2%</u>
Totals	26	100%	40	100%	48	100%	43	100%	64	99%	39	99%

^aThe category "Conditionally joint" includes any response which was qualified in any way, such as "if my father allows" or "if we don't quarrel."

TABLE 5.2

DISTRIBUTION OF PREFERRED FAMILY TYPE--COLLATERAL JUNCTURE

	Panchanantala				Mallik Para				Badur Bagan			
	Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Collateral Joint Family	16	59%	27	68%	38	79%	28	64%	39	61%	27	69%
Conditionally joint	1	4%	5	12%	3	6%	7	16%	10	16%	5	13%
Conjugal family	9	33%	4	10%	7	15%	3	7%	15	23%	2	5%
No brothers	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	9%	--	--	3	8%
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>4%</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10%</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4%</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5%</u>
Totals	27	100%	40	100%	48	100%	44	100%	64	100%	39	100%

There is, however, a small, but statistically significant ($p < .01$) difference among the neighborhoods. Although the percentage of youth in Panchanantala who prefer to remain lineally joint is still very high (80%), it is less than the corresponding percentages (97% and 92%) of youth in the other two neighborhoods.

The majority of both male and female youth in each neighborhood also state a preference for maintaining a collateral joint household after the father's death, as shown in Table 5.2. But in each neighborhood and for both sexes the proportion who prefer to remain collaterally joint is less than the proportion who prefer to remain lineally joint. There is a noticeable tendency for male youth to use conditional phrases such as "if my brothers are willing" or "if it is possible" whereas girls are somewhat more likely to state a preference for living separately. If the conditional responses are grouped with those stating a preference for remaining collaterally joint, significantly more male youth than female youth may be said to prefer to remain collaterally joint. This would lend support to Kolenda's hypothesis that, in addition to other factors, "nuclear families develop in large part upon a wife's instigation. . . . when she has strong bargaining power" (1966: 45). However, one cannot discount the possibility that male youth are using conditional terms out of deference or respect for existing family unity, rather than from a greater determination to remain collaterally

joint. Whereas female youth answer the question hypothetically in reference to the yet unknown brothers of her future husband, the male youth answer the question with an awareness of the already existing relationship between themselves and specific older or younger brothers. If conditional responses are grouped separately or if they are grouped with stated preferences for living separately, there is no significant difference between males and females in any of the neighborhoods.

Nor is there a linear relationship between the proportion of youth who prefer to remain collaterally joint and the social class of the neighborhood. The highest proportion of youth preferring collateral jointness, as with lineal jointness, is in Mallik Para, but the difference among neighborhoods is not statistically significant.

On the whole the responses to these two questions demonstrate a considerable acceptance of the ideal of the joint family. In the absence of specific circumstances which indicate otherwise, the joint family is the form preferred by most youth, both male and female, both educated and uneducated, both affluent and poor.

The Conjugal Family and the Joint Family as Observable Patterns of Behavior

The number of households of each of the specific family types defined by Kolenda is shown in Table 5.3 for Panchantala, Mallik Para, and Badur Bagan. A summary of the frequencies appears in Table 5.4.

TABLE 5.3

DISTRIBUTION OF OBSERVED HOUSEHOLD TYPES

Household Types	Panchanantala Lower Class		Mallik Para Lower-Middle Class		Badur Bagan Middle Class	
	House- holds	Persons	House- holds	Persons	House- holds	Persons
Single-person	8	8	5	5	2	2
Subnuclear	20	61	11	37	8	24
Supplemented subnuclear	5	25	2	12	1	3
Other-less-than- nuclear	7	16	--	--	2	5
Nuclear	81	369	40	204	31	139
Supplemented nuclear	24	144	19	131	19	140
Lineal joint	3	24	3	24	7	53
Supplemented lineal joint	2	17	2	17	1	13
Lineal-collateral joint	--	--	1	14	2	16
Supplemented lineal-collateral joint	1	12	--	--	1	15
Collateral joint	--	--	1	9	1	6
Supplemented col- lateral joint	1	6	3	45	5	63
Other joint	--	--	--	--	5	52
Resident servants	—	<u>1</u>	—	<u>3</u>	—	<u>22</u>
Totals	152	683	87	501	85	553

TABLE 5.4

SUMMARY OF HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

Household type	Households Number	Households Percentage	Persons Number	Persons Percentage	Persons per Household
Panchanantala					
Less than nuclear	40	26%	110	16%	2.8
Nuclear	81	53%	369	54%	4.6
Supplemented nuclear	24	16%	144	21%	6.0
Joint	7	5%	59	9%	8.4
Servants	—	—	1	0%	—
Totals	152	100%	683	100%	4.5
Mallik Para					
Less than nuclear	18	21%	54	11%	3.0
Nuclear	40	46%	204	41%	5.1
Supplemented nuclear	19	22%	131	26%	6.9
Joint	10	11%	109	22%	10.9
Servants	—	—	3	1%	—
Totals	87	100%	501	101%	5.8
Badur Bagan					
Less than nuclear	13	15%	34	6%	2.6
Nuclear	31	36%	139	25%	4.5
Supplemented nuclear	19	22%	140	25%	7.4
Joint	22	26%	218	39%	9.9
Servants	—	—	22	4%	—
Totals	85	99%	553	99%	6.5

There are fewer ~~commensally~~ joint families in Panchanantala, Mallik Para, and Badur Bagan than in other localities in Bengal previously studied. Even after the figures are adjusted to account for differences in classification, the proportion of joint households is much lower than in the Lake Area and Shyambazar neighborhoods of Calcutta studied by Sarma (1964: 193-206). While the percentage of upper caste households in the Lake Area (89%) and Badur Bagan (87%) are similar, as are those in Shyambazar (45%) and Mallik Para (47%), there are many more joint households in the neighborhoods studied by Sarma. The Lake Area is characterized by higher economic status, newer homes and less crowding, all of which are conducive to the expansion of the family within a particular house. The residents of Shyambazar and Badur Bagan are probably economically and occupationally similar and more affluent than those of either Mallik Para or Panchanantala. Still, there are fewer joint and supplemented nuclear households in Badur Bagan than there were in the Shyambazar neighborhood in 1956, but more than Mallik Para or Panchanantala. As Sarma also found, families who own their homes are somewhat more likely to be joint than those who rent.

The villages studied by Basu (1962), Nicholas (1961), and Sen (1965) all had more commensally joint households than either Mallik Para or Panchanantala. In more recent research in Midnapore Nicholas found lower proportions of joint and supplemented nuclear households for two of four

villages surveyed than in villages previously surveyed in Bengal, but the proportion of joint households is still as high or higher than in Mallik Para. Within the Bengali villages previously studied, there were fewer joint households among agricultural laborers than in other occupational groups. Similarly Panchanantala with a high proportion of day laborers has fewer joint families than Mallik Para where more men have permanent positions. For the most part, though, whether the comparatively low proportions of joint households are the result of economic or occupational characteristics of the residents of Panchanantala, Mallik Para, and Badur Bagan; whether they result from differences in data gathering and classification; whether there is a cyclical variation due to unknown endogenous or exogenous variables; or whether they indicate changes over the past ten years remains incompletely explained.

Another approach to the interpretation of varying proportions of joint families is through the comparison of possible and existing household forms.¹⁶ In a joint family the link or juncture among the couples may be lineal or collateral or both. Lineal juncture in a family is possible if a man and his wife are both living and if his father and mother are living (regardless of residence) and/or if the couple has one or more married sons. If neither of these conditions exist, lineal juncture is not possible within the customs of patrilineality and patrilocal residence accepted in Bengal.¹⁷ Households characterized by lineal

juncture include those designated in Kolenda's typology as lineal joint, supplemented lineal joint, lineal-collateral joint, and supplemented lineal-collateral joint. Collateral juncture is possible in a family if a man has one or more brothers and if both he and at least one of his brothers are presently married. Families with possible lineal juncture, that is, with married couples in two generations, often have possible collateral juncture in either the parental or filial generation or occasionally in both. Collateral juncture is also possible in many families with married couples in only one generation. For other households there is no possibility of either lineal or collateral juncture because one or both of the husband's parents has died, he has no married son, and he has no living married brother. By definition it is also impossible for households with no married member to have lineal or collateral juncture, though in some instances these subnuclear or single-person households could supplement a joint household of married relatives. Table 5.5 shows the distribution of households with possible lineal and collateral juncture.

Lineal Juncture

For most households there is no possibility of lineal juncture. Fewer than a quarter of the households in any neighborhood are in the stage of the family cycle¹⁸ when lineal juncture is possible. In any community the

TABLE 5.5

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH POSSIBLE JUNCTURE

Households with	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Possible lineal juncture with and without possible collateral juncture	26	18%	14	17%	21	25%
Possible collateral juncture but no possible lineal juncture	57	39%	36	43%	39	46%
Married person(s) but no possible lineal or colla- teral juncture	38	26%	18	22%	12	14%
No married person	<u>24</u>	<u>17%</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>18%</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15%</u>
Totals	145	100%	83	100%	85	100%
No information on husband's father and brothers	7		4		0	

proportion of households with possible lineal juncture is principally a function of interrelated demographic variables including life expectancy, age at marriage, number of sons born, and average interval between their births.

There are substantially more households with possible lineal juncture in Badur Bagan than in the other two neighborhoods. This difference results primarily from the greater longevity of adult men in Badur Bagan (Beech 1971: 193-195). While the effect of greater life expectancy among those of higher socio-economic status is to

increase the possibility of lineal juncture, later age at marriage among those of higher socio-economic status has the opposite effect, to decrease the likelihood of possible lineal juncture. As will be shown in a later section, there has been a rise in the marriage age in each neighborhood, but the linear relationship between age at marriage and the social class of the neighborhood has been maintained. If the marriage age continues to rise and to remain considerably higher among those of higher status, it may eventually counteract the effect of longevity on possible lineal juncture.

Of the households with possible lineal juncture, the proportion which are fully commensally joint varies directly with the socio-economic status of the neighborhood, as shown in Table 5.6. Commensal jointness is the modal pattern in Badur Bagan and Mallik Para. A secondary pattern of geographic separation with joint property occurs often in cases where a son has migrated to Calcutta from the country or from Calcutta to another city for employment, taking his wife and children. Less often the father and mother come to Calcutta leaving a younger, more able son to work in the fields or supervise the land. A family was classified as following this pattern only if the respondent reported owning some joint property and if visits reportedly occur at least once a year. In three additional cases of rural-urban separation in Panchanan-tala, one family has no property and two families have no

TABLE 5.6

PATTERNS OF LINEAL JUNCTURE

Families	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Commensally and residentially joint	6	23%	6	43%	11	52%
Commensally joint with one but not all sons	--	--	--	--	3	14%
Geographically sep- arate, but with some shared prop- erty and regular visitation	11	42%	4	29%	4	19%
Lineal separation	<u>9</u>	<u>35%</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>29%</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>14%</u>
Totals	26	100%	14	101%	21	99%

regular visitation. In Panchanantala geographic separation with some joint property is the most frequently occurring form of lineal juncture, with commensal jointness occurring in fewer families.

Other possible patterns such as commensal separation within the same house or parents and married sons living separately within the Calcutta Metropolitan Area occurred relatively infrequently. The households classified as lineally separate do include a few families in which sons have moved from crowded quarters to gain additional space with no apparent animosity. For example, one family with six married sons has gradually separated as the older sons

were able to afford to build houses. Another family is commensally separate, but the two younger children move freely between the households, eating and sleeping with either their parents or their brother and his wife. However, the largest number of families with lineal separation involve some marital irregularity. In three instances, a widower has remarried after the death of his first wife, and a son of the first wife has separated after disagreements with his step-mother. In two families sons have separated from fathers who live with "mistresses." In three other families a son has married a girl of his own choosing whom his parents have not accepted. But not all "love marriages," even those which are intercaste, result in the couple being ostracized. In several households, a ~~son's~~ wife of a different caste has been accepted into a joint family.

Table 5.7 shows the relationship between the form of lineal juncture and the number of married sons in a family. Data from all three neighborhoods have been combined, and only households with some form of lineal juncture have been included. Families with one married son are more likely to be commensally joint than to follow the secondary pattern of geographic separation with joint property. Conversely, families with two or more married sons are more likely to be separated geographically though retaining some joint property than to be commensally joint. In the family cycle the lineal joint family becomes a

TABLE 5.7

FORM OF LINEAL JUNCTURE BY NUMBER OF SONS

	One son	Two or more sons
Fully commensally joint	18	5
Commensally joint with one but not all sons	--	3
Geographically separate, but with some shared property and regular visitation	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>
Totals	26	19

lineal-collateral joint family at the marriage of the second son. The expansion of a household puts additional stress on the joint family. There must be space enough for each married couple to have a separate room. With the arrival of grandchildren there are more people to feed and clothe. The father is older and more likely to have retired. With a greater need for funds, there is added impetus for the sons to seek better paying jobs, which often means moving to a new location.

The possibility of lineal juncture does not preclude the possibility of collateral juncture in the parental generation. For the forty-five households for which information is available, more than half of the heads of households with possible lineal juncture have married brothers still living. However, it is only in Badur Bagan and only in three households, classified as other joint,

that collateral juncture in the parental generation occurs in combination with lineal juncture. In these three households the family has remained collaterally joint beyond the expected time of separation until one of the brothers has a married son. That is, two or more brothers have continued to eat together and share the same house throughout the period while their children were growing up, until one son, typically the first son of the oldest brother, has married. There are, thus, two or more agnatically related married couples in the parental generation and one or more married couples in the filial generation. Except in these cases, married brothers have generally separated before their sons reach marriageable age.

Collateral Juncture

Over half of the households in each neighborhood are at a stage in the family cycle when lineal juncture is no longer possible because one or both of the husband's parents have died, and when lineal juncture with a son is not yet possible because none of the sons is old enough to be married. The majority of the husbands in these households have married brothers, thus making collateral juncture possible, as shown in Table 5.5. For other families there is no possibility of lineal or collateral juncture, and the nuclear or supplemented nuclear household offers the maximum possible juncture (unless consideration is extended to patrilateral parallel cousins or other kinsmen

who would not normally be expected to live jointly).

The probability of having a married brother, like the possibility of lineal juncture, increases with the socio-economic status of the neighborhood. The ratio of households with possible collateral juncture to households for which nothing other than nuclear composition is possible increases from 1.5 for Panchanantala, to 2.0 for Mallik Para, and 3.2 for Badur Bagan. The kinship charts of nuclear households with no possible juncture show more instances in which a brother has died either as a child or after his marriage in Panchanantala and Mallik Para than in Badur Bagan, but there is no difference in the relative number of younger brothers who are yet to be married. Thus, the indications are that lower mortality, rather than a difference in the proportion of households at a particular stage in the family cycle, has resulted in the increased possibility for collateral juncture in Badur Bagan.

The actual occurrence of commensal jointness among families with possible collateral juncture is also related to the socio-economic status of the neighborhood, but is very low in each neighborhood. Only one household in Panchanantala, four in Mallik Para, and six in Badur Bagan are collateral or supplemented collateral joint households, as shown in Table 5.3. Although collateral juncture is possible in many more families than lineal juncture, lineal juncture occurs much more often than collateral juncture.

Among those who have been in Calcutta or Howrah for a

generation or more, extended families encompass many households between which there is no commensality or shared property. In Panchanantala there are eight extended families including eighteen households, in Mallik Para there are six extended families including sixteen households, and in Badur Bagan six extended families including fifteen households. In Panchanantala the related households occupy rooms in the same or nearby houses, but are not necessarily contiguous. In Mallik Para and Badur Bagan the dwellings occupied by each extended family are adjacent. Several additional households in each neighborhood are linked through a sister-brother relationship, but are not considered part of a single extended family.

Less-Than-Nuclear Households

Like other localities studied in Bengal, these three neighborhoods have relatively high proportions of less-than-nuclear households. Two factors account for most of the less-than-nuclear households in the neighborhoods. The first is the high frequency of widowhood in conjunction with norms proscribing widow remarriage. The second is the frequent separation of spouses to take advantage of employment opportunities in Calcutta while maintaining a village base.

The proportions of less-than-nuclear households truncated by the death of one or both spouses is remarkably similar among the three neighborhoods. About one out of

seven families is headed by a widow or widower and contains no married member. Even more households, about one-third of the households of all types, include a widow, as shown in Table 5.8. A much smaller but still substantial portion of households include widowers. Women are more likely to be widowed primarily because of the great difference in the ages of males and females at marriage. The percentage of households including widows and the percentage including widowers are both somewhat higher in Mallik Para and lower in Badur Bagan than in Panchanantala. More widowers have remarried in Mallik Para than in other neighborhoods, usually taking second wives much younger than themselves, thereby increasing the probability that these women will be widows.

In all three neighborhoods when a man's wife dies while he is still reasonably young, a second marriage is accepted and often expected. Sometimes the second marriage will be arranged within a few months after the first wife's death. Widow remarriage, however, is generally proscribed among Hindus in Bengal. Only in Panchanantala did widows acknowledge having a permanent relationship with a second man. Of the seven reported cases, four were examples of the levirate, three with her husband's own younger brother and one with a "classificatory" brother (FaBrSo) of her husband. There were no children from the widows' second unions except in one case. In this leviratic marriage the child was said to be the husband's rather than the deōr's

TABLE 5.8

DISTRIBUTION OF WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS

	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Households including any woman ever widowed	47	31%	32	37%	22	26%
Households including any man ever widowed	15	10%	15	17%	8	9%
Number of widowed men who have re-married	8		11		1	

(HuYoBr) although he was born six years after the husband's death (see Karve 1965: 358-359). A reported case of infanticide in another neighborhood involved the newborn child of a widow and her deor. Thus, even in Panchanantala, although a few widows acknowledge having a union with a deor or another man, they appear not to have regained the full status of married women with the right to bear children.

The main difference among the neighborhoods in the total number of less-than-nuclear households shown in Table 5.4 is attributable to the difference in the number of families in which a married couple is geographically separated. There are many more families including spouses who are geographically separated in Panchanantala than in Mallik Para or Badur Bagan, as shown in Table 5.9. The separated couples are in families both with and without the

TABLE 5.9

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES IN WHICH SPOUSES ARE
GEOGRAPHICALLY SEPARATED

Household type	Spouse in Calcutta		Total
	Husband	Wife	
Panchanantala			
Subnuclear households	9	6	15
Supplemented nuclear households	5	1	6
Mallik Para			
Subnuclear households	3	0	3
Badur Bagan			
Supplemented nuclear households	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
Totals	18	7	25

possibility of lineal or collateral juncture. In the three neighborhoods studied in a total of eighteen households one or more married men work in Calcutta leaving their wives and children in the village. In a few of these families an older son accompanies his father for work or education. In seven households a wife and some or all of her children are in Calcutta working as household servants while her husband works as a laborer in the country. In all but one of the families with separated spouses, the adults were born outside Calcutta.

Some men in Panchanantala divide their time between Calcutta and the village, either bringing produce or fish

from the country to market or as laborers who move seasonally between the village and Calcutta. Eight men reported maintaining two households, typically with the first wife and her children in the village and a mistress or second wife and children in Panchanantala. In only one of the eight families is the first wife in Calcutta. In several families the two women reportedly refer to themselves as satin or co-wives, and in two of these polygynous families one son of the village wife lives in the household in Panchanantala. In other cases the woman in Panchanantala is referred to as a raksitā, a "kept" or "protected woman," a "mistress." In all except one of the reported polygynous both women have children. Polygynous marriage was formerly accepted in Bengal and practiced, particularly by the Bengali Brahmins (Risley 1903: 190; Kapadia 1966: 105-106). It is no longer permitted by law and is no longer favored by the upper castes, and though its acceptance has not totally faded away, its occurrence appears to be diminishing.

Fertility

Fertility, as indicated by the total number of children born to women who have reached age forty-five while still married, is highest for women in Mallik Para who have a mean of 7.2 children, compared with 4.8 for women in Panchanantala and 4.9 for women in Badur Bagan. Reporting on a sample of residents of sixty villages near Banaras surveyed by S.N. Singh, Collver (1963: 89, 95) indicates an

average of 7.12 children born to women with unbroken marriage duration and shows a child-bearing profile similar to that in Mallik Para as shown in Table 5.10. The child-bearing profiles of the three Calcutta neighborhoods differ in the later years when women in Mallik Para are more likely than women in Panchanantala or Badur Bagan to continue having children. In Badur Bagan the smaller number of births appears to be the result of conscious efforts to limit family size. In Panchanantala, on the other hand, the smaller average number of births appears to be largely the result of the frequent and often long separations of married couples brought about by the employment situation.

The difference among neighborhoods in the pattern of child bearing has an important effect on the family cycle. Children born later in the lives of their parents will be younger when their parents die. In fact, the median age of a man at his father's death is twenty-two in Mallik Para as compared with twenty-nine in Panchanantala and thirty-six in Badur Bagan. Thus, in Mallik Para fewer of a man's sons are likely to be married before his death, and a greater responsibility for supporting and arranging the marriages of younger siblings is likely to fall on older brothers.

If current intentions are transferred into realities, the fertility of urban women will be radically reduced in the next generation. Each of the adolescent respondents was asked,

After you are . . . married, how many children
would you eventually like to have?

As shown in Table 5.11, more than half of the youth in each

TABLE 5.10

MEAN NUMBER OF BIRTHS PER COUPLE BY EFFECTIVE MARRIAGE
DURATION

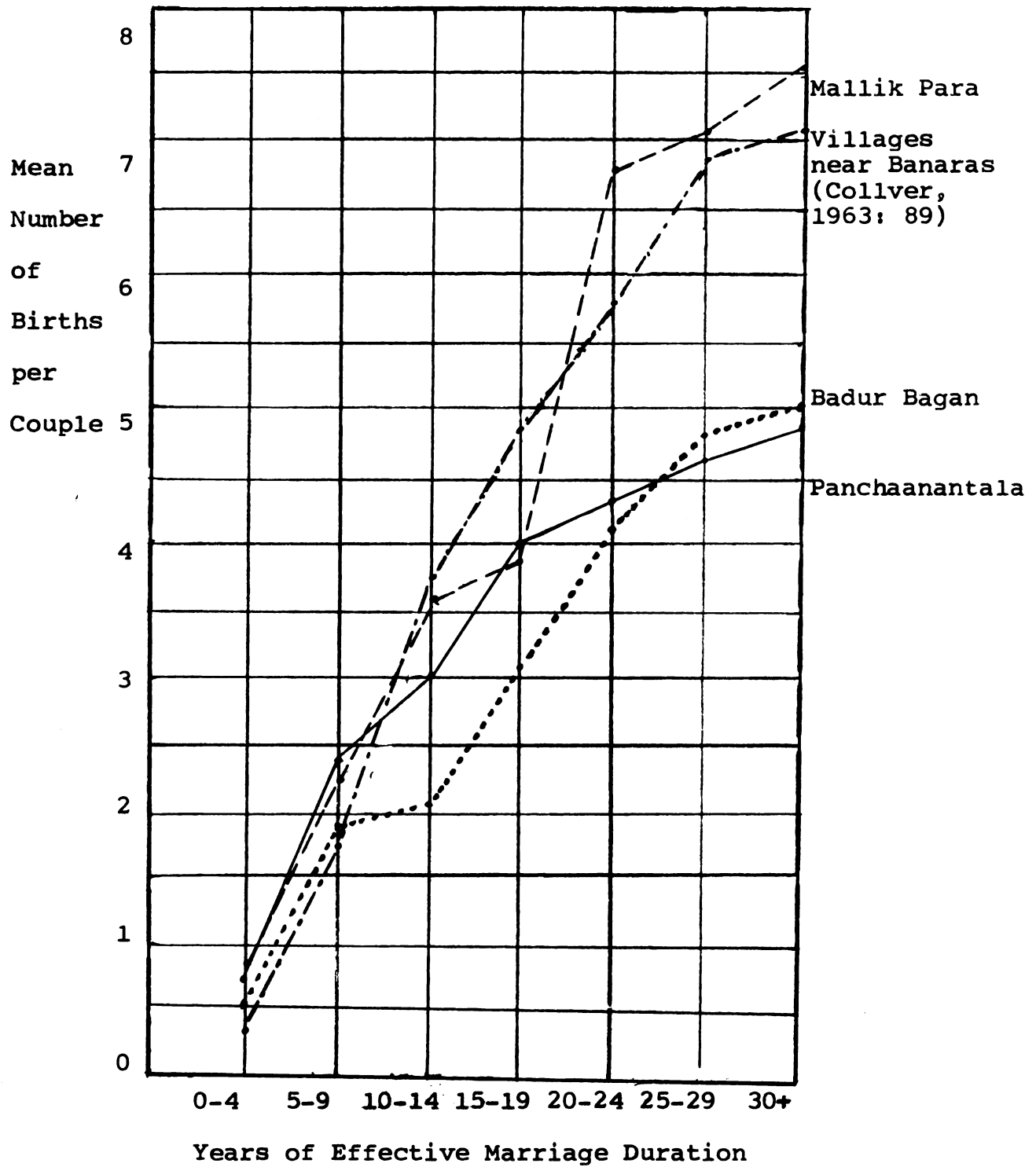


TABLE 5.11

NUMBER AND SEX OF CHILDREN PREFERRED BY YOUTH

Children preferred	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
None	--	1	3	1	--	--
One son	1	3	3	1	6	3
One son, one daughter	8	16	26	19	39	21
Two sons, no daughter	3	2	1	--	6	4
Two sons, one daughter	12	7	5	10	8	8
One son, two daughters	1	--	--	--	--	--
Two sons, two daughters	--	3	7	4	1	1
Three sons, one daughter	--	--	--	1	--	--
Sex not specified						
One child	--	--	--	1	--	--
Two children	--	2	1	2	2	--
Three children	1	1	--	1	2	2
Six children	--	--	<u>1</u>	--	--	--
Totals	25	35	47	40	64	39

If more than one response was given, the response has been coded as the largest number.

neighborhood state a preference for one son and one daughter. All but fifteen of the 245 respondents who want children specified the number of children desired separately by sex. Sixty-three per cent of them, including the fifty-six per cent who want one son and one daughter, want equal numbers of boys and girls. All but one of the remaining eighty-five respondents hope to have more sons than daughters. The differences between male and female responses are minimal as are those among youth from the three neighborhoods. The median and modal number of children desired by youth of both sexes in each neighborhood is two, except for girls in Panchantala among whom slightly more prefer three rather than two children. Overall, there is no statistically significant difference between the number or the sex of children preferred according to the sex of the respondent or the social class of the neighborhood. The consistency in the small number of children desired by both male and female youth in contrast to the recorded fertility of women now over forty-five years old demonstrates the success of the Indian government's campaign to popularize family planning. Problems in using various birth control devices reported by married women and other variables which may intervene in the relationship between desired and actual numbers of children born contraindicate undue optimism, but it is clear that at least the message of the family planning agencies has reached these urban youth.

The Relationship between Ideal and Observed Family Structure

There is a prevalence of nuclear households in each of the neighborhoods studied, with well under half of the population and fewer than a quarter of the households being commensally joint. The proportions of joint households in Panchanantala, Mallik Para, and Badur Bagan are lower than those previously reported for other localities in Bengal. Simultaneously, the joint family is demonstrably strong as an ideal family type which almost all respondents advocate. Two processes appear to minimize the impact of this contradiction between ideal and observable behavior. The first is a redefinition of the essential qualities of family jointness. The second is the granting of more individual prerogatives within the family.

Particularly with reference to one's own family, to be joint is not to have separated. As long as a commensally or geographically separated family maintains a common estate it is legally joint. Moreover, because the common understanding of family separation implies a division of property or disinheritance, families which are geographically separated to take advantage of better opportunities for employment are not generally considered to be separate by the residents of the three neighborhoods. Even though there may be very little or even no joint property and no sharing of wages between a son and his father, if relations are amicable and mutual obligations are maintained, a son's urban employment may enhance family prestige and be viewed

as a family asset and not detrimental to family unity.

Norms governing the residence of the wives and children of men employed away from their parental homes have changed. As Sarma states,

When the system of undertaking service away from home developed in the British administration, it used to be held immodest for a man to take his wife with him, and she was left in his parental control. Then the feelings changed, and the parents themselves began to ask the son to have his wife accompany him, and it became normal for a man to settle elsewhere away from his parental family. Today mostly the men of low standard of living remain alone in the city, due to the lack of sufficient income for a separate family maintenance (1964: 198).

A family in which the married sons are commensally and geographically separate, but remain in good standing and can expect to receive a share of any eventual inheritance, is no different in these respects from the ideal conjugal family described by Goode (1963: 240), but it remains legally and psychologically joint in Bengal. Thus, the nineteen to forty-two per cent of the families with possible lineal juncture which are geographically separated can be seen as either essentially joint or essentially separate. The ambiguity of classifying families which are commensally and geographically separate, but have not severed ties of sharing (no matter how little property they share), is probably a major factor in conflicting interpretations of trends in Indian family structure.

With the diminution of the proportion of total family resources which are shared, ritual and emotional relationships appear relatively more important. Family unity is increasingly

a matter of emotional bonds and mutual obligations rather than commensal, residential, or coparcenary jointness.

Like the gradual redefinition of the essence of family jointness, the granting of additional individual prerogatives within the family decreases the contradistinctiveness of the two family types. The joint family is increasingly maintained through mutual accommodation rather than through the exercise of patriarchal authority. Liberal legislation has gradually increased the rights of the individual in comparison to those of the joint family.

Women, who had been largely excluded from property ownership, have gained rights of inheritance almost equal to those of men. Current Indian law has increased the opportunities for women to become property owners by providing that a man's widow, mother and daughters as well as his sons will inherit equally. (Kapadia 1966: 359, Karve 1965: 371-372). The Dayabhaga system formerly used in Bengal gave a man's wife rights of inheritance only if he died without male descendants.

In addition, the Hindu Succession Act gives a person the right to absolute possession of whatever he has inherited. This is like the Dayabhaga system, but is very different from the Mitakshara system formerly in effect in most of India outside Bengal and Bihar in which members had a share in inheritable property from conception. Under present laws sons or others may be disinherited and only gain the right to land and other property after the father's

death. Potential heirs are thus subject to the control of their father or other benefactor, a factor which can be conducive to authoritarianism. However, if a man dies intestate, his heirs are put on an equal basis regardless of their previous residence, commensality, relative wealth, marital status, or other conditions. With urban workers less dependent on land or other inherited property to earn a living, the scope of the patriarch's authority is thereby somewhat diminished. The Gains of Learning Act, 1930, extended the principle of an individual's right to retain his own earnings without pooling them in a common fund even when his education has been provided from joint family funds (Kapadia 1966: 309).

Another limiting factor posed by urban salaried occupations is the problem of providing support for older persons after retirement. In the absence of extensive government social security, membership in a joint family is valued as insurance against poverty in periods of illness, unemployment, and old age. The possibility of dependency in illness, unemployment, and old age tempers the exercise of power by all but the wealthiest patriarchs. As a result of these and other legal and economic factors, the focus of power has shifted away from the patriarch towards a more equal distribution among all family members, and as Karve concludes ". . . the joint family becomes a corporation in which people live together for convenience" (1966: 318).

One of the principal family processes in which increased individual prerogatives have been granted is mate selection. The opportunities for individual choice in the selection of a spouse have increased both legally and in common practice. The legal provision for registered marriages provides an alternative for a couple who have chosen to marry but do not have their parents' blessing (āśīrbād). Legal provisions for divorce and for the remarriage of both divorced and widowed women also exist, but their utilization results in varying degrees of social opprobrium depending on the specific circumstances. Nevertheless, the availability of marital alternatives gives additional bargaining power to young people in the customary arrangement of their marriages. The relative extent and manner of participation by youth and their elders in mate selection will be emphasized in the following section on the allocation of legitimate sexual maturity.

The Allocation of Legitimate Sexual Maturity

Types of Marriage

Two ideal constructs were contrasted in the preceding analysis of family structure in Calcutta. Even more explicitly than with family structure, there are in Calcutta two conscious models for mate selection and marriage. The Hindu marriage or bibāhō is contrasted with the romantic "love marriage." The bibaho, colloquially called biye, is associated with the ideal construct of the family and with

the "Hindu tradition." It is, in American terminology, an "arranged marriage." (In common English usage an adjective modifies the generic term "marriage" in the case of the less familiar "arranged marriage," whereas in Bengali a modifier is used with the less familiar "love marriage." "Love marriage," as a term, has been incorporated into Bengali in English lexical items, thereby probably retaining aspects of its Western referent and ideal qualities and avoiding confusion with other less reputable types of love-based unions.

The love marriage is a romantic union based on the mutual attraction of the two partners. The initiative in a love marriage is taken by the couple rather than their elders. Love is thought to have a compulsive, almost irresistible quality and thus ideally may strike any couple regardless of caste, family background, or relative wealth. The relationships of couples before marriage vary in the degree of personal intimacy and the duration of their acquaintance. Standards of "true love" have developed based primarily on the fidelity of both partners, and secondarily on their suitability for each other (i.e., the homogeneity of social status).

By contrast the Hindu marriage is formally arranged by the family elders. In the ideal form the bride and groom do not see one another until the moment of the sub-hādrīṣṭi or "auspicious glance" in the marriage ceremony. Marriages are endogamous within the jati and sometimes

within subsections of some larger jati. Marriages of Brahmins, Kayasthas, and Baidyas may be further limited by the kul or "purity of descent" of the family. Ideally marriage outside the gōtrā ("clan") is required in the higher castes. However, the exact degree of relationship permitted by different castes has varied at different times and in different regions. In some cases the qualifications of the prospective bride and groom may be less important than the characteristics of the negotiating families and the prospects for family alliance. When the attributes of the bride are considered, her ability to adapt to and serve the family is relatively important.

The two ideal types of marriage thus differ on three basic dimensions: the field of selection, the party to selection, and the criteria of selection (see Kapadia 1966: 117). While the two ideal constructs stand at opposite ends of a continuum, the criteria and processes of mate selection which are preferred or accepted as operational ideals and the observable patterns of mate selection vary along the continuum and often manifest characteristics of both types of marriage.

The entwinement of the two concepts may be seen in several cases in which marriages which were predominantly of one type were initially presented to me as being of the opposite type. In one case the bride and groom, who had known one another for several years and who were determined to marry, arranged to have the proper inquiries sent and arrangements made so that even the bride's parents were unaware

of their prior acquaintance until the bride and groom announced it after the bou bhāt. It is not uncommon for families in which love marriages have occurred to attempt to conceal what has happened. Frequently, a registered marriage, once accomplished and an irreversible fact, is followed by a Hindu marriage and the acceptance of the bride into her husband's father's home. In the opposite situation, one young engineer who admired many Western customs told me that his was a love marriage, even though he had no prior acquaintance with his bride, because, indeed, he loved her.

In the course of the field work in Mallik Para, four patterns of marital selection were observed varying in the extent to which the prospective bride and groom participated in the selection of their mates. These patterns are described in the following question which was asked of all adolescent respondents.

We have seen several types of marriage arrangements.

a. In one type the elders make all the arrangements and the boy and girl see each other for the first time at the marriage.

b. In another type the elders make all the arrangements, but the boy and girl see each other before the marriage and if he or she is not pleased the marriage will not take place.

c. In a third type the boy and girl know each other and make the decision to get married, and then their elders make the formal arrangements for the marriage ceremony.

d. In a fourth type the boy and girl know each other, make the decision to get married and have a registered marriage without their parents' consent.

Which type of marriage do you prefer? Why?

Although these are the most frequently occurring patterns of mate selection, they are not exhaustive of the possibilities. For example, I came across a case in which the parents of the prospective bride and groom had reached an informal understanding on the marriage of their respective children. The decision was somehow communicated to the boy and girl and a romantic relationship was allowed to develop between them.

An alternative to the registered marriage is a Hindu marriage at the temple at Kalighat. Because it retains something of the religious ritual, a Kalighat wedding is preferred especially by some lower class respondents to the secular registered marriage if a marriage at the bride's house is ruled out because of parental disapproval.

Despite the length of the question, the respondents were able to answer thoughtfully and generally able to give reasons for their preference. The distribution of choices is shown in Table 5.12.

The reasons for choosing alternatives (a) or (b) often included the declaration that this is the Bengali or Hindu way, a response sometimes set in contradistinction to the American or Western way. Alternatives (a) and (b) are also presented as the "proper" or "ucit" form of marriage which demonstrates respect for the wishes of one's elders. Alternatives (b) and (c) are preferred because they combine aspects of the Bengali biye and the love marriage. Those liberal enough to choose alternative (c), see it as

TABLE 5.12

TYPE OF MARRIAGE PREFERRED BY YOUTH

Marriage Type ^a	Panchanantala				Mallik Para				Badur Bagan			
	Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
- a -	9	36%	22	56%	20	42%	16	38%	9	14%	7	18%
- b -	11	44%	8	20%	14	29%	9	21%	22	35%	13	32%
- c -	5	20%	8	20%	12	25%	16	38%	32	51%	19	48%
- d -	--	--	1	3%	2	4%	1	2%	--	--	1	2%
Totals	25	100%	39	99%	48	100%	42	99%	63	100%	40	100%

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPE OF MARRIAGE PREFERRED
AND NEIGHBORHOOD

	Panchanantala	Mallik Para	Badur Bagan	Totals
- a -	31	36	16	83
- b -	29	23	35	87
- c or d -	14	31	52	97
Totals	74	90	103	267

Chi square = 27.45, df = 4, p<.001

^aThese types refer to the alternatives listed above and in Appendix B, Question 47.

incorporating the best of both systems, parental authorization and individual choice.

In contrast to the concentration of responses in favor of the joint as opposed to the conjugal family types shown in Tables 5.1 and 5.2, the responses to this question on preferred type of marriage are broadly distributed among the first three alternatives. None of the alternatives received a majority of the total responses. In part this probably reflects the contiguity of the categories presented in the question, but it also reflects a lack of consensus on how much youth should participate in the selection of their future spouses.

There is no pattern of consistent differences between the responses of male and female youth within each of the neighborhoods. However, there is a significant difference in the pattern of responses among the three neighborhoods showing a positive relationship between the social class of the neighborhood and the proportion of liberal (c or d) responses. Accordingly, half of the youth in Badur Bagan, but less than one-fifth of the youth in Panchanantala, state a preference for choosing their own spouses. Conversely, about two-fifths of the youth in Panchanantala and Mallik Para, but less than one-fifth of the youth in Badur Bagan, prefer alternative (a) in which their elders select a mate and the couple do not see each other until the marriage.

A brief survey was made of twenty-one marriages

occurring in the four preceding years (1964-1967) in which the bride or groom resided in Mallik Para. In five of the twenty-one marriages the bride and groom were reported to have taken the initiative in making the selection. Four of these five were intercaste marriages in which the bride and groom had known each other for up to ten years. In each case there was initial opposition from their parents, followed by some degree of acceptance, including eventual residence with the husband's family (followed by separation in one case). The sixteen arranged marriages were almost evenly divided between those in which the bride and groom saw each other for the first time at the wedding (alternative a - nine cases) and those in which the bride and groom had seen each other once before the wedding (alternative b - seven cases). In only one marriage was a formal intermediary (ghatak or "genealogist") employed. In the remaining fifteen marriages contact between the bride's and groom's parents was arranged by relatives.

For example, in one marriage the bride's pistoto dādā (Fa Si So elder to Ego) worked with the groom. After talking with the groom, the bride's cousin came to the house and talked with the groom's father. The groom's father, a widower, and the groom's two kākās (Fa Y Br) and their wives went to see the bride. After that the bride's father and mother came to see the groom. The groom also went to see the bride once before the marriage.

In another family the bride's kaka has a shop which

the groom's father frequented. After learning that he was looking for a bride for his son, the girl's kaka arranged to have the groom's father see the prospective bride. These two families live within a mile of each other.

In ten of the fifteen marriages arranged by relatives contact was initiated by someone in the bride's and groom's generation, and in the remaining five by someone in the parents' generation. It is my impression that there is a trend towards greater participation in marriage arrangements by those of the same generation as the bride and groom, though I have no data from previous periods and only these few cases which can be systematically tabulated from the present. The participation of relatives of the same generation increases the possibilities for collusion with the bride and groom in properly arranging what are essentially love marriages, i.e., in setting up alternative (c).

There is a tendency to equate love marriages with intercaste marriages. Intercaste marriages are invariably initiated by the couple themselves and not by family elders. If a relationship develops between a boy and girl of the same caste, it is possible to arrange for a marriage between them so that few persons outside the immediate family are aware of what has happened. Gossip suggests, however, that a father discovering that his daughter has a boy friend is as likely to arrange for her immediate marriage to another groom. Nevertheless, many parents,

especially those in the upper-middle and upper classes, are willing to consider even an intercaste marriage after the relationship has been initiated by a son or daughter so long as the prospective bride and groom have relatively similar educational qualifications and socio-economic status.

The head of each household which includes one or more unmarried youth between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five was asked if he would formally "assent" (anumōdan karā) to an intercaste marriage for his son or daughter. The proportion of household heads who said that they would accept an intercaste marriage is shown in Table 5.13. More than a third of the household heads said they would accept an intercaste marriage. The proportion of household heads who would accept an intercaste marriage is lowest in Mallik Para and highest in Badur Bagan, but the differences are not statistically significant.

In many cases qualifications were added by those who would accept an intercaste marriage. For example, a mixed marriage within the top three castes is more acceptable to parents in Badur Bagan than one with a member of a lower caste. A marriage in which the caste of the groom's family is ranked higher than the caste of the bride's family is considered to be anulōma or "with the grain" and is more acceptable than the reverse circumstance. As previously mentioned homogeneity in social class can be an important factor in reconciling differences in caste. But even as

TABLE 5.13

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO WILL ACCEPT
AN INTERCASTE MARRIAGE

	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Will accept intercaste marriage for son or daughter	16	46%	15	33%	23	56%	54
Will not accept intercaste marriage for son or daughter	<u>19</u>	<u>54%</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>67%</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>44%</u>	<u>67</u>
Totals	35	100%	45	100%	41	100%	121

Chi square = 4.52, df = 2, .10 > p < .20

many fathers who said they would accept an intercaste marriage added reservations, others who said they would not give their formal approval, added that if an intercaste marriage happened, they would have to accept it. In other words, in the current changing conditions most fathers would not go so far as to disinherit a son because of his intercaste marriage, but relations would certainly be strained.

More intercaste marriages were reported in the household interviews in Badur Bagan than in the other neighborhoods. In Badur Bagan five of the reported intercaste marriages had occurred more than twenty years earlier, whereas the reported intercaste marriages in Mallik Para and Panchanantala have all occurred more recently. But, the reported intercaste marriages in Badur Bagan are all among

members of the three upper castes, whereas in Mallik Para and Panchanantala the variation in the caste rank of spouses in intercaste marriages is occasionally considerable as in the marriage of a Dhopa and a Kayastha, or a Napit and a Goala. In Badur Bagan intercaste marriages are rationalized in terms of the ideal of a casteless society, and the influence of the Brahmo Samaj has created an atmosphere at least moderately tolerant of intercaste marriages if only within the narrow limits of the bhadralok. In Mallik Para and Panchanantala intercaste marriages are more often explained in terms of specific family circumstances or characteristics of the couple.

Courtship

The American term "dating" has no equivalent in Bengali. Nevertheless, the custom or something similar to it is becoming commonplace in Calcutta. To the extent that mate selection emphasizes mutual attraction and is initiated by the contracting partners, opportunities for mixing and for developing close associations are necessary. A period of courtship appears to function to increase the intensity of a couple's affinity. The formation of strong bonds between the prospective spouses appears to be conducive to the development of the conjugal relationship into the primary link in the structure of the family, undermining the filial bond which is primary in the patrilineal joint family. Thus the increased prerogatives of youth in

mate selection, the need for a period of courtship, and the spread of the conjugal family are apparently interrelated.

Early in the research in Mallik Para it became apparent that there were covert social relationships between particular boys and girls. However, asking about these romantic relationships in a systematic manner was a problem because of the embarrassment this type of question generates in a culture which doesn't openly acknowledge dating or courtship as a proper activity for youth. Asking youth about social or romantic relationships with a person of the other sex is also a problem because there is no consistently used Bengali terminology for referring to the process of courtship or to the person to whom one is romantically attached. We finally settled on a direct translation of the words "girl" and "friend" (meye bandhu) and "boy" and "friend" (chele bandhu) into Bengali.

After questions on the ordinary attitude of people towards boys and girls who fall in love (preme pare) and on the respondent's reaction toward a friend who might fall in love, each adolescent respondent was asked if he or she had a girl friend or boy friend. Those relationships which appear to be basically romantic are included in Table 5.14 below. A few responses from younger respondents who reported having several friendships with persons of the other sex, none of which appeared to be romantic and a few responses describing relationships as bhāier mato or "like a brother" or otherwise platonic were screened out. Persons who

TABLE 5.14

DISTRIBUTION OF YOUTH WHO REPORT ROMANTIC
HETEROSEXUAL FRIENDSHIPS

	Panchanantala				Mallik Para				Badur Bagan			
	Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Boy friend or girl friend	5	19%	17	42%	14	29%	17	39%	21	33%	14	35%
No boy friend or girl friend	<u>21</u>	<u>81%</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>58%</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>71%</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>61%</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>67%</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>65%</u>
Totals	26	100%	40	100%	48	100%	44	100%	64	100%	40	100%

had a romantic relationship which ended prior to the interview were included with those who had current relationships.

Altogether about one third of the youth report having or having had girl friends or boy friends. Considering the cultural norms, the relative conservatism of the neighborhoods studied, and the absence of previous reports of dating in lower-middle and lower class neighborhoods, this proportion seems very high. The proportion of female youth who report having boy friends increases with the social class of the neighborhood, whereas the proportion of male youth who report having girl friends decreases slightly with the social class of the neighborhood. In view of the greater risk to the girls' reputations, it is remarkable that so many girls did report having boy friends. Because the Western pattern of courtship is less well known and accepted, because having a friendship with a boy is more often

supposed to be immoral, and because the marriage age for girls is lower, fewer girls in the lower classes are likely to have or to report heterosexual relationships. The slight decrease in the proportion of boys in the middle classes who report having girl friends, if it is not incidental, probably reflects the boys' greater preoccupation with education and competitive sports. On the whole, there is no significant difference among the neighborhoods in the proportions of youth reporting heterosexual relationships.

Activities commonly shared by a dating couple include meeting at the cinema, "going out" (beranō yāōyā) to places like the Botanical Gardens, the Lakes in South Calcutta, Eden Garden, and coffee houses in North Calcutta, as well as studying together at colleges, universities, or libraries. Places like these offer the couple some privacy from the scrutiny of disapproving elders and an opportunity to talk. Talking is an activity which might be overlooked by Western teenagers, but was the most frequently mentioned activity shared by courting youth in these three Calcutta neighborhoods. A few of the youth reported having sexual relations, others explicitly stated that the relationship did not involve physical intimacy.

There is a tendency for two couples to go places together, because girls usually must be accompanied by another girl to obtain parental permission to go to the movies or elsewhere. Only an occasional youth, typically in Badur Bagan, reported that he could tell his mother

about his girl friend and almost no one reported talking with his father about heterosexual relationships. The discussion of personal matters is generally proscribed between members of adjacent generations and even to a considerable extent between older and younger members of the same generation except between occupants of a few specified statuses, as between boudi and deōr. The majority of youth tell only a few close friends, whose assistance may be needed, about their relationships. A few also confide in a boudi (ElBrWi) or an older sibling.

Although about a third of the youth have girl friends or boy friends, which is a very sizeable proportion for a city where arranged marriages have long been the norm, there remain two-thirds of the youth who do not have romantic attachments. When asked why he or she didn't have a girl friend or boy friend, the most frequent response, given by the majority, was "Āmār pachanda kare nā," or "I prefer not to," but with the connotation of disapproval as well as personal choice. Girls in Badur Bagan and Mallik Para often added that their parents (mā, bābā) or people "at home" (bārīte) disapprove. Boys less frequently express concern about parental approval. Lack of "scope" or opportunity is the third most frequently given reason for not having a girl friend or boy friend. The frequency with which "scope" or other circumstantial reasons are cited is directly related to the social class of the neighborhood. As shown above, the proportion of youth who would prefer or approve of individual participation in mate selection is directly related to the social class of the neighborhood. Not all of those youth who advocate personal mate

selection have yet had the opportunity to mix with or date girls or boys. Thus, the relative frequency of situational as opposed to moral reasons for not having a girl friend or boy friend increases with the acceptance of the principle of individual participation in mate selection and both are related to social class.

In all three neighborhoods the attitudes of youth toward those who have girl friends or boy friends was reported to depend on the intentions and character of the youth involved. In response to the question, "If a friend of yours were to fall in love, what would you do?" most youth said it would depend on whether or not the girl or boy were bhālo or "good." The respondents indicated that if the boy and girl were good and suited to each other, the friend should express approval and possibly assist in passing messages, setting up meetings or the like. However, if the boy or girl were khārāp or "bad," the friend should express disapproval, try to convince his friend, and failing that stop speaking to him or break connections. More conservative youth stated that they would apply such negative sanctions regardless of the character of the girl friend or boy friend.

The developing pattern of courtship is closely related to the acceptance of greater individual participation in mate selection. As shown in Table 5.15, boys and girls who advocate individual mate selection rather than parental selection are more likely to have or have had a girl friend

TABLE 5.15

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREFERRED TYPE OF MARRIAGE AND DATING

	No boy friend or girl friend	Has boy friend or girl friend	Totals
Prefer elders to select spouse ^a	130	30	160
Prefer to select own spouse ^b	40	57	97
Totals	170	87	257

Chi square = 41.41, df = 1, $p < .001$

^aCombines alternatives a and b from Table 5.12 and Appendix B, Question 47.

^bCombines alternatives c and d from Table 5.12 and Appendix B, Question 47.

or boy friend. The field from which a youth can select a girl friend or boy friend is limited by the need for secrecy and the strong emphasis on marital intention. Accordingly, the typical youth can have a dating relationship with very few persons. The system of courtship, as it is unfolding, allows a couple to develop strong personal bonds. However, the opposition of the filial bond and the conjugal bond, developed in courtship, is intensified because of parental and community disapproval and by norms restricting communication between members of adjacent generations.

Criteria for Mate Selection

The head of each household including unmarried youth between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five was asked what gun or qualities he thought desirable in a bride and in a groom. Likewise, each of the adolescent respondents was asked what type of bride or groom he or she preferred. The question was open-ended and there was considerable variation in the number of qualities mentioned within as well as among the three neighborhoods. Generally, the respondents from Mallik Para and especially those from Badur Bagan listed more attributes than respondents in Panchanantala. The frequencies and ranking of the categorized responses are shown in Tables 5.16 and 5.17.

In evaluating a prospective groom, the typical household head first considers several variables which constitute a measure of the groom's economic independence. It is essential that the groom have a job. In Panchanantala a father may be satisfied if the prospective groom is working regularly and earning enough to feed his daughter. It is expected or at least hoped that the bride will not have to work outside the home to feed herself or her children. In Mallik Para most household heads hope that the prospective groom will not only earn a living wage, but preferably have the security of a salaried position (cakri). With increasing social status an assessment of a man's economic independence requires a judgment of his potential for advancement as well as of his present position. Educational

TABLE 5.16

CRITERIA FOR MATE SELECTION REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Attributes listed as desirable	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Groom	Bride	Groom	Bride	Groom	Bride
	N Rank	N Rank	N Rank	N Rank	N Rank	N Rank
Education	8 (3)	10 (2)	35 (2)	32 (1)	26 (1)	24 (1)
Job or earnings	22 (1)	--	39 (1)	2	23 (2)	1
Own house or land	12 (2)	--	14 (3)	--	12 (4)	--
Home making skills	--	27 (1)	--	25 (2)	--	12 (2)
Appearance	--	1	4	14 (3½)	1	9 (4)
Character	7 (4)	4	13 (4)	14 (3½)	18 (3)	11 (3)
Family or <u>baṅsa</u>	3	2	12 (5)	13 (5)	7 (5½)	4
Health	1	--	8 (6)	4	7 (5½)	4

Rankings are given for attributes listed by five or more respondents.

qualifications are thus increasingly important in the middle and upper strata of the society. The young professional or the beginning businessman often earns little more than the skilled worker, but he has greater opportunities for increasing his income.

For both household heads and youth the relative frequency with which education is mentioned varies directly with the social class of the neighborhood. Furthermore, although I have classified them together, the lower class respondents more often mention lekḥā-parā or the ability to read and write as the desired attribute, whereas middle and

TABLE 5.17

CRITERIA FOR MATE SELECTION REPORTED BY YOUTH

Attributes listed as desirable	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Groom	Bride	Groom	Bride	Groom	Bride
	N Rank	N Rank	N Rank	N Rank	N Rank	N Rank
Education	2	6 (4)	28 (2)	20 (2)	47 (1)	25 (1)
Job or earnings	17 (1)	--	19 (3)	--	29 (3)	2
Own house or land	--	--	2	--	3	--
Home making skills	--	9 (2)	--	10 (4)	--	2
Appearance	15 (2)	13 (1)	31 (1)	22 (1)	18 (4)	20 (2)
Character	8 (3)	8 (3)	17 (4)	17 (3)	37 (2)	19 (3)
Family or <u>bansa</u>	2	--	1	3	3	2
Health	--	--	--	1	3	--

upper-middle class respondents more often desire a person who is siksito or "educated." Among the Bengali bhadralok who value learning and scholarship, educational achievement is considered indicative of an intellectual and refined life style. Thus, in Badur Bagan education is the most frequently mentioned attribute not only for the groom, for whom education may have economic implications, but also for the prospective bride who is not ordinarily expected to earn. Moreover, in Badur Bagan learning or education is the first ranking attribute, most frequently mentioned by both the household heads and the youth. The importance of education to lower class Bengalis should not be minimized, however. Even in Panchanantala among household heads, some

of whom are illiterate, education is the third most frequently mentioned attribute, being mentioned only less frequently than directly economic attributes.

In the lower class and especially among those who are oriented to the village, land ownership is a productive asset and frequently mentioned as a desirable attribute of the groom's family. The ownership of an urban house also provides economic security as well as prestige. The relative importance of property ownership as a marital asset is negatively related to the social class of the neighborhood. Lacking the options provided by education and with only precarious employment, property is a relatively more important form of security for lower and lower-middle class families. The residents of Panchanantala and Mallik Para, particularly those with a village base, are inclined to invest any extra income in industrial, agricultural, or residential property, whereas upper caste families living in Calcutta where costs are higher are often committed to a life style which emphasizes educational achievement, cultural pursuits, and social amenities (see Owens 1971: 107-109 for a similar observation).

It is noteworthy that the three types of attributes most frequently mentioned by household heads: job or earnings, education, and property--are the same attributes which are most often used by American sociologists in constructing measures of socio-economic status. Another less frequently mentioned attribute, bansa or family respectability, also

contributes to socio-economic status as it is evaluated in the United States. Bansa is ordinarily used in a broad sense to refer to the moral reputation and social status of one's ancestors, but it may also be used in a narrow sense to refer to the purity of one's pedigree gauged by the strictness with which one's ancestors adhered to the caste rules for forming marriages. Thus, bansa, meaning inherited family prestige or respectability, is analogous to the factor used by Warner (1942) in differentiating the upper-upper and lower-upper classes in Yankee City. The assumption that an arranged marriage will be made within the caste limits the field of selection. Within that field the statements of these household heads indicate that in arranging a daughter's marriage, primary consideration is given to the socio-economic status of the groom and his family.

Secondarily, household heads typically mention the prospective groom's "character" (caritro) or "temperament" (svabhab). A few respondents specified "intelligence," "smartness" (in the British sense), "industriousness," "gentleness" or "politeness" (namrata), "honesty" and "sobriety" as desirable attributes, but most did not go beyond saying that the groom's "behavior" (byābahār) or "character" (caritro) should be "good" (bhalo). In describing the desirable groom, female adolescents sometimes added that he should be "loving" (bhālobāsbe). Otherwise, the aspects of character mentioned by the girls correspond closely to those mentioned by their fathers.

However, for another major category of attributes, appearance, there is a sharp difference in the relative frequency of mention by household heads and by female youth. Appearance is mentioned more frequently by girls in Panchantala and Mallik Para than even the economic attributes of the prospective groom and is the fourth ranking attribute listed by girls in Badur Bagan. Yet the appearance of the groom is almost never mentioned as an important attribute by the household heads. Most youth used the phrase dekhte bhalo or "good looking" and many qualified their statements by saying that the groom need not be handsome, but he should not be ugly. The adolescents' emphasis on appearance appears to be part of a more general romantic emphasis on appeal or attraction. In so far as marriages are arranged by family elders who ensure economic compatibility, girls are relatively free to dream about the appearance and character of their future husbands. But in Badur Bagan where girls may have a somewhat larger role in selecting their mates, three other attributes: education, character, and job or earnings are mentioned more frequently than appearance.

In selecting a bride, her economic independence is of little concern. Only five respondents mentioned an occupational role as being a desirable attribute for a bride. Likewise, because patrilocal residence is expected, it is of little concern whether the bride's family owns a house or land. On the other hand, education is a frequently

mentioned attribute of the ideal bride as well as of the ideal groom. Education is said to be important because the bride is expected to transmit cultural tradition and family customs and to be able to give her children a basic education. Education is also understood to be an indicator of both social status and cultural refinement. Nevertheless, although education is valued, the bride should not have more schooling than the groom. The goal is to match the relative educational achievement of the bride and groom so that her education approaches, but does not exceed his.

It is considered very important for a bride to "know her family duties" or "have the necessary home making skills" (sañsārer kāj jānbe). In Panchanantala household heads mention home making skills most frequently, and in Badur Bagan and Mallik Para household heads mention home making skills less frequently than only education. Thus, in Panchanantala a bride's knowledge of the concrete skills needed to maintain a household is relatively more important than her ability to read or write, but in Badur Bagan, where many household tasks are performed by servants, the wife's presentation of herself as intelligent, gracious, and understanding is relatively more important.

In addition, the prospective bride, like the prospective groom, should be "well behaved" and of "good character." There is repeated emphasis on the bride's ability to please and comply with her husband's parents and other

family members as well as her husband. The ideal bride, as described by these respondents, should be "gentle," "polite," "patient," "loving," "good nature," "intelligent," and "gracious."

The ideal bride should also be "beautiful" (sundar), or at least "good looking" (dekhte bhalo), and she should be "fair" (pharsā). In Bengal skin color is considered to be an important component of beauty, and also has implications for inherited family prestige (Bertocci 1970: 189-190). Male adolescents in Panchanantala and Mallik Para mentioned the prospective bride's appearance more frequently than any other attribute, and male adolescents in Badur Bagan mention only education more frequently. On the other hand, household heads mention the bride's appearance less frequently than education, home making skills, and character.

The differences between the attributes desired in a groom and those desired in a bride may be summarized as follows. The groom's job or earning power is one of his most important attributes, but a bride's earning power is of little consequence. Similarly, the property owned by the groom or his family is an important asset in marriage negotiations, but property owned by the bride's family is infrequently mentioned although it occasionally may be part of her dowry. Conversely, the bride's awareness of family duties and her knowledge of home making skills are paramount, but the groom's knowledge of household duties is

inconsequential. The bride's appearance is mentioned somewhat more frequently than the groom's. Education, character, and inherited family prestige are given about equal mention for both bride and groom, though as noted earlier the type of education (scientific, technical, and commercial) desired for men differs from that (liberal arts) desired for women. Similarly the personality of the ideal groom should be more assertive, and that of the ideal bride should be more adaptive.

The differences in the ideal attributes of bride and groom according to the social class of the respondents are summarized below. The relative frequency with which education is mentioned is directly related to social class. By contrast the relative frequency with which concretely economic and productive skills are mentioned is inversely related to social class. Thus, the groom's job and wages and the bride's home making skills are relatively more important in Panchanantala than in Badur Bagan and Mallik Para. The relative frequency with which property ownership is mentioned is also inversely related to social class. The character, ~~or personality~~ of the prospective bride and groom is mentioned somewhat more frequently in Badur Bagan than in Mallik Para or Panchanantala, whereas appearance is relatively more frequently mentioned by youth in Panchanantala than by youth in Badur Bagan.

The following statements summarize the differences in the attributes desired by the household heads and those

desired by youth. Appearance is mentioned much more frequently by youth than by household heads. The emphasis on appearance by youth is especially great in Panchanantala and Mallik Para where appearance is the attribute most frequently mentioned by youth, but is rarely mentioned by household heads. As a result of the emphasis on appearance, the rank order of most other attributes is somewhat lower for youth than for household heads. Thus, home making skills are mentioned relatively less frequently by male youth than by household heads in each neighborhood. Job or earnings is mentioned relatively less frequently by youth than by household heads in Mallik Para and Badur Bagan. Education is mentioned relatively less frequently by youth than by household heads in Panchanantala and Mallik Para, but in Badur Bagan education is the attribute most frequently mentioned by both male and female youth and by household heads. Property ownership is an attribute frequently mentioned by household heads, but rarely mentioned by youth.

Age at Marriage

The age of marriage reflects the length of time necessary to acquire the attributes considered desirable or necessary prior to the allocation of legitimate sexual maturity. In particular, the marriage age of males in Calcutta is closely related to the length of time necessary for the prospective groom to establish an earning capacity. He

should have completed his education and have been placed in an occupation appropriate for his social class and educational attainment. A girl should have completed her education, have learned the essential home making skills, and be ready to assume the roles of wife and mother before she is considered old enough to marry.

Each household head was asked to indicate at what age boys should be married and at what age girls should be married. The median age and the range of ages reported by the household heads in each neighborhood are shown in Table 5.18. On the average boys are not expected to be ready for marriage until their middle or late twenties, but it is generally considered desirable for girls to be married in their late teens or early twenties.

As is shown in Tables 5.19 and 5.20 the actual ages of marriage of the age cohort most recently married (30-39 for males, 20-29 for females) correspond very closely with

TABLE 5.18
PREFERRED AGE FOR MARRIAGE REPORTED BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS

	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Bride	Groom	Bride	Groom	Bride	Groom
Median Age	16	24	19	26	20	27
Range of reported ages	10-25	16-35	14-25	18-33	15-30	25-35

TABLE 5.19

MEDIAN AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR MEN

Present age	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Median age at marriage	Number	Median age at marriage	Number	Median age at marriage	Number
30-39	23	30	25	32	28	15
40-49	21	43	26	13	28	18
50-59	20	11	25	15	27	20
60 +	<u>20</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>23</u>
	21	93	25	76	27	76

TABLE 5.20

MEDIAN AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR WOMEN

Present age	Panchanantala		Mallik Para		Badur Bagan	
	Median age at marriage	Number	Median age at marriage	Number	Median age at marriage	Number
20-29	16	24	17	33	20	15
30-39	14	51	16	23	18	25
40-49	10	22	14	18	17	15
50-59	9	17	12.5	10	14.5	14
60 +	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>16</u>
	13	122	15	96	16	85

the preferred ages. If anything the preferred age at marriage is higher than the median age of those already married, reflecting a continuation of the long trend towards higher marriage ages in Calcutta and in India generally (Kapadia 1966: 156-159).

As shown in Table 5.19 the median age at marriage has risen by three years for men in Panchanantala and in Badur Bagan over the past forty years. The fact that the average marriage age has not risen perceptibly in Mallik Para probably reflects the changing composition of the neighborhood with more lower class tenants moving into a neighborhood that was reportedly occupied previously mainly by the land owners, who then had larger holdings and fewer tenants. Among men presently of marriageable age a further sharp rise in the median age at marriage is indicated by the proportion of males who remain single beyond the ages at which their immediate elders had already married, as shown in Table 5.21. The rise in marriage age for men parallels the gradually increasing educational attainment of men in each social class as was discussed in Chapter II. It also reflects the scarcity of jobs and the correspondingly high unemployment rates for the educated as well as the less educated in Calcutta. It may take a young man several years to find a suitable job, or he may take a job which requires less education and wait several years until he finds or moves up to a position considered appropriate to his socio-economic status, and his marriage is postponed accordingly.

TABLE 5.21

PROPORTION OF YOUNG MEN EVER MARRIED, BY AGE

Age	Panchanantala			Mallik Para			Badur Bagan		
	Married men	All men	Percent married	Married men	All men	Percent married	Married men	All men	Percent married
20-24	7	25	28%	3	23	13%	0	24	0%
25-29	13	20	65%	8	22	36%	4	21	19%
30-34	13	15	87%	16	25	64%	7	13	54%
35-39	27	27	100%	16	17	94%	15	20	75%

TABLE 5.22

PROPORTION OF YOUNG WOMEN EVER MARRIED, BY AGE

Age	Panchanantala			Mallik Para			Badur Bagan		
	Married women	All women	Percent married	Married women	All women	Percent married	Married women	All women	Percent married
10-14	1	34	3%	0	35	0%	0	22	0%
15-19	11	22	50%	5	28	18%	0	31	0%
20-24	15	15	100%	17	27	63%	9	29	31%
25-29	15	15	100%	15	15	100%	8	13	62%
30-34	32	32	100%	13	14	93%	16	20	80%
35-39	26	26	100%	12	12	100%	16	17	94%

The median age at marriage has risen even more sharply for women than for men. Over the past fifty years there has been an average increase of seven or eight years in the marriage age for women in each neighborhood, as shown in Table 5.20. The custom of gaurīdān or "giving a Hindu girl of eight" in marriage was formerly held as an ideal at least among the higher castes in Bengal, as in other parts of northern India. Although parents continue to worry about their daughters' virginity and to restrict them in many ways, marrying a girl before puberty is no longer legal nor is it favored by the vast majority of respondents. The marriage age for women may have been raised in response to reform movements which, for example, were intended to reduce the number of women widowed as children. But, perhaps the greatest change has occurred as formal education has become an increasingly important attribute of a woman's social status. Just as the average number of years of schooling has risen more sharply for females than for males, so has the age of marriage risen more sharply for females than for males.

One result is to narrow somewhat the gap between the sexes. The difference between the ages of husband and wife is ordinarily quite large in Bengal. Nevertheless, the median number of years difference is less for younger couples than for older couples as shown in Table 5.23. The difference has decreased from an average of between ten and twelve years in couples in which the husband is over sixty to

TABLE 5.23

MEDIAN AGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE,
BY PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Present age of husband	Panchanantala Median years difference N		Mallik Para Median years difference N		Badur Bagan Median years difference N	
30-39	8	36	8	26	8	19
40-49	10	54	10	15	8	21
50-59	10	15	11	18	10	21
60 +	11	18	12	17	10	25

eight years in couples in which the husband is under forty. The difference in the median ages preferred by household heads for the marriage of boys and girls, as was shown in Table 5.18, are even smaller, only seven years in each of the three neighborhoods.

Even though the age at marriage has risen in each of the neighborhoods studied, there remain consistent differences between the age of marriage in the lower class neighborhood and the lower-middle class neighborhood and between it and the upper-middle class neighborhood. In each age cohort there is a difference of from five to seven years between the age at marriage of men living in Panchanantala and men living in Badur Bagan and a difference of from three to seven years between the age at marriage of women living in Panchanantala and women living in Badur Bagan. For at least the last fifty years, then, both men and women in the

higher classes have been marrying later than men and women in the lower classes. The differences in age at marriage among neighborhoods differing in social class, like those between different age cohorts and even those between males and females are directly related to the average number of years of formal education.

Freedom of Marital Choice

Goode listed some of the major world changes he predicted would occur in family systems as "earlier patterns begin to move toward some conjugal family variant." First among these is:

Freedom of marital choice, with the following concomitant changes:

- a) Marital bargaining is taken from the hands of ~~elders~~;
- b) The young couple must be economically independent;
- c) The age of females at marriage is likely to drop in Japan, but to rise slightly in China and substantially in Arab countries and India; the age of males depends on several additional variables; at a minimum, there develops the notion of a "proper maturity at marriage" for both;
- d) The pattern of class homogamy does not change greatly;
- e) In cultures where there was nearly universal marriage (India, Japan, China), there may be a slight diminution in the percentage ever married; and
- f) Age-discrepant marriages, i.e., between spouses of very different ages, diminish (Goode 1963a: 249-250).

From the data obtained in these three neighborhoods in Calcutta, it appears that each of these changes has occurred to some degree. The "love marriage" preceded by a period of courtship is gaining in acceptance as an alternative to

the arrangement of a marriage by family elders. Between one-fifth and one-half of the youth in each neighborhood would prefer a marriage in which the couple know each other and decide to marry, but in which the wedding ceremony is formally arranged by family elders who give their blessing to the marriage. In these neighborhoods approximately one-third of the unmarried youth between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five reported having or having had a boy friend or girl friend. About half of the "dating" youth think the relationship will lead to marriage. With the small number of marriages in any one neighborhood in a given year, too few households were surveyed to ascertain accurately the proportion of love marriages, but it appears to be increasing. In addition to marriages in which a friendship is initiated by the couple, there are indications that youth are gaining a more important role in the customary arrangement of marriages. It appears that members of the same generation as the bride and groom are playing an increasingly important part in suggesting potential mates and in acting as intermediaries. In many families the person whose marriage is being arranged is given a chance to see his prospective spouse, and to express his opinion in making the final decision. Nevertheless, any statement that love marriages are gaining in acceptance or that youth have more prerogatives in the decision making process, must be tempered by the fact that the vast majority of marriages in Calcutta are arranged entirely by family elders and

that almost as many youth prefer it that way.

The earning capacity of the prospective groom is of paramount importance whether the marriage is arranged by elders or by the couple. Household heads listed job or earnings, education, and property ownership most frequently among the qualities sought in a prospective groom. The economic independence of the bride is of less importance although education, which is highly valued as an attribute of social status, is also understood to provide a woman with a means of support through teaching in the event of widowhood or divorce.

The age at marriage has risen sharply among females in each neighborhood over the past fifty years, from before puberty to the late teens or early twenties. The age at marriage among males has also risen gradually in response to the increasing demands for higher education and the scarcity of jobs in Calcutta.

Homogeneity of socio-economic status is typical in both arranged and love marriages. Within the boundaries imposed by caste, careful consideration is given to balancing the socio-economic characteristics of both families. Hypergamy is acceptable and sometimes advocated, but the interest of the groom's family in having an educated and culturally refined daughter-in-law operates against any great discrepancy in socio-economic status. Nor do there appear to be any distinct discrepancies in social class in the few occurring love marriages. Such couples have

typically been students together, been members of the same club, have lived in adjoining neighborhoods, or in a few cases the groom has worked for someone in the bride's family.

Marriage is still universal for women in Panchanantala and Mallik Para. (One woman over twenty-five is unmarried because she is physically handicapped.) However, in Badur Bagan there are a few unmarried women above the age of thirty and even a couple over forty. The numbers, however, are too small to make any meaningful statement about rates or trends.

The average size of the discrepancy between the ages of husband and wife has diminished. In the neighborhoods studied the median number of years difference between the ages of the husband and wife have decreased from ten or more years to eight years in the past forty years.

In summary, freedom of marital choice is gradually being realized with the predicted concomitant changes and observable family structure does appear to be moving toward some variant of the conjugal family. But the ideals of the patrilineal joint family and the Hindu bibaho continue to be advocated by the majority of the respondents from these three neighborhoods. By gradually redefining the essence of family jointness and by slowly establishing norms about what kind of mate will be approved by family elders, the apparent contradictions between observable behavior and reported ideals are being reconciled.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

In this thesis I have tried to analyze variations in the application of the principles of ascription and achievement to determine not which statuses are chosen and achieved or ascribed and affirmed, but rather how these principles coexist and interact in the allocation of adult occupational and familial statuses.

The overall status or rank of a neighborhood reflects the rankings of its residents on a series of evaluated characteristics. Income, occupation, education, **caste**, recency of migration to the Calcutta Metropolitan District, and household type are among the evaluated characteristics or rankable attributes on which the distributions or average rankings of the residents of Panchanantala, Mallik Para, and Badur Bagan vary in a linear fashion. The median reported monthly household income varies from Rs. 130 in Panchanantala, to Rs. 255 in Mallik Para, to Rs. 600 in Badur Bagan. In the distribution of occupations the proportion of adult men who are employed in the professions varies from none in Panchanantala, to eight per cent in Mallik Para, to twenty-five per cent in Badur Bagan. Conversely, the proportion of adult men who are employed in small scale trade, personal services, construction, and day labor varies from eighty per cent in Panchanantala, to thirteen per cent in Mallik Para, to one per cent in Badur Bagan. The median level of education attained by the fathers of male youth is a primary

education in Panchanantala, a secondary education in Mallik Para, and a college education in Badur Bagan. The distribution of reported caste membership shows that the three upper castes, Brahman, Baidya, and Kayastha, account for eighteen per cent of the households in Panchanantala, forty-seven per cent of the households in Mallik Para, and eighty-seven per cent of the households in Badur Bagan. The household head was born in the cities of Calcutta or Howrah in ten per cent of the households in Panchanantala, in forty per cent of the households in Mallik Para, and in fifty-one per cent of the households in Badur Bagan. The total proportion of joint family households varies from five per cent in Panchanantala, to eleven per cent in Mallik Para, to twenty-six per cent in Badur Bagan, including nine per cent, twenty-two per cent, and thirty-nine per cent of the populations of the three neighborhoods respectively. The higher proportions result from both a greater proportion of households in which lineal and/or collateral juncture is possible and higher ratios of actual to possible juncture.

The differences in these and other evaluated characteristics are generally perceived by the residents of each neighborhood and reflected in their descriptions of the social class of the neighborhood. Households in Panchanantala typically report that the residents of their neighborhood are poor or belong to the working class (sramik sreni), while those in Mallik Para and Badur Bagan report that the residents of their neighborhoods belong to the

middle class (madhya bitto). Of those who don't describe the neighborhood as simply middle class, the majority in Badur Bagan describe it as upper-middle class, while the majority in Mallik Para describe it as mixed or lower-middle class.

Clearly, the youth in each neighborhood have grown up in markedly different environments, and their eventual adult placement differs accordingly. The proportion of youth who have completed Class IV, considered to be the minimum for permanent literacy, varies from thirteen per cent for girls and thirty-nine per cent for boys in Panchanantala, to eighty-eight per cent for girls and ninety-five per cent for boys in Mallik Para, to ninety-eight per cent for girls and one hundred per cent for boys in Badur Bagan. The percentage of boys in Badur Bagan who have entered college is twice as high as the percentage of boys in the same age cohort in Panchanantala who have remained in school beyond the primary level. The percentage of girls in Badur Bagan who have gone to college is higher than the percentage of girls in Panchanantala who have learned to read.

In India as a whole the proportionate increases in secondary and college level enrollments have risen faster than primary enrollment and the Calcutta Metropolitan District had in 1965 fallen behind other urban areas in India in the proportion of children between the ages of six and ten who are in school primarily because of a failure to provide free public education for children whose families

cannot provide the tuition fees at private schools. The discrepancy among the average levels of education attained by male youth in the three neighborhoods is no less than that among their fathers, and with the relatively sharp increase in education for middle class girls with no corresponding change in the rate of literacy among lower class girls, the discrepancy in the average level of education attained by female youth in the three neighborhoods is considerably greater than that among their mothers.

The types of occupations which are open to youth and the salaries earned are tied to their educational attainment. Both educational and occupational aspirations of students vary by neighborhood and in each neighborhood exceed the levels which students are apt to attain. Occupational aspirations are typically phrased in terms of a profession which represents the end-point of one of the four main educational curricula: the science, commercial, technical, and arts lines. Despite the fact that even in Badur Bagan no more than twenty-five per cent of the adult men and eleven per cent of the women are in the professions, ninety per cent of the male students in Badur Bagan, and the majority of the male students in Panchanantala and Mallik Para, as well as the majority of middle class female students all aspire to professional careers. The profession is seen as the goal, the line as the means, and the student proceeds as far as possible. When he has completed his education, the male youth accepts the best available

position in his line. The distribution of occupations of young men up to age twenty-five who have entered the labor market closely parallels that of the older men in their neighborhoods, but with slightly higher proportions of industrial workers. Although much has been said about the unemployment rate among educated males, the proportion of nonstudents up to age twenty-five who do not have jobs is highest in Panchanantala and lowest in Badur Bagan, varying inversely with the education level of the youth.

While males compromise on the best available job because of the strong expectation that they should contribute economically, middle class females who do not attain their professional goals generally remain out of the labor force. A major factor is the lack of culturally acceptable, non-manual jobs for women with less than a college education. Although a fairly large proportion of fathers in Mallik Para stated that clerical jobs were suitable for girls, no women or girls in Mallik Para, and only three women over twenty-five and one younger girl in Badur Bagan have taken clerical jobs. Uneducated girls do not ordinarily aspire to any occupation. Nevertheless, they are more likely than middle class girls to enter the labor force, generally as domestic or institutional servants. Girls are further handicapped by the fact that in each neighborhood boys receive more formal education than girls, although the increase in the amount of schooling has been more rapid for middle class girls than for middle class boys. The education of males

and females differs in the curricula pursued as well as in the amount of schooling. Eighty-two per cent of the female college students, but only thirty-one per cent of the male college students in the three neighborhoods are enrolled in programs leading to a Bachelor or Master of Arts degree. Males outnumber females in the science curriculum, and with one exception there are no females from these three neighborhoods studying commerce, engineering, or law. In these neighborhoods, as elsewhere, women's access to many occupations is limited by norms governing the appropriateness of certain kinds of work for women, by fewer years of formal education than males of the same socio-economic status, and by educational channeling into the arts, and away from science, engineering, commerce, and law. In short, sex is an even more basic reference point than birth into an established social group in determining the probability that one will enter the labor force at all and, if in the labor force, in determining the type of work one will do.

The primary economic role of the typical middle class woman consists of domestic labor in the household she entered through a marriage arranged by her family. Marriage is a crucial event in a girl's life, because it fixes her adult status in both the economic and family systems. Traditionally marriage is the only necessary samskara, or Hindu rite of passage, after infancy, for upper caste females, whereas upper caste males are expected to perform a series of samskaras to purify the body and enlighten the

mind (Kapadia 1966: 141). A man ideally and often actually resides continuously with his family of orientation. (If his job requires him to locate elsewhere, it is not likely to happen at the same time as his marriage.) Because the age at marriage of men is an average of eight years more than the age at marriage of women in the same neighborhood, a man has about eight additional years to complete his education and establish himself in an occupation. A middle class woman is often married shortly after she finishes her education and usually before she has had any occupational experience. Furthermore, a male's prestige within the family is enhanced by his earning capacity and by achievements in his occupation, but a woman's occupation, if any, is often seen as conflicting with her saṁsar or family duties. Marriage is, thus, a decisive event for a middle class girl, representing a major point of discontinuity in her life cycle.

Similarly, discordance between the professional aspirations of middle class girls and the occupational role models provided by female members of their families is expressed in their choice of role models. Both boys and girls usually named someone in the occupational line to which they aspired, but while one fourth of the boys selected a member of their household (father, father's brother, or an older brother), only one girl (in Panchanantala) named any female member of her household as a role model. Where the role characteristics emulated by a girl were held by

males, a man was often named as the person a girl emulated. No boy designated a woman as his role model, but seven girls in Mallik Para and twelve in Badur Bagan named men as their role models. The social distance between girls and the role models they name is thus greater than between boys and the role models they name, and the opportunities for anticipatory socialization are correspondingly fewer for girls.

In certain circumstances institutionalized patterns of behavior arise in response to common role strains. An excellent example of this is the emergence and proliferation of age groups in the form of neighborhood sports and puja clubs in Calcutta. According to Eisenstadt age groups arise when the allocation of occupational statuses is not controlled by the family, but by institutions in an economic system under which the individual is ideally given a job on the basis of his ability to fulfill its specific demands, and in which his performance is evaluated universalistically. Age groups provide diffuse affective support for youth as they learn various general role dispositions which cannot be learned in the family.

In the neighborhoods studied age groups are an important socializing force for most adolescent boys, but not for most adolescent girls. The relative importance of friendships and of clubs in the socialization of female and male youth were found to differ significantly. The peer relationships of boys are centered around neighborhood

clubs. Each of the neighborhoods has an active sports and puja club formed by local boys. Many boys are also members of clubs outside the neighborhood. The peer relationships of girls, however, are primarily diadic, consisting of friendships with specific others. Of the few girls who belong to clubs for a short period, almost all belong to clubs which are directed and supervised by adults. Girls have few opportunities to establish informal neighborhood clubs, and thus less chance than boys of the same socio-economic ~~status~~ to make or implement group decisions or to develop leadership skills.

Whereas boys organize Sarvajanan Pujas as a group for the entire neighborhood, girls attempt to improve a future over which they have little control by making and keeping brata or "devotional vows." Girls may develop patience and fortitude through fasting and careful adherence to prescribed patterns of behavior, but they have relatively ~~small~~ roles in the organization of religious ceremonies which have expressive and integrative significance for the community.

While boys are developing teamwork through group sports, the physical activity of girls is sharply curtailed. Even during the preadolescent period when greater physical activity is allowed, the types of activities which are planned for girls are primarily noninteractional. In drill and exercises girls repeat the actions of a leader, rather than playing from complimentary

positions toward a common goal as in team sports. The role dispositions developed through intense diadic friendships appear to be particularistic and diffuse like those of the family.

The widespread proliferation of Sarvajanin Pujas and athletic clubs in Calcutta and Howrah is relatively recent. The emergence of local sports and puja clubs for male youth has paralleled the transfer of the allocation of male economic roles from the family and caste to government bureaucracies, and commercial and industrial corporations. Age groups have not, however, arisen in those segments of the population in which the family still constitutes the main unit in the social and economic division of labor. Age groups have not arisen to any comparable extent among female youth in these neighborhoods. For females the arranged marriage is still the primary allocative mechanism and their main economic role is played in the family household.

The coexistence and interaction of ascription and achievement is perhaps best illustrated by the analysis of the allocation of familial statuses. The ready acceptance by youth of the principles of family planning exists side by side with stated aspirations to maintain family jointness even beyond the stage when Bengali families ordinarily are partitioned. Nuclear households predominate in each of the neighborhoods studied, with well under half of the population and fewer than one-fourth of the

households being commensally joint. Simultaneously, the joint family is demonstrably strong as an ideal family type which almost all respondents advocate. Two processes appear to minimize the impact of this apparent contradiction. The first is a redefinition of the essential qualities of family jointness to allow for the geographic separation required by occupational mobility. The second is the granting of more individual prerogatives within the family.

Youth increasingly participate in the process of mate selection, but almost all want their elders to make the formal arrangements for the marriage. The love marriage, modeled on the Western pattern of marriage, is recognized as an alternative to the customary Hindu bibaho as a pattern for mate selection. Although youth generally discuss types of marriage using the constructs of the "love marriage" and the bibaho, when a youth describes the kind of marriage he or she prefers it typically contains elements of both patterns. The acceptance of greater individual participation in mate selection is closely related to a developing pattern of courtship. Altogether about one-third of the youth report having or having had a girl friend or boy friend. Although theoretically love can happen to any two persons, the actual field from which a youth can select a girl friend or boy friend is limited by the need for secrecy and the strong emphasis on marital intention.

The pattern of interrelationship between ascription and

achievement in the allocation of adult statuses in these three neighborhoods is similar in many respects to that in other nations. Caste, the ascriptive criterion which has been used most frequently to categorize India as a "traditional" nation, is relatively unimportant as a direct criterion for urban occupational placement. The division of labor is at least ostensibly universalistic and based on specified performance criteria. Even in the allocation of familial statuses the acquired education of both prospective spouses and the occupation and earning capacity of the prospective husband are given primary consideration. Nevertheless, as Linton said, ascriptive criteria play a dominant role in the assignment of most statuses in all societies. Two ascriptive factors: the socio-economic status of the neighborhood and the sex of the prospective incumbent have been shown to be pervasively related to the allocation of adult statuses in the occupational and family systems. I have also tried to show that the way in which ascription and achievement interact and coexist, complementing as well as conflicting with one another, is as important as the relative emphasis given to ascription or achievement in the assignment of a particular status.

Footnotes

¹The transliteration of Bengali words follows the system proposed by Inden and Dimock (1970). The Bengali spelling is that found in Dev (1964). Diacritical marks are used only on the first appearance of a word in the text, except where a word is repeated in a phrase or sentence containing words not previously used.

²A "mess" (from the English military usage) is typically a group of men who live and eat together separated from their families. Workers and students from outlying towns and villages often form "messes" during their residence in Calcutta. Many return to their family homes on weekends and for holidays.

³Broomfield (1968) describes the general social characteristics of the Bengali bhadralok at the beginning of the twentieth century:

a socially privileged and consciously superior group, economically dependent upon landed rents and professional and clerical employment; keeping its distance from the masses by its acceptance of high-caste proscriptions and its command of education; sharing a pride in its language, its literate culture, and its history; and maintaining its communal integration through a fairly complex institutional structure that it had proved remarkably ready to adapt and augment to extend its social power.

.
The advantage in the use of the Bengali word 'bhadralok' is that it emphasizes the attribute which was most important to the members of the group themselves; their social honour. The use of the word underlines the cardinal fact that this was a status group (in Max Weber's sense of the term), not an economic or occupational class. A man did not become a bhadralok simply by achieving a given level of wealth or securing certain employment. Nor did impoverishment or unemployment automatically deprive one of bhadralok status, provided certain values were maintained and certain social proprieties observed (1968: 12-14).

Membership in the bhadralok was not entirely ascriptive, although there were serious obstacles in the path of aspiring entrants.

What we observe here is a point of critical significance: profound bhadralok uncertainty on the

crucial issue of whether their society should be open or closed. If we look carefully at the subjects of social and political discussion at the turn of the century we find that this was the fundamental issue underlying bhadralok debates. Should Bengali society be dominated by a caste elite, drawing its authority and its strength from the great tradition and organic unity of Hinduism, or should free access to the elite be provided for the able individuals of all classes through an expansion of the utilitarian institutions that had been developed in the nineteenth century in contact with Europeans? (1968: 15).

⁴"Bustee" (basti) is a Bengali word adopted from Hindi, where it means a "settled" or "inhabited place" (from bāsa, "dwell"). In Bengali the term is used to refer to a very densely inhabited urban area, a slum or "shantytown," a kind of area commonly inhabited by Hindustani speaking poor immigrants.

A bustee is defined in the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1951, as an "area of land occupied by, or for the purpose of, any collection of huts standing on a plot of land not less than 10 cottahs in area." (Ten cottahs are approximately equivalent to one-sixth of an acre.) A hut means "any building, no substantial part of which, excluding the walls up to a height of 18 inches up to the floor or floor-level, is constructed of masonry, reinforced concrete, steel, iron or other metal." The tenure characteristics of bustees are distinctive. The land is owned by a landlord, who rents it to a person or persons called thika tenants, who build huts on the land and rent them to the families who live in the bustees. The thika tenants themselves often are bustee dwellers (CMPO 1966: 91).

⁵Moorhouse (1972) has written a very readable description of Calcutta based on many earlier studies of Calcutta. See also works by Bose (1965, 1968); C.M.P.O. (1966); Sen (1960); Siddiqui (1969); Chatterjee (1965); and Bagchi (1966).

⁶Sanyal (1971) discusses the forms of caste mobility in Bengal including in addition to the rise of a particular caste in popular estimation, the deviation of a section of a particular caste from the traditional occupation of the caste and the subsequent formation of a new sreni, and movements organized by a particular sreni for recognition as a separate caste and

achievement of a status higher than that of the parent body in the caste hierarchy. He describes in detail the emergence of two new castes, the Sadgops and the Tilis. Risley (1891) and Gait (1901) describe the rise of the Kayasthas in Bengal and the emergence of the term Mahisya to designate Hālik Kaibartas. By 1931 the Mahisyas had become the most populous Hindu caste in Bengal.

In Table 1.2 I have included Kaibartas with Mahisyas because of several instances in which different members of the same family, but different households, replied Mahisya and Kaibarta, and because of replies like that of one respondent who reported: Caste--Mahisya, Sreni--Kaibarta. Whereas Kaibarta is historically the generic term with the Hālik Kaibartas or Mahisyas being one section thereof, it was her understanding and that of some others, that Mahisya is the generic term and farmers, boatmen, and fishermen may be considered to belong to different sections. As they move to the city and adopt urban occupations, even the Jalik Kaibarta appear to adopt the designation Mahisya and merge with the larger body.

⁷ Elder (1968) discusses the applicability of survey research in India, noting the advantages accruing from a survey of a sample of village residents in counteracting the "self selection" of respondents, in legitimatizing questioning, and in permitting comparisons of replies according to caste, age, income, religious belief, and other broad categories.

⁸ For a comparison with the family and economic roles of urban women in Mysore state, see Ross (1961: 54-58, 197-205).

⁹ The tendency to cite economic need to demonstrate "proper motivation" for working is discussed by Epstein (1971: 43). Household heads, even in Badur Bagan, frequently qualified their responses to the question on the desirability of daughters having an occupation by the phrase, "should it become necessary" or described preparation for a job as protection against necessity. While the economic gains of a woman's career are considerable and should not be underestimated (Rapoport and Rapoport 1971: 296), it would stretch the definition of necessity to say that the majority of professional women in Badur Bagan are working out of necessity.

¹⁰ The wish to remain single is apparently not uncommon among middle and upper class women in India. Twenty-eight per cent of a sample of 202 college women in North India reported that, ideally, they would not

marry if it were up to them (Theodorson 1965: 17-26). Some of these girls may have stated a preference for remaining single out of modesty, but others would undoubtedly prefer the opportunity to have a career, which appears to be more readily available to the single woman.

- 11 As indicated in the text, cakri is typically translated as service, but may be better understood as any salaried employment or appointed position. As such cakri does not include business or trade, agriculture or any labor for which daily wages are paid. Under British rule and before large scale industrialization, most salaried positions were government office jobs and many people use the word cakri to refer primarily to office work, especially clerical jobs. However, many large industrial firms now appoint even unskilled and semi-skilled laborers to specific positions and pay monthly salaries. In Panchanantala factory workers who have such salaried positions refer to them as cakri. As the process of appointing workers to salaried positions has spread through the economy, the prestige of having cakri, like the prestige associated with matriculation or any other academic qualification, has been diluted. The main advantage of cakri over business, or for that matter, over wage labor, is said to be in greater job security as well as in employee benefits and pensions.
- 12 "Primitive age sets, age groups and age regiments, the youth dormitories of many Indian tribes, modern youth movements, peer groups, juvenile gangs . . ." are examples of age groups described by Eisenstadt (1956: 35). ". . . the nucleus of an age group organization is a small, usually face-to-face primary group of peers with a strong sense of solidarity and mutual identification . . . its membership is, in principle, based on general age criteria, i.e., a member may be anyone within the age category (age grade)" (Eisenstadt 1956: 184).
- 13 Curtis (1971: 872-880) compares the rates of membership in voluntary associations for national samples of the population over age eighteen in six Western democratic nations. In each country more men than women join voluntary associations, although the difference is relatively small in the U.S. and Canada. Higher rates of membership in voluntary associations for males, as well as for those of higher socio-economic status and education, have also been found by others. For a summary of the literature on voluntary associations, see Sills (1968). Booth (1972) differentiates friendships dyads,

membership in voluntary associations, and kin relations in his study of interpersonal relationships among men and women over forty in Omaha and Lincoln. He finds that working men report more friends and membership in more organizations (including work-related organizations) than women, but non-working men have fewer friends and memberships than working or non-working women. Women's friendships were found to be "affectively richer" with more frequent interaction.

14 The first section of Chapter V on family structure is taken largely from my paper for the Bengal Studies Conference in 1969 (Beech 1971).

15 Households not fitting the defined categories have been divided into:

Other less-than-nuclear: a commensal group not including any married couple; typically a widowed woman with a grandson or adopted child or a small number of related men rooming and eating together, and

Other joint: including two or more related couples, as two or more married brothers and the married son(s) of one or more of the brothers and their wives and children (collateral-lineal joint) or a man and his brother's son and their wives and children.

There may also be unmarried, separated, or widowed relatives living in an other joint household. No distinction has been made among Hindu and registered marriages and other unions between persons in a household.

16 Nicholas (1961) gives the number of instances in which father and son have separated. He also compares the amount of land owned by families with collateral juncture and families with possible collateral juncture who have partitioned their agricultural land but live under the same roof. Nicholas does not indicate the total number of families with possible collateral juncture.

17 If a man has no sons, it is culturally acceptable for him to take his daughter's husband into his household as a ghar jamai, but taking a ghar jamai is not ordinarily done where lineal juncture is possible. Kolenda classifies such joint household between a couple and their married daughter as lineal joint, although they would not be included as having lineal juncture under the present definition. Because there are no ghar jamai joint households in Panchanantala, Mallik Para, or Badur Bagan (although there are several supplemented nuclear households in which a daughter and her husband live with one of her parents and the husband is referred

to as a ghar jamai), all of the households classified as lineal joint, supplemented lineal joint, lineal-collateral joint and supplemented lineal-collateral joint in Table 5.3 have lineal juncture.

- ¹⁸ The Bengali Hindu household undergoes cyclical expansion and nuclearization in almost every generation. The ideal family cycle beginning with the nuclear household may be divided into the following stages: (1) the nuclear household from its formation to the marriage of the oldest son, (2) the lineal joint household from the marriage of the first son to the marriage of the second son, (3) the lineal-collateral joint household from the marriage the second son to the death of his father, and (4) the collateral joint household from the death of the father to the separation of the married brothers. These stages are similar to the cyclical family types used by Nicholas (1961) except that the lineal joint and lineal-collateral joint households are both subsumed in the joint family between a father and his married sons. For a discussion of the definition of family cycle stages for cross cultural comparison, see Morioka (1967) and also Glick (1947) and Goody (1958: 1-14).

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Ames, Michael
1970 Structural Dimensions of Family Life in the Steel City of Jamshedpur, India. Paper prepared for the Conference on Occupational Cultures in Changing South Asia, University of Chicago, May 15-16, 1970.
- Bagchi, K.
1966 The Howrah Conurbation: A Study of Urban Sprawl. Geographical Review of India 28 (1): 16.
- Bailey, F. G.
1960 The Joint Family in India: A Framework for Discussion. Economic Weekly 12: 345-352.
- Basu, T. K. et al.
1962 The Bengal Peasant from Time to Time. Asia Publishing House.
- Beech, Mary Jane
1971 Family Cycle in Three Urban Bengali Neighborhoods. In Robert Beech and Mary Jane Beech, eds., Bengal: Change and Continuity. Michigan State University. Asian Studies Center. South Asia Series, Occasional Paper No. 16: 185-203.
- Bertocci, Peter
1970 Elusive Villages: Social Structure and Community Organization in Rural East Pakistan. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation. Michigan State University.
- Blood, Robert O., Jr.
1967 Love Match and Arranged Marriage: A Tokyo-Detroit Comparison. The Free Press.
- Booth, Alan
1972 Sex and Social Participation. American Sociological Review 37 (2): 183-192.
- Bose, Nirmal Kumar
1965 Calcutta: A Premature Metropolis. Scientific American 213 (3): 90-102.

- 1967 Culture and Society in India. Asia Publishing House.
- 1968 Calcutta 1964: A Social Survey. Bombay: Lalvani Publishing House.
- Boserup, Esther
1970 Woman's Role in Economic Development. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.
- Broomfield, J. H.
1968 Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth-Century Bengal. University of California Press.
- Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization
1966 Basic Development Plan for the Calcutta Metropolitan District 1966-1986. Development and Planning (T and CP) Dept., Government of West Bengal.
- Calkins, Philip
1971 Collecting the Revenue in Early Eighteenth Century Bengal: From the Cultivator to the Zamindar. In Robert Beech and Mary Jane Beech, eds., Bengal: Change and Continuity. Michigan State University. Asian Studies Center. South Asia Series, Occasional Paper No. 16: 185-203.
- Chatterjee, Amiyo Bhusan
1965 Hinterland of a Symbiotic City: A Case Study. Geographical Review of India 27 (2): 55-71.
- Collins, Randall
1971 Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification. American Sociological Review 36 (6): 1002-1019.
- Collver, Andrew
1963 The Family Cycle in India and the United States. American Sociological Review 28 (1): 86-96.
- Curtis, James
1971 Voluntary Association Joining: A Cross-National Comparative Note. American Sociological Review 36 (5): 872-880.
- Day, Rev. Lal Behari
1872 Bengal Peasant Life. London: Macmillan.
- Dev, Ashu Tosh
1964 Students' Favourite Dictionary: Bengali to English. Calcutta: S. C. Mazumder, Dev Sahitya Kutir Private, Ltd., publisher (19th Edition).

- Eisenstadt, S. N.
 1956 From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure. The Free Press.
- Elder, Joseph W.
 1968 Caste and World View: The Application of Survey Methods. In Milton Singer and Bernard S. Cohn, eds., Structure and Change in Indian Society. Aldine.
- Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs
 1971 Woman's Place: Options and Limits in Professional Careers. University of California Press.
- Gait, E. A.
 1902 Census of India, 1901. Vol. IV, Section I, Report on Bengal. Calcutta.
- Glick, Paul C.
 1947 The Family Cycle. American Sociological Review 12 (2): 164-174.
- Goode, William J.
 1959 The Theoretical Importance of Love. American Sociological Review 24 (1): 38-47.
 1963a Industrialization and Family Change. In Bert F. Hoselitz and Wilbert E. Moore, eds., Industrialization and Society. UNESCO Mouton. 239-259.
 1963b World Revolution and Family Patterns. The Free Press.
- Goody, J., ed.
 1958 The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups. Cambridge: The University Press.
- Gore, M. S.
 1968 Urbanization and Family Change. New York: Humanities Press.
- Inden, Ronald and Edward C. Dimock, Jr.
 1970 Problems of Transliteration in Bengali Studies. In Alexander Lipski, ed., Bengal East and West. Michigan State University. Asian Studies Center. South Asia Series, Occasional Paper No. 13: 13-17.
- India, Republic of
 1949 The Constitution of India. New Delhi: Government of India Press.
- India, Republic of
 1962 Census of India, 1961. Paper No. 1 of 1962. Final Population Totals.

- Kapadia, K. M.
1966 Marriage and Family in India. Oxford University Press.
- Karve, Irawati
1965 Kinship Organization in India. Asia Publishing House.
- Kolenda, Pauline M.
1966 Regional Differences in Indian Family Structure. Paper read at the meetings of the Association for Asian Studies, New York, April 1966.

1968 Region, Caste, and Family Structure: A Comparative Study of the Indian "Joint" Family. In Milton Singer and Bernard S. Cohn, eds., Structure and Change in Indian Society. Aldine.
- Laska, John A.
1968 Planning and Educational Development in India. Teachers' College Press, Columbia University.
- Linton, Ralph
1961 Status and Role. In Talcott Parsons et al., eds., Theories of Society. Vol. I, The Free Press.
- Loomis, Charles P. and Zona K. Loomis
1961 Modern Social Theories: Selected American Writers. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc.
- Mead, George Herbert
1964 On Social Psychology: Selected Papers. University of Chicago Press.
- Merton, Robert K.
1957 Social Theory and Social Structure. The Free Press.
- Moorhouse, Geoffrey
1972 Calcutta. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- Morioka, Kiyomi
1967 Life Cycle Patterns in Japan, China, and the United States. Journal of Marriage and the Family 29 (3): 595-606.
- Owens, Raymond
1971 Mahisya Entrepreneurs in Howrah, West Bengal. In Robert Beech and Mary Jane Beech, eds., Bengal: Change and Continuity. Michigan State University. Asian Studies Center, South Asia Series, Occasional Paper No. 16: 87-117.

- Nicholas, Ralph W.
1961 The Economics of Family Types in Two West Bengal Villages. The Economic Weekly 13: 1057-1060.
- Parsons, Talcott and Edward Shils, eds.,
1951 Toward a General Theory of Action. Harvard University Press.
- Rapoport, Rhona and Robert N. Rapoport
1971 Dual-Career Families. Penguin Books.
- Risley, H. H.
1891 The Tribes and Castes of Bengal. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press.

1901 Census of India. Vol. I. Ethnographic Appendices.
- Ross, Aileen D.
1961 The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting. University of Toronto Press.
- Rudolph, Lloyd I. and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph
1967 The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India. University of Chicago Press.
- Sanyal, Hitesranjan
1971 Continuities of Social Mobility in Traditional and Modern Society in India: Two Case Studies of Caste Mobility in Bengal. Journal of Asian Studies 30 (2): 315-339.
- Sarma, Jyotimoyee
1964 The Nuclearization of Joint Family Households in West Bengal. Man in India 44: 193-206.
- Sen, Lalit Kumar
1965 Family in Four Indian Villages. Man in India 45: 1-16.
- Sen, Satyendranath
1960 The City of Calcutta: A Socio-Economic Survey, 1954-55 to 1957-58. Calcutta: Bookland.
- Siddiqui, M. K. A.
1961 Life in the Slums of Calcutta. Economic and Political Weekly 4 (50): 1917-1921.
- Sills, David L.
1968 Voluntary Associations: Sociological Aspects. In David L. Sills, ed., The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 16. Macmillan and The Free Press.

Singer, Milton

- 1972 When a Great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization. Praeger Publishers.

Theodorson, George A.

- 1965 Romanticism and Motivation to Marry in the United States, Singapore, Burma, and India. Social Forces 44 (Sept.): 17-28.

Turner, Ralph

- 1960 Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System. American Sociological Review 25 (5): 855-867.

Useem, John and Ruth Hill Useem

- 1955 The Western-Educated Man in India. New York: The Dryden Press.

Warner, W. Lloyd and Paul S. Lunt

- 1942 The Status System of a Modern Community. Yale University Press.

West Bengal, Gov't of

- 1960 Report on the Bustee Survey in Calcutta, 1958-59. Vol. VIII, Block N: Ballygunge Area. State Statistical Bureau.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Date_____

Household Head_____ Time_____

Household Number_____ Interviewer_____

or Address

INTRODUCTION

As you know, I have come to this neighborhood to learn about the Bengali family, and to gather information about the family from which I will write my Ph D. thesis. This thesis will be submitted to Michigan State University in the U.S A. I have been especially interested in the place of the adolescent in the family and have talked with each of the adolescents in the neighborhood. Finally, I went to talk with you and your neighbors. I hope you won't mind if a few of the questions are of a personal nature. What you say will be kept strictly confidential. When I write the thesis, no names will be included. I will construct percentages and averages from the information you give. If you have any objection or if you want to know more about this, please tell me.

আপনি নিশ্চয় জানেন (বা শুনেছেন) যে আমি এখানে বাঙালী পরিবার সম্বন্ধে পড়াশোনা করতে এসেছি। এই সমস্ত তথ্য আমি আমার P. H. D. থিসিসে লিখব; আর তারপরে আমেরিকার মিশিগান স্টেট ইউনিভার্সিটিতে জমা দেব। আমি বাঙালী পরিবারে বিশেষ করে ছেলেমেয়েদের সম্বন্ধে জানতে চেয়েছি আর এই বিষয়ে তাদের সঙ্গে কথাও বলেছি। শেষে আমি আপনাকে আর আপনার প্রতিবেশীদের কিছু জিজ্ঞেস করতে চাই। আপনি যদি কিছু মনে না করেন তাহলে আপনাকে কতকগুলো ব্যক্তিগত প্রশ্ন করব। আপনি বা বলবেন, তা অল্প কাউকে জানতে দেওয়া হবে না। যখন আমি থিসিস লিখব তখন কোন নাম লিখব না। আপনারা যা বলবেন, তার থেকে শতকরা আর গড় হিসাব করব। যদি আপনার কোন আপত্তি থাকে বা এ সম্বন্ধে আরও কিছু জানবার থাকে তাহলে দয়া করে বলুন।

[illegible]

[illegible]

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

11. Where is your native land ?

আপনার দেশ কোথায় ?

12. a. Where were you born ?

আপনি কোথায় জন্মেছেন ?

b. How many years did you stay there ?

সেখানে কতদিন ছিলেন ?

c. What places have you lived since then ?

তারপর থেকে আর কোন কোন জায়গায় থেকেছেন ?

d. How long have you lived in this house ?

এই বাড়ীতে আপনি কতদিন আছেন ?

13. a. How often do you visit your native place now ?

এখন কতদিন অন্তর দেশে যান ?

Once a month

Several

About

Less than

Never

or more often

times a year

once a year

once a year

b. Which of your relatives are living there now ?

এখন ওখানে আপনার কে কে থাকেন ?

c. Do you own or have a share in any land, houses or other property there ?

দেশে কি আপনার বাড়ী, জমি বা কোন সম্পত্তি আছে ?

No

Yes _____

d. Do you presently bring any income or produce from there ?

আপনি কি এখন দেশের জমিজমা থেকে ফসল, খানিক বা টাক, পয়সা কিছু পান ?

No

Yes _____

14. Is this house your own or rented ?

এ বাড়ী আপনার নিজের না ভাড়া ?

Own

Rented _____

Other (specify)

15. Who owns the land on which the house stands ?

এই জমিটা (যেখানে বাড়ীটা রয়েছে) কার ?

Self _____

Houseowners _____

Another landowner _____

Other (specify) _____

16. Composition of walls.

Brick _____

Mud _____

Bamboo _____

Other _____

17. Construction of roof.

Paka _____

Tile _____

Khola _____

Tin _____

Khar _____

Other _____

18. How many rooms do you have ?

আপনার বাড়ীতে কটা ঘর ?

19. Do you have electricity ? No _____

Yes _____

আপনার বাড়ীতে ইলেকট্রিক লাইট আছে ?

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

20. Here is a ladder. Suppose that the top step on the ladder is a man who has the best possible conditions of life. The bottom step is a man with the worst conditions of life.

এখানে একটা সিঁড়ি আছে। মনে করুন সিঁড়ির পক্ষে এমন একজন লোক আছে, যার অবস্থা খুব ভাল এবং নীচের পক্ষে একজন লোক আছে যার অবস্থা খুব খারাপ।

7
6
5
4
3
2
1

- a. Where are you on this ladder in regard to your conditions of life now ?
এই সিঁড়িতে আপনারা এখন কোথায় ?
- b. Where were you on the ladder five years ago ?
পাঁচ বছর আগে কিভাবে ছিলেন ?
- c. Where will you be on the ladder five years in the future ?
পাঁচ বছর পরে কি ভাবে থাকবেন ?
21. To which socio-economic class would you say most of the people of this neighborhood belong ?

শ্রাব্য দিক দিয়ে বলতে গেলে আপনার পাড়ার লোকেরা কোন শ্রেণীর মধ্যে পড়েন ?

Lower-class	নিম্নবিত্ত	_____
Lower-middle class	নিম্ন মধ্যবিত্ত	_____
Middle-class	মধ্যবিত্ত	_____
Upper-middle class	উচ্চ মধ্যবিত্ত	_____
Upper class	উচ্চ বিত্ত	_____

22. In order that I may make comparisons of life styles and family organization according to the wealth of the family, I am asking about income. As I said before, in writing the thesis all information will be reported as percentages and averages. No names will be used. If you have no objection, then, what is your monthly income ?

আমি আপনাদের পারিবারিক সম্পত্তি আর জীবনযাত্রার মান সংক্ষেপে তুলনামূলক আলোচনা করতে চাই। আর সেইজন্যই আমি আপনাদের আয় জানতে চাই। আগে যেমন বলেছি, থিসিসের মধ্যে কোন নাম থাকবে না আর আপনারা যা বলবেন তার থেকে আমি লুক্কায়িত আয় গড় হিসেব করব।

তাহলে, আপনার যদি আপত্তি না থাকে, দয়া করে বলুন আপনার মাসিক আয় কত।

FOR PARENTS OF ADOLESCENTS.

1. How much education do you think boys should have ?

ছেলেদের কতদূর পর্যন্ত পড়াশোনা থাকা উচিত বলে মনে হয় আপনার ?

2. How much education do you think girls should have ?

মেয়েদের কতদূর পর্যন্ত পড়াশোনা থাকা উচিত বলে মনে হয় আপনার ?

3. What occupation do you desire for your sons ?

ছেলেদের জন্য কি ধরনের কাজ আপনার পছন্দ ?

4. Do you think girls should have an occupation ?

মেয়েদের চাকরী করা কি আপনি পছন্দ করেন ?

No ----- Yes ----- What occupation ?

5. At what age should girls be married ?

মেয়েদের কত বছর বয়সে বিয়ে হওয়া উচিত ?

6. What qualities are desirable in a bridegroom ?

মেয়ের বিয়ের সময় কামাই-এর কি কি গুণ থাকা উচিত ?

7. At what age should boys be married ?

ছেলেদের কত বছর বয়সে বিয়ে হওয়া উচিত ?

8. What qualities are desirable in a bride ?

ছেলের বিয়ের সময় পাত্রবধূর কি কি গুণ থাকা উচিত ?

9. If your son or daughter wanted to marry a girl or boy of his own choice, would you give your approval ?

আপনার ছেলে মেয়ে যদি নিজে পছন্দ করে বিয়ে করতে চায় তাহলে কি আপনি সন্তোষে মেনে নেন ?

10. Would you accept an intercaste marriage for your son or daughter ?

আপনি কি ছেলে বা মেয়ের অন্তর্জাত বিয়ে গ্ৰহণোদ্যম করেন ?

APPENDIX B1

ADOLESCENT SURVEY ENGLISH FORM

Household Number _____ Date _____
Name _____ Time _____
Sex _____ Age _____ Interviewer _____

INTRODUCTION

As you know, we are studying Bengali family life. We have asked you to come here now so that we may learn about you and your family. What you say will be kept strictly confidential. Other people will not be allowed to see your answers. The best answers are those which tell us what you yourself do or believe, not what others say one should do or believe.

KINSHIP AND FAMILY

1. (Before the interview draw the kinship chart for R's household using the information from the household census. Check the accuracy of the previous information with R. Then check for omissions such as siblings living outside the household, siblings who have died, relatives staying with the family or non-related boarders or servants living in the household. Check also for partially concealed relationships, such as step-mother, half-siblings or adopted siblings.)

Household

_____ Coding Space _____

2. (Construct a kinship chart showing all paternal kin descending from R's father's father. If a person is no longer living, indicate R's approximate age at the time of the death. Designate which persons reside together and the location of the residence. Ask when and where R last saw his grandparents and each of his father's siblings, and if different, when R last visited the residence of each. Also request an estimate of the number of times R ordinarily sees each of his father's siblings during a year.

Father's Kin

Residence

Last
Meeting

Last
Visit
to Home

Meetings
per Year

Coding Space

3. (Construct a kinship chart showing all maternal kin descending from R's mother's father. If a person is no longer living, indicate R's approximate age at the time of the death. Designate which persons reside together and the location of each residence. Ask when and where R last saw his grandparents and each of his mother's siblings, and if different, when R last visited the residence of each. Also request an estimate of the number of times R ordinarily sees each of his mother's siblings during a year.

Mother's Kin

Residence

Last
Meeting

Last
Visit
to Home

Meetings
per Year

4. Whom among your mother's and father's brothers and sisters do you like best? Why?
5. Have you ever lived away from your mother and father for a long time with relatives or in a hostel or any other place?
(If yes)
 - a. With whom did you live?
 - b. Where is his house?
 - c. Why did you live there?
 - d. How long did you stay there?
 - e. Did you like living there? Why?
6. When you do something that your family doesn't like, who disciplines you? What do they do?
7. Who in your household keeps things running smoothly?
8.
 - a. If something has to be done, who will do it?
 - b. Can you say anything about what is to be done?
 - c. Will they listen to what you say?
(If yes) When do they listen? On what subjects?
9.
 - a. Who keeps the money for expenses in your household?
 - b. Who keeps the accounts (budgets the funds)?

10. What household work do you do?
11.
 - a. In your household who sleeps in which room?
 - b. Who else shares the same bed (bedding) with you?
12.
 - a. Among your brothers and sisters whom do you like best? Why?
 - b. Whom do you like least? Why?
13. Among the members of your household whom do you respect most? Why?
14. Among the members of your household whom do you like best? Why?
15. What event in your life do you consider most significant or unforgettable? Why is this event most significant?

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

16. Do you wear any amulet?
(If yes) a. What kind of amulet is it?
b. Why are you wearing it?
17. (For girls only)
What bratas do you observe?
(For each) a. What do you have to do for this brata?
b. Why do you do this brata?
c. How long have you been doing it?
18. Do you fast in connection with any brata or puja?
(If yes) a. For which bratas and pujas?
b. What kind of fast do you keep?
(If necessary) Do you fast without water
or may you eat some types of food?
19. Do you help with the preparations for any household
or neighborhood puja?
(If yes) a. For what pujas?
b. What did you do for each?
-

OUTSIDE INTERESTS AND EXPERIENCES

20. What is your favorite way of spending your leisure time?
21. What hobbies do you have? Why do you find these hobbies interesting?
22.
 - a. What is the last movie you have seen?
 - b. When did you see it?
 - c. Before that what was the last movie you saw?
 - d. When did you see it?
23. Ordinarily, how many movies do you see each month?
24. Do you prefer Bengali, Hindi or English movies? Why?
25.
 - a. Other than school books what is the last story book, journal or other book you have read?
 - b. When did you read it?
 - c. Before that what was the last book or journal you read?
 - d. When did you read it?
26.
 - a. What kinds of radio programs do you enjoy?
 - b. About how many hours do you listen to the radio each day?
 - c. Do you have a radio in your home or do you listen some other place?
27.
 - a. When was the last time you went to the village?
 - b. Which village did you go to?
 - c. Why did you go?
 - d. How many times have you gone to the village in the past year?
28. ~~Outside~~ of Howrah district and Calcutta what places have you visited?
(For each)
 - a. When did you go?
 - b. Why did you go?
 - c. With whom did you go?

EDUCATION

29. (Take a complete year by year educational history beginning with R's first school experience. For each year ascertain whether or not the child actually went to school, the name and address of the school, his class and the outcome of the final examination. Elicit explanations for absences from school, class failures, school transfers and if schooling has been discontinued, the reason for this. If R never went to school, probe for full reason.)

School	Address	Class	Pass/Fail	Rank
--------	---------	-------	-----------	------

30. (If in school)
- a. Do you have a private tutor?
(If yes, ask tutor's name, subjects tutored, time spent and salary.)
 - b. Does anyone in your family look at your homework?
- 31.
- a. How much education does your mother think you should have and in what subjects?
 - b. How much education does your father think you should have and in what subjects?
 - c. Does anyone else say anything about your education or help your parents in providing for your education?
 - d. How much education would you yourself like to have and in what subjects?
 - e. (If necessary) We see that there are some differences in opinion about your education. What do you think will actually happen?

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

- 32.
- a. When you are grown up, what work does your mother want you to do?
 - b. What work does your father want you to do?
 - c. Is there anyone else who has an opinion about what you should do?
(If yes) Who? What does he want you to do?
 - d. If you had your own wish, what would you most like to do?
 - e. (If difference exists) We see that there are some differences in opinion. What do you think will actually happen?

FINANCIAL EXPERIENCE

33. Do you do any full- or part-time work, any tuitions, apprenticeship, or anything else for which you are paid?

(If yes) a. What kind of work is it?
b. Where do you work?
c. How long have you had this job?
d. What hours do you work?
e. How much is your salary?
f. Do you like this job? Why?

Have you done any (other) work previously? (If yes, a-f)

34. Besides work, where do you get your spending money?

a. About how much money does your mother usually give you during a week? When does she give it to you?
b. About how much money does your father usually give you during a week? When does he give it to you?
c. Who else regularly gives you spending money?
d. What purchases do you make for the family?
Do you keep any of the change for yourself?

35. What do you buy with your own money?

36. How is your clothing purchased?

CLUBS

37. To which clubs do you belong?
(For each)
- a. What is the name of the club?
 - b. Where does it meet?
 - c. Is there a club house or not?
 - d. Are adults also members of this club?
 - e. Are girls/boys also members of this club?
 - f. What are the dues?
 - g. How much time do you spend at the club?
 - h. What do you do there?
 - i. What things can you do at the club that you can't do other places?

FRIENDSHIP

38. Among your friends who is your best friend?
- a. What is his name?
 - b. Where does he live?
 - c. How did you first meet him?
 - d. Is he studying (in school or college) now?
(If yes) What school? What class?
 - e. Is he also a member of any of the clubs to which you belong?
 - f. What is his caste?
 - g. (If caste is same) Is he related to you?
 - h. Where do you usually see him?
 - i. What do you do together?

Who are your other friends? (For each repeat a-i)

38. (Repeat)

38. (Repeat)

38. (Repeat)

38. (Repeat)

39. Among you and your friends who is the oldest?
Who is the next oldest?
(Continue ranking R and friends by age.)
How old are you?
When is your birthday?

40. (For girls only)
Do you have any patano friends?
(If yes, record each friend's name, the type of friendship and R's age when the friendship was initiated. If the patano friend was not listed previously, repeat 38 a-1.)
41. (For girls only)
Have you ever married one of your dolls with another friend's doll?
(If yes, obtain a description of the wedding(s) including the friend's name, dolls' names, gifts exchanged and food served.)
42. Have you at any time participated in a feast with your friends?
(If yes, obtain a description of the feast(s) including participants, location and food eaten.)

HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS

43. In general, if a boy and girl fall in love, what do other people think?
44. If a friend of yours were to fall in love, what would you do?
Has any friend of yours ever fallen in love?
(If yes) What did you do?

45. Do you have a girl/boy friend?
(If no) Have you ever had a girl/boy friend or any girl/boy whom you liked or who liked you?
(If yes) a. What is her name?
b. Where does she live?
c. About how old is she?
d. How did you meet her?
e. How long ago was that?
f. What do you do together?
g. How often do you see her now?
h. Who else knows that you have a girl/boy friend?
i. What do they think about your girl/boy friend?
j. After five years how do you think your relationship with this girl/boy will stand? Do you think you will marry her?

46. (If no girl/boy friend)
We are finding that many boys and girls have girl friends and boy friends. Why don't you?

MARRIAGE

47. We have seen several types of marriage arrangements.
- a. In one type the elders make all the arrangements and the boy and girl see each other for the first time at the wedding.
 - b. In another type the elders make all the arrangements, but the boy and girl see each other before the wedding and if he or she is not pleased the wedding will not take place.
 - c. In a third type the boy and girl know each other and make the decision to get married, and then their elders make the formal arrangements for the wedding ceremony.
 - d. In a fourth type the boy and girl know each other, make the decision to get married and have a registered marriage without their parents' consent.
- Which type of marriage do you prefer? Why?
48. What type of wife/husband would you prefer? Why?
49. After your marriage if you have your choice, would you prefer to live with your mother and father/father-in-law and mother-in-law or alone with your wife/husband? Why?
50. After many years after your father/father-in-law has died, would you prefer to live with your brothers/brothers-in-law and their wives and children in a joint family or separately with only your own wife/husband and children? Why?
51. After you are grown up and married, how many children would you eventually like to have? Why?

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

52. a. Who are the respected people in this neighborhood?
Why?
53. There is a clerk whose salary is not very high, but who is well educated. There is also a gentleman who is a factory owner. He is not very educated but has lots of money. Of these two whom do you respect more?
Why?
54. There is a Brahmin factory worker and a Mahisya factory owner. Of these two whom do you respect more? Why?
55. There is a Washerman who owns his home and a Mahisya who rents two rooms from another man. Of these two whom do you respect more? Why?
56. Among the adults you know, people in your household, relatives, neighbors, teachers and others, whom would you most like to be like?
What do you especially like about him?
57. In this neighborhood which boy do the other boys try to be like? Why?
58. In this neighborhood which girl do the other girls try to be like? Why?
59. In your opinion what question haven't we asked that we should have asked?

APPENDIX B2
ADOLESCENT SURVEY
BENGALI FORM

Name _____ Date _____
Address or
Household Number _____ Time _____
Sex _____ Age _____ Interviewer _____

INTRODUCTION—তুমি জান যে আমরা বাঙালী পরিবার সম্বন্ধে জানতে চাই। তোমার আর তোমাদের বাড়ীর সম্বন্ধে জানবার জন্য আমরা তোমাকে এখানে আসতে বলেছি। তুমি যা বলবে, সেসব আমরা অন্য কাউকে জানতে দেব না। অন্য কোন লোক তোমার দেওয়া উত্তর দেখতে পাবে না। অন্য লোকে যা করে বা বিশ্বাস করা উচিত মনে করে সেটা নয়, তুমি নিজে যা কর বা বিশ্বাস কর সেটাই ঠিক উত্তর। তাই আমরা জানতে চাই। অন্তরে কি করে বা বিশ্বাস করে তা জানতে চাই না।

KINSHIP AND FAMILY

1. (Before the interview draw the kinship chart of R's household using the information from the household census. First, check the accuracy of the previous information. Then, check for omissions such as siblings living outside the household, siblings who have died, relatives staying with the family or non-related boarders or servants living in the household. Check also for partially concealed relationships, such as step-mother, half siblings or adopted children.)

HOUSEHOLD

(AS-2)

2. (Construct a kinship chart showing all paternal kin descending from R's father's father. If a person is no longer living, indicate R's approximate age at the time of the death. Designate which persons reside together and the location of the residence. Ask when and where R last saw his grandparents and each of his father's siblings, and if different, when R last visited the residence of each. Also request an estimate of the number of times R ordinarily sees each of his father's sibling during a year.)

Father's Kin

Residence

Last

Meeting

Last

Visit

to Home

Meetings

per Year

2. (Construct a kinship chart showing all maternal kin descending from R's mother's father. If a person is no longer living, indicate R's approximate age at the time of the death. Designate which persons reside together and the location of each residence. Ask when and where R last saw his grandparents and each of his mother's siblings, and if different, when R last visited the residence of each. Also request an estimate of the number of times R ordinarily sees each of his mother's siblings during a year.)

Mother's Kin

Residence

Last

Meeting

Last

Visit

to Home

Meetings

per Year

4. তোমার মামা, মাসী, জেঠা, কাকা, পিসী-সকলের মধ্যে কাকে বেশী ভাললাগে ? কেন ?

5. তুমি কি কোনদিন বাবা মাকে ছেড়ে কোন আত্মীয়ের সঙ্গে বা হস্টেলে বা আর কোথাও বশাদিন থেকেছ ?

If Yes

a. কার সঙ্গে থেকেছ ?

b. তার বাড়ী কোথায় ?

c. কেন তুমি সেখানে থেকেছিলে ?

d. কতদিন ছিলে ?

e. সেখানে থাকতে তোমার ভাল লাগতো ? কেন ?

6. যদি তুমি কিছু কর, যা তোমাদের বাড়ীতে পছন্দ হবে না, তাহলে কে তোমাকে শাসন করবে ? তার কি করবে ?

7. কার মতে তোমাদের সংসার চলে ?

8. a. কোন কিছু করতে হলে, কি করতে হবে কে দিক বলেন ?

b. এর মধ্যে তুমি কি তোমার মত দাও ?

c. তারা তোমার কথা শোনেন ?

(If yes)

d. কখন তারা তোমার কথা শোনেন ? কি বিষয়ে ?

9. সংসার খরচের টাকা পরস্পর কার কাছে থাকে ? সংসারের হিসেব কে রাখে ?

10. বাড়ীর কি কি কাজ তুমি কর ?
11. তোমাদের বাড়ীতে কে কোন ঘরে শোয় ? তোমার বিছানায় আর কে শোয় ?
12. ভাইবোনদের মধ্যে কাকে তোমার সবচেয়ে বেশী ভাল লাগে ? কেন ?
কাকে সবচেয়ে কম ভাল লাগে ? কেন ?
13. তোমার বাড়ীর লোকদের মধ্যে কাকে তুমি সবচেয়ে বেশী শ্রদ্ধা কর ?
14. বাড়ীর লোকদের মধ্যে কাকে তোমার সবচেয়ে বেশী ভাল লাগে ? কেন ?
15. কোনটা তোমার গীপনে সবচেয়ে বড় ঘটনা ? কেন এই ঘটনা তোমার কাছে এত বড় বা কেন তা
কখনও ভুলবে না ?

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

16. তুমি কি মাধুলী পর ?

If Yes

এটা কি রকম মাধুলী ?

b. কেন পরেছ ?

17. (For girls only)

তুমি কি কি ব্রত কর ?

(For each) a. এই ব্রতের ভগ্ন তোমাকে কি কি করতে হয় ?

b. তুমি কেন এই ব্রত কর ?

c. কতদিন ধরে তুমি এই ব্রত করছ ?

18. তুমি কি কোন পূজায় উপোস কর ?

(If Yes) a. কি কি পূজায় ?

b. কি রকম উপোস কর ?

(If necessary) c. তুমি নির্জলা উপোস কর না কিছু খাও ?

19. তুমি কি বাড়ী বা পাড়ায় পূজো হলে কোন কাজ কর ?

(If Yes) a. কি কি পূজায় ?

b. কি কাজ করেছ ?

OUTSIDE INTERESTS AND EXPERIENCES

20. হাতে সময় থাকলে কি করে কাটাতে ভালবাস ?
21. তোমার কি কি শখ আছে ? কেন তোমার এইরকম শখ ভাল লাগে ?
22. a. তুমি শেষ কি সিনেমা বা থিয়েটার দেখেছ ?
- b. কবে দেখেছ ?
- c. তার আগে কি দেখেছ ?
- d. কবে দেখেছ ?
23. সাধারণত: মাসে কতবার তুমি সিনেমা দেখতে যাও ?
24. বাংলা, হিন্দি আর ইংরাজী সিনেমার মধ্যে তোমার কি পছন্দ ? কেন ?
- 25 a. স্কুলের বই ছাড়া শেষ কি গল্পের বই, পত্রিকা বা অন্য বই তুমি পড়েছ ?
- b. কবে পড়েছ ?
- c. এর আগে কি বই বা পত্রিকা পড়েছ ?
- d. কবে পড়েছ ?
26. a. রেডিওতে কি কি শুনতে তোমার ভাল লাগে ?
- b. প্রত্যেক দিন কত সময় ধরে তুমি রেডিও শোন ?
- c. তোমার কি নিজের রেডিও আছে না অন্য জায়গায় গিয়ে শোন ?
27. a. তুমি শেষবার কবে গ্রামে গিয়েছ ?
- b. কোন গ্রামে গিয়েছিলে ?
- c. কেন গিয়েছিলে ?
- d. এর আগে তুমি কতবার গ্রামে গিয়েছ ?
28. কলকাতা ছাড়া আর কোন জায়গায় গিয়েছ ?
- (For each) a. কবে গিয়েছিলে ?
- b. কেন গিয়েছিলে ?
- c. কার সঙ্গে গিয়েছিলে ?

EDUCATION

29. (Take a complete year by year educational history beginning with R'S first school experience. For each year ascertain whether or not the child actually went to school, the name and address of the school, his class and the outcome of the final examination. Elicit explanations for absences from school, class failures, school transfers and if schooling has been discontinued, the reason for this. If R never went to school, probe for full reason.)

School

Class

Pass/Fail

Rank

Coding Space

30. a. তোমার কি বাড়ীতে পড়াবার জন্য মাষ্টারমশাই বা দিদিমনি আছেন ?

(If yes ask tutor's name, subjects tutored, time spent and salary)

b. বাড়ীতে কি কেউ তোমার পড়াশোনা দেখিয়ে দেন ?

31. a. কতদূর পড়াশোনা করা তোমার মার পছন্দ আর কোন কোন বিষয় তাঁর পছন্দ ?

b. কতদূর পড়াশোনা করা তোমার বাবার পছন্দ আর কোন কোন বিষয় তাঁর পছন্দ ?

c. আর কোন লোক কি এ-বিষয়ে কিছু বলেন বা এর জন্য তোমার বাবা মাকে সাহায্য করেন ?

d. কতদূর পড়াশোনা করা তোমার নিজের পছন্দ ?

e. (If necessary)—তোমার লেখাপড়ার ব্যাপারে দেখছি কারও সঙ্গে কারও মত মিলছে না। শেষ পর্যন্ত কি হবে বলে তোমার মনে হয় ?

OCCUPATION CHOICE

32. a. বড় হলে তুমি কি হবে এবিষয়ে তোমার মার ইচ্ছা কি ?

b. তোমার বাবার ইচ্ছা কি ?

c. এছাড়া কি আর কেউ আছেন, যিনি বলেন তোমার কি করা উচিত ?

(If yes) তিনি কে ? তোমার জন্য তাঁর কি কাজ পছন্দ।

d. তোমার নিজের কি হ'তে ইচ্ছে করে ?

e. (If difference exists) এখানে দেখছি কারও সঙ্গে কারও মত মিলছে না, শেষ পর্যন্ত তোমার কি হবে বলে মনে হয় ?

FINANCIAL EXPERIENCE

33. তুমি কি এখন কোন চাকরী, ছোটখাট ধরনের কাজ পড়ানো বা এমন কিছু কর, যাতে কিছু যোজ্জগার হয় ?

(If Yes) a. কি কাজ ?

b. কোথায় কাজ করতে যাও ?

c. কতদিন ধরে এই কাজ করছ ?

d. কাজের সময় কখন ?

e. এই কাজ করে কত টাকা পাও ?

f. এই কাজ তোমার ভাল লাগে ? কেন ? এর আগে তুমি আর কোন কাজ করতে ?

(If yes, a—f)

34. কাজ করা ছাড়া, কোথা থেকে তুমি তোমার খরচ করার টাকা পাও ?

a. সাধারণত: মা তোমাকে সপ্তাহে কত টাকা হাত খরচ দেন ? আর কখন দেন ?

b. সাধারণত: বাবা তোমাকে সপ্তাহে কত টাকা হাত খরচ দেন ? আর কখন দেন ?

c. আর কে তোমাকে নিয়মিত টাকা দেন ?

35. নিজের পয়সা দিয়ে তুমি কি কেন ?

36. তোমার নিজের জামাকাপড় কিভাবে কেনা হয় ?

CLUBS

37. তুমি কোন ক্লাবের মেম্বার ?

(For each) a. তোমার ক্লাবের নাম কি ?

b. ক্লাবটা কোথায় ?

c. সেখানে কি ক্লাবের বাড়ী আছে না নেই ?

d. এই ক্লাবে কি বড়রাও মেম্বার হতে পারে ?

e. এই ক্লাব কি ছেলেমেয়ে সকলের জুগুই ?

f. এখানে টাকা কত ?

g. ক্লাবে তুমি কতক্ষণ থাক ?

h. সেখানে কি কর ?

i. তুমি ক্লাবে আর কি কর, যা আর কোথাও করতে পার না ?

FRIENDSHIP

38. তোমার বন্ধুদের মধ্যে কে তোমার সবচেয়ে প্রিয়বন্ধু ?

- তার নাম কি ?
- সে কোথায় থাকে ?
- কেমন করে তোমাদের প্রথম দেখা হয়েছিল ?
- সে কি এখন স্কুলে বা কলেজে পড়ে ?
(If yes) কোন স্কুলে ? কোন ক্লাসে ?
- সে কি তোমার ক্লাবেরও মেম্বর ?
- তার জাত কি ?
- (If caste is same) সে কি তোমার কোন আত্মীয় ?
- সাধারণতঃ কোথায় তোমাদের দেখা হয় ?
- তোমরা একসঙ্গে কি কর ?

তোমার আর কয়জন বন্ধু আছে ? (For each repeat a-i)

38. তোমার বন্ধুদের মধ্যে কে তোমার সবচেয়ে প্রিয়বন্ধু ?

- তার নাম কি ?
- সে কোথায় থাকে ?
- কেমন করে তোমাদের প্রথম দেখা হয়েছিল ?
- সে কি এখন স্কুলে বা কলেজে পড়ে ?
(If yes) কোন স্কুলে ? কোন ক্লাসে ?
- সে কি তোমার ক্লাবেরও মেম্বর ?
- তার জাত কি ?
- (If caste is same) সে কি তোমার কোন আত্মীয় ?
- সাধারণতঃ কোথায় তোমাদের দেখা হয় ?
- তোমরা একসঙ্গে কি কর ?

তোমার আর কয়জন বন্ধু আছে ? (For each repeat a-i)

38. তোমার বন্ধুদের মধ্যে কে তোমার সবচেয়ে প্রিয়বন্ধু ?

- তার নাম কি ?
- সে কোথায় থাকে ?
- কেমন করে তোমাদের প্রথম দেখা হয়েছিল ?
- সে কি এখন স্কুলে বা কলেজে পড়ে ?
(If yes) কোন স্কুলে ? কোন ক্লাসে ?
- সে কি তোমার ক্লাবেরও মেম্বর ?
- তার জাত কি ?
- (If caste is same) সে কি তোমার কোন আত্মীয় ?
- সাধারণতঃ কোথায় তোমাদের দেখা হয় ?
- তোমরা একসঙ্গে কি কর ?

তোমার আর কয়জন বন্ধু আছে ? (For each repeat a-i)

FRIENDSHIP

38. তোমার বন্ধুদের মধ্যে কে তোমার সবচেয়ে প্রিয়বন্ধু ?

- তার নাম কি ?
- সে কোথায় থাকে ?
- কেন কবে তোমাদের প্রথম দেখা হয়েছিল ?
- সে কি এখন স্কুলে বা কলেজে পড়ে ?
- (If yes) কোন স্কুলে ? কোন ক্লাসে ?
- সে কি তোমার ক্লাবেরও মেম্বর ?
- তার জাত কি ?
- (If caste is same) সে কি তোমার কোন আত্মীয় ?
- সাধারণতঃ কোথায় তোমাদের দেখা হয় ?
- তোমরা একসঙ্গে কি কর ?

তোমার আর কয়জন বন্ধু আছে ? (For each repeat a-i)

38. তোমার বন্ধুদের মধ্যে কে তোমার সবচেয়ে প্রিয়বন্ধু ?

- তার নাম কি ?
- সে কোথায় থাকে ?
- কেন কবে তোমাদের প্রথম দেখা হয়েছিল ?
- সে কি এখন স্কুলে বা কলেজে পড়ে ?
- (If yes) কোন স্কুলে ? কোন ক্লাসে ?
- সে কি তোমার ক্লাবেরও মেম্বর ?
- তার জাত কি ?
- (If caste is same) সে কি তোমার কোন আত্মীয় ?
- সাধারণতঃ কোথায় তোমাদের দেখা হয় ?
- তোমরা একসঙ্গে কি কর ?

তোমার আর কয়জন বন্ধু আছে ? (For each repeat a-i)

39. তুমি আর তোমার বন্ধুর মধ্যে কে বয়সে বড় ?

তারপর কে বড় ? (Continue ranking R and friends by age)

তোমার বয়স কত ?

তোমার জন্মদিন কবে ?

(AS-14)

40. (For girls only)

তোমার কি কোন পাতানো বন্ধু আছে ?

(If yes, record each friends name, the types of friendship and R's age when the friendship was initiated. If the patano friend was not listed previously, repeat 39 a-i)

41. (For girls only)

তুমি তোমার কোন বন্ধুর পুতুলের সঙ্গে তোমার পুতুলের বিয়ে দিয়েছ ?

(If yes, obtain a description of the wedding (s) including the friends name, doll's names, gifts exchanged and food served.)

42. তুমি কি কখনও বন্ধুদের সঙ্গে চড়ুইভাতি করতে গিয়েছ ?

(If yes, obtain a description of the feast (s) including participants, location and food eaten).

HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS

43. সাধারণতঃ যদি কোন মেলেমেয়ে প্রেমে পড়ে, তাদের মধ্যক্ষে লোকে কি ভাবে ?

44. যদি তোমার কোন বন্ধু প্রেমে পড়ে, তুমি কি করবে ? তোমার কোন বন্ধু কি প্রেমে পড়েছে ?

(If yes) তুমি কি করেছিলে তখন ?

45. তোমার কোন মেয়ে বন্ধু/ছেলে বন্ধু আছে ?

(If no) তোমার কি কোন মেয়ে বন্ধু/ছেলে বন্ধু ছিল আর এখন কি এমন কেউ আছে যাকে তুমি পছন্দ কর ?

(If yes) a. তার নাম কি ?

b. সে কোথায় থাকে ?

c. তার বয়স কত বলে তোমার মনে হয় ?

d. তোমার সঙ্গে তার কিভাবে দেখা হয়েছিল ?

e. তোমরা একসঙ্গে মিলে কি কর ?

f. কতদিন আগে তোমার তার সঙ্গে দেখা হয়েছিল ?

g. এখন কতদিন ঝাদে ঝাদে তোমাদের দেখা হয় ?

h. আর কে কে তোমার মেয়ে বন্ধু/ছেলে বন্ধুর কথা জানে ?

i. তারা তোমাদের সম্বন্ধে কি ভাবে ?

j. পাঁচ বছর ঝাদে তোমাদের সম্পর্কটা কিরকম দাঁড়াবে বলে মনে হয় ?

46. (If no girl/boy friend)

দেখেছি যে অনেকের মেয়ে বন্ধু/ছেলে বন্ধু আছে, তোমার নেই কেন ?

MARRIAGE

47. আমরা এখানে কয়েকভাবে বিয়ে হতে দেখেছি।

a. একটাতে গুরুজনরা বিয়ে ঠিক করেন আর বিয়ের সময়ে বরকনের প্রথম দেখা হয়।

b. অল্পটাতে গুরুজনরা বিয়ের সব ব্যবস্থা করেন, কিন্তু ছেলেমেয়েদের অপছন্দ হলে বিয়ে হয় না।

c. তৃতীয়টাতে ছেলেমেয়ে দুজন দুজনকে চেনে আর নিজেরাই বিয়ে ঠিক করে, আর তারপর গুরুজনরা বিয়ের সব ব্যবস্থা করেন।

d. চতুর্থটাতে ছেলেমেয়ে পরস্পরকে চেনে, তারা বিয়ে করবে ঠিক করে, তারপর বাবা মায়ের পরামর্শ না নিয়ে রেজিস্ট্রী করে বিয়ে করে।

এই চার রকম বিয়ের মধ্যে কোনটা তোমার পছন্দ? কেন?

48. কি ধরনের বউ/বর তোমার পছন্দ?

49. বিয়ের পর তুমি বাবা/মম্বর শাশুড়ীর সঙ্গে থাকতে চাও না স্বামী/স্ত্রীর আলাদা থাকা পছন্দ কর?

50. অনেক বছর পর বাবা/মম্বর মশাই-এর মৃত্যুর পর তুমি কি ভাই/ভাস্তুর দেড়রের সঙ্গে থাকতে চাও, না, স্ত্রী/স্বামী ছেলেমেয়েদের নিয়ে আলাদা থাকতে চাও? কেন?

51. বড় হয়ে যখন বিয়ে করবে, কতজন ছেলেমেয়ে তোমার ভাল লাগবে মনে হয়?

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

52. এ পাড়ার মাননীয় লোক কে? কেন?

53. ধর একজন কেরাণী বেশী মাইনে পান না, কিন্তু খুব শিক্ষিত, আরেকজন ভদ্রলোক কারখানার মালিক, টাকা থাকলেও খুব বেশীদূর পড়াশোনা করেননি। এই দুজনের মধ্যে কাকে তুমি সম্মান করবে? কেন?

54. একজন ব্রাহ্মণ কারখায় কাজ করে, আরেকজন গোয়ালার কারখানার মালিক, দুজনের মধ্যে তুমি কাকে বেশী সম্মান করবে? কেন?

55. একজন ধোপার নিজের বাড়ী আছে, আর একজন গোয়ালার ঘোঁস ঘর ভাড়া করে থাকে। এই দুজনের মধ্যে তুমি কাকে বেশী সম্মান করবে? কেন?

56. বাড়ীর লোক, আত্মীয় স্বজন, পাড়া প্রতিবেশী, মাষ্টারমশাই এইসব বড়দের মতো কার মতো হতে তোমার ইচ্ছা হয়?

57. এ পাড়ায় কোন ভেলেকে সকলে পছন্দ করে? কেন?

58. এ পাড়ায় কোন মেয়েকে সকলে পছন্দ করে? কেন?

59. কি মনে হয়, যে আমরা এমন কোন প্রশ্ন করিনি যা আমাদের করা উচিত ছিল?

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 03083 0016