

Chapter VIII

THE STUDENT POPULATION AT HOME

Before we discuss the two linguistic communities separately, a general idea may be given of the questions the students were asked and the answers they gave on matters concerning their own lives. Here we try to see what kind of homes they come from, whether they share in household duties, how it affects their studies, and their daily routine.

To judge how far homes preserve traditional ways and attitudes, we see whether religious observances are kept up, and whether vegetarianism and the segregation of women at meals is still the rule. The strength of social ties with kin is measured by finding out whether in times of distress they help out, and whether the family meets often. The extent to which the student participates in the social life of the family is also studied. Finally, the particular relation of the student to his elders, and his adjustment to the family, round off our picture of his life in the home.

The home is perhaps the last stronghold of conservatism in any society. In our data we have seen that basic changes are occurring in the economic sphere and these affect all castes in various ways, though the caste system does not disappear. We can find out how deep these changes have gone, by finding out whether they affect the home life of the student. One way to do this is to study religious practice,

for religion is a sphere in which changes have a wide and deep effect, and which, nevertheless resists change. Traditions are best preserved by the family, and the strength of tradition, or change, gives an idea of the nature of family life and changes in it.

In the homes of 87 per cent of the students, there is daily worship. Although the data are not specific on this point, such daily worship, in the case of Hindus, and especially of Maharashtrians, would centre around domestic deities. In the case of Jains, it may be temple worship; whichever it is, for a highly educated section of the population, 87 per cent is a high proportion. 9 per cent restrict worship to occasions such as major festivals, and the recurrent pujas of full moon day, and so on. Only 4 per cent do not go in for worship of any kind. The above remarks apply to Muslims and Christians as well as Hindus in the sample.

In one-third of the families, everyone takes part in the worship. In one-seventh of the families only the mother carries out the rites. Various other answers are given. They show that on the one hand, elders, and on the other, women, are the main trustees of family worship. A fair number say that no one attends any worship - 13 per cent compared to only 4 per cent families where there is no worship of any kind. Probably in such families the occasional rites and ceremonies are carried out only by outside priests. About 81 per cent participate in other unspecified religious activities.

The high level of education of our sample has not discernibly broken the hold of religion and religious practice.

In the other important sphere of conservatism, diet, which is linked to religious ideas, there is again little evidence of change. All the Hindu castes in the sample are traditionally vegetarian, except for the C.K.Ps. and Marathas among Maharashtrians whose meat-eating is itself traditional. As many as 86 per cent have not changed their eating habits. The 14 per cent who show a change are all vegetarians moving to a mixed diet. Most of them take only eggs; some have gone on to meat. Here again, the vast majority are conservative.

It is the custom, in the traditional Hindu family, for women to first feed the men and the children. Only after they have been fed do the women sit down to a meal of whatever may be left. This was partly dictated by poverty, partly by the necessity to maintain the line of segregation between men and women. The maintenance of this line is again a sign of conservatism, and wherever it breaks down, women are to that extent emancipated.

In religion and diet, our sample is heavily conservative. It does however show more change in the case of women. In one third of the families, the women join the men at meals. This is quite a good advance in the breakdown of barriers within the family circle not only for women, but from custom. The nearly two-thirds who still observe old custom, however, add up with religion and diet to present a picture of extreme

conservatism in the family.

It would be part of the conservatism which hitherto has been dealt with on the cultural plane, to be also structural. The family has, traditionally, very close ties with related families with which it may form a closely linked group of extended kin. The importance of these kin is clearly demonstrated in the persons who come to the assistance of the family in times of distress. About one-fifth of the students say that no one helps them. Quite four-fifths can and do get help when required mostly from kin. A number of these have never had the occasion to require help. Paternal relatives, and own brothers and sisters are most often turned to. Others are helped by the mother's kin, and yet others by kin on both sides. Less than one-fifth get help from non-kin. A family's social insurance still lies with its kin.

We now come to the inner workings of family life, especially in relation to the student. The family foregathers mostly in the evening or the night, when the men return from work, and children are back from school. Some families meet in the mornings or afternoons, or on holidays or any free time. A few students say they never meet. The difference in times for family gatherings may be due to the nature of the occupation of the guardian.

About 71 per cent of the students enjoy the family gathering, and make it a point to be present for the family meal. Another 29 per cent are not always present, and their participation in such family social life is more limited.

Less than 2 per cent do not participate at all.

This sense of a rich and full family life is confirmed by the 69 per cent who say they have a happy family life. Only 3 per cent say they are unhappy and 6 per cent do not care to say. 22 per cent are unable to say. The family background of our students appear to be one on the whole free of conflict. In fact, 80 per cent of the students say there are no quarrels in the family.

There are, however, a certain number of students who feel dissatisfied, and feel a desire to leave their homes. These are usually due to family quarrels or for personal reasons. A few dislike to be scolded by their elders, and a small number want to run away because of economic difficulties. Other reasons given are ill-health, social customs, too much house work, and troublesome neighbours. All of these dissatisfied students add up to only 12 per cent of the total.

Young boys and girls in the home do not apparently chafe at discipline. We already know that they are on the whole happy and contented in their homes. In most homes, there is a fairly good discipline. Students have to inform someone before they go out, and must account for themselves if they are late in returning. In 81 per cent families, this discipline is maintained. In 17 per cent, it is not rigidly maintained, and on many occasions a young person may come or go with no interference. Only 2 per cent families have no such discipline. Of all students, 86 per cent do not feel unhappy about such discipline, and accept it as a matter of course;

7 per cent are not entirely enthusiastic about it and 7 per cent object to it. Apart from these few dissatisfied ones, the educated family in Baroda may be regarded as one where an orderly and pleasant discipline gives students a secure home life with which most of them are contented. The family is on the whole conservative and stable.

Most of the guardians take an interest in the studies of their wards, and only 3 per cent are indifferent. Eighty-six per cent of the students report obedience to the guardian, and they fear his anger especially where studies are concerned. Eight per cent do not fear him much, and only 6 per cent have no fear of the guardian. The authority obviously wielded by the head of the family must contribute greatly to its stability, and because there is no questioning of the head's authority, there is an absence of conflict or overt unhappiness. We have seen that there are very few illiterate guardians in our sample. Were the gulf between the student and his guardian to be very great in the sphere of education, the possibilities of conflict would be much greater. On the other hand, the extreme stability of the society as a whole, of caste groups, of families and of the layout of the whole town, may all contribute to an emotional stability within the primary group of the family.

While at home, the student has to divide his time between two main jobs. One is to help out with house work and the other is to do his home work and other study. Of all students, 99 per cent regularly help around the house, one

per cent occasionally do so, while 7 per cent do no house work at all. Students mostly help out on errands. Presumably, girls will not do this sort of work. The girls help with cooking, cleaning and washing. Other types of work is, helping father, helping as required or doing all the house work.

Normally, an hour is given over to such work or less than an hour. Some give up to two hours. Not many work more than that. A large number have no definite hours of work. Only 12 per cent of the students think that helping in the house interferes with their studies. As 13 per cent of the students put in from 2 to 3 hours, such a response is not surprising. Of the rest, 5 per cent think that sometimes it affects their studies, but 83 per cent are quite cheerful about work in the house, regard it as no interference.

Three-fourths of the students take pleasure in helping, most of the remainder do it as a duty with only 2 per cent working against their will. Of all students, 13 per cent express a definite annoyance at having to work, the rest have no such feeling.

Students were asked what would be the consequences if they did not help in house work. Relatively few replied in terms of punishment, and the punishment mentioned was a scolding. Others talked subjectively. The parents would be hurt, or would cease to love them, or it would cause inconvenience to others. Many spoke of ill effects to themselves

in terms of idleness and illness. Because a wide variety of consequences were cited, and not all could be listed, about two-fifths of the answers have been listed as 'others'. From the listed consequences, we may say that conscience is more active than fear of punishment in keeping students to their work, conscience mainly about the effects of their defection on others.

Over half, 55 per cent of the students, have separate rooms in which to study - a good percentage considering the quite large size of the family and the not very big houses characteristic of a provincial town. Forty-five per cent do not have separate rooms.

Of all students, only one-fourth think that lack of a room affects their studies. Whether these are students who have separate rooms and are expressing only an attitude, or whether they have actually felt the inconvenience, is not known.

Disturbance in studies due to overcrowding is also cited, but it is less frequently cited than lack of a separate room. Another possible source of disturbance is family quarrels. These are reported by only about 16 per cent of the students.

The routine of the student consists mainly in going to school and in attending the family meals.

Most students get up at six in the morning, or at five. Few get up earlier than five, almost none get up after seven. The entire family gets up at these hours. After spending the day in school, students return home according to the time

they are let off from school. Most return at five to five thirty in the evening. Very few return before five. Some come in quite late, even after six.

After returning, they may eat, play or rest. Some wash and bathe, go for a walk, or work in the house. A few study, listen to the radio and read papers.

At night, most students retire between nine and ten. Very few stay up till eleven or later.

The main meals are lunch and supper. In between, there may be a snack in the afternoon during the break, and a snack after school.

Lunch is taken between ten and ten-thirty. Baroda, like the rest of Gujarat and like Maharashtra, has working hours generally from eleven in the morning to five in the evening. The schools too observe these hours, and lunch is taken about half an hour or so before school time.

The hour for supper varies greatly. Eight and seven in the evening are the popular times. A fair proportion eat at six or before. Very few eat after nine.

The afternoon snack, in the school break, is not taken by all students. Almost a half take no snack. Most of those who do take a snack go home for it. Very few carry it with them to school or buy it outside.

After school, a snack is eaten by only about 55 per cent. We cannot say whether these are students who have not eaten in the afternoon.

We shall now see how the life of the student in the home is affected by the society in which he lives. For this we shall again divide our sample into the two linguistic communities of Gujaratis and Maharashtrians. For both of them the same plan will be followed. First the traditional structure and its influence will be examined, followed by secular factors.

Gujarati Students at Home

Traditional patterns of family life as reflected in the custom of women eating after the men are related to caste, to period of immigration, and to occupational change, education and income.

Table 174 : Caste and Tradition

	Women eat with men	after men	Indefinite	Total
Brahmin	29(37%)	46 (59%)	3 (4%)	78
Bania	42 (35%)	68 (57%)	9 (8%)	119
Patidar	34 (32%)	69 (65%)	3 (3%)	106
Others	24 (37½%)	32 (50%)	8 (12½%)	64
Total	129(35%)	215 (59%)	23 (6%)	367 (100%)

The first point to note is that 59 per cent of all Gujaratis preserve the old custom, while 35 per cent have given it up definitely. Brahmins and Banias conform to this

pattern. The Patidars are somewhat more old-fashioned. Other castes roughly conform, though the custom is not very clear-cut in a good number. Later we shall see that in this respect at least, Maharashtrians as a whole are more conservative.

Table 175 : Immigration and Tradition

	Women eat with men	after men	Indefinite	Total
Indefinite	35	40	4	79
Natives	17	14	1	32
Settlers A	14	32	3	49
Settlers B	24	26	3	53
Immigrants	15	25	3	43
Non-residents	24	78	9	111
Total	129	215	23	367

The most conservative are the non-residents. As these families are mainly Patidar and agriculturist, this is not surprising. The other groups are less easy to understand. Immigrants of the war period are less conservative than those who came later, and than pre-war immigrants. Perhaps the war had something to do with it, at least indirectly, by causing a selective migration of less conservative families. Or it may have been a period of sharp changes. But the old residents again are less conservative than all immigrants except those who came in the war, although one would have

expected them to be the most resistant to change. A possible explanation is that the immigrants come from smaller towns and rural areas, and that the old residents of Baroda are more urbanised and less conservative than most of the immigrants. This cannot be substantiated as nothing^{is} known of the place of emigration of the students' families. It does however seem to be the only explanation that covers the facts.

Table 176 : Occupational Change and Tradition.

	Women eat with men	after men	Indefinite	Total
1. Unchanged	66 (34%)	117 (60%)	13 (6%)	196
2. Changing	34 (33%)	64 (62%)	5 (5%)	103
3. Changed	16 (39%)	20 (49%)	5 (12%)	41
Total	116	201	23	340

A correlation of this kind is made on the assumption that change in the one sphere will be accompanied by change in the other. This is fully corroborated by the figures. Families that have made a complete change from the grandfather's occupation are also less addicted to the tradition of segregating men and women at meals. Families that have only partially changed however, are as conservative as the unchanged families. It may be a sign of the confusion created by a high degree of change that such a large percentage of changed families is indefinite about this custom.

Table 177 : Education and Tradition

	Women eat with men	after men	Indefinite	Total
1. Illiterate	4 (33%)	7 (59%)	1 (8%)	12 (100%)
2. Literate	28 (23%)	80 (67%)	12 (10%)	120 (100%)
3. English knowing	28 (35%)	50 (62½%)	2 (2½%)	80 (100%)
4. Educated	26 (34%)	46 (61%)	4 (5%)	76 (100%)
5. Advanced	32 (57%)	20 (36%)	4 (7%)	56 (100%)
Total	118	203	23	344

Education appears as a more obvious factor in change than occupation and income, though we may say that the three together form a complex of secular factors. In Chapter IV, we named education as the most powerful social catalyst of all. The present set of figures confirms that education leads to more striking changes than other secular factors. It is only in the class of graduates that we find a very major break with the custom under discussion. All the other levels of education tend to be far more conservative although there is, even among them, a direct relation between level of education and observance. Except for the illiterates, conservatism decreases as education improves. The graduate pattern is so different that it may account for the generally lesser conservatism of Gujaratis as it appears in the over-all averages.

Table 178 : Per Capita Income and Tradition.*

	Women eat with men %	after men %	Indefinite %
1. Upto Rs. 500	66½	77	76
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	17	15	24
3. Above Rs. 1000	16½	8	-
Total	100	100	100

* Figures given in percentages.

Together with occupation and education, income also affects conservatism. The modern families where men and women eat together have much higher per capita incomes than those who still observe the old custom of separate meals.

In this one simple custom we are able to discern the influence of a range of social factors. Although it is but one of several such customs, it is in a sense symbolic of tradition in the domestic sphere. We are not far wrong in deducing from this one custom and its present-day observance that castes vary in their adherence to tradition, and that this variation arises from their differential positions in the fields of occupation, education and income. These latter socio-economic factors are the direct causes of changes in traditional life. Immigration alone appears irrelevant to change, though here we know nothing about emigration which may have given us some answers.

We now go on to the social life of the family. The extent of participation in the daily gatherings of members of the family and at mealtimes is expected to vary with social factors.

Table 179 : Caste and Participation in Family Life

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Brahmin	57 (71%)	21 (26%)	2 (3%)	80 (100%)
2. Bania	86 (72%)	34 (28%)	-	120 (100%)
3. Patidar	68 (64%)	35 (33%)	3 (3%)	106 (100%)
4. Other	36 (55%)	28 (43%)	1 (2%)	65 (100%)
Total	247	118	6	371

Patidars and other castes do not have as full a family life as Brahmins and Banias. In the case of Patidars this is probably due not to indifference or conflict but to the fact that many of the Patidar students are not living with their families. A full participation is not possible because they are in hostels, or spend hours on the train going to and from school. In the case of 'other' castes it is more difficult to say. As many of these are low castes, the large percentage who participate only partially may be accounted for by possible conflict between the student and his family. But in all castes, very few students do not participate at all in family life.

Table 180 : Immigration and Participation in Family Life

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Indefinite	59 (72%)	23 (28%)	-	82
2. Native	23 (80%)	5 (17%)	1 (3%)	29
3. Settlers A	31 (60%)	20 (38%)	1 (2%)	52
4. Settlers B	36 (68%)	17 (32%)	-	53
5. Immigrants	30 (68%)	13 (30%)	1 (2%)	44
6. Non-residents	68 (61%)	40 (36%)	3 (3%)	111
Total	247	118	6	371

Participation is fullest in the old families. The immigrants show a more partial participation, like the non-residents. The pre-war immigrants show a pattern similar to that of non-residents, with well over one-third participating only partially. Subsequent immigrants participate more fully. Why pre-war immigrants diverge from other immigrants it is impossible to say. Considering the longer time they have spent in Baroda, their family life ought to be more stable and developed.

We now come across a very interesting phenomenon in family life. The more modern a family can claim to be, the more likely it is that the student participates fully in family life.

Table 181 : Occupational Change and Participation in Family Life.

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Unchanged	130 (65%)	65 (32½%)	5 (2½%)	200 (100%)
2. Changing	70 (68%)	33 (32%)	-	103 (100%)
3. Changed	29 (71%)	12 (28%)	-	41 (100%)
Total	229	110	5	344

Table 182 : Education and Participation in Family Life

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Illiterate	6 (50%)	5 (42%)	1 (8%)	12
2. Literate	68 (56%)	54 (44%)	-	122
3. English knowing	53 (65%)	27 (33%)	2 (2%)	82
4. Educated	54 (71%)	19 (25%)	3 (4%)	76
5. Advanced	45 (80%)	11 (20%)	-	56
Total	226	116	6	248

Table 183 : Per Capita Income and Participation in Family Life*

	Full	Partial	None
	%	%	%
1. Upto Rs. 500	74	74	60
2. Rs. 501 to Rs.1000	16	17	-
3. Above Rs. 1000	10	9	40
Total	100	100	100 **

* Figures given in percentages. ** Actual numbers - 5.

In this set of three tables, education again appears as a powerful force, this time in the cohesiveness of family life. The higher the education of the guardian, the more often a student is found to participate fully in family life. There is a similar tendency for the changed family to have a better participation than the unchanged or partially changed. It is not however as marked as in the case of education. The third factor, income, does not at all affect family life. This is surprising as one may have expected the educational correlate of income to cause some difference. Very emphatically, however, whether there is a complete participation or whether it is only partial, the distribution over income levels is the same. That is, income makes no difference.

Higher education and high caste status are both prestigious, and as these two factors are the most effective in family cohesiveness, our conclusion is that a family with prestige in society tends to have a better integration. In so far as education has much more conscious prestige attached to it at the present time than any other factor, traditional or modern, it is not surprising that it is the most effective factor contributing to family cohesiveness.

The happy family life of Hindus is almost proverbial. Every Indian language has proverbs and myths and injunctions about the unity of the family. And yet it is well known that women and younger members are subject to considerable tyranny in the family. Though from the earliest years, there is an

indoctrination into the values of family life, it is difficult to believe that there is no unhappiness or conflict in the Hindu family. All that can be said with certainty is that it is not allowed to come into the open as this may endanger the family structure. Family unhappiness has a low 'social visibility'.

We will now see how far students have happy lives in their homes.

Table 184 : Caste and Family Happiness.

	Happy	Unhappy	Cannot say	Do not wish to say	Total
1. Brahmin	53 (71%)	-	16 (21%)	6 (8%)	75 (100%)
2. Bania	90 (79%)	4 (3%)	18 (16%)	2 (2%)	114 (100%)
3. Patidar	69 (68%)	1 (1%)	27 (26%)	5 (5%)	102 (100%)
4. Others	34 (57%)	5 (8%)	18 (30%)	3 (5%)	60 (100%)
Total	246	10	79	16	351

The lower castes are not much more unhappy than the upper. But fewer of them are sure they are happy. So too with the semi-rural Patidars, though more of them are happy than other castes. The Banias and Brahmins have more happy families, less uncertain families, no unhappy families (except a few Banias), but among Brahmins a small but significant number do not wish to say. These would be students avoiding what to them is the apostasy of saying something

that reflects ill on the family. There is a similar small number in all the castes. The concept of a happy family has a strong hold on the Indian mind and is central to domestic morality. It is one of the dominant social values, and is probably more seriously regarded by upper than by lower castes. It is anyway a moot point how many students have written themselves down as having a happy family life because they really are happy, or have done so mechanically.

Table 185 : Immigration and Family Happiness

	Happy	Unhappy	Cannot say	Do not wish to say	Total
1. Indefinite	58 (73%)	1 (1%)	17 (21%)	4 (5%)	80 (100%)
2. Natives	19 (70%)	-	8 (30%)	-	27 (100%)
3. Settlers A	34 (71%)	3 (6%)	9 (19%)	2 (4%)	48 (100%)
4. Settlers B	40 (82%)	1 (2%)	7 (14%)	1 (2%)	49 (100%)
5. Immigrants	29 (74%)	1 (3%)	7 (18%)	2 (5%)	39 (100%)
6. Non-residents	67 (62%)	4 (4%)	30 (28%)	7 (6%)	108 (100%)
Total	247	10	78	16	351

All residents, including immigrants, show a high proportion of happy families, while non-residents show a smaller proportion. Inability to state is greater among old residents than among immigrants. Do they take family life too much for granted? Of all the immigrants, those who came in the war are the happiest.

Table 186 : Size of Family and Family Happiness

	2 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above	Total
1. Happy	12	43	64	59	65	243
2. Unhappy	1	3	1	4	1	10
3. Cannot say	-	17	19	27	15	78
4. Do not wish to say	1	3	6	3	2	15
Total	14	66	90	93	83	346

The smallest families are the happiest. There is both greater uncertainty and a little more unhappiness in families of 4 to 5 and 8 to 9. Medium families of 6 to 7 are again happier, but the large families of 10 and above have again a conspicuously larger number of happy families. We might generalise that the smallest and the largest are the happiest families, but can adduce no reasons for this.

Table 187 : Per Capita Income and Family Happiness.

	Happy %	Unhappy %	Cannot say %	Do not wish to say %
1. Upto Rs. 500	70	100	85	87
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	18	-	11	13
3. Above Rs. 1000	12	-	4	-
Total	100	100	100	100

Income has appeared heretofore almost in a secondary position in social life and in social change. Not many students complain about their economic condition. And yet here we have an undoubted relation between income and happiness. Happy families have better incomes. The uncertain families are a little worse off. Those who will not say have no persons with an income above Rs. 1000 per head. And all the unhappy students, though few in number, have less than Rs. 500 per head. This cannot be an accidental correlation, and though money is rarely made an object of value or prestige per se, it appears to have a vital influence on the emotional aspects of family life.

We now come to the question of discipline. The discipline consists, as per the questionnaire, of the need to take permission before going out and to account for lateness in returning. Although the discipline patterns may vary from family to family and from student to student, we take these as representing a good index to the general discipline, as movements outside the house would be a fairly sensitive area of behaviour. It is there that a family could lose its hold over younger members.

Table 188 : Caste and Discipline

	<u>Firm</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Weak</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Brahmin	64 (80.0)	15 (18.8)	1 (1.2)	80 (100%)
2. Bania	93 (77.5)	24 (20.0)	3 (7.5)	120 (100%)
3. Patidar	88 (83.0)	14 (13.2)	4 (3.8)	106 (100%)
4. Other	44 (67.6)	18 (27.8)	3 (4.6)	65 (100%)
Total	289	71	11	371

The discipline is strongest among Patidars and Brahmins, followed by Banias. 'Other' castes show fewer families with firm discipline, with more showing a fair, or even weak discipline. This seems to bear out an earlier remark that the higher the social status, the greater the integration of the family.

Table 189 : Caste and Obedience

	<u>Full</u>	<u>Partial</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Brahmin	73 (91)	4 (5)	3 (4)	80 (100%)
2. Bania	113 (94)	6 (5)	1 (1)	180 (100%)
3. Patidar	94 (89)	9 (8)	3 (3)	106 (100%)
4. Other	56 (86)	6 (9)	3 (5)	65 (100%)
Total	236	25	10	371

The students show a very high degree of obedience to family discipline, as shown in their attitude to it. Banias show greatest acceptance, closely followed by Brahmins. There is a falling off in the case of Patidars and other castes, but even with them, very few reject discipline outright. They give instead a partial acceptance.

Table 190 : Immigration and Discipline.

	<u>Full</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Weak</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Indefinite	64 (78)	17 (21)	1 (1)	82 (100%)
2. Natives	22 (76)	7 (24)	-	29 (100%)
3. Settlers A	39 (75)	12 (23)	1 (2)	52 (100%)
4. Settlers B	45 (85)	7 (13)	1 (2)	53 (100%)
5. Immigrants	33 (75)	11 (25)	-	44 (100%)
Non-residents	86 (78)	17 (15)	8 (7)	111 (100%)
Total	289	71	11	371

Discipline is a little firmer in the case of wartime immigrants. Otherwise, the period of immigration is irrelevant. Among non-residents, a fair number show weak discipline, where others are fair. This may be due to the fact that these students are not living with their families, and may have therefore returned negative answers.

Table 191 : Immigration and Obedience

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Indefinite	77 (94)	5 (6)	-	82(100%)
2. Natives	27 (93)	2 (7)	-	29(100%)
3. Settlers A	41 (79)	7 (13)	4 (8)	52(100%)
4. Settlers B	49 (92)	2 (4)	2 (4)	53(100%)
5. Immigrants	43 (98)	1 (2)	-	44(100%)
6. Non-residents	99 (89)	8 (7)	4 (4)	111(100%)
Total	336	25	10	371

Obedience is high at all times, but there is a slight decrease for non-residents, and a greater decrease for pre-war immigrants who appear to be the least docile of all. Why this should be so when these early immigrants have had over fifteen years in which to settle down is hard to say. Looking through our data on immigration (Chapters IV and V) we find that these immigrants came from agriculture. The most recent immigrants have also come from agriculture but their standard of education

is much higher than that of the pre-war immigrants. The early immigrants show more change than any other category of immigrants, and their families tend to be larger. This may be the reason why there is evidence of some conflict in these families. Nevertheless 79 per cent fully accept family discipline, only 8 per cent do not.

Table 192 : Occupational Change and Discipline

	Firm	Fair	Weak	Total
1. Unchanged	160 (80)	33 (17)	7 (3)	200
2. Changing	74 (72)	27 (26)	2 (2)	103
3. Changed	34 (83)	6 (15)	1 (15)	41
Total	268	66	10	344

It is the families in the 'changing' category where discipline tends more towards 'fair' than in families where there has been no change or a complete change. In the latter, discipline is more often firm. Very few families in all categories have a weak discipline.

Table 193 : Occupational Change and Obedience.

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Unchanged	180 (90)	16 (8)	4 (2)	200
2. Changing	92 (89)	6 (6)	5 (5)	103
3. Changed	38 (93)	2 (5)	1 (2)	41
Total	310	24	10	344

Discipline is questioned somewhat more in changing families than in any others, though here again there is a high degree of obedience in all categories.

Table 194 : Education and Discipline

	Firm	Fair	Weak	Total
1. Illiterate	6 (50)	6 (50)	-	72 (100%)
2. Literate	92 (75)	24 (20)	6 (5)	122 (100%)
3. English knowing	63 (77)	18 (22)	1 (1)	82 (100%)
4. Educated	62 (82)	10 (13)	4 (5)	76 (100%)
5. Advanced	47 (84)	9 (16)	-	56 (100%)
Total	270	67	11	348

There is a definite relation between education and discipline. As one goes up the scale of education, the discipline is firmer. None of the families whose head is a graduate has a weak discipline. Education is as strong a factor as caste in integrating the family. Prestige seems to be the moving force in keeping a family united, integrated, with a good discipline over children, and a good response to the discipline. Education is the modern prestige-giving factor, caste is the traditional one. And both in a similar manner affect the family.

Table 195 : Education and Obedience

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Illiterate	8 (67)	3 (67)	3 (8)	12 (100%)
2. Literate	108 (88)	7 (6)	7 (6)	122 (100%)
3. English knowing	76 (93)	6 (7)	-	82 (100%)
4. Educated	70 (92)	4 (5)	2 (3)	76 (100%)
5. Advanced	52 (93)	4 (7)	-	56 (100%)
Total	314	24	10	348

As the level of education of the guardian increases, the more we get a response of obedience. At the level of illiteracy, only two-thirds of the students accept the family discipline. Fully one-fourth accept it only partially.

Table 196 : Per Capita Income and Discipline.*

	Firm %	Fair %	Weak %	Total %
1. Upto Rs. 500	80	19	1	100
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	76	14	10	100
3. Above Rs. 1000	71	17	6	100

* Figures given in percentages.

There is not much difference between the income levels, though a higher income is accompanied by an increase of weak discipline, especially in the middle category.

Table 197 : Per Capita Income and Obedience

	Full %	Partial %	None %	Total %
1. Upto Rs. 500	90	7	3	100
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	93	5	2	100
3. Above Rs. 1000	86	11	3	100

* Figures given in percentages.

The weakness of discipline in the higher income levels is belied by the high degree of acceptance of discipline.

It may be that we have not been right in taking the permission to go out and accounting for delay, as symbolic of discipline. The discipline patterns of richer families may be different. Whatever the pattern, acceptance is high in the category of Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000, and is only a little less for those having above Rs. 1000.

Maharashtrian Students at Home

We expect to find some differences between Maharashtrians and Gujaratis as we have already seen that the structure of the two communities and the way in which it changes is very different. The Maharashtrian structure has been remarkable for its stability and for its socio-economic homogeneity.

Table 198 : Caste and Tradition

	Women eat with men	after men	Indefinite	Total
1. Brahmin	17 (20)	65 (78)	2 (2)	84 (100%)
2. C.K.P.	4 (22)	13 (72)	1 (5)	18 (100%)
3. Maratha	3 (14)	18 (82)	1 (4)	22 (100%)
4. Others	1 (20)	4 (80)	-	5 (100%)
Total	25 (18)	100 (79)	4 (3)	129

If the custom of women eating after the men is any index of conservatism, then Maharashtrians are more conservative than Gujarati. Only 59 per cent Gujaratis have this custom

compared to 79 per cent Maharashtrians. The custom may not be strictly comparable, for the value set upon it may be different in the two societies. And yet, among Gujaratis, it definitely varies according to social factors, implying a social change. We know that Maharashtrians are less subject than Gujaratis to socio-economic change. It cannot be a coincidence therefore that they are more conservative in their customs.

Castewise, the Marathas and 'other' castes are most conservative, while C.K.Ps. are least conservative.

Table 199 : Immigration and Tradition

	Women eat with men	after men	Indefinite	Total
1. Indefinite	9 (29)	21 (68)	1 (3)	31 (100%)
2. Natives	2 (8)	22 (92)	-	24 (100%)
3. Settlers A	4 (13)	25 (84)	1 (3)	30 (100%)
4. Settlers B	4 (25)	12 (75)	-	16 (100%)
5. Immigrants	3 (23)	9 (69)	1 (8)	13 (100%)
6. Non-residents	4 (25)	11 (69)	1 (6)	16 (100%)
Total	26	100	4	130

The pre-war immigrants (Settlers A) are somewhat more associated with agriculture and are poorer and less well-educated than more recent immigrants. This may account for the greater conservatism. Natives who have been here for

over twenty-five years are more conservative.

Table 200 : Occupational Change and Tradition

	Women eat with men	after men	Indefinite	Total
1. Unchanged	17 (20)	64 (76)	3 (4)	84 (100%)
2. Changing	6 (26)	17 (74)	-	23 (100%)
3. Changed	-	13 (100)	-	13 (100%)
Total	23	94	3	120

Occupational change, which is not very great in this community, does not have much effect on the custom.

Table 201 : Education and Tradition

	Women eat with men	after men	Indefinite	Total
1. Illiterate	1 (20)	4 (80)	-	5 (100)
2. Literate	1 (6)	16 (94)	-	17 (100)
3. English knowing	4 (17)	18 (75)	2 (8)	24 (100)
4. Educated	11 (25)	31 (70)	2 (5)	44 (100)
5. Advanced	7 (21)	27 (79)	-	34 (100)
Total	24	96	4	124

Table 202 : Per Capita Income and Tradition.*

	Women eat with men %	after men %	Indefinite %
1. Upto Rs. 500	58	68	100
2. Rs. 501 to Rs.1000	21	21	-
3. Above Rs. 1000	21	11	-
Total	100	100	100

* Figures given in percentages.

Income more clearly affects tradition. The more conservative families have lower income levels than less conservative families.

Table 203 : Caste and Participation in Family Life.

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Brahmin	72 (84)	12 (14)	2 (2)	86 (100)
2. C.K.P.	17 (94½)	1 (5½)	-	18 (100)
3. Maratha	16 (73)	6 (27)	-	22 (100)
4. Others	4 (80)	1 (20)	-	5 (100)
Total	109	20	2	131

C.K.Ps. have the fullest family life, as judged by participation in family gatherings and meals, followed by Brahmins. Marathas are the lowest in this respect, but all castes taken together show a high percentage of full participation.

Table 204 : Immigration and Participation in Family Life

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Indefinite	27 (85)	4 (12)	1 (3)	32 (100)
2. Natives	22 (88)	3 (12)	-	25 (100)
3. Settler A	2 (80)	6 (20)	-	30 (100)
4. Settler B	12 (75)	4 (25)	-	16 (100)
5. Immigrants	12 (92)	1 (8)	-	13 (100)
Non-resident	13 (81)	2 (13)	1 (6)	16 (100)
Total	100	20	2	132

The most recent immigrants have the fullest participation, the war-time immigrants have the least. The former show a low degree of change (Table 165), the latter show the most change.

Table 205 : Occupational Change and Participation in Family Life.

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Unchanged	75 (87)	10 (12)	1 (1)	76 (100)
2. Changing	17 (74)	5 (22)	1 (4)	23 (100)
3. Changed	9 (69)	4 (31)	-	13 (100)
Total	101	19	2	122

It is in unchanged families that participation is fullest, and it is less so among those completely changed in occupation since the grandfather's time. In the case of immigrants, they differ from each other in occupational change rather than any other factor, and it is this factor that appears to affect family harmony the most.

Table 206 : Education and Participation in Family Life

	<u>Full</u>	<u>Partial</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Illiterate	4 (80)	1 (20)	-	5 (100)
2. Literate	12 (71)	4 (23)	1 (6)	17 (100)
3. English knowing	21 (87½)	3 (12½)	-	24 (100)
4. Educated	39 (87)	5 (11)	1 (2)	45 (100)
5. Advanced	29 (85)	5 (15)	-	34 (100)
Total	105	18	2	125

Education also affects family life. The less educated show somewhat lower participation, and tend to partial participation. This is unlike the better educated who show a fuller participation in family life.

Table 207 : Per Capita Income and Participation in Family Life

	<u>Full</u>	<u>Partial</u>	<u>None</u>
1. Upto Rs. 500	69%	60%	50%
2. Rs. 500 to Rs.1000	19%	30%	-
3. Above Rs. 1000	12%	10%	50%
Total	100%	100%	100%

We have already seen that income affects tradition among Maharashtrians far more than education (Table 202). In the case of family participation, education, occupational change, and per capita income all play a part.

It is in the lower and middle levels of income that the difference is apparent, and not among those with over Rs.1000. The lower level has fuller participation than the middle, while the middle level has more partial participation than the lower.

We now come to the question of family happiness. Earlier we put forward a view that the "happy family" is a social value and that it derives its emphasis from the need to keep up social prestige. This view received some confirmation among the Gujaratis. It now remains to be seen whether it is true of Maharashtrians.

Table 208 : Caste and Family Happiness

	Happy	Unhappy	Cannot say	Do not wish to say	Total
1. Brahmin	54 (66)	1 (1)	23 (28)	4 (5)	82 (100)
2. C.K.Ps.	13 (76½)	-	4 (23½)	-	17 (100)
3. Maratha	14 (64)	2 (9)	5 (23)	1 (4)	22 (100)
4. Other	3 (60)	1 (20)	1 (20)	-	5 (100)
Total	84	4	33	5	126

The C.K.Ps. have the happiest family life on their own showing, and none are unhappy or even evasive. Brahmins and

Marathas are similar, with more students uncertain, and a few unhappy and evasive. On the whole, in all castes there is a high degree of uncertainty. This could be interpreted to mean that family life is so contented that many students take it for granted and are unable to say. A positive assertion of happy life implies an awareness of its opposite - the unhappy life. Or it may mean that family happiness is a social value probably of the dominant groups.

Table 209 : Immigration and Family Happiness

	Happy	Unhappy	Cannot say	Do not wish to say	Total
1. Indefinite	19(63)	2(7)	9 (30)	-	30 (100)
2. Natives	16(67)	1(4)	5 (20)	2 (9)	24 (100)
3. Settlers A	18(64)	-	9 (33)	1 (3)	28 (100)
4. Settlers B	11(69)	-	5 (31)	-	16 (100)
5. Immigrants	9(69)	-	3 (23)	1 (8)	13 (100)
6. Non-resi- dents	12(75)	1 (6)	2 (13)	1 (6)	16 (100)
Total	85	4	33	5	127

There is almost no variation according to immigration, except that none of the immigrants are unhappy and only a few old residents are. This is quite unlike what is reported of immigrant groups in America, where family life becomes disorganised with the first impact of settling in a new place, and only in the next generation, or later, does the family

regain a stable if different form. W. Lloyd Warner has some studies of this phenomenon in his Yankee City series.* In Baroda, immigration by itself does not much affect the social life of immigrants. What is far more relevant is what kind of immigrants they are, their caste, occupation, education and so forth. In Yankee City also, there is less disorganisation among the more cohesive paternalistic groups from Eastern Europe. The Baroda case is not strictly comparable with the U.S. as its immigrants are drawn from other parts of the same region, whereas in the U.S. immigrants come from totally different societies with neither language, nor tradition in common. The American immigrant requires a much more drastic adaptation than would be the case with Gujarati immigrants, or Maharashtrian immigrants into Baroda.

Table 210 : Size of the Family and Family Happiness

	2 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above	Total
1. Happy	3	16	25	21	19	84
2. Unhappy	2	-	1	-	-	3
3. Cannot say	5	12	8	5	3	33
4. Did not wish to say	1	2	1	-	1	5
Total	11	30	35	26	23	125

* The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, by W.L. Warner and L. Srole

The size of the family is not very relevant to family happiness, except that smaller families are more unable to say, while medium to larger families are more positive in a statement of happiness.

Table 211: Per Capita Income and Family Happiness.*

	Happy %	Unhappy %	Cannot say %	Do not wish to say %
1. Upto Rs. 500	61	100	74	80
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 22 1000			20	20
3. Above Rs.1000	17		6	-
Total	100	100	100	100

* Figures given in percentages only.

As with the Gujaratis, income has a close relation with family happiness. Unhappiness is confined to low levels of income, and evasiveness also does not share a much higher income level. Positive statements of a happy family life are accompanied by much better income levels than is the case with students who are unable to say whether they are happy or not. The financial condition of a family affects its happiness very clearly.

The final aspect of family life for which information was collected is its discipline.

Table 212 : Caste and Discipline.

	Firm	Fair	Weak	Total
1. Brahmins	70 (82)	15 (17)	1 (1)	86 (100)
2. C.K.Ps.	16 (89)	2 (11)	-	18 (100)
3. Marathas	18 (82)	4 (18)	-	22 (100)
4. Others	5 (100)	-	-	5 (100)
Total	109	21	1	131

Discipline is high in all castes, with 'other' castes and C.K.Ps. doing a little better. In only one Brahmin family is it weak. Family cohesiveness appears to be characteristic of all Maharashtrians, and not of one or another castes.

Table 213 : Caste and Obedience

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Brahmin	68 (79)	3 (4)	15 (17)	86
2. C.K.Ps.	16 (88)	1 (6)	1 (6)	18
3. Maratha	15 (68)	2 (9)	5 (23)	22
4. Others	4 (80)	-	1 (20)	5
Total	103	6	22	131

Apparently, Maharashtrian students are more individualistic, for nearly 17 per cent reject the necessity to account

for their movements away from the home. Hardly 3 per cent of the Gujaratis protested. And yet there is more discipline in Maharashtrian families. Perhaps it is in itself the reason for the students' dislike of discipline.

Table 214 : Immigration and Discipline

	Firm	Fair	Weak	Total
1. Indefinite	30 (94)	2 (6)	-	32 (100)
2. Natives	23 (92)	2 (8)	-	25 (100)
3. Settlers A	22 (73)	7 (23)	1 (4)	30 (100)
4. Settlers B	14 (87½)	2 (12½)	-	16 (100)
5. Immigrants	9 (69)	4 (31)	-	13 (100)
6. Non-residents	12 (75)	4 (25)	-	16 (100)
Total	110	21	1	132

Older residents have a better discipline than immigrants and outsiders, especially immigrants who came before and after the war. The wartime immigrants had a better education than those who came earlier, and a better income than those who came later. At the same time, although many families were caught up in change, this was only partial, and consisted largely of an aberrant wartime change to business. Such a change is quite inconspicuous in the rest of the population. It is in these families, largely matriculates, and yet better off than graduates, coming after Independence, that discipline is better than even among the better-educated recent immigrants.

Table 215 : Immigration and Obedience

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Indefinite	25 (78)	2 (6)	5 (16)	32
2. Natives	21 (84)	-	4 (16)	25
3. Settlers A	21 (70)	3 (10)	6 (20)	30
4. Settlers B	14 (88)	1 (6)	1 (6)	16 (100)
5. Immigrants	9 (69)	-	4 (31)	13 (100)
6. Non-residents	14 (87½)	-	2 (12½)	16 (100)
Total	104	6	22	132

Wartime immigrants, with the best discipline, also have the greatest obedience. Recent immigrants register a considerable protest against discipline of this kind, that is, movement outside the house. Pre-war immigrants are almost as questioning. Older residents, outsiders and the war immigrants are the most docile.

Table 216 : Occupational Change and Discipline.

	Firm	Fair	Weak	Total
1. Unchanged	72 (84)	14 (16)		86 (100)
2. Changing	19 (83)	4 (17)		23 (100)
3. Changed	10 (77)	2 (15)	1 (8)	13 (100)
Total	101	20	1	122

Only in families where a complete change in occupation has occurred is discipline somewhat weaker. Otherwise, where a partial change occurs, the discipline is as good as in an unchanged family.

Table 217 : Occupational Change and Obedience.

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Unchanged	70 (81)	3 (4)	13 (15)	86 (100)
2. Changing	17 (74)	2 (9)	4 (17)	23 (100)
3. Changed	9 (69)	1 (8)	3 (23)	13 (100)
4. Total	96	6	20	122

The more stable a family the greater the acceptance of discipline. The more it changes, the more its discipline is questioned.

Table 218 : Education and Discipline.

	Firm	Fair	Weak	Total
1. Illiterate	4 (80)	1 (20)	-	5 (100)
2. Literate	16 (94)	1 (6)	-	17 (100)
3. English knowing	21 (87½)	3 (12½)	-	24 (100)
4. Educated	37 (82)	7 (16)	1 (2)	45 (100)
5. Advanced	25 (74)	9 (26)	-	34 (100)
Total	103	21	1	125

The higher the education of the guardian, the less strict he is about the movements of his ward. With Gujaratis it is the reverse. One is tempted to conclude that education among Maharashtrians confers certain rights on the members of a family, conducive not to a communal change (traditional customs are still strong) but to greater individualism. With Gujaratis, there is much change due to education, but it affects the group, and does not release the individual, as can be seen from the greater family cohesiveness and control at higher levels of the caste hierarchy.

Table 219 : Education and Obedience.

	Full	Partial	None	Total
1. Illiterate	4 (80)	-	1 (20)	5 (100)
2. Literate	13 (76)	1 (6)	3 (18)	17 (100)
3. English-knowing	17 (71)	4 (17)	3 (12)	24 (100)
4. Educated	39 (87)	-	6 (13)	45 (100)
5. Advanced	26 (76½)	-	8 (23½)	34 (100)
Total	99	5	21	125

No clear pattern emerges of a relation of education of the guardian to acceptance of discipline by the ward. The largest protest does come from the wards of graduates, but the protests of literates and illiterates is greater than that of the English-knowing and matriculates. Matriculates have a greater degree of acceptance than the less-educated.

Table 220 : Per Capita Income and Discipline.*

	Firm %	Fair %	Weak %	Total %
1. Upto Rs. 500	88	11	1	100
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	79	21	-	100
3. Above Rs. 1000	66 2/3	33 1/3	-	100

* Figures given in percentages.

The higher the income, the less strict the discipline. Income is a much more obvious factor than education in family discipline.

Table 221 : Per Capita Income and Obedience.*

	Full %	Partial %	None %	Total %
1. Upto Rs. 500	89	6	11	100
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	75	-	25	100
3. Above Rs. 1000	60	7	33	100

* Figures given in percentages.

Acceptance of discipline, which was even less clearly influenced by education than the discipline itself, is as much affected by income as discipline is. As income rises, more and more students object to the restrictions on going out.

Income appears as a potent factor in family life, unlike its role in caste, occupation, education and so on where it is strongly overlaid by such prestige-giving factors as education and type of occupation.