

Chapter X

THE STUDENT AT LEISURE

The student's leisure activities, outside school hours, take a variety of forms. There may be an organised participation in the activities of an institution, or there may be specific recreation through hobbies. There may be the passive entertainment of the cinema, or the casual entertainment of evening walks, which is a common leisure time activity in small towns. Then there are the friendship groups. These may have their nucleus in school cliques, or they may not. The former is likely in the old schools in congested areas where society is multiplex, and the same people are related through caste, kinship, neighbourhood, schools, and so on. The latter may be true of the foreign-type, or modern schools, on the outer edges of the town, to which students often come from far distances. The latter however are few, and generally a friendship group may be taken as part of the student's total social setting, including his school.

First, the independent activities of the student will be considered. This will be followed by groups and their activities.

The evening walk is perhaps the universal institution of the 'middle classes' in provincial towns. Neither the villager nor the urbanised city-dweller is addicted to it. In Baroda, which has a number of fine, accessible gardens,

and which has a large number of white-collar families, and also a white-collar 'mentality' (judging from the leaning towards such jobs) taking an evening walk is quite an institution. Among the high school students, only 6 per cent never take a walk. As many as 41 per cent take a daily walk, while 53 per cent go occasionally.

There are several places to walk to, but most popular is the city itself. These would be mainly the daily addicts. Rajmahal Road, a wide, well kept road that runs through Babajipura, is particularly liked for walks. Lalbag, Kamatibag and Jubileebag come next, in that order, and a larger number do not specify a particular garden. Various other places, including Alkapuri are mentioned.

Most students, (43 per cent) spend just an hour on a walk. Others spend less, or as much as two hours. Very few exceed two hours.

Between seven and eight in the evening, most students, over three-fourths, return home. Some return by six-thirty, others by eight-thirty, and a few by nine. After nine is a late hour, and very few keep out till then.

Evening walks, apart from relaxation, provide a mild kind of exercise. But one-half of all students take proper exercise every day. Most of them exercise for one half to one hour, many for less than half an hour. Very few do it for over an hour.

Hobbies range from games to photography to knitting and sewing and the cinema. In a first choice of favourite

hobby, games gets the largest following with 58 per cent. Lesser choices are music and dancing, collecting stamps, etc., reading, and intellectual activities. Minor hobbies are photography and art, going out, knitting and sewing, and the cinema. Actually, cinema-going is quite widespread, but few students list it as a hobby.

A second choice is made by only 59 per cent compared to the first choice made by 89 per cent of the sample. Thus 30 per cent have only one favourite hobby.

In the second choice, reading, music and dance, going out and games all rank high. Next come photography and art, and knitting and sewing, with the cinema and collecting stamps etc., coming last.

Only 24 per cent of the students make a third choice. This runs to games, reading, knitting and sewing, and music and dancing, followed by the cinema, photography and art and going out. A small percentage go in for collecting stamps, etc. Quite a number of other hobbies are listed for the second and third choice, but for practical reasons, these could not be maintained separately.

Some of the hobbies mentioned above are expensive, as in the case of photography; others can be freely pursued, such as reading and going out.

Cinema-going, however, invariably involves expense. Yet, it is an almost universal habit. Only $3\frac{1}{2}$ % never go to the cinema. About 44 per cent go once a month or in two to three months, 15 per cent go on occasions and 3 per cent once in a year. As many as 16 per cent go rarely. Leaving

aside $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent who are indefinite, 17 per cent go once a week or once a fortnight. The median appears to be once in two or three months. The variation in frequency of cinema-going is considerable.

Rarely does a student go alone. Most students go with friends, or with family, or with either of these. Those going with friends are 37 per cent, with family 28 per cent, and with family and friends 16 per cent, making a total of 81 per cent. The rest go alone, or they go sometimes with family and sometimes alone. Others go with friends or alone, or they may go with friends or with family or alone. Cinema-going would be an important factor in the activities of friendship groups, as well as in family entertainment.

The decision to go to a cinema is most often a personal one - by 37 per cent. In the case of 18 per cent, the family decides. With another 11 per cent, others persuade or influence. With 15 per cent the decision is taken for personal reasons together with the influence of others. With 9 per cent it is personal and family decision. The rest decide on all three grounds.

Most students do go to see a cinema even if very rarely. And 93 per cent say that they do not feel out-of-date or left behind if they cannot see a film, while 3 per cent do feel this way.

When asked if students make fun of those who do not go to the cinema, 39 per cent answered in the affirmative. The rest said no.

These are some of the casual activities of students. Other casual activities are such as can fill up a free evening. Playing games, reading, and going out are popular ways. Some students spend free evenings with friends, or in music and singing, knitting and sewing, drawing and painting, the cinema and so ^{on}. That is, they pursue their hobbies on free evenings.

We now come to student friendships. It is confirmed that all or some friends are at school. Only $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ of students have non-schooling friends; $62\frac{1}{2}$ per cent have all student friends, while 32 per cent have at least some student friends.

Only 26 per cent of the students have friends who all belong to other castes. The same proportion have friends all from their own caste. The rest have mixed friendships.

Occupation is more important than caste in the selection of friends. This does not mean that caste is giving way to class-consciousness, but it does indicate that such a class-consciousness exists. Thus 34 per cent have friends whose guardians are all in the same occupation, while only 17 per cent have none in the same occupation - compared to 26 per cent having none of the same caste.

Data on the caste and occupational correlates of friendship give a significant view of the primary groups that form among high school students, how far they are limited by traditional society and how far they are affected by secular factors.

These friendships are not just a feature of the social

life of students in the school, for 92 per cent of the families take a strong interest in them, 7 per cent take a partial interest, and only 1 per cent take no interest at all. They therefore closely affect the social life of the student, both at school and at home.

The only organised leisure activities, outside school, may be provided for by political organisations or caste organisations. In the present study, only the latter type are considered.

Caste organisations are quite prevalent, and popular, and 56 per cent of the students join them. But 37 per cent have no caste organisations to go to, while 7 per cent do not know if their caste has any organisation at all.

Various activities are organised by caste institutions. Games are most popular, followed by religious functions. Social gatherings and library reading are followed by debates and drama, and meetings and various other activities.

Gujarati Students at Leisure

Two aspects of a student's life are here taken up from his activities outside the domestic and the school sphere. One is the kind of friends he makes. The other is the cinema-going habit. Both these are influenced by the social background of the student.

Table 283 : Caste and Friends' Caste

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Brahmin	6 (8)	45 (57)	28 (35)	79 (100)
2. Bania	37 (32)	57 (58)	21 (18)	115 (100)
3. Patidar	34 (33)	53 (51½)	16 (15½)	103 (100)
4. Other	4 (7)	22 (36)	35 (57)	61 (100)
Total	81 (23)	177 (49)	100 (28)	358 (100)

The Banias and Patidars have more exclusively caste-bound friendships and very few have no friends from their own caste. One half in each caste have some friends from within the caste and some from outside. Brahmins, ritually the most exclusive caste in Indian society, have few exclusively caste friends in the sample. Most have only some friends of their own caste, while over one-third have no friends of their own caste. This is rather surprising, for it is not a small caste numerically, and there must be ample opportunity for students to make only Brahmin friends. In the case of 'other' castes, it is not at all extraordinary that most of them make their friends entirely outside their own caste. Each one of these castes is numerically small, and dispersed over several schools. The students perforce have a choice of friends only among other castes. The Brahmin puzzle however is solved when we look for the relevance of guardian's occupation in friendship.

Table 284 : Caste and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupation	Some own occupation	None own occupation	Total
1. Brahmin	26 (35)	40 (55)	7 (10)	73 (100)
2. Bania	19 (18)	65 (61)	23 (21)	107 (100)
3. Patidar	25 (26)	56 (58)	16 (16)	97 (100)
4. Other	7 (12)	30 (51)	22 (37)	59 (100)
Total	77 (23)	191 (51)	68 (20)	336 (100)

Brahmin students are greatly influenced by the occupation of friends' guardians. Very few make friends entirely outside their own occupational categories, while over a third have friends exclusively of their own occupational type. Caste in this respect appears to be rather unimportant among Brahmins. Their role as carriers of the dominant culture, or as norm-setters, may account for the wider scope of their friendships.

Banias and Patidars, who are more influenced by caste, at the same time are less influenced by occupation than Brahmins. Both these castes are giving up their traditional occupations for the Brahmin type-service. But caste still influences their friendships.

The minor castes, who least of all have caste friendships, also tend to confine themselves less to their own occupation. Over one-third make friends outside their occupation entirely. Many of these minor castes follow

minor occupations like traditional arts and crafts, and will have to turn to friends of other castes as well as other occupations through necessity rather than choice. The availability of students of the minor castes and occupations is naturally restricted. Young persons of these castes are spending most of their active life with people of other castes and other occupations. Their friends are made in these other castes and occupations.

Table 285 : Occupation and Friends' Caste.

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Service	31 (16)	87 (52)	50 (30)	168 (100)
2. Business	24 (28)	39 (46)	22 (26)	85 (100)
3. Agriculture	20 (35)	28 (49)	9 (16)	57 (100)
4. Others	4 (10)	20 (49)	17 (41)	41 (100)
Total	79	174	98	351

Those whose guardians are in agriculture seek out their caste fellows much more often than those in either business or service, indicating social conservatism. Those in business again are more conservative in this respect than those in service. Students listing the minor occupations are the ones who make most of their friends outside their own caste, with a large proportion having no friends of their own caste at all.

Friendship patterns may also vary according to the particular grade of the occupation followed by the guardian, as different grades carry different statuses.

Table 286 : Occupational Grades and Friends' Caste

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Service :-				
(a) Upto Rs. 1800	11 (18)	33 (55)	16 (27)	60 (100)
(b) Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	13 (24)	27 (49)	15 (27)	55 (100)
(c) Above Rs. 3600	6 (20)	16 (53)	8 (27)	30 (100)
(d) Retired	1 (9)	6 (40)	8 (51)	15 (100)
2. Business :-				
(a) Upto Rs. 1800	6 (24)	11 (44)	8 (32)	25 (100)
(b) Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	8 (45)	6 (33)	4 (22)	18 (100)
(c) Rs. 3601 to Rs. 7200	7 (34)	8 (44)	4 (22)	19 (100)
(d) Above Rs. 7200	2 (11)	11 (60)	5 (29)	18 (100)
3. Agriculture :-				
(a) Zamindar	7 (32)	11 (50)	4 (18)	22 (100)
(b) Agriculturist	13 (37)	17 (49)	5 (14)	35 (100)
4. Others :-				
(a) Artisans	-	3 (50)	3 (50)	6 (100)
(b) Craftsmen	-	-	3 (100)	3 (100)
(c) Traditional occupations	1 (38)	4 (12)	1 (50)	6 (100)
(d) Labourer	3 (17)	1 (66)	4 (17)	8 (100)
Total	78	154	88	320

In the service category, all grades have over one-fourth of students having all friends of other castes, the rest having some or all friends of own caste. The middle and upper grades tend to more exclusive caste friendships, though mainly all friendships are mixed. The retired group however show a very marked tendency to make friends outside their own caste. Retired guardians are older than those still in service. Their children in the high schools will probably be younger sons and daughters. It is quite possible that younger children are given a freer rein than older ones in such matters as choice of friends. Or the parents may not be able to effectively supervise at that age the social life of their younger children.

Grades in business show very clear differences. The highest grades above Rs. 7200 have mainly mixed friendships, and fewer all-caste friendships. The lowest grades are somewhat more conservative, with one-fourth having exclusively caste friends. The two middle grades are the most conservative. Those on the lower side of Rs. 3600 have a clear majority of own-caste friendships. Less than one-fourth of these make all their friends outside the caste. In this last respect, earners of over Rs. 3600, are also as conservative, but they have more mixed than exclusive caste friendships.

There is very little difference between the two agricultural categories, though the cultivator class are a little more conservative than zamindars.

Artisans and craftsmen make friends of other castes.

The traditional occupations, which are concerned with the perpetuation of traditions are more exclusive. Labourers make mixed friendships.

Occupation both in its broad aspects and in its graded differences appears to affect the choice of friends according to caste, that is, by a traditional selection. In so far as caste and occupation are closely related to each other a relationship is also to be expected between the occupation of the student's guardian and of the friends. ^{At the same time,} the clear relation between the occupation of the students' guardians and that of their friends shows that occupation is not merely an aspect or a characteristic of caste, but does have its own separate existence as a social force.

Table 287 : Occupation and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupa- tion	Some same occupa- tion	None same occupation	Total
1. Service	42 (26)	96 (61)	20 (13)	158 (100)
2. Business	13 (16)	47 (58)	21 (26)	81 (100)
3. Agriculture	15 (28)	31 (59)	7 (13)	53 (100)
4. Others	6 (16)	15 (42)	15 (42)	36 (100)
Total	76	189	63	328

Students with guardians in both service and agriculture turn more to their own ranks for friends than to business or to the other occupations. This indicates a certain snob-

-bery attached to these two occupations, or on the other hand, a certain steadiness.

Table 288 : Occupational Grades and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupa- tion	Same own occupa- tion	None own occupation	Total
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1. Service :-				
(a) Upto Rs.1800	15 (26)	32 (56)	10 (18)	57 (100)
(b) Rs.1801 to Rs. 3600	14 (26)	33 (61)	7 (13)	54 (100)
(c) Above Rs.3600	9 (32)	18 (64)	1 (4)	28 (100)
(d) Retired	3 (21)	9 (64½)	2 (14½)	14 (100)
2. Business :-				
(a) Upto Rs. 1800	6 (24)	11 (44)	8 (32)	25 (100)
(b) Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	-	11 (69)	5 (31)	16 (100)
(c) Rs. 3601 to Rs. 7200	6 (32)	10 (53)	3 (15)	19 (100)
(d) Above Rs.7200	1 (5)	13 (72½)	4 (22½)	18 (100)
3. Agriculture :-				
(a) Zamindar	7 (34)	12 (57)	2 (9)	21 (100)
(b) Agriculturist	8 (25)	19 (59)	5 (16)	32 (100)
4. Others :-				
(a) Artisans	-	3 (50)	3 (50)	6 (100)
(b) Craftsmen	-	-	3 (100)	3 (100)
(c) Traditional Occu- pation	-	1 (20)	4 (80)	5 (100)
(d) Labourer	5 (62)	1 (13)	2 (25)	8 (100)
(e) Nothing	1 (9)	7 (64)	3 (27)	11 (100)
(f) Other	-	3 (100)	-	3 (100)
Total	75	183	62	320
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As far as the service class is concerned, the higher the grade, the more is friendship confined to service, either entirely or partially. This definitely indicates a high degree of status consciousness in the formation of friendships.

The same is broadly true of business. The higher the income, the more are friends made within business. A very important deviation occurs, however, in the case of big business where a considerable proportion make all their friends outside. The nature of big business is such that it requires much education unlike the commercial activities of the ordinary businessman. This gives it a prestige in no way less than that attaching to high grade service. At this level, therefore, it is understandable that students can choose friends far afield.

In the category of agriculture, the zamindars stick more to their own type than the agriculturists. All other occupations tend to be more scattered in their friendships, except for labourers who overwhelmingly make friends only within their own group. This is the occupation in the present sample with the lowest status, and would, therefore, be driven to in-group friendships because of avoidance by persons of other occupations. The artisans who are second-lowest, have a traditional occupation and a status that is far better than that of labourers. They make all or some of their friends from other occupations.

Table 289: Occupational Change and Friends' Caste

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Unchanged	44 (23)	92 (48)	57 (29)	193 (100)
2. Changing	26 (26½)	49 (50)	23 (23½)	98 (100)
3. Changed	6 (15)	21 (52½)	13 (32½)	40 (100)
Total	76	162	93	331

Changing families show more conservative patterns and changed families show less conservative patterns than the unchanged families. The fact of change by itself therefore is not very relevant in the case of the caste factor in friendship.

Table 290 : Occupational Change and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupation	Some own occupation	None own occupa- tion	Total
1. Unchanged	49 (27)	103 (57)	28 (16)	180 (100)
2. Changing	18 (19)	56 (59)	21 (22)	95 (100)
3. Changed	7 (19)	23 (62)	7 (19)	37 (100)
Total	74	182	56	312

In all types of situations, friends are chosen partly from, and partly outside, the guardian's occupation. But the

tendency is for unchanged families to have a preference for own occupation and for changing families to go with other occupations. Change therefore is a little more related to an occupation-oriented choice than to caste in friendship. Here again, it is not possible to say in exactly what way. It is not the fact of change that is by itself effective, since there is no regular progression from unchanged to changed. It may be more explicable in terms of the kind of change, that is, the shift towards service. The strain of change will be greatest in families moving towards more prestigious service occupations. Having taken to it only in the present generation of guardians, problems of assimilation must still exist. It would be part of the 'climbing' process to make friends in the more prestigious occupations.

Table 291 : Education and Friends' Caste

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Illiterate	2 (18)	3 (27)	6 (55)	11 (100)
2. Literate	29 (24½)	61 (51)	29 (24½)	119 (100)
3. English- knowing	18 (22)	38 (47)	25 (31)	81 (100)
4. Educated	15 (20)	42 (56)	18 (24)	75 (100)
5. Advanced	10 (20)	26 (51)	15 (29)	51 (100)
Total	74	170	93	337

Illiterates, coming often from lower castes, make most

friends outside their own caste. Because these students are now in a better position vis-a-vis the guardian, and probably also their caste, they seek friends elsewhere. In the case of other levels of education, there are no great differences. There is a slight tendency for the less-educated guardian to have wards who are more caste-bound in their friendships. This is however a very slight indication and not consistent at all levels. The educated levels, all differ from illiterates in being far more restricted to caste.

Table 292 : Education and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupa- tion	Some own occupa- tion	None own occupa- tion	Total
1. Illiterate	3 (27)	3 (27)	5 (46)	11 (100)
2. Literate	26 (24)	60 (54)	24 (22)	110 (100)
3. English-knowing	12 (16)	48 (64)	15 (20)	75 (100)
4. Educated	17 (25)	41 (61)	9 (14)	67 (100)
5. Advanced	14 (28)	30 (60)	6 (12)	50 (100)
Total	72	182	59	313

Wards of illiterate guardians are almost as little restricted by occupation as by caste. The better the education of the guardian, the more friendships are limited to own occupational category. This is quite clear when it is remembered that higher education goes with high-grade jobs, which we have

seen tend to have more exclusive friendships. It is not education by itself, but education as a factor in occupation that is here relevant.

Table 293 : Immigration and Friends' Caste

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Indefinite	20 (26)	37 (49)	19 (25)	76 (100)
2. Natives	8 (28)	10 (34)	11 (38)	29 (100)
3. Settlers A	7 (14)	20 (42)	21 (44)	48 (100)
4. Settlers B	7 (14)	36 (69)	9 (17)	52 (100)
5. Immigrants	7 (16)	19 (43)	18 (41)	44 (100)
Non-residents	32 (29)	56 (52)	21 (19)	109 (100)
Total	81	178	99	358

There is a marked difference between old residents and the various immigrants. The former have far more orientation towards caste in friendship. Non-residents are even more caste-bound. Immigrants however, especially pre-war and post-Independence entrants, tend to go a good deal outside caste. While wartime immigrants also have fewer exclusive caste friendships, they go in for mixed friendships much more than for purely non-caste friendships. It is however indisputable that those who have lived here for any period above twenty-five years, are far more bound by caste. All the subsequent entrants are less bound, but, except for war immigrants, they

differ little from each other. The strength of caste in informal social relations therefore is markedly stronger in the old inhabitants than in the recent entrants into Baroda.

Non-residents, many from rural areas, are also much more conservative in friendship.

That older immigrants are not more conservative than recent ones shows that continued residence in a new town does not lead to a lapse into conservatism. There is therefore a very definite social change. This is extremely important, for heretofore we have had a broad picture of secular factors causing certain secular changes in the traditional structure. The present table shows an informal change within that structure, affecting the social life of students.

Table 294 : Immigration and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupa- tion	Some own occupa- tion	None own occupa- tion	Total
1. Indefinite	10 (15)	41 (61)	16 (24)	67 (100)
2. Natives	4 (14)	18 (62)	7 (24)	29 (100)
3. Settlers A	9 (19)	29 (63)	8 (18)	46 (100)
4. Settlers B	16 (34)	27 (57½)	4 (8½)	47 (100)
5. Immigrants	7 (17)	25 (59)	10 (24)	42 (100)
6. Non-residents	31 (30)	52 (50)	21 (20)	104 (100)
Total	77	192	66	335

In all groups, the tendency is towards mixed occupations

- one's own and others, with the notable exception of war-time immigrants. It was this category of immigrants alone that did not have a large proportion of non-caste friendships. And it is this category that again deviates from other immigrants and from old residents in the direction of greater occupational exclusiveness.

Old residents and immigrants move away from each other in the case of caste, excepting war immigrants: In the case of occupation, there is a uniform pattern except for wartime immigrants. The deduction is that these wartime immigrants who leaned towards neither exclusive caste nor exclusive non-caste friendships, do lean towards exclusive occupational friendships. Hence occupation is an important criterion in social life for them.

Table 295 : Per Capita Income and Friends' Occupation.*

	Only own occupa- tion	Some own occupa- tion	None own occupa- tion	Total
1. Upto Rs. 500	20%	59%	21%	100%
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	31%	59%	10%	100%
3. Above Rs. 1000	30%	55%	15%	100%

* Figures given in percentages only.

The proportion of mixed friendships is relatively constant for all three income classes. The two higher categories however have far more exclusively occupational friendships.

The top level has slightly fewer mixed friendships and more non-occupational ones, coinciding with the data for the big business patterns.

The next set of tables concerns cinema going, and the effect of various social factors on it. Only secular factors are here considered, as cinemagoing is a quite modern activity. Traditional factors may not be irrelevant, but they are not considered here as the subject is one that does not need to be studied in too great detail.

Table 296 : Occupation and Cinemagoing

	Once a week	Once a fort- night	Once a mon- -th	Once in 2/3 mon- ths	On occa- sions	Rarely	Inde- finite	Never	Total
1. Service	8	16	35	46	25	39	4	1	174
2. Business	8	11	16	25	13	13	1	1	88
3. Agri- culture	2	11	14	13	9	6	-	2	57
4. Others	1	4	3	11	9	11	1	2	42
Total	19	42	68	95	56	69	6	6	361

Of the three major occupational categories, service shows the least cinema-going. The frequency for this category is - once in 2 to 3 months, to rarely, to once in a month. In business, the frequency is somewhat greater, once in 2 to 3 months, to once in a month, to rarely and on occasions, a pattern broadly similar to that for service. The frequency

for agriculture is surprisingly the greatest - once a month, to once in 2 to 3 months to once a fortnight to occasions.

Other occupations have the lowest frequency.

Table 297.: Occupation and Cinema Companions

	Family	Fri-	Alone	Family	Family	Fri-	Family	Total
		ends		or	or	ends	Friends	
				Fri-	alone	or	or Alone	
				ends		alone		
1. Service	53	57	13	28	3	8	10	172
2. Business	18	35	7	17	•	3	4	84
3. Agriculture	8	34	2	6	-	2	3	55
4. Others	6	15	2	10	-	3	4	40
Total	85	141	24	61	3	16	21	351

Whereas in all categories, friends are most cited as companions in cinemagoing, the proportion varies. It is highest in agriculture, students of which category are also the most frequent visitors to the cinema.

There is hardly any difference in the other categories in this respect. In service, however, members of the family are almost as often cinema companions as friends. They are much less often so in business or agriculture or other occupations. There is almost equally present an alternative of choice of either family or friends in these occupations. ~~This is also present in service, though far more often it is family or friends in these occupations.~~ This is also present in

service, though far more often it is ^{just} family or ^{just} friends, but not an equal choice of these two. A small number in all occupations go alone, more among business and service than among agriculture and other occupations. Some also go either with friends or alone but not with family. Others may go in any one of the three ways. Only in service do a small number go with family or alone, but not friends. There is an emphasis on the family in the service category.

Table 298 : Occupational Change and Cinemagoing.

	Once a week	Once a fort- night	Once a mon- th	Once in 2/3 mon- ths	On occa- sions	Rarely	Inde- -fi- nite	Never	Total
1. Uncha- -nged	12 (6)	23 (11)	39 (20)	49 (25)	32 (16)	38 (19)	4 (2)	2 (1)	199 (100)
2. Chang- ing	6 (6)	13 (13)	18 (17)	30 (29)	16 (16)	17 (17)	1 (1)	1 (1)	102 (100)
3. Changed	1 (2)	7 (17)	6 (15)	11 (27)	4 (10)	10 (24)	1 (2)	1 (2)	41 (100)
Total	19	43	63	90	52	65	6	4	342

Families that have made a complete change from the grandfather's occupation show a different pattern of cinema going than families that have either not changed or have done so only partially. The latter show a regular pattern with the largest number attending once in two or three months, and the numbers falling off evenly on the side of both greater

and lesser frequency. In the changed families, almost as many say they go rarely as go once in two to three months. Compared to partially changed or unchanged families, more of them attend once a fortnight and fewer go oftener than that.

Table 299 : Education and Cinemagoing

	Once a week	Once a for- tnight- ly	Once a mon- th	Once in 2/3 mon- ths	On occa- sions	Rar- ely	Inde- finite	Never	To- tal
1. Illiterate	1	2	1	2	3	2	1	-	12
2. Literate	5	17	19	30	20	25	-	4	120
3. English- knowing	6	10	28	17	12	7	1	1	82
4. Educated	5	7	14	23	9	18	-	-	76
5. Advanced	1	5	5	18	9	14	4	-	56
Total	18	41	67	90	53	66	6	5	346

Education of the guardian appears to affect cinemagoing more definitely than occupational change.

The children of illiterate guardians show a fairly even variation, with a slight tendency to go once in two to three months or on occasions. This tendency is more clearly marked where guardians are literate and most students go once in two to three months or only rarely. Most of the remainder go almost equally on occasions only, once a month or once a fort-

night. The children of matriculates and graduates also go, most of them, once in two or three months, or rarely. Of the remainder, among the matriculates the frequency of cinemagoing is somewhat greater than among graduates. The pattern for the English-knowing diverges. The most frequent cinemagoing is found in the English-knowing group. Once a month is the most popular, followed by once in two or three months, on occasions, and once a fortnight. On the whole, the graduates show a low rate of cinemagoing.

There is no direct correlation of education to cinema-going. The least educated and the most educated are closer in this respect than to the intermediate types.

Table 300 : Education and Cinema Companions

	Family	Fri-	Alone	Family	Fri-	Family	Family	Total
		ends		of	ends	and	of	
				Fri-	and	alone	fri-	
				ends	alone		ends	
							and	
							alone	
1. Illiterate	-	4	2	1	3	-	1	11
2. Literate	20	59	8	16	5	-	9	117
3. English-knowing	13	37	6	13	3	1	8	81
4. Educated	29	24	3	11	3	1	2	73
5. Advanced	22	13	3	14	2	-	1	55
Total	84	137	22	55	16	2	21	337

Almost none of the children of an illiterate guardian see

films with their families. This is at least an indication of the gulf between parents and children where there is a very great educational, and therefore a potential social, disparity. This gulf is narrowed in the case of families where the guardians are literate or English-knowing, and nearly a third of the students go with the family, or with both family and friends. Where guardians are matriculates, and more so where they are graduates, the majority of students go with the family, or with both family and friends.

For illiterates, the pattern is to go with friends, or alone, or both. Friends are far more important for children of literates and English-knowing, very few of whom go alone. The children of the two higher categories do go with friends, but for most of them it is the family.

Whereas education did not have a direct bearing on the frequency of cinemagoing, it very clearly affects the choice of cinema companions. This choice may actually be part of a pattern of family life, and supports the view that the upper class (and caste) family tends to be better integrated.

Table 301 : Immigration and Cinemagoing

	Once a week	Once a fort- night	Once a month	Once in 2/3 mon- ths	On occ- ass- ions	Rarely	Inde- finite	Ne- ver	To- tal
Indefinite	4	5	17	25	13	12	5	1	82
Over 25 years	2	4	4	6	6	6	1	-	29
15 to 25 years	2	9	13	16	5	7	-	-	52
7 to 14 years	6	7	7	14	5	10	-	3	52
6 years and less	-	8	9	11	7	9	-	-	44
Non-residents	5	10	20	29	21	23	1	2	111
Total	19	43	70	101	57	67	7	6	370

The simple fact of the number of years of settlement in Baroda once again appears irrelevant. No recent immigrant goes once a week, but quite a few of the older settlers do.

On the whole, in all groups, once in two to three months or once a month is the rule, but the earlier settlers of over 25 years' standing, tend to go less often, on occasions.

This is also the case with non-residents.

Table 302 : Per Capita Income and Cinemagoing

	Once a week	Once a fort- night	Once a mon- th	Once an 2/3 mon- ths	On occas- sions	Rarely	Indefi- nite	Never
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Upto Rs. 500	61	74	59	76	78	83	50	100
2. Rs. 501 to Rs.1000	22	12	25	15	16	12½	17	-
3. Above Rs.1000	17	14	16	9	6	4½	33	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Income appears to have a great deal to do with cinema-going. There is a regular increase in cinemagoing with the increase in per capita income except for those who go once a month. There, the proportion of those having upto Rs. 500 is less, and those with Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 is more than in the proximate frequencies. That is, this category are better off in the middle levels and not as lowⁱⁿ income as either those

going once a fortnight or even once in two or three months. Going once a month appears to be a fairly universal habit and does not vary with income. But going more often or less often is affected by income.

Table 303 : Per Capita Income and Cinema Companions

	Family	Friends	Alone	Family and frie- nds	Friends and Alone	Family and Alone	Family and Friend and Alone
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Upto Rs.500	68	78	84	56	79	75	90
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	23	13	4	29	-	25	10
3. Above Rs.1000	9	9	12	15	21	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Those who go with the family and friends show the highest income levels, followed by those going with the family only. As those going with friends only do not show very good income, it may be assumed that going with the family is the usual custom for better-off families. We have already seen that income does seem to be a variable in family life, in making it happy or unhappy. This is borne out in the above table. Those going alone or sometimes alone and sometimes with friends show both the highest and the lowest income. This habit seems to be polarised in terms of income.

Table 304 : Per Capita Income and Feeling Outdated.*

	Yes %	Not much %	No %
1. Upto Rs. 500	72	90	71
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	14	-	18
3. Above Rs. 1000	14	10	11
Total	100	100	100

* Figures given in percentages only.

Those who do feel outdated if they do not go to the cinema do not differ markedly from the others except that they include a slightly higher proportion of the very rich. An income difference is more apparent in those who do feel outdated but not much. They are of low income levels.

Maharashtrian Students - at Leisure

As with Gujarati students, two main spheres of leisure activities are considered in relation to various social concomitants. These are friends and cinemagoing.

Table 305 : Caste and Friend's Caste

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Brahmin	33	45	6	84
2. C.K.Ps.	1	10	7	18
3. Maratha	4	13	3	20
4. Others	-	-	5	5
Total	38	68	21	127

The Maharashtrian Brahmins are far more exclusive than their Gujarati counterparts, and very few of them have no friends of Brahmin caste. Marathas are a little less exclusive, but most of them have mixed friendships. The C.K.Ps., perhaps because they are a very small caste, make either some, or all of their friends outside the caste. The small number from other castes, all numerical minorities in the Maharashtrian system, make all their friends in other castes, just as Gujarati minor castes do.

Table 306 : Caste and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupa- tion	Some own occupa- tion	None own occupa- tion	Total
1. Brahmin	52	20	5	77
2. C.K.P.	14	3	1	18
3. Maratha	13	5	-	18
4. Others	1	2	2	5
Total	90	30	8	128

Friendships are much more consistent occupationally than by caste. This is not because occupational loyalties displace caste loyalties, for we have seen that caste is an effective factor for the Brahmins and Marathas, and to a lesser extent, also of the C.K.Ps. It may rather be due to the fact that Maharashtrians in the sample show a great occupational homogeneity, with most of them going in for service. We do

not know for sure that they make only Maharashtrian friends, but it will be safe to assume that the majority do, as linguistic differences and separate schools and divisions set a limit to outside contacts. The fact that there are few other occupations makes it highly likely that the occupation of friends will be the same. The minor castes, with their more and varied occupational background show also more varied friendships on this score.

Table 307 : Occupation and Friends' Caste

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Service	32	60	11	103
2. Business	1	5	5	11
3. Agriculture	1	1	1	3
4. Others	4	-	5	9
Total	38	66	22	126

Of the major occupations, those in service are more confined to caste friendships than those in business. The conservatism of caste appears to combine with the conservatism of white-collar workers in restricting friendship to their own circle. Few children whose guardians are in business show a caste bias in friendships. In the case of other occupations, agriculture shows no particular pattern, but traditional occupations, associated as they are with caste,

keep friendships within the caste. Those of the 'others' who make all their friends from other castes are mostly unemployed.

In the case of Gujaratis, grades within each occupation were considered. Here, only service will be dealt with in detail as the other occupations though showing variations, are not sufficiently numerous.

Table 308 : Service and Friends' Caste.

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Upto Rs. 1800	11	15	6	32
2. Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	6	12	2	20
3. Above Rs. 3600	5	12	1	18
4. Retired	10	17	-	17
Total	32	56	9	97

As with Gujaratis, the higher the grade of service, the more the exclusive caste friendships - except in the case of retired persons, where the Maharashtrian students are conservative unlike the Gujaratis.

Table 309 : Occupation and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupa- tion	Some own occupa- tion	None own occupa- tion	Total
1. Service	74 (76)	21 (22)	2 (2)	97
2. Business	2	5	2	9
3. Agriculture	-	2 (67)	1 (33)	3
4. Others	3	2	2	7
Total	79	30	7	116

'Service-consciousness' appears to be very high. In all the other occupations, there is little restriction on friendships, but those in service have so few friends from other occupational categories that it definitely implies a sense of exclusiveness, not surprising in a traditionally literate and Brahmin-oriented community.

Table 310 : Service and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupa- tion	Some own occupa- tion	None own occupa- tion	Total
1. Upto Rs. 1800	25 (86)	3 (10)	1 (4)	29
2. Rs.1801 to Rs. 3600	11 (58)	8 (42)	-	19
3. Above Rs. 3600	15 (88)	2 (12)	-	17
4. Others	19 (73)	6 (23)	1 (4)	26
Total	70	19	2	91

In all grades, almost no one makes friends entirely outside the service category. But highest and lowest grades are more exclusive than the middle grades where mixed friendships are common. Children of the retired fall between the two extremes.

Table 311 : Occupational Change and Friends' Caste.

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Unchanged	28 (34)	39 (48)	15 (18)	82
2. Changing	5 (22)	13 (56)	5 (22)	23
3. Changed	2 (15)	11 (85)	-	13
Total	35	63	20	118

Fewer families among Maharashtrians show an occupational change than among Gujaratis. Yet, in the matter of friendships, they are far more influenced by occupational change. Friendships are less restricted to only their own caste if they are undergoing changes, and the number of mixed friendships increases with occupational change. At the same time, among families that have made a complete change, no student makes his friends entirely outside his caste.

Table 312 : Occupational Change and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupa- tion	Some own occupa- tion	None own occupa- tion	Total
1. Unchanged	57 (73)	17 (22)	4 (5)	88
2. Changing	9 (41)	9 (41)	4 (18)	22
3. Changed	8 (73)	3 (27)	-	11
Total	74	29	8	111

The effect of occupational change on the occupation of

friends' guardians is less consistent than on their caste. In families that have not changed at all, or have changed completely, students' friends are more occupationally exclusive. In partially changed families, friendships are both more mixed, or entirely out of the occupation. Because such families are by definition attached to at least two different occupations, such a situation is not surprising. It is not the fact of change by itself that affects friendships, for then the most changed should have the most heterogeneous friendships. The occupational structure appears to be a more relevant factor.

Table 313 : Education and Friends' Caste

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Illiterate	2 (40)	2 (40)	1 (20)	5
2. Literate	5 (33)	4 (27)	6 (40)	15
3. English-knowing	5 (20)	17 (71)	2 (8)	24
4. Educated	14 (32)	24 (55)	6 (13)	44
5. Advanced	11 (32)	19 (56)	4 (12)	34
Total	37	66	19	122

More outside friendships are found among children of less-educated guardians. At the same time they also have more exclusive caste friendships. Among graduates and matriculates, well over half have mixed friendships, a third are restricted

to own caste, and the rest have all non-caste friends. The children of English-knowing guardians differ from all others in that nearly three-fourths have mixed friendships.

Table 314 : Education and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupa- tion	Some own occupa- tion	None own occupa- tion	Total
1. Illiterate	2 (67)	-	1 (33)	3
2. Literate	6 (50)	3 (25)	3 (25)	12
3. English-knowing	16 (73)	5 (23)	1 (4)	22
4. Educated	27 (63)	13 (30)	3 (7)	43
5. Advanced	24 (75)	8 (25)	-	32
Total	75	29	8	112

The higher the education of the guardian, the fewer the students who make all their friends from other occupational categories than their own. Matriculates make more mixed friendships than either the English-knowing or graduates, students from both of which groups are more occupationally exclusive in their choice of friends.

Table 315 : Immigration and Friends' Caste.

	Only own caste	Some own caste	None own caste	Total
1. Indefinite	12	16	3	31
2. Natives	8	12	3	23
3. Settlers A	8	17	5	30
4. Settlers B	3	10	3	16
5. Immigrants	4	6	3	13
6. Non-residents	3	7	5	15
Total	38	68	22	128

The proportion of students with no friends from their own caste increases in the more recently settled families, and the proportion of exclusively caste friendships correspondingly decreases. The proportion of mixed friendships is relatively constant. The longer the period of residence in Baroda the more conservative a student is in the choice of friends.

Table 316 : Immigration and friends' Occupation.

	Only own occupa- tion	Some own occupa- tion	None own occupa- tion	Total
1. Indefinite	23	3	3	29
2. Native	13	8	1	22
3. Settlers A	19	5	1	25
4. Settlers B	8	5	1	14
5. Immigrant	10	2	1	13
6. Non-resident	7	7	1	15
Total	80	30	8	118

The major Maharashtrian occupation is service. Assuming that friendships tend to be restricted to a linguistic group, it is to be expected that most friendships will be occupationally homogeneous. In fact, friendships in this community show much more restriction in terms of occupation than of caste. The caste composition of this group is fairly heterogeneous, though it is much less so than in the case of

the Gujaratis. The relative caste heterogeneity and the occupational homogeneity of the community as a whole are reproduced in the friendships of the students, indicating that friendships are freely formed within the bounds of the linguistic community.

Table 317 : Per Capita Income and Friends' Occupation

	Only own occupation %	Some own occupa- tion %	None own occupation %
1. Upto Rs. 500	66	57	100
2. Rs. 501 to Rs.1000	16	39	-
3. Above Rs. 1000	18	4	-
Total	100	100	100

* Figures given in percentages only.

Those making friends only in their own occupation are a little more polarised in per capita income than those having mixed friendships. The latter rarely belong to the highest income level. Those making all friends with other occupations are restricted to the lowest income level.

The next set of data concerns the habit of cinemagoing - the frequency of the habit and who a student goes with.

The business group go least often to a film. Those in service and in other occupations go either once a month or rarely. In service, fewer numbers go only on occasions, or once a fortnight or once a week. Compared to non-attenders

Table 318 : Occupation and Cinemagoing.

	Once a week	Once a fort- night	Once a month	Once in 2/3 months	On occa- sions	Rarely	Inde- pend- ent	Never	To- tal
1. Service	8	10	29	9	16	24	2	5	103
2. Business	1	-	1	2	1	3	-	3	11
3. Agricul- ture	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	4
4. Others	-	-	5	-	1	3	-	-	9
Total	10	10	36	11	19	30	2	9	127

of cinema in business, the proportion in the service cate-
gory is insignificant.

Table 319 : Occupation and Cinema Companions.

	Family	Fri- ends	Alone	Family or fri- ends	Family or Alone	Friends or Alone	Family friends and Alone	Total
1. Service	41	26	8	11	1	4	4	95
2. Business	5	1	-	-	-	-	2	8
3. Agriculture	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	4
4. Others	5	2	1	-	-	-	-	8
Total	53	30	10	11	1	4	6	115

Going to a film with the family is the most common habit
in all occupations, but in service a significant number go

with friends only. Service shows more variety in choice of cinema companions than the other categories.

Table 320 : Occupational Change and Cinemagoing.

	Once a week	Once a fort- night	Once a month	Once in 2/3 months	On occa- sions	Rar- ely	Inde- finite	Never	Total
1. Unchanged	5	8	32	5	11	18	2	5	86
2. Changing	3	2	2	3	3	6	-	3	22
3. Changed	2	1	2	1	3	3	-	-	12
Total	10	11	36	9	17	27	2	8	120

The frequency of cinemagoing is higher in families that show no occupational change than in those who are either partially or totally changed. One half of the latter go rarely, on occasions, or never. The other half go any number of times from once a week to once in two to three months. In unchanged families, nearly two-fifths go as often as once a month, and one-fifth go only rarely. The remaining three-fifths go on occasions or once a fortnight, or they go once a week, once in two to three months or never. The fact of change appears to have the negative effect of making students more conservative about cinemagoing. A similar tendency was found among Gujarati students.

Table 321 : Education and Cinema-going

	Once a week	Once a fort- night	Once a month	Once in 2/3 months	On occa- sions	Rarely	Inde- finite	Ne- ver	To- tal
1. Illi- terate	1	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	5
2. Literate	-	1	5	1	2	5	2	-	16
3. English- knowing	3	2	5	5	5	3	-	-	23
4. Educated	4	4	12	4	6	10	5	-	45
5. Advanced	2	3	14	-	4	8	2	1	34
Total	10	10	37	10	18	28	9	1	123

Graduates and matriculates show a similar pattern. Most go once a month, or rarely. This is also the pattern for literates, but, as among the Gujaratis, the English knowing diverge distinctly. They go equally once a month, once in two to three months, or on occasions. This is a somewhat higher frequency than for all other categories.

Table 322 : Education and Cinema Companions

	Family	Fri- ends	Alone	Family and friends	Friends and Alone	Family and Alone	Family fri- ends Alone	To- tal
1. Illiterate	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	5
2. Literate	8	1	3	-	1	-	2	15
3. English- knowing	9	8	1	3	1	1	-	23
4. Educated	19	9	2	3	-	-	3	36
5. Advanced	13	11	3	3	1	-	1	32
Total	52	30	10	9	3	1	6	111

Unlike the students from illiterate families among Gujaratis, here there is little avoidance of the family for cinemagoing. Friends however appear to be almost as important as family in the English-knowing group and among children of graduates. The family are cinema companions for nearly one-half the students, unlike Gujaratis where on the whole friends are more popular. Cinemagoing is somewhat more frequent among Maharashtrians, but it takes the form of established family custom. The proportion never visiting the cinema is rather high at the same time.

Table 323 : Immigration and Cinema going.

	Once a week	Once a fort- night	Once a month	Once in 2/3 months	On occa- sions	Rarely	Inde- finite	Ne- ver	To- tal
1. Indefinite	2	4	8	5	2	7	1	3	32
2. Natives	2	2	6	-	7	5	-	1	23
3. Settlers A	3	1	10	1	6	7	1	1	30
4. Settlers B	-	1	4	4	-	6	-	1	16
5. Immigrants	1	1	5	1	2	3	-	-	13
6. Non-resi- dents	2	2	5	-	2	2	-	3	16
Total	10	11	38	11	19	30	2	9	130

The frequency of cinemagoing is higher for the earlier immigrants of the pre-war decade, and among the most recent immigrants. Natives of over twenty-five years' standing go

less often, while those claiming indefinite residence go even less often. Wartime immigrants also go less often than other immigrants. Non-residents of Baroda show the highest frequency of cinemagoing.

Table 324 : Per Capita Income and Cinemagoing.

[illegible]

The more frequent cinemagoing, once a week or once a fortnight, is closely related to a medium to high income level. Otherwise there does not appear to be a direct relation between income and cinemagoing, and students who go on occasions or rarely are better-off than those who go once a month.

Table 325 : Per Capita Income and Cinema Companions

[illegible]

Whereas among Gujaratis, going to films with friends or alone, but not with family, was related to the guardian's education, among Maharashtrians it is related to income, though not in a clear-cut way. Higher income levels are shown by those who go with friends and alone than by any others. Those going with family and friends, or alone also show very high income levels.

Table 326 : Per Capita Income and Feeling Outdated.*

	Yes	Not much	No
1. Upto Rs. 500	90%	63%	65%
2. Rs. 501 to Rs.1000 -		25%	22%
3. Above Rs. 1000	10%	12%	13%
Total	100%	100%	100%

* Figures given in percentages only.

Very few students feel outdated, or even slightly so. Those who feel this slightly show an income distribution similar to those who do not feel outdated at all. But those who confess to such a feeling are most of them in the lowest income category.