

## CHAPTER - VI

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### CHANGING DIMENSIONS IN VALUES, IDEOLOGIES AND PERSPECTIVE

#### Values, Norms and Ideology

Values, norms and ideology are related to each other and are often overlapping. All peoples, civilised as well as primitive, are obliged to make a selection and rank certain objects and certain modes of conduct as more desirable, more agreeable or more worthy than others. Each society has such set orders or preferences usually referred to as its system of values. Values, formally defined, are preferences regarding objects and actions in their social context;<sup>1</sup> values then are responsible for the direction of social behaviour. If values change, social behaviour also changes.

Talcott Parsons<sup>2</sup> defines values as "conceptions of the desirable" and norms as "patterns of desired behaviour" which implement values in a variety of contexts. According to Ratna Dutta,<sup>3</sup> values are conceptions of the desirable at the most general level. Norms spell out conceptions of the desirable at more specific levels of action. Values involve preferences. Norms involve prescriptions. They are interrelated because in the context of any culture, 'preferences' in due course becomes 'prescriptions'.

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1. Quoted by Scarlett Epstein from Hogbin (1958:58).
  2. Talcott Parsons, "Polarization of the world and International Order", in Quincy Wright, M. Evon and M. Deutsch (Ed.) Preventing World War III, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1962, p. 320.
  3. Ratna Dutta, Values in Models of Modernization, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1971, p. 54.

Closely related to values and norms, yet theoretically distinguishable from them is "ideology" which in any action situation provides a "definition of the situation".<sup>4</sup> But this definition of the situation is greatly preconditioned by the values. Theoretically distinct, in practice there is much of overlapping between them. In this study, they are treated together but are isolated at appropriate contexts.

G.S. Ghurye<sup>5</sup> and Radhakamal Mukherjee<sup>6</sup> placed much emphasis on values, norms, ideology etc., in their studies on Indian society. They have treated the major social institutions as vehicles of human values. R.K. Mukerjee noted that altruistic and reciprocal values were the mainstay of family, kinship and occupational groups. Besides, these values and norms facilitated a systematic adaptation of individual's biogenic urges to the sociogenic norms.

C.N. Venugopal<sup>7</sup> has dealt with the integration of values, norms and ideology in his treatment of Lingayat movement in the Karnataka State. He has analysed how the religious ideology of a sect sparked off a social movement in course of time. He views ideology as a coherent set of ideas, values and beliefs which influences perceptions of individuals and often induces changes in society. According to

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4. Clifford Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System", in David E. Apter (Ed.) Ideology and Discontent, Free Press, Glencoe, 1964, pp. 46-76.
  5. G.S. Ghurye, Anthropo-sociological Papers, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1963.
  6. Radhakamal Mukerjee, The Social Structure of Values, S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1965.

him, ideology imparts a cogency to the attitudes and behaviour of individuals and groups. He further states that both intellectual and emotional elements are interwoven with each other in the matrix of an ideology.

Normative Preferences

The respondents' preference of ideal family type has been explored. As many as 53.7 per cent cited nuclear family as a suitable family structure at present. On the contrary, 45.7 per cent of the selected respondents viewed that joint family living is the best form of family organization. This opinion of respondents is correlated with the occupational background.

Table - 1

Respondents' Choice of Family Type by Occupation

Occupation	Desired Family Type			Total (%)
	Nuclear (%)	Joint (%)	Not mentioned (%)	
Weavers	59	40	1	100
Traders	41	59	-	100
Salaried employees	61	38	1	100
Total	161(53.7)	137(45.7)	2(0.7)	300

The supporters of nuclear family are found high among the salaried employees (61 per cent). Fifty nine per cent of weavers have a strong desire for nuclear family, while a similar percentage of traders like the joint family. Two of our respondents could not

state their choice. Considering the opinion of nuclear and joint households about the ideal family type, maximum households' answers correspond with their actual family patterns. Nearly 72.1 per cent of nuclear households and 74.7 per cent of joint family household prefer to continue with their existing family structure respectively. The semi-extended households are slightly more attracted towards joint family (54.0 per cent) than nuclear family (46.0 per cent).

Respondents were asked to give their reasons for the selection of nuclear and joint family. Although many gave similar answers, a considerable number of them came out with interesting reasons to justify their choice of family type. The respondents' three outstanding common reasons for the preference of nuclear family type are:

Table - 2

Respondents' Choice Correlated With Actual Family Type

Actual Family Type	Desired Family Type			Total N = 300 (%)
	Nuclear (%)	Joint (%)	Not mentioned (%)	
Nuclear	72.1(111)	26.6(41)	1.3(2)	51.3(154)

benefits obtained in a small nuclear family. One of the respondents has said: "no plant grows well under the shadow of the parent tree and if it is planted at a distant place, it will grow like anything". A businessman likes nuclear family because he thinks that an individual will become responsible by establishing a nuclear family.

Many found joint family as an essential part in human life on the basis of three reasons, namely, satisfactory performance in occupation, mutual help and economy. Only very few said that joint family provides good opportunities to share household responsibilities and running joint enterprises apart from seeking elders' advice.

The respondents were asked about their preference for children of a particular sex. This information is compared with the respondents' age group as well as occupation separately. Normally one would expect that the respondents would differ considerably while answering this question. On that point of view our respondents have shown indifference. That is to say, there is a relatively uniform view among the respondents concerning the ideal number of children. The mean average number of sons and daughters desired by each age group has been calculated and shown in Table No. 3.

Table - 3

Preference for Sons and Daughters by Respondents' Age Group

Age Group	Number (Average) Considered Ideal		
	Sons	Daughters	Children
Young	1.47	1.09	2.56
Middle age	1.48	1.11	2.59
Old age	1.68	1.20	2.89
All respondents	1.54	1.13	2.68

The interesting feature of this table is that the ideal number of sons and daughters goes on increasing but very slowly with increase in the age of respondents. This slight variation implies that the respondents adjustment with the modern values of small family.

It can not be denied that the respondents favour more boys than girls. The average number of sons and daughters varies between nearly 1.54 and 2.68. In this respect the occupation and age of the respondents have not altered the motives of respondents. The difference in occupation has not created much variation in their opinion. The average number of children cherished by the occupational groups varies between 2.88 (traders) and 2.33 (salaried). The relatively small number of children (2.65) generally desired by our respondents strengthen our impression that the value of small family is appreciated by the Saurashtrians.

Table - 4

Preference for Sons and Daughters by Respondents' Occupation

Occupation	Number (Average) Considered Ideal		
	Sons	Daughters	Children
Weavers	1.71	1.06	2.77
Traders	1.64	1.29	2.88
Salaried employees	1.28	1.05	2.33
Total average	1.54	1.13	2.65

Changes in Marital Practices and Rituals

The traditional Saurashtrians made serious efforts to Sanskritise their domestic rituals and ceremonies. Various writers have referred to the community's extravagance on elaborate customs and ceremonies. Today, they have made radical change in their social and religious practices. No doubt the changes in economy, modern secular education are playing a central role in reorganizing the Saurashtrians' social system. Some of the visible changes in these aspects are given below. Their attitude towards marriage is being remoulded and an extension of marital relationship with other regions is widely accepted. The dowry system was not prevalent among the traditional Saurashtrians. Now it has come to prevail in this community. Formerly marriage was an affair of eleven days but now the wedding ceremony has been shortened to just two or three days so as to suit the modern life.<sup>8</sup>

In the olden days, on the occasion of marriage the bridegroom was taken in a procession on a horseback with a music band and now this custom has disappeared. At present in the place of horse they use car for the purpose.<sup>9</sup> It was the custom among them that during marriage feast the relatives of bride and bridegroom were fed separately, in the houses of bride and bridegroom. Now this tradition is no longer in existence. All the invitees are entertained together. For a long time, the Saurashtrians considered bride's house as an ideal

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8. Oral information obtained from an informant.

9. I am thankful to Prof. Sathyamoorthy for this information.

place to celebrate the marriage. But now for reasons of convenience most of the marriages are performed either in auditoria or in temples. The researcher was told that a change has occurred even in extending invitation to the ceremonies. The early Saurashtran marriage was attended exclusively by relatives and community members. Now, their marriages are attended by a large number of non-Saurashtrians. Interestingly, they now prefer minimum involvement of community members even on great occasions like marriage, death etc.

Likewise, marriage among relatives which was a rarity among them is on the increase. The uncle-niece marriage which is typical of Tamil land-owning castes is now penetrating into this community.<sup>10</sup> Boys usually do not marry until they are more mature and can satisfactorily support a family with stable means of income. At present, the amount spent on marriage has been reduced to a great extent.

In the traditional patriarchal family of India, the authority of mate selection was vested in the hands of the eldest male member of the family. But in the wake of modernization this system of authority has undergone a change. Opinion was obtained from respondents about who should be the final authority for deciding the marriage of boys and girls in the family.

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10. In South, marriage between maternal uncle and niece has social sanction and is performed with due enthusiasm. Such alliance is not practised in north as the North Indians believe that a niece is akin to a daughter.

Table - 5Respondents' Opinion Regarding Authority of Mate Selection

Authority of Mate Selection	Percentage	Frequency N = 300
Parents	43.7	131
Parents with the consent of children	37.7	113
Children with the consent of parents	10.3	31
Children themselves	8.3	25
	100.0	300

It is clear from the above table that parents' authority on marriage of their children has started weakening. But still 43.7 per cent of the respondents are of the opinion that the decision of marriage must be taken by the parents themselves. As many as 37.7 per cent of the respondents stated that although parents should wield the authority in making decisions, they must not hesitate to consult the children. According to 10.3 per cent of the respondents, children should be allowed to take decisions on their own, provided that they have the broad consent of their parents. Lastly, 8.3 per cent of the respondents have suggested that decision regarding marriage should be left exclusively to the children. On the basis of the above data one can conclude that the traditional system of marriage has undergone a change.

Traditionally, the Saurashtrians were known for their strict town-endogamy. They did not prefer marital relationship with those

outside Madurai for the reason that their habits, customs and cultural patterns were unique. This prompted the researcher to put a question on them about inter-regional marriages.<sup>11</sup> The data collected show that a change has occurred in the attitudes of respondents.

Table - 6

Views About Arranging Inter-Regional Marriages by Occupation

Occupation	Place			Total N = 300 (%)
	Local only (%)	Anywhere (%)	Undecided (%)	
Weavers	66	30	4	100
Traders	52	25	23	100
Salaried	31	53	16	100
Total	149(49.7)	108(36.0)	43(14.3)	300

Although half of the respondents are particular in seeking spouses within the township of Madurai, 36.0 per cent welcomed inter-district marriages. The occupational background of the respondents has influenced the decision on mate selection to some extent. In the case of weavers 66.0 per cent have opted for local marriages. Many of these weavers hold the view that finding a spouse is easier in Madurai and many others prefer it because it facilitates mutual visit. Inter-regional marriage is preferred by 25 per cent of traders

11. Region is used here in the sense of sub region. Hence, the term "inter-regional" corresponds to links between sub regions of Tamil Nadu.

although 52 per cent of them came forward to say that marriage should be arranged within Madurai only. Region is not so important for 53 per cent of the salaried employees. It is assumed that this changing aspect of marital contact of Madurai Saurashtrians would inevitably pull them out of Madurai and provide them with wider socio-cultural contacts.

The Saurashtrians who were very strict in following the traditional customs are now showing less enthusiasm for them. In the Saurashtrians' social life, the household and the neighbourhood play a vital role in socialising the member of the community. The changes in the household structure and neighbourhood pattern in addition to education have enabled the Saurashtrians to reorganise their social system. Now many of them have given up orthodox beliefs and practices; in other words, they have become progressive.

In our study, 58.3 per cent of the household heads do not insist that their children stick to community tradition. Only 41.7 per cent would like to compel their offspring now and then to follow the traditional practices of the community. Respondents in all age groups have shown a tendency to grant freedom. The surprising feature is that a high proportion (60.6 per cent) of old respondents also do not compel their children to follow the customs of the community. The respondents who wish to do it are more in family building age group of 35-50 years, which in our study fall under middle age group. Only very slight difference in view point is noticed between young and old on this question.

Table - 7

Respondents' Attitude Towards Community Tradition

Age Group	Insistence		No Insistence		Total	
	Percent	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency
Young	40.3	50	59.7	74	100	124
Middle	46.8	36	53.2	41	100	77
Old	39.4	39	60.6	60	100	99
Total	41.7	125	58.3	175	100	300

The answer to the same question is again correlated with the respondents' education. Except the post-graduates, all others do not vary much. Among the illiterates, 58.3 per cent would not take interest in compelling children. Above sixty per cent of graduates and professional degree holders said they do not interfere in this matter. Nearly half of the post-graduates, despite their higher education, have reported that they insist on their children's conformity. When asked specifically the reason a secondary school head master said : "it is important to keep community's tradition. The customs and rituals would bring individuals together. Moreover, each community has certain distinctive qualities which should be preserved".

Another white collar employee said : "I insist on only the good aspects of our community. I like only some of the customs, I would neither allow my son to drink alcohol nor advise him to take

up weaving profession. But I want him to observe the practices associated with ritual purity and pollution".

An illiterate person holds: "whatever customs our forefathers made, as a rule we must follow them. These are all for our welfare. Some are of the opinion that as long as other castes stick to their own customs, there is nothing wrong in asking our people to practise our customs".

Table - 8

Respondents' Insistence on Community's Customs by Educational Level

Level of Education	Insist		Do not insist		Total Frequency N=300
	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	
Illiterate	41.7	5	58.3	7	12
Primary	46.1	35	53.9	41	76
Middle	36.1	13	63.9	23	36
Matriculation	42.7	38	57.3	51	89
Graduate	37.2	16	62.8	27	43
Post-graduate	53.8	7	46.2	6	13
Professionals	35.7	5	64.3	9	14
Technical and diplomas	35.3	6	64.7	11	17
	41.7	125	58.3	175	300

The wearing of sacred thread which was once considered as essential is becoming ceremonial among the present-day Saurashtrians. The youngsters of the community pay little attention towards the sacred thread ceremony. The parents are also said to be not very

rigid in insisting on this. At the time of interview, nearly eighty per cent of the weavers did not wear the sacred thread. While a majority of them did not like it, many weavers pointed out that they had removed it and kept it safely as it causes inconvenience in work (The weavers cannot move their hands freely as it is put across the shoulders). Many of the white collar employees who did not wear it said that they wear it only on auspicious days like marriage, Avani Avittam (an auspicious day to hold sacred thread ceremony) and remove it soon after the day passes on. Some others who had put on the sacred thread replied that they wore it because of the compulsion of elders.

One of the traders who reacted sharply said :How can I give up this practice which is a special privilege of our community people". He asked the researcher : "Now tell me what other proof have I to show others that I am a Saurashtran Brahmin!". Two other respondents engaged in business recollected that they were wearing it in the past and stopped after their fathers' death. Another respondent who did not have faith in the religion said : "Look time is changing and we also should learn to behave like that and we must try to change ourselves. I do not believe in God and such is my attitude towards any religious customs and ceremonies". To quote another young respondent: "I do not listen to my father, Do you think that I would follow the customs of our forefathers,?"

### Value Orientation

In order to assess the value orientation of respondents, they were asked to give their opinions concerning seeking advice from relatives, staying with them and leaving the natal family after marriage. In fact, the respondents were specially told by the researcher to furnish the answer from their own practical experiences.

Most of the respondents answered favourably for the first statement i.e. the advice of relatives helps one to overcome worries in life. A large percentage (62.7 per cent) has agreed that relatives' advice would provide some kind of relief to them. Of course, a minimum per cent did not agree with the statement. When asked about the second statement that there is little independence in staying with relatives, 61.3 per cent favoured it and remaining 28.7 per cent disfavoured it. A majority of respondents felt that their freedom would be restricted if they lived with relatives.

The next two statements are not favoured much by the respondents as they differ in their views. It is found that 72.7 per cent would not mind if a person is guided by his relatives. Although our respondents do not prefer physical proximity of relatives, yet they value relatives' advice. Next, nearly 60.7 per cent do not like establishing "neolocal" residence. An alternative answer given by them is that decision on this matter can be made keeping in view of the person's family position.

The occupational aspiration of young respondents for their future generation has been evaluated. The data highlight the fact

that most of these young respondents are highly ambitious regarding sons' professions. Table No. 9 given below shows the trends.

Table - 9  
Young Respondents' Desired Occupation For Their Sons

S. No.	Desired Occupation for sons	N =124	
		Percent	Frequency
1	Professionals	22.6	28
2	White collar	25.0	31
3	Technical	10.5	13
4	Trading	24.2	30
5	Weaving	4.8	6
6	Any occupation	12.9	16
	Total	100.0	124

It has been observed that a 25.0 per cent of young respondents expect their children to take up white-collar professions. About 23 per cent of our young respondents wish their children to become professionals. A little more than 24 per cent would feel happy if their sons start a business. Only 4.8 per cent want the next generation to opt for weaving. However, 12.9 per cent can not predict anything about the occupational goals of children. Most of them are of the view that children will themselves decide it.

Regarding the selection of job the young respondents considerably vary in their opinion. Nearly 38.7 per cent have supported the view that they strongly advice and decide about childrens' occupa-

tion. Another 29.8 per cent hold the view that parents' approval is necessary before taking up a job. At the same time 18.5 per cent want their children to decide for themselves.

Further an attempt was made to study the orientation of respondents towards education. The idea arose from the fact that education has been considered as an agent of change by the scholars of various disciplines. The respondents were asked to state the extent of education they would like to provide to their children. The responses have been shown in Table No. 10.

Table - 10

Aspirations About Education for Offspring

S. No.	Educational Aspirations	For sons		For daughters	
		Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency
1	Primary	7.0	21	14.0	42
2	Middle	12.3	37	12.0	36
3	Higher Sec	13.3	40	36.0	108
4	College	46.0	138	28.0	84
5	Technical	17.7	53	5.0	15
6	No education	0	0	0.6	2
7	Uncertain	3.7	11	4.3	13
Total		100.0	300	99.9	300

The respondents show great interest in providing higher education to sons rather than daughters. The figures shows that 46 per cent of respondents desire to educate their sons to the level of higher education. At the same time, it is significant to note that only 28 per cent wish to provide higher education to daughters. Middle school education is desired for both boys and girls by 12 per cent of our respondents.

Surprisingly, a relatively high percentage of respondents (36.0 per cent) desire to educate their daughters upto higher secondary standard. The response pattern also clearly indicates that there is a great interest among our respondents in providing technical education for their children. Nearly 17.7 per cent favoured technical education for their sons as against 5.0 per cent who favoured it for girls. The recently established Saurashtran Polytechnical Institute in Madurai is a satisfying development in this regard. And a negligible per cent (0.6 per cent) would not like to give any kind of formal education to their daughters.

Generally speaking, the educational achievement of Saurashtrians is much better than any other middle-ranking castes of Tamil Nadu. A glance at the educational background of respondents and their aspirations for son's education indicates a strong desire for educational mobility. Even the illiterates and primary educated respondents hope their sons will be better educated than themselves.<sup>12</sup> Only 23.3 per

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12. The mid-day meal scheme programme in Tamil Nadu has created a sense of awareness among the parents to send their children to the school. This Scheme facilitates the children to complete their school education without any difficulty.

cent of our respondents have acquired higher education, but the percentage doubles in responding to the question of children's higher education. Therefore, it can be concluded that our respondents have not only understood the value of higher education but also they are trying to impart education to the best of their capacity.

Table - 11

Respondents' Education Compared With Their Aspirations For Offspring

Educational Standard	Respondents' Education		Aspirations for son's Education	
	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency
Primary	25.3	76	7.0	21
Middle	12.0	36	12.3	37
Higher Secondary	29.7	89	13.3	40
College	23.3	70	46.0	138
Technical	5.7	17	17.7	53
No Education	4.0	12	3.7	11
Total	100	300	100	300

The respondents' chief aspiration in life has been recorded by asking them to choose one of the given answers. This is to know the subjective assessment of the respondents towards life. An analysis of the Table no. 12 shows that even the respondents engaged in the same occupation hold dissimilar views. Overall 33 per cent of the respondents are bothered about their children's prospect. This consists of 38 per cent of traders and 33 per cent of salaried employees.

Even 28 per cent of weavers have the same view. This shows that the respondents sentiments and care for the welfare for their offspring. The main desire of 20.3 per cent of respondents is to become more affluent by earning more. The weavers place a higher premium on money than the other two occupational groups. They have often said that if one has money everything will automatically follow him.

About 12.3 per cent developed ambition for raising the status. Especially 21 per cent of traders have considered that social status is more important than other things. Only five per cent of weavers are status-oriented in their aspiration. The aspirations for 'improving skill' is rather weak among the weavers. About 23 per cent of salaried employees and 15 per cent of traders like to improve their skills. A white collar employee said: "a skillful person is always appreciated in this society, moreover, an individual has to develop his skill to succeed in life". About 31 per cent of weavers and 16 per cent of the salaried employees desire a peaceful and happy life. Happiness is the ultimate aim of 8 per cent of traders. A weaver says that whatever may be economic condition man should learn to be cheerful.

Table - 12

Main Aspirations in Life

Aspiration for	Weavers (%)	Traders (%)	Salaried (%)	Total (%)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Improving skill	7	15	23	45(15.0)
Multiply income	27	18	16	61(20.3)

Table continued

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Raising status	5	21	11	37(12.3)
Children's prospect	28	38	33	99(33.0)
Leading happy life	31	8	16	55(18.3)
No answer	2	0	1	3(1.0)
	100	100	100	300(99.9)

The respondents were also asked to identify a particular event or situation which brought about a change in their life. This would give us some idea to understand the changing perspective of the community under study. From the respondents' perception, "over all 32.3 per cent have a steady life without any changes. The remaining respondents have clearly identified one or other of the seven major events as important in changing their materialistic conditions. Approximately, 17.7 per cent have referred to their independent earning as a factor of change. About 21.3 per cent visualise changes due to shifting to new occupations or after taking up secondary occupations. The marriage has been recognised as a turning point by 13.7 per cent of respondents.

The change of residence has also enabled 13 per cent of our respondents to modify their position. Moving away from parents (i.e. establishing nuclear family) brought changes in the life of 5.3 per cent among the respondents. A little more than three per cent related changes with children's occupation. The death of an earning member has adversely affected two per cent of families in our study.

Ideology

Linguistic And Social Identity

Saurashtrians who have maintained a distinct social and cultural identity are now losing their individuality gradually in almost all the areas of cultural activities. The Saurashtrians are making considerable adjustments in language, dress and food habits to bring their culture closer to that of the Tamils.

Table - 13

Change Noticed by Respondents During Life Time

S. No.	Events	Percentage	Frequency N = 300
1	No change	32.3	97
2	After started earning	17.7	53
3	After changing occupation	21.3	64
4	After marriage	13.7	41
5	After the death of an earning member	2.0	6
6	After separated from parents	5.3	16
7	After changing residence	4.3	13
8	After children's employment	3.3	10
	Total	99.9	300

About a twenty five years ago a Saurashtran lady could be identified without any difficulty from her dress. She used to wear her saree like a lady from Western India. Today no Saurashtran woman dresses up in that manner. The respondents were asked about their wishes in resettling in their native land. Ninety six per cent are unwilling to leave Madurai under any circumstances. The remaining four per cent are more attached with their ancestral land of Saurashtra than Tamil Nadu. Occupation-wise, 7 per cent of weavers and 4 per cent of traders carry the latter opinion. But only one salaried-employee is attracted towards his home land.

Table - 14

Respondents' Opinion of Resettling at Native Land By Occupation

Occupation	Wish (%)	Do not wish (%)	Total N =300
Weavers	7	93	100
Traders	4	96	100
Salaried	1	99	100
	12(4.0)	288(96.0)	300

Few respondents' explanations become worth quoting here. One respondent said: "I do not have any relatives there. Then what is the use of going back there". A post-graduate said: "I am born and brought up in Madurai. Now I am more a Tamilian than a Saurashtran. Even if I happen to settle down in Gujarat now, I can not adjust

with the people over there. I would rather be treated as a stranger by them". Another respondent said: "Even if all Saurashtrans leave Madurai, I would prefer to stay back in Madurai. I like the place as well as people over here. I can not say why is it so".

A trader narrated an interesting event to the researcher who questioned him about going back to Saurashtra. He said that once he happened to visit Gujarat for the purpose of trading. It seems that he took some personal interest and tried to identify his brethren or a caste having features of his own kind. He found that his language and culture were quite different from those of the places he visited in Gujarat. Another respondent said: "Unlike our forefathers we are courageous. Our forefathers did not resist the attack of enemies. We are not like them . Though we are a minority community, we are ready to encounter any threat to our survival. I am confident that no force on the earth could now make us to move to another place".

These kinds of expressions of our respondents strongly indicate that the present-day Saurashtrans strongly identify themselves with the land on which they live now and not with the land from which they came. The loss of regional identity of immigrant communities has ben confirmed by many empirical findings. Richmond<sup>13</sup> holds the view that longer the immigrants are away from the place of origin,

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13. Anthony H. Richmond, "Some Cultural Adoption and Conflict in Immigrant Receiving Countries", Migration, International Social Science Journal, vol. XXXVI, 1986, pp. 519-536.

the more their own sense of personal identity will change. M.S. Gore in his study of urban immigrants points out that the adoption pattern of present generation is faster than that of earlier generation. He writes: "It is possible that in those days the migrant was unwilling to learn of the way of life of the people among he migrated and it is also possible that the host groups were then not a hostile as they now appear to be. But whether or not there was hostility, there was always the distance - lingual and cultural - to be overcome".<sup>14</sup>

The Saurashtrians are attracted not only by Tamil Nadu but also by Tamil language and culture. The Saurashtrians quite often expressed their primordial identity through Saurashtri dialect with their people. Now they can not follow strictly the one language formula for the simple reason that the younger generation is getting more and more exposed to urban Tamil culture. Our study also gives the impression that the Tamil language influences Saurashtrians life.

Our respondents show more interest in reading Tamil magazines than Saurashtran magazines. They are very fond of Tamil movies and Tamil music, which often form topics of discussion for males and females at home.<sup>15</sup>

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14. M.S. Gore, Immigrants and Neighbourhood : Two Aspects of Life in a Metropolitan City, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, 1970, p. 4.

15. They take a peculiar pleasure in music and many of them are excellent songsters. Film music is played on all important festivals. The popular Tamil play back vocalist T.M. Soundar Rajan belongs to this community.

Table - 15

Language Spoken at home by Respondents

Language	Percent	Frequency N = 300
Saurashtri	33.0	99
Tamil	21.0	63
Saurashtri and Tamil	46.0	138
Total	100.0	300

The use of Tamil language at home has been frequently mentioned by our respondents. Although 33.0 per cent converse only through Saurashtri at home, 21 per cent can make use of Tamil language. A further 46.0 per cent use both the languages.

Regarding the spoken Saurashtri language, a respondent said: "I am not myself familiar with Saurashtri, how can I expect my children to speak it?" Of course, some of them feel that it is quite unfortunate that they do not have a full-fledged script for the language. Some parents take keen interest in teaching the newly developed Saurashtri alphabets. "While teaching, I am myself learning the language", says a respondent. A Saurashtra school teacher when contacted said Saurashtran primary educational institutions are trying to popularise the language among their children. There is poor response for it from

children, as it is not a medium of instruction or a compulsory subject.<sup>16</sup>

Like changes in linguistic identity they are also experiencing identity crisis at community level. The image of the community is not the same as it used to be. Historically, the Saurashtrians fought for the acquisition of Brahmanical status to the community. In the past they often used to suffix surnames such as Sastrigal, Iyengar, Iyer, and so forth in the Brahmanical fashion.<sup>17</sup> They do not go for the Sanskrit names now. Today, they name the children very often after the present film fans, politicians and other noted personalities.

Although they deviate from traditional practices in such matters, the claim to Brahmanical status is still in existence in many of their minds atleast in notional terms. But when occasion demands they do not even mind to step down with communities of lower position. On seeing the various concessions granted to the backward class communities, the Saurashtrians suddenly woke up and pleaded with the Government to include them in the category of Backward Class. Finally, their caste names appeared in the list of Backward Class as Saurashtran Pattunulkaran in the year 1971.

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16. When the Saurashtri language was introduced as a compulsory subject in an elementary school run by the community, it was met with stiff resistance. The kids were least willing to study the language and there were large number of failures; the idea was dropped. I am thankful to Prof. Neethivanan for this piece of information.

17. They use family name as first name. For example, a typical traditional Saurashtran name is like as "Nattamai S.R. Venkateswara Achariar" wherein Nattamai stands for family name, which in turn corresponds to the occupation. First initial 'S' denotes grand father's name and the second initial 'R' signifies father's name and the last name for Brahmanical status. Of course, Venkateshwara is named after the God.

In order to get a clear picture of the present status-image of the community the respondents were asked to state about others' perceptions of the community. Forty one per cent want to be called Saurashtra Brahman only. A less per cent (26.7) felt that they like the common term "Saurashtran" for them. Another 28.0 per cent are proud of being called Brahmans. Still others (3.7 per cent) refer to the traditional name "Pattunulkaran". According to one per cent, they should be treated as higher caste non-Brahman in the rank of Vellalars or Chettiars.

Table - 16

Respondents' Desire of Calling Their Caste Names

Preferred caste title	Percent	Frequency N = 300
Pattunulkarar	3.7	11
Saurashtran	26.7	80
Saurashtra Brahman	40.7	122
Brahman	28.0	84
Non-Brahman	1.0	3
Total	100.1	300

The self-identification of our respondents has been perceived through the question how would like to introduce yourself with a stranger? Considerable differences were noticed in the identification

of self by the respondents. Occupation becomes a major determinant of self-identity in our study (37 per cent). Thirty per cent of respondents try to identify along with caste lines. In eleven per cent of the cases, education forms the basis of identity and in nine per cent the family status helps to shape the identity. Ten per cent of respondents identify themselves with a position held at a voluntary agency.

Table - 17

Self-Identification of Respondents by Occupational Groups

Frames of references	Occupation			Total N = 300 (%)
	Weavers (%)	Traders (%)	Salaried (%)	
Caste	47	23	18	88 (29.3)
Education	3	9	21	33 (11.0)
Occupation	31	43	37	111 (37.0)
Family status	6	13	7	26 (8.7)
Voluntary agency	5	9	16	30 (10.0)
Miscellaneous (Politics, Trade Union, Region etc)	8	3	1	12 (4.0)
Total	100	100	100	300 (100.0)

Differences are also noticed among the major occupational groups regarding the identity perception i.e. in terms of orientation. One can easily observe from the table no. 17 that the identity of weavers is mostly ascriptive. Nearly half of the weavers are particular about caste in maintaining the identity. Identity through occupation is noted high among the traders (43 per cent) followed by the salaried

employees (37 per cent) . For thirty one per cent of weavers the identity is reflected through professional orientation. Thirteen per cent of traders referred to the family status and nine preferred to say their education. A considerable number of white-collar employees get friends introduced with education. Sixteen per cent of white collar employees take credit for their link with voluntary associations. A few among them narrated the researcher their active roles and achievements and the popularity through their social roles. The response pattern reveals the fact that the identity consciousness of our respondents is becoming achievement-oriented.

#### Modification of Religious Values and Practices

The Saurashtrians are a very conservative class and remarkably religious. In fact the religious beliefs and sentiments of the Saurashtrians brought a special honour to the community for a long--time, No doubt, Religion still continues to play a dominant role in the social life of the immigrant community.

One way of finding about the religious belief of the people is asking them the frequency of visit to the places of worship. In our study 38.3 per cent frequently visited temples and 48.7 per cent made only occasional visits. A lower per cent (10.0 per cent) rarely visited the temples and a three per cent never visited any of them.

The religious behaviour of our respondents also indicates that there is only a slight variation between the various age groups. Field observation also reveals that most of the Saurashtrians (more women

than men) are God-fearing and still have faith in religious practices. They celebrate religious festivals and offer pujas but not with as much enthusiasm as in the past. The difference is that they do not want to spend much time and money in these affairs. Temple visits have become a leisure time activity for many Saurashtran men and women.

Although many respondents worship Venkateshwara only very few have visited the Shrine in Tirupathi. Visits to Meenakshi Temple are made on almost all auspicious days. They do not fail to visit their community temple called Prasanna Venkateshwar Perumal Koil whenever they pass through the area in the town. Many fulfil their vows, if they succeed in their ventures. Moreover, the growth of many small and big temples in and around Madurai region keeps the Saurashtrians in touch with sacred places.

Table - 18

Frequency of Respondents' Visits to Temples by Age Group

Age Group	Frequency of visits				Total N = 300
	Often	Occasional	Rarely	Never	
Young	30.6(38)	50.8(63)	16.1(20)	2.4(3)	124
Middle	39.0(30)	54.5(42)	3.9(3)	2.6(2)	77
Old Old	45.5(47)	41.4(41)	7.1(7)	4.0(4)	99
Total	38.3(115)	48.7(146)	10.0(30)	3.0(9)	300

The Saurashtrians exhibit high expectations with regard to education, occupation and status in the society. The secular education and urban living have changed the Saurashtrians' outlook and attitude to traditional values. Of course, aspirations vary with the individual's position on the socio-economic scale, but they are certainly far ahead of achievement. As to the individual's aspirations and expectations regarding his future life, the typical Saurashtran presents materialistic in his outlook and generally seems to be quite optimistic. Our respondents strongly supported the view that a person can improve his socio-economic position by his own efforts.

Although they encourage the modern education and urban professions to a great extent, simultaneously they have developed negative view against such forces. Saurashtrians believe that such urban influences may undermine traditional unity and solidarity of family, kin and community networks. As noted previously, the highly educated and white collar employee's social involvement with the non-Saurashtran colleagues is considerable.

As far as the social identity is concerned, the Saurashtrians as a whole realise that they have more in common linguistically, culturally and socially with the people of Tamil Nadu than with those of Gujarat.