

Chapter V

SOCIOGRAPHY OF THE GUJARATI STUDENTS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF BARODA

The Secular Aspects of the Structure

We turn now to the secular aspects of the structure. In the previous chapter, the secular correlates of the traditional structure were analysed. We now talk only of these classes and categories, pure abstractions, and not of communities or groups. Given our background of the groups and communities, we can view the data of this chapter within the perspective of the traditional structure. The main items of discussion will be the guardian's occupation, per capita income, and education, and the relations of these to each other and to other factors.

All along we have got the impression that occupation is in many ways crucial. It is in this sphere only that we find a very definite evidence of social change. In the traditional structure, there is little direct change in taste or family. But we have seen that they do show certain changes under the pressure of secular forces. Castes abandon their age-old occupations, and the family is probably feeling the impact also. These secular forces we may list as modern occupations, higher levels of income, and higher education. Of these three, occupation is the most crucial, for several

reasons. Firstly, the pursuit of an occupation tends to mould the entire life of a person and his family. It shapes to a great extent the material culture of a family, and even very often its mental make-up. The more the learning required for a job the more its practitioner withdraws from manual work, places a high value on education, and, in our Brahmin-dominated society, acquires a considerable status. Where an ancient craft is practised, the skills of the craft and its instruments occupy a central place. Followers of the craft have little use for education and they would restrict themselves to according it a distant respect.

Secondly, there has been in India, in both the rural and urban sectors, a traditional occupation followed by each caste. Each craft is practised by a particular caste. The warriors may come always from one caste. Menial occupations are the monopoly of others. Even agriculture which is considered open to all castes tends to be followed by some one or two castes with whom it is the main and not a subsidiary occupation, and who own most of the land.

Thirdly, because of this, an occupation tends to be followed not because it is lucrative but because either it is traditional or is available and not against the notions of purity and pollution attendant on the caste status of a person. It is dictated by a way of life and in turn dictates a way of life. It may or may not in addition bring in a good income, and will normally be abandoned only under pressure. This means that any change in occupation brings about far-reaching

changes in the entire structure. If a stable occupational system shows fluctuations in income, this is not really change. There is a little more or a little less of the same things. A change in occupation, however, changes the shape of the structure, its alignments, ways of life, and so on. In England, David Glass discusses the entire British class system in terms of occupation.* Although the society being studied at present is not organised on class principles, but consists of a hierarchy of castes each of which forms a distinct named entity which may change but never loses its identity, nevertheless it is liable to economic change. Education may cause changes or even an increase or a decrease in wealth, but both these are effective largely in so far as they affect the pattern of occupations. We have already had occasion to discuss occupation in connection with linguistic groups, caste, the family, and locality. We have also discussed the degree of occupational change and trends of change in these various situations.

We now take up the question of change in connection with the occupations themselves.

Table 88 : Occupation and Occupational Change

| | <u>Unchanged</u> | <u>Changing</u> | <u>Changed</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Service | 82 | 52 | 31 | 165 |
| 2. Business | 49 | 26 | 6 | 81 |
| 3. Agriculture | 46 | 11 | - | 57 |
| 4. Others | 22 | 11 | 5 | 38 |
| Total | 199 | 100 | 42 | 341 |

* See Social Mobility in Britain ed. by D.V.Glass. In one of the more important articles, Glass and Hall discuss inter-generational changes in status in terms of occupation. Earlier, Moser and Hall give the social grading of occupations. Occupations are crucial to the British social structure. Education is relevant in so far as it affects occupation.

Much of the change, we have seen, is in the direction of service. And it is in this category we find the most change. Only one-half of these have always been in service. The other half has only just made a transition from some other occupation to service. This transition is oftener effected by a few of the adult employed in the family and immediate kin (father's brothers), less often, all have changed over from their grandfather's occupation.

The business group is more conservative, recruits fewer from other occupations. Its converts change only partially, some members of a family taking to it rather than all.

Agriculture has even fewer persons coming to it from other occupations. All of these change as individuals, and there is no case of an entire family going over to agriculture.

Table 89 : Occupational Change - in Service.

| | <u>Unchanged</u> | <u>Changing</u> | <u>Changed</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Upto Rs. 1800 | 25 | 22 | 8 | 55 |
| 2. Rs. 1801 to Rs.3600 | 25 | 17 | 12 | 54 |
| 3. Above Rs. 3600 | 19 | 7 | 6 | 32 |
| 4. Retired | 10 | 3 | 3 | 16 |
| 5. Unspecified | 3 | 3 | 2 | 8 |
| Total | 82 | 52 | 31 | 165 |

More change is evident in the two lower categories of service. Many of those who have in the last generation taken to service take up low to medium paid jobs. More of the better-

-paid category are in jobs the way the grandfathers were, though we do not know whether they have advanced on the grandfathers within the sphere of service, or whether the latter also held equally good jobs. The former is more likely.

Table 90 : Occupational Change - in Business.

| | <u>Unchanged</u> | <u>Changing</u> | <u>Changed</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Upto Rs. 1800 | 14 | 7 | 1 | 22 |
| 2. Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600 | 12 | 7 | - | 19 |
| 3. Rs. 3601 to Rs. 7200 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 18 |
| 4. Above Rs. 7200 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 19 |
| 5. Unspecified | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| Total | 49 | 26 | 6 | 81 |

There is a tendency, clearly marked only at the top levels for change to occur at higher more than at lower levels. The attraction to business appears to be the higher earnings. With service there is no such inducement, and as most people come into jobs carrying Rs. 1800 and less, or upto Rs. 3600, one supposes that it is only the prestige of the white collar job that draws them. In business levels with over Rs. 3600, and beyond Rs. 7200, the transition of some families to business is complete, with all members of the family taking to it. Success in business appears to be the explanation for this.

Table 91: Occupational Change - in Agriculture.

| | <u>Unchanged</u> | <u>Changing</u> | <u>Changed</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Zamindar | 18 | 4 | - | 22 |
| 2. Agriculturist | 28 | 7 | - | 35 |
| Total | 46 | 11 | - | 57 |

There is not much change towards agriculture. Such as occurs does not vary much according to the holding of land.

Table 92 : Trends of Occupational Change

| | <u>Service</u> | <u>Busi- ness</u> | <u>Agri- culture</u> | <u>Others</u> | <u>To- tal</u> |
|--|----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1. Agriculture to Service | 36 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 49 |
| 2. Business to Service | 30 | 8 | - | 4 | 42 |
| 3. Traditional occupation to Service | 9 | - | - | 8 | 17 |
| 4. Service to Business | 6 | 7 | - | 1 | 14 |
| 5. Agriculture to Business | 2 | 13 | - | 2 | 17 |
| 6. Traditional occupation to Business | - | 2 | - | 1 | 3 |
| 7. Business to Agriculture | - | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| 8. Service to Agriculture | - | - | - | - | - |
| Total | 83 | 32 | 10 | 19 | 144 |

Those students whose guardians are in service show that where there has been a change in the family, it has been

overwhelmingly from agriculture, business and traditional occupations, to service, and there have been two minor trends, one from service to business, the other from agriculture to business. Some of the change from agriculture to service occurs where the student's own guardian is still in agriculture. A similar situation is found in some of the families showing a change from traditional occupations to service and from service to business. The guardians in these cases are still in the old occupation, while some members have changed.

Movement to business occurs from all occupations, but especially from agriculture.

In the case of agriculture there are few changing over to it. All change occurs from agriculture to service, or to a lesser extent from business to agriculture. Much of the change in other occupations is from traditional occupations to service. The shift is mostly towards service.

Table 93 : Occupation and Per Capita Income

| | Service % | Business % | Agri- culture % | Others % |
|------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| 1. Upto Rs. 500 | 76 | 62 | 62 | 95 |
| 2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 | 17 | 21 | 15 | 5 |
| 3. Above Rs. 1000 | 7 | 17 | 23 | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Service brings in a lower per capita income than either

business or agriculture. The latter two, and especially agriculture show very high returns. We know that our agriculturist families are the largest in size. If the per capita income is so high, some at least of these landowning families must be extremely wealthy.

Table 94 : Occupation and Education of Guardian

| | <u>Illiterate</u> | <u>Literate</u> | <u>English knowing</u> | <u>Educated</u> | <u>Advanced</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. Service | 3 | 34 | 36 | 47 | 51 | 171 |
| 2. Business | 2 | 34 | 24 | 16 | 6 | 82 |
| 3. Agriculture | - | 31 | 15 | 6 | - | 52 |
| 4. Others | 6 | 23 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 42 |
| Total | 11 | 122 | 84 | 72 | 58 | 347 |

Guardians who are in service show a very high level of education, including a large number of graduates. Business makes a small show, most businessmen being merely literate or knowing English, although there are graduates as well. In agriculture however there are no graduates, a few matriculates and the rest are literate in the vernacular and English. The other castes have a fair number of illiterates, but most are just literate.

Table 95 : Education - in Service

| | <u>Illi- terate</u> | <u>Liter- ate</u> | <u>English knowing</u> | <u>Edu- cated</u> | <u>Advanced</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. Upto Rs. 1800 | 2 | 19 | 15 | 21 | 2 | 59 |
| 2. Rs. 1801 to Rs.3600 | - | 9 | 13 | 15 | 17 | 54 |
| 3. Above Rs. 3600 | - | 1 | 2 | 2 | 29 | 34 |
| 4. Retired | 1 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 16 |
| 5. Unspecified | - | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| Total | 3 | 34 | 36 | 47 | 51 | 171 |

Besides the general relation of education to occupation, the level of education corresponds very closely to the level of the occupation. The group earning upto Rs. 1800 ranges mainly from literates to matriculates. Those earning upto Rs.3600 range from literates to graduates, with the more advanced levels showing bigger numbers. In the case of those earning over Rs. 3600, only a handful are not graduates.

Table 96 : Education - in Business

| | <u>Illi- terate</u> | <u>Liter- ate</u> | <u>English knowing</u> | <u>Edu- cated</u> | <u>Ad- vanced</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 1. Upto Rs. 1800 | 2 | 13 | 5 | 4 | - | 24 |
| 2. Rs.1801 to Rs.3600 | - | 8 | 7 | 2 | - | 17 |
| 3. Rs.3601 to Rs.7200 | - | 7 | 5 | 7 | - | 19 |
| 4. Above Rs. 7200 | - | 4 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 19 |
| 5. Unspecified | - | 2 | 1 | - | 1 | 4 |
| Total | 2 | 34 | 24 | 17 | 6 | 83 |

Generally, at all levels, businessmen compare unfavourably with those in service. The only graduates in this occupation are in the level that earns over Rs. 7200. Most of them fall between literate and matriculation. There is a slight difference between lower and upper levels, with literates more prominent below Rs. 1800, literates and English knowing upto Rs. 3600 and literates and matriculates upto Rs. 7200.

Table 97 : Education - in Agriculture

| | <u>Illiterate</u> | <u>Literate</u> | <u>English knowing</u> | <u>Educated</u> | <u>Advanced</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. Zamindars | - | 9 | 8 | 3 | - | 20 |
| 2. Agriculturists | - | 22 | 7 | 3 | - | 32 |
| Total | - | 31 | 15 | 6 | - | 52 |

There are no graduates at all in agriculture. The zamindars show a somewhat better education than the agriculturists.

Table 98 : Education - in Other Occupations

| | <u>Illiterate</u> | <u>Literate</u> | <u>English knowing</u> | <u>Educated</u> | <u>Advanced</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. Artisans | 1 | 2 | 2 | - | - | 5 |
| 2. Craftsmen | - | 3 | 1 | - | - | 4 |
| 3. Traditional Occupation | - | 3 | 2 | 1 | - | 6 |
| 4. Labourer | 3 | 5 | - | - | - | 8 |
| 5. Other | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | 3 |
| 6. Nothing | 1 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 16 |
| Total | 6 | 23 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 42 |

The artisans and craftsmen are only literate in vernacular and English, and the same is true of traditional occupations which touch a slight high in the ^{one}matriculate. Labourers are illiterate or just literate. Those doing nothing are not an ill-educated group, and their unemployment is not due to lack of learning.

Table 99 : Occupation and Educational Status of the Family

| | <u>Illiterate</u> | <u>Literate</u> | <u>Educated</u> | <u>Advanced</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. Service | 2 | 56 | 56 | 36 | 150 |
| 2. Business | 2 | 54 | 17 | 8 | 81 |
| 3. Agriculture | - | 45 | 8 | - | 53 |
| 4. Other | 2 | 33 | 2 | 1 | 38 |
| Total | 6 | 188 | 83 | 45 | 322 |

The educational status of the family is lower than that of the guardians in the case of service. But, like the guardians, service has a generally higher educational level than business and more especially than agriculture. The educational level of the family in business and agriculture coincides with the education of the guardian. This is also the case with the other occupations.

Table 100 : Occupation and Immigration

| | Service | Business | Agri- culture | Others | Total |
|------------------|---------|----------|------------------|--------|-------|
| 1. Indefinite | 34 | 27 | 4 | 16 | 81 |
| 2. Natives | 15 | 8 | - | 6 | 29 |
| 3. Settlers A | 23 | 10 | 2 | 15 | 50 |
| 4. Settlers B | 36 | 8 | 2 | 8 | 54 |
| 5. Immigrants | 24 | 3 | 4 | 12 | 43 |
| 6. Non-residents | 20 | 28 | 46 | 17 | 111 |
| Total | 152 | 84 | 58 | 74 | 368 |

Of those in service, one-third have been here for over twenty-five years. The rest have come in since then, with a peak of immigration in the war period. Over one-fourth of the business group are non-residents of Baroda. Almost as many have been in Baroda indefinitely. The immigrations in this occupation have been relatively less than in the case of service, and they have dwindled away from the earlier years. Most of the students whose guardians are in agriculture are non-residents. Of the rest who are permanent residents, a few are original inhabitants, the rest have trickled in since the pre-war decades. The other castes have a large native core, and have also come in considerable numbers especially before the war, and after Independence.

We return now to a discussion of occupational change in relation to education and income, and its recent history.

Table 101 : Grandfather's Occupation and the Educational Status of the Family.

| | Illiterate | Literate | Educated | Advanced | Total |
|----------------------------|------------|----------|----------|----------|-------|
| 1. Service | 1 | 28 | 31 | 14 | 74 |
| 2. Enlightened Professions | - | - | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| 3. Business | 3 | 54 | 22 | 9 | 88 |
| 4. Agriculture | 1 | 67 | 23 | 12 | 103 |
| 5. Artisans | - | 10 | - | - | 10 |
| 6. Craftsmen | - | 6 | - | - | 6 |
| 7. Traditional Occupation | - | 8 | 1 | - | 9 |
| 8. Other | 2 | 4 | - | - | 6 |
| Total | 7 | 177 | 79 | 40 | 304 |

This table should be seen with Table 99. The categories used are not strictly comparable. More occupations are listed in the case of the grandfathers. These correspond to 'other' occupations of the guardian. Secondly, in the case of the guardian, his occupation is related to his own education; whereas the grandfather's occupation is related to the educational status of the family, in the absence of data on his own education.

As in the case of guardians, service claims the highest education and the levels for business are on the lower side. The grandfathers in agriculture however diverge from the

pattern for guardians. Quite a number of them are graduates.. As none of the guardians in agriculture are graduates, and the proportion of matriculates is less, one can only deduce that the sons of the well-educated in agriculture all took to other occupations. In the case of traditional occupations of all kinds, again the pattern is similar to that for guardians - little or no higher education. From this table we can see that at least in one occupational category, that is, agriculture, education has been responsible for a change.

Table 102 : Occupational Change and the Educational Status of the Family.

| | <u>Unchanged</u> | <u>Changing</u> | <u>Changed</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|---------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Illiterate | 4 | 2 | - | 6 |
| 2. Literate | 106 | 57 | 14 | 177 |
| 3. Educated | 50 | 15 | 18 | 83 |
| 4. Advanced | 19 | 13 | 8 | 40 |
| Total | 179 | 87 | 40 | 306 |

Education appears very clearly as a factor in occupational change. The higher the educational achievements of a family the more likely it is to be either changing or changed. The 'matriculate' family tends to make a more complete transition than the graduates, but more of the latter show some degree of change.

We shall now see whether income contributes to occupa-

-tional change, and try to assess its importance vis-a-vis education as a catalyst. Later we shall see that there is a relationship between income and education, and that neither factor is working in isolation, but that both are interconnected.

Table 103 : Grandfather's Occupation and Per Capita Income*

| | Service % | Business % | Agriculture % | Other % |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------|------------------|------------|
| 1. Upto Rs. 500 | 73 | 74 | 66 | 94 |
| 2. Rs. 501 to Rs.1000 | 19 | 16 | 17 | 3 |
| 3. Above Rs. 1000 | 8 | 10 | 17 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

* Figures given in percentages.

A comparison with Table 93 shows that as far as service and agriculture is concerned, the returns are about the same for both guardians and grandfathers. The only point that differs is that at the highest levels of income, agriculture shows some improvement among guardians. In the case of business however there is a very marked difference. Whereas for the grandfathers in business income levels were hardly better than for service, in the guardian's generation, business is a far more moneyed occupation than the services. This leads us to the conclusion that as higher earnings are now possible in business, this could be one of the inducements to change.

Just as education operated effectively to cause a shift from agriculture, so a higher income may have induced a shift to business. We get more knowledge of the role of income in the particular trends of change. Unfortunately, we do not have information of the exact role of education in trends of change though we have seen it effect a change in agriculture, and we may presume that it has caused the most basic change evident in the occupational structure - from all other occupations to service.

Table 104 : Occupational Change and Per Capita Income

| | Unchanged % | Changing % | Changed % |
|------------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1. Upto Rs. 500 | 72 | 77 | 71 |
| 2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 | 18 | 13 | 14½ |
| 3. Above Rs. 1000 | 10 | 10 | 14½ |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Tables 102 and 104 indicate the quantum of change induced by education and income, and enable us to assess the importance of each.

Whereas we saw that as the levels of education rise there is a greater quantity of change, in the case of income we find that this is not markedly so. In fact, in families that have made a partial transition, the income is a little lower than in unchanged families. Only in those families which

have made a complete transition is there an improvement and this is relatively slight. We do find that income appears to effect some change, especially in business, but it is nothing compared to the change induced by education. Whereas income appears to be significant only in a small number of the richest families, education affects all levels of society.

Although the Gujarati community is Hindu and Brahmanical, we know also that the Brahmin caste is exceeded in numbers by the Banias and Patidars, is equalled by the former in education and is rivalled even in the sphere of ritual by the wide adherence of Banias to Jainism. The urban dominance of Banias is drawn from their commercial wealth. The dominance of Patidars on the other hand arises from their numbers and their agricultural holdings in rural areas; and their entry into lucrative and progressive activities in urban areas (including trips to East Africa to earn dowries for a daughter's marriage). And yet money by itself does not induce even a part of the changes that education brings. The weight given to education appears to derive from Brahmanical values, coinciding with Jain values, and seconded by the modern western-type emphasis on training.

Table 105 : Per Capital Income and Trends of Change*

| | Upto Rs. 500 % | Rs.501 to Rs. 1000 % | Above Rs. 1000 % | Total % |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|------------|
| 1. Agriculture to Service | 65 | 20 | 15 | 100 |
| 2. Business to Service | 82 | 14 | 4 | 100 |
| 3. Traditional Occup.to Service | 94 | 6 | - | 100 |
| 4. Service to Business | 92 | 8 | - | 100 |
| 5. Agriculture to Business | 52 | 24 | 24 | 100 |
| 6. Traditional Occup. to Business | 100 | - | - | 100 |
| 7. Business to Agriculture | 50 | - | 50 | 100 |
| 8. Service to Agriculture | - | - | - | - |

* Figures given in percentages.

There are two possible ways of interpreting Table 105. Firstly, it may be that the changes occur only at certain income levels. Or, it is the change that leads to a higher income level. Table 103 may provide an answer.

Among the grandfathers, agriculture shows higher income levels than either business or service. We may, therefore, take it that the higher income shown for those changing from agriculture to business and service is not a result of change, but was there even in the grandfather's times. Briefly, it is the richer class of agriculturist, also the better educated, that changes. Where they have taken to service, they show no economic gain, and the immediate inducement to change appears to be status rather than financial gain. Those who change to business however show appreciable gains in income. Business does not carry a very high status traditionally.

If we take other changing families, we find that those changing from service to business are worse off than the grandfathers in service. The change is therefore not explained clearly either in terms of income or even of education which must necessarily be depreciated in such a change. Those changing from business to service are also worse off than the grandfathers in business. It is possible that in both these cases it is the poorer levels in an occupational category that seek a change in the hope of better prospects, and do not succeed very well.

There is one more way of looking at the problem of occupational change, and that is to link it with immigrations into

the town over the last twenty-five years.

Table 106 : Grandfather's Occupation and Immigration.

| | Service | Business | Agricul- ture | Other | Total |
|------------------|---------|----------|------------------|-------|-------|
| 1. Indefinite | 20 | 26 | 17 | 8 | 71 |
| 2. Native | 9 | 14 | 2 | 3 | 28 |
| 3. Settlers A | 16 | 11 | 15 | 7 | 49 |
| 4. Settlers B | 23 | 13 | 11 | 2 | 49 |
| 5. Immigrants | 20 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 42 |
| 6. Non-residents | 10 | 29 | 63 | 11 | 113 |
| Total | 98 | 98 | 120 | 36 | 352 |

To take up the non-residents first, more than half the grandfathers were in agriculture, and the rest were in other occupations. More non-resident guardians are in service and other occupations unlike the grandfathers. Business alone is steady for both grandfathers and guardians. The change already noted, away from agriculture, appears to mainly affect non-resident families. And as this change is mostly towards service (Table 92), it is here that we find guardians exceeding grandfathers.

Table 107 : Occupational Change and Immigration

| | Unchanged | Changing | Changed | Total |
|------------------|-----------|----------|---------|-------|
| 1. Indefinite | 38 | 24 | 10 | 72 |
| 2. Native | 11 | 9 | 5 | 25 |
| 3. Settlers A | 22 | 17 | 8 | 47 |
| 4. Settlers B | 29 | 15 | 7 | 51 |
| 5. Immigrants | 25 | 13 | 4 | 42 |
| 6. Non-residents | 76 | 28 | 7 | 111 |
| Total | 201 | 106 | 41 | 348 |

If natives and the indefinite are included together as the oldest inhabitants, we find there is no particular relevance of immigration to change. The old residents are changing just as much as those who came before the war, during the war, and after Independence. Only the non-residents show a difference - they tend to be occupationally conservative, precisely because so many of them are rural.

Table 108 : Trends of Change and Immigration

| | Inde- finite | Native | Set- tlers A | Set- tlers B | Immi- grants | Non- resi- dents | Total |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-------|
| 1. Agriculture to Service | 6 | 2 | 11 | 6 | 9 | 15 | 49 |
| 2. Business to Service | 11 | 8 | 6 | 10 | 2 | 8 | 45 |
| 3. Traditional Occup. to Service | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 19 |
| 4. Service to Business | 5 | - | 1 | 4 | - | 7 | 17 |
| 5. Agriculture to Business | 7 | 2 | 3 | - | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| 6. Traditional Occup. to Business | 2 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 3 |
| 7. Business to Agriculture | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 8. Service to Agriculture | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Total | 34 | 14 | 26 | 23 | 16 | 36 | 149 |

Among non-residents, the major change has been from agriculture and then business to service and from service to business.

Change, we have seen, occurs in all layers regardless of the length of stay in Baroda. Among the oldest inhabitants the big change has been from business to service. Commerce had been the mainstay of Baroda during and after the Muslim period, and is still one of the major occupations of Gujarat. It has one of the most powerful trading castes in India - the Banias.

The other major change has been from agriculture to both business and service. Traditional occupations also change similarly. None however take to agriculture, and very few change from service to business. The typical changes therefore are to be found in this group.

Among pre-war immigrants, most of the change is focussed towards service, but unlike old residents, it is not from business but from agriculture that it came, though it also occurred from business and traditional occupations. Again, unlike old residents, there is very little change towards business.

The wartime immigrants follow the same trends, but in the case of service, the change-over is more from business than from the other occupations. The immigrants after Independence change almost entirely towards service, and mainly from agriculture.

Agriculture loses most in the pre-war period and after Independence. Both business and agriculture lose with the old inhabitants, and in the war period business is the losing occupation. With the ^{old} inhabitants it is a local change. With

other groups, economic conditions in the areas from which immigrants came must provide the answer. This however lies beyond the scope of the present inquiry. As the change lies in the direction of service, it may be that urban expansion created opportunities and thus draw people out of other areas and other occupations. Or that improved facilities for education created a demand for new jobs and consequent changes.

Education appears as a highly significant factor in occupational change. We shall therefore study the effect on education of income and of immigration. We have already seen how it is related to various aspects of the traditional structure - to caste, to locality, and to family, and also to occupation and to change.

We first try to see whether there is any difference between the education of the guardian and that of the family. By family is meant, all father's brothers, and own older brothers.

Table 109 : Education of guardian and the Educational Status of the Family.

| | Illiterate | Literate * | Educated | Advanced | Total |
|-------------------------------|------------|------------|----------|----------|-------|
| 1. Illiterate | 5 | 4 | - | - | 9 |
| 2. Literate (Vernacular) | 2 | 107 | 7 | 1 | 117 |
| 3. Literate (English knowing) | - | 62 | 13 | - | 75 |
| 4. Educated | - | 8 | 53 | 3 | 64 |
| 5. Advanced | - | - | 11 | 37 | 48 |
| Total | 7 | 181 | 84 | 41 | 313 |

* The literate category is split into vernacular and English knowing for guardians, but is one for the educational status of the family.

Among illiterate families, the guardians too are mostly illiterate. But some illiterate guardians belong to literate families. Most of the literate families include a literate or at most English knowing guardian, and only a handful of the guardians are matriculates and thus in advance of their families. Among educated families of matriculate standard, though the majority of guardians conform to this level of education, a fair number are both less educated and more educated than the family. Educationally speaking, this is the most heterogeneous group. Advanced families have guardians mostly with advanced education, that is of graduate level. The literate families on the one hand, and the advanced on the other, tend to have a consistent pattern with regard to the guardian's education. The heterogeneity of the 'educated' group may mean that it is full of persons improving themselves, on the one hand coming up from literate level, on the other rising to graduate level. The literate families keep on producing literates, and the advanced likewise produced advanced. But both link up with the matriculates, and overlap with them at either end.

Table 110 : Guardian's Education and Per Capita Income.*

| | Illi- terate % | Liter- ate % | English knowing % | Educa- ted % | Ad- vanced % |
|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Upto Rs. 500 | 100 | 81 | 76 | 73 | 42 |
| 2. Rs. 501 to Rs.1000 | | 11 | 13 | 24 | 31 |
| 3. Above Rs. 1000 | | 8 | 13 | 3 | 27 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

* Figures given in percentages only.

We have all along accepted education as a potent force for change, with the proviso that income is a related facet of education. This is now very clearly confirmed. A rise in the level of education is followed by a steady rise in income levels. This rise is steepest in the case of the advanced group. There is only a discrepancy in the 'above Rs. 1000' level for the literates have a larger proportion here than the matriculates.

Table 111 : Educational Status of the Family and Per Capita Income.

| | <u>Illiterate</u> | <u>Literate</u> | <u>Educated</u> | <u>Advanced</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. Upto Rs. 500 | 5 | 124 | 57 | 15 | 201 |
| 2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 | - | 18 | 11 | 18 | 47 |
| 3. Above Rs. 1000 | - | 14 | 11 | 10 | 35 |
| Total | 5 | 156 | 79 | 43 | 289 |

Again, income levels rise with education. The 'educated' families, however, show a better number above Rs. 1000 than do guardians. For the rest, the results are the same as for the guardian's education.

Table 112 : Guardian's Education and Immigration

| | Illiterate | Literate | English knowing | Educated | Advanced | Total |
|------------------|------------|----------|-----------------|----------|----------|-------|
| 1. Indefinite | 1 | 22 | 21 | 18 | 17 | 79 |
| 2. Native | 2 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 3 | 30 |
| 3. Settlers A | 3 | 10 | 15 | 13 | 8 | 49 |
| 4. Settlers B | 1 | 14 | 10 | 13 | 8 | 46 |
| 5. Immigrants | 1 | 10 | 8 | 11 | 13 | 43 |
| 6. Non-residents | 4 | 59 | 21 | 13 | 8 | 105 |
| Total | 12 | 124 | 84 | 75 | 57 | 349 |

The non-residents do not show a very high level of education, most of them being literate, although they range from literate to advanced. The old population has a higher proportion of literates than of 'educated' and advanced. In the pre-war period, there were more English-knowing and 'educated' guardians than literate or advanced. During the war again, a less educated element is important. But after Independence, the swing is definitely towards the entry of well-educated persons.

Table 113: Educational Status of the Family and Immigration

| | Illiterate | Literate | Educated | Advanced | Total |
|------------------|------------|----------|----------|----------|-------|
| 1. Indefinite | - | 38 | 21 | 12 | 71 |
| 2. Native | 3 | 15 | 8 | 2 | 28 |
| 3. Settlers A | 2 | 23 | 14 | 5 | 44 |
| 4. Settlers B | - | 20 | 16 | 10 | 46 |
| 5. Immigrants | - | 15 | 15 | 8 | 38 |
| 6. Non-residents | 2 | 80 | 12 | 7 | 101 |
| Total | 7 | 191 | 86 | 44 | 328 |

The families present a similar pattern to that for guardians, except for two points. The lower levels of education in the war period in Table 113 appear to be accidental as the families of those persons show a much better education. Such guardians therefore, have a better background though they are themselves only literate. In the post-Independence era, the high incidence of graduates is also accidental in the same way, for the families are not graded that high. Immigration here may be highly selective, accounting for the many graduates.

The problem of income has come up time and again in relation to various aspects of the structure both traditional and secular. It now remains to see whether the immigrants to Baroda show any special income patterns.

Table 114 : Per Capita Income and Immigration *

| | Upto Rs. 500 % | Rs. 501 to Rs.1000 % | Above Rs. 1000 % | Total % |
|------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|------------|
| 1. Indefinite | 77 | 15 | 8 | 100 |
| 2. Natives | 86 | 10 | 4 | 100 |
| 3. Settlers A | 82 | 9 | 9 | 100 |
| 4. Settlers B | 71 | 25 | 4 | 100 |
| 5. Immigrants | 67 | 14 | 19 | 100 |
| 6. Non-residents | 69 | 17 | 14 | 100 |

* Figures given in percentages only.

The old residents and pre-war immigrants on the whole have a lower per capita income. In the war-time immigrants there is an improvement, with a marked increase in the proportion of those with Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000. The recent immigrants who came out high on the score of education also come out high in income with a fair proportion having over Rs.1000. Non-residents who did not measure up educationally, do however show up well on income.

Table 115 : Per Capita Income and Estimation of Economic Condition *

| | Upto Rs. 500 % | Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 % | Above Rs. 1000 % | Total % |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------|
| 1. Very good | 19 | 12 | 69 | 100 |
| 2. Good | 30 | 40 | 30 | 100 |
| 3. Fair | 81 | 15 | 4 | 100 |
| 4. Average | 95 | 4 | 1 | 100 |
| 5. Poor | 80 | 20 | - | 100 |

* Figures given in percentages only.

Those who consider their condition very good are, 69% of them, in the above Rs. 1000 group. But 19% have within Rs.500 and yet consider their condition very good. At all levels students think their condition good. Most who regard their condition as fair and average, that is, "so-so", are actually within the range of Rs. 500. There is a fairly realistic assessment of lower levels but some of these regard their

condition as good or even very good. This may be due to the limitations of the students' own social perspective, or it may be his generous view of his economic condition.