

Chapter VI

SOCIOGRAPHY OF THE MAHARASHTRIAN STUDENTS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF BARODA

The Traditional Structure

In Chapter III we saw that, aside from the Gujarati community which may be regarded as linguistically dominant in the town, there is a very important minority community of Maharashtrians represented in the high schools. The history of Baroda tells us of the advent of the Marathas and of their settlement to the west of the old city and on the site of the ancient village of Vadapadraka. Census data reveals the existence of a Maharashtrian community that constitutes 18 per cent of the town's population, and shows a caste composition strongly resembling that of Poona. This entire community has therefore been taken up separately for analysis. The data is similar to that for Gujaratis because the questions asked of the students were the same, except that they were worded in Marathi. The plan followed will be the same as for the Gujaratis.

It is in many ways fortunate that there are these two proximate communities for study. It will give us material that is immediately comparable. Although our main task is to give a sociographic analysis of high school students, it is hoped that towards the end we can state some valid

hypotheses about the relation of education to society, especially in India, and about the nature of modern Indian urban society on the basis of such a comparison.

The first point of view from which we study the Maharashtrians will be caste, for reasons already stated. One fourth of the entire sample of 555 students are Maharashtrians - a larger ratio than in the census of 1951 and indicative of their high standards of education. Like the Gujaratis, they have three major castes, but there the resemblance ends. Whereas the Gujarati upper castes appear almost equal to each other on such vital points as education, occupation and income, in relation to other castes, among the Maharashtrians there is no doubt that the Brahmins are the highest and most important caste. The Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhus (C.K.Ps.) have standards that equal those of the Brahmins. But they are disqualified for equality with Brahmins because their diet - including meat and liquor - renders them ritually inferior, and because they are too few in number. The third caste, of Marathas, is a respectable caste because the ruling families of chieftains, including the Gaekwads of Baroda, came from its ranks, and it has strong political traditions. Even in Poona, the Maratha Kshatriyas are a proud caste. But their traditions, though long and hoary, do not include a literary education as with the Brahmins. The result is that, in a Brahmin-dominated society, they are assigned a lower rank, and they do not reflect their numerical dominance in education. In our sample they make

up only 17.3 of the Maharashtrian students compared to 63 per cent Brahmins and 14.4 per cent C.K.Ps. In the total population of Maharashtrians over one half are Marathas, but they are poorly represented in the sample, that is, in the high schools.

Table 113 : Caste and Locality

	City	Rao- pura	Babaji- pura	Wadi	Sayaji- ganj	Misc.	Total
1. Brahmin	2	29	30	14	3	4	82
2. C.K.Ps.	-	2	11	1	-	4	18
3. Maratha	3	2	9	3	-	4	21
4. Others	-	1	1	1	1	-	4
Total	5	34	51	19	4	12	125

Raopura is almost entirely a Brahmin locality. Brahmins also figure prominently in Wadi. They are prominent in Babajipura as well, but C.K.Ps. and Marathas are also congregated here. Each locality where there is a good number of Maharashtrians reproduces the Maharashtrian hierarchy with variations. All castes however avoid the congested and essentially Gujarati city, and modern Sayajiganj. The three localities where they are found are all adjacent to the City, to its west and south-east. The western area was particularly developed during Maratha rule. Sayajiganj, which is a British era locality, has been avoided by Maharashtrians.

Table 114 : Caste and Education

	Illiterate	Literate	English knowing	Educated	Advanced	Total
1. Brahmins	2	10	11	35	25	83
2. C.K.Ps.	-	-	5	7	3	15
3. Marathas	3	5	7	3	5	23
4. Others	-	2	1	-	4	7
Total	5	17	24	45	37	128

The Brahmins emerge very clearly as the highest caste. Education is a fairly good non-ritual index of caste status, and though the Brahmins have their illiterates and mere literates, a solid majority are either matriculates or graduates. In addition to their preponderating numbers in our sample, they also have the highest education. The C.K.Ps. show a more streamlined pattern with all above the English knowing level and no illiterates or vernacular literates, but proportionately there are fewer matriculates and graduates. Marathas show on the whole a lower level of education though they are more heterogeneous. Of other castes, the graduates are mostly Vanis.

Families show a difference from the guardians. There are no illiterate families, only illiterate guardians in the sample - which makes the illiteracy of the guardians almost accidental. Yet, levels of education for families

Table 115 : Caste and Educational Status of Family

	Illi- terate	Literate	Educated	Advanced	Total
1. Brahmins	-	15	40	20	75
2. C.K.Ps.	-	4	9	2	15
3. Marathas	-	7	7	2	16
4. Others	-	3	1	1	5
Total	-	29	57	25	111

are on the whole lower. There are more matriculates, and fewer graduates than among guardians. At the same time, the literates are also fewer. We might say that matriculation is the average education of Brahmins, of C.K.Ps. and to a lesser extent of Marathas, and that the guardians, as individuals, deviate on both sides of this median. Only the handful of other castes have clearly better-educated guardians than families.

Wherever guardians show a lower education than families, they may be regarded as laggards whose children will be expected to attain the family's level. Where they are in advance of the family, they are showing initiative and are progressive elements in the family.

We now turn to an important series of correlations between caste and occupation.

Table 116 : Caste and Occupation

	Service	Business	Agri- culture	Others	Total
1. Brahmins	69	6	2	8	85
2. C.K.Ps.	14	1	-	2	17
3. Marathas	17	-	2	2	21
4. Others	2	1	-	2	5
Total	102	8	4	14	128

Overwhelmingly, every Maharashtrian caste goes in for service. No Maratha takes up business, and very few other castes do, except some Brahmins. For an immigrant urban community agriculture is a very unimportant occupation. Only a few Brahmins and Marathas live by it. The Maharashtrian pattern of occupations offers none of the complexity that one finds among Gujaratis. That this is not due to their situation as a 'foreign' community will be realised by comparing with Dr. Desai's findings in Poona where also they show a remarkably similar pattern. Traditions, even in their modern expressions, die hard.

Table 117 : The Brahmins

	Upto Rs.1800	Rs.1801 to Rs. 3600	Above Rs. 3600	Retired	Total
1. Service	16	18	14	21	69
			Rs.3601 to Rs. 7200	Above Rs. 7200	
2. Business	1	3	1	1	6
		<u>Zamindar</u>	<u>Agriculturist</u>		
3. Agriculture		1	1		2
		<u>Unspecified</u>	<u>Others</u>		
4. Others		5	3		8
Total					85

A very large number in service are retired. The rest are almost equally distributed at all levels, with a slight weight towards medium and lower levels. Of the few in business, most are earning between Rs. 1801 and Rs. 3600 per annum. There are few in agriculture and other occupations.

Table 118 : The C.K.Ps.

	<u>Upto Rs. 1800</u>	<u>Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Above Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Service	8	-	-	6	14
			<u>Rs. 3601 to Rs. 7200</u>	<u>Above Rs. 7200</u>	
2. Business	-	1	-	-	1
		Zamindar		Agriculturist	
3. Agriculture		-		-	-
		<u>Unspecified</u>		<u>Other</u>	
4. Others		2		-	2
Total					17

All the C.K.Ps. in service are either retired or earn below Rs. 1800. The one businessman earns within Rs. 3600.

Table 119 : The Marathas

	<u>Upto Rs. 1800</u>	<u>Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Above Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Service	8	1	3	5	17
			<u>Rs. 3601 to Rs. 7200</u>	<u>Above Rs. 7200</u>	
2. Business	-	-	-	-	-
		<u>Zamindar</u>		<u>Agriculturist</u>	
3. Agriculture		2		-	2
		<u>Unspecified</u>		<u>Other</u>	
4. Others		2		-	2
Total					21

Marathas present a more varied pattern than the other castes. Most white collar workers earn within Rs. 1800, but some reach the higher levels over Rs. 3600. The only type in agriculture are zamindars, probably endowed by Gaekwads. None are in business.

We now come to the important problem of occupational change in relation to caste. Although castes persist, it is this kind of change that affects the system, compelling adjustments to changed economic and social conditions.

Table 120 : Caste and Grandfather's Occupation

	Brahmin	C.K.P.	Maratha	Other	Total
1. Service	49	12	11	2	74
2. Enlightened Professions	6	1	-	-	7
3. Business	4	-	2	-	6
4. Agriculture	8	1	5	1	15
5. Artisans	-	-	-	1	1
6. Craftsmen	-	-	-	1	1
7. Traditional Occupation	7	-	-	-	7
8. Other	2	-	-	-	2
Total	76	14	18	5	113

The grandfathers also are mostly in service or the professions. But both Brahmin and Maratha grandfathers are in agriculture in greater numbers and there is even a C.K.P.

in agriculture. Some Brahmins were following their traditional occupations of astrology, medicine, and so on. Because the members of all the castes except Brahmins are so small, it is difficult to generalise. The Maratha businessmen among grandfathers may be unusual. Or there has been a change by the time of the guardians.

Table 121 : Caste and Occupational Change

	<u>Unchanged</u>	<u>Changing</u>	<u>Changed</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Brahmins	55	14	9	78
2. C.K.Ps.	16	1	1	18
3. Marathas	12	5	2	19
4. Others	2	3	-	5
Total	85	23	12	120

C.K.Ps. show the least change. Proportionately the Marathas show the most change, mostly partial rather than complete. The Maratha change is about the same as that of Gujarati Brahmins who were the most conservative in their group. Maharashtrian Brahmins show less change than any Gujarati caste. The conservatism of all these castes, as well as of the Gujarati Brahmin, is only apparent. In fact, they are already predominantly in service, and it is towards service that the changing castes are moving. One might almost say that the relatively stable castes are stable because they have already arrived. Such change as does occur in the Maharashtrian castes is again towards service.

Table 122 : Caste and Trends of Occupational Change

	Brah- min	C.K.P.	Maratha	Others	To- tal
1. Agriculture to Service	7	1	4	1	13
2. Business to Service	4	-	-	2	6
3. Traditional Occup. to Service	5	-	-	1	6
4. Service to Business	4	1	-	-	5
5. Agriculture to Business	-	-	-	-	-
6. Traditional Occupation to Business	1	-	-	-	1
7. Business to Agriculture	1	-	-	-	1
8. Service to Agriculture	-	-	-	1	1
Total	22	2	4	5	33

Most of the change is towards service from all other occupations, including agriculture. The only other change of note is from service to business. Castewise, Brahmins show all kinds of changes. In fact, the general pattern of change is a Brahmin pattern of change because the other castes hardly enter the picture. The Marathas who do change move in only one way - from agriculture to service. The C.K.Ps. go from agriculture to service and from service to business. Other castes move to service from all other occupations.

Much of the Gujarati movement is from agriculture and business to service, and most of the limited Maharashtra

change is also towards service. It is not surprising, therefore, that Maharashtrian Brahmins and C.K.Ps. show little change. These two castes traditionally work at literate occupations, and are already in service. Marathas in Baroda are probably also in service as neither of their traditional occupations, as warriors and cultivators, is available to them. And yet, the only change they show is from agriculture to service. They are not a rural caste in Baroda, but can be, and a few are, zamindars. That there are so few Marathas in our sample is astonishing. If they live mostly by service, they should be patronising education to a greater extent. If the number of zamindars is quite large, they can well afford higher education. As we do not know what the occupations of the Marathas are in the general population, and the only indications in our material places them as zamindars or in service, an explanation is not possible.

The next item, after education and occupation, by which a caste can affirm its secular status is income.

Table 123: Caste and Per Capita Income

	Brah- mins	C.K.Ps	Mar- athas	Others	Total
1. Upto Rs. 100	4	2	1	-	7
2. Rs. 101 to Rs. 200	12	10	5	2	29
3. Rs. 201 to Rs. 300	11	3	2	-	16
4. Rs. 301 to Rs. 400	9	1	3	-	13
5. Rs. 401 to Rs. 500	11	-	1	1	13
6. Rs. 501 to Rs. 600	11	-	3	-	14
7. Rs. 601 to Rs. 700	2	-	-	-	2
8. Rs. 701 to Rs. 800	2	-	2	1	5
9. Rs. 801 to Rs. 900	2	-	-	-	2
10. Rs. 900 to Rs. 1000	2	-	-	-	2
11. Rs. 1001 to Rs. 1500	7	1	1	-	9
12. Rs. 1501 to Rs. 200	2	-	1	-	3
13. Above Rs. 2000	2	-	1	-	3
Total	77	17	20	4	118

The Brahmins are distributed over all levels of income, with a greater tendency towards lower levels, though a small number are at the very top. Comparatively, C.K.Ps. are an indigent group, for hardly any of them exceed Rs. 400. Marathas again are better off and found at all levels, but their concentration is more in the lower levels.

Table 124 : Caste and Per Capita Income (Compression)

	Brah- min	C.K.Ps.	Mar- athas	Others	Total
1. Upto Rs. 200	16	12	6	2	36
2. Rs. 201 to Rs. 400	20	4	5	-	29
3. Rs. 401 to Rs. 600	22	-	4	1	27
4. Rs. 601 to Rs. 800	14	-	2	1	7
5. Rs. 801 to Rs. 1000	4	-	-	-	4
6. Rs. 1001 to Rs. 1500	7	1	1	-	9
7. Rs. 1501 to Rs. 2000	2	-	1	-	3
8. Above Rs. 2000	2	-	1	-	3
Total	77	17	20	4	118

Brahmins now clearly show their higher levels with rarely 10 per cent having Rs. 1001 to Rs. 1500 per capita income. At the same time, their main concentration is within Rs. 600. C.K.Ps. shrink even more in the lower levels, and most lie within Rs. 200. Marathas maintain a similarity to Brahmins, except that fewer of them are in the highest income levels.

We now give a further compression which omits detail, but throws into sharp relief the income levels within each caste.

Table 125 : Caste and Per Capita Income.*

	Brahmins %	C.K.Ps. %	Marathas %	Others %	Total %
1. Upto Rs. 500	61	94	60	75	100
2. Rs.501 to Rs.1000	25	-	25	25	100
3. Above Rs. 1000	14	6	15	-	100

* Figures given in percentages.

Very clearly ~~now~~ now the Brahmins and Marathas appear as almost identical in their income pattern, while C.K.Ps. are much less wealthy than both these castes. In fact, a rather good percentage of the former castes has over Rs.1000.

Table 126 :

	Brahmins	C.K.Ps.	Marathas	Others	Total
1. Very good	2	-	1	-	3
2. Good	9	1	2	1	13
3. Fair	58	14	12	2	36
4. Average	15	3	6	1	25
5. Poor	1	-	-	1	2
Total	85	18	21	5	129

The C.K.Ps. are much less wealthy than Brahmins and Marathas, but like them most consider their economic condition to be fair. This seems to be a popular term for describing one's economic condition. There are however both Brahmins and Marathas who consider their condition very good or good. No C.K.P. describes himself as poor, and only one Brahmin does so.

Table 127 : Caste and Immigration

	Brahmins	C.K.Ps.	Marathas	Others	Total
1. Indefinite	20	4	7	-	31
2. Natives (over 25 yrs)	18	3	4	-	25
3. Settlers A (25 to 15 yrs)	21	4	4	-	29
4. Settlers B (15 to 7 yrs)	11	1	2	2	16
5. Immigrants (last 6 yrs)	8	2	1	2	13
6. Non-residents	8	4	3	1	16
Total	86	18	21	5	130

Very few Maharashtrians are non-residents of Baroda. At the same time, they do not have as many old residents as Gujaratis. In this respect, Brahmins appear as an older group than the C.K.Ps. The Marathas too are older. But all castes have grown by relatively recent immigration. With Brahmins the high level of immigration of pre-war times is

not maintained. So too with the other major castes. The pre-war decade appears to have brought in a large number of Maharashtrians. The minor castes all appear during and after the war, none are old residents. This lends support to the view that the immigrating Maharashtrians did not bring their own low-castes, but made use of local people. These low castes are fairly well-educated, service-oriented in occupation, like the other castes. Only on the score of income, they appear as a handicapped group compared to the three higher castes.

The next correlation we make is of the family to caste.

The size of the family varies from caste to caste in a significant manner.

Brahmin - 5.4	average size of family		
C.K.P. - 7.0	"	"	"
Maratha - 7.0	"	"	"
Others - 8.0	"	"	"

The Brahmins have the smallest families. This was also the case with the Gujarati Brahmins. The Maharashtrian average is smaller than for the Gujarati Brahmin. C.K.Ps. and Marathas have larger families, approximating to Gujarati Baniyas. Only the handful of other Maharashtrians is anywhere near the size of the Patidar family.

In all castes, nuclear families outnumber the joint. Almost 70 per cent of all families are nuclear; and almost 60 per cent have no property links with other families. As between castes, the C.K.Ps. have a higher proportion of nuclear

Table 128 : Caste and Family

	Joint (father's genera- tion)	Joint (own genera- tion)	Nuclear (joint pro- perty)	Nuclear (no joint property)	Total
1. Brahmins	10	15	11	50	86
2. C.K.Ps.	3	1	-	14	18
3. Marathas	5	4	1	11	21
4. Others	-	2	1	2	5
Total	18	22	13	77	130

families than either Brahmins or Marathas. Over two-fifths of Maratha families are joint. Only about one-fifth of C.K.P. families are joint, although in size their families are as big as Maratha families.. Brahmins, even with their rather smaller families, have more joint families than C.K.Ps. The Maharashtrians differ economically from Gujaratis in one vital respect. They do not live by agriculture except for a very few families. This would be one reason why there are fewer joint families among them. We have seen in Table 75 that there is a close relation between the joint family and -agriculture. The absence of an agriculturist caste among Baroda Maharashtrians may account for the higher proportion of nuclear families. There are some Marathas in agriculture, and we find that they have more joint families relatively than the other castes.

Table 129 : Locality and Occupation

	City	Rao- pura	Babaji- ganj	Wadi	Sayaji- ganj	Others	Total
1. Service	5	27	36	17	3	11	99
2. Business	-	2	3	1	1	1	8
3. Agriculture	-	1	3	-	-	-	4
4. Others	-	3	8	1	-	-	12
Total	5	33	50	19	4	12	123

Raopura and Babajipura have a more heterogeneous occupational composition than other localities, although everywhere most Maharashtrians live by service. In the other localities, including Wadi, they are rarely in other occupations than service. Only in the first two areas are there any agriculturists, including zamindars, and most of the businessmen too are here. The few Maharashtrians in the City, which is the heart of old commercial Baroda, are all in service. The restriction of business to Raopura and Babajipura may be due to the fact that it is followed by persons of the local community to cater to local needs. Indeed, the nature of the business in lower to middle levels, makes this extremely likely. Agriculture also has its seat here. Most of it is of the zamindari type, and endowed families would naturally live in that part of the town where the political locus lay.

Table 130 : The City

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

There is little of note in the above table. Very few Maharashtrians in our sample reside in the City. Only lower levels of service, and no other occupation, are found in City Maharashtrians.

Table 131 : Raopura

	<u>Upto Rs. 1800</u>	<u>Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Above Rs. 3600</u>	<u>Retired</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Service	6	7	1	13	27
			<u>Rs.3601 to Rs. 7200</u>	<u>Above Rs. 7200</u>	
2. Business	-	1	1	-	2
		<u>Zamindar</u>	<u>Agriculturist</u>		
3. Agriculture		1	-		1
		<u>Unspecified</u>	<u>Other</u>		
4. Others		1	2		3
Total					33

Almost half of those in service are retired persons, an astonishingly high proportion. Any community that lives so entirely by service is bound to have a large number of retired persons. Businessmen and agriculturists are never listed as retired even if they do give up active participation in their work and hand it over to sons. Raopura appears to be favoured by these retired pensioners. There are neither petty traders, nor big businessmen and only one person in agriculture - as a zamindar.

Table 132 : Babajipura

	Upto Rs. 1800	Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	Above Rs. 3600	Retired	Total
1. Service	14	7	8	7	36
			Rs. 3601 to Rs. 7200	Above Rs. 7200	
2. Business	1	2	-	-	3
		<u>Zamindar</u>	<u>Agriculturist</u>		
3. Agriculture		2	1		3
		<u>Unspecified</u>	<u>Other</u>		
4. Others		5	3		8
Total					50

In Babajipura, the service occupations are graded higher than in Raopura, and there are fewer retired persons. Business however is graded lower. In agriculture again there

are zamindars - two of them to one cultivator. On the whole, Maharashtrians of Babajipura appear as rather well-placed. Babajipura is the most typically Maharashtrian area of Baroda. This is unlike Raopura which in its eastern parts has a largely Gujarati population. The better-placed Maharashtrian shows his exclusiveness by avoiding non-Maharashtrian areas.

Table 133 : Wadi

	Upto Rs. 1800	Rs.1801 to Rs.3600	Above Rs. 3600	Retired	Total
1. Service	7	1	4	5	17
			Rs.3601 to Rs. 7200	Above Rs. 7200	
2. Business	1		-	-	1
		<u>Zamindar</u>	<u>Agriculturist</u>		
3. Agriculture		-	-		-
		<u>Unspecified</u>	<u>Other</u>		
4. Others		1	-		1
Total					19

Wadi to the Gujaratis is not a very good area. It contains mainly lower types of service and business, and cultivators. Very few big businessmen and zamindars among Gujaratis stay in Wadi. For Maharashtrians however, we find that the levels of service found here are quite good. There

are however none in agriculture, and only one in business. Occupationally, therefore, if both communities are taken into account, Wadi is a heterogeneous locality as far as levels of occupation are concerned, with no one occupation predominant, though Maharashtrians are almost entirely in service. And all levels of service and other occupations are to be found though Gujaratis are a little less well-placed than the Maharashtrians of Wadi.

Table 134 : Sayajiganj

	Upto Rs. 1800	Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	Above Rs. 3600	Retired	Total
1. Service	1	-	2	-	3
			Rs. 3601 to Rs. 7200	Above Rs. 7200	
2. Business	-	1	-	-	1
		<u>Zamindar</u>	<u>Agriculturist</u>		
3. Agriculture		-	-		
		<u>Unspecified</u>	<u>Other</u>		
4. Other		-	-		
Total					4

There are too few Maharashtrians in Sayajiganj to permit of any generalisations. But it is significant that of 3 persons in service, 2 earn over Rs. 3600.

A rather high number of Maharashtrians are in 'other' areas. Unfortunately, details of these were not kept as the

main localities of Baroda had all been included in the classifications made above.

The general indications given by the above tables is that Babajipura is better off than the other areas inhabited by Maharashtrians, though Wadi is a little better in this respect than Raopura. We hope now to see how far this is actually so, in terms of income.

Table 135 : Locality and Per Capita Income.

	City	Rao- pura	Babaji- pura	Wadi	Sayaji- ganj	Others	Total
1. Upto Rs.200	1	7	20	7	-	2	37
2. Rs. 201 to Rs. 400	-	10	10	4	-	5	29
3. Rs. 401 to Rs. 600	3	5	9	4	1	2	24
4. Rs. 601 to Rs. 800	-	1	3	1	1	1	7
5. Rs. 801 to Rs. 1000	-	2	1	-	-	-	3
6. Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1500	-	2	4	2	-	1	9
7. Rs. 1501 to Rs. 2000	1	1	1	-	-	-	3
8. Above Rs. 2000	-	-	1	-	1	1	3
Total	5	28	49	18	3	12	115

Babajipura and Raopura both have good levels of income. Wadi is rather poorer than either of them. On the whole, however, the per capita income levels are pitched lower

than in the case of Gujaratis, largely because the elite of extremely wealthy Gujaratis is absent among Maharashtrians. Compared level by level, Maharashtrians do well until the highest levels are touched. There they make a poor showing. Only Babajipura and Sayajiganj have any one with over Rs.2000. This is unlike the Gujaratis, who are to be found in almost all localities (though more in some than in others) having over Rs. 2000.

Table 136 : Locality and Per Capita Income* (Compressed)

	City	Rao- pura	Babaji- pura	Wadi	Sayaji- ganj	Others
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Upto Rs. 500	60	71	71	72	-	58
2. Rs.501 to Rs. 1000	20	20	17	17	66	25
3. Above Rs. 1000	20	9	12	11	33	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Given in percentages.

Taken in broad categories, there is almost no difference between the three Maharashtrian areas. We may almost say that such an income pyramid, with about three-fourths drawing within Rs. 500, the rest shading off to the higher levels, is characteristic of all Maharashtrian localities. None of the Gujarati localities show such a steady pattern. In fact each Gujarati area (Table 70) has a different pattern

from the other. The greater variety of occupations may account for the unevenness of Gujaratis. Conversely, the absence of both business and agriculture and the overwhelming pursuit of service by Maharashtrians accounts for their very constant pattern. Only in the detail do Maharashtrian localities show differences from each other (Table 135).

Table 137 : Locality and Immigration

	City	Rao- pura	Babaji- pura	Wadi	Sayaji- ganj	Others	Total
1. Indefinite	2	10	15	2	-	2	31
2. Natives	4	8	5	4	1	3	25
3. Settlers A	2	8	12	2	1	3	28
4. Settlers B	-	2	7	3	-	3	15
5. Immigrants	1	1	7	2	1	1	13
6. Non-residents	-	5	6	2	1	-	14
Total	9	34	52	15	4	12	126

Babajipura and Raopura have an older Maharashtrian population than other localities. In both areas, the immigration has fallen off from pre-war times although Babajipura has as many recent immigrants as wartime immigrants. Wadi and other areas show no consistent pattern of immigration. They seem to have come in all the time.

We now turn to a consideration of the family. We are once again dealing with a functioning social entity; unlike

locality which by itself provides no basis for social organisation and only enters in as an existing dimension of social groups in a caste society.

Table 138 : The Family

	Joint (father's genera- tion)	Joint (own genera- tion)	Nuclear (joint property)	Nuclear (no joint property)	Total
1. 2 members	-	-	-	1	1
2. 3 "	-	-	1	10	11
3. 4 "	-	1	1	10	12
4. 5 "	3	2	3	10	18
5. 6 "	1	1	4	13	19
6. 7 "	3	-	3	11	17
7. 8 "	1	6	-	10	17
8. 9 "	3	3	-	5	11
9. 10 and above	7	9	-	7	23
Total	18	22	12	77	129

As in the case of Gujaratis, joint families are larger than nuclear families. Families joint in the father's generation are a little larger than families joint in the student's own generation. The nuclear families of Maharashtrians tend to be smaller than Gujaratis. We have already seen that the average size of families in all Maharashtrian castes is smaller than among Gujarati castes.

Table 139 : The Family and its Education

	Joint (father's genera- tion)	Joint (own genera- tion)	Nuclear (joint property)	Nuclear (no joint pro- perty)	Total
1. Illiterate	-	-	-	1	1
2. Literate	3	7	1	18	29
3. Educated	8	9	7	33	57
4. Advanced	3	5	5	13	26
Total	14	21	13	65	113

There is only one literate family, and it is nuclear. Roughly one third of all the other families are joint. Among matriculates, the older joint family, of the father's generation, is more in evidence than among literates or graduates. Otherwise there appears to be no difference in family type according to the education of its members. The less educated family is as likely or unlikely to be joint as the more educated family.

Both service and business are associated with nuclear families. Two-thirds are nuclear, and one-third joint in both occupations. In business there are no old and established joint families as we find among the Gujaratis with their commercial traditions. They are joint only in the student's generation. In service, however, both types of joint families

Table 140 : The Family and Guardian's Occupation

	Joint (father's genera- tion)	Joint (own gene- ration)	Nuclear (joint pro- perty)	Nuclear (no joint pro- perty)	Total
1. Service	15	16	9	63	103
2. Business	-	3	2	4	9
3. Agriculture	2	1	-	-	3
4. Other	1	2	1	5	9
Total	18	22	12	72	124

occur. There is a small but extremely significant relation between agriculture and jointness of family.

Table 141 : The Family - in Service

	Joint (fath- er's genera- tion)	Joint (own genera- tion)	Nuclear (joint property)	Nuclear (No joint prop- erty)	Total
1. Upto Rs. 1800	3	6	1	22	32
2. Rs.1801 to Rs. 3600	3	2	4	11	20
3. Above Rs. 3600	5	3	1	9	18
4. Retired	1	5	2	19	27
5. Unspecified	3	-	1	2	6
Total	15	16	9	63	103

Joint families of the older type are quite frequent in the top levels of service. Younger joint families, which we have described as an extension of the nuclear family, are common in the lowest levels, and also among the retired. There may be an economic reason behind these differences. In the poorer family, the tendency to split may be greater, so that for some time married sons stay on with the parents, but the family never grows old that way. The prevalence of older joint families among the better levels may be due to the greater economic capacity to maintain a larger family. The occupation is here a constant factor, so that being in service does not by itself account for the fission of the family.

Among retired guardians, it is easy to see that they will, due to economic and social reasons, reside with one or other of the married sons rather than live alone. This ^{not} may/be a fullfledged joint family as some sons may be living separately.

The other occupations will not be discussed, as the numbers following them are too small.

Table 142 : The Family and Occupational Change

	Joint (father's genera- tion)	Joint (own gene- ration)	Nuclear (Joint pro- perty)	Nuclear (No joint pro- perty)	Total
1. Unchanged	12	13	8	52	85
2. Changing	3	4	4	12	23
3. Changed	2	3	-	8	13
Total	17	20	12	72	121

All types of families show more or less the same amount of change. We cannot say that nuclear families show more change than joint families. They are all equally conservative.

Table 143 : Size of the Family and Occupation

	2 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above	Total
1. Service	10	23	34	26	12	105
2. Business	-	2	2	-	6	10
3. Agriculture	-	1	-	1	2	4
4. Others	1	3	1	1	2	8
Total	11	29	37	28	22	127

Service families are of all sizes but most consist of 6 to 7 members. Business families and agriculturist families are much larger in size.

Table 144 : Size of the Family - in Service

	2 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above	Total
1. Upto 1800	5	5	7	15	1	33
2. Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600	2	2	10	3	3	20
3. Above Rs.3600	-	5	6	2	5	18
4. Retired	3	10	8	5	2	28
5. Unspecified	-	1	3	1	1	6
Total	10	23	34	26	12	105

The middle group, with Rs. 1801 to Rs. 3600, has mostly medium-sized families of 6 to 7 persons. Those with less

have larger families, mostly 8 to 9, but almost none with 10 or more. The higher levels also have larger families, with a fair number consisting of 10 or more persons, and they have none with only 2 or 3 persons. Families of retired guardians are on the smaller side.

We have here a clue to the smaller size of the average family among Maharashtrians. The retired guardian heads a smaller family than any guardians still in full service, and even than retired persons among Gujaratis. By the time he retires a person normally has some of his children employed and married. If they leave, while only younger children still stay on, it is natural that the family should register a smaller size than one expects in a middleclass Hindu home. Apparently such fission at an early stage occurs among Maharashtrians, bringing down the size of the family for the entire group in service as the number of retired guardians is large. The size of the family is smaller for the entire community as its major occupation is service and the proportion of the retired is large in the community at large.

Table 145 : 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	-	-	1	2
2. Rs.1801 to Rs.3600	-	1	2	-	2	5
3. Rs. 3601 to Rs.7200	-	-	-	-	1	1
4. Above Rs. 7200	-	-	-	-	1	1
5. Unspecified	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	-	2	2	-	6	10

The smaller families are in petty trade and minor businesses. In medium and big business there are only the '10 and more' families. Big families are also found at lower business levels.

In agriculture, both zamindars and cultivators have large families.

Table 146 : The Family and Per Capita Income.*

	Joint (father's genera- tion) %	Joint (own gene- ration) %	Nuclear (Joint property) %	Nuclear (No jt. pro- perty) %	Total
1. Upto Rs. 500	57	81	46	68	
2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	36	9½	18	21	
3. Above Rs. 1000	7	9½	36	11	
Total	100	100	100	100	

Nuclear families having some share in joint property and therefore undoubtedly of some economic standing, have the highest income levels. They show better standards than any of the Gujarati families (Table 84). Next best are the older joint family and the independent nuclear family. A strong bond of union of a joint family consisting of grandfather, father and sons is common property. Most of the joint families of this type in our sample do have property (Table 28). The joint family which spans only two generations of adults, consisting of the student's married

brothers, shares in no other property and may or may not have its own property. This type among Maharashtrians is the poorest. Among this type are several families headed by a retired person.

Table 147 : The Family and Immigration

	Joint (father's genera- tion)	Joint (Own genera- tion)	Nuclear (Joint pro- perty)	Nuclear (No jt. pro- perty)	Total
1. Indefinite	6	4	3	19	32
2. Natives	1	6	2	15	24
3. Settlers A	5	5	-	19	29
4. Settlers B	1	3	3	9	16
5. Immigrants	-	1	3	9	13
6. Non-residents	5	3	2	6	16
Total	18	22	13	77	130

Broadly speaking, the older families are oftener joint than the recent entrants. The native families and pre-war immigrants have a fair number of joint families. Subsequent immigrants tend to be nuclear, and of the 13 families who have entered Baroda after Independence, only one is joint.

Table 148 : Size of the Family and Immigration

	1 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above	Total
1. Indefinite	5	6	9	7	5	32
2. Natives	3	7	7	6	2	25
3. Settlers A	1	7	12	4	4	28
4. Settlers B	1	4	4	3	4	16
5. Immigrants	2	5	4	2	-	13
6. Non-residents	-	1	1	6	7	15
Total	12	30	37	28	22	129

The size of the family in each subsequent period diminishes. The old families are larger, the families entering in the pre-war period show some decrease in size. Wartime families break the trend and all sizes enter, but after Independence again, the families are yet smaller, and not one family of over 10 persons has immigrated in that period.

Table 149 : Size of the Family and Per Capita Income.*

	2 to 3	4 to 5	6 to 7	8 to 9	10 and above
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Up to Rs. 500	58	54	73	81	63
2. Rs.501 to Rs.1000	25	21	18	15	26
3. Above Rs. 1000	17	25	9	4	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100

* Figures given in percentages.

The larger the family, the lower the per capita income, and vice versa, except in the case of the very largest families of 10 or more persons which show an improvement. Families with 6 to 9 persons are the poorest. Families of 2 to 5 are better-off, probably because there are fewer to share the family income. The larger families naturally get less income per head. It is probable that only the better-off family can safely expand to the size of 10 or more. Hence the better income levels of families of 10 and more members, as compared to families of 6 to 9 members.

Viewing Maharashtrian society as a whole, and comparing it to the Gujaratis, we find that its entire structure is much simpler, both in traditional features and secular aspects. Whereas the Gujaratis are dominated by three powerful castes, presumably in competition with each other, the Maharashtrians have a clear, simple, and unchallenged hierarchy of castes. This is the main structural difference. Their concentration into a small number of localities is partly due to their small numbers, but it may also be an indication of their cohesiveness. However, too much cannot be read into this factor, because it may be due not to choice but to the force of historical circumstance.

The impression of homogeneity is reinforced by an examination of the most vital aspect of secular life - occupation. This community goes in overwhelmingly for service, and this seems to dictate a certain broad uniformity in education, types of families and so on. This is in marked contrast

to Gujaratis who are caught in a tide of change that is leading them away from agriculture to service and business, and also from business into service. The former trend is amenable to an economic explanation - pressure on the land, fragmentation of holdings and so on. The latter does not involve either a shift in residence - both are essentially urban occupations.- nor does it lead to any conspicuous economic gain. The only explanation we can give of our data is that the spread of education has a lot to do with occupational change. The clerk does not earn more than a small shopkeeper; but because he is educated, it is considered both proper and prestigious for him to be in an occupation requiring the arts of literacy. This is a value common to most parts of India. But among Gujaratis it is only now, with the spread of modern education, that a change in this direction is actually and actively occurring.

The Maharashtrians have always been dominated by this value through its Brahminical dispensers, and are oriented so strongly towards education and white collar occupations already that they show no change. We cannot exactly call them more advanced, if we are objective. And yet they show an occupational pattern, a fairly stable one, towards which the Gujaratis are only now moving.