Chapter XII

CONCLUSION

When introducing the subject matter of the present analysis, a simple hypothesis was stated as to the relationship between education and society. The educational system, it was noted, was a part of the social system; it was affected by changes in other parts of the social system and could itself effect changes in society. In modern times, as we gain a deeper understanding of the working of human society, it becomes possible to bring about fairly systematic changes. Such planned changes, or development, can be made in the formal political system, in technology and economy, and in education. As the educational system is bound up with almost every aspect of society, changes in this sphere have far-reaching effects. Young people are trained in the schools and colleges for some of their major roles in adult life.

The social shape, or the sociography, of the educational system, reflects the shape of the entire society. The various groups of the society are represented in the schools and colleges; in a stratified society unequally so. The representation of the groups will vary. In a traditional society, only that group will enrol its young in the schools or ashramas which is entrusted with the traditional store of knowledge of the community. The Brahmin monopoly

of learning is a typical example of this. The Chinese mandarins also fall into this class, with this difference that learning was not necessarily linked to heredity as with Brahmins. The learned traditions of the whole country were in the hands of these groups. Religious traditions, the law, administration, and accounting were maintained by these learned men, and by no others. In parts of India, Kayasthas became literate, but they never became more than writers and accountants in the administration.

Modern Indian society is changing rapidly in many directions. The growth of towns and the development of industries has opened up a wide range of occupations that have no relation to the traditional economy or to traditional attitudes. Traditional occupations are hedged about with ideas of pollution and purity. No twice-born caste would work with leather. The Brahmin avoided working his own plough, and could usually get a man of lower caste to work on his fields. Only the Brahmin could read and write, and dissociate himself entirely from any kind of manual work. But every other caste had its own idea of the kind of manual work it would undertake. Only very low castes would tend pigs and, in some cases, poultry. Castes living by a skilled craft, like goldsmithy, or tailoring, would avoid doing manual work on the land, especially if the land was not their own.

The new occupations, however, are open to all, regardless of caste. This is less a result of the enlightened

attitude of the authorities than of the fact that these occupations have no basis in the traditional society. They are quite unrelated to the old ritual attitudes. Partly this is due to the fact of their modernity. Partly, it may be due to the kind of new jobs created. Urbanisation and industrialisation give rise to a large class of white-collar workers. The jobs they do require some degree of formal education. Because of the traditional association of Brahmins with learning, considerable prestige continues to be attached to education and to white-collar jobs, or, as they are known all over India, to service.

Dr. Gould, working in a U.P. village, Sherupur, has this to say about the attitude to white-collar jobs.* "Strictly economic grounds are insufficient to explain... the fact that in Sherupur all outside 'white-collar' jobs (as well as an overwhelming preponderance of all outside jobs) are held by the castes who rank highest in the traditional hierarchy. For these high castes have practically all the land in the village and are in every material respect infinitely better off than their low caste brethren. In fact, I have encountered instances where a high caste family has urged its son or sons out into the modern job market even where having done so has left the village farm shorthanded and has entailed real economic hardship for the rest of the family. They would rather have a greater pro-

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* "Sanskritisation and Westernisation - a Dynamic View" by Harold Gould, Economic Weekly, Vol. XIII, No. 25, 1961.

portion of the agricultural work done by the landless castes than is customary, and accept whatever other other hardship that may be involved, if that will assure them the ability to count among the accoutrements of their contemporary status the fact that one or more of their sons are performing prestigious work somewhere in the modern society beyond the village."

Two important points are made by Dr. Gould. One is the enormous prestige attaching to urban jobs, most of these being of the nature of 'service'. The second point is that these jobs are held by the high castes of the traditional hierarchy.

These characteristics of Sherupur village are equally found in Poona (re. Desai, 1953) and Baroda. In fact, they are almost certainly universal in modern India, that is, in the towns, and in those villages which are losing their isolation and are becoming absorbed in the currents of social change.

The relation of education to this economic change is a very close one indeed. All the white collar jobs require some amount of education. We can, therefore, expect that the predominance of high castes in 'service' will be accompanied by a similar predominance in education. To put it in another way, powerful castes maintain their positions of dominance in society by taking to modern education. Some of these castes have old traditions of education, and some do not. Their ritual statuses may vary greatly. But

usually they are powerful and even wealthy. The Baroda data, for example,reveals three such castes: Brahmins, Banias, and Patidars. The first of these, the Brahmins, have always had a right to learning. The second, the Banias, required only a simple knowledge of letters and arithmetic for their accounting. Patidars had no need for education as long as they lived by agriculture. They are dominant in the villages, and even in our sample, one half of the Patidar students are regular commuters from surrounding villages. They seem to be in much the same position as the high castes of Sherupur.

Modern education, in India, is open to all ranks in theory. The special disabilities of Harijans have been taken care of by legislation. And technically, no child is denied admission on account of his caste affiliation. In fact, however, we find that a small number of castes, of high status, account for most of the students. In Baroda, well over three-fourths of all Gujarati high school students belonged to three castes. They do not constitute more than one-half of the population of Baroda. In the case of Maharashtrians, two-thirds of the students are Brahmins, although nearly half the Maharashtrians in the town are of Maratha caste. In Poona, 80 per cent of the high school students are Brahmins, C.K.Ps., Vanis, or Marathas. Of these castes, the C.K.Ps. and Vanis are numerically small groups in the town population. The Marathas, on the other hand, are one of the largest castes, larger than the Brahmins.

Yet they have a smaller representation in the student population than the Brahmins. Malis, another large caste in Poona, are poorly represented in the schools.

Both the Poona and the Baroda studies show that high school education is dominated by a few castes who rank high in the caste hierarchy. This is even more true of college education. In a study of college students of M.S.University of Baroda, B.V.Shah found an almost complete preponderance of Brahmins, Banias and Patidars.

At the high school stage, one-fifth of the students came from the various minor castes, including the sons of artisans and craftsmen and an occasional untouchable. At the college level, the percentage of these relatively low caste students further diminishes.

Conversely, we may expect a study of primary education, and especially of free primary schools, to show a much more varied and a more representative caste composition. The lower castes are progressively weeded out over the years, until few remain to take a university degree.

The high castes, therefore, dominate in society, and it is an aspect of their dominance that they preponderate in the schools. Education, however, is not their exclusive monopoly. The wide range of minor castes, with statuses

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* "Inequality of Educational Opportunities", B.V.Shah, Economic Weekly, 1960.

ranging from fairly high to untouchability,* do send up students to the schools and colleges. These students will be only a very small percentage of their respective castes, especially where the castes are of very low status.

The children of low caste families suffer a double handicap. There is, first, the sheer inability to pay. A caste with a low traditional status is usually also a caste having little wealth. Had it been wealthy, it would be in a position to demand recognition as a higher caste. A second equally strong handicap is the lack of an educational tradition, and a complete unfamiliarity and dissociation from such tradition. The student from a low caste starts with these handicaps. Having got himself an education, he then suffers an estrangement from his own caste, and even his own family. The estrangement may range from exaggerated respect accorded to him, or to his own discontent, or both.

The position of the low caste student is an important one in his group. Modern education is fast replacing traditional criteria as a factor in caste mobility. It is less important now for a low caste family to give up eating meat, or remarrying its widows, in order to be treated with greater respect. It is however imperative that the children be sent to schools. If they get a college education, they have

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* The present writer believes that taking each caste as a separate unit, the higher castes are usually larger in size than lower castes. The total population of lower castes may be much larger than the total population of higher castes, but it is a population divided among several artisan, craft, and servant castes. The higher castes appear to be fairly large numerically. Thus is true of Baroda (Census, 1941). It may be true of caste in general.

actually gained the final distinctions (and means to such distinctions, for education is as much a means, as an end) of high status. This is certainly true of the towns. It may not however apply to the villages, where traditional methods of reckoning social worth still prevail.

The low castes of Baroda have been in a more fortunate position as regards education than in other parts of India. As a result of the policies of the ruling Gaekwads, especially in the latter part of the 19th century, and in this century upto the merger of the states with the Indian Union, education was available to a much wider social range than in other areas. As we have seen already (Chapter II, A Socio-Economic Sketch of Baroda) very few castes (among them, the Vaghris) are educationally backward. Most castes are either of advanced or intermediate standard. In spite of this, in 1953, only one-fifth of the high school students came from minor castes.

Having sufficiently demonstrated the relation between caste and education, we now postulate a further relation between caste, education and occupation. There is an essential relation between education and white collar jobs. A white collar job, even of the lowest kind, requires a knowledge of the three Rs. The better the job, the higher the education required. Lower jobs may need only a knowledge of the vernacular. Higher than these would be jobs requiring a knowledge of English and even of a matriculate degree. At the top come the jobs for which a university degree is a minimum requirement.

Because our sample consists only of high school students, there is an implicit bias in favour of white collar occupations. Even if the guardians of students are in some other occupation, the fact that these students have been educated upto the high school level means that they are being prepared for white collar jobs. This will not be true in the case of all students. Education confers a prestige independent of its importance as a means of getting a job. Girls are educated because it is honourable to do so, rarely as a training for jobs. The sons of businessmen will join the father's business when they grow up, but meanwhile they are sent to schools and colleges. If they do well, and acquire a degree, it is a source of great pride to the family, and results in a general gain in status.

But white collar jobs also have a certain prestige. Dr. Gould,* in the context of caste mobility, writes, "This is done in Sherupur and elsewhere by converting their traditional intellectual skills, economic advantages, and nepotic connections into opportunities for obtaining modern occupation and what is commonly called 'service' - by which is meant a job in Government (either provincial or central) or in modern industry. To the extent that they succeed in this endeavour, Brahmins and Rajputs preserve a measure of superiority over their lower caste compatriots in their local community (where not more widely) which mere Sanskritisation

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* The Economic Weekly, Vol. XIII, No. 25, 1961.

is incapable of matching. For the lower castes are without education or any tradition of learning, they are without much economic power, and they lack well-elaborated kinship structures which can be avenues of connection and mobility outside the local milieu. Without these assets, they cannot hope to attain very much modern education, much less opportunities for 'service."

The prestige of 'service' dates at least as far back as the establishment of the British administration, around mid-19th century. A job in the administration meant security and perhaps some privileges. It is possible that to work for the political authorities, even before the British, was considered to be both prestigious and secure. This much is certain, that the general respect for education was carried over to the kind of jobs created by the British. The British enlisted educated men for their administration.

The attitudes developed towards service in government under the British have continued, and have expanded to include all modern occupations in industries and large business concerns, while the particular respect for the British as employers persists in the general desirability of jobs with foreign firms.

The relation between caste and occupation has been a fairly close one. Most castes bear names that imply a traditional occupation, even where this name is other than that of the occupation. The artisan castes and the various service castes in both town and village carry an occupational name.

Weavers, potters, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, tailors, oilpressers, leather workers, vegetable-sellers, gardeners, shepherds, swineherds, washermen, barbers, and a host of others, are occupational castes. This does not mean that all members of the caste live by that occupation alone. Nor do they necessarily have a monopoly over that occupation. Recent economic and social changes have forced some of them to take to other occupations. New techniques applied to old occupations might break caste monopolies where they exist. Even in the traditional caste society, however, it is likely that the occupational castes had a range of occupations from which to choose, and were not limited to their traditional calling only.

Non-occupational castes, such as the Rajputs, or Marathas, Jats and Ahirs, were also associated with some occupation usually agriculture. Castes living by agriculture and owning the land generally dominate in their region. Often, they have been warriors in the past. Since the Pax Brittanica, however, they have taken to agriculture. Their names rarely indicate their occupation and may have a historical or territorial or tribal connotation. At the same time, agriculture is one of the few occupations that is open to all castes even though dominated by one or two castes.

In modern times, 'service' has become such an occupation, open to all castes. Anyone who has the requisite qualifications can aspire for a job. Like agriculture, however, only a handful of castes predominate in 'service'. And their predominance in this major urban occupational

occupational category is one of the sources of their general dominance in the community. It is therefore natural that education is a must among these castes. They have the means to see their children through school and university and they often have a tradition of education that dates back a few decades if it is modern learning, and dates much further back if it is traditional.

In Poona and Baroda, only a small part of the total population was studied - the high school students. Not having comparable surveys of the two towns, it is not even possible to say what proportion of the population is represented by these students. It is possible, however, to say that the high school students represent the elite of the town. In some cases it may be only a potential elite, as where the student comes from a low caste. Such a student is certainly a recruit to the elite of his own caste. In course of time, he may also acquire a generally good status in the town population.

The caste elites of Baroda and Poona resemble each other in some ways and differ in others. We must first differentiate the two 'societies' in Baroda.

Baroda consists of two Hindu linguistic communities. The first is the Gujarati, which is indigenous to the area, and is the majority community. The other is a 'foreign' stock of Maharashtrians who came to Baroda all through the 19th and the first half of the 20th century from various parts of Western Maharashtra. They came in the armies of the Gaekwads,

and settled in Baroda, attracting others of their own region to the administrative and other services of the Maratha government.

We have already noted the differences between the two communities. The Gujaratis are indigenous, predominantly rural in the district, speak only their mother tongue, and have a caste system which includes the full complement of craftsmen, artisans, and servant castes normally found in an urban community. The Maharashtrians are immigrant, restricted to urban areas, frequently bilingual with Gujarati as second language, and have a caste system which lacks much of the range of intermediate to low castes of artisans and others, presumably because they availed of the services of local Gujarati castes rather than import these castes from Maharashtra.

The Maharashtrians of Poona are indigenous to the region, and are in a broad way similar to Baroda Gujaratis. They are spread in rural areas, are not bilingual, and have a fully developed caste system. In the detail, however, there is a closer resemblance with Baroda Maharashtrians except for the absence of low castes among the latter. There is the same predominance of Brahmins, with a small number of C.K.Ps. and a large number of Marathas. In Baroda, however, there are no Malis - a prominent caste in Poona.

The data on the high schools, which automatically excludes most lower castes, shows a striking similarity between students of Poona and Maharashtrian students of Baroda. The Brahmin proportion in high schools is far in excess of the

proportion in the general population. The large and important Maratha caste is underrepresented, while the C.K.Ps. are too small a caste as a whole to make a very big showing in either town. Relative to their actual numbers, however, they do well. About one-fifth of the students in Poona come from minor castes, ranging as low as the untouchable. In Baroda, only 6 per cent come from other castes.

It is on this point of representation of minor castes, that Poona Maharashtrians differ from their Baroda counterparts but resemble the Gujaratis.

Education in Baroda was far in advance of other parts of the country because of the policies of the native ruler. Poona, however, seems to be as well up, if the representation of low castes is considered. The high prestige attached to education, and the occupational structure of Poona may account for this.

In other respects, the Gujaratis of Baroda differ from Poona. The Brahmins are not dominant in education. In fact, they are equalled by Patidars and exceeded by Banias in number in the high schools.

The difference in caste structure between Gujaratis and Maharashtrians, as reflected in our data, is accompanied by a difference in occupations. Service is the only major occupation for Maharashtrians in both towns. This seems to be directly related to the domination of a single caste - the Brahmins. The Gujaratis, on the other hand, have a more diversified pattern of occupations. Agriculture and business

are almost as important as service. This is again linked to caste, for the Banias traditionally live by commerce and the Patidars by agriculture. Our sample is a highly selective one, and those Banias and Patidars students are heavily represented whose families are showing a distinct tendency to give up their traditional occupation for service.

The impression one gains of the Gujaratis is that they are not Brahmin - dominated, and that they are going through a basic economic change. It is difficult to say whether this change is progressive. The change is almost all towards white collar jobs. If the white collar job is regarded as progressive, then the Maharashtrians may be called an advanced community as service is their one major occupation, and has been so even in the grandfather's generation. Whether the term progressive is applicable or not, change certainly is present in the one society and absent in the other.

In Maharashtra, there has always been a conspicuous absence of a trading caste. The Vanis are a very small caste, and assimilate, like C.K.Ps. with the Brahmins, rarely living by trade. Commercial activity was dominated by immigrant Gujarati Banias and Marwaris. That business is a minor occupation in the Poona survey is not therefore unexpected. The absence of agriculture, however, is both more interesting and more difficult to explain. It seems to indicate little relation between the town of Poona and the nearby villages. Probably the spread of educational facilities in rural areas

makes the villagers less dependent on Poona schools.

In Baroda, one half of the Patidar students ride in daily by train from surrounding villages to attend school. A few students of Patidar and other castes come from agricultural families, but reside in hostels, rented rooms, or with relatives. Agriculture is returned by so many students (mostly Patidars), as the guardian's occupation that it may classed with service and business as a major occupational type. These students from rural areas are potential immigrants to the towns, for it is unlikely that they will return to the soil after having gone as far as high school. This townward movement will cause far-reaching changes in the Patidar dominated rural areas of Baroda district.

That this change is occurring far more among Gujaratis than among Maharashtrians is shown by the different patterns of immigration of the two groups in the sample.

Thirty per cent of the Gujarati students are not residents of Baroda. They are most of them from Patidar-agriculturist families. The Maharashtrian non-resident students, constituting only twelve per cent, are non-rural. Three-fourths of these are Brahmins and C.K.Ps. - both urban castes. Both types of non-residents may be potential immigrants to Baroda.

The influx from rural areas, however, would be a heavy and continuous one, unlike the migration from one town to another. It is not surprising that the Gujaratis show a heavy immigration in addition to the large percentage who only come to Baroda for education, unlike the non-rural Maharashtrians of Baroda.

	Gujaratis	Maharashtrians
Over 25 years	43%	49%
Pre-war	20%	26%
War	20%	14%
Post-Independence	17%	11%
	100%	100%

Nearly one half of the Maharashtrians are old inhabitants - a larger proportion than is found among Gujaratis.

Subsequent immigration also shows differences. Maharashtrians appear to have come to Baroda in very large numbers in the pre-war period. Their numbers fell off subsequently during the war, and in the post-Independence period. Compared to the earlier influx there is a diminution in immigration in the later period.

Gujarati students show quite a different pattern of immigration. Less than one-fifth of resident students came in the pre-war period. But nearly two-fifths came in the subsequent period. The numbers that came during the war were as many as in the pre-war period. The short six-year period after Independence saw a continuous immigration, unlike the Maharashtrians who dropped off somewhat.

The Gujaratis have a longer history in Baroda. Also, they are a continuously developing community as they are indigenous and closely linked to the surrounding rural areas. The Maharashtrians have a shorter history, but have been in Baroda long enough to be regarded as natives. They have a large core of inhabitants of over twenty-five years standing. But they are not developing, in terms of growth by immigration

at the same rate as Gujaratis. The lack of a rural base may be one reason for this. Another likely reason is the end of Gaekwad rule, and the merger of the old State with Bombay.

The linguistic communities, of which we get some idea from the sample, represent separate caste systems. But they have been analysed in the same way, as consisting of a traditional structure and its secular aspects.

The term 'traditional structure' has been used to cover religion, language, caste, locality, and family. Secular aspects are occupation, education, income, and occupational change.

Religion, language, and caste obviously define traditional groups. They are groups because there is a high degree of community, consciousness, and a strong development of primary relations. They are traditional because they have a long and persistent history, and though they may change in some ways under the pressure of modern life, they rarely break up or disappear.

Locality is included here because of its close relation to religion, language, and caste. Locality by itself does not provide a basis for the formation of communities. There are no recognised territorial units per se in Indian society. However, "the relationship between caste, occupation, and locality to be found in the villages is also extended to the cities...On further investigation, Poona may turn out to be only one of the many illustrations of

the extension to the cities of the principle of the caste system in village communities." (Desai, 1953).

Desai's remarks certainly apply to Baroda, excluding perhaps the outlying, mixed areas where class factors appear to be more operative. (Similar areas are found in Poona). One may tentatively assume that the provincial towns of India, where the local society and its language is dominant, are such extensions of the 'principle of the caste system in village communities'.* The only likely exceptions will be the towns of Punjab.

Locality in Baroda, therefore, may legitimately be included as traditional structure. The inclusion of the family appears to be less justified, as it appears to be changing. But, as we have seen, the large number of nuclear families is deceptive. These families may be merely going through a phase of nuclearity. There are far too many joint families, especially in certain castes and occupations, notably agriculture, for us to postulate a real change in the family structure. The structure of this group may be more liable to change than such large groups as caste and linguistic communities. But for the present it may be regarded as largely traditional in form. Besides, in religion and customs, we have found the family, whether nuclear or joint, to be highly conservative.

It is within this structure that secular factors operate, and socio-economic changes take place. Occupation, one of

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* See I.Karve's Hindu Society (1961) for a discussion of caste and territory in Maharashtra. Srinivas, in Caste, writes of the 'investing of territorial areas with religious values' as a factor in caste unity.

the more important secular factors, is not unrelated to tradition. In fact, there is a close relation between caste and occupation. In the village community, and the provincial town, each caste was supposed to follow a certain occupation, and if it was a specialised occupation, the caste was often known by the name of its particular occupation. In the undisturbed economy, there was in fact a close adherence of a caste to its occupation. But it was not a rigid rule, and each caste had a certain range of occupations open to it, while agriculture was open to all. Some occupations were organised and supervised by guilds.

Modern occupations are open to all castes, as they are unrelated to traditional ideas of pollution and purity, ritual status, traditional hierarchy, and so on. But, as we have already noted, there is a definite relation between caste and modern occupation. This relation is not a rigid ritual or customary one. Nevertheless, it exists.

The analysis of occupations in a caste society raises certain difficulties. Occupations may not in themselves be crucial to an understanding of society. They are of importance only through their relation to caste. On the level of theoretical abstraction, a study of occupational structure is possible and even necessary. On the empirical level, however, it will be found that occupations do not provide independent bases for the formation of groups.

A comparison with Britain makes this point clear. To understand British social structure, the sociologist has to

look first of all for occupational groups.* In a fluid, class society, occupation is one of the most important criteria of social differentiation, together with the related factors of education and income. In fact, there may be no other important criteria for such differentiation. In a caste society, it is the caste group, based on birth and not achievement, that is marked off from other similar caste groups. Occupation then becomes an aspect of this structured society. To study occupations separately then is to make an abstraction from the structure. We may therefore consider occupations, education, and income as classes and categories, or as secular aspects, existing within the framework of the traditional structure, being affected by it, and causing changes in it.

When we talk of the secular aspects of the caste structure, we mean just what Dr. Desai does when he writes that class is a quality of caste. What he means by class is the secular bases of a system of social stratification. Prestigious and learned occupations, higher education, and higher income are generally found among higher castes. Unpleasant, unskilled and menial occupations, little or no education, and poverty are associated with low caste status.

The caste system in towns may reveal the secular bases

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* See David Glass (ed.), Social Mobility in Britain

more clearly than in villages. The ritual notions and customary observances, of tradition-bound village communities may conceal the existence of class factors, and may even appear to subvert them: as when a very poor Brahmin is treated as a leader, or village elder. In the towns, especially in the last few decades, the ritual and commensal hierarchy breaks down, and more and more a caste draws on its secular resources to gain or to maintain its position of dominance. Instead of insisting on its ritual privileges in a temple festival, it will demand facilities for education and political representation. The Brahmin himself gives up Sanskritic learning and his priestly calling in favour of modern education and a secure if ill-paid job.

In conclusion, some remarks may be ventured on the study of urban communities in India. This is a much neglected field, and little work has appeared, apart from Dr. Desai's Poona monograph.* The large number of socio-economic surveys financied by the Planning Commission, and Universities (Baroda, Delhi, Kanpur, Bangalore and so on)** usually concern themselves only with the secular aspects of society, unrelated to its structure. Such works may be considerable value to the economist and the administrator, but they are incomplete for the understanding of urban society in India.

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* See Caste - A Trend Report and Bibliography by M.N. Srinivas et al. Section V of the Bibliography.

** The Poona Survey by D.R.Gadgil is a notable exception.

Gutkind says of medieval European cities, "The urban society of the Middle Ages did not consist, as do our present urban masses, of human atoms held together primarily by economic, class, and professional interests. It was built up of groups in which the individual was embedded both in general and in detail. Family, guilds, religious orders and confraternities enclosed him; ties of blood sheltered him, as well as those of work, class and religion." If we substitute caste for guilds, and add language, we have a fair description of the traditional Indian city.

Another writer, Pocock, gives a serious appraisal of the Indian town. Following Desai, he says that the hypothesis that caste and kinship are primary in Hindu society "would have the effect of integrating the city with other sociological or social anthropological studies in India." He suggests that the traditional Indian city is not a "conglomerate of politico-economic relationships." In fact, it was organically related to local (rural) society, and this relationship existed through caste and kinship.

Further, Pocock writes, "It would also seem possible, from all accounts, to say that not only as it was theoretically or ideally conceived but also numerically the city expressed the fullest possible development of the caste system at any given time... The city in the past provided the ground for maximum caste activity." He also refers to data in Kane's History of Dharmashastra where authorities are cited as distinguishing between towns and villages by the

fact that the towns include all castes. In fact, both town and village are dimensions of a caste society. The Indian town is an indigenous type of urban community, and not an outgrowth of impact with the West.

The findings of the present analysis substantiate the importance of caste in urban society, even under the impact of modern socio-economic changes.