

Urban Living and Quality Time with Family: A Study of Delhi and Chandigarh

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Sumedha Dutta

Abstract

It has often been hypothesized that the sanctity associated with family values in India is not far from perishing. This argument implicitly lays claims to the idea that with growing urbanization and industrialization, people spend increasingly less amounts of quality time with their families. In this context, this paper would attempt at unraveling the sustained significance of 'family time' in the lives of city dwellers. It would help in assessing the diverse meanings, which educated urbanites impute to the concept of 'family time', in the metropolitan cities of Delhi and Chandigarh. The study unveils how the trends of development, and modern work culture, have in fact created a situation whereby the family is becoming one of the major factors of stress relief in the busy and frenzied schedule of urban existence.

Keywords: Urban living, family, quality time, Delhi, Chandigarh

Sumedha Dutta is Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology at Central University of Punjab, Bhatinda, Punjab. Email: sumedha.jnu@gmail.com

Introduction

A social group is defined as an aggregate of individuals, in which definite relations exist between the individuals who constitute the group, and where every member is conscious of the group itself and its symbols (Bottomore, 1986). Most of the typologies of social groups are found to have been based on binary characteristics, such as the famous distinction between *Gemeinschaft* or community, and *Gesellschaft*, or association, which was proposed by Tonnies (1887). While community is defined as 'intimate, private, and exclusive living together', with 'public life' Tonnies identifies association which is consciously or deliberately entered upon. Examples of community, according to Tonnies, are the family or kin group, the neighborhood or rural village, or a group of friends, whereas he primarily mentions groups which are based on economic interests, while illustrating the notion of an 'association'. In this context, it would be fruitful to note that in distinguishing between community and association, Tonnies depended on two major criteria: first, individuals in a community are involved as complete persons, who are able to satisfy all or most of a wide variety of purposes in the group, whereas, in an association, individuals are not completely involved, rather they look towards the satisfaction of particular ends only. And secondly, a community is united by an accord of feeling or sentiment between individuals, but in an association, individuals are united by a rational agreement or interest (Bottomore, 1986). Like Tonnies, Cooley (1909) distinguished between *primary groups* and other groups. By primary groups, he implies those that are characterized by intimate, face-to-face association and cooperation. His definition involves three conditions: physical proximity of the members, the smallness of the group, and the enduring nature of the relation. In this sense, primary groups in a way resemble Tonnies' community (Bottomore, 1986). Similarly, while Maine (1870) had explicated on the *status to contract* dyad, Redfield (1941) had enunciated on the *folk-urban continuum*, which were more or less based on similar criteria.

Nowadays the term association is often used to suggest voluntary, or public, associations, formally constituted and non-commercial organizations, of which membership is optional within a particular society (Marshall, 2004). The rise of such associations has often been identified with the phenomenon of urbanization and industrialization, as these associations are believed to soften the 'dehumanizing' effects of the urban-industrial culture. It is argued that before the Industrial Revolution, the community, church and the extended family were able to gratify the felt needs of human fellowship, personal security and emotional satisfaction. However, with the intensification of the process of industrialization and its affiliated processes of urbanization, geographic mobility, bureaucratization and secularization, these institutions are supposed to have weakened, resulting in the 'alienated', 'atomized' and 'free-floating' individual seeking comfort in the voluntary associations such as youth and women's clubs, labor unions, credit associations, social service associations, etc. which, having emerged as responses to this challenge have taken over the functions of traditional institutions (Oommen, 1975). Again, Weber's (1922) emphasis on rationalism and Durkheim's (1893/1997) analysis of the growth of individualism in the modern era, also pointed towards the slackening of ties based on affectivity. Similarly, Parsons's (1967) modernization hypothesis did lay claims to the fact that particularism, affectivity and diffuseness, all of which characterize the family as an institution, or Tonnies' *Gemeinschaft*, would increasingly give way to universalism, affective neutrality and specificity, or *Gesellschaft*. Thus, Parsons observed that many nurturing and educational functions have now been transferred from the family to the public domain, where they are increasingly seen to be provided by service professionals, thereby signaling the decline of the traditional family (Turner, 1993).

However, studies by scholars such as Mayo (1949), Warner et al (1947 and 1950) and Whitehead (1938) not only reported the functioning of primary groups in the urban industrial complex,

but also contended that these groups perform important functions for the furtherance of complex industrial organizations, namely increasing productivity, facilitating mobility and maintenance of industrial peace. Similarly, scholars such as Leighton (1945) and Richardson (1945) have identified the role of primary groups in getting policy decisions accepted by the people, while Lazarsfeld and Berelson (1955) have interrogated the influence of these groups in political decision making (Oommen, 1975). Similarly, Schwarzweller's (1971), analysis of Appalachian families undergoing transition and Hareven's (1975, 1978) study on the mill families of Manchester from 1900 to 1930, significantly highlight the role of kin group in recruitment, work assignment, supervision and functioning as representatives on labor matters. This makes one rethink the oft taken for granted simplistic dichotomy between impersonal, rationalized relationships among individuals in urban-industrial settings, in contrast to the personal relations existing between members of primary groups like the family, which are supposed to be predominantly characteristic of simple, non-industrialized, and non-urbanized settings.

The frenzy of urban living vs quality time with family: a paradox?

The family is defined as an intimate domestic group made up of people related to one another by bonds of blood, sexual mating or legal ties (Marshall, 2004). In India, the institution of the family has always held a special place in the social fabric. It has been attributed immense significance in the religious as well as secular imagination, to the extent of being deemed a sacred institution, and has been upheld as a vital manifestation of the collectivistic nature of the Indian national character. The family has also been one of the major nodal points of social science research, and it has seen a great deal of theorizing around it over the years. As has been mentioned above, it has often been argued that with growing industrialization and urbanization, the importance of the family has seen a steady decline and its functions are increasingly being

performed by other institutions. Some scholars have even gone to the extent of theorizing on the 'demise of the family' in the post industrial world. The 'decline of the family' has been attributed primarily to the factors of divorce (Dobson and Bauer, 1990; Popenoe, 1994), single parent families (Blankenhorn, 1995; Murray, 1993; Whitehead, 1993) inadequate socialization of children as compared to the past (Whitehead, 1993), and child poverty (Whitehead, 1993; Murray, 1993; Wilson, 1993). Some scholars have identified family decline with a growing public concern about the decline of the institution of the family (Popenoe, 1994; Wilson 1993). Brooks (2000) analyzes that public concern with family decline in the United States of America increased steadily after 1980, and this concern was found to be more widespread among the evangelical Protestants who attend the church regularly. Again, Simic and Custred (1982) perceives the decline of the American family as resulting from the 'fragmenting forces of modernity' manifesting in widely accepted values of individualism, rationalism and universalism, which the authors argue are in direct opposition to the values giving way to the corporate existence of the family. The authors have also identified the 'relatively short developmental cycle of the household, the prevalence of pre-marital as well as post-marital neo-locality, emphasis on individual privacy and on the inalienable right to personal property and space, stress on peer group solidarity rather than on sibling unity and filial respect, focus on extra-familial recreation and volunteerism, application of democratic ideals in familial relationships, de-emphasis within the household as in the larger society on the sexual division of labor, cultivation of economic individualism even in the very young, and cultural routinization of such phenomena such as divorce and serial polygamy', as reasons for the demise of the American family.

It has been observed that research on the family in India had commenced in the 1940s with Indological studies of ancient Hindu texts. Over the years, there appears to have been a shift in the studies on the Indian family, from an emphasis on jointness (Gore, 1968; Mandelbaum, 1959) to the concern over the disintegration of

the joint family into nuclear families, a critique of jointness being the predominant rule of family structure in India (Goode, 1963; Shah, 1968, 1996), that structural changes in the family has been accompanied by functional jointness (Agarwala, 1955; Kapadia, 1956; Beteille, 1964; Desai, 1956, 1964; Gore, 1965; Singer, 1968; Aiyappan, 1955; Khatri, 1975; Singh, 1988), and finally the shift of focus on the coexistence of a multiplicity of family patterns, joint families, nuclear families, single parent families, dual earner and adoptive families.

Again, various studies have clearly shown how the family is still a very significant source of emotional retreat, the expressive functions of which have not yet found a significant alternative source of fulfillment. As far back as the end of the nineteenth century, while responding to Pearson's (1893) analysis of the onset of the disintegration of the institution of the family, the functions of which would eventually be obtained and performed by the state, Muirhead (1896) observes that it is yet to be proved that the family is unable to adapt itself to the changing environment. Rather, the author observes that it is undergoing the requisite 'alterations and adaptations' to suit the needs of the changing times. In fact, the affective individualism thesis argues that rapid industrialization has given rise to the 'closed domesticated nuclear families' characterized by intimate emotional bonds, domestic privacy, a preoccupation with love and with the rearing of children for expressive, rather than for instrumental reasons (Thadani, 1978). Although this child-centered closed domesticated nuclear family as a product of industrialization thesis may have been contested on various grounds, one cannot overlook the importance of cathetic, expressive functions of the family in today's world, the significance of which can be highlighted through the mapping of the amount of time which people invest in their relationships with their family members, even amidst the frenzy of their urban life-style. Studies on 'quality time' with family have primarily focused on the parent-child interactions (Snyder, 2007), work-family balance between employed parents (Milkie et. al. 2010), with comparisons made between single parent vs. married parent- child

relations (Ben Porath, 1980; Coleman, 1988; Fine, 1986; Velez, 1989, Asmussen and Larsen, 1991) parent – child quality time and child order (Price, 2008) etc. However, few studies have been conducted on the actor's perception of the idea of spending quality time with one's family, based on the indices of the type of profession, social class, etc. in a transitional society like India, which is undergoing rapid changes in all aspects of societal existence.

Thus, the following paper seeks to negotiate the degree and extent to which urban, metropolitan city dwellers of two cities of North India, namely Delhi and Chandigarh, spend time with their family members in a range of activities in their day to day lives, in a comparative perspective. The primary objective of this study was to interrogate as to what activity is perceived by the respondents as constituting the ideal definition of 'quality time with family'. Besides, the study seeks to highlight the importance, which spending 'quality time' with one's family members, has in a metropolitan city dweller's life. The data for the study was collected using a set of uniform structured questionnaires, in addition to the interview method, from 400 individuals (200 from each city), representing adults from diverse genders, a variety of income groups and professional backgrounds, to reflect a stratified sample. The respondents for the survey were however identified through purposive and snowball sampling, to ensure adequate representation in each category. Since both Delhi and Chandigarh are metropolitan cities, the sample constituted a heterogeneous mix of population, depicting diversities of language, religion and culture, professional and educational backgrounds.

Varying definitions of a 'good family man/woman'

The survey revealed that in the context of the residents of the capital city of Delhi, nearly 32 per cent of the respondents believed that going out and spending time with their family members is the criterion by which they would define themselves as having been a 'good family man' or a 'good family woman'. However, it was observed that while many private sector employees as well as

business men and women (34 per cent each) considered going out for shopping or an outing as the most appropriate option of spending quality time with family, most government employees did not consider spending time outside their homes as the best possible option of attaining the 'best family man/woman' status, and comparatively more such employees defined themselves as a completely indoor person (20 per cent). However the survey revealed that for a female home-maker, it is indeed difficult to conceptualize the notion of a 'family woman' separately from her existence as a 'woman', and most such women observed that they spend most of their time with their families, doing the household chores and looking after their family members. The study found that while most of the respondents in the lower socio-economic stratum, earning less than 0.2 million rupees per annum (50 per cent) and the middle classes, defined themselves as a good family man/woman in terms of frequently going out in order to spend time with their families, people of the upper socio-economic stratum, earning more than 0.8 million rupees per annum, preferred going out less frequently with their family members. This study clearly indicates that in Delhi, both middle and lower middle class groups are more frequent visitors of malls and shopping complexes than the higher income groups, a factor which they also consider as an indicator of their being a 'good family man/woman'.

Like Delhi, an analysis of the data collected from the city of Chandigarh suggested that it is the government employees, more than people from any other profession, who would rather stay at home and spend time with their family during their leisure hours, to earn the title of a 'good family man/woman', although many of them admitted to going out sometimes to spend 'quality time' with their family members (38 per cent). Again, just like the city of Delhi, most private sector employees (50 per cent) observed that going out with their family members in their free time is the best way of spending quality time, and none would like to stay back at home in their free times. However, unlike Delhi, business men/women of Chandigarh preferred to go for outings with their families on

special occasions alone (41 per cent). The survey also unveiled that people belonging to the lower income group (earning less than 0.2 million rupees per annum) in Chandigarh, mostly prefer to go out with their family and friends, with none preferring to stay completely indoors, while in the middle-income category (earning between 0.4 million to 0.8 million rupees per annum), the trend is towards going out occasionally with their family members. Interestingly, the most number of people who like to stay completely indoors in Chandigarh, fall in the highest income bracket, i.e. those earning above rupees 0.8 million per annum (17 per cent).

Diverse opinions on the best possible way of spending 'quality time' with family

In the capital city of Delhi, going against the common perception, almost 31 per cent of the respondents considered helping their partners in household chores as the best possible way to spend time with their families, and this was the dominant trend for respondents from across professions. The survey suggests that private employees and business persons do comparatively less household chores than government employees. Nonetheless, the survey also highlighted the fact that certain activities are still the luxury of the upper middle class and upper class groups, for instance, spending time with one's spouse while going out for a long drive. An income wise distribution on the indices of spending time with family on weekdays revealed that while people in the middle income bracket would spend most of their spare time in general gossiping with family members, most people in the upper income bracket of more than 0.8 million rupees per annum confided that they hardly had any time to spend with their families on such days.

However, in the city of Chandigarh, the study revealed that on weekdays, the maximum number of government employees (38 per cent) as well as retired persons and house-wives (33 per cent) enjoy spending time with their families mostly by watching

television, while this number is lowest amongst the private sector employees (7 per cent) and business men and women (9 per cent), who like to spend the maximum time with family members engaged in general gossip (43 per cent of private employees and 36 per cent of businessmen and women). An income wise distribution suggests that people in the highest income bracket in Chandigarh like to spend their time with family over the dinner table on weekdays (33 per cent), while people in the lowest income bracket spend the maximum time with family members on weekdays watching television (40 per cent). However, on such days people between income groups of 0.2 to 0.6 million per annum spend most of the time with their families engaged in general gossip. It may be noted that as against the prevalent stereotype, in both the cities, general gossiping was identified as a factor which was accepted as having been indulged in more by males than by females, as a favorite way of passing time with family members (35 per cent males and 21 per cent females in Delhi, and 37 per cent males and 22 per cent females in Chandigarh).

Family time and the 'weekend-effect'

This study unveiled how feelings of happiness and fulfillment tend to reach the zenith on weekends, and as the week commences, the respondents were found to be having comparatively lesser amounts of time for one's family, and a lesser sense of commitment towards family values. This was found to be true for respondents from across social classes in Delhi as well as in Chandigarh. The survey laid bare the fact that the 'weekend effect' was largely associated with the ability to spend quality time with one's family members in the activities of one's choice and liking. Thus, the survey unveiled how while weekdays were 'public', weekends were defined by the respondents as being 'private' and personal. In the city of Delhi, on weekends, both private sector employees and businesspersons were found to engage in a much larger variety of activities as compared to any government employee or homemaker. However, the homemakers were found to have

almost the same pattern of lifestyle on weekdays and weekends alike, as most of their time would be spent doing the household chores (91 per cent). Again, in the city of Chandigarh, it was observed that during weekends, the maximum number of private sector employees (54 per cent) and the lowest number of homemakers and retired persons (only 12 per cent) prefer to go for outings with family members, while most government employees (38 per cent) as well as businessmen and women (32 per cent) preferred to spend their weekends exchanging general gossip with family members.

Varying expenditures on family leisure time activities

In terms of expenditure, it was observed that most public sector employees (60 per cent) of Delhi would spend less than 1000 rupees per week for family leisure activities, while only 10 per cent would spend more than 5000 rupees on such undertakings. The trend was found to be almost reversed in the case of businessmen and women as most of them (44 per cent) would be spending more than 5000 rupees on such activities in a week, while a significant percentage of private sector employees claimed to be spending between 1000 to 5000 rupees. An income-wise distribution revealed that the fact that one earns a high income is not sufficient cause to ascertain that one also spends lavishly on family leisure. Thus, it was observed that the middle-income group of the city of Delhi tends to spend more as compared to the higher income groups in their day-to-day family leisure activities. In fact it was observed that most people in the income bracket of 0.2 to 0.4 million rupees per annum spend more than 5000 rupees per week in leisure time activities, while only 23 per cent of the respondents with an annual income of more than 8 million rupees per annum spend such an amount on the same.

On the other hand, the study reveals that mostly private sector employees of the city of Chandigarh spend more than 5000 rupees per week on leisure activities (45 per cent). Again, it was noted that only 5 percent of businessmen and women spend less than 1000

rupees on their leisure activities per week, as they spend mostly between 3000 to 5000 rupees on such activities (48 per cent). Like Delhi, of all the professional categories studied in Chandigarh, the least number of public sector employees spend more than 5000 rupees on their leisure related activities (18 per cent). However, unlike Delhi, where social class does not seem to determine expenditure on family leisure, the study revealed more or less that expenditure on leisure activities in Chandigarh varies by income, with only 5 percent of the people with income less than 0.2 million per annum and around 60 percent of the people in the income bracket of more than 0.8 million per annum, spend more than 5000 rupees per week on their leisure related activities. Again the data made it apparent to conclude that all the people between the income brackets of 0.4 million to more than 0.8 million per annum spend more than 1000 rupees on family leisure activities.

Festivals and vacations enhance 'quality' of time spent with family

Apart from the above variables of determining 'quality time', a significant proportion of respondents (30 per cent in Delhi and 25 per cent in Chandigarh) who identified themselves as having their roots or families of origin/extended families, in states/regions other than the city in which they are earning their livelihood, defined what they called 'actual family time' as that which they spend with their extended families during religious/secular festivals or vacations, when they go back to their native places, to reunite with their kin, or when their kin join them in these festivities. Festivals were unanimously seen as a major stress buster for most of the respondents, even within the nuclear households, as well as for uniting members of extended families and those of the same ethnic group living in the same city, and were an ideal definition of spending 'quality time' with family members, across professions, genders, and classes, in both the cities. However, respondents from middle class families and those in government services were more vocal about the importance of

festivities to replenish and even forge ties between family members of nuclear as well as extended/joint families. This may be explained on the basis of the general tendency of the new middle class in India to be more inclined towards religiosity, and that globalization has in fact enhanced the religious connect amongst India's emerging middle class (Jaffrelot, 2010; Nanda, 2011). Besides, as mentioned before, these instances also signify the fact that structural changes in the family have been accompanied by functional jointness, as seen during the family unions during festivities. Again, holidaying and pilgrimages with family were seen as an important mechanism for strengthening family ties, across the sample. The expenses claimed to be made during the festivities and vacations/holidays, however, varied by class, gender and profession, in Delhi as well as in Chandigarh.

Key changes in family time in the last five years

Finally the study unraveled the major changes that have occurred in terms of spending time with family in the last five years, as perceived by the respondents across all categories, in both the cities. Thus, the homemakers of Delhi observed that the outing has become a part of their life, both during weekdays as well as on weekends, unlike what it used to be five years ago. For instance, almost 42 per cent of the homemakers interviewed responded to their going out frequently for window shopping on weekdays while 50 per cent of such women confided to their going out regularly with their family members during weekends. Again, the study unveiled the fact that it is the public sector employees who perceived themselves as spending more time with their families, nowadays, during the weekends (40 per cent) as well as on weekdays (20 per cent), as compared to any other professional group, while the businessmen and women found themselves to be spending lesser and lesser amounts of time with their families over the past five years, during the weekdays. Most of the private employees interviewed (33 per cent), observed that they are going out more frequently with their family members during weekdays

nowadays than ever before, while the business men and business women (47 per cent) are most likely to be going out during weekends with their families for spending quality time on an activity of their choice, in the current times.

Again, in Chandigarh, in terms of the changes in the ratio of spending time with family on weekdays, as compared to weekends, over the past five years, the data gathered revealed that government employees are spending more time with their families on weekdays (63 per cent) than any other professional group, while private sector employees spend more time with their family members on weekends (36 per cent). House-wives and retired persons (33 per cent) appear to be going out to socialize more frequently on weekdays than any other bracket, while private employees least prefer to go out frequently on weekdays (only 7 per cent). Again, more private employees in the city of Chandigarh are going out frequently with their families on weekends (29 per cent) in the present times than ever before. Irrespective of weekdays or weekends, some businessmen and women appear to be spending equal amounts of time with their families (27 per cent), while they also go out with their families as frequently during weekdays as on weekends (23 per cent).

Besides, the study also unveiled the fact that 'holidaying with family' has come to be recognized as a very important mechanism of rejuvenating family ties, in the last few years, and a greater number of families (60 per cent in Delhi and 55 per cent in Chandigarh) in both the cities are venturing outside their hometowns more frequently than ever before, with their families for holidays or on pilgrimages. This change has been attributed by the respondents to the easing of transport and communication facilities, and the multiplicity of choices available with regard to traveling.

Towards some Conclusion

The findings enlisted in Table 1 reveal that in this age of 'network

society', where the 'space of flows', made up of 'electronic circuits and information systems', appears to have taken center stage, the 'space of places' or that 'based in meaningful physical proximity' (Castells, 2000), continues to persist as a major source of experience and function, even for the frenzied city dwellers. Thus, it would be fallacious to argue that face-to-face interactions with family members and spending quality time with them, has been totally replaced by impersonal, secondary contacts and relationships, the boom in communication and information technology, along with new forms of associationalism, for instance that of humans and non-humans, to use a Latour-ian (1993, 2005) phrase, notwithstanding. Although it may be true that some of the functions of the family are now being performed by other rationalized, bureaucratic institutions, in the public domain, the family as a unit of emotional gratification remains a central feature of the Indian social system. Thus, family values are far from perishing in the urban Indian set up, as people are still spending a considerable amount of their free time in varied activities with their family members. This trend can be seen to be manifest even in the metropolitan cities of India. This is despite the variations in the amount of time and money which people from across the socio-economic stratum, invest in familial relationships. These variations are nonetheless important, as they help us to locate the nodes of social change. Besides, the study also revealed that the way people perceive and experience 'family space' also varies across the socio-economic stratum. While some sections of the population, especially the government employees and the upper class, consider 'the home' as the best space to invest in family time, middle class families in both the cities were found to be willing to 'create' their 'family space' outside the home as well, for instance in shopping malls and eating joints. Again, 'exclusive spaces' outside the home were considered ideal for the upper class for spending quality time with family. This fact, along with the tendency to avoid visits to crowded malls for the economic elite can be read as a manifestation of their 'status consciousness', following Weberian (1922) analysis of status groups, which is observed by maintaining

a particular life-style, as well as by observing social distance (Bogardus, 1925) from people belonging to other socio-economic strata.

However, this study remains limited by the fact that it does not generate substantial data on the power dynamics within familial relationships, which may significantly affect the amount and quality of the time which one can spend fruitfully with one's family members, engaged in an activity of one's choice. Besides, the amount of free time that people actually spend with their family members, in contrast to that spent with peers and colleagues, also needs to be ascertained. Nonetheless, this paper points to the fact that the frenzy of urban living has generated a great need amongst city dwellers to invest time in familial relationships, through different forms of activities, depending on the nature of their profession and income. This has resulted in the family being a major source of stress relief for the metropolitan city dwellers. The range of activities through which they might spend time with their family members may have changed over time. But across the sample, a common way of judging oneself as a good family man or woman was by the amount and quality of time which one could manage to spend with one's family members. It was observed that feelings of well being and contentment for most of the respondents, reached the zenith on weekends, whereby they could spend maximum amounts of time with their family members, while on the other hand, their stress levels tended to increase with the commencement of the week, as the levels of family time also declined. The study however pointed to the fact that for homemakers, there was not much of a variation in life-style during weekends as compared to weekdays, since they argued that most of their time throughout the week was spent in providing varied services to their family members. It also helped in dispelling myths about gossiping being the prerogative of women, with males indulging more in the exchange of general gossip with family members during leisure. Further, the study also helped to understand that while structural changes may have been effected in the institution of the family, owing to the pressures of the urban,

industrial living, functional jointness still persists as regards the Indian family, as is manifested during festivals, when the kin group seeks to be united.

To conclude it may be fruitful to observe that one's notion of spending 'quality time' with one's family is contingent on one's profession and income, and also on the type of city in which one resides. The options available for family leisure activities may be quite limited and different in a small town, or a village, as compared to a metropolitan city, on the one hand, while on the other, the amount of time that one has at one's disposal for devoting to one's family may be quite restricted in a metropolitan city in comparison to other places. Further, it may be observed that the notion of quality time is not a generalized notion, but rather a subjective one, as it has to take into account the variations in several factors, in order to account for a near correct analysis. Nonetheless, the study proves that modernization in India has been a heterogeneous configuration, far beyond a mere shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, as instrumental role structures are being complemented with categorical values. Thus, as Singh (1973) rightly pointed out, one can observe that despite the proliferation of instrumental role structures in modern India, the importance of categorical values, like family values, have survived the test of rapid social change. This is true even in the 21st century, as quality time with family is largely perceived as providing stability in the face of the growing frenzy of the modern, urbane, metropolitan existence. However the significance of such a phenomenon can be grasped only if one dares to look beyond the dualisms of modernity (Latour, 1993), which sees a widening gap and inconsistency between the supposed poles of 'traditional values' and 'modern lifestyle'.

NOTE

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Table 1
'Quality time with family' in Delhi and Chandigarh at a glance

Criteria	Delhi	Chandigarh
Definition of a Good Family man/woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 32 per cent of the respondents, primarily private sector employees and from middle and lower classes, believed going out and spending time with family members is the criterion by which they would define themselves as a 'good family man' or a 'good family woman'. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Private sector employees, especially people of lower income groups, believed going out and spending time with family members is the criterion by which they would define themselves as having been a 'good family man' or a 'good family woman'.
Best way to spend quality time with family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On weekdays 31 per cent of the respondents, primarily government employees, considered helping their partners in household chores as the best possible way to spend time with their families. 35 per cent males and 21 per cent females identified general gossiping as a favorite way of passing time with family members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On weekdays maximum numbers of government employees (38 per cent), retired persons and home-makers (33 per cent), and those from the lowest income bracket (40 per cent) enjoy spending time with their families by watching television. 37 per cent males and 22 per cent females identified general gossiping as a favorite way of passing time with family members
Weekend effect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weekends are 'private', in which both private sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weekends are 'private', where maximum number of private sector

	<p>employees and business persons engage in a much larger variety of activities as compared to any government employee or homemaker</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Homemakers spend most of their time on weekdays and weekends doing household chores (91 per cent). 	<p>employees (54 per cent) prefer to go for outings with family members</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Most government employees (38 per cent) and businessmen and women (32 per cent) prefer indulging in general gossiping with family members on weekends.
Expenditures on family leisure.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ High income is not sufficient cause for spending lavishly on family leisure. ♦ Middle income group tends to spend more as compared to the higher income groups in their day to day family leisure activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Expenditure on leisure activities varies by income. Only 5 per cent with income less than 0.2 million per annum and around 60 per cent in the income bracket of more than 0.8 million per annum, spend more than 5000 rupees per week on leisure related activities
Festival, vacations and 'quality' time with family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ 30 per cent identified themselves as having their roots outside Delhi; defined 'actual family time' as time spent with extended families during religious/secular festivals or vacations, when they reunite with their kin. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ 25 per cent identified themselves as having their roots outside Chandigarh; defined 'actual family time' as time spent with extended families during religious/secular festivals or vacations, when they reunite with their kin.
Key changes in last 5 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ For homemakers of Delhi the outing has become a part of their life, both during 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Homemakers and retired persons (33 per cent) appear to be going out for socializing more

<p>weekdays (40 per cent) as well as on weekends (50 per cent), unlike five years ago.</p>	<p>frequently on weekdays than any other category.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government employees spending more time with their families, nowadays, during weekends (40 per cent) as well as on weekdays (20 per cent). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government employees spending more time with their families on weekdays (63 per cent) than any other professional group.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Businessmen and women spending lesser time with their families over the past five years, during the weekdays. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some businessmen and women spending equal amounts of time nowadays with their families on weekdays and weekends (27 per cent).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private employees (33 per cent) going out more frequently with their family members during weekdays nowadays than ever before. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private employees least prefer to go out frequently on weekdays (only 7 per cent) and are going out more frequently with their families on weekends (29 per cent)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More number of families (60 per cent) venturing outside their hometown more frequently than ever before, for holidays or for pilgrimage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More number of families (55 per cent) venturing outside their hometown more frequently than ever before, for holidays or for pilgrimage.

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