

Chapter IV

SOCIOGRAPHY OF THE GUJARATI STUDENTS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF BARODA

The Traditional Structure

We deal here with various facets of caste, of locality, and of the family. Having placed the Gujarati community in its social setting as far as the whole town is concerned, we now turn to detailed examination of its internal structure.

We saw in Table 19 (Chapter III) that 82 per cent of the Gujarati students belong to the three major castes - Brahmin, Bania and Patidar. The remaining 17.8 per cent are distributed over so many castes that they are taken as a whole. They range from Brahmakshatris to Untouchables, and are not, therefore, a composite group. They are classed together only in order to focus the analysis on the three major castes. This plan will be followed throughout.

The Brahmins are to be found mainly in the city. After that, their next concentration is in Raopura, followed by Babajipura and Sayajiganj. Very few stay in Wadi or elsewhere. Compared to the Banias, they are more widely spread out. The Banias are far more thickly centred in the City. Some live in Raopura which is quite closely linked to the City on its eastern side. And a certain number live in Wadi and Babajipura. ~~The number living in Sayajiganj is small.~~

Table 45 : Caste and Locality

	City	Raopura	Babajipura	Wadi	Sayaji- ganj	Misc.	Total
Brahmins	28(39.5) 24.0	16(22.6) 24.0	11(15.5) 34.0	5(7.) 11.0	10 (14.0) 26.0	1 (1.4) 12.5	71 (100.0)
Bania	65(59.6) 59.0	16(14.7) 24.0	8(7.35) 22.0	11(10.1) 23.0	6(5.5) 16.0	3 (2.75) 37.5	109 (100.0)
Patidar	7 (9.6) 6.0	22(30.1) 34.0	10(15.7) 30.0	19(26.0) 40.0	15(20.6) 40.0	-	73 (100.0)
Other	10(20.0) 11.0	12(26.0) 18.0	5(10.0) 14.0	12(24.0) 26.0	7 (14.0) 18.0	4 (8.0) 50.0	50 (100.0)
Total	110 100.0	66 100.0	34 100.0	47 100.0	38 100.0	8 100.0	303

The number living in Sayajiganj is small. That the Banias would need the protection of the walled city in times of war is obvious, and it is not surprising to find them still concentrated in their old fortified localities. Having lived in the city through the depredations of Muslims and Marathas, they just have not moved out. In the case of Brahmins, it is less easy to explain. Did the Brahmins come later in more peaceful times, or have they followed the Maratha expansion into Raopura and Babajipura because the interests of a literate job-serving class lay with the rulers? Or are they merely less conservative and more mobile? There is no clear answer.

The Patidars live mostly in Raopura, and in Wadi and Sayajiganj. Very few live in the City. The Patidars are relatively latecomers into Baroda, and the City could hardly accommodate them. Most of them live in Raopura, especially in Ahmedabadi pol which is a known Patidar stronghold. Wadi, on the other side of the City, probably takes in the poorer Patidars. Quite a number settle in prosperous and cosmopolitan Sayajiganj. This is a mute indication of the lack of conservatism, and success in modern enterprise, of the Patidars. Some live in Babajipura.

The other Gujarati castes are evenly distributed over Baroda, though not many live in Babajipura.

If we concentrate now on the caste composition of localities in the sample, we find that the City contains more Banias than all the other castes put together, and that there are few Patidars and other castes, but Brahmins are present in

good numbers.' In Raopura and in Wadi, no one caste predominates, but Patidars are fairly conspicuous. Other castes in these areas tend to be Brahmin and Bania in Raopura, and the various minor castes in Wadi. Raopura is an upper-caste locality while Wadi is lower caste. Sayajiganj also has many Patidars followed by Brahmins and other castes. The Patidars appear to be a rather heterogeneous community living in all kinds of localities in Baroda from the most modern to the oldest and poorest. Babajipura has all castes, with a slight preponderance of Brahmins.

The spatial distribution of castes could be better understood if the history of these castes were known for the last two to three hundred years. In the absence of such data, we must be careful not to fall into the trap of reconstructing history from our data and must be content with the above remarks.

Table 46 : Caste and Guardian's Education

	<u>Illi- terate</u>	<u>Literate</u>	<u>English knowing</u>	<u>Educated</u>	<u>Advanced</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Brahmin	1 (1.4)	23 (29.4)	15 (19.1)	25 (32.2)	14 (17.9)	78 (100.0)
2. Bania	1 (0.9)	29 (25.6)	30 (26.5)	31 (27.4)	22 (19.5)	113 (100.0)
3. Patidar	1 (0.85)	37 (31.65)	34 (29.05)	27 (23.05)	18 (15.4)	117 (100.0)
4. Others	9 (13.4)	36 (53.7)	15 (22.4)	4 (6.0)	3 (4.5)	67 (100.0)
Total	12	125	94	87	57	375

The status system in Baroda is one of castes arranged in a hierarchy. There is a tendency for a caste to have secular characteristics that are consistent with its status. Occasionally there is inconsistency and this creates a situation of tension which may lead to changes. Thus, the son of an artisan who goes up for higher education naturally expects to be treated as a person of better status than if he were merely an artisan. This creates a disturbance in the system. We do not have any field observation of the hierarchy in action in Baroda and of how tensions arise and are resolved. But from our data, where we know the general status of a caste and its achievements, we can assume that there is a possibility of tension or otherwise.

Education is closely linked with caste status. In our sample, there is just one person in each of the three advanced castes who is illiterate. Most persons are literate, either in the vernacular or with a knowledge of English. But Patidars have more literates (60%) and less educated and advanced than Baniyas, while Brahmins have less literates than these two castes (48%), but more educated and advanced. The Baniyas are less educated and advanced as a whole than Brahmins, but more of them are graduates. The Patidars are lowest in both counts.

The "other" castes which we hesitated to characterise earlier now emerge as a much less educated group than the three advanced castes. Over a half are merely literate in vernacular. With the English-knowing, literates count

for three fourths of "other" castes. Of the remainder, one half are illiterate, and one half are matriculates or more. We may venture to define this group as medium to lower in relation to the advanced castes, and may expect it to show this position on other counts as well.

Table 47 : Caste and Educational Status of Family

	Illi- terate	Literate	Educated	Advanced	Total
1. Brahmin	1 (1.4)	28 (37.4)	32 (47.6)	14 (18.6)	75 (100.0)
2. Bania	1 (1.0)	54 (54.5)	28 (28.3)	16 (16.2)	99 (100.0)
3. Patidar	-	63 (67.0)	18 (19.2)	13 (13.8)	94 (100.0)
4. Others	5 (8.2)	46 (75.4)	7 (11.5)	3 (4.9)	61 (100.0)
Total	7	191	85	46	329

This table is best seen together with Table 46. The two broadly coincide, but in the case of the first two castes, the families as a whole show a somewhat better education than the students' guardians. Among the Patidars however, the reverse is the case - guardians are better educated. An explanation of this is possible, but must be regarded strictly as a hypothesis that will have to be more fully proved before it is fully accepted. Knowing something of the background of the three castes, we may attribute to the Patidars a greater scope for individual enterprise. They

are the most recently urbanised, and do well in urban occupations. It would be natural then that progressive individuals emphasise education as a means to gain their material successes. It would be a situation of "pull" factors - with the educated guardian "pulling" up his wards and forging ahead of his brothers and other kin. With the other two castes, who have a well-established tradition of urbanisation and literacy, it could be called a "push" situation, where the less-educated guardian is forced to catch up with the community and, often, his family, which he does by giving his ward a good education. This "pull" and "push" situation is not strongly marked, but appears rather as a tendency.

The "other" castes have a position similar to Brahmins and Banias, but one cannot easily generalise about this group.

A preliminary analysis of caste and occupation dispenses with the finer details and gives occupations in broad and undifferentiated categories.

Table 48 : Caste and Occupation

	<u>Service</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Brahmin	58 (33.3)	4 (4.5)	6 (10.3)	9 (20.9)	77
2. Bania	66 (38.0)	42 (47.8)	4 (7.0)	5 (11.6)	117
3. Patidar	27 (15.5)	25 (28.4)	45 (77.6)	8 (18.6)	105
4. Other	23 (13.2)	17 (19.3)	3 (5.1)	21 (48.9)	64
Total	174 (100.0)	88 (100.0)	58 (100.0)	43 (100.)	363

The most important Brahmin occupations are white collar jobs. They hardly go in for any other work. Among Banias, too, service is important, but business, their traditional occupation, has a large number of adherents as well. Other occupations are unimportant. The Patidars largely live by agriculture, and secondarily they follow service and business. The other castes, which we have tentatively characterised as medium to lower; are in service, in other occupations, and in business. Very few are in agriculture.

It is not surprising that in our sample which is highly selective in the direction of literacy, white-collar jobs are the most important. Although these are the traditional preserve of literate Brahmins, the Banias, who are a larger caste, outnumber them. Almost three-fourths of these occupations are followed by Banias and Brahmins together.

The next most important set of occupations is business. Here the Banias are the most important, followed by Patidars. Very few Brahmins do business. In agriculture, the Patidars figure most prominently. In fact, very few of any of the other castes follow agriculture. The "other" occupations are followed by the "other" castes to a great extent.

A breakdown of the occupations followed by each caste shows interesting variations. (Table 49 on next page)

The structure of the service occupations is pyramidal, with a broad base of those earning Rs. 1800 or less per annum, going up to those earning upto Rs. 3600, and the smallest group is the one earning more than that. As many

Table 49 : The Brahmins

	<u>Rs.1800 and less</u>	<u>Rs.1801 to Rs.3600</u>	<u>Over Rs.3600</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Service	21	17	10	9	57
			<u>Rs.3601 to Rs.7200</u>	<u>Over Rs. 7201</u>	
2. Business	2	-	-	2	4
	<u>Zamindar (over 50 bighas)</u>	<u>Agriculturist (below 50 bighas)</u>			
3. Agriculture	2		4		6
	<u>Jyotish, Vaid, etc.</u>	<u>Unspecified</u>			
4. Other	7		3		10
Total					77

as about one-sixth of this group are retired.

Of the others, a fair number still practise as Jyotish, Vaid and other occupations traditionally associated with Brahmins. Very few are in business or agriculture or other work.

Like the Brahmins, Banias are very prominently in service although they are also prominent in business. The pattern of the service among Banias varies from the Brahmins in one respect. There are more serving in the salary levels of Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600. On the whole, however, the lower

Table 50 : The Bantias

	<u>Rs. 1800 and less</u>	<u>Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Over Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Service	23	24	11	10	68
			<u>Rs.3601 to Rs. 7200</u>	<u>Over Rs.7200</u>	
2. Business	12	12	13	3	40
	<u>Zamindar (over 50 bighas)</u>	<u>Agriculturist (Less than 50 bighas)</u>			
3. Agriculture	3		1		4
	<u>Unspecified</u>				
4. Other	5				5
Total					117

levels are more numerous than the higher. From the point of view of earnings, the business group is slated higher. While the two lower levels, upto Rs. 3600, together constitute a wide base, the largest single category are earners of Rs.3601 to Rs. 7200. Altogether 40 per cent earn over Rs. 3601. We may get an explanation why there are relatively so few in the lower levels of business in the shift from business to service in the last generation. The shift may have been made by those in the lower business levels.

Of the few Bantias in agriculture, most are zamindars. Some have not specified their occupations.

Table 51: The Patidars

	Rs.1800 and less	Rs.1801 to Rs.3600	Above Rs.3600	Retd.	Total
1. Service	6	11	9	5	31
			Rs.3601 to Rs.7200	Above Rs.7200	
2. Business	1	4	5	13	23
		Zamindar (Above 50 bighas)	Agriculturist (below 50 bighas)		
3. Agriculture		14	31		45
4. Others		-	-		-
Total					99

The Patidars are in many ways a very interesting group. They differ first of all from the other castes, and especially from Banias in that they have not gone in so overwhelmingly for service. The largest number of them are in agriculture. In fact of all the castes, they alone may be called a caste of agriculturists. One fourth of the Patidars in agriculture are zamindars with more than 50 bighas. The rest cultivate land themselves.

It is in the service occupations and in business that they show marked divergence from the other castes. In both spheres they rate higher salary levels than either Brahmins or Banias. There could hardly be a greater proof of their

progressiveness. In business, especially, they appear as a very wealthy group for over one-half of those in business earn over Rs. 7200 a year. Of the remainder only one person is a petty trader, the rest earn between Rs. 1800 and Rs. 7200. Traditionally, Brahmins dominate in service and Banias in business. The Patidars have recently entered these fields, do not have as many numbers in them as the Brahmins and Banias, but have gone ahead of both those castes.

We give details for the 'other' castes although they do not form a composite group, and we may expect great heterogeneity.

Table 52 : The 'Others'

	<u>Less than Rs. 1800</u>	<u>Rs. 1801 to Rs.3600</u>	<u>Above Rs.3600</u>	<u>Retd.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Service	10	6	3	7	26
			<u>Rs.3601 to Rs.7200</u>	<u>Above Rs.7200</u>	
2. Business	10	3	1	2	16
		<u>Zamindar</u>	<u>Agriculturist</u>		
3. Agriculture		3	-		3
		<u>Traditional</u>	<u>Others</u>		
4. Others		11	8		19
Total					64

On the whole; the picture of a medium-to-lower group which appeared in the educational attainments is repeated here, with about one-third within the Rs. 1800 level of service and business and another sixth in the traditional occupations of artisans and craftsmen of which only some, such as the goldsmith's, may be lucrative. The group does however include some businessmen of the wealthiest group and some zamindars.

Our next table gives the grandfather's occupation. Although our guardians range from the 30s to the 60s, and would perhaps show great differences from age group to age group, in the absence of such data we may take our guardians as representing one generation and the grandfathers as another, and compare them for the occupations they followed. Because of the wide age range, the two generations in fact overlap, and the fathers of the younger guardians may coincide in point of time with the oldest guardians. Yet a comparison of the two generations reveals significant facts.

Table 53: Caste and Grandfather's Occupation.

	Ser- vice	Enli- ghtened Profes- sions	Busi- ness	Agri- culture	Arti- sans Crafts- men	Tradi- tional occu- pations	Other	Total
1. Brahmin	40 (52.6)	2 (2.6)	6 (8.0)	20 (26.3)	-	8 (10.5)	-	76 (100.)
2. Bania	34 (30.9)	3 (2.7)	61 (55.5)	12 (10.9)	-	-	-	110 (100.)
3. Patidar	11 (10.9)	2 (2.0)	9 (8.9)	78 (77.2)	-	-	1	101 (100.)
4. Other	4 (6.1)	3 (4.6)	2 (32.3)	10 (15.4)	19 (29.25)	2 (3.1)	6 (9.25)	65 (100.)
Total	89	10	97	120	19	10	7	352

Of the Brahmin grandfathers, over one half are in service and the learned professions and one-fourth are in agriculture. Compare this with the guardians who are three-fourths in service, and hardly 8 per cent in agriculture. This would indicate a major shift in occupation. One hardly suspected that the learned Brahmins a few decades^{ago} went in for agriculture. And yet we do know that, in the villages, agriculture is one of the few occupations that are open to all castes.

In the case of Banias, there were more grandfathers than guardians in agriculture. But this is not a very important Bania occupation. With this caste, the differences lie in the ratio of business to service. Over half the guardians are in service and over a third in business. Among the grandfather's, the situation is reversed, and business is their forte, with service an important second.

The Patidars, an 'agriculturist' caste by a count of guardians, is even more so by a count of grandfathers. In the grandfather's times, service and business were followed by about one-fifth. By the guardians' times, over one half are in these occupations.

Most of the grandfathers of other castes were either in business or following one or other of the traditional occupations of artisans and craftsmen, or of vairs, etc. Some are in agriculture, few in service. With guardians of other castes we find service most important followed by business and the traditional occupations, and agriculture

is negligible.

The comparison of occupations followed by grandfathers with those followed by guardians, while presented as a picture of two proximate but separate generations, gives an idea about occupational changes within this century. We now take up this question in a more systematic manner.

Table 54 : Caste and Occupational Change.*

	<u>Unchanged</u>	<u>Changing</u>	<u>Changed</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Brahmin	49 (63.8)	18 (23.1)	11 (14.1)	78
2. Bania	60 (53.6)	39 (34.8)	13 (11.6)	112
3. Patidar	56 (57.7)	31 (31.9)	10 (10.4)	97
4. Other	36 (59.0)	18 (29.5)	7 (11.5)	61
Total	201 (100.0)	106 (100.0)	41 (100.0)	348

* From grandfather's generation to guardian's.

The most stable caste appears to be the Brahmin, the one showing most change is the Bania. But from 46 per cent to 37 per cent show change in all castes. In the case of Brahmins, the change tends to be more often complete than among other castes. And the Banias, who show the most change, do so only partially, that is, not all persons in the student's family have given up the grandfather's occupation. This is also true of Patidars, and to a lesser extent of other castes. While the Patidars are seen to have a rather spectacular success in business, and even in service, the numbers who have gone into these occupations are few com-

-pared to the numbers of Banias in business and both Banias and Brahmins in service.

From 37 per cent to 46 per cent show changes, and we find that they move in certain directions.

Table 55 : Caste and Trends of Change

	Brahmin	Bania	Patidar	Other	Total
1. Agriculture to Service	14	10	21	4	49
2. Business to Service	3	29	4	9	45
3. Traditional occup. to Service	8	-	-	9	17
4. Service to Business	-	11	3	-	14
5. Agriculture to Business	2	-	13	2	17
6. Traditional Occup. to Business	1	-	-	2	3
7. Business to Agriculture	-	2	-	-	2
8. Service to Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-
Total	28	52	41	26	147

The trends of change vary considerably for each caste. Among the Brahmins, the change is almost entirely towards service. The occupations they leave are agriculture and their traditional priestly and allied callings. A few change from business to service. There is also a small number who change from the two major occupations of service and agriculture to business.

With the Banias, the focus of change is from business

to service. But there are two other areas of change - from service to business, and from agriculture to service. The former cancels out some of what might otherwise be a very large shift from business to service. A small number leave business for agriculture. No Brahmin changes over to agriculture, nor does any other caste. The Banias are unique in this respect.

The Patidars move largely from agriculture, and they move in two directions. One is service, the other is business. This would be a basic change, as agriculture is their traditional occupation. A minor two-way movement occurs between business and service, where even the older generation was in one of these occupations.

The other castes come from all occupations and move towards service. A small number also go to business, though none go from service to business. Service appears as a valued occupation here as much as with the other castes.

When considering income, it may be useful to consider the total earnings of the family. However, a more accurate picture of the economic condition of our subjects is gained by concentrating on per capita income.

The largest category of per capita income is the Rs.101 to Rs. 200, except for Banias whose largest block is Rs.201 to Rs. 300. The Brahmins tend to shade away towards higher levels. Banias pick up towards the highest level, and the Patidars do so even more strikingly. Other castes figure mostly at lower levels.

Table 56 : Caste and Per Capita Income

	Brahmin	Bania	Patidar	Other	Total
1. 0 to Rs. 100	9	10	7	11	37
2. Rs. 101 to Rs. 200	22	23	22	23	90
3. Rs. 201 to Rs. 300	14	28	12	7	61
4. Rs. 301 to Rs. 400	12	12	6	11	41
5. Rs. 401 to Rs. 500	2	13	10	3	28
6. Rs. 501 to Rs. 600	7	4	3	-	14
7. Rs. 601 to Rs. 700	3	6	4	1	14
8. Rs. 701 to Rs. 800	2	3	6	1	12
9. Rs. 801 to Rs. 900	1	-	3	-	4
10. Rs. 901 to Rs. 1000	1	5	4	2	12
11. Rs. 1001 to Rs. 1500	2	2	6	2	12
12. Rs. 1501 to Rs. 2000	1	1	2	1	5
13. Above Rs. 2000	3	5	9	1	18
Total	79	112	94	63	348

A further compression of the blocks for per capita income brings out the pattern more clearly.

Table 57 : Caste and Per Capita Income (Compressed)

	Brahmin	Bania	Patidar	Other	Total
1. Upto Rs. 200	31	33	29	34	127
2. Rs. 201 to Rs. 400	26	40	18	19	102
3. Rs. 401 to Rs. 600	9	17	13	3	42
4. Rs. 601 to Rs. 800	5	9	10	2	26
5. Rs. 801 to Rs. 1000	2	5	7	2	16
6. Rs. 1001 to Rs. 1500	2	2	6	2	12
7. Rs. 1501 to Rs. 2000	1	1	2	1	5
8. Above Rs. 2000	3	5	9	1	18
Total	79	112	94	63	348

The Brahmins are mostly within Rs. 400. The rest of the Brahmins shade away upto Rs. 2000, when again there is a

slight burst above Rs. 2000. With the Banias too upto Rs. 400 is the major grouping, except that they are weighed more in the Rs. 200 to 400 level than Brahmins, who weigh more in the lower level upto Rs. 200. Banias also shade away to Rs. 2000 and then show a burst above Rs. 2000. In the case of the Patidars though the two lowest levels are the largest, they are proportionately less than in the other two castes. Although there is a narrowing of the upper levels, this is not to the same degree as in the other castes, and in the above Rs. 2000 there is a rather conspicuous widening. On the whole, the Patidars show better per capita income levels than either Brahmins or Banias. The 'other' castes again show a medium-to-lower composition. Overwhelmingly, they lie within Rs. 400, and the remainder shade off to the above Rs. 2000 level without any 'burst' at all. We might say that each of the three upper castes has a small extremely wealthy elite, but none of the 'other' castes contribute to this elite.

One further compression of per capita income is given, without any explanation this time as it speaks for itself.

Table 58 : Caste and Per Capita Income* (further compression)

	Brahmins %	Banias %	Patidars %	Others %
1. Upto Rs. 500	74	77	61	88
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	18	16	21	6
3. Above Rs. 1000	8	8	18	6
Total	100	100	100	100

* Given in percentages only.

The students give a very fair estimation of their own economic condition and it appears to coincide with the income pattern. Most Brahmin and Bania students state their condition as fair, or સારી. Some say it is good (સારી) and a few that it is very good (બહુ સારી). Again, some say it is average, મધ્યમ and a few that it is poor, ધરાવ . There are slightly more Brahmins saying poor and slightly more Banias saying very good.

Except for this difference of the extremes, the two castes are similar. In the case of Patidars, more students say their condition is good or very good, very few that they are poor. Among 'other' castes, none claim to have a 'very good' status, very few that they are poor, and most say either fair or average.

The student's estimation seems to be an honest one, and realistic. Neither false modesty about riches, nor shame at poverty appears in their answers.

A caste history of the two to three decades prior to the survey may be 'reconstructed' by studying the length of time students of different castes have stayed in Baroda.

Table 59:

	<u>Residents</u>	<u>Non-residents</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Brahmin	73 (80.0)	18 (200)	91
2. Bania	99 (82.0)	21 (18.0)	120
3. Patidar	53 (50.0)	53 (50.0)	106
4. Others	45 (66.0)	22 (34.0)	67
Total	270	114	384

Brahmins and Banias are mainly residents; only one-fifth in each caste do not belong to Baroda itself. The Patidars again show their 'newness' in Baroda, for one half of them do not belong to Baroda. The 'other' castes have a position in between that of Banias and Brahmins on the one hand, and Patidars on the other.

We shall now eliminate the outside students, and concentrate on those who belong to the town itself.

Table 60 : Caste and Immigrations into Baroda

	Inde- finite	Natives	Sett- lers (A)	Sett- lers (B)	Immi- grants	Total
1. Brahmin	6	8	14	20	17	65
2. Bania	41	10	18	18	12	99
3. Patidar	17	4	13	11	8	53
4. Others	19	8	8	4	6	45
Total	83	30	53	53	43	262

The Brahmins appear to be a fairly young community in Baroda. Even if we take the indefinite as positively natives of over twenty-five years' standing, most of them have come subsequently in smooth waves over our three periods from twenty-five years ago to the time of the survey. We know already that very few Brahmins live in the old city. Taken with the present table, that fact becomes significant, for the Brahmins probably came too late to be incorporated

in the city and had to settle in the newer expanding areas. Also, the occupational change for the Brahmins was largely from agriculture to service. This would imply a shift from rural areas to Baroda. With this corroborative evidence we may venture to say that some Gujarati Brahmins were scattered in the villages, but began to leave the land and agriculture and come to Baroda in search of jobs at about the time of the Depression, and have continued to enter Baroda since then. This is one strand of Brahmin movement. The other probably involves movement from smaller urban centres to Baroda without a change of occupation. For this, however, we have no confirmation in our data. We have only the negative fact that the only other occupational change of significance for this caste is from traditional occupations to service which need not have involved any change of residence as is the case in a change from agriculture to service. A good part of the Brahmin immigration therefore cannot be explained in terms of a change in occupation.

We then take the Banias. Most of them say they do not know when their families came to Baroda. We may safely interpret this to mean that they came so long ago that they have forgotten. This interpretation is validated by our knowledge that the Banias are concentrated in the City which is the oldest part of Baroda. There have, however, been Banias coming within the last twenty-five years. Like the Brahmins, they have continued to enter Baroda up to the time of the survey.

In the case of the Patidars, we have already seen that half of them do not belong to the town. The real residents, we find, appear to be only a little less steady than the Banias. One third are indefinite about their length of stay, compared to two-fifths of Banias. Most of the remainder have come in over the last twenty-five years. The other castes also have a similar pattern.

If we take those indefinite with the natives, and treat this as the oldest part of our population, we find that it is made up of a majority of Banias, followed by Patidars and by other castes, with Brahmins coming last. In the pre-war decade, there are immigrations of all three upper castes, and to a lesser extent of the minor castes. During the war, there are more Brahmins and Banias, fewer Patidars, and very few minor castes. After Independence, the Brahmin level is almost as high as before, but the Banias drop off, and Patidars also show a further drop. The Patidars again appear as a caste not showing its changes in quantity but in quality. They appear to fall off in recent times, and yet we know that they are switching, though in smaller numbers, to urban occupations, and with a good success.

Rural-urban attitudes of each caste may be gauged by the preferences expressed by students.

Table 61:

<u>Preference for:</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Brahmin	48	31	3	82
2. Bania	86	30	4	120
3. Patidar	56	42	6	104
4. Other	39	25	3	67
Total	229	128	16	373

Students express a very clear preference either way, no matter what their caste. It is significant that, though the city claims more champions than the village, this is not as marked among either Brahmins or Patidars as it is amongst Banias. The links of the first two castes, and especially of the Patidars, with agriculture seem to account for this, while the long-urbanised Banias mostly prefer the city. That there is a significant caste difference in the attitudes seems to rule out the possibility that those who opt for the village do so in an idealistic or sloganeering manner.

We now deal with the family. To take up the size of the family first, we find that this varies for each caste.

Brahmin	6.6	average size of family
Bania	7.3	"
Patidar	8.1	"
Other	7.1	"

It may be possible to find an explanation of the differences in size in the incidence of joint families in each caste.

Table 62 : Caste and Family

	Joint A (In father's genera- tion)	Joint B (in own genera- tion)	Nuclear C (jt. pro- perty)	Nuclear C (no jt. property)	Total
1. Brahmin	13	18	8	34	73
2. Bania	16	30	10	63	119
3. Patidar	28	33	13	30	104
4. Other	11	21	4	29	65
Total	68	102	35	156	361

A word about family types. Those families that are joint in the father's generation or Type A tend to be also joint owners of property though in some cases there is no joint property or it has been partitioned, but the joint family has not completely split up. The two sub-types are taken together. Families that are joint in the student's own generation tend to hold their property in common, rarely have a share in any other property. Here, too, therefore, they are not differentiated according to property ownership into sub-types. Nuclear families, however, are differentiated in this manner. A nuclear family sharing some joint property is to that extent not free of a measure of jointness, unlike the nuclear family which is completely free of any such property ties.

The true nuclear family is found more prominently among Banias than among Brahmins and least among Patidars. Conversely, joint families are more in evidence among Patidars than among the other two castes. With Banias, it is the younger type of joint family that is more in evidence, and this family we have seen is a sort of extension of the nuclear family, with the young married men still living in. There are fewer families joint at the father's level. The Bania tendency is markedly towards the nuclear type. Among Brahmins also nuclear families are important, but of the joint families there is not so much weight towards the younger type as among Banias. The Patidars diverge from both castes. They have more joint than nuclear families. And they have both types

of joint families. They approach the classical pattern of joint family in a way that none of the other castes do. This is very understandable in a caste that still lives largely by agriculture. In the case of the Banias, we would have expected more joint families because of the nature of traditional business. But the Banias are changing towards service, and this seems to have had the result of breaking up the joint family.

The Patidar family has a larger average size, clearly because of joint families. Of the Brahmins and Banias, both of whom incline to nuclear families, the latter have slightly larger families than the former.

The basic group within a linguistic community is the caste group. We have already noted how each caste has its own territorial distribution, its levels of education, of occupation and of income, and so on, and that these characteristics tend to reflect the position of a caste vis-a-vis other castes.

We now take up another item of the traditional structure, and that is locality. Whatever we say about locality is actually being said about the castes which we know inhabit it. And yet, for the purpose of analysis, we ignore caste. Instead we take up each locality and study its occupational structure, its income levels, and its history of settlement and immigration. That a study of territorial units can be only an abstraction in Indian society must not be forgotten, for the primary group is the caste, or its local section, and the neighbourhood, especially a multicasite locality, may be a face-

-to-face group in some ways, but social relations are severely restricted, according to caste. The study of localities however gives an overall view of the social layout of the town on other 'secular' counts, not directly pertaining to the traditional hierarchy.

Table 63: Locality and Occupation

	City	Rao- pura	Babaji- pura	Wadi	Sayaji ganj	Misc.	To- tal
1. Service	61	34	21	26	21	3	167
2. Business	29	13	4	8	12	-	67
3. Agriculture	5	12	4	8	3	2	34
4. Other	11	6	4	3	2	4	30
Total	106	65	34	45	39	9	298

The two urban occupations figure prominently in the City. White collar workers are found fairly evenly in other parts too, though with a slight emphasis in Raopura. Business, outside of the City, is found in Raopura and Sayajiganj, not much in either Babajipura or Wadi. The City had been important in the development of trade in Gujarat, and it is not surprising that its position as a stronghold of businessmen has not been usurped. Agriculture is spread all over Baroda, but figures a little more in Raopura and Wadi. It is doubtful if these are here with their families. They are probably the large number of Patidar outsiders, who, for their education, come to Baroda and stay with relatives, or in hostels

and rooms. The caste composition of a locality can be discerned here, for both Raopura and Wadi have sizeable pockets of Patidars. Just as the business-minded City is also the area for Banias.

Each occupation has a certain spatial distribution, but everywhere, the largest number are in service. Only in Sayajiganj, the gap between service and business is not so wide.

We now take each locality separately.

Table 64 : The City

	Rs.1800 and less	Rs.1801 to Rs. 3600	Above Rs.3600	Retired	Total
1. Service	23	18	6	14	61
			Rs.3601 to Rs.7200	Above Rs. 7200	
2. Business	7	12	9	1	29
		<u>Zamindar</u>	<u>Agriculturist</u>		
3. Agriculture		3	2		5
		<u>Other</u>	<u>Unspecified</u>		
4. Other		7	4		11
					106

Of the two major occupations of the City we can say that the lower levels of service and the middle levels of business are the most important. It also has more than its

share of retired persons.

Table 65 : Raopura

	<u>Rs.1800 and less</u>	<u>Rs.1801 to Rs.3600</u>	<u>Above Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Service	10	11	6	7	34
			<u>Rs.3601 to Rs.7200</u>	<u>Above Rs. 7200</u>	
2. Business	4	1	4	4	13
		<u>Zamindar</u>	<u>Agriculturist</u>		
3. Agriculture		5	7		12
		<u>Others</u>	<u>Unspecified</u>		
4. Others		2	4		6
					65

Raopura appears to be better off. The salary levels in service are higher than in the City. Business income is most of it in the higher levels. Raopura appears to be more prosperous than the City. Perhaps the presence of Patidars in this area accounts for it.

Table 66 : Babajipura

	<u>Rs.1800 and less</u>	<u>Rs. 1801 to Rs.3600</u>	<u>Above Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Service	2	9	6	4	21
			<u>Rs.3601 to Rs.7200</u>	<u>Above Rs.7200</u>	
2. Business	3	1	1	-	5
		<u>Zamindar</u>	<u>Agriculturist</u>		
3. Agriculture		2	2		4
		<u>Others</u>	<u>Unspecified</u>		
4. Others		3	1		4
					34

Babajipura has no business prosperity at all. Its salaried class falls into a middle range between Rs. 1801 and above.

Table 67 : Wadi

	<u>Rs.1800 and less</u>	<u>Rs. 1801 to Rs.3600</u>	<u>Above Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Service	12	10	2	2	26
			<u>Rs.3601 to Rs. 7200</u>	<u>Above Rs. 7200</u>	
2. Business	2	2	3	1	8
		<u>Zamindars</u>	<u>Agriculturists</u>		
3. Agriculture		2	6		8
		<u>Others</u>	<u>Unspecified</u>		
4. Others		2	1		3
					45

Wadi has mainly a low salaried class of persons, very few exceeding Rs. 3600. In business however it does make quite a good showing, though businessmen are few.

Table 68 : Sayajiganj

	<u>Rs.1800 and less</u>	<u>Rs. 1801 to Rs.3600</u>	<u>Above Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Service	5	5	9	3	22
			<u>Rs.3601 to Rs.7200</u>	<u>Above Rs. 7200</u>	
2. Business	1	2	2	7	12
		<u>Zamindar</u>	<u>Agriculturist</u>		
3. Agriculture		1	2		3
		<u>Others</u>	<u>Unspecified</u>		
4. Others		1	1		2

Of all the localities of Baroda, this is the most recently built, and has some of the best urban housing in the town. That it is extremely prosperous comes out from the fact that its income levels both in service and business are the highest seen so far. Sayajiganj includes such locally aristocratic localities as Alkapuri, and the more middle class Sayajiganj and Pratapganj. Although the other areas do not lack wealthy men, here they appear more conspicuously in numbers, as also in their styles of living.

The economic condition of a locality comes out clearly in the per capita income of its students.

Table 69 : Locality and Per Capita Income

	City pura	Rao- pura	Babaji- pura	Wadi	Sayaji- ganj	Misc.	Total
1. Upto Rs. 200	44	18	10	16	5	4	97
2. Rs.201 to Rs.400	35	15	12	19	6	-	87
3. Rs. 401 to Rs.600	15	9	4	6	2	2	38
4. Rs. 601 to Rs.800	5	4	2	-	4	2	17
5. Rs. 801 to Rs.1000	-	8	-	-	1	2	11
6. Rs.1001 to Rs.1500	2	3	1	2	2	-	10
7. Rs.1501 to Rs.2000	-	1	1	-	2	-	4
8. Above Rs. 2000	1	1	3	1	7	-	13
Total	102	59	33	44	29	10	277

The affluence of an area is more accurately gauged now. Sayajiganj, which housed the more important businessmen and people at higher levels in service, emerges clearly as an area of the rich, although all income levels are to be found here. After this comes Babajipura which lacks a prosperous business community and yet has some wealthy families judging from the high per capita income. Actually, Babajipura appears to be divided into two distinct economic categories. The poorer levels are explained by the low-salaried occupations. The higher levels may possibly represent the few zamindar families. Then comes Raopura, which has the pyramidal arrangement starting from a broader base of the lowest level, and narrowing

upwards to the highest level. The City too has a similar pattern, but it has fewer wealthy persons than Raopura. Wadi appears to be the poorest with almost all its students having a per capita income within Rs. 600 though an astonishing few hit top levels.

Table 70 : Locality and Per Capita Income (compressed)*

	City %	Rao- pura %	Babaji- pura %	Wadi %	Sayaji- ganj %	Misc. %
1. Upto Rs. 500	87	64	73	89	47	55
2. Rs.501 to Rs. 1000	10	27	12	4	14	45
3. Above Rs.1000	3	9	15	7	39	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Given in percentages only.

Wadi and the City emerge as the areas with the lowest per capita income, but Wadi is better off than the City in its upper levels. Babajipura is better off than both these localities especially in the higher range. Raopura is also better situated, mainly in the middle rung. Sayajiganj now appears as a locality of extremes for it has a population almost equally divided on either side of Rs. 500.

We now consider the history of these localities in terms of recent immigrations and settlement.

Table 71 : Locality and Immigration

	City	Rao- pura	Babaji- pura	Wadi	Sayaji- ganj	Misc.	Total
1. Indefinite	38	16	6	11	9	2	82
2. Natives	16	7	-	4	3	-	30
3. Settlers (A)	14	10	5	9	10	2	50
4. Settlers (B)	21	9	6	11	5	1	53
5. Immigrants	11	6	12	5	6	2	42
Total	100	48	29	40	33	7	257

The City and Raopura both have a fairly old population. Less than one half of the City residents have come in the last twenty-five years, while just over a half of Raopura's numbers have come in during this time. The City acquires more residents during the war period, and few subsequently. In Raopura, the immigration of pre-war years continued during the war and fell off after that. Babajipura is a much more developing area than the other two, although its immigration in terms of numbers is much smaller. Its old population is small, just one-fifth of the total. The rest have come within the last twenty-five years. The immigration appears to have accelerated over the years and well over one-third have come as recently as after Independence. Wadi and Sayajiganj also have grown considerably during the last twenty-five years. All the localities have grown during this period, but the

City less so than others and Babajipura more so.

Our final section in this chapter deals with the family. This, like caste, is a 'real' group, and not an abstraction, and is therefore included here.

First of all, we find that there is a close correlation between the type of family and its size. We shall here consider families as falling into the four types that we used in Table 62, and for the same reasons.

Table 72 : The Family

	Joint A (in fa's genera- tion)	Joint B (in own genera- tion)	Nuclear C (joint property)	Nuclear C (no joint property)	Total
1. 2 members	-	-	-	1	1
2. 3 "	-	-	3	10	13
3. 4 "	-	6	6	22	34
4. 5 "	3	7	6	21	37
5. 6 "	3	7	2	29	41
6. 7 "	6	16	7	24	53
7. 8 "	10	22	6	23	61
8. 9 "	8	12	1	15	36
9. 10 and above	33	35	2	14	84
Total	63	105	33	159	360

Over one half of the older joint families and one third of the younger ones have ten or more members. Hardly an eighth of the nuclear families are of this size. Of the rest

of the older joint families, none have fewer than five members and range from five to nine members. The younger joint families touch a lower limit of four, but are concentrated above seven. The nuclear families are much smaller on the whole with most having four to eight members. A few families are smaller, and a few larger.

Table 73 : The Family and its Education

	Joint A*	Joint B	Nuclear C (i)	Nuclear C (ii)	Total
1. Illiterate	-	1	1	5	7
2. Literate	38	63	15	70	186
3. Educated	11	27	11	36	85
4. Advanced	10	6	7	19	42
Total	59	97	34	130	320

* These categories are the same as those used in Tables 62 and 72.

Very few joint families are illiterate, compared to the nuclear families. The wider span of the joint family makes it more likely that some of its members, however, few, have some education. Even if the guardian is illiterate, one or more of his brothers may be literate or educated and thus bring up the educational status of the family. In a nuclear family, this status depends almost and entirely on the guardian himself. Consequently, it shows a slightly higher frequency of illiteracy.

The older joint families show a higher level of education than any other type. One may account for it in the same terms as above, that it consists actually of several potential nuclear groups and if one of these has a good standard, the entire family is given a better rating. Another type that shows good standards is the nuclear family which shares some joint property with others. Our other category of nuclear families includes not only families who have partitioned of ancestral property, but also the large numbers who have no property. As the first nuclear type undoubtedly has relatively good economic standards, it can be expected to have good educational standards as well. The second type is economically more heterogeneous and does not show as good an educational status as the older joint family and the propertied nuclear family.

It may be useful at this point to go into a digression. There is a very wide notion prevalent that the joint family in India is breaking up. And whenever economic changes are discussed, their major social effect is believed to be on the family, and hardly at all on caste, and not at all on language or religion. If we take the standpoint that all families in the traditional past were joint, then every instance of a nuclear family tends to appear as evidence of social change. Our data shows that 58 per cent of the students families are nuclear, and we are immediately tempted to explain it as social change.

But there is the other approach to a study of the family developed by British anthropologists, that there is a developmental cycle through which the normal family in a society passes. And at different stages in the cycle, the family may take different forms. To cite an Indian case, Dr. M. N. Srinivas has shown, in his paper "A Joint Family Dispute", (Journal of M.S. University of Baroda) that a joint family, on the death of the father, begins to show up its nuclear components of each married brother and his family. Tensions develop, leading to the fission of the joint family into its constituent nuclear families. Each one of these nuclear families in its turn is a potential joint family. As the young sons grow, they stay on after marriage as one family until the authority of the father is removed. Now, if a survey were taken in such an area, we would get at one point of time a certain number of joint families and a certain number of nuclear families. They would actually be at different stages of the developmental cycle, each one of the nuclear families growing towards its fullest development as a joint family. The families cannot therefore be classed as two distinct types.

In Baroda, it is extremely likely that some families are in this state of social circulation while others are changing, or breaking up. Or, subtle changes may be occurring within the regular cycles and processes of the family. We shall attempt a study of the family cycle in Appendix III. At present, we shall see whether there is any relation between the type

of family and occupational change. If there is, we can say that we have before us a situation of social change. If there is not, then we shall have to consider the possibility that it is a situation of social circulation only, although change is not completely ruled out.

Table 74 : The Family and Occupational Change

	Joint	Joint	Nuclear	Nuclear	Total
	1	2	1	2	
1. Unchanged	39 (67.5)	61 (67.4)	15 (46.9)	81 (56.25) (51.6)	196
2. Changing	18 (23.7)	28 (25.3)	11 (34.4)	45 (31.25) (32.8)	102
3. Changed	6 (8.8)	10 (9.3)	6 (18.7)	18 (12.5) (15.6)	42
	63 (100%)	93 (100%)	32 (100%)	144 (100%) (100%)	338

The two types of joint family show a similar pattern of extent of change, with two-thirds unchanged and the rest partially or completely changed. The joint family, therefore, appears to survive occupational change.

The nuclear families show much greater change. Taken together, one-half of them are changing or changed. Of the two types, the propertied nuclear family shows greater change.

It is difficult to say whether it is the fact of being nuclear that makes a family more mobile and able to change, or whether it is the change that brings the nuclear family into existence at the expense of the joint family. But there is a correlation between the two. Not all occupational change causes the joint family to break up. But there is a tendency for occupational change to appear with (whether as cause or effect) the nuclear family. We seem to have here both social circulation and social change, though we cannot assess the relative strength of each.

It is extremely difficult to say whether there is a significance in the income levels of the types of families. There is little reason to suppose that wealth or lack of it has much to do with the existence of the joint family although the kind of wealth and the way it is obtained, that is, the occupation, is highly relevant.

Table 75 : The Family and Occupation.

	Joint A	Joint B	Nuclear C (i)	Nuclear C (ii)	Total
1. Service	23	39	22	93	177
2. Business	20	24	5	35	84
3. Agriculture	15	23	3	17	58
4. Other	6	11	4	14	35
Total	64	97	34	159	354

How a family earns its income has a lot to do with its

structure. A family living by service is more often nuclear than it is joint. Especially it tends to be independent even of property ties with proximate kin groups. In business, joint families occur a little oftener than nuclear families. If a family is nuclear, it is usually of the independent type. If it is joint, it may be almost equally joint in the father's generation as in the student's generation. Agriculture still gives great importance to the joint family which occurs in that occupation about twice as often as the nuclear families.

Agriculture and certain kinds of business tend to reinforce the joint family. Service and other kinds of business tend to keep it nuclear. However, both types are found in all the occupations, the differences being in the nature of marked tendencies rather than absolute.

Table 76 : The Family-in Service

	Joint A	Joint B	Nuclear C(i)	Nuclear C (ii)	Total
1. Upto Rs. 1800	7	10	10	34	61
2. Rs. 1801 to, Rs.3600	7	14	7	29	57
3. Above Rs. 3600	7	7	3	17	34
4. Retired	2	6	1	7	16
5. Unspecified	-	3	1	6	10
Total	23	40	22	93	178

While the nuclear family is the most prevalent type, its

proportion is highest in the category earning less than Rs. 1800. This proportion decreases as the income level rises. In the case of the retired, joint family incidence is greater; it is likely that at that age, the guardian is more likely to be heading a joint family consisting of his married sons.

It is usual to talk of the economic *raisons d'être* of the joint family. But the argument is rarely carried further to cover those economic conditions that do not require or even discourage the development of a joint family. Our present material seems to show that poverty works against the formation of a joint family, just as a large business or landholding and agriculture tends to keep it together. This again brings us to the point whether the joint family has ever been universally prevalent or whether it has not been restricted to those castes who had large landholdings, or, in Gujarat, Sindh and Rajasthan, who had wide business interests.

Table 77 : The Family - in Business.

	Joint A	Joint B	Nuclear C(i)	Nuclear C (ii)	Total
1. Upto Rs. 1800	5	4	-	13	22
2. Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	3	7	1	6	17
3. Rs. 3601 to Rs. 7200	3	9	-	8	20
4. Above Rs. 7200	8	3	4	5	20
5. Unspecified	1	1	-	3	5
Total	20	24	5	35	84

What we found in the service occupations comes out even more markedly in business. There is a direct relation between wealth and the joint family. The poorer the family the greater the chances are of its being nuclear, and vice versa.

If this is true in 1953, we can see how impossible it is to make any definite statement about change in the family structure. If on the one hand, modern education, urbanization, spatial and social mobility, legislation, and so on, are eating into the structure of the joint family, increasing wealth may be keeping it together as in the case of big business, that is, of manufacturing concerns and the like. There are so many forces at work that one can discern no definite trend.

Table 78 : The Family - in Agriculture

	Joint A	Joint B	Nuclear C (i)	Nuclear C (ii)	Total
1. Zamindar	6	8	1	7	22
2. Agriculturist	9	15	2	10	36
Total	15	23	3	17	58

The agriculture group on the whole has a high incidence of joint families. But here once again we find the proportion of nuclear families among those with less than 50 bighas is slightly more than among zamindars. It is too slight to

be made much of, but it certainly acquires a significance in the light of the above discussion, that the joint family goes with wealth.

Table 79 : The Family - in other Occupations

	Joint A	Joint B	Nuclear C (i)	Nuclear C (ii)	Total
1. Artisans	1	3	-	1	5
2. Craftsmen	2	-	-	1	3
3. Traditional (Jyotish, etc.)	-	3	-	5	-
4. Labourer	-	-	-	1	1
Total	3	6	-	8	9

Families following their age-old manual arts and skilled crafts tend to be joint. Our sample is too small to permit of generalisations, but if this tendency appears in our highly selective sample, it is more likely to be true of the castes concerned. The more learned traditional occupations tend to be nuclear. The way in which the skills of these various occupations are handed on and followed may account for the structure of the family.

The next set of tables involving the size of the family reveal more or less the same pattern as does the structure of the family in the different occupations. The higher the level of the occupation, the larger the size of the family.

Table 80 : Size of the Family and Occupation.

	2 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above	Total
1. Service	8	42	57	42	28	177
2. Business	1	10	18	27	30	86
3. Agriculture	-	5	7	9	13	34
4. Others	4	12	11	9	6	42
Total	13	69	93	87	77	339

Families of persons in service tend to be smaller, mainly of six to seven persons. Business families are much larger, and, relatively, agriculture families are even larger. In the latter, over one third have ten or more members.

Table 81 : Size of the Family - in Service

	2 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above	Total
1. Upto Rs. 1800	4	18	24	10	4	60
2. Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	1	12	17	14	14	58
3. Above Rs. 3600	-	7	9	11	6	33
4. Retired	1	2	5	6	2	16
5. Unspecified	2	3	2	1	2	10
Total	8	42	57	42	28	177

On the whole, service families keep to medium size. But there is a fairly clear tendency for families in higher levels of service to be larger. This is also true of retired guardians' families.

Table 82 : Size of the Family - in Business

	2 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above	Total
1. Upto Rs. 1800	1	3	5	11	3	23
2. Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	-	1	4	7	6	18
3. Rs. 3601 to Rs. 7200	-	3	4	5	8	20
4. Above Rs. 7200	-	3	4	3	10	20
5. Unspecified	-	-	1	1	3	5
Total	1	10	18	27	30	86

Business families as a whole tend to be larger. The bigger the earnings of a business family, the larger the family. Half of those earning over Rs. 7200 have families of ten or more members. The proportion of large families for those earning between Rs. 3600 and Rs. 7200 is only a little less.

Table 83 : Size of the Family - in Agriculture.

	2 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above	Total
1. Zamindars	-	2	5	9	6	22
2. Agriculturists	-	5	7	9	13	34
3. Total	-	7	12	18	19	56

Only in the case of families living by agriculture do we find that prosperity does not beget large families. In fact, the zamindar families are smaller than those of cultivators. Here it is obviously the nature of the work, where every extra hand in a cultivator's family is valued, and where land is not indefinitely partible, that families grow to a big size rather into breaking into smaller units.

Table 84 : The Family and Per Capita Income

	Joint A %	Joint B %	Nuclear C (i) %	Nuclear C (ii) %
1. Upto Rs. 500	69	78	44.4	73.9
2. Rs. 501 to Rs.1000	21	13	32.2	15.5
3. Above Rs. 1000	10	9	21.4	10.6
Total	100	100	100.0	100.0

It is interesting to note that the propertied nuclear family C (i) shows much higher per capita income than the other types. We have already seen that this type of family shows up well in the sphere of education, and is changing more widely than the others. The other type of nuclear family shows up less well. In the case of the older joint family, joint in the father's generation, an important criterion is its common property, whereas in the other type it is either divided up or lacking. And this propertied joint family also shows a somewhat higher income grading, though not as great

as in the case of the propertied nuclear family. As this criterion of ownership of property does not directly enter into the above classification, and we get only an indication that it may be more important than jointness or nucleatedness for a family's secular life, in education and occupation, we can arrive at no definite conclusion. The low income per head for younger joint families is accounted for if one remembers that often even a dependent son is married off. This naturally adds more members without a corresponding increase in income. In fact, the dependence, or low earning capacity of young sons may account for their continuing to reside with the parents after marriage.

Table 85 : The Family and Immigration

	Joint A	Joint B	Nuclear C (i)	Nuclear C (ii)	Total
1. Indefinite	17	18	9	39	83
2. Native	1	11	4	14	30
3. Settler A	5	12	5	29	51
4. Settler B	11	14	5	24	54
5. Immigrant	5	14	3	21	43
6. Non-residents	29	35	9	36	109
Total	68	104	35	163	370

Non-resident students of Baroda came mainly from joint families. This accords with our earlier finding that many are the children of agriculturist Patidars.

Among the resident students we find that of the joint families A, and the nuclear families having a share in some joint property, about half have come in since the last twenty-five years. Both these, we have indications, have property. The other two types are not necessarily propertied. Well over one half of these have come within the last twenty-five years. Immigration into Baroda may have more to do with the economic status of a family as shown in its ownership of property, than with its composition.

Table 86 : Size of the Family and Immigration

	2 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above	Total
1. Indefinite	4	9	22	20	28	83
2. Natives	3	6	9	9	3	30
3. Settlers A	4	12	12	15	10	53
4. Settlers B	1	15	17	14	7	54
5. Immigrants	2	8	14	11	7	42
Non-residents	1	23	24	30	31	109
Total	15	73	98	99	86	371

The non-residents show an even increase from the smaller to the larger family though only one has a family of 2 to 3 persons.

The older families tend also to be larger. The more recent the immigration the smaller the family tends to be.

Table 87 : Size of the Family and Per Capita Income*

	2 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above
1. Upto Rs. 500	64.3	65.1	75.4	80.2	71.4
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	28.6	16.7	15.2	13.2	19.5
3. Above Rs.1000	7.1	18.2	9.4	6.6	9.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Given in percentages only.

In a general way, the smaller the family, the higher the per capita income of its members. The families of two and three members are well off, but do not figure as well in the highest brackets as families of four and five.

Of the larger families, the lowest levels are found in the eight to nine group, while families of seven to eight and also of ten and above are a little better placed. These include the traditional zamindars and business houses which are known to be extremely wealthy and which are joint because of sound economic reasons. It may be that wealthier families accrete dependents and that these have turned the scale slightly for the families of ten and more persons in the highest income levels.