

Chapter III

SOCIOGRAPHY OF THE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS OF BARODA

The Traditional Structure

As in Chapter II, the traditional structure, as it appears in the answers given by the students, will be given first. Even if it is not considered as more basic as is usually the case with economists and Marxist sociologists, it is nevertheless is that which is older and which in its broad essentials does not change. Baroda "society" is not unchanging, but its changes occur at the present time entirely in the secular spheres of life, like education and occupation. Residents of Baroda do not, however, change their caste or religion or language, except in rare cases. These factors, therefore, we include in the traditional structure.

Religion is the criterion by which we get at the core of our population, for it provides the major distinction between the various groups. These groups are each of them a separate "society", a distinct social system, with the Hindus dominating to such a great extent that the social structure is synonymous with the social structure of the Hindus of that town. Other religious groups form small minorities living on the periphery of this social structure. We, therefore, take up religion first to mark out the groups making up the student population.

Table 16

<u>Serial number</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	Hindu	519	93.7
2	Muslim	18	3.3
3	Christians	14	2.5
4	Other	3	0.5
	Total	554	100.0

In the population of the town,* Hindus, taken with Jains, make up 84.7 per cent. Their proportion in the high school students is higher - 93.7 per cent. The reverse is the case with Muslims who are 15 per cent of Baroda's population, but only 3.3 per cent in the sample. The Hindus appear clearly as a far more educated group than Muslims. Education appears to be important for Christians as well, as they make up 2.5 per cent of the sample, but only 0.8 per cent of the general population.

Our sample, therefore, is predominantly Hindu. It is this community which will be the focus of the present analysis.

* The figures for the town as a whole, taken from the 1951 census, may be taken as valid for the time of the survey, late 1953; no major changes are known to have occurred in the interval.

Within our major religious group, we find that there are further subdivisions, this time according to language. We may ignore all the minor languages which have been for the most part automatically excluded by the use of only Gujarati and Marathi questionnaires. In fact, our Hindus consist mainly of these two linguistic groups. It is possible that at times some persons, included for analysis in the Gujarati group, are Muslims or Christians, but they are so few that they do not upset our analysis of the Gujarati group as being Hindu. In the case of Marathi, it is spoken by a purely Hindu community in our sample.

Table 17

<u>Serial number</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per- centage</u>
1	Gujarati	407	73.6
2	Marathi	133	24.0
3	Other	13	2.4
4	Unknown	1	
	Total	554	100.0

As regards linguistic groups, a comparison with information for the general population will not be feasible as some minority schools were excluded from our survey. Broadly however, the two major languages of Baroda, Gujarati and Marathi, make up almost our entire sample except for 2.4 per

cent who knew Gujarati (no such cases occurred in the case of Marathi) but professed Urdu in the case of Muslims, Hindi as reported by one Arya Samaji, or some other language. If we ignore these, we find that three-fourths of our students speak Gujarati, and one-fourth speak Marathi. To put it in another way, Gujarati claims three times the number that speak Marathi. In the general population, if only these two languages are considered, the ratio of Marathi to Gujarati is less. Thus Gujarati is spoken by three and a half times as many as speak Marathi. This would indicate that education is more widespread among those persons who speak Marathi, a characteristic that we shall have occasion to comment upon again in our analysis of Maharashtrian students in Chapter VI.

We can further divide each linguistic group into castes. In a purely statistical count, we may divide up our entire sample into a number of castes according to their names. We have, however, been cautioned by Mrs. Karve that castes form a pattern with each other within a linguistic region. This assumption has been implicit in many field studies, as in the case of Central India studied by Adrian Mayer, or Tanjore, studied by E.K. Gough. Mrs. Karve has stated this assumption in the form of a hypothesis which she has then examined in the different linguistic regions of India in her Kinship Organisation in India. In our study, we can safely accept this assumption as a working hypothesis. We are dealing with two distinct languages and the basic approach

to them will be that they represent two separate systems. One might go further and look for subregional patterns within each linguistic group, but that lies outside the scope of the present study. At that level of analysis, a much wider coverage is required and the problem of assessing the status of caste may be a difficult one, and not amenable to statistical methods. For our purposes, we may state our position to be that we accept a hypothesis proved to be valid in its broad outlines as a framework within which we interpret statistical data. In fact, this broad framework is basic to the major portion of our socio-economic analysis. In Chapters IV to XI, the two linguistic groups of Gujaratis and Maharashtrians are always analysed separately.

It is in the light of these remarks that we present our figures for caste, not for the composite sample, but separately for Gujaratis and Maharashtrians. We thus anticipate our subsequent division of the entire data into two separate groups according to the linguistic criterion. (Table 18 on p. 76)

If the sample were undifferentiated according to language, the Brahmins would appear as the dominating caste. The linguistic separation however, shows that they predominate only in the Maharashtrian group, and are preceded, among Gujaratis by the Baniyas and the Patidars, in numerical strength.

A further compression of Table 18 throws the caste configuration of our sample into greater relief. (Table 19, next page.)

Table 18

Gujarati			Marathi		
Caste	No.	Per-centage	Caste	No.	Per-centage
1. Brahmin	83	22.0	1. Brahmin	83	63.0
2. Bania	121	32.1	2. C.K.P.	19	14.4
3. Patidar	106	28.2	3. Vani	3	2.3
4. Rajput-Kshatriya	10	2.7	4. Maratha	23	17.3
5. Brahmakshatri-Kayastha	2	0.6	5. Rajput-Kshatriya	1	0.8
6. Lohana	9	2.4	6. Gosavi	1	0.8
7. Barot-Gosain	5	1.3	7. Craft castes (Sonar, etc.)	2	1.4
8. Craft castes (Soni, etc.)	8	2.1			
9. Artisan castes (Kumbhar, etc.)	11	3.0			
10. Mali, Kacchis, etc.	11	3.0			
11. Untouchables	7	1.9			
12. Others	4	1.1			
Total	377*	100.0		132*	100.0

* Of 45 students not appearing in the above table, 35 have not reported, probably because they are non-Hindu, and 10 have not been classified separately as Gujarati or Marathi.

Table 19

Gujarati			Marathi		
Caste	No.	Per-centage	Caste	No.	Per-centage
1. Brahmin	83	22.0	1. Brahmin	83	63.0
2. Bania	121	32.1	2. C.K.P.	19	14.4
3. Patidar	106	28.1	3. Maratha	23	17.3
4. Others (incl. untouchable)	67	17.8	4. Others	7	5.3
Total	377	100.0		132	100.0

In the Gujarati group, three castes appear to dominate the educational scene, the Banias, the Patidars and the Brahmins. The Banias, by tradition a trading caste, and, because of economic conditions such as overseas trade with the Middle East and Europe an urban caste, appears to have a high degree of literacy. In fact, they share the field in intellectual activity with the Brahmins. The Patidars on the other hand are traditionally agriculturists. Most of them lived on the land, and only a few zamindars were to be found in the towns. In recent years, however, they have migrated to the towns in large numbers, and have taken to education. Because as a caste they far outnumber Brahmins in Baroda district, they make a better showing than Brahmins even in our restricted sample. The Brahmins are, here, as elsewhere, the traditionally learned caste. Among them, these three castes account for 82.2 per cent of all Gujarati students who have reported their caste.

We have no data for caste in the town itself after 1941. The 1941 figures, therefore, cannot in strict propriety be compared to our figures. In Tables 59 and 60 (see Chapter IV), we have data for the castewise immigration into Baroda. Brahmin immigration has been heavy during and after the war. Bania and Patidar immigration has been relatively less heavy, as also the various minor castes. But 50 per cent of the Patidar students are non-residents of Baroda, living in hostels and rented rooms, or commuting from nearby villages. If these are excluded, the proportion of the three major castes

in the sample are very similar to their proportion in the town population of 1941. It is fairly obvious that the numerical domination of three castes in our sample is not repeated in the population of the town, and that these three castes, by virtue of their position in the hierarchy and of their command over social, economic and political sources, send their children up for education in numbers far beyond their numerical ratio in the general population.

At the same time, it must be remembered that no other castes, individually, approach the size of any one of these three major castes. Taken separately, each of these three castes is very large in size and has an elaborate structure of subcastes and also of hypergamy. The lower castes are much smaller and very numerous. If the structure is viewed through the perspective of class, it may be said that the middle and lower levels are split up into a number of small castes which are, therefore, unable to question, as castes, the dominance of the upper castes, which, as castes, are also numerically stronger. As an upper class, opposed to a lower class they would be numerically very small.

The Marathi castes present a different pattern, though here again one finds that the higher castes preponderate in the schools far beyond their numbers in the whole town. Here again we rely on data from the 1941 census, but it is likely that the predominantly urban Marathi speaking people of Baroda form a more stable society than the largely rural Gujaratis. This is borne out by the present data. In 1941, of all the

Marathi-speaking people, over 55 per cent were Marathas. These Marathas were mostly Kshatriyas. Only a few were Kunbis. In sheer numbers, the Maratha caste was considerably larger than the largest single Gujarati caste of Banias. The second largest Marathi caste were the Brahmins with about 30 per cent and after them the C.K.Ps. who made up about 8 per cent of the population. The remainder were made up of various minor castes and of untouchables. The Maharashtrian 'system' in Baroda, when compared to the Gujaratis, presents a rather striking difference, largely in the absence of a substantial number of lower castes. The Marathas came as warriors attendant to the Gaekwad, and are regarded as an important caste. The Maharashtrians understandably probably did not bring along men of the service castes, as we have already seen. But even in this socially "topheavy" community, there is a wide gulf between the Brahmin and C.K.P. on the one hand and the Maratha on the other. In the 1941 census, 921 out of every 1000 Maharashtrian Brahmin men were literate - the highest figure for all residents in Baroda. Of the Marathas, however, only 572 out of 1000 were literate. In our sample, Brahmins far outnumber Marathas although they are a smaller caste. The C.K.Ps. relative to their strength in the town in 1941 also make a good showing in the sample. The Marathas, again relatively, are poorly represented in the sample.

It will be of some interest at this stage to compare our data with the findings of Dr. I.P.Desai in Poona. The Maharashtrian community of Baroda may be regarded as a splinter

of the parent community in Western Maharashtra from which it developed after the Gaekwads established their rule in Baroda. Baroda and Poona were in fact closely linked under the Peshwas, and it was only the advent of the British in the beginning of the 19th century which broke the link.

Locality may also be regarded as an important factor in the traditional structure. Who stays where will depend largely on historical circumstances. The persistence of the traditional structure may depend to a great extent on the stability of residence in well-defined localities. We touched upon this question in Chapter II Part I when we traced the growth and development of Baroda. We now see from which parts of Baroda our students are drawn. The localities will be given in the direction of east to west, that is, from the older parts of the present city to the newer areas.

Table 20

<u>Locality*</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. Wadi-Chokhandi (Sonipol, Vachlipol, Chheli pol, Rangmahal, Dabia pol, Khedkar Faliya, Kansara pol, Vaidya pol, Bambthana, Mohammadvadi, Gendigate)	47
2. Mogulwada (Shahipura, Suleman pol, Panigate)	6
3. Mehta pol (Holi chakla, Moosa pol, Moti Chhipwad, Champaner gate, Bank Road, Yakutpura, Buddhiyara Khadki)	11

Continued on next page.

Table 20 (continued)

<u>Locality*</u>	<u>Number</u>
4. Ghadiali pol (Kolakhadi, Desai sheri, Padi pol, Kaxolia pol, Patolia pol, Jani Sheri, Pipla sheri, Gantiada, Virasa ni pol, Mahadev ni pol, Bhatia sheri, Krishna sheri)	44
5. Buranpura (Bhatwada, Tamboliwad, Murdabari Rd., Lakhad pitha, Dhanbakri no khancho, Madan jhampa)	14
6. Lehripura (Kansara pol, Nyaya Mandir)	2
7. Bajwada (Sheth sheri, Kantareswar Mahadev ni pol, Hanuman ni pol, Chakniya pol, Jagmal ni pol, Pitambar pol, Kika Dalal ni Khadhi, Kalamandir, Narasinhji ni pol, Samal Bechar ni pol)	42
8. Ladwada (Mahadev same in Khadki, Khatri pol, Navi pol)	6
9. Nagarwada (Saiyadpura, Amlī Faliya, Mehta vadi, Gate Faliya)	10
10. Navi Dharti (Nizampura, Bhutdi jhampa, Khatri pol, Kareli bag)	10
11. Jubilee Bag (Kalupura, Rokadnath Rd., Mangal-bazaar, Navabazaar)	18
12. Sultanpura (Modh pol, Golvad, Adhyaru ni pol, Chitnia sheri, Gymkhana pol)	14
13. Rajmahal Road (Kumedan Faliya, Kacchiawad, Shantadevi Talkies, Khanderao Market)	7

Continued on next page.

Table 20 (continued)

<u>Locality*</u>	<u>Number</u>
14. Rajmahal Road (Radhakrishna ni pol, Tad Faliya, Hathi pol, Khadia pol, Gunda Faliya, Dayabhairao ni khancho, Raosaheb Rode ni khancho, Kalabhavan, Piramitar Rd., Deva pol)	18
15. Rajmahal Road (unspecified)	9
16. Shilbag (Ganeshwadi, Juna Topkhana, Lalbag line)	12
17. Dandia Bazaar (Jambubet, Brahmapuri, Babajipura, Madhyavarti Shala, Shankar Tekdi, Shivaji Rd., Mohan Talkies, Kaptan Faliya)	47
18. Raopura (Ahmedabadi pol, Kothi pol, Panchmukhi Mahadev ni pol, Jagidas Vithal ni pol, Mama ni pol (= Panch pol); Gheekanta, Vadi Vadi, Juna Modikhana, Limda pol)	31
19. Raopura (Bhavkale ni gali, Mahajan ni pol, Ravalia pol, Mahavir Swami ni pol, Pratap Rd.)	7
20. Raopura (unspecified)	13
21. Anandpura, Kothi (Shastri pol, Kansara pol, Ramji Mandir ni pol, Kharivav)	15
22. Pratapganj, Sayajiganj	28
23. Alkapuri, Race Course, Kunj Society	7
24. Railway Yard, Alembic Colony	7
25. Camp, Residency	19
26. Pratapnagar, Goyagate	8
27. Miscellaneous	25
Not reported	77
Total	554

Wadi Chokhandi, Ghadiali pol, Bajwada and Dandia Bazaar, appear to send up the largest number of students, over 40 each. The first two are located in the old city of Muslim times, the last in a more recently developed 'Maratha' area, and Bajwada is just outside the old city, to the west. Next come the eastern part of Raopura and the Pratapganj-Sayajiganj area near the railway line. Very different from each other in both physical and social aspects, they both have a fair sprinkling of Patidars. Then come Jubilee Bag, which lies between the old city and its newer extensions in the northwest, the extreme western portion of Rajmahal Road, and Anandpura - Kothi, these latter being newer areas. Sultanpura and Buranpura, both older areas, the Camp, Lehripura, Ladwada and Mogulwada in the old city, and Alkapuri, Race Course, Kunj Society, Railway Yard, Alembic Colony, Pratapnagar, Goyagate and the western part of Raopura send in few students.

A compression of this detailed table can be made without losing sociological relevance. Although the density of the various parts of any locality may vary, and there may be fine differences in caste, and even sub-caste, in occupation, in income, in housing, which are lost in classification, nevertheless certain broad correlates will be found with language, caste, occupation, income and so on. The more restricted categories^{*} which will be used in subsequent analysis

* Based on municipal wards, 1957 census.

are given in the next table.

The whole of Baroda is divided into six municipal wards. These are : (1) City, (2) Raopura, (3) Babajipura, (4) Wadi, (5) Fatehpura, and (6) Sayajiganj. In our sample, we get only five of these areas. Very few students come from Fatehpura ward. This is, therefore, included in miscellaneous.

The localities mentioned in Table 20 are classified into five areas as follows :-

City	-	Mehta pol, Ghadiali pol, Buranpura, Lehripura, Bajwada, Sultanpura.
Raopura	-	Navi Dharti, Jubilee Bag, Raopura, Anandpura and Kothi Nagarwada
Babajipura	-	Rajmahal Road, Shiabag, Dandia Bazaar
Wadi	-	Wadi-Chokhandi, Mogulwada, Ladwada Pratapnagar
Sayajiganj	-	Sayajiganj, Pratapganj, Alkapuri, Race Course, Kunj Society, Railway Yard, Alembic Colony, Camp, Residency.
Miscellaneous-		Salatwada, Navapura, Fatehpura, Jail Compound, Viswamitri, etc.

Table 21

<u>Serial number</u>	<u>Wards</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	City	127	26.5
2	Raopura	104	21.5
3	Babajipura	93	19.5
4	Wadi	67	14.0
5	Sayajiganj	61	13.5
6	Miscellaneous	25	5.0
	Total	477	100.0

The City accounts for the largest number of high school students. The City is the oldest and most congested part of Baroda, consisting of shops and houses and narrow crowded lanes except for the two wide roads which cross at right angles at Mandvi and the roads outside Lehripura gate.

Next comes Raopura, which covers a larger area and which is less congested on the whole. Its eastern part is more like the City area, but to the west there are many large government buildings, fewer shops, and quieter, less congested residential areas.

This is followed by Babajipura, the largest single ward in terms of space. This area is extremely unlike the City area. It has been well developed and cared for, and even in its eastern part, where the Khanderao Market and Shantadevi Talkies are located, it has wide and well-kept roads. To the west, it extends up to the railway line. This part was developed by the Gaekwads, and the palaces, Kalabhavan, the gardens are spread out over the southwestern part.

Wadi is in many ways an outgrowth of the City proper. ✓ It is located to the east of the City and is populated mainly by Muslims and low castes. Apparently, a number of Patidars are to be found here. It is fairly congested in those parts that lie near the city, but thins out towards Goyagate. It accounts for 14 per cent of our sample.

Sayajiganj is located to the northwest. It is a lightly populated area, consisting of modern residential

colonies and, in Alkapuri, of bungalows. It sends up 13.5 per cent of the students, a very fair proportion considering its low density of population. It is the newest part of Baroda, which began to grow only after the British established their Residency here. Recent industrial expansion continues in this northwestern direction. It is here that the town is spreading across the railway line. This part is cut^{off} from the main town by the Viswamitri river.

The localities can now be analysed in terms of linguistic composition. We already know that different social groups have contributed to the development of Baroda. This historical knowledge (Chapter II) is strikingly confirmed in our study.

Table 22

Serial number	Ward	Gujarati		Marathi	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1	City	111	35.1	5	4.0
2	Raopura	67	21.2	34	27.2
3	Babajipura	40	12.7	51	40.8
4	Wadi	47	14.9	19	15.2
5	Sayajiganj	41	13.0	4	3.2
6	Miscellaneous	10	3.1	12	9.6
	Total	316	100.0	125	100.0

The main concentration of Gujarati students - 35.1 per cent is found in the City, while this same area accounts for only 4 per cent of the Maharashtrian students. As our definition of the City includes more than the old fortified town, it is likely that even this 4 per cent comes from parts that are adjacent to the newer areas of Raopura and even Babajipura. Gujarati students come in fair numbers from the other four areas as well, ranging from 21.2 per cent in Raopura to 12.7 per cent in Babajipura.

The Maharashtrian students come mainly from Babajipura - 40.8 per cent, and from Raopura - 27.2 per cent. Together these areas account for 68 per cent of our sample of Maharashtrians. A fair proportion - 15.2 per cent - comes from Wadi. There are very few either from the City or from Sayajiganj. Sayajiganj accounts for 13 per cent of the Gujarati students. This indicates that the Gujaratis are much readier to move into new, modern-type houses, in the more or less cosmopolitan localities, than are the Maharashtrians. This could be due to the conservatism of the latter. On the other hand, it may be due to the fact that the Maharashtrian population has been stable, and therefore kept to its localities, whereas it is the immigrant Gujaratis who tend to settle in the new areas there being no room for them in the congested Gujarati areas of the City and Wadi.

We find, in the correlation of language to locality, a spatial expression of the history of Baroda. We shall see later that the schools are located in various parts of the

town according to the needs, both social and educational, of students. Each school caters to a particular social group, and becomes therefore a part of the environment of that group.

In connection with their place of stay, students were asked about their attitudes to the locality. Ninety per cent of the students said they liked their own locality, and only 10 per cent were dissatisfied. Not all the students could give reasons for their liking, but the major reasons cited were a clean environment and good neighbours. Lesser reasons given were, a long residence in that locality, facilities, a caste neighbourhood, proximity of school, proximity to city and a good house or a self-owned house. The liking for their own localities was expressed after students answered a previous question whether they had seen other parts of Baroda. As 45 per cent had done so, the overwhelming liking for their own localities is not a result of insularity, or ignorance. At the same time, 51 per cent expressed a preference for other localities, while 48.7 per cent did not.

In this connection, further, it is interesting to note that 72 per cent of students live within half a mile of their school, 14 per cent are between half and one mile away, 6 per cent are within two miles, 3 per cent are over two miles away and 5 per cent come daily from outside the city.

Some idea may be gained of the recent history of Baroda from a question put to the students, asking them when they have come to Baroda. All those whose families have been here for over twenty-five years are designated hereafter as Natives.

Those who came within the last fifteen to twentyfive years, that is, between 1928 and 1938 - the pre-war years and the period of the Depression, are settlers. A second group of settlers, settlers (B) came to Baroda between 1939 and 1946. These were the war years. All those who came in the post-Independence period, within six years of the inquiry, are called Immigrants. A very large number of students is indefinite. This usually means that the student has no memory of coming into Baroda. Those who are indefinite could be taken as true natives of Baroda. They are, however, treated as a separate group because there is always a possibility that some students whose families came to Baroda when the student was a small child, or a few years before his birth are unable to state the time of their entry.

Table 23

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Indefinite	124	22.5
2. Native	61	11.0
3. Settler (A)	85	15.4
4. Settler (B)	75	13.4
5. Immigrant	67	12.1
6. Non-residents (with relatives, in hostel, etc.)	140	25.4
Total	552	100.0

22.5 per cent of the students are indefinite as to when their families came to Baroda, 11 per cent are natives and 15.4 per cent are fairly old, pre-war settlers. Thus 48.9 per cent, nearly one half, have been here ever since the students can remember. One fourth have come in since the war, and Independence, and one fourth are not residents of Baroda. The table tells us several things. If we take the Indefinite as natives, 33.5 per cent of our students come from the original residents of Baroda. But 40.9 per cent have come in the last 25 years.

The population of Baroda has shown a steady increase from 1931 onwards.

1931	1,12,860
1941	1,53,301
1951	2,11,407

In the twenty years from 1931 to 1951 the population of the town has almost doubled. That 40.9 per cent of the students belong to families that have come to Baroda in the last 25 years is not, therefore, surprising. If non-resident students are excluded, well over half the students come from these families. Judging from our data, the immigration has been steady, and the figures for our three periods, of immigration, the pre-war, wartime, and post-Independence, are 15.4, 13.4 and 12.1 respectively.

The large number of non-resident students, who come to Baroda mainly for education, and stay with relatives, or in hostels and so on, indicates that it provides educational

facilities for a wider area than the town itself.

We will now examine the linguistic composition of immigrants.

Table 24

Residence	Gujarati		Marathi	
	Nos.	Percentage	Nos.	Percentage
1. Residents (with family)	262	69.7	116	88.0
2. Non-residents (with relatives, hostel, etc.)	114	30.3	16	12.0
Total	376	100.0	132	100.0

Maharashtrian students are mainly residing with their families in Baroda. Only 12 per cent are non-residents of the town. Of the Gujaratis however, 30.3 per cent are non-resident, and indicate that high school facilities are availed of by rural Gujaratis from the surrounding villages. We have seen that there are hardly any Maharashtrians in rural areas (Chapter II). In keeping with this, 88 per cent Maharashtrian students are undoubtedly urban, belonging to Baroda itself. The remaining 12 per cent may have come from small towns in Baroda District or from elsewhere.

A comparison of Gujaratis and Maharashtrians show a general similarity of the two groups in so far as both show a large number who say they have been in Baroda indefinitely - 31.7 and 27.5 respectively. Natives, those who came over to

Table 25

Immigration	Gujarati		Marathi	
	Nos.	Percentage	Nos.	Percentage
1. Indefinite	83	31.7	32	27.5
2. Natives	30	11.4	25	21.5
3. Settlers (A)	53	20.25	30	26.0
4. Settlers (B)	53	20.25	16	13.8
5. Immigrants	43	16.4	13	11.2
Total	262	100.0	116	100.0

Baroda over twenty-five years ago, are 11.4 and 21.5 respectively. The larger figure for Maharashtrians may be due to the encouragement given by the policies of Sayajirao III. Later immigration is a little greater for Gujaratis than for Maharashtrians. As many Gujaratis came during the pre-war period as during the war. The numbers coming after Independence are a little less. But there is a steady flux from pre-war days onward. In the case of Maharashtrians, a large number, 26 per cent of our students' families, came in the pre-war period. The number appears to have dropped in the war period, and did not pick up after Independence.

These immigrations, occurring up to the time of the survey, involve families of a certain social and economic level as indicated from the fact that they send their children

up to high school. Later we shall have occasion to see what kind of people came during the successive periods.

One more aspect of society can be dealt with in this section although it is not necessarily traditional, and that is the family. In analysing the length of stay of students' families, we get some idea of the relative forces of tradition and change. The families who have been here for over twenty-five years would represent an element of stability and even social conservatism, whereas the constant immigration of families within the last twenty-five years - upto 1953 - would mean that the stable population has to change and adjust to accommodate them introducing certain strains into the traditional groupings in the town, and thus sowing the seeds of change.

In the case of the structure of the family, also we get a view of the old, traditional joint family and of the modern nuclear family. We cannot say for sure how far the latter are replacing the former. They may represent only a stage in the normal growth and decay of a family. M. Fortes, in an introduction to "The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups" ed. by J. Goody, Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology, shows that each family in a society may go through certain stages, and its form may vary from stage to stage. Raymond Smith has proved this for The Negro Family in British Guiana. Each family there starts as a two-generation group supported by the father and develops into a three-generation group dominated by the mother.

In a similar way, it is likely that some at least of our nuclear families are only incidentally so, due to the death of elders, or partition, and that they will subsequently grow to full form as joint families. Which of our nuclear families are recurrent, that is, they grow into nuclear families, and which are merely a stage in the development of the typical joint family, we cannot say. Smith has an ingenious method for studying the developmental process. He classified all his families into categories according to the persons who made up the family. He then related these types to the age of the head of the family. In this way he discovered that the older the head was, the more often it was a woman, and the family was a three-generation unit, and the younger the head, the more often it was a man, heading a two-generation family. A simple correlation of the age of the head to the type of the family gave a diachronic view of the family. An attempt is made to make such a correlation in the present data in Appendix III.

We first of all try to estimate the average size of a student's family.

Table 26

Number in family Size of "		No. of students	Number in family Size of "		No. of students
1	2	4	12	13	8
2	3	25	13	14	10
3	4	47	14	15	8
4	5	60	15	16	5
5	6	70	16	17	4
6	7	83	17	18	1
7	8	81	18	20	3
8	9	51	19	21	3
9	10	44	20	22	2
10	11	20	Not reported		9
11	12	16	Total		554

On the basis of the preceding table, the average size of the family of a student is 7.8 persons.

Table 27 (based on Table 26)

<u>Size of the family</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. 2 to 6 persons	206	37.8
2. 7 to 8 persons	164	30.1
3. 9 to 22 persons	175	32.1
Total	545	100.0

Only 30.1 per cent of the families approximate to the average size of 7.8. 37.8 per cent are smaller, and 32.1 per cent are larger. The range is very wide - from 2 to 22 persons in a family. There were no families larger than this. Single member families were also absent. The average family according to the 1951 census is 4.4. Higher mortality, or greater fission of the joint family, among lower castes may account for the smaller average for the town.

When trying to reduce the data on the composition of the family to a few categories, it was found that there were three types of families among our students, or six sub-types.

The first type is the family headed by a person of the first or second ascending generation, that is, the father or grandfather, and may include the father's brothers. It is a joint family, and besides the student's own father, it consists of either a grandfather, or father's brothers, married

and unmarried, or it may have both. Sometimes in addition his own brothers may also be married.

The second type of family is also joint but does not include agnates of the father. It consists of the father and the student's married brothers. Families where the father is dead, but married brothers continue to reside together are also included here.

The third type is the nuclear or individual family of the student, his parents, and his unmarried siblings.

Each one of these three types can be divided into two sub-types, according to whether property is held in common or not. In the first type which we shall call A, one of its sub-types is the two or three generation family, with father's agnates, holding its property in common. The second sub-type either has no property, or has divided the property but part of the original joint family has kept together.

In the second, or B type, the joint family may have a share in some other property, or it may have its own property. In such a family, with no agnates of the father included, and "jointness" arising out of the marriage of the student's brothers, the question of partition of property without separation of residence hardly arises.

Type C again has two sub-types, one that is residentially nuclear, but has a share in the common property of the father's family of orientation, while the other does not have any such links with other families.

Table 28.

Type of family			No.	Percentage	
1. Joint A	i		63	11.6	{ 16.0
2.	B	ii	24	4.4	
3. Joint B	i		16	3.0	{ 25.1
4.	B	ii	120	22.1	
5. Nuclear C	i		53	9.7	{ 58.9
6.	C	ii	267	49.2	
Total			543*	100.0	

*-11 have not reported.

In terms of simple distribution, nuclear families not having any share in joint property (C ii) make up about one half of our sample. Another type of nuclear family (C i) has a degree of jointness in so far as it shares in some common property with related families. These number only 9.7 per cent. Next comes the joint family in which 'jointness' comes in the student's own generation through the marriage of his brothers (B ii). This type, not linked to any other family by a share in common property, appears to be an immediate outgrowth of the nuclear family. 22.1 per cent are families of this kind. Families of this type, but having property links with other related families (B i) are only 3 per cent. Taking the sub-types together, the B type family is found among one fourth of the sample.

The family which is joint in the father's generation, because of the presence of the father's brothers, married or unmarried, or of his father, tends also to be joint in respect of property. Thus A i families number 11.6 per cent, whereas families having this composition, but no property in common, or with property divided, are only 4.4 per cent.

There are, therefore, three main types. First is the nuclear family (C ii), a separate residential unit of parents and children having only kinship ties with other families and no property ties. Second is the joint family where the age levels are fairly young and there are only two adult generations in the family, with the father as head and the brothers married, and no property ties with other families. This sort of joint family (B ii) is almost an extension of the nuclear (C ii) type. The last is the typical joint family, dominated by the father and his agnates (A i) and probably of somewhat older age levels where the grandfather in particular is present. The property held in common makes it the most typical joint family. It may consist of three generations of adults.

The Secular Aspects of the Structure.

We shall now have occasion to analyse our population in terms of the occupation, the income and the education of the head of the family. Trends of change in the sphere of occupation will be discussed. Finally we shall include some opinions expressed by students.

We begin first with a few points about the student's guardian.

Table 29

<u>Guardian</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Father	448	81.2
2. Father's brother	20	3.6
3. Brother	55	10.0
4. Mother	14	2.5
5. Mother's brother	7	1.3
6. Others (including 1 father's sis- ter's husband)	7	1.3
7. None	1	0.1
Total	552*	100.0

* I have not reported.

Most students have a father as guardian. In the absence of a father, the brother, then the father's brother and finally the mother become the guardian. Cases of the mother's brother or other relatives or non-kin becoming guardians are rare.

Table 30

<u>Age of guardian</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. Below 30 years	44
2. 30 to 35 "	33
3. 36 to 40 "	80
4. 41 to 45 "	141
5. 46 to 50 "	77
6. 51 to 55 "	73
7. 56 to 60 "	42
8. 61 to 65 "	26
9. Above 66 "	9
Total	525*

* 29 have not reported.

The age group 41 to 45 is the largest. The lower age levels, below 30 years, and even upto 35, will not include many fathers. These will be the brothers, or father's younger brothers, or other kin or non-kin. Our 448 fathers are more likely to be distributed above the age of 36 years.

Very roughly, the average age of the guardians works out at 44.7 years. This fits well as a father's average age with the student's average of 16.7 years.

We now deal with the education, the occupation and the income of the guardian, and of other adults in the student's family, changes in occupation, and incidental questions like

the ownership of a house, rural-urban preferences, arrangements for living where a student is not with his or her family.

We first take up education.

Table 31

<u>Guardian's Education</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per-centage</u>
1. Illiterate	18	3.5
2. Literate (Vernacular)	150	29.0
3. Literate (English-knowing)	124	24.0
4. Educated (Matriculate)	123	23.8
5. Advanced (Graduate)	102	19.7
	517*	100.0

* 37 have not reported.

Over one half of our high school students, who fall approximately in our category 'Educated', as they are preparing for matriculation, have parents who are merely literate. This may be taken as a sign of advancement of the students over the parental generation. About 45 per cent have guardians who are themselves 'educated' or graduates. Only 3.5 have illiterate guardians. We are not sure who these guardians are. Thus the illiterate guardians may cover the few instances we have where the mother is the guardian.

We have a separate question asking the mother's education. This will include mothers who are heads of the family.

Table 32

Mother's Education	Number	Percent- age
1. Illiterate	91	18.4
2. Literate	390	78.0
3. Matriculate	15	3.0
4. College	2	0.4
5. Graduate	1	0.2
Total	499*	100.0

* 55 have not reported.

The categories for mothers are not exactly the same as the ones used for guardians. Broadly, mothers appear as much less educated, and three fourths of them are literate while 18.4 per cent are literate. Only 3.6 have any kind of proper education, that is a complete high school education or more. Compare this to the guardians of whom 43.5 are properly educated, that is, at least matriculates, many graduates.

The educational status of a family is adjudged by the degree of education of the male members of the family. This covers the student's brothers and, if there are any, the father's brothers. The following table is not strictly comparable to the one for guardian's education as a larger number of students is left out because of no response.

Table 33

<u>Educational Status of family</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent- age</u>
1. Illiterate	8	1.7
2. Literate	241	50.3
3. Educated	151	31.5
4. Advanced	79	16.5
Total	479*	100.0

* 75 have not reported.

Only 1.7 families are illiterate compared to 3.5 guardians. A student with an illiterate guardian, therefore, often has other better educated members in the family. The proportion of the merely literate guardians is slightly in excess of literate families, indicating again that other members of the family in some cases have a better education.

In the case of matriculation and a year or two at college, the families positively show a higher educational status than the guardians. Thus many of the 'educated' families must consist of a literate guardian for the student. We would have expected a similar result in the case of the 'advanced' but these fewer families are of graduate level than guardians. Only among matriculates are there more families than guardians in the whole sample. It is difficult to say whether selective factors are at play and in what manner. We can however see that the excess of illiterate, literate and graduate guardians

over families takes away from the matriculate category. These guardians both better and lower in education must belong to 'matriculate families'.

On the whole, most students who reach high school have some kind of education in the family, even if it is just a few years of vernacular schooling.

Our next major item is occupation. Under this head we have four sets of figures. They pertain to the guardian's occupation, the grandfather's occupation, and, based on a correlation of these two, occupational change, and the directions of this change.

All the occupations fall into four broad categories.

Table 34

Occupational category	Number	Percent- age
1. Service	312	57.9
2. Business (incl. industry)	104	19.3
3. Agriculture	64	11.9
4. Others (Traditional:25)	59	10.9
	539*	100.0

* 15 have not reported.

White collar occupations, designated here as 'service' after general Indian usage, are the most important. They are more important in our sample than they are even in the general

population. There is a definite relation between 'service' jobs and education, and a family dependent on the guardian's 'service' will regard it almost as a matter of course to educate its younger generation, especially the boys. But education is not unnecessary nor depreciated by guardians following business or agriculture. It may have purely status value, or there may be a desire to bring up children to a more secure and a more prestigious means of living by educating them for service. But that it is not so indispensable here is obvious when we find that whereas nearly half the general population is engaged in business or non-agricultural production, only 19.3 per cent of the students come from this class. Agriculturists appear to place a higher value on education. Only 2.7 of Baroda's population in 1951 lives by agriculture. But 11.9 per cent of the students come from this class. We shall see later that many of them come from outside Baroda town. The fact remains, however, that there are factors at work pushing persons out of agriculture into a possible future of urban occupations, especially 'service'.

The service category which includes the largest number of students is divided into three grades according to income. The lowest income levels, earning only upto Rs. 150/00 per month, are the largest not only in the category of 'service' occupations but among all the occupations. Next come those earning between Rs. 150/00 and Rs. 300/00 per month. In the previous level would be included lower division clerks, primary school teachers, and even peons. In this category,

upper division clerks, secondary school teachers are included. Then come earners over Rs. 300. These are the professors, the doctors and lawyers, government officials, business executives, and so on. Then come retired persons. These categories, taken separately, are the four largest in the sample.

Our next occupation of importance is business. Although the petty traders are much in evidence, the income range is very wide and students come from almost all levels of income. Quite 4 per cent have guardians earning over Rs. 600 per month, that is, one-fifth of the business families can be classed as very well-off.

The agriculturists could have been classified in greater detail into owners, tenants, labourers. But they do not form an integral part of Baroda. Therefore, they have been separated into only two groups, the zamindars, who live off the income of their lands, and the agriculturists who actually cultivate land which may or may not be their own. The former may be residents of Baroda. The latter are less likely to be so. Yet more students come from the latter group than the former.

The traditional specialised occupations of their forefathers are followed by 4.6 per cent of the guardians, one-half of these are the traditional priests or genealogists. The rest are artisans and craftsmen.

There are a few labourers. Some claim that they do nothing.

We now turn to the grandfather's occupation.

Table 35

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Service - upto Rs. 1800 per year	106	19.7
2. Service - Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	83	15.4
3. Service - Above Rs. 3600	59	11.0
4. Retired	45	8.4
5. Service (unspecified)	19	3.5
6. Petty traders, hawkers - Upto Rs.1800	29	5.4
7. Business - Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	25	4.6
8. Business - Rs. 3601 to Rs. 7200	20	3.7
9. Business - Rs. 7201 and above	22	4.0
10. Business (unspecified)	8	1.5
11. Zamindars - landowner	25	4.6
12. Agriculturists - cultivator	39	7.2
13. Artisans (Potter, etc.)	8	1.5
14. Craftsmen (Goldsmith, etc.)	5	0.9
15. Other traditional (priest, etc.)	12	2.2
16. Labourer	9	1.7
17. Other (artist, etc.)	4	0.8
18. Nothing	21	3.9
Total	539*	100.0

* 15 have not reported.

Table 36

Grandfather's occupation	No.	Percent- age
1. Service	174	38.0
2. Professions	18	
3. Business	112	22.1
4. Agriculture	150	29.6
5. Artisans - Craftsmen	23	4.6
6. Other traditional	19	3.7
7. Other	10	2.0
Total	506*	100.0

* 48 have not reported.

A casual comparison with Table 34 shows that more guardians are in service than grandfathers. But in all the other occupations, there are more grandfathers than guardians. This indicates a massive shift from other occupations to service. We have systematic evidence of this.

Where a guardian follows the same occupation as the grandfather, even if the grandfather himself has changed the occupation traditional to his family or caste, it is considered as an instance of "no change". Where some earning male members of the family are following the grandfather's occupation, whereas others are not, it is a "changing" situation. Where none are following the grandfather's (not necessarily the ancestral) occupation, the transition is complete and we

regard it as "changed".

Table 37

<u>Occupational change</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Unchanged	310	60.9
2. Changing	137	26.9
3. Changed	62	12.2
Total	509*	100.0

* 45 have not reported.

In all, 39.1 per cent of the families report a partial or complete change of occupation. It is this two-fifths of the sample that will figure in any subsequent discussion of occupational change. Because 60.9 per cent is unchanged, we shall speak in terms of trends of change, rather than the quantity of change.

Table 38

<u>Trends of change</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Agriculture to Service	71	36.4
2. Business to Service	56	28.7
3. Traditional occup. to Service	23	11.8
4. Service to Business	20	10.3
5. Agriculture to Business	17	8.7
6. Traditional occup. to Business	4	2.0
7. Business to Agriculture	3	1.6
8. Service to Agriculture	1	0.5
Total	195	100.0

The major trend is from all other occupations towards service, and especially from agriculture and business. Three-fourths of the change is in this direction. Some change occurs towards business, but almost none, or very little towards agriculture. On the other hand, three-fourths of the change occurs from agriculture and from business. The rest occurs from the traditional occupations and service, somewhat more from the former than the latter. To sum up, most of the change is occurring from agriculture and business towards service.

The last major secular aspect of the structure is income. We shall correlate it, together with education and occupation to the traditional structure at a later stage.

Table 39

<u>Income</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Rs. 600 and below	43	8.5
2. Rs. 601 to Rs. 1200	104	20.5
3. Rs. 1201 to Rs. 1800	87	17.0
4. Rs. 1801 to Rs. 2400	62	12.2
5. Rs. 2401 to Rs. 3000	53	10.4
6. Rs. 3001 to Rs. 3600	17	3.4
7. Rs. 3601 to Rs. 6000	75	14.7
8. Rs. 6001 to Rs. 12000	41	8.0
9. Above Rs. 12000	27	5.3
Total	509*	100.0

* 45 have not reported.

If we divide up the nine categories into five compressed ones, we have a pyramid where 46 per cent earn upto Rs. 1800 per annum, and form a wide base, above which is the level earning between Rs. 1800 and Rs. 3600. Above this, 14.7 per cent earn from Rs. 3600 to Rs. 6000, 8 per cent earn between Rs. 6000 and Rs. 12000, and at the apex of the pyramid we have 5.3 per cent who earn over Rs. 12000. Although the large majority of students fall into the lower income levels, Baroda has a fair number of rich students. This is more apparent when we make a comparison with Dr. Desai's data. In Poona, 76.83 per cent earn within Rs. 2500. In Baroda, our nearest comparison shows that 58.2 per cent earn within Rs. 2400. Only 9.55 per cent in Poona earn over Rs. 5000. In Baroda, 13.3 per cent earn over Rs. 6000. The relative affluence of businessmen and zamindars of which there are more in Baroda than in Poona makes it the wealthier city.

To get a more accurate idea of a student's economic position, all income figures were converted into per capita figures. The per capita income is available in blocks of Rs. 50/00, but as this leads to the unwieldy amount of twenty-four blocks in all, they will be reduced to blocks of Rs.100/00.

The largest single block is Rs. 101 to Rs. 200. Over one fourth of the students have this as their per capita income. The number of students decreases steadily as the per capita income rises upto Rs. 900. Then it again shows a tendency to increase slightly. It actually appears there is a quite normal income pyramid with a broad base and tapering off

Table 40

<u>Per capita Income</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Upto Rs. 100	48	9.5
2. Rs. 101 to Rs. 200	136	27.0
3. Rs. 201 to Rs. 300	83	16.4
4. Rs. 301 to Rs. 400	56	11.1
5. Rs. 401 to Rs. 500	42	8.4
6. Rs. 501 to Rs. 601	29	5.8
7. Rs. 601 to Rs. 700	16	3.2
8. Rs. 701 to Rs. 800	18	3.6
9. Rs. 801 to Rs. 900	6	1.2
10. Rs. 900 to Rs. 1000	15	3.0
11. Rs. 1001 to Rs. 1500	23	4.6
12. Rs. 1501 to Rs. 2000	9	1.8
13. Above Rs. 2000	22	4.4
Total	503	100.0

* 51 have not reported.

to a narrow apex. The widening of this apex, though slight, is somewhat unexpected. The slight increase, however, of numbers of the wealthy having over Rs. 900 per capita income at the top of the pyramid may be a direct result of the establishment of large-scale industries. Few jobs will yield that much. And Baroda has acquired quite a few industries recently.

The students themselves offer an opinion about their

economic condition.

Table 41

<u>Student's opinion</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Very good	20	3.6
2. Good	76	13.8
3. Fair	331	60.4
4. Average	107	19.9
5. Poor	13	2.3
Total	547	100.0

* 7 have not reported.

The table is self-explanatory. It is interesting that with 8.5 per cent families earning less than Rs. 600 per annum, that is, less than Rs. 50 per month, and with 9.5 having less than Rs. 100 per annum per capita, only 2.3 declare that they are poor. As many as 5.3 per cent earn over Rs. 12000 a year and 4.4 per cent have Rs. 2000 per capita income, but only 3.6 per cent say that their economic condition is very good. Most are content to say 'fair'. There is a tendency to emphasise neither poverty nor wealth and to give a somewhat non-committal or perhaps a modest answer.

We saw earlier that 27 per cent of the students are non-residents of Baroda. The actual number is 150. They make arrangements for their stay in several ways.

Table 42

<u>Arrangements</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. With relatives	56	37
2. In hostel	36*	24
3. Independently	30	20
4. Commute from village	27	18
5. Other	1	1
Total	150	100

* 10 in caste hostel.

The number of commuters from neighbouring village is significant. Most outside students however stay with relatives in the town. Ten of the thirty-six hostel residents stay in caste hostels. Others (never girls) take independent rooms which they may share.

Thirty-five per cent of the students own a house in Baroda. 65 per cent do not own a house. A preference is expressed for city life by 66.5 per cent, while 29.8 per cent prefer a village, and 3.7 per cent like both.

Table 43

<u>Ownership of house outside Baroda</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent- age</u>
1. Yes	251	50
2. No	252	50
Total	503*	100

* 53 have not reported.

Only 50 per cent of the students own houses outside Baroda - more than the proportion owning houses in Baroda. 96 per cent like the houses they live in, and only 5 per cent are dissatisfied.

Table 44

<u>Ownership of land outside Baroda</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. No land	315	66.0
2. 5 bighas or less	28	5.9
3. 6 to 10 bighas	37	7.7
4. 11 to 20 "	24	5.0
5. 21 to 35 "	21	4.4
6. 36 to 50 "	18	3.8
7. 51 to 100 "	22	4.6
8. 101 to 200 "	4	0.9
9. Over 200 bighas	8	1.7
Total	477*	100.0

* 77 have not reported.

Altogether 34 per cent own some amount of land. And one half own a house outside Baroda. The possession of immovable property seems to be fairly widespread. It must not be forgotten however, that the same people may own a house in Baroda, a house outside Baroda and land outside Baroda.