## MAHARASHTRIAN STUDENTS IN THE
## HIGH SCHOOLS OF BARODA.

### The Secular Aspects of the Structure

Occupation, education and income emerge as a constellation of secular, or modern, socio-economic factors, which work within the traditional structure, and change it. The traditional structure, as defined here, is the structure of groups: the linguistic groups, castes within linguistic groups, and families within castes. There is no crystallisation of groups around occupation, education and income, neither among Gujaratis nor among Maharashtrians. We might describe these as classes and categories into which individuals can be arranged for the purposes of social analysis, but which lack almost entirely any kind of common consciousness. In an unstructured society, the only level at which social study is possible is classes and categories and groups, which exist in an unstructured and more fluid form. In a structured society, they become secondary objects of study, not because they are socially (or sociologically) unimportant, but because they do not explain the total reality.

In Hindu society, the groups are relatively permanent, and make up a well-defined structure. Classes and categories can only be abstractions for they may enter into the structural hierarchy, but they do not form the basis of this struc-

ture. The factors, or forces, that affect these permanent, or, as they have been called in the present study, the traditional groups, may be studied in the form of classes and categories. Although they are vital for the understanding of the traditional hierarchy, especially in its modern form, they have little meaning outside of this traditional hierarchy.

In the present chapter, we once again take up these socio-economic factors. We have already studied them in relation to the traditional structure of the Maharashtrians. We shall now try to find out whether by themselves they have any effect on each other and on society as a whole and as factors in social change.

Our first group of tables is concerned with occupation and occupational change.

Table 150 : Occupation and Occupational Change.

|  | Unchanged | Changing | Changed | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Service | 75 | 10 | 12 | 97 |
| 2. Business | 2 | 8 | - | 10 |
| 3. Agriculture | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| 4. Other | 5 | 2 | - | 7 |
| Total | 84 | 22 | 12 | 118 |

There is not much evidence of change among Maharashtrians. In the service category, the change is greatest, representing a partial or complete changeover to service. There is a little

change in the business families, a minor trend of change from other occupations to business. The change in other occupations is negligible. As the mainstream of change has occurred in a general movement towards white-collar jobs, the Maharashtrians, who already predominate in these jobs, naturally show little change. Even the little change they show takes them over more completely into service.

We shall take up only service and business for more detailed consideration.

Table 151: Occupational Change - in Service.

|  | Unchanged | Changing | Changed | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Upto Rs. 1800 | 24 | 4 | - | 28 |
| 2. Rs. 1801 to Rs.3600 | 13 | 3 | 3 | 19 |
| 3. Above Rs. 3600 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 17 |
| 4. Retired | 18 | 2 | 7 | 27 |
| 5. Unspecified | 6 | - | - | 6 |
| Total | 75 | 10 | 12 | 97 |

There has been more changeover to better paid jobs than to small jobs. The greatest change is registered for retired persons. Whether this means that the Maharashtrians went through a period of change about three to four decades ago can only be checked by studying the relation of occupational change to the grandfather's occupation.[*]

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[*] This correlation was not asked for at the time, and could not be had later.

Table 152 : Occupational Change - in Business

|  | Unchanged | Changing | Changed | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Upto Rs. 1800 | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| 2. Rs. 1801 to Rs.3600 | 1 | 4 | - | 5 |
| 3. Rs.3601 to Rs.7200 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| 4. Above Rs. 7200 | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| 5. Unspecified | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Total | 2 | 8 | - | 10 |

In the case of guardians who have taken to business, the change is neither numerous nor complete where it occurs. There is no case of an entire family changing over to business. On the other hand, hardly any family has been always in business. As the only kind of families in business are those who have partially changed to it we may take it as a very minor, and perhaps modern trend. Very clearly, business is not a popular Maharashtrian occupation, and it has been only recently taken up. Only two families have been and still are, in business.

Guardians in service come from agriculture, and/to a lesser extent from business and traditional occupations. It is a very clear trend in their case towards service. Guardians in business, however, come from occupationally heterogeneous families. Though over half have made a simple change from service to business, the rest come from families who are changing from business to agriculture, from traditional occupation

Table 153: Occupation and Trends of Change.

|  | Service | Business | Agriculture | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Agriculture to Service | 10 | 2 | 1 | – | 13 |
| 2. Business to Service | 5 | – | – | – | 5 |
| 3. Traditional Occup. to Service | 5 | – | – | 1 | 6 |
| 4. Service to Business | – | 5 | – | – | 5 |
| 5. Agriculture to Business | – | – | – | – | – |
| 6. Traditional Occup. to Business | – | 1 | – | – | 1 |
| 7. Business to Agriculture | – | 1 | – | – | 1 |
| 8. Service to Agriculture | – | – | 1 | – | 1 |
| Total | 20 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 52 |

to business and even from agriculture to service. More than
a trend, therefore, it appears that taking to business is a
circumstantial decision of individuals. In the case of
guardians in agriculture, the change is in both directions
between service and agriculture.

Table 153 : Occupation and Per Capita Income*

|  | Service | Business | Agriculture | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Upto Rs. 500 | 67 | 66 2/3 | 100 | 87 |
| 2. Rs. 501 to Rs.1000 | 23 | 33 1/3 | – | 13 |
| 3. Above Rs. 1000 | 10 | – | – | – |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

* Figures given in percentages.

Service shows good levels of income. Business, however, is indifferent, and there is no wealth here as we find among Gujarati businessmen. White collar jobs bring in more than business. Regarding agriculture, in spite of a few zamindars, the income per head never exceeds Rs. 500. 'Other' occupations are only a little better than agriculture.

Table 154 : Occupation and Education

|  | Illiterate | Literate | English knowing | Educated | Advanced | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Service | 2 | 8 | 19 | 36 | 32 | 97 |
| 2. Business | 1 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 11 |
| 3. Agriculture | - | 2 | 1 | 1 | - | 4 |
| 4. Other | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | - | 7 |
| Total | 4 | 15 | 23 | 44 | 33 | 119 |

The more educated a guardian, the more he tends to be in service. The less educated he is, the more the chances are that he will be in business or agriculture or some other occupation. The graduates are almost invariably in service.

Table 155: Education - in Service

|  | Illiterate | Literate | English knowing | Educated | Advanced | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Upto Rs.1800 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 13 | 5 | 30 |
| 2. Rs.1801 to Rs.3600 | - | - | 2 | 10 | 8 | 20 |
| 3. Above Rs.3600 | - | - | 1 | 3 | 13 | 17 |
| 4. Retired | 1 | 4 | 9 | 10 | 4 | 28 |
| 5. Others | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Total | 2 | 8 | 19 | 37 | 32 | 98 |

There is a close relation between the education of the guardian and the type of job he holds. Better education gets the better job. There are graduates, however, earning within Rs. 150 a month, and the proportion of these is a little higher than in the case of Gujaratis. This may be due to a greater diffusion of higher education among Maharashtrians.

Table 156 : Education - in Business

|  | Illiterate | Literate | English knowing | Educated | Advanced | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Upto Rs. 1800 | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 2 |
| 2. Rs.1801 to Rs. 3600 | - | 1 | - | 4 | - | 5 |
| 3. Rs. 3601 to Rs. 7200 | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| 4. Above Rs.7200 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| 5. Unspecified | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | 2 |
| Total | 1 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 11 |

In business, like service, there is a relation between education and the occupational grade, and the better-educated run more prosperous businesses.

There are too few persons in agriculture and other occupations to give any significant relationship with education.

There are no illiterate families. In the case of families, as with guardians, the higher the educational status, the greater the concentration in service. Business also has

Table 157 : Occupation and Educational Status of Family.

|  | Illi-terate | Literate | Educated | Advanced | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Service | - | 19 | 47 | 23 | 89 |
| 2. Business | - | 2 | 5 | 3 | 10 |
| 3. Agriculture | - | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| 4. Others | - | 5 | 3 | - | 8 |
| Total | - | 28 | 56 | 26 | 110 |

some adherence from the educated, but in agriculture, education does not count much.

Table 158 : Occupation and Immigration

|  | Service | Business | Agri-culture | Others | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Indefinite | 26 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 30 |
| 2. Natives | 22 | - | - | 3 | 25 |
| 3. Settlers A | 24 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 29 |
| 4. Settlers B | 11 | 4 | - | 1 | 16 |
| 5. Immigrants | 9 | 1 | - | 2 | 12 |
| 6. Non-residents | 9 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 16 |
| Total | 101 | 11 | 4 | 12 | 128 |

The older inhabitants are almost entirely in service. Immigrants of upto 15 years standing and non-residents show a greater diversification in occupation in so far as they

have more businessmen. Wartime immigrants show a very good proportion of businessmen. Though the actual numbers are small, it may be significant that half of those who live by agriculture are non-resident students.

Occupational change, we have reason to believe from our data, is induced by education. We saw that there seemed to be a very close relation between them in all the Gujarati-castes. We shall now see how far it is true of Maharashtrians.

Table 159 : Grandfather's Occupation and Educational Status of the Family.

|  | Illi-terate | Literate | Educated | Advanced | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Service | - | 15 | 33 | 17 | 65 |
| 2. Enlightened Professions | - | - | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| 3. Business | - | 4 | 2 | - | 6 |
| 4. Agriculture | 1 | 4 | 9 | - | 14 |
| 5. Artisans | - | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| 6. Craftsmen | - | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| 7. Traditional Occupation | - | 1 | 4 | 1 | 6 |
| 8. Other | - | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Total | 1 | 27 | 51 | 23 | 102 |

There is a close relation between the grandfather's occupation and the family's educational level. Where the grandfathers were in service, the levels of education are

highest, especially where they were in enlightened profes-
sions. They are much lower for grandfathers in business. Where
the occupation is agriculture - and a fairly large number of
grandfathers were in agriculture, more than in any other
occupation except service - the educational levels are better
than for business, but both occupations claim no graduates.

Table 160 : Occupational Change and Educational Status of
            Family

|  | Unchanged | Changing | Changed | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Illiterate | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| 2. Literate | 16 | 8 | 3 | 27 |
| 3. Educated | 38 | 11 | 7 | 56 |
| 4. Advanced | 22 | 1 | 1 | 24 |
| Total | 76 | 20 | 12 | 108 |

The 'graduate' families show little change. As we know
that most of them are in service, we can say that here edu-
cation merely maintains an existing position rather than
brings about any change. It indicates a long tradition of
high education and white collar jobs. In the case of matri-
culates there is much greater change, as also with literates.
There is apparently greater fluidity in occupation in the
lower educational categories.

Table 161: Grandfather's Occupation and Per Capita Income.*

| | Upto Rs. 500 % | Rs.501 to Rs.1000 % | Above Rs. 1000 % | Total % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Service | 66 | 20 | 14 | 100 |
| 2. Englightened Professions | 50 | 17 | 33 | 100 |
| 3. Business | 83 | 17 | - | 100 |
| 4. Agriculture | 64 | 29 | 7 | 100 |
| 5. Artisans | - | - | - | - |
| 6. Craftsmen | 100 | - | - | 100 |
| 7. Traditional Occupation | 72 | 14 | 14 | 100 |
| 8. Other | 50 | 50 | - | 100 |

* Figures given in percentages.

Service, and the enlightened professions in particular, show higher income levels. Where grandfathers were in agriculture also the income levels are good. But families where the grandfather followed traditional occupations or business have lower per capita incomes.

Table 162 : Occupational Change and Per Capita Income.*

| | Unchanged % | Changing % | Changed % |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Upto Rs. 500 | 65 | 76 | 58 |
| 2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 | 21 | 24 | 25 |
| 3. Above Rs. 1000 | 14 | - | 17 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

* Figures given in percentages.

Families that have made a full change have somewhat
better income per head. Those showing only a partial change
have the lowest levels. We do not have a statistical corre-
lation of degree of change and direction of change. It is
likely that the partially changed families ('changing' is a
word used for convenience, does not necessarily mean an on-
going process) are the ones who have, so to say, drifted from
the mainstream of change over to service, and are making minor
'circumstantial' changes to business or even agriculture.

Table 163 : Trends of Change and Per Capita Income

|  | Upto Rs.500 % | Rs.501 to Rs.1000 % | Above Rs.1000 % | Total % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Agriculture to Service | 61 | 31 | 8 | 100 |
| 2. Business to Service | 83 | 17 | - | 100 |
| 3. Traditional occupation to service | 56 | 17 | 17 | 100 |
| 4. Service to Business | 75 | 25 | - | 100 |
| 5. Agriculture to Business | - | - | - | - |
| 6. Traditional Occupation to Business | 100 | - | - | 100 |
| 7. Business to Agriculture | - | - | - | - |
| 8. Service to Agriculture | 100 | - | - | 100 |

Only in the case of traditional occupations and agricul-
ture does a change to service bring a high per capita income.
Other changes occur within lower levels.

Table 164 : Grandfather's Occupation and Immigration

| | Service | Enlightened Professions | Business | Agriculture | Artisans | Craftsmen | Tradi. occup. | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Indefinite | 21 | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | 1 | 1 | 26 |
| 2. Natives | 15 | - | 2 | 1 | - | - | 2 | 1 | 21 |
| 3. Settlers A | 17 | 3 | 1 | 3 | - | - | 2 | - | 26 |
| 4. Settlers B | 6 | 1 | 2 | 4 | - | - | - | - | 13 |
| 5. Immigrants | 8 | 2 | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | 12 |
| 6. Non-residents | 7 | 1 | - | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 15 |
| Total | 74 | 7 | 6 | 15 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 113 |

Among old residents, it is interesting to note that no grandfathers were in enlightened professions, though there are some among the incoming families. A better class of persons, occupationally speaking, has come in later. There are businessmen and agriculturists both among native inhabitants and immigrants, except those who have come in about 6 years prior to the enquiry. The most recent immigrants are almost all descended from grandfathers in service.

A comparison with Table 158 shows that the major change has been from agriculture, and it has taken place between the father's and the grandfather's generation.

Table 165 : Occupational change and Immigration

|   | Unchanged | Changing | Changed | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Indefinite | 25 | 3 | 1 | 29 |
| 2. Natives | 16 | 2 | 4 | 22 |
| 3. Settlers A | 20 | 3 | 4 | 27 |
| 4. Settlers B | 6 | 8 | 1 | 15 |
| 5. Immigrants | 9 | 2 | 1 | 12 |
| 6. Non-residents | 10 | 5 | 1 | 16 |
| Total | 86 | 23 | 12 | 121 |

Wartime immigrants show the most change, but they change only partially, as we have already seen, to business. More complet changes have occurred among the older residents and those who come in the decade before the war. This corroborates in part the findings in Table 151, where the most complete changes were found to have occurred in the case of guardians who had retired. Our present table puts these changes to over 15 years ago, and upto and beyond 25 years as well.

Table 166 : Trends of Change and Immigration

|   | Inde-finite | Natives | Settlers A | Settlers B | Immi-grants | Non-resi-dents | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Agriculture to Service | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 | – | 4 | 13 |
| 2. Business to Service | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | – | – | 6 |
| 3. Traditional Occup. to Service | – | 2 | 2 | – | 2 | – | 6 |
| 4. Service to Business | 1 | – | – | 3 | 1 | – | 5 |
| 5. Agric. to Business | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 6. Traditional Occup. to Business | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| 7. Business to Agric. | – | – | 1 | – | – | – | 1 |
| 8. Service to Agric. | – | – | 1 | – | – | – | 1 |
| Total | 3 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 33 |

The change from agriculture to service has occurred mostly during and before the war, causing immigration from rural areas. The change from traditional occupations has not occurred during the war, but to a great extent before the war, and to some extent after it. Changes from business to service occur up to the war only, while the reverse shift, service to business, is a relatively recent phenomenon.

The occupational pattern of the Maharashtrians is one of great stability. Service occupations form its core, and such changes as occur are mainly towards this core. Education and income are both related to occupation, but, in the absence of occupational differentiation, these relations do not stand out as sharply as in the case of Gujaratis.

Table 167 : Education of Guardian and Educational Status of Family.

|  | Illiterate | Literate | English knowing | Educated | Advanced | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Illiterate | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| 2. Literate | 1 | 11 | 16 | 1 | - | 29 |
| 3. Educated | - | 1 | 3 | 39 | 11 | 54 |
| 4. Advanced | - | 1 | 3 | 1 | 20 | 25 |
| Total | 2 | 13 | 22 | 41 | 31 | 109 |

If English-knowing guardians are included with literates, we can say that with/few exceptions the education of the a guardian coincides with the education of the family. An important exception is the large number of graduates from matriculate families. The only area in which educational

progress is apparent is at this level.

Table 168 : Education and Per Capita Income.*

| | | Illiterate % | Literate % | English knowing % | Educated % | Advanced % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Upto Rs. 500 | 100 | 93 | 74 | 74 | 40 |
| 2. | Rs.501 to Rs. 1000 | - | 7 | 9 | 19 | 34 |
| 3. | Above Rs. 1000 | - | - | 17 | 7 | 26 |
| | Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Graduates have much higher income per capita than any other category. If the English-knowing are taken as literates, they have proportionately less income. Separately however they do better than matriculates. This appears to be an unfeasible situation. A very large number of English-knowing persons is retired (Table 155), and the additional income of others in the family may account for this situation.

Table 169 : Educational Status of Family and Per Capita Income.*

| | | Illiterate % | Literate % | Educated % | Advanced % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Upto Rs.500 | - | 92 | 62 | 35 |
| 2. | Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 | - | - | 29 | 30 |
| 3. | Above Rs. 1000 | - | 8 | 9 | 35 |
| | Total | - | 100 | 100 | 100 |

* Figures given in percentages.

In the case of the entire family, education shows a much clearer and a more proportionate relation to income. One unusual point is the large percentage of literates who have over Rs. 1000 per head. Now, only in the service category are there any persons earning over Rs. 1000 (Table 153). Our 8 per cent of wealthy literates, therefore, are getting their incomes from service. In Table 155, literates, including the English-knowing, have as many in the lowest-grade service as retired persons, and very few in other grades. The retired make up half the number of literates, more than in the case of the better educated. It may be that in a home headed by a retired person there are other members of the family bringing in an income, and it is because there are so many retired literates that they show a wealthy eight per cent. Literates have no persons with between Rs. 501 and Rs. 1000, therefore, the few wealthy literates are not 'normal'. There is no bridge to cover the gap between the rich and poor.

Better income is available to a student when his guardian or his kin-group are classed as graduates, more so when the kin-group or family are of graduate level, than if only the guardian is a graduate.

Table 170 : Education and Immigration.

|                    | Illi-terate | Liter-ate | English knowing | Edu-cated | Advanced | Total |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|----------|-------|
| 1. Indefinite      | 2           | 5         | 7               | 8         | 5        | =27   |
| 2. Natives         | 2           | 3         | 3               | 10        | 7        | 25    |
| 3. Settlers A      | -           | 4         | 8               | 9         | 7        | 28    |
| 4. Settlers B      | -           | 2         | 1               | 9         | 4        | 16    |
| 5. Immigration     | -           | 1         | 2               | 2         | 8        | 13    |
| 6. Non-residents   | -           | 2         | 3               | 7         | 3        | 15    |
| Total              | 4           | 17        | 24              | 45        | 34       | 124   |

There are no immigrant illiterates. In fact, the more recent the immigration the higher the education. Those who came in the last six years (prior to 1953) are mostly graduates. Those who came in the war were mainly matriculates, with some graduates. In the pre-war decade, the number of graduates is large, but relatively again matriculates are fewer and share the field with literates. The old residents are mainly matriculates, with large numbers of both graduates and literates, and a few illiterates as well. Non-residents have no illiterate guardians, mainly matriculate ones.

Selective migration is very apparent, with a tendency for the better-educated to enter in recent times. As there is no emigration from rural areas for Maharashtrians as evident from the negligible position of agriculture, there are no ill-educated numbers to dilute the level of education of immigrants. The immigrants are probably of urban origin.

Table 171: Immigration and Educational Status of the Family.

|  | Illiterate | Literate | Educated | Advanced | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Indefinite | – | 10 | 10 | 5 | 25 |
| 2. Natives | – | 2 | 15 | 4 | 21 |
| 3. Settlers A | – | 8 | 11 | 6 | 25 |
| 4. Settlers B | – | 2 | 11 | 1 | 14 |
| 5. Immigrants | – | 2 | 3 | 7 | 12 |
| Non-resident | – | 5 | 7 | 3 | 15 |
| Total | – | 29 | 57 | 26 | 112 |

As with guardians, so with the educational status of the family, migration is more selective in recent years. The older residents are more weighted to mere literacy or matriculation. The number of graduates entering in pre-war times is high, is low again in the war, and goes up sharply in the post-Independence period.

Table 172 : Immigration and Per Capita Income.*

|  | Upto Rs. 500 | Rs. 501 to Rs.1000 | Above Rs. 1000 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Indefinite | 68 | 21 | 11 | 100 |
| 2. Natives | 52 | 24 | 24 | 100 |
| 3. Settlers A | 75 | 14 | 11 | 100 |
| 4. Settlers B | 64 | 22 | 14 | 100 |
| 5. Immigrants | 67 | 25 | 8 | 100 |
| 6. Non-residents | 83 | 17 | – | 100 |

* Figures given in percentages.

The levels of per capita income are more or less uniform except for non-residents who diverge in the direction of a much lower income. Pre-war immigrants, at the time of survey, have less income, especially in the middle levels. Those who say specifically that they came over twenty-five years ago, the 'natives', have much better levels of income on the whole.

Table 173 : Per Capita Income and Estimation of Economic
Condition.*

|  | Very good % | Good % | Fair % | Average % | Poor % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Upto Rs. 500 | - | 42 | 66 | 87 | 100 |
| 2. Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 | 50 | 33 | 20 | 13 | - |
| 3. Above Rs. 1000 | 50 | 25 | 14 | - | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

* Figures given in percentages.

There is a fairly honest appraisal of economic condi-
tion. All who say 'poor' have less than Rs. 500 per head.
All those who claim a 'very good' condition have over Rs.500.
No one who has an 'average' condition has over Rs. 1000. But
the terms 'good' and 'fair' are used to describe all kinds.
of economic status, though 'good' is applied more to higher
levels, and 'fair' to lower levels.