

CHAPTER - V

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ADAPTATION TO CHANGING FAMILIAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC NEEDS

Every society must adapt itself to its environment to survive. This adaptation is largely effected through the particular technology that a given society has developed and maintains. Individuals adjust by seeking new or ignoring old customs, or vice-versa, to fit the environment to their perception of it and their aspirations within it. Moreover, the changing circumstances demand effective adaptations for survival. Just as biological adjustment is needed for physical survival of the organism, social adjustment is needed for individual's growth, gratification and success in life. Many researchers have documented how evolving institutions fill traditional needs while meeting the demands of modern life. Adaptation, according to Bebout,¹ can refer to the procurement of things from an environment, and the disposal of things to the environment.

Family Relations and Interactions

The study of interpersonal relationships in society gives an index of roles and status of individuals with respect to each other. The role and status of rural and urban family members with respect to age, sex, occupation, caste and other aspects have been investigated by Indian sociologists. They have held that the pressures of urban

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1. J.E. Bebout and H.C. Bredemeir, "American Cities as Social Systems", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. XXIX, May 1963, pp. 66-67.

society brought about some changes and thereby considerably modified the traditional living patterns of a particular group or individuals in the society.

The functional relationships among the individuals and institutions of a community may be altered as a result of changes in demographic, economic, or social processes. As one segment of a community undergoes change, adjustive modifications are to be expected in others. The structure of family and the nature of occupation of an individual affect the family relations. At the same time the way in which any family role is carried out changes over time even though the same persons are involved. For instance, the interpersonal relations between husband and wife change as they leave one stage of life and enter another.

Regarding changes in the role behaviour of women, Karve writes: "It is not rare to see women who were nothing but meek non-entities blossom into positive personalities in their middle aged widowhood, or boss over the weak old husband in the latter part of the married life."² She further states that relations within three-generation family is quite different from those in a two-generation family. She holds that the presence of husband's parents in the joint family affects the interpersonal relations within the family consisting of young husband and wife and their children. She writes : In the presence

2. Irawati Karve (1965), op. cit., p.136.

of the husband's father or mother they (young couple) must be exceedingly restrained in their communications with each other to the point of seeming to ignore each other, and they must refrain from paying much attention to their own children."³ Desai noted how the attitude of women in household changes in the course of the family cycle. He comments: "the wife who urges her husband to separate from the joint family is commonly the same person who later, as mother and mother-in-law, is most unwilling to see her joint family split."⁴

Economic factors also encourage the differences in family roles. Gough⁵ made an investigation of household power structure among the Brahmins (land owners) non-Brahmins (tenants) Adi Dravidans (land less) communities of Kumbapettai village in Tanjore district. She observed that the Brahmins exercise more control over their wives as the wives are their dependants, whereas the wives of Adi Dravidans receive more freedom from their partners as they are mostly income contributors. Considering the economic status of the family, Gough found a similar kind of family ideal between Brahmins and well-to-do Adi Dravidan families. She says that families of lower rank who become prosperous and can afford to keep their women out of the fields, often try to adopt the kind of family relations maintained by the local Brahmins.

3. Ibid., p. 137.

4. I.P. Desai, 1955, op. cit., p. 104.

5. K. Gough, 'Brahmin Kinship in a Tamil Village', American Anthropologist, 1956, 58, 5, p. 827.

S. Epstein⁶ has also related the economic relations with changes in family relations. According to her, the greater economic independence somewhat weakened the deference shown by men towards their fathers and brothers. It also affected the relationship between husband and wife in Wangala (one of the two villages studied). Buffaloes and money-lending gave Wangala wives an independent source of income, which made them less subservient to their husbands.

M.S. Gore has emphasised that the age and sex are the main ordering principles in family hierarchy. According to him, elders have a greater authority than young persons. He further adds: "difference of a year or two in age is sufficient to establish firmly who is the formal superior. As between the authority of an elder woman and a younger man, sex is the most important determinant. Men have the formal property rights, and so the formal authority of a younger man is higher than that of his older sister, though he is expected to respect and cherish her."⁷

Saurashtran Familial Relationship

The Saurashtrians as a community followed a uniform pattern of life style for a very long time. The system of family organisation was hierarchical in nature. The traditional respect for age among the Saurashtrians ensured a highly valued status for the aged and their integration in the family and society. The eldest male member

6. S. Epstein, "Economic Development and Social Change in South India", in G. Dalton (Ed) Economic Development and Social Change. p. 471.

directed and controlled the family. According to customary practice, after the father's death the next immediate male member of the house took up the responsibility and directed the duties of other members in the family. All the brothers turned to him for advice and guidance.

At present, the elderly members continue to wield considerable power and influence, despite socio-economic changes in the large extended family. The father or the eldest brother in the family has control over the property which enables him to regulate other members' economic or social activities. Besides, his power and influence stem from his wisdom accumulated over the years through enactment of various social roles. Although the eldest male was the central figure, female authority in the Saurashtran household could not be underestimated. The expectation was that the wife should be obedient and give ear to the wishes of her husband but at the same time the husband should defer to the wishes of his mother. But in practice the Saurashtran households did not always follow this norm. Empirical evidence indicates that the Saurashtran husbands were often overruled by their wives.

Children are highly valued in the family, particularly sons. They prefer sons for fulfilling their social and economic goals. They believe that the sons are easier to raise since there is much less concern in upbringing them. In the case of daughters, the parents face

7. M.S. Gore (1965), op.cit., p. 38.

persistent concern in supervising or guarding daughter's sexual purity. The children are trained to be obedient to their parents even to elder brothers and sisters. The sons are under the direct supervision of fathers. Girls remain under their mothers' care. The boys are granted increasing freedom to make contact outside their households. The girls are increasingly segregated from the outside world but not from the males of their own households.

Normally, older sons and daughters were married prior to their younger siblings, and wives took their status from the relative ages of their husbands. For instance, if an older brother married a much younger girl than his own brother, she should be given due respect by his younger brother. Similarly, if a man had more than one wife, the more beautiful one in spite of her younger age had the place of honour in the household. The wives of younger brothers had a trying situation as they were under the authority of mothers-in-law. Occasionally, the dissatisfaction of some of these younger women led to break-up of joint family. The newly created family provided the young women a high status. The occasional split in the household did not always weaken the kinship bond. In many circumstances, the adult son did not hesitate to invite a widowed sister or widowed mother to live with him. During exigencies parents were expected to come to the assistance of their children and vice versa. If resources were scarce, the eldest son took on himself the responsibility of educating the youngsters besides meeting the marriage expenses.

Now a change in family structure is desired by all the sections of the community, as the family is not in a position to meet the growing needs of its members. Now their familial arrangements and role relationship are directly related to their economic standard which in turn depends upon their occupational background. The following tables give as an indication of the changes taking place on the individual, institutional and community levels.

The closeness of married male respondents to their mother and wife has been evaluated. A total of 37.3 per cent said that they are closer to wives, while 32.6 per cent said that they are closer to mothers. About 30.1 per cent replied that they are equally affectionate to both. Efforts were made to analyse the relationship between family structure and relationship.

Table - 1

Married Male Respondents' Closeness Towards Mother/Wife by Family

Type

Relationship	Family Structure			
	Nuclear (%)	Semi extended (%)	Joint (%)	Total N = 276 (%)
Close to mother	31.3 (46)	20.3 (12)	41.0 (32)	32.6 (90)
Closer to wife	45.3 (63)	35.6 (21)	24.4 (19)	37.3 (103)
Equally close to both	21.6 (30)	44.1 (26)	34.6 (27)	30.1 (83)
	100.2 (139)	100.2 (59)	100.0 (78)	100.0 (276)

Our data have shown that relationship with wife is stronger in nuclear family than in the joint family. About 45.3 per cent of nuclear family persons are close to their wives. On the other hand only 24.4 per cent of joint family households said that they are attached more to their wives than mothers. Despite nuclear family living, 31.3 per cent of our married respondents are more attached to their mothers than their wives. In the case of semi-extended household respondents nearly 44.1 per cent have favoured equal attachment to both mother and wife. A high percentage (41 per cent) of joint family households are closer to their mothers than their wives.

On correlating the respondents' opinion with the occupation it is found that the weaver's attachment is closer to wife (57.9 per cent) than to mother (22.1 per cent). A high percentage of traders are found to be more attached to their mothers than their wives. Simultaneously, 30.1 per cent of them have given equal importance to both. In the case of salaried people, 40.9 per cent are drawn close to both sides, while 34.4 per cent pointed out mothers.

Table - 2

Married Respondents' Closeness Towards Mother/Wife by Occupational

Groups

Relationship	Occupation			Total
	Weavers	Traders	Salaried	N = 276
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Close to mother	22.1 (21)	40.9 (38)	35.2 (31)	32.6 (90)

Table continued

Table -2 continued

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Close to wife	57.9 (55)	29.0 (27)	23.9 (21)	37.3 (103)
Equally close to both	20.0 (19)	30.1 (28)	40.9 (36)	30.1 (83)
Total	100.0 (95)	100.0 (93)	100.0 (88)	100.0 (276)

Decision-Making Pattern

Over three-fourth of the married respondents have claimed that they consulted their wives while taking major decisions on various issues. A majority of weavers (64.3 per cent) and salaried employees (74.6 per cent) make the family budget in consultation with their wives only. In the case of traders it was mostly decided by the wife (43.4 per cent). The decision for cooking food is taken by the females in almost all households. Disciplining of children among the weavers and salaried men is based on consultation between husband and wife. That is not so with the traders. The traders decide independently about controlling their children. Among the weavers, wives are free to take independent decision for going out for movie or an entertainment. The traders and salaried men do not grant such freedom to their wives. Invariably, most households consult with their wives or elders before purchasing major assets (81.3 per cent). Likewise, social visits need consultation between husband and wife or with elders of the family for all the sections.

Table - 3
Major Trends in Decision-Making in the Family

Decision-making area	Weavers				Traders				Salaried				
	H	W	J	O	H	W	J	O	H	W	J	O	
1. Cooking of food		+	-				+					+	
2. Family budget				+		-	+					+	
3. Children's Care				+		+	-			-		+	
4. Going to Movie	+							+				+	
5. Purchasing Major assets				+		-		+				+	-
6. Social visits				+				+				+	-
7. Marriage				+				+				+	

Note : H - Husband; W - Wife; J - Joint; O - Others. + Highest Percentage; - Second highest percentage worth reporting.

Respondents were asked to choose one of the four given answers for the question of handling household work. This reveals the individual's adjustment in the household matters. Here many respondents (34.7 per cent) would like to share the household work with their wives. An equal percentage have supported the statement that the household work is meant for women. On the contrary, 19.0 per cent of the respondents have stated that men can do only a part of the household work. Nearly 14.3 per cent respondents are agreed that there is nothing wrong in helping the wives during the time of emergency but not always. They said that during the time of illness, pregnancy and wife's absence the husband should do household work.

Table - 4

Normative Expectations Regarding Household Duties by Age

Normative expectations	Age Group			Total N = 300
	Young	Middle	Old age	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
It is wife's job	28.2 (35)	29.9 (23)	38.4 (38)	32.0 (96)
Equal share	33.9 (42)	40.0 (31)	31.3 (31)	34.7 (104)
Some duties for wife some meant for husband	18.5 (23)	19.5 (15)	19.2 (19)	19.0 (57)
Husband can help but not always	19.4 (24)	10.4 (8)	11.1 (11)	14.3 (43)
Total	100.0 (124)	99.8 (77)	100.0 (99)	100.0 (300)

Table - 4 given above shows the difference in age and respondents' perception about household work. The old respondents slightly differ in their view by saying household work is absolutely meant for wives. Still a significant proportion of them like sharing it with their wives. A noticeable feature is that the middle-aged respondents have a more flexible attitude in the matter of sharing household work with their wives. The young respondents have also developed progressive tendencies in the matter connected with the work at home. Among the women respondents four out of six said that household work should be left to the housewife. At the same time the other two recognised the necessity of husband's assistance for the proper household set up.

Table 5 explains the major household activities of Saurashtran men in their households. As many of them carry out their economic activities at their homes, they are bound to do a part of the household activities.

Table - 5

Help of Male Household Heads in Domestic Activities

S.No.	Nature of help	Percentage	Frequency N = 294
1.	No help	21.8	64
2.	During emergency	12.9	38
3.	Marketing	13.9	41
4.	Cooking	3.7	11
5.	Caring children	9.2	27
6.	Cleaning	2.7	8
7.	All kinds of work	35.7	105
Total		100.0	294

About 21.8 per cent of our respondents keep themselves away from doing any kind of household work. About 35.5 per cent of the male respondents perform all kinds of chores at their homes. Nearly 12.9 per cent of the male household heads in our sample extend their assistance only when the situation arises. Of those who mentioned doing some specific work, 13.9 per cent do shopping and 9.2 per cent take care of children. Cooking and cleaning are done atleast by 3.7 per cent and 2.7 per cent respectively.

It is found that the weavers are more co-operative with their spouses in performing the household work. Nearly 44.9 per cent of

them have managed to do all kinds of household work. As the women-folk in the weavers' families are engaged in weaving from start to finish, men's participation in the household works becomes inevitable. A weaver said "I do not hesitate in helping out my wife in kitchen work. I assist her in cutting the vegetables, washing utensils and sometimes preparing the food also." It is surprising to note that among the traders 35.7 per cent do not render any assistance, while more or less the same percentage of traders reported that they do all kinds of household work. A lesser percentage among them (9.2 per cent) assist their family in marketing and the same number of persons take care of their children. Although 21.4 per cent of white collar employees leave the household work in the hands of women, a significant number of them spend a good deal of their time in shopping, cooking, caring for children and other day-to-day household related chores.

Marital problems can be rightly understood in terms of the twin concepts - marital happiness and marital relation. Marital happiness or satisfaction refers to internal, subjective states which are evaluative of marriage. Marital problems refer to problems that arise in married life which have a significant bearing on marital relation. The respondents were asked to identify a major discord which they face at present with their spouses in the marital life. It is found that nearly 39.9 per cent have experienced one or other problems. The major discord of our respondents is presented below in Table No. 6.

Table- 6Major Discord in Marital Life of the Respondents

S. No.	Area of Discord	Percentage	N = 111 Frequency
1	Economic	27.9	31
2	Household	21.6	24
3	Lack of responsibility	13.5	15
4	Use of liquor	11.7	13
5	Ideology	10.8	12
6	Social Activity	8.1	9
7	Luxurious life	4.5	5
8	Sexual life	1.8	2
	Total	100	111

Economic factor accounts for 27.9 per cent of marital discord among our respondents as a whole. The next important area of discord was household affairs which was reported by 21.6 per cent of the cases. Laziness and lack of responsibility of the spouse formed third factor in the order of marital discord of Saurashtrans. Not less than 11.7 per cent said that the use of liquor is a major cause creating a discord between the couples. Difference in ideology also stands as an important factor responsible for the unhappy relationship of atleast twelve couples. Five out of 111 respondents complained about spouse's extravagance which often strains the husband-life relationship.

Traditionally, the Saurashtrians did not permit women seeking jobs outside their homes or immediate environment. They believed that if a woman goes out for work it brings shame on the men of that household. Now they seem to have realised the importance of working women and many prefer to marry employed women. Improvement in women's education and economic compulsions have led to a change in attitude and practice. Yet one can not say that they have achieved a complete success in this regard. Still quite a few of our respondents are backward in their minds. They restrict their women from seeking employment. Many others are keen in selecting a career for them. However, they do not agree to any kind of manual work other than weaving for their women. The upper class of the community likes only "decent" jobs for their women. The profession such as teaching, clerkship, typing, tailoring etc. are given priority. The following table depicts the attitude of respondents towards working women.

Table - 7
Respondents' Opinion on Women's Employment by Age Group

Opinion	Age Group			Total N = 300
	Young	Middle aged	Old	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	
Women can take up any job	41.4 (51)	35.1 (27)	33.3 (33)	37.0 (111)
Only certain job	44.4 (55)	41.6 (32)	42.4 (42)	43.0 (129)
Should not go for job	14.5 (18)	20.8 (16)	23.2 (23)	19.0 (57)
Not mentioned	0	2.6 (2)	1.0 (1)	1.0 (3)
	100 (124)	100 (77)	100 (99)	100 (300)

In our study 43 per cent of the respondents thought that women should go in for certain jobs. The difference in age group does not create much distinction on this point. Also, a large number of respondents have no hesitation for sending their women to jobs irrespective of the status of the job. This view, in particular, was expressed more by the youngsters than the elderly persons. Only 14.5 per cent of the young respondents do not favour women's work, compared to middle aged (20.8 per cent) and old respondents (23.3 per cent).

The respondents who answered positively about women's employment were asked to justify their reasons. Economic reason was the foremost among all (36.7 per cent). The next important reason cited by as many as 20.0 per cent of respondents was for security. Fifteen per cent cited social status and 13.8 per cent equal freedom. A few respondents (5.8 per cent) are under the impression that it helps women to get married. Some others mentioned that if women are not sent for jobs, they may simply gossip at home or unnecessarily pick up quarrels with neighbours. A small percentage came out with the answer that it is the best way of "passing the time", in addition to contributing income to the family. A few lower class respondents said that women should participate in jobs outside home to understand the difficulties in life.

This response has been correlated with the economic strata. An interesting finding was that over three fourth of each economic class appreciated working women. Of course, these respondents differ

considerably in their motivation for sending women to jobs. It appears that except the high income group, all other categories supported the economic reason. Equal freedom and gain of social status were frequently mentioned by people of high income. Security is equally acceptable to the different strata. "Time passing" was mentioned more by the upper middle as well as middle class respondents.

Table - 8

Respondents' Reasons for Sending Women to Work by Class

Reasons cited	Economic class				Total N = 240
	High	Upper Middle	Middle	Low	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Economic	15.7 (11)	37.5 (15)	43.9 (29)	51.6 (33)	36.7 (88)
Security	20.0 (14)	17.5 (7)	22.7 (15)	18.8 (12)	20.0 (48)
Equal freedom	24.3 (17)	17.5 (7)	6.1 (4)	7.8 (5)	13.8 (33)
Social status	25.7 (18)	12.5 (5)	10.6 (7)	9.4 (6)	15.0 (36)
Marriage	5.7 (4)	2.5 (1)	4.5 (3)	9.4 (6)	5.8 (14)
Time passing	1.4 (1)	7.5 (3)	4.5 (3)	0 (0)	2.9 (7)
To keep women busy	5.7 (4)	5.0 (2)	7.6 (5)	1.6 (1)	5.0 (12)
Others	1.4 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1.6 (1)	0.6 (2)
	100 (70)	100 (40)	100 (66)	100 (64)	100 (240)

Adjustment in Social Relationship

Inter-personal relationships between persons living in close spatial nearness exist in almost all kinds of human settlements. But the form and content of neighbourhood interaction may differ with different communities, as those communities may themselves differ in their economic, ecological, cultural, demographic and physical characteristics. Wirth⁸ considers the urban neighbourhood interaction as impersonal, superficial, temporary and segmental. Cooley⁹ defines the neighbourhood as a primary group, based predominantly on face-to-face personal contacts.

In fact the advancement of any community or caste group depends to a great extent on the integration of its members. Integration will not take place just by people merely forming an ethnic neighbourhood or establishing community associations. Above all the members of the community should be well-wishers of others of their own kind. And for a migrant community, still more co-operation is needed to establish their lives in the new environment.

Generally speaking, the Saurashtrians of earlier generations maintained a tight community network. This was strengthened by their homogeneous occupation and minority feeling and recognition from local kings. Today, they are more numerous in population and more

8. L. Wirth, On Cities and Social Life, The University of Chicago Press, London, 1964.

9. G.H. Cooley, Social Organisation, 1901.

diversified in occupation. Besides there are other social factors which impinge on their lives. All these are perceived as a threat to the community's solidarity. The modern economic opportunities have also weakened their traditionally strong internal relationships. Apart from providing economic and social security to the members, the modern institutions such as co-operatives, commercial banks, etc. have caused indirect changes in the social behaviour of their beneficiaries. As a consequence, more and more people are becoming independent of their own relatives and caste men.

As far as Saurashtrians are concerned the modernisation process has weakened their networks. The Saurashtrians in general react strongly towards modernisation process. The poor attendance in temple celebrations (which used to attract a large crowd), factionalism in Saurashtra Sabha administration and election, competition in business and non-recognition of weavers by the upper strata of the community are some of the factors which have adversely affected the community's solidarity.

The Saurashtran neighbourhoods have also undergone structural changes. They can not be termed as pure ethnic neighbourhoods. The frequent change of residence by the Saurashtrians, and infiltration of Tamils into Saurashtran residences, have weakened traditional solidarity. The weavers living in the residential colonies built up by the co-operative societies have the privilege of Saurashtran neighbours. The Krishnapuram Colony, one of the six neighbourhoods selected

for the study, furnishes an example. By contrast, Saurashtran settlements of other places in the city present a multi-cultural neighbourhood. The physical proximity with Tamil castes has made the Saurashtrians develop informal relationship with them. In order to earn their livelihood, they take help in various ways from the neighbouring community. This social necessity has made them modify some of the organisational features at the individual and community levels.

The occupation as well as the living quarter of an individual determine greatly the individual's social contact. Almost all weavers spend most of their time in their residential neighbourhoods. Practically, it is impossible for the weavers to retain anonymity due to close proximity and small size of rooms, the sharing of cooking, washing, sanitary facilities. They depend upon one another in their occupation. The tea shops in the immediate propinquity draw many weavers and serve them as a platform for discussion of cinema, politics etc. The interest in politics takes many of them out of their neighbourhood.

The traders' contact within and outside the community is very much important. For the production of articles, traders depend upon the community but for sales they need external contracts. Since many of the traders have annexed their houses to the shops they are quite familiar with the neighbourhood. They usually interact with people of similar economic status. In contrast white collar employees move about in all sections of the city in pursuit of work. Some during the evenings and holidays are busy in assisting their relatives in business.

The households have shown their preference to stay with caste-men, relatives and non-Saurashtrians in the city of Madurai in Table No. 9 given below:

Table - 9
Respondents' Preference to Stay With Various Categories
of Persons

Occupation	Castemen (%)	Relatives (%)	Non- Saurashtrians (%)	Total N = 300 (%)
Weavers	68	23	9	100
Traders	54	33	13	100
Salaried employees	60	12	28	100
Total	182(60.7)	68(22.7)	50(16.7)	300

The desire for living together with community people has not been weakened by the increasing urbanisation. Sixty per cent of our respondents wish to dwell in a place where their community people have settled. And twenty two per cent give preference to kin-based neighbourhood. If circumstances arise sixteen per cent choose to live amidst Tamil caste groups. Table 9 also gives the impression that many Saurashtrians irrespective of their high and low occupation like ethnic neighbourhood. Intermixing of residence with relatives is not much preferred by salaried employees. Approximately 28 per cent of salaried employees would like to set up household in a fresh neighbourhood of Tamils. Thirty three per cent of traders want them to be surrounded by their kin. Next to castemen, a 23 per cent of

weavers would seek a place at which relatives are settled in case of any resettlement. Many of the weavers are not in favour of having non-Saurashtran neighbours.

Our respondents differ greatly in their views on living along with the same occupational groups in their physical environment. Eighty nine per cent of weavers strongly expressed for an uniform pattern of residential atmosphere of weavers. It seems that most of the traders (58 per cent) are unwilling to combine their residence with traders of similar kind. Although 34 per cent of salaried employees do not care much for the profession of neighbours, 47 per cent of them establish households near those of the people of similar occupational status. Another nineteen per cent of them like mixture of all occupations in their neighbourhood.

Table - 10

Occupation Vs Respondents' Preference to Live With Same

Occupationists

Occupation	Yes (%)	Not particular (%)	No (%)	Total N = 300 (%)
Weavers	89	0	11	100
Traders	21	21	58	100
Salaried	47	34	19	100
Total	157(52.3)	55(18.3)	88(29.3)	300

The respondents were asked to name the community to which their best friends belong to. It appears from the below table that a sixty nine per cent had their close friends from the same community. Only 17.3 per cent of respondents had close friends from non-brahmin community. Only very few i.e. 5.7 per cent stated Brahmins as close friends. Although the Saurashtrians have adopted many of the customs of Tamil Brahmins, their interaction with them is at the minimum. Close friends belonging to the minority communities like Muslim, Christian and Scheduled Caste are negligible.

Table - 11

Respondents' Occupation Vs Community Background of Close Friends

Occupation	Saurashtran (%)	Brahmin (%)	Non-Brahman (%)	S.C. (%)	Muslim (%)	Christian (%)	No Answer (%)	Total N=300 (%)
Weavers	87	0	12	0	0	0	1	100
Traders	63	7	18	0	9	3	0	100
Salaried	57	10	22	1	4	5	1	100
Total	207 (69.0)	17 (5.7)	52 (17.3)	1 (0.3)	13 (4.3)	8 (2.7)	2 (0.7)	300

A close look at the occupational pattern and friendship ties indicates that most of the weavers (87 per cent) confine themselves to the community circles in the selection of friends. The next community preferred for making friendship is the non-Brahman. No weaver in either locality had a close friend from the Brahmins. The main

reason for the limited interaction is due to occupational and residential atmosphere. The nature of weaving occupation provides limited opportunities to move out of home. The clustered living with a clear-cut boundary enables them to choose friends from within the community. Many of the weavers find it good to have friends at the local area only.

The traders on the other hand seem to interact with almost all communities. Of course, a significant number among them had intimate friends from their own community only. It is surprising to note that nine per cent of traders developed a good contact with Muslim community which is basically a trading community. It has to be remembered that the early Saurashtrians considered Muslims as their enemy.¹⁰ Now urban living and business relationships have modified the traditional feelings of the people.

The white collar employees, however, cultivated good friendship with outside the community. The reason for their wider contact is more clear. These people who are involved in modern occupations in a variety of contexts come into contact with non-Saurashtrians. The educational institution is the basis of entering into friendship

10. Each stage of Saurashtran migration was caused by Muslim invasion. Therefore, the Saurashtrians had developed a strong antagonism towards the community which troubled them frequently.

with persons of various castes. The white collar friendship is based on both community affiliation and occupational compulsion.

Respondents were asked the question whom did they call for help in times of crisis in general. The respondent's choice was very clear while answering the researcher. A total of 5.3 per cent declared that they do not go to anyone under any circumstances. This include nine traders, four salaried persons and three weavers. Of course, some of these respondents are not self-sufficient in economic terms. Relatives become an important source of assistance in atleast 32.0 per cent of our households. Similarly, 23.3 per cent of respondents rush to their friends, while 16.3 per cent depend upon their neighbours. A little over thirteen per cent approach government institutions to avail of their help.

Table - 12

Respondents' Help-Seeking by Occupational Pattern

Source of help	Occupation			Total N = 300 (%)
	Weavers (%)	Traders (%)	Salaried (%)	
No experience	3	9	4	16(5.3)
Relatives	20	38	38	96(32.0)
Friends	14	23	33	70(23.3)
Neighbours	30	7	12	49(16.3)
Government	8	20	11	39(13.3)
Employer	11	0	2	13(4.3)
Money lender	14	3	0	17(5.7)
	100	100	100	300(100.2)

A strong relationship is also found between the occupation and help-seeking character of the respondents. A large number of traders and salaried men stressed relatives as main source for them during a crisis. Only 20 per cent of weavers receive such timely help from the relatives. For thirty per cent of the weavers, neighbours are most useful in this regard. The next alternative for the weavers are employers and money lenders. The salaried persons and traders do not resort to the help of the money lender. In fact, friends are more utilised by the salaried class (33 per cent). Nearly 23 per cent of traders sought friends' help.

The weavers feel reluctant to ask relatives' help as they think that the former are not economically better-off. Some of the educated weavers commented on this point as follows: "Most of our relatives are like us only. Therefore, I do not want to trouble them". A few others said differently. "It is always better to avoid financial transaction with the relatives. They will not respect us and sometimes it will disrupt the relationship". Some dislike the relatives: "If you have money, you will have a lot of relatives; if not, nobody will come to rescue you when you really deserve help". An young respondent rightly pointed out: "My relatives will come to share the property if I have any and not ready to share my poverty". Another weaver said: "My immediate neighbours are relatives in my life".

The weavers seeking help from money lenders are mostly those working for master weavers. When they need money they take it

from pawn-brokers on production of weaving materials obtained from the master weaver. They retrieve the materials after gaining enough money through some other means. The co-operative weavers are more aware of the special privileges granted to them by the government. They avail of them with the help of co-operative society staff on local leaders. The government also readily provides them with short-term loans after taking security of assets like house etc. from them. The traders hold a different view in asking help from relatives. Some of them give due importance to consulting with relatives for solving the problems.

Perceptions About Changing Occupational Opportunities

The weavers are mainly deprived owing to poor wages and hard manual labour. They say that they are frustrated because the entire family is involved in the work yet they are struggling to meet the basic needs. Much of the income is spent on house rent and payment to hired workers. Moreover, the earning capacity of weaver decreases as his physical strength declines.

The merchants have also developed some kind of dissatisfaction over their profession. Here are some of the attitudes of business men towards their occupation. As the business grows in size there arise many problems. They say that they are always under constant pressures and tension. One of our respondents said that the role of businessman is very difficult to perform, as it requires co-operation from various kinds of people like customers, agents, manufacturers

and labourers etc. A small negligence or wrong prediction may cause a heavy loss to them. Another respondent said that business is just like gambling: a businessman requires courage to face the adverse consequences.

A number of businessmen reported bad debts, unfaithful partners and gradual deterioration in business ethos as obstacles for success in business. Many commonly held the view that Saurashtrians are doing routine type of business in textiles, dyes and chemicals etc. This has created a stiff competition which has arrested much of the community's progress. The establishment of co-ops and fair price shops and heavy sales tax have adversely affected their business.

The willingness with which an occupation is chosen is certainly important for developing a commitment to the occupation. Furthermore, the commitment greatly depends upon the satisfaction which the person derives from the occupation. Thus, occupational commitment and job satisfaction are mutually interdependent. The occupational satisfaction varies from person to person depending upon his age, individual taste, income, education, the status of the occupation, etc. To have a better understanding about the professional commitment among the Saurashtrians the respondents were asked questions. It is natural on the part of respondents who are not satisfied with their present job to change their occupation. However, dissatisfaction may not necessarily result in a change of occupation. The following table clearly shows the intention of respondents in changing jobs.

Table - 13

Respondents' Intention of Changing Job (Occupational-wise)

Occupation	Intention to change (%)	No Intention of changing (%)	Total N = 300 (%)
Weavers	64	36	100
Traders	27	73	100
Salaried	8	92	100
Total	99 (33.0)	201 (67.0)	300

The above table shows that nearly one third of the total sample expressed their desire for a change of job, while the rest of them did not favour change. Firstly, it is clear that 64 per cent of weavers and 27 per cent of traders wished to change their occupation. Only 8 per cent of the white collar employees said that they were looking for some other good jobs. This leads us to believe that the respondents who were in low level occupations had a greater desire for change than those who were engaged in high level occupations. Secondly, among those who desired change most of them were youngsters. On analysing the reasons for desired changes in job, the respondents came out with numerous reasons.

The respondents were asked about their views on different occupations. Nearly fifty per cent of the weavers, 39 per cent of traders and 55 per cent of salaried class do not like weaving profession

On the whole only 10 per cent of the respondents in the sample said weaving is good. Of those engaged in weaving only 13 per cent have a liking for weaving. Sixty per cent of weaver, 65 per cent of traders and 69 per cent of salaried class are in favour of trading. A maximum percentage of weavers (99 per cent), traders (85 per cent), salaried (71 per cent) considered white collar as the best profession in the present day situation. Those who like weaving said the weavers are themselves responsible for their low position.

Table - 14

Respondents' Perception About the Job They Are Doing

Occupation	Bright (%)	Not Bright (%)	Stable (%)	Dull (%)	Total
Weavers	8	11	47	34	100
Traders	29	18	42	11	100
Salaried	42	21	37	0	100
Total	79 (26.3)	50 (16.7)	12.6 (42.0)	45 (15.0)	300

Only 26.3 per cent of respondents asserted that they hoped for better prospects in the job which they are doing at present. However, 42 per cent of sample respondents believed that their status will remain same as it is. Eight per cent of the weavers hoped that there will be some improvement in weaving in the near future. While 47 per cent of weavers lost their hope for a better future in weaving, another 34 per cent of them noted that further decline would take place.

While viewing their own occupation, 29 per cent of the traders have hoped for better opportunities in this line. The rest of them did not foresee any progress. Eleven per cent of traders said that the traders would face a hardships ahead. While forty two per cent of salaried group hoped to succeed in one way or other, 21 per cent of them gave negative reply. However, 37 per cent of the salaried class surmised that the same situation will prevail even after several years.

Many weavers who thought of a positive future have referred to some of the present prosperous merchants in the city who had spent their early days as poor weavers. Some of them held the view that weaving is basically a good profession and that the weavers will be prosperous, if the government measures are implemented properly. A few stated that the decline of the profession is due to growing powerloom technology.

Simultaneously, a few blamed that they are being harassed by the master weavers belonging to their own community. A few said that people belonging to other communities entered into the profession. These new entrants, they held, created not only unemployment but also lowered the quality of handloom products. Of course, the weavers listed a number of grievances against the working of both master-weavers as well as the co-operative societies in their places. The most commonly cited reasons are given below in order of priority.

Table - 15

Weavers' Grievances Against Master Weavers and Co-operative Societies

Order of numerical importance	Problem with Master weaver	Order of numerical importance	Problem with Co-operative society
1	No job security	1	Delay in giving wages
2	No extra benefit	2	Irregular work
3	More exploitation	3	Comparatively low wage
4	No freedom	4	Does not lend advances
5	Low wages	5	No fresh enrolment
6	We cannot demand our rights	6	Making similar kind of design
7	Very rude	7	Supply poor quality material
8	Lives in far off place	8	Adhere very strictly to rules and regulations

Many of the weavers consider weaving as an instrument of survival than a means to a career or social advancement. In general, among the weavers there is a strong and growing emphasis upon education and supporting children to a level of study for a secure non-weaving livelihood.