

UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA

A Sociological Study in Occupational Mobility

Thesis submitted to the
Goa University for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIOLOGY

by

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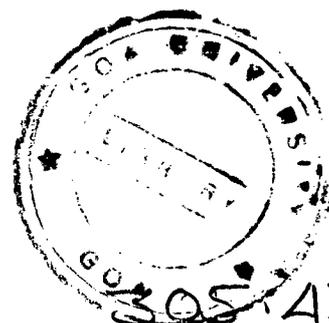
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Shri. S.R. Phal
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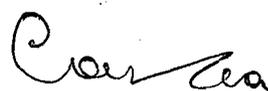
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STATEMENT

I hereby state that this thesis is a bonafide record of research work done by me under the guidance of Shri S. R. Phal, Former Reader, Department of Sociology, and Prof. K. M. Mathew, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences (Administrative Guide), Goa University. I further state that no part of this thesis has been presented earlier for any other Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or similar titles of this or any other University.

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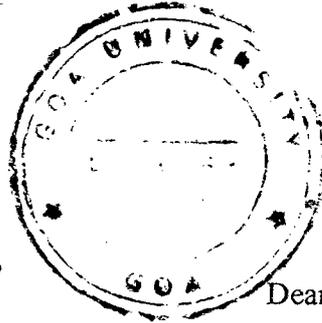
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(Ganesha Somayaji)

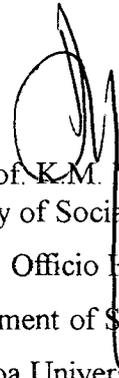
CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis entitled "UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA : A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY IN OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY" is an original work carried out by Ganeshia Somayaji under the guidance of Shri S.R. Phal (Feb. 1992 to Feb. 1997) and under my guidance (Administrative Guide) and that no part of this work has been presented for any other Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or other similar titles.



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Date : 20 - 8 - 1997.


(Prof. K.M. Mathew),
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Udupi Hotels and Restaurants are found in almost all cities and towns of India. The proprietors of these Hotels hail from Dakshina Kannada (DK) district of Karnataka State ; they are the migrants who entered into Hoteliering as a response to the challenges of livelihood. Through their migration and consequent mobility they hold mirror upto the social and occupational restructuration of our contemporary society.

My association with Udupi Hotels and Hoteliers is very old. Belonging originally to Udupi Taluka of DK, I have noticed that most of the households of the district have at least one member associated with Hoteliering. Adding to this I hail from an extended family where most of my kins were/are Hoteliers including my parents. I am a witness and part of their mobility experiences of various types. My academic interest in the occupational mobility of Udupi Hoteliers is rooted in these existential conditions. My general aim is to study the occupational mobility experiences of Udupi Hoteliers through occupational sociological parlance. On account of some practical considerations I delimited my study to Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.

Ever since the liberation (1961), Goa is experiencing rapid socio-economic transformation resulting in the continual creation of new and varied avenues of livelihood. This has converted Goa into a place for in-migration for the people of the other Indian States and Union Territories. The Udupi Hoteliers constitute one such category of in-migrants in Goa. The main aim of this study is to understand the social background of occupation in general and occupational mobility in particular of these Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. The findings of the study embodied in this thesis are based primarily on the field work conducted among them.

The thesis is organised into an introduction and six chapters. The introduction provides mainly the statement of the research problem and the methodological and theoretical considerations. Chapter one gives an overview of literature relating to the theme of the thesis. Chapter two deals with the research setting. Chapter three describes the social background of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. Chapter four examines the process of occupational choice and occupational entry. In chapter five the nature and consequences of occupational mobility are explained. Chapter six is devoted to the general summary and the conclusions of the study.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This study aims at understanding the social background of occupation in general and occupational mobility in particular of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. The study falls within the sub-discipline of sociology, namely Sociology of Occupations which "is concerned with using occupations as the basic sites for sociological investigation and operates on this site with the same sort of tools as those used more widely and generally by sociologists with similar sorts of purposes" (Dunkerly 1975 : 4).

OCCUPATION AND SOCIETY

An occupation or what an individual does for the purpose of earning his livelihood constitutes an important aspect of his life. However, it is not an isolated phenomenon. It relates to an occupational category. Many such occupational categories together form the occupational structure of society which is intimately related with the wider structure of society (Desai 1981: 134). The occupational activity compels an individual to interact with other individuals there by establishing social relations with them and thus it becomes an important matter not only for his personal life but also for the various groups wherein he lives. An individual's entry into an occupational career, occupational role performance, occupational mobility, and many other aspects of his occupational life are influenced by his personality type on the one hand and social factors and processes on the other. The occupation of an individual is therefore linked directly to the larger occupational and social structure of the society.

UNDERSTANDING INDIAN OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The occupational structure of contemporary India is complex, diversified, and specialised. It is marked by the growth of new occupations. A better understanding will be possible by the comparative view of that structure, say in the late 19th or early 20th century. India's main occupation was agriculture. As an occupation it was pursued by members of different caste groups. However, there was a difference between the people owning the land and tilling the land. The Dwija castes generally did not till the land but owned it and the Shudras did not own the land but tilled it. Some tilled the land taken on rent and some others only tilled the land as labourers. Apart from these agricultural status-roles, other occupational roles were characterised by "Jajmani" relationships. The occupational roles of village artisans like Carpenter, Blacksmith, Potter, Tailor and Barber were caste-determined, and necessary skills were acquired in the family. To a very large extent, an individual's birth in a family and a caste determined what type of activity would be allotted to him (Desai 1981 : 135). For this reason Prof. Ghurye (1969 : 15 - 18) considered the 'lack of unrestricted choice of occupation' as one of the important features of caste system in India. He observed that a Brahman thought that the right occupation for him is to become a priest, while the Chamar regarded it as his duty to cure hides and prepare shoes.

The process of occupational selection was governed by tradition and custom. The occupations were attached with the notions of purity and pollution and graded and ascribed to the caste groups. The works like scavenging and toddy-taping were ascribed to certain low-caste groups while the priesthood was given to the Brahmans (Ibid.). In

such a situation the search for an occupation other than that of his own caste was not proper, if not actually sinful (Kroeber quoted in Pande 1986 : 2). However, there were opportunities for occupational mobility in India (Tapar 1984 : 145). Traditionally, the shifting over to non caste and non familial occupation followed a pattern. Brahmans for example, while taking up occupations other than priesthood preferred those occupations which were not polluted (Ghurye 1969 : 15-18).

The social relationships among the different occupational roles were also governed by tradition and custom. Work and person were not separated to the degree they are now. A person's occupational activity was neither demanded nor offered by himself. Labour or occupational skill was not a commodity to be sold or bought as in contemporary India which is the biggest change in occupational relations and occupational structure of Indian society (Desai 1981 : 136).

India is emerging to be an occupational society; it is no more a totally status society (Form 1968 : 245 - 254 provides distinction between status and occupational societies). This change affects the relationship between occupation on the one hand and the institutions of the family, caste, and the village community on the other. Earlier an individual did not have the freedom to deviate from his traditional occupational role in the social networks of the family, caste, and the village community. Now he is free to select the occupational activity of his choice. While doing so he may seek the guidance of his relatives and caste friends, but is not dictated by them. The comparative occupational freedom of a modern Indian is facilitated by the growth of new economic institutions which are very closely associated with new occupational relationships. Modern system of

production for the market had been made possible by the availability of free labour and free capital. Sociologically, this process is very significant because it is associated with the growth of many modern occupations and professions.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND NEW OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITIES

India is experiencing wide-spread social transformation since independence. The roots of transformation are found in British India. Introduction of English education, development of infra-structural facilities like transport and communication, growth in the administrative machinery are some of the important issues relating to social transformation in British India. The emergence of new occupational activities is part of this general process of social transformation. The new occupations created before the World War I are mainly white-collar occupations. Because during this time the British government was the major employer, it was considered prestigious to join the government services rather than anywhere else. The entry into these new occupations required certain qualifications. It was contractual relationship which could be dissolved by either party according to a well-laid down procedure. The hours of work and remuneration were fixed and binding for both the parties. Besides, most of these positions were in the urban areas where the occupants could live in a particular style (Desai 1981 : 138).

The decades after World War I saw the growth of industrial and service occupations which were the results of the general modernisation of Indian society. The process is organically linked with the processes of migration, urbanisation, and industrialisation. Especially during the past four decades, there has been massive growth in urban centres and industrial units. The urban population of India grew from 25.8 million in

1901 to 156 million in 1981. The increase in urban population during these eight decades was six-fold. In 1951 it was at 62.4 millions and it comprised 17.3 per cent of the total population. In 1981 it had risen to 27.7 per cent of total population (Rao *et al.* 1991 : 78). The social composition of older and larger cities has radically changed because of migrant population.

Migrants constitute a sizeable section of urban India. Rural to urban and urban to urban migration accounted for 30 million in 1961 and 39 million in 1971 showing an increase of 30 per cent over the decade (Ashish Bose 1971 quoted in Rao *et al.* 1991 : 70). The urbanward migration is male-dominated in India as it is in many Asian and African countries. In 1961 and 1971 urban India had 10 million and 21 million male in-migrants respectively. The urbanward male migration accounted for nearly 38 per cent of the total male migration in 1961 and roughly 40 per cent in 1971. During the decade 1951-61 about 11.62 million people migrated from the rural to urban areas and nearly 3 million migrated in the reverse direction. In the next decade (1961 - 71) the number of rural - urban migrants was 10.98 million whereas the number of urban to rural migrants was 5.33 million (Premi 1981 quoted in Rao 1991 : 80). As per the 1981 census, there were 15.74 million rural- urban migrants and 6.39 urban rural migrants by place of last residence during 1971 - 81. The net rural- urban migration of 9.35 million contributed to a growth of 18.7 per cent in the urban population during 1971- 81 (Cherunilam 1987 : 92 quoted in Rao 1991 : 80). The net result of these processes is that between 1951 - 1991 about 985 towns /town agglomerations emerged in India and the number of UAs/Cities with million plus population increased roughly by four fold (see table 1 and 2).

TABLE 1 TRENDS OF URBANISATION IN INDIA 1901 - 1991

| Census year | Uas/ Towns | No. of Total Population | Urban population | Urban population as per- centage of total population | Decennial growth rate of urban population (per cent) | Annual exponential growth rate | Annual gain in per- centage of urban popula- tion | Annual rate of gain in per- centage of urban popula- tion |
|-------------|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|--|---|---|---|--|
| 1901 | 1827 | 238,396,327 | 25,851,873 | 10.84 | | | | |
| 1911 | 1815 | 252,093,390 | 25,94,1633 | 10.29 | 0.35 | 0.03 | -0.06 | -0.51 |
| 1921 | 1949 | 251,321,213 | 28,086,167 | 11.18 | 8.27 | 0.79 | 0.09 | 0.86 |
| 1931 | 2072 | 278,977,238 | 33,455,989 | 11.99 | 19.12 | 1.75 | 0.08 | 0.72 |
| 1941 | 2250 | 318,660,580 | 44,153,297 | 13.86 | 31.97 | 2.77 | 0.19 | 1.56 |
| 1951 | 2843 | 361,088,090 | 62,443,709 | 17.29 | 41.42 | 3.47 | 0.34 | 2.47 |
| 1961 | 2365 | 439,234,771 | 78,936,603 | 17.97 | 26.41 | 2.34 | 0.07 | 0.41 |
| 1971 | 2590 | 548,159,652 | 109,113,977 | 19.91 | 38.23 | 3.21 | 0.19 | 1.08 |
| 1981 | 3378 | 683,329,097 | 159,462,547 | 23.34 | 46.14 | 3.83 | 0.34 | 1.72 |
| 1991 | 3768 | 844,324,222 | 217,177,625 | 25.72 | 36.19 | 3.09 | 0.42 | 1.02 |

Note: 1. Annual gain in per centage of urban population

$$= (X_c - X_p)/10$$

2. Annual rate of gain in per centage of urban population

$$= \{ (X_c - X_p)/X_p * 10 \} * 100$$

where

X_c = Urban population as per centage of total population, current year

X_p = Urban population as per centage of total population, previous year

- As the 1981 census was not conducted in Assam, the 1981 population for India include interpolated figures for Assam.
- The 1991 census has not been held in Jammu and Kashmir. The 1991 population figures for India include projected figures for Jammu & Kashmir as projected by the standing committee of Experts on population projections (October, 1989)

Source : Bose Ashish (1994 : 24)

TABLE 2 URBAN AGGLOMERATION/CITIES WITH POPULATION MILLION
PLUS, 1901 - 1991

| Census year | No. of UAs/ cities (population million plus | Population (in thousands) | Net increase | Per centage increase | Population of million plus Uas/cities as per centage of India's Total Urban Population | |
|-------------|--|---------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|--|---------------------|
| | | | | | Population | Urban Population |
| 1901 | 1 | 1,510 | | | 0.6 | 5.8 |
| 1911 | 2 | 2,764 | 1,254 | 83.0 | 1.1 | 10.7 |
| 1921 | 2 | 3,130 | 366 | 13.2 | 1.3 | 11.1 |
| 1931 | 2 | 3,407 | 277 | 8.9 | 1.2 | 10.2 |
| 1941 | 2 | 5,308 | 1,901 | 55.8 | 1.7 | 12 |
| 1951 | 5 | 11,747 | 6,439 | 121.3 | 3.3 | 18.8 |
| 1961 | 7 | 18,102 | 6,355 | 54.1 | 4.1 | 22.9 |
| 1971 | 9 | 27,831 | 9,729 | 53.7 | 5.1 | 25.5 |
| 1981 | 12 | 42,122 | 14,291 | 51.3 | 6.2 | 26.4 |
| 1991 | 23 | 70,661 | 28,539 | 67.8 | 8.4 | 32.5 |

Source : Bose Ashish (1994 : 26)

In India along with urbanisation substantial industrial expansion has also taken place. The figures of joint-stock companies both public and private show that their number in 1971 was to the tune of 30,461, and it rose to 118,305 in 1985 (December). The growth in private companies has been more rapid in terms of numbers than in the public companies. There is a rise in the number of labourers working in organised sector from 12.09 millions in 1961 to 24.2 millions in 1984. Sociologically, these changes had major

implications for social restructuring not only in these sectors of activity but also in the society in general (Singh 1993 :33). Occupational restructuring is one among such implications.

Occupational restructuring is manifest at the first instant in the continual development of new categories and groups of occupations. These are the caste-free open occupations rather than the traditional caste occupations. They characterise Indian society as an occupational society. These occupations are also found in other occupational societies like England. Prof. Victor S. D'Souza in his study " Social grading of occupations in India" (1962 : 125 - 159) found out that there is a high degree of similarity between social grading of occupations in India and England. He selects thirty occupations for grading. They are : Doctor, Company Director, Business Executive, Lawyer, Chartered Accountant, Government Official, Priest, Works Manager, Owner Cultivator, Newspaper Reporter, Insurance Agent, Primary School Teacher, Sales Representative, Labour Contractor, Hotel Keeper, Carpenter, Fitter, Bus Driver, Mason, Taxi Driver, Agricultural Labourer, Dock Worker, Mill Hand, Waiter, Railway Coolie and Sweeper. It is evident that most of the occupations in this list are the outgrowths of social transformation and social restructuring.

Secondly, the number of alternative occupations available for the individual has considerably increased leading to occupational deviation and mobility. This has resulted in qualitative changes in the social life of mobile men and women.

Thirdly, occupational restructuring involves the swelling of the urban middle class. This has been made possible by the mobility of individuals from traditional agro-

based occupations to industrial occupations and caste-bound occupations to secular open occupations. Presently, the urban middle class comprises of the professional classes in the domains of technology, education, science, law, medicine, civil services, army and police services, journalism and architecture etc., mercantile capitalists and industrial entrepreneurs. These upward mobile groups represent the process of modernisation in India today (Singh 1993 : 33 - 34).

Fourthly, in the process of social and occupational restructuring the traditional institutions of caste, joint family, village community and religion have played both positive and negative roles in our society. Positively, the traditional institutions such as caste, joint family and religion have played a role supportive of modernisation in our society. Both Hinduism and Islam, considered to be traditionalistic in economic-ethical orientations have not come in the way of positive response to economic entrepreneurship. In the same way, joint family has provided for the promotion of economic enterprise, techno-economic innovations, generation of capital and promotion of credit and marketability of products. The traditional skills of castes based on hereditary occupations have been very helpful both in agriculture and mercantile vocations to promote innovation and high productivity. The leadership provided for the Green Revolution in most parts of the country has come from peasantry who are traditional agriculturists. Both Hindu and Muslim castes who were traditionally engaged in trade and crafts have stepped into the new role of commercial and marketing activities adopting modern institutional systems. These developments articulate the resilience of our traditions for adaptive response to the process of modernisation (Singh 1993 : 16).

At present we are confronted with the problem of understanding the process of social and occupational transformation and restructuring in India which is very complex. On the whole we are marching from status society to occupational society and closed caste-based hereditary occupational structure to open caste-free non-hereditary occupational structure where both labour and capital are free. But labour and capital mobility is also guided by the social structural positioning of the individuals and groups. The new and open occupations which are remunerative and prestigious are cornered by some individuals and groups and managed to be distributed among their close circles resulting in the better off positioning of some against others. A close look into the aspects of social change provides us a picture of complex relationships between social processes and occupational processes. What an individual does for himself to gain his livelihood is not just an individual activity ; it is a social activity having far-reaching implications for his own immediate group and the larger society. To know these processes fully and clearly, it is necessary to undertake sociological studies of occupations and professions in contemporary India. As new and non-hereditary occupational categories loom larger and larger in the changing social reality, for such sociological studies “ the proper units of investigation are not communities *qua* communities, but occupational categories in the context of different types of communities and integrated into a system of social stratification” (Gould quoted in Saberwal 1978 : 218).

During the last four to five decades sociologists have evinced keen interest in the studies of occupations in India and as such we have different sociological studies relating to different occupations such as teachers (Bhoite 1987, Hiremath 1983), the managers

(Jain 1978), the doctors (Madan 1972, Oommen 1978), the industrial workers (Jorapur 1979), the potters (Shrinivas 1959, Behura 1978), the warrior merchants (Mines 1984), Coal miners (Pramaik, 1993), the artisans (Brouwer 1995), and so on.

Important as these studies are they are very few. There are innumerable other occupations pursued in Indian society about which no systematic studies have been undertaken. Hotelieiring, for example, has emerged in modern India as a lucrative occupation. Among the Hotels the Udupi Hotels and Restaurants are well known. There is hardly any city in India without a Udupi Hotel/Restaurant. As far the knowledge of the present researcher goes no systematic study has been undertaken on the Udupi Hotels. The out- migration of the Udupi Hoteliers from their native places and entry into specific occupational categories and not others, their occupational mobility and the emerging reformulation of their social relationships with the traditional institutions of caste, family, village community and religion- all these present themselves to be important elements of social and occupational restructuring that is going on now in India. It is for this reason that the present study of the occupational mobility of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa has been planned.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Theoretical Considerations

The Udupi Hoteliers are out-migrants from the Dakshina Kannada (DK) district of Karnataka state. Udupi is the name of a matha-town, not temple-town, in DK; the town is also one of the taluka head-quarters. Developed over the centuries around the matha dedicated to Lord Krishna, the town is popular through out the world because of *Madhva*

dwaita philosophy and Udupi Hotels/ Restaurants. Both Udupi matha and Udupi Hotels are marked by practices relating to food preparation and food distribution, of course, with different orientations (Chapter Four and Appendix II provide some more details in this regard). Being a pilgrimage centre, Udupi matha is famous for *annadana* to the devotees of Lord Krishna everyday; Lord Krishna in the *matha* is considered as *Amabrahma*. Udupi Hotels are the commercial centres for *annavikraya* and they provide livelihood for their proprietors.

The Udupi Hotels emerged during the process of wide-spread social transformation that is under way in DK since the advent of the British (the process of social transformation in DK will be described in Chapter Three). Generally speaking, for the people of DK, the rapid growth of population, small and uneconomic holdings, poverty, landlessness and such other social forces created an atmosphere congenial for out-migration. The available facilities of transport and growing towns and cities of India provided actual avenues for spatial mobility. The mobile men are from different social, economic and educational background. All are not wealthy and highly educated. All are not competent enough to enter the prestigious higher salaried jobs and professions. Those who are less educated and less prosperous economically had to step into low salaried jobs and self employment. Udupi Hoteliering as an occupational category emerged during this period to cater to the occupational needs of some persons who were pressed to make use of their old culinary skills in order to make a living in the modern world (Madsen 1993).

While tracing the history of the Udupi Hotels and restaurants from the time they started around the First World War till today Madsen (1993) contended that they have

grown out of traditional methods of catering. The Brahmans of DK had a culture that was rich in culinary knowledge which was kept alive thanks to the frequent feasts arranged while conducting *poojas* and *samskaras* at homes and temples. The fact that the Brahmans were the first to take to the Hotel industry can be explained as a latent function of their socio-cultural background. In those days food taboos were strong both in villages and towns. Therefore, only a Brahman could establish a hotel and serve food to others (Bhat 1993 : 15). Even now in Bangalore we find Hotels and Restaurants with such names as 'Udupi Brahmanara Phalahara Mandir' or 'Udupi Brahmanara Bhojanalaya'. Arguing on this line, one could well establish that the pioneering Udupi Hoteliers were Brahmans and they could take to this occupation only because they were constrained by the lack of education and wealth. However in Goa, even a casual observer will find that the Udupi Hoteliers are of multi-caste origin. The present study tries to know and explain the actual social composition of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. It is concerned mainly with knowing : who are they ?

The economic condition of the DK during the first half of this century was miserable. Dr. Shivarama Karanth describes in one of his interviews appeared in Udayavani, Kannada daily, dated 10.5.95, " In the earlier days there were only two classes amongst us, namely Brahmans and non-Brahmans. All were poverty-stricken. The situation was so worse that even the Brahmans who were of upper class could eat once in two days. Only they could manage to consume milk and curd. The members of the remaining class had to depend upon manual labouring. When small holdings became still small after division, many Brahmans migrated to distant places and stucked on to hotel business. The

Konkanas and Bunts followed the same path. Now the members of other groups also entered this field and got success. The workers in those Hotels were also from DK. In one sense, hotel business is responsible for improving the economic conditions of DK. These days people possess some money to spend. Their life standard has improved substantially". This synoptic description of social and economic transformation of DK describes the role of Udupi Hotels in social restructuring. The personalities who took to this business are the creative men, the innovators, who responded to the challenges of social change and migration and became occupationally innovative and mobile.

The personalities of Udupi Hoteliers can be understood with the help of Thomas and Znaniecki's (1958) typology of human actors. They developed the typology in an effort to explore the interplay between social organization and individual attitude, between social constraint and individual response. They distinguished three typical cases in terms of the different responses of people to cultural demands. The first type is that of the *Philistine* who is a conformist. He usually accepts social tradition in its most stable elements. He finds it extremely difficult to adjust to the important and unexpected change in the condition of life. The polar opposite of this type is the *Bohemian* who is a rebel. He is highly inconsistent but shows a degree of adaptability to new conditions quite in contrast to the *Philistine*. The *Creative* man, the third type, is an innovator adaptable to new conditions, displaying different types of interests. His activities are superior than those offered by tradition because they are modified in nature. The *Creative* man does not simply act within the framework of tradition nor is he totally rebellious. On the contrary

by judiciously blending innovation with tradition he clears a new path through the forest of the customary and can hence be a creative guide in efforts to bring about social change (Coser 1977 : 516 - 517).

These are only the ideal typical personality types. "None of these forms is ever completely and absolutely realised by an Human individual in all lines of activity ; there is no *Philistine* who lacks completely *Bohemian* tendencies, no *Bohemian* who is not a *Philistine* in certain respects, no creative man who is fully and exclusively creative....." (Thomas & Znaniecki 1958 : 1857 quoted in Coser 1977 : 517). The typology provides with conceptual tool to analyse the response of Udupi Hoteliers to the processes of social transformation in developing a new occupational category, namely Hotel keeping, the choice of the same occupation by other individuals and the resultant occupational mobility. In the light of this discussion the present study seeks to understand the factors responsible for occupational choice and the nature of occupational mobility of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.

An occupation is primarily an economic activity. The economic activities and the associated occupations can be classified into various categories using different criteria. On the basis of nature of the community background occupations are classified into rural and urban occupations. On the basis of the level of technology handicrafts and cottage industries and highly sophisticated industrial occupations are identified. On the basis of the nature of relationship to the process of production of wealth occupations are classified as pecuniary and industrial. On the basis of the nature of skill unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled occupations are identified. On the basis of the nature of relationship to the firm workers are categorised as either self-employed or employees in others' firms. Lastly,

occupations can be classified as productive and service occupations on the basis of type of work. Of course, these classifications are only informative and not exhaustive. The occupation of an Udupi Hoteleir can be classified as an urban, pecuniary, self-employed, service occupation. Its membership in these categories reflects its origin in modern times and the present study examines the nature of the process of in-flow into this occupation and out-flow from the same.

The mobility of an individual from traditional occupation implies many things for other individuals and groups with whom he establishes social relations. The other individuals and groups may be his family members, relatives, caste and village community members, occupational colleagues, partners, employees or friends at the place of work. An Udupi Hotelier's changing occupational position will result in the horizontal or vertical mobility which in turn affects his social relations. Being a pecuniary occupational activity the hoteliering leads to monetization and the increasing wealth base of the Hoteliers. Among them how the upwardly mobile spend their income could be understood in the light of the 'theory of conspicuous consumption' of Thorstein Veblen. Those who are engaged in pecuniary employment make money. They are not satisfied with that. While spending money they attempt to symbolise their high standing in the continuous struggle for competitive advantage. Conspicuous consumption, conspicuous leisure, Conspicuous display of symbols of high standing are to Veblen some of the means by which men attempt to excel their neighbours and so attain heightened self-evaluation (quoted in Coser 1977 : 269). In the modern society Veblen contended that the tendency to display wealth tend to permeate the whole social structure. Even the downwardly mobile may

imitate the upwardly mobile. " The result is that the members of each stratum accept as the ideal of decency the scheme of life invoked in the next higher stratum, and bend their energies to live up to that ideal" (Veblen 1934 : 84 quoted in Coser 1977 : 269). In this study an attempt is made to examine the occupational mobility and the cosequent social relations of Udupi Hoteliers in the frame work of the struggle for competitive standing as formulated by Veblen.

The Main Objectives

In the light of the theoretical considerations stated above, the specific objectives of the study are identified. They are :

1. to explore the socio-economic background of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa;
2. to know the reasons for taking up Hoteliering as an occupation in general and Hoteliering in Goa in particular;
3. to study the inter-generational occupational mobility of the Hoteliers.
4. to trace and explain the intra-generational occupational mobility of the Hoteliers; and
5. to discern the over-all impact of occupational mobility on the general social status of the Udupi Hoteliers as perceived by them and also to examine and explain the consequences of occupational mobility.

The Hypotheses

1. The Udupi Hoteliers in Goa are of multi-caste background.
2. The majority of the Udupi Hoteliers are introduced to this occupation through their friends and relatives and caste and community members.

3. In the case of majority of the Udupi Hoteliers over the years the inter-generational occupational mobility has taken place along with upward social mobility.
4. Hoteliering in general is leading to monetization which in turn is leading to conspicuous consumption.
5. The rate of occupational persistency is high among the male children of the Hoteliers

Conceptual frame work

Key terms keywords

The meaning of the concepts employed in the formulation of the objectives and hypotheses has been described below.

1. Udupi Hotelier : - An Udupi Hotelier is a migrant from DK in Goa who owns any type of Hotel or Restaurant.
2. Inter-generational occupational mobility :- The nature of occupational changes from fathers' to the repondents' and respondents to their children's generation.
3. Intra-generational occupational mobility :- Occupational changes in the life time of one generation.
4. General social status of the respondents as perceived by them :- The way in which the respondents perceive their class positions as upper or middle or lower class.
Their own account of their social standing in Goa and in their native places.
5. Multi-caste background :- The differences in the caste background of the respondents.
6. Upward social mobility : - The social climbing in the status hierarchy.
7. Monetization :- Increase in the wealth base during pecuniary activity.
8. Conspiciuos consumption : - The consumption of wealth, goods and services primarily for the purpose of display. The term was used by Thorstein Veblen in his

theory of the *Leisure* class (1934 New York : Modern Library) to point out that people who have a surplus of wealth (above the subsistence level) use it not for constructive or useful purposes, but rather to enhance their social status (cited in Scott 1988 : 74)

9. Occupational persistency :- The tendency to remain in father's occupational position

THE REASONS FOR CONFINING THE STUDY TO GOA

The study has been confined to the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. This was done because of several reasons .

(1) The present researcher is employed in Goa, but hails from Udupi taluka of DK which served as a geographical core from where the pioneering Udupi Hoteliers out-migrated.

(2) The present researcher's father was a Udupi Hotelier and is now working in other's hotel. An observation of his father's experience of climbing and sinking in the occupational and social ladder provided special assistance in delimiting the problem and also made him accessible to several types of data which an external observer would have missed to locate.

Can this be omitted

(3) There has been phenomenal growth and development of Udupi Hotels in Goa particularly during the last two decades and therefore the Udupi Hotels in Goa provide an ideal setting for the study of occupational mobility.

(4) A more practical consideration for the selection of the problem was that rapport building with the respondents for collecting data would be easy for the researcher since he has regional and linguistic (Kannada) affinity with them.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The methodological issues relating to the study have been discussed under the following head lines :

- (1) the over all methodological framework ;
- (2) the definition of the universe and the identification of the units of observation;
- (3) the methods and phases of data collection ;
- (4) the process of data analysis; and
- (5) some of the field experiences.

Over all Methodological Frame Work

Initially it was decided to proceed with exploratory and descriptive research designs to know who are the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa and what are the characteristics of their occupational mobility. However, in the course of the actual research it became evident that even explanatory and analytical research design is required at some level to deal with the research objectives.

The unfamiliarity of the present researcher with the general characteristics of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa made him to seek answers to certain exploratory questions like the types of Hotels and Restaurants and their owners in Goa, the public image of the Udupi Hoteliers, inter linkages between tourism and hoteliering in general, and locating and identifying the Udupi Hoteliers. Before entering the research field in Goa the researcher knew virtually nothing about it because of the non existence of the study of any kind about

the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. Therefore, empiricism became the overall methodological frame work.

In the beginning the researcher travelled extensively in Goa talking to the owners of and workers in the Hotels and Restaurants, the tourists, travel agencies, academic colleagues, migrant labourers, and the children of the Udupi Hoteliers who are also studying in the college where the researcher teaches. He also visited the Hotels and Restaurants Owner's Association, Goa. This preliminary survey helped him to acquire some idea about the problem under investigation. Some observations of sociological importance are : (1) the tourists, especially south Indian, search Udupi Hotels because of their reasonable rates, taste and cleanliness; (2) the Udupi Hoteliers are of multi-caste composition ; (3) many of their traditional occupation is not Hoteliering ; (4) the reasons for taking up Hoteliering as an occupation varies ; (5) the employees of higher cadre belonged invariably to the close family circle or caste or community ; and (6) the children of the Udupi Hoteliers are getting good education. These and other stray observations together with an examination of the literature pertaining to the processes of social transformation, occupational diversification, and occupational mobility came handy in the delimitation of the problem area and the subsequent revision over the research design.

The descriptive components of the study attempted to know the social background of the respondents and the types of occupational mobility. This was done through the survey design. An attempt also has been made to describe the layout of a typical Udupi Hotel and occupational statuses and roles within it. These research exercises helped to raise some critical questions of theoretical significance like why most of the Udupi

Hoteliers moved out of their traditional occupation of cultivation and where their children are moving out and why? Field work technique was followed in this analytical phase also. Throughout, the researcher was guided by a constant interplay of exploratory, descriptive, and analytical research designs.

Definition of the Universe and the Identification of the Units of Observation

The Udupi Hoteliers in Goa constitute the population or universe. To go ahead initially we required a definition of the universe. Irrespective of the type of food served, and the names given all of the Hotel and Restaurant's owners who hail from DK are considered as Udupi Hoteliers. The units of observation and the respondents are scattered in the length and breadth of Goa, but are concentrated in its towns and cities.

At the outset the researcher felt that it is easy to identify the respondents and to subsequently determine the size of the universe. He thought most of them are associated with the Hotel and Restaurant Owner's Association, Goa. However, a careful study of the members' list revealed that all the Udupi Hoteliers have not registered themselves as members in the Association.

Since the full information about the total number of units within the population is not available the 'snow-ball sampling' method has been employed to identify them. Snow-ball sampling is one of the recently developed sampling plans which is different from the traditional ones. If the universe to be studied lacks exact list of units, this method can be adopted to identify them. This method is extremely useful when all the target groups maintain contacts between them, and the group is willing to reveal the names of others. The serious limitation of this sampling is that those who could not be located may have

peculiarities, in which case the study gets biased (Sharma *et al.* 1988 : 199). This method is not useful if the universe is very large because basically this method is guided by socio-metric techniques.

At the outset with the help of researcher's friends who stay in different places of Goa, some Hoteliers from DK in those places were identified. By acting as the core informant group these Hoteliers helped in locating other Hoteliers from DK. In this way totally 125 Udupi Hoteliers were located who are to be repondents in the first phase of data collection.

Methods and Phases of Data Collection

Keeping in view the complexity of the problem under consideration, multiple data collection methods have been employed and out of them 'interview' and 'observer as participant' are important. Keeping in view the specific objectives of the study, an exhaustive interview schedule has been prepared. Wherever possible the questions and answers have been structured to facilitate the process of data analysis. After conducting a pre-test, the schedule has been finalised (the copy of the same is provided in Appendix I). It has been divided in to seven components. The first part is on the general information which includes questions on the sex, age, caste, religion, marital status, length of residence in Goa, mother tongue, other languages known and the language used at the place of work and at home. The second part elicits information about the natal home, the location of the native village, traditional occupation and its continuation by other members, reasons for continuation, the general economic status of the native family, and the social linkages of the out-migrants with the non-migrants are some of the areas covered. The third part

deals with the experience of migration by the respondents. The reasons for out-migration, the people involved in his migration, the places went and occupations under took, and the reasons for coming to Goa are the major issues dealt with. The part four elicits information about the present family of the respondent in Goa and the type of housing. The part five is concerned with the education of three generations. The part six collects data regarding the occupational aspects like the type of the Hotel, number of workers and their background, career pattern of the respondents and the occupational mobility. The part seven deals with some other relevant data regarding the type of family, mate choice, dowry, associational activities and relationships with other kin, caste, and village community members in Goa. The actual interviews were conducted in Kannada language.

The identification of the respondents and interviewing them were conducted from the February 1995 to the February 1996. The interviews were held in their place of work whenever they found free time. Seven respondents out of 125 either did not cooperate or missing whenever they were tried to be contacted. Hence, during this first phase of data collection, information about 118 Udupi Hoteliers has been gathered.

In this preliminary and major survey, certain broad patterns have been noticed that Bunts are emerging to be single largest group as proprietors of Udupi Hotels ; that the prosperous Hoteliers are engaged more and more in conspicuous consumption like extra vaganza in marriage, huge amount of dowry, lavish decoration of the house and business establishments and so on; and that the respondent's children's generation show a tendency towards both occupational persistency and deviation[?]. To probe into these and other

patterns, purposive samples have been drawn from the total of the respondents interviewed in the first phase.

A purposive sample is one that has been hand-picked by the investigator to ensure that some specific elements are included. Because of the selectivity involved, it is assumed that all relevant strata will be represented in a given research design. This sampling is also called judgemental sampling because the investigator exercises his judgement to include elements that are presumed to be typical of a given population about which he seeks information (Black and Champion 1976 : 305). The technique is both advantageous and disadvantageous. It does not involve any random selection process. Consequently, it is somewhat less costly and is more readily accessible to the researcher. Convenience is another incentive to employ this method. Another advantage is that this method guarantees that certain elements will be included that are relevant to the research design. As far as the negative side is concerned regardless of how strongly one believes in the typicality of the sample selected, there is still no way to ensure that the sample is truly random or representative in the probability sense. Random samples are more efficient for generalising compared to purposive samples. The purposive sampling method requires more extensive information about the population one studies compared with other random and non-random sampling forms (Ibid. 305 - 306).

Keeping in view the advantages and disadvantages of the purposive sampling techniques, the respondents of the first phase of survey have been classified into several categories like on the basis of location, caste and size. The locations are cities/towns, mining and industrial centres. The caste groups are Bunts, Brahmans, Gowda Saraswat

Brahmans and others. On the basis of the number of persons employed, Hotels are classified into small (five and less than five), medium (6 to 10 workers), and big (11 or more workers). Some Hoteliers from all these categories have been re-interviewed (see table 3) with the help of an interview guide. The preparation and finalisation of the guide was done after a pre-test.

TABLE 3 CLASSIFICATION OF THE RESPONDENTS ON THE BASIS OF CASTE AND SIZE AND PURPOSIVE SAMPLES

| Castes and Communities | Size of the Hotel on the basis of no. of Employees | | | Total | Percentage |
|------------------------|--|-----------------|-----------------|------------|------------------|
| | 5 and less than 5 workers | 6 to 10 workers | 11 more workers | | |
| Brahmans | 4 (1) | 4 (1) | 5 (2) | 13 (4) | 11.02 |
| Bunts | 8 (2) | 20 (3) | 16 (3) | 44 (8) | 37.29 |
| G.S.B. | 3 (1) | 7 (1) | 21 (3) | 31 (5) | 26.27 |
| Others | 18 (2) | 9 (2) | 3 (1) | 30 (5) | 25.42 |
| Total | 33 (6) | 40 (7) | 45 (9) | 118 (22) | Total Percentage |
| Percentage | 27.97 | 33.90 | 38.13 | Total | 100 |
| | | | | Percentage | |

Note : Figures in paranthesis indicate the size of the puposive samples.

In order to elicit supportive data to qualify the analysis of the information gathered during the first and second phases of data collection a third phase was undertaken in that some of the hotel workers, the family members in the place of work and the family members in the place of origin have been interviewed.

Process of Data Analysis

The data collected have been subjected to both quantitative and interpretative analysis. Simple statistical techniques of frequency distribution and tabular presentations have been used to describe and analyse quantitative data. Keeping in mind the purposes of the study, the theoretical underpinnings, and the possible critical bearings of the research questions, the qualitative data have been analysed. The data analyses have been done manually.

A Note on Field Experiences

The researcher's initial complacency that he could establish rapport very easily with his respondents was shattered in the beginning of the field survey itself due to the busy nature of the occupation, suspicion, and the distorted field. Firstly, the occupation of a Hotelier is so engaging that the researcher saw many of them working continuously from morning 5 'o'clock to evening 11 'o'clock. Therefore, the researcher had to make several visits to get free time to interview the Hoteliers. Many times he spent several days to get complete information from a single Hotelier. For this reason only to complete the first phase of data collection, i.e. to interview 118 Hoteliers, the researcher had to spend nearly one full year stretching from the February 1995 to the February 1996.

The Hoteliers were initially not ready to talk to the researcher. They did not believe him and were suspicious about his work. Because every now and then they were harassed by such government officials as Food Inspectors, Labour officers and Municipality officers. In the beginning they suspected the researcher to be one of them.

One very important fear was that the researcher may be connected with Tax Officer. However the identity letters were of great help in removing the suspicion.

The field has been already distorted by the non-academic researchers of various kind. These days the consumer surveys are a common place. The Hoteliers are always contacted by Banks and soft drinks agencies for data on services and sales. The Hoteliers never take these researchers seriously. The present researcher had therefore to struggle hard to create an atmosphere of the importance of the type of academic research he has undertaken.

The researcher is fortunate that he is from Udupi and belongs to a Hotelier's family and knows Kannada language. This fact enabled him to establish good rapport and gather tu information.

CHAPTER SCHEME

The whole thesis is organised into an introduction and six chapters. The introduction deals with the background of the research problem, statement of the problem, research design and methodology, the reasons for confining the study to Goa, and the chapter scheme. Chapter one is an overview of literature on occupations and occupational mobility. It gives an idea of some western perspectives on mobility, study of mobility and occupations in India, study of Udupi Hotels and Hoteliers. Chapter two is on research setting. It provides a descriptive account of social transformation in DK and Goa. It also discusses Udupi Hotel as an organised social group. Chapter three explores the background social characteristics of the Udupi Hoteliers in order to find answer to the question : who are the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa ? Chapter four makes an attempt to

understand the processes associated with and the factors responsible for the selection of Hoteliering as an occupation among the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. Chapter five, to begin with, clarifies the meaning of some of the important concepts used extensively in occupational mobility research. Later on it discusses the nature, extent, and consequences of occupational mobility among the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. The last chapter comprises of the summary of the thesis and its conclusions. It also attempts to identify the limitations of the present research and possible areas of future research. In addition to the six chapters outlined above, the thesis consists of a bibliography and appendices.

CHAPTER ONE

OCCUPATION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY : AN OVERVIEW

CHAPTER ONE

OCCUPATIONS AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY : AN OVERVIEW

Occupation is a socially desired activity and it is ubiquitous in nature. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, edited by Sykes J.B. defines occupation as, “ what occupies one, means of passing one’s time, temporary or regular employment, business, calling, pursuit...” (1989 : 702). Sociological definitions of the term occupation subscribe, by and large, to the above dictionary meaning. However, these definitions are characterised by certain sociological perspectiveal specificities. Richard H. Hall, for example cautioned that any sociological definition of occupation should include the great variety of activities that could legitimately be called occupations and it should suggest the fact that an occupation had multiple consequences for the individual and society (1969 : 4). He considers an occupation as, “ the social role performed by adult members of society that directly and/or indirectly yields social and financial consequences and that constitutes a major focus in the life of an adult” (Ibid. : 4 - 5). The rationale behind limiting to the adult years in the definition is in recognition of the fact that schooling and occupational experiences prior to this period are essentially preparations for the occupational role of an adult. Another definition, inclusive of some other details is available in *Scott’s Dictionary of sociology*. Occupation is, “ a set of activities centred on an economic role and usually associated with earning a living - for example, a trade or profession. An occupation is a social role that is determined by the general division of labour within a society. As a specialisation of an

individual's function in society, it is an important factor defining a person's prestige, class position, and style of life" (1988 : 280).

For sociologists, thus, occupations are the social roles and occupational groups the status groups. In the modern occupational structure the occupational roles are achieved and not ascribed. Hence, an individual is not stationary in one type of occupational role ; he is also not given with one occupational option, but many. This epistemological position gives rise to certain sociological questions to be answered such as - why an individual chooses one occupation rather than another ? What makes him to move out of father's occupation ? What are the constraints placed upon individuals in this choice process ? Why movement within an occupation and what comprises an occupational career ? (Dunkerley 1975 : 2). These questions are generally answered by sociologists by relating mobility to stratification.

Mobility is understood in terms of social or status-mobility which in turn is considered to be closely related to social inequality. From this it follows that the understanding of the social mobility problems of a group requires to have a knowledge of inequalities prevailing in the society and the prevalent pattern of social stratification (Shiva Prasad 1987 : 39). In fact, the main point of contact between mobility and the rest of sociology has been the study of stratification. Thus normally social mobility is thought of as a movement between social classes. However, it is operationalised in occupational terms and what is actually measured is the movement between broad groupings of occupations. The fact often forgotten is that social mobility is in many respects occupational mobility, and so it is a product of occupational transformation and

employment processes that have taken place in specific historical and social milieu (Payne 1987 : ix). An overview of some sociological works on mobility in the West will reveal the implicit significance of occupational dimension.

SOME WESTERN PERSPECTIVES ON MOBILITY

The various occupational dimensions of social stratification and mobility are examined in great detail in his classic work on social mobility by Sorokin (1927 , 1959). He considers mobility as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. At first he classifies ' social space' into two principal dimensions, the vertical and the horizontal. The vertical dimension or the system of social stratification, to Sorokin means " the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superposed classes " (Sorokin 1959 : 4 quoted in Coser 1977 : 473). Stratification is composed of classes differentiated by three criteria - namely, the economic, the political and the occupational . The first refers to the differentials between the wealthy and the poor. The second refers to the hierarchical structuring of social ranks with respect to authority and power. The third is the differentiation of the members of a society into various occupational groups, the ranking of the occupations and the internal division within an occupation between those who give orders and those who receive orders which Sorokin terms occupational stratification (quoted in Coser 1977 :473).

Sorokin observed that no class-structured society is totally closed where no movement between one class and another was possible. Even the history of the caste-structured Indian society shows that there have been times when the highest Brahman caste was overthrown altogether and replaced by members of the lower castes. At the

same time no class structure has been totally open. He pointed out that societies vary in the degree to which their respective class structures are opened or closed depending on differences in legal institutions, historical legacies, ideologies, the stability of the economic institutions, and the like (quoted in Pande 1986 : 6 - 7).

Sorokin understands mobility as the transition of people from one social position to another. He identifies two types of mobility : horizontal and vertical. The first is the movement from one social position to another situated on the same level as from work as a clerk in one firm to similar work in the other. The second is the transition of people from one social stratum to one higher or lower in the social scale, as a poor man becoming rich or children of rich man becoming poor (quoted in Coser 1977 : 474).

Two principal forms of ascending and descending movements are identified. They are, the individual vertical mobility and the collective vertical mobility. Out of these two, Sorokin's main emphasis is on collective and not on individual mobility. He identifies the channels of vertical mobility, the mechanisms of social selection and distribution of individuals within different social strata and they are : the army, marriage, the church, the school, professional associations, political alliances and wealth. These are "sieves" that sift individuals who claim access to different social statuses and positions. These institutions influence the social selection and distribution of the members of a society. They allow some individuals to climb and others fall in the hierarchy.

Together with the types of mobility Sorokin proposes several features of mobility in modern society (1927 : 435 - 9 and 455 - 6 quoted in Payne 1987 : 4). They are :

- (1) there is a high level of dispersion of offspring to different occupational groups from those of their fathers;
- (2) all occupational groups consist of members with heterogeneous origins ;
- (3) the difference between occupational groups as separate entities is 'blurred';
- (4) there is, nonetheless, still a high level of occupational inheritance;
- (5) similar occupational groups (i.e., those adjacent in the occupational hierarchy) are more likely to exchange members;
- (6) mobility is therefore more likely to be 'short- range' than across the whole of the hierarchy; and
- (7) the middle of the hierarchy is likely to be more stable than the extremes.

The researchers of succeeding generations have evinced keen interest in these propositions of Sorokin. Sorokin also identifies the consequences of mobility. He highlights its dysfunctional and functional aspects. The high degree of mental strain, psychological problems, cynicism, social isolation and the loneliness cut away the individuals from their social moorings. On the other hand, the increase ^dintolerance and the marked interest in the intellectual life were likely to occur in highly mobile societies (quoted in Coser 1977 : 475).

Continuing on these lines, of course with different focus, Litwak in his essay "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion" (1960) examines the relationship between occupational mobility and extended family cohesion. He questions Parsons' hypothesis that extended family relations are antithetical to industrial societies because they are not consonant with occupational mobility. Parsons' hypothesis tends to be valid

only during periods of emerging industrialisation because it deals with classical extended family which is defined by Litwak in terms of geographical propinquity, occupational dependence, and nepotism, a sense that extended family relations are most important, and a hierarchical authority structure based on a semi-biological criterion, i.e., the eldest male. Litwak suggests that a modified extended family relation is in consonance with occupational mobility and more functional than the isolated nuclear family. This extended family by providing aid across class lines, permits the nuclear family to retain its extended family contacts despite differences in class positions. At the same time the aid is isolated from the occupational system and does not hinder mobility based on merit.

Another mobility study that stresses on the consequences of mobility is that of Richardson's *contemporary social mobility* (1977). His work is based upon the data collected in two investigations - a survey in 1970 by the Institute of Community Studies of 854 males aged 17 years and over in the London Metropolitan Region; and a series of extended interviews by him with a sub-sample of 117 men drawn from that initial survey. The main aim is to study the experience of social mobility in industrial societies. While analysing the consequences of downward and upward mobility Richardson (Ibid. : 27) puts to test Sorokin's thesis that mobility is also 'dissociative', diminishing intimacy and increasing psycho-social isolation and loneliness. He recognises that considerable body of research in the United States has sought to document empirically the dysfunctional aspects of mobility. But all these are only small advances because they are scanty and impressionistic. The main reason for this is the insufficient attention being paid to the context in which mobility occurs and to the different kinds of mobility people are likely to

experience. " Thus structures, institutions, and ideologies all may be expected to have an effect not only on what happens to people who are mobile but also on their perceptions and difficulties of mobility and on the kinds of mobility experiences which are possible" (Ibid. :28). Recognising the scarcity of such studies, Richardson embarks upon one. Some important conclusions of his study are delineated below .

- (1) While explicating the meaning and nature of downward mobility in industrial society, he concluded that previous theory and conjecture had over-estimated empirically the social and psychological significance of downward mobility in the middle class. It neither creates a cadre of discontents vulnerable to political extremism and racism nor does it tell us very much about how open or fluid is the social structure (Ibid. : 274 - 275).
- (2) Upward occupational mobility had involved an economic development for most of those experiencing it. However, improving economically is not the same thing as social mobility. Upwardly mobile had experienced only a limited change in life style and pattern of association (Ibid. : 275).
- (3) The upwardly mobile were no more isolated, no more prone to 'status insecurity', prejudia and anomia than others in the sample (Ibid. : 282).
- (4) The disruptive effects of mobility have generally been understood to be more likely to occur where there is a relatively high degree of status rigidity, inadequate preparation for mobility and where the social distance traversed is large. A further assumption is that the constraints of class are powerful and binding and when once broken by social mobility effectively leave the individual isolated and anxious about his social status

and identity. However, in contemporary British Society several of these conditions are either missing or less relevant than in the past. While core members of the middle class remain concerned with status and do not readily accept new comers into their midst, those moving upwards do not, by and large, seem very anxious to be accepted by this group. Their mobility is not so intensive as to cause them to come directly into contact with core members of the middle class. The upwardly mobile also appear to be relatively devoid of interest in status striving (Ibid. : 286 - 287).

The significance of the study is the consideration of the operational measure of social mobility as occupational mobility and Richardson has confined the analysis to international movements across the manual/non-manual line and *vice-versa*. The data collected are historically specific and involve men who were born in the depression years and during World War II. The men born in post-war years are likely to have very different aspirations for mobility and perspectives about mobility than those who were born in the 20's or 30's. The recognition of the significance of changing conditions, and attitudes and values is the strength of Richardson's work (Ibid. : 288).

A macro sociological study of mobility had been attempted by Lipset and Bendix (1964). They did a comparative analysis of international data pertaining to France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Japan and the U.S.A. Their main thesis was that mobility was an integral and continuing aspect of the process of industrialisation. In their view a large proportion of the population in every industrial society were forced to find occupations considerably different from those of their parents. They recognised the increasing size of the labour force in urban occupations and decreasing number of people

engaged in agriculture. The changes in the distribution of occupations from generation to generation thus meant that no industrial society could be viewed as closed or static.

Among the mobility studies in America, Blau and Duncan's work (1967) is more comprehensive, technically more sophisticated, and conceptually more developed than previous efforts. By using a sample of 20, 700 respondents representing about 45 million men 20 to 64 years old in the civilian, non-institutionalised population, they examined the occupational mobility, relationship between mobility and migration, ethnicity, kinship and fertility patterns. They attempted to know the role played by the parental education and employment in deciding the respondent's present socio-economic status. They concluded that social mobility was a process of status attainment and it is dominated by universalistic values. In an industrial society ascriptive factors like family background play a smaller part in deciding occupational fates than the role played by achievement factors such as educational qualifications and work performance which are considered while filling posts that require technical skill. This type of 'universalistic system' produces technological progress, high standard of living, greater equality of opportunity, reduced kinship, higher rates of migration, differential fertility, 'stable democracy' and high rates of occupational mobility.

They rated occupational groups into 17 categories, with professionals and managers at the top of the scale and farm workers at the bottom. They then proceeded to measure the amount of movement between these occupational groups. Their interesting conclusions are :

(1) the vast majority of sons do not end up in the same occupational group as their fathers;

- (2) most of the moves, however, are only one or two steps upward or downward from the father's occupation;
- (3) there is much more upward than downward movement, that is, the son is likely to have a higher status job than his father ;
- (4) the 17 occupational groups listed seem to break into three basic clusters : white collar workers, blue-collar workers, and farm workers; and there is little mobility among these three clusters.

By assembling historical data Blau and Duncan believed that the conclusions listed above have held true for at least the last 40 years in the United States (quoted in Baldrige 1980 : 397).

One of the major influences on mobility research in Britain came from Glass (1954). Describing the key role played by this work in the growth of mobility research Payne (1987 : 88) writes " for over twenty years Glass was to social mobility what Darwin was to the theory of evolution". Leading English Writers on social class such as Bottomore (1965), Westergaard and Resler (1975), Worsley *et al.* (1977), Parkin (1971), and Giddens (1973) quote Glass as foundation of their ideas about rates of mobility. Because of its large sample with national coverage (3,497 male respondents in England and Wales and 417 in Scotland), its statistical innovations, and other reasons the study became unimpeachable (Payne 1987 : 89). The interpretations of mobility by Glass and those who drew heavily on Glass contain several interrelated strands. First, mobility normally taken to mean exchange mobility rather than structured mobility : that is, mobility refers to those movements between occupational statuses over and above any

movements 'necessitated' by a change in the occupational structure between the father's and the son's generations. Second, movements over the whole range of the occupational structure are very rare. The typical move is short distance one. Third, social mobility has been subsumed under a wider concern with the contemporary class structure. Mobility is seen only as a contributory factor in the structured inequality of life chances, and in class formation (Ibid. : 91).

One of the critics of the mobility studies discussed above comes from Payne (1987). After a critical revision of the perspectives on mobility he recognises that the current place of mobility in the sociological lexicon is because of the connection between mobility and stratification. Paradoxically, the very strength of the connection has narrowed the relation of mobility to other sociological problems. He laments, "This has resulted in a failure to realise the potential of mobility analysis to contribute to a wide range of sociological debate. It has also hampered the development of a proper understanding of the relationship between class and mobility itself. Central to this is the way in which mobility researchers have on the whole neglected the social context in which mobility occurs and the way in which *class mobility* is in fact based in *occupational mobility*. We can't account for class mobility unless we first examine the occupational dimension" (Ibid.: 14). According to this approach mobility is grounded in the local economic, social and historical conditions of the society in which it occurs. As mobility constitutes comparison of the father's and the son's occupational statuses, an explanation of mobility involves an explanation of the way in which individuals are given jobs. "This in turn raises questions about the industrial and occupational structure, about labour markets, about job

choice and qualifications, about labour migration: that is, about the various processes by which workers enter a system of employment which has an objective reality pre- and post-existing the individual, and which constrains his or her freedom of action" (Ibid. : 15). Thus, the overall approach of Payne's study represents a shift in emphasis from conventional stratificational theory to other aspects of sociology of work and labour requirements of modern societies.

Payne (1987 : 12 - 13) recognises four lines of arguments that explicate the relationship of mobility to stratification. Firstly, mobility is a measure of rigidity or otherwise of the stratification system. High rates of mobility suggest the openness and low rates of mobility suggest the closeness of the social order (Lipset and Bendix 1964 ; Erikson *et al.* 1979 and 1981). Secondly, the mobility rates are used to identify the boundaries of classes. Such statuses which readily exchange members can be thought of as having more in common than those between which exchange is limited. The basic class structure is revealed by the impediments or 'natural breaks' in the mobility flows. The changes over time in such breaks indicate changes in the shape of society, and the relative success or failure of groups in narrowing or maintaining the gaps between the classes (Parkin 1971, Westergaard and Resler 1977). Thirdly, mobility is used as an explanation of the lack of class consciousness. When there is considerable movement between classes the present members of any class are less likely to be born in that class. This prevents the complete and unquestioning belonging to new class. Therefore there is less chance for the emergence of a distinctive class consciousness. This has been expressed less overtly in Marxist terms by Giddens (1973), Galbraith (1967), and Crosland (1956). Finally, the

close conjunction between stratification and social mobility is political stability. There are two perspectives in this regard. On the one hand mobility is seen as a safety-valve used to bleed off working class pressure for change, by allowing the most able to pass into the ranks of the middle class, so leaving the working class without effective leadership (Marx 1959). The other view stresses the pacification effect on the immobile by believing either that the able really do succeed, or that their own lack of success does not stop their children from being mobile. Thus while recognising the significance of mobility in understanding the class structure and not arguing mobility as not about stratification, Payne suggests a more fruitful occupational dimension of mobility research which in his view will broaden its social theoretical horizon.

Accordingly, Payne examines the evolution of occupational structures, seeks an explanation of why new occupations are created and what the members of such occupations do in the production process. He analyses the occupational functions which lies at the core of arguments over boundaries between the capitalist and the new middle classes on the one hand, and the new middle classes and the class of manual labourer on the other (Payne 1987 : x). He draws theoretical framework from Marxist and post-industrial society theories of social change. The degradation of skills and the proletarianisation of marginal labour is a dominant theme in Marxist analysis of the labour process. The deskilling and proletarianisation restrict the genuine opportunities for mobility. The theories of industrial society in contrast clearly identify the upgrading of skill levels and increases in social mobility as important elements of advanced industrialisation. Because the technology of modern post - industrial societies is comprised of specialised

knowledge. The new occupational roles are needed to acquire, apply and coordinate that knowledge. The resultant growth of new middle class calls for a revision of traditional class theory. Two views are pertinent here. According to the first view the class conflict is replaced by a new social order. According to the second view point class conflict is substantially modified by the existence of the new classes. Subscribing to the second view Payne singles out professional/managerial class for particular attention in the empirical analysis. He identifies the relationship between occupational achievement and educational qualifications as an important factor in recruitment to this class (Payne 1987 : x - xi).

Payne regards three main themes from the theory of industrial society as relevant to mobility research. The first is the idea of sectoral shift of employment from primary production and manufacture into service industries. This facilitates the creation of new types of occupations and reduces the level of employment in old occupations. Second, the mobility rates increase in response to occupational transition. Finally, certain assumptions about mobility processes can be explicated by using the idea of labour markets and their segmentation. Similarly the mobility rates are proposed as possible means of identifying labour market boundaries. Payne explains the effect of occupational transition with the help of both Marxist and post-industrial society theories of social change (Ibid. : xi). After considering Glass's findings on rates of mobility as inaccurate, Payne draws on national mobility studies carried out in the 1970s to advocate the high level of social fluidity in contemporary Britain (Ibid. : xiii). His work is significant for several reasons. Criticising and deviating from conventional mobility research, he attempts to disentangle it from the clutches of statistics and stratification. In his own words, " it is not enough simply to

describe rates of movements or to discuss them purely in terms of class structures. It is necessary to free discussion of mobility from its prison of stratification. Once that is done, by recognising the occupational dimension, then a wider repertoire of sociological theories can be brought to bear, in order to *explain* why mobility happens" (Ibid. : 148 - 149).

Almost all mobility studies in the West available to this researcher were national or international in character. Some are concerned with knowing the openness or closeness of industrial social structure or rates of upward or downward mobility. While doing so highly sophisticated statistical techniques are used. The western literature on social and occupational mobility is of only limited use for the occupational mobility studies in India, especially the present study, for it is not a national or international level study, and also it is not much concerned with the statistical measurements of mobility patterns. Given its objectives, the western literature is helpful only to the extent of clarifying the meaning of some concepts like horizontal mobility or vertical mobility. Only Payne's study is useful most because it has shown a possible path of deviation. In order to achieve its objectives the study leans more on field data articulated in the framework of occupational sociological aspects of social transformation, migration, occupational restructuring, monetization, conspicuous consumption and the like.

MOBILITY AND OCCUPATIONS IN INDIA

Over the last five to six decades social researchers have shown considerable interest in the field of occupations and occupational and social mobility. The pioneering interest in occupations can be traced to the work of G.S. Ghurye entitled *Caste and Race in India* published in 1932 in C.K. Ogden's History of Civilization series. The work

is dedicated mainly to analyse caste and the discussion of the category of occupation is only incidental. In its later editions the book is renamed as *Caste, Class and Occupation*. One of the earliest empirical works in occupational mobility can be traced to that of Sovani and Pradhan's *Occupational Mobility in Poona City between Three Generations* (1955). Their conclusions were based on two socio-economic surveys of Poona city conducted in the years 1937 and 1954 by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona. On the basis of the changes in the occupational distribution of the population of Poona during these seventeen years, the authors found that a large mass of the population of the city has remained occupationally stationary. On the surface only a small unstable element has shown the tendency to move up in the occupational scale. Observing this movement over time with reference to three generations, the authors concluded that a large proportion of families tended to remain stationary in the first two generations and moved up in the third, or started moving only in the second generation. Thus the study confirmed the stationary character of the urban communities of Poona. While reviewing this study, Prof. I.P. Desai (1981 : 127 - 130) brings to our notice some important aspects of the relationship between occupational mobility and social change and the dangers of using skilled unskilled or highly skilled categorisation in the Indian context. As far the latter he argues that if we consider increase in the highly skilled jobs as the indicators of mobility and as the consequence of urbanisation even the cobblers, carpenters, barbers, workers in the cotton mill and fitters, wiremen, gold-smiths, tailors and such other persons are included in the same category. As far the former he agrees with Sovani and Pradhan to the extent of considering the change in the proportion of different occupational groups in the

population as the indication of the effect of urbanisation on the occupational composition of the city. However, he does not agree with their views that there is an appreciable movement in favour of the transformation of unskilled workers into skilled and highly skilled workers. He argues that growth in the size of a population is a poor indicator of the character of urbanisation of a city. And occupational composition is not an indicator of the nature and quality of the social relationships. His concluding remarks are an eye-opener for the future students of occupation, occupational mobility and social change. He writes, " Thus, while the study of occupational composition and the mobility of the population is essential for measuring the degree of urbanisation, it is not possible to infer directly the nature of social change from occupational mobility alone. Urbanisation does not imply only industrialisation, i.e., change in occupational structure of the community but also a change in the character of the social relationships. Social change though related to economic change, is distinct from it" (Ibid. : 130).

Some descriptions of what type of occupational mobility is taking place in India is found in studies by Nijhawan (1969), Jain (1969), and Phillips (1979 in Phillips 1990). These three are similar in certain respects. Firstly, all the three make extensive use of statistical techniques in measuring the trend and pattern of occupational mobility. Secondly, all the three use occupation as an important variable indicative of social status. Infact, Jain (1969 : 1703) explicitly states, " In this study occupation was accepted as the main basis of class status since identification of social class on the the basis of prestige of occupation is more objective and useful." Accordingly he employs four classes in the study on the basis of the prestige criterion of occupations. Nijhawan (1969 : 1553) in consonant

with the views of Rogoff (1953 : 19) believes that occupational status is highly associated with education, income, skill, style of life and social perspectives. Therefore the movement from one occupational class to another is believed to represent mobility within income , prestige and other social structures as well. The mobility out of father's occupation is dependent on a number of personal and group factors such as education, ambition, familial affiliations, etc. on the one hand, and demand or availability factor on the other. Mobility due to demand factor refers to the movement experienced by sons as a consequence of relative changes in the number of positions available in different occupations. For example, " irrespective of their social origins, some sons are likely to move from occupation B to occupation A if there is a relative increase in the proportion of positions in occupation A compared to occupation B between the father - son generation (Ibid. : 1553). In order to isolate the extent of mobility experienced by sons due to personal and group factors alone, the effect of demand factor has to be neutralised. Nijhawan does this with the help of the index of social distance mobility developed by Rogoff. After that he sought answers to several questions that relate to the problem of social change and occupational change. They are :- Do persons with particular social origins have greater opportunity in gaining admission to certain occupations ? Or, does the system offer equal chances of seeking entrance to various occupations irrespective of their social origins ? Which are the occupational classes from which persons could move over to other classes with greater ease compared to others? Is the movement disproportionately concentrated in a few occupational classes or distributed uniformly over all classes ? Which occupational classes offer greater opportunities to persons with other social origins ? Whether or not

some occupational classes have over representation of persons of certain origins and under representation of others ?

For the purpose of answering these research questions data have been drawn from a study of the general election of 1967 conducted during March - May 1967 by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi. An individual adult voter was the unit of the study. The sample consisted of 1,858 male and 329 female voters drawn randomly from fourteen Indian states. Nijhawan has selected 1,593 males for the purpose of the paper (Ibid. : 1554). The study is a national level inquiry into occupational mobility.

Nijhawan deserves commendations because of the formulation of an Indian model of occupational classification. After taking due care to group together such occupations which have similar skills and prestige, the following occupational classification has been done :-

Non-agricultural occupations

- i) professions : administration, executive, technical and managerial occupations
- ii) White-collar : clerks, salesman and other related occupations.
- iii) Business and trade
- iv) Skilled and semi - skilled
- v) Unskilled

Agricultural occupations

- vi) Owner cultivators and farmers
- vii) Tenant- cultivators
- viii) Agricultural labourers (Ibid. : 1554).

Within this classification, the study found out that the extent of out-mobility of the sons of fathers from white-collar professional and business occupations is higher than those from skilled and unskilled workers. Among agriculturists, the out-mobility of sons of agricultural labourers is relatively higher than that of the sons of owner or tenant cultivators. The extent of in-mobility into business and owner cultivation is the least. Irrespective of social origins sons find it relatively easier to move into non-agricultural occupations than into agricultural occupations. The overall inference is that the system does not offer equal occupational opportunities to sons of all origins. From these findings it becomes evident that the paper only throws some light on the actual occurring and nature of occupational mobility and does not explain why these mobilities take place, or what social structural elements or transformational processes are responsible for them. However, Nijhawan admits " For a fuller understanding of the phenomenon of occupational mobility and its implications for social, political and economic development, deeper explorations are necessary" (Ibid. : 1557).

If Nijhawan attempted an understanding of inter-generational occupational mobility with respect to a macro-level universe, Jain (1969 : 1703 - 1710) attempted a micro - study of inter generational social mobility with occupation as a main basis of social status. A middle-sized town, Seohara, in North India constitutes the Universe. It comprised of 19,000 population (1961 census), among them 38 per cent were Hindus and 62 per cent were Muslims. Both religious groups were engaged in agriculture or allied occupations. The data was collected for a sample of 236 household heads - whether men or women- which was drawn by the method of systematic sampling from the household

list of the town. The frame work of the inquiry was prepared taking into consideration the position of the subject at the time of the investigation (1962) and the last position of the subject's father and grand father or father-in-law or grand father-in-law. The data had shown a high rate of movement between the subject's and his father's generations than between the subject's father's and his grand father's generations. Religion-wise, the Muslims (the majority population of the town) showed a higher rate of mobility over the three generations than the Hindus (the minority population of the town). The major finding is, "if a town community is divided into majority and minority groups on the basis of a single socio-cultural factor (in this case religion), it is likely that the majority monopolises the channels of social mobility" (Ibid. : 1710). The significance of the paper lies in its plea for planners not to implement homogeneous model of developmental activities. "A uniform plan of urbanisation or development will not be a proper plan since it does not take into consideration the relative benefits and deprivations that might accrue to a majority and minority group in a given area" (Ibid.: 1710). Implicitly, the paper recommends special treatments in planning for the minority group. Apart from its linking micro-level observation to broader policy issues the study is significant from another angle in that it refers to the gender characteristics of the sample; the household heads considered are both men and women.

Another study with micro-level unit of observation is about the occupational mobility patterns in urban India by Phillips (initially published in 1979, and reappeared in 1990 : 80-101). Having Indore as the geographical setting, this study too considered the inter-generational occupational mobility. A two-stage sampling was done to identify the

respondents. In the first stage, according to quota sampling, some 40 cases of family units, from each of the 48 wards of Indore city were selected at random. In this manner 1,920 cases of family units were obtained. In the second stage, out of 1,920 cases, using caste and income as control variables, 911 cases were finally selected according to the stratified sampling. On account of three cases of 'no response' or 'do not know' finally 908 cases have been analysed (Ibid. : 81 - 82).

As in the case of Jain (op.cit.) here also occupation is used as an indicator of social status. However, certain refinements were made in the process of measuring mobility by following the suggestion of Blau and Duncan (1967) that the inter-generational occupational mobility should be measured from the point of father's occupation at son's present age. The respondents were asked, " what was your father's occupation, when he was at your age?". For comparative purpose, questions on both father's present occupation and his occupation at son's present age were considered (Phillips 1979 : 83).

The measurement of social mobility and finding gross mobility rate have been undertaken with the help of sophisticated statistical techniques developed by Yasuda (1964 : 16 - 23). The paper also makes abundant use of concepts. A distinction is first of all made between the pure and forced mobility into which the total amount of mobility can be divided. Pure mobility is caused by inter-change of individuals between different status categories and forced mobility is caused by changes in stratum position and differential change among strata in size of population. The paper focusses on the various dimensions of mobility rate using the three classes of indices : (1) gross mobility rate (ii) pure mobility rate (iii) forced mobility rate. The dichotomic, trichotomic and four-fold divisions of

occupations constitute the three levels of analysis. For the purpose of a hierarchical occupational stratification the conventional four-fold division of upper non-manual, lower non-manual, upper manual and lower manual has been taken (Phillips 1979 : 83 - 84).

In the final analysis Phillips found that the gross mobility rate in the society as a whole was quite high. An analysis according to the various levels of division indicated that the mobility rate would increase with the increase in the number of hierarchical categories. In the city under consideration the high rate of pure mobility was found indicating the 'internal openness' of the city. The findings at the level of category-wise analysis of mobility indicated the maximum structural expansion of the lower- manual occupation as a result of high in-flow forced mobility rate. In the over all analysis it was found that no structural change had been taken place in the society (Ibid. : 99 - 100). The paper ends up with a mere description of the pattern of occupational mobility by using some complex statistical formula (Ibid. : 87). Of course, the analysis of why these patterns emerge is beyond the scope of the paper.

In an another essay entitled *Modernisation, Caste and Occupational Mobility* Phillips (Ibid. : 102 -123) goes for a theoretically more consistent and analytical study of occupational mobility. After a review of several modernisation theories, Smelser's theory of modernisation has been considered relevant to analyse caste and occupational mobility in India with particular reference to the caste Brahman. The three major categories central to this theory are structural differentiation, integration of the differentiated activities and social disturbances.

At the conceptual level of the discussion on occupational mobility among the castes, a typology of "Entry-type" and "Exit - type" occupations is suggested in place of traditional usage of " caste" and " caste-free" occupations. These are the new concepts. "Exit - type" occupations refer to caste and traditional occupations. From them 'exit' is possible but not the 'entry'. The "Entry - type" refer to the "caste free" occupations which are open to all. Phillips considers these two types of occupations as corresponding to the systems of class and caste which cross-cut the Indian society. These new "dynamic concepts" are used in place of "static concepts" of "caste" or " caste-free". They not only indicate the direction of mobility but also suggest about the future shape of social stratification of the Indian society. The "Exit-type" occupational structure is unexpandable and bound to decline in course of time. On the contrary the "Entry-type" is flexible because it not only permits "Entry" but also allows "Exit". The expansion of "Entry-type" occupational structure is due to its functional significance in modern times. During industrialisation and urbanisation there is a proliferation of new occupations and the "Exit-type" occupations like priesthood among the Brahmans have no scope for further development. Hence, among Brahmans, today, there is a shift from priesthood to more functionally significant occupations (*Ibid.*: 108 - 110).

At the inter-generational level, Phillips finds that Brahmans are trying hard to maintain their superiority in the occupational field. This has been shown through the rate of upward mobility among Brahmans from the blue-collar occupations to the white-collar occupations (*Ibid.* : 119).

In this essay Phillips' concern is not only with describing what type of occupational mobility is taking place, but he also shows interest in exploring its consequences. He finds that status inconsistencies among the caste Brahmans have resulted from the process of social restructuration in India which involves a change from "the vertical uni-dimensional status system to the multi-dimensional status system. The strain and conflict in interpersonal relations is the consequence" (Ibid. : 119). In this respect the study subscribes to what Sorokin wrote about the consequences of social mobility.

The Brahman's social and occupational mobility has been a theme for many sociological studies in view of their superior prestige and privilege in the traditional hierarchy. The way in which social transformation affecting this has been the theme of the paper entitled *Social Stratification and Trends of Social Mobility in Modern India* by Chekki (1971). A suburban settlement of Dharwad with 115 Brahman households constituting 79.08 per cent of the total population makes the universe of the study. He tries to understand the nature of social mobility in the context of changing Indian stratification structure where class cuts across the ritual hierarchy of castes and sub-castes. He maintains that within a sub - caste the class to which a person or family belongs, is determined mainly by the property, occupation, income, power and prestige of the social unit concerned (Ibid. : 368). While understanding occupational mobility he finds that people change their occupations from the traditional to the non-traditional without caste restrictions. Now occupational mobility is more than ever before. One is not bound to follow ones hereditary caste occupation as it was the case a generation ago. Status by achievement rather than status by ascriptions assumes greater importance (Ibid. : 379).

This does not mean that traditionality is non-existent. Especially with regard to the relationship between kinship and modern occupational structure, western findings (Parsons 1967 : 190 ; Turner 1963) have been refuted in the Indian setting. Usually the complex occupational diversity in the modern urban life leads to a situation where economic cooperation with kin is hardly possible. However, in Chekki's universe, " it seems as though the kinship structure is developing in such a way as to give enough scope for the occupational mobility while at the same time maintaining kinship solidarity" (1971 : 372).

Chekki's study is relevant here in the sense that while analysing the relationship between Brahmans and their occupational mobility, it links itself with a whole lot of studies that deal with Brahmans and their upward or downward mobility in the context of occupational diversification and recruitment in contemporary India. He provides an alternative possibility of occupational change for the one reported by Prof. M.N. Srinivas (1962) that especially during and after World War II due to various social and economic exigencies, the Brahmans have taken up jobs which involve manual work, some of which are virtually defiling for an orthodox. Even Singer (1966 : 59 quoted in Chekki in 1971 : 73) records, " the Brahmans and upper castes are actually going into fields of work that have been previously considered highly polluting, for example, the tanning of skins and hides" . These are scattered evidences. Alternatively, on the basis of scattered evidences from micro-level studies like that of Chekki it can be held that " there were cases of intra - generation occupational mobility of individuals moving up the social scale in their life career from low income-prestige occupations. Inter-generational mobility among the

Brahmans was mostly within the range of white-collar jobs The Brahmans who had been the intelligentsia of the traditional Indian social order, form even now an educated community among the Hindus. They prefer to be in the white - collar jobs and normally hesitate to accept blue - collar jobs involving manual work that could pollute and reduce them to lower status. So, by and large, the occupational mobility of the Brahmans tends towards the traditional social hierarchy" (1971 : 373). Same kind of result was the outcome of a study of occupational changes among the Dikshits, a priestly class of South India by Goswami and Horab (1970-98 - 102). In some other context naturally in one of his later writings, ~~Prof. Srinivas~~ reiterated "the fact that high castes had a literary, commercial or military tradition has resulted in their dominating the liberal professions, the higher posts in the government and the army, and the new commerce and industry" (1991: 77). These observations provide a picture of overall upward movement of the Brahmans in the status scale through occupational channels. This may create a complacency among the Brahmans that no policy decision or efforts at directed changes can bring them down from superior positions and non-Brahmans may continue to envy the privileged opportunities of Brahmans. However, the situation is not so everywhere. There are some studies which indicate the downward mobility of the Brahman group as a whole.

In the backdrop of the social transformational processes operative in the post independent Indian society, Krishna (1987 : 3) has proposed to study the downward mobility of Brahmans because they "today find themselves odds when applying for jobs or for seats in educational institutions..... Brahmans, who constituted age-long elite group in the traditional society, have been relegated to the limbo of neglect". The research

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universe is Machilipatnam, a town on the east coast of India. Data collection has been done in several phases. In the initial phase 500 Brahman households of 285 in-migrants and 215 non-migrants have been studied. In the second phase he contacts some 23 non-migrants of an *Agraharam* village from where out-migration took place. In the third phase 90 priests have been interviewed. He also solicits information from concerned caste associations (Ibid. : 9). His main aim was to study the problem of downward mobility among Brahmans and their efforts at improving their conditions through modern ethnic associations (Ibid. :7). The status decline or downward mobility of elite classes can be observed throughout the world during wars, depression and ideological differences. It is not peculiar to India only. Usually, downward mobility of an ex-elite category may be normally unplanned and non - deliberative. But in India it is an anticipated consequence of planned change attempted for upward mobility of the lower categories (Ibid. : 3).

About three decades back while reviewing studies on social mobility research in the west and their relevance in India, Ghurye (1963 : 381) recognises the implications of legal and administrative restrictions on potential jobs for occupational mobility. As far Krishna's (1987 : 200) conclusions are concerned even in the wake of reservation of jobs for historically disadvantageous classes Brahmans, unable to diversify their occupational pattern, continue to depend on white-collar jobs. In the absence of opportunities for higher education they became the worst sufferers. He argues that the well-intended policy of positive discrimination has turned into a policy of 'reverse discrimination' against Brahmans. Thus Brahmans have become the victims of both the intended and unintended consequences of the process of planned social change. To get their grievances redressed

the Brahmans are coming close to form associations by following the example of their non-Brahman brethren (Ibid. : 200).

As regards the weaker sections for whom many kinds of concessions are offered by the government , the general notion is that they are experiencing increasing trends of occupational mobility. Over the years many studies have been undertaken with an interest in knowing the impact of these policies on S.C.s, S.T.s and O.B.C.s. As back as 1968 a comparative study of three scheduled communities in two villages in Midnapur, West Bengal has been reported by Bhowmick. In all the three communities observed, considerable occupational change has been noticed on account of the planned welfare programme. Singh (1970) has examined the trend of occupational mobility among the ten scheduled castes of Jaunpur district in eastern Uttar Pradesh. Some 400 respondents have been selected from those villages which were selected by the government welfare agencies for the extension of welfare programmes. His findings have been generalised as follows.

- (1) There is slow spatial mobility from rural areas to urban areas in search of service.
- (2) The scheduled castes have shown preference for independent secondary occupations over primary dependent occupations.
- (3) The scheduled castes are no longer attracted towards agricultural labour.
- (4) The interest in white-collar jobs is becoming slowly apparent.
- (5) There was a common belief in the grandfathers' generation and also in the fathers' generation that people with an agricultural occupation were the best of all. This belief is now diminishing(Ibid. : 270).

In the concluding section Singh recognises the significance of both internal and external forces in bringing about mobility in the traditional occupational structure. The external forces include land legislation, secular ideas regarding social matters, industrialisation, urban contact, roads, education, and so on. The internal forces are hard work and faithful observance of duty. All these forces have accelerated the process of mobility among S.C.s. All these years they were deprived of educational, social and economic opportunities. Now, deprivations are lifted up (Ibid. : 271 - 273).

A number of studies have been conducted among the S.C.s and O.B.C. s tracing occupational mobility and recognising the factors favouring or hindering it (Patwardhan 1967 ; Parmar 1978 ; Indukumari 1988 ; Rao 1989 ; Shivaram 1990). Among them Parmar's study stands out because of methodology, and linking occupational change with socio-historical processes and thereby recognising the regional specification of occupational mobility. While inquiring into occupational change among Mahyavanshis, a scheduled caste of Surat city, Parmar found that traditionally they were known as Dheds and were doing unclean activities and their status was degraded (Ibid. : 229). The occupational change was possible due to certain socio-cultural and historical reasons. One very important factor was their social contacts with the Europeans, the Parsis, and the Muslims. From 1613 A.D. onwards Europeans of various nationalities arrived at Surat initially for business and later established factories. They required the services of cooks, butlers and house servants. Other caste Hindus were not ready to render these services. The Mahyavanshis were essentially a serving caste taking non-vegetarian food, toddy and liquor. They knew how to cook non-vegetarian food. They filled in the gap without there

being any resistance from other groups. They could also join the domestic service of Europeans because even the lower caste *Savarnas* did not like to serve the Europeans as their domestic servants for various socio-religious considerations and restrictions. The introduction of railways and steam - factories in Surat further accelerated job opportunities for them (Ibid. : 236).

What appears very interesting sociologically is the occupational change assuming the character of occupational mobility movement. The Mahyavanshis passed resolution in their caste councils that no caste members should either carry garbage, and must not do any other type of low occupation. Their leaders launched collective efforts to change their caste name from 'Dhed' to 'Mahyavanshis' or name reiterating their Rajput origin (Ibid. : 237).

The overwhelming importance of caste for Indian system of stratification is evident in the appearance of caste in one form or other in the studies on occupational mobility in both rural/urban, and industrial contexts. In a study of six rural communities in Rajasthan the relationship between occupational mobility and class structure has been explored by Sharma (1968). The findings that occupational mobility leads only to changes in class position without any change in one's position in the caste system holds the mirror upto the prevalence of rigidity of Indian social system. The study throws light on certain considerations one must take in studying occupational mobility in the Rajasthani rural context. " The nature of occupational mobility also depends upon the nature of the village, as to whether it was a *jagardari* village or a *zamindari* one, or was situated on the fringe or near an urban centre, or whether it was a dry or a wet village, which affects

the value of land" (Ibid. : 109). It is relevant here to consider some micro-level works on aspects of occupational mobility in rural and urban India.

Many studies about rural India have subscribed to the view that as society becomes more developed, industrialised and occupational structure diversifies people increasingly dissociate themselves from traditional roles (Sharma 1971 ; Sarkar 1973 ; Freeman 1974 ; Deb 1975 ; and Mehra *et al.* 1985). What are the implications of occupational mobility for the traditional, economic and social organisation of the village society ? Whether the tradition is totally replaced by the modern ? Sharma opines, " no such caste group which performed important function in the village economy has completely ceased to do so. Some members, rather enough members, have been left behind to keep the old system going. Bhangis, Chamars, Nais, Khatis, Lohars, Dhobis all are still meeting their caste obligations on the same old 'jajmani' system. The fact that some of their members have moved on to new occupations has not so far affected the basic village structure" (1971 : 176 - 177). The result is that occupational differentiation and mobility can not totally alter the fundamental basis of social differentiation. On the contrary, traditional social differentiation determines the process of occupational choice and mobility (Gist 1954; Sharma 1971 ; and Shivaram 1990). This may be a shock to those who believe that industrialisation, urbanisation and such other processes are weakening the significance of traditional institutions. Since we have not yet gathered enough data to evaluate the strength of caste and individuals' attachment to caste, it may only be claimed that the traditional caste system has been altered (Deb 1975 : 24 - 25). Now in the wake of legislations, democracy and industrialisation overt caste discrimination seems to have

diminished, but not the caste consciousness or caste allegiance. The problem lies with measuring the impact of industrialisation or democracy on Indian society from western parametres. Since the western countries at the time of industrialisation in the nineteenth century had no close traditional bonds like the caste, the effects of industrialisation in Indian society have to be viewed entirely in a new perspective. This calls for a new kind of research focusing on urban and rural settings and upon the occupational groupings of modernising society (Bailey 1960 : 190 - 191 quoted in Deb 1975 : 24). The occupational groupings that require to be studied are numerous in number. They are both traditional and modern in character ; may be " caste" or "caste-free", "Entry-type" or "Exit-type". The micro- level studies of these occupational groupings will go a long way in deciding the contours of occupational sociology in India.

In the traditional Indian occupational structure side by side agriculture a number of caste-based and craft-based occupational groupings flourished. Following Mohanti (1973 : 172) they may be classified into agro-based, need - based, and prestige - economy based crafts. The first category is related directly to the agricultural economy, for example, carpentry and black smithy and they come under 'jajmani' relations. The second category of crafts like weaving, pottery and leather work catering to the essential day to day needs of the people which do not come fully under the 'jajmani' nexus. The third category of crafts, such as the brass and bell metal craft and Gold and Silver smithy, are wealth and prestige based and are beyond the purview of the 'jajmani' system. All these pre-industrial technological groupings are experiencing a situation of pressure in the context of urbanisation and industrialisation. " In certain cases, the magnitude of the problem is so

alarming that the craftsmen are suffocated in the struggle for survival" (Ibid. : 172). However, this is not the experience of all craftsmen at all the time. In British India, as observed by Sharma in his study of the Chamar artisans, "inspite of ruination of craftsmen and the handicraft industry due to industrilisation the specific kind of artisans and industry could survive and grow in the society" (1986 : 137). This is in view of British rulers in India showing interest in turning India into a raw material producing land that made the population to depend on local artisans for various goods and services. Another important factor which added to the above experience refers to the continuous perpetuation of traditional social structures, institutions and relationships.

However considerable change is observable since independence. "The leather workers who were carrying out tanning and shoe-making activities in the village setting found themselves displaced due to changing relations within the village structure and economy (Ibid. : 42 - 43). To alter the situation, independent Government did make certain efforts by providing employment opportunities to artisan groups belonging to S.C.s. At the same time some private companies like Bata have been introduced. Preparing shoes in a large- scale in factory situation provided avenues for mobility for leather workers studied by Sharma. Of course the mobility is not without the consequences. One very important area where change observed is family. Though family network provided opportunities for migration and recruitment, the leather workers in urban centres prefer to stay in nuclear families (Ibid. : 149). Secondly, the work in the factory system of production has enabled their children to go to schools and acquire education to certain levels (Ibid. : 152). Thirdly, the findings of the study have questioned the ritual basis of

untouchability. The usual notion is that the people who do dirtiest and most unclean tasks are untouchables. They are, therefore, ritually impure. With industrialisation, mainly the marketing of leather goods and to the lesser extent even the preparation of leather goods are carried away by caste Hindus. These trends show that more economic than ritual considerations define and redefine the meaning of untouchability in the Indian context (Ibid. : 155). Fourthly, industrialisation has ensured shoe-making the status of a full fledged occupation. It involves the use of machines from the lowest level of technology to the highest level. Together with this, change has taken place in the work organisation also. Earlier a work-man worked with his simple tools either individually or with the help of his family labour and produced goods only for the market. Introduction of capitalism in this area has brought in its wake its own problems of alienation, chaos and conflict resulting in unionism (Ibid. : 160). The overall examination at inter-generational level suggests that the present day shoe-makers are many a times better off than their older generations (Ibid. : 162). The study is important from the view point of the research problem under consideration because it tells us how an occupational category with traditional skills respond to the challenges posed by changing circumstances.

With regard to certain other need-based craft groups like that of potters abandonment of traditional occupation became a more relevant alternative than sticking on to it (Sarkar 1973). Their low socio-economic and educational level made them to be satisfied with such jobs as that of peons and office attendants.

Thus the response of different groups to the challenge of socio-economic transformation varies from group to group and region to region in India. The *Kansari*

artisan group associated with prestige-economy based crafts studied by Mohanti (1993) are relatively less disturbed by the process of industrialisation. They earn their livelihood primarily through Brass and Bell-metal work. Through this they maintain their age-old metal craft tradition (Ibid. : 1). What is important from the point of the present study is high rate of occupational inheritance among the *Kansari*. The selection of occupation is governed by the family. The real artisans are less mobile geographically while the traders among them are mobile (Ibid. : 164). The peculiarity of their skill and the cultural need they meet are responsible for the continuation of their traditional occupations even in the midst of scientific and technological innovations.

Certain need-based crafts have been studied from anthropological (Behura : 1978) and liberal feminist and managerial (Parikh *et al.* 1991) perspectives. The former's concern was to discern the social structure of a peasant potter's caste in Orissa and their tools and techniques. The thrust is with ethnographic description and not with occupational sociological analysis. The latter's aim was to study the occupation of the women weavers, their belonging in the caste and community, their hopes and aspirations and their life and space-where these women are born and will die. The study of the women's occupation at the back drop of governmental policies for the development of the sector can be considered as an academic contribution in the evaluation of planning for 'desired type of society'. The study also comes out with certain interesting observations about the relationship between occupation and society. Women, who have been studied, have taken the step of actually taking up weaving only recently. Traditionally, weaving and sitting at the loom has been a man's role. The role of women is to prepare the yarn, help in dying

the yarn, and perform all the steps that finally put the yarn on the loom for the weaver to start weaving (Parikh *et al.* 1991 : 8). The situation changed with India opening aspirations beyond caste and occupational boundaries with its new horizons in industrial growth and opportunities. Many young men-weavers have opted to leave their village community to venture into far and near urban settings to enter new occupations and new life-style. Women, on the other hand, who have their moorings at home and their participation in weaving by providing assistance, actually started to sit on the loom. Weaving became a role additional to other traditional roles. Through weaving they would earn a supplementary source of income (Ibid. : 9). While examining their hopes, aspirations and life space it has been observed that these women “ have been squarely caught in taking the role of continuity of tradition, preservers of value, stabilizers of the family and at the same time aspiring for a wider horizon for their children..... They hope their children would be bank peons and clerks or they see them as mechanics or drivers of cars of big officers, and some even hope their children would become owners of taxis or shops. For their daughter they hope a marriage with government employer and a life away from weaving and rural setting” (Ibid. : 9-10). This study of a small segment of an occupational group comes out with certain concrete findings about the existential reality pertaining to the occupational and life situation and the mental make up of an average Indian.

The study of craft-based occupational groups is being diversified and as an example we have a full-fledged anthropological study of Viswakarmas (Brouwer 1995) who belong to the sub-castes of black-smiths, carpenters, gold-smiths, sculptors and

copper-smiths. The study explores the reality of day to day life through mythology and ideology as revealed in the oral tradition of the craft-based caste group.

Sociological interest in non-caste based or “ Entry-type” occupations is rooted in the problems of economic development in general and development of human resources and skills in particular (Rao 1974 : Ivii); the reason being the process of modernisation and economic development gaining momentum in India after Independence. Modernisation in the occupational sphere involves “ the continual development of new categories and groups. In the first stage of modernisation the occupational structure might have been relatively uncomplicated and composed mostly of different manual occupations, unskilled and skilled, a small number of ‘middle class occupations’ such as trade and manufacture and of some of the more traditional professions such as the ecclesiastical (religious), military, legal, and medical one, including a much smaller proportion of population. Later, with continual economic development, each of these categories became divided into many sub-categories. In addition, many new groups and categories - welfare, service, scientific, technological, managerial - emerged and increased” (Eisenstadt 1969 : 6-7). The increasing diversity of occupations and the process of professionalisation became the focusses of studies. Study of doctors (Madan 1971) ; doctors and nurses (Oommen 1978) ; and teachers (Shah 1969 ; Malavika 1970 ; Ruhela 1969 ; Hiremath 1983 ; and Bhoite 1987) reveal the nature of recruitment, role-structure, role-playing and commitment to the new roles of doctors and teachers and career pattern.

The interest in occupations also led scholars to study other professional classes and business entrepreneurs. For example, studies of the culture of entrepreneurs (Nandy 1973 ;

Spodek 1969), their recruitment and background (Panini 1977; Bandopadhyay *et al.* 1975 ; Saberwal 1976), and the structure of the industrial working classes and professionals have been conducted (Gandhi 1978 ; Sharma 1976 ; King 1970). While commenting on the implications of these studies for sociology of social stratification and social change Prof. Yogendra Singh (1985 : 69) concludes that the major substantive orientation in the analysis remains that of the caste-class nexus.

Studying modern occupations with interest in occupational choice and mobility is found in Dube (1975) and Jorapur (1979). Dube's work is based on the study of three generations of the members of six professions *viz.* civil and railway officials, college teachers, medical doctors, engineers, lawyers and university teachers. Apart from dealing with a coraparative study of the causes, types and impact of mobility among six professions, the work describes the meaning of different concepts like mobility, social stratification, occupation, and profession. Importantly, these concepts have been reviewed in the light of Indian conditions. While examining the relative immobility within the caste system, the author recognises the fact that " occupational structure was not so much determined by the caste system and the economic functions of caste have often been over emphasised" (Dube 1975 : 25). However, the caste still influences the mobility process with education and other variables. On the whole a lot of change has been brought about by upward mobility in recent decades.

Jorapur's (1979) study of industrial workers and their occupational mobility, though conducted by a student of economics, makes abundant use of occupational sociological concepts and insights. The study deals with various aspects of mobility,

namely, intra-generational, inter-generational and spatial mobility of industrial workers of six private sector factories in the twin cities of Hubli-Dharwad. One of the important findings of the study, also highlighted by Prof. M.N. Srinivas (Ibid. vii) in his foreward to the work " is the tendency for even 'modern' occupations to become hereditary". As Srinivas rightly observed " this fact has not been the subject of serious investigation".

The brief overview of literature on occupations and occupational mobility in India throws light on the increasing interest of researchers in this field. All of them in one way or the other recognise the transformational processes taking place in the Indian society and the resultant diversification of the Indian occupational structure. On the one hand caste is no more a determining factor in deciding the occupation of an individual. On the other hand together with other factors caste assumes the role of "social capital" and influences the process of occupational choice and mobility. On the whole the studies overviewed stress the role of urbanisation, industrial growth, migration, administrative expansion, educational improvement, agricultural development and improved means of transport and communication as responsible for mobility.

It is also revealed that the relationship between occupation and society is very complex. The data reported from different regions for different groups and categories provide a variegated picture. Though occupations and mobility are ubiquitous, the actual experiences are different for different individuals, groups, categories and regions. Unless and until we get data pertaining to most of the groups and categories, we can not attempt a general theory of occupational mobility in India. However, various groups and categories are still left to be studied. For example, Ghurye (1963 : 373) recognises small

business as one of the channels “ that is attempted by many a caste for upliftment just as casual labour or unskilled work happens to be the dump of unfortunes, incompetents and never - do- wells. One feels therefore more than ordinarily interested..... to see how this category of economic activity serves the purposes of inter - generation mobility”. The present study of the Udupi Hoteliers is an attempt in this direction.

STUDIES OF UDUPI HOTELS AND HOTELIERS

There is hardly any published systematic study on the Udupi Hotels or Hoteliers. An overall appraisal of the Udupi Hotels in improving the economic conditions of DK district has been done now and again by Dr. K. Shivarama Karanth, a Jnanapeetha Winner, through several of his speeches and general writings. The popularity of Udupi Hotels and their adaptations to changing circumstances have been found their expression even in creative and journalistic writings (see Tejaswi 1994 : 153 ; Daitota 1992 : 6 ; Irani 1991 : 3). However the present researcher ~~would~~ trace only one sociological study of Udupi Hotels undertaken by Madsen (1993), a Swedish sociologist. The main aim of his study was to trace the history of Udupi Hotels and Restaurants in the cities of Madras, Banglore and Bombay. He has considered the entire issue of migration and development of a new occupational category as a case of ethnicity based non-virulent development. He writes “exposed to the forces of market prompted by changes in law granting untouchables access to public eating places and pressed by the anti-Brahman movement in Madras, the Udupi entrepreneurs succeeded in teaching South Indians to eat outside the confines of the home and the temple. Also, they upgraded the old rest houses enabling the middle classes to stay in cities in a manner befitting their notions of respectability, while at

the same time providing religious facilities within the Hotels in the form of marriage halls, temples etc." (Ibid. 1993 :15). The thrust of Udupi Hoteliers in the cities under consideration on continuing their religious and traditional identity and using it for business led Madsen to conclude that the case shows how modernisation in a generally secular and nonvirulent direction in turn leads to a religious revival.

Another study which throws considerable light on the course and consequences of the growth of Udupi Hotels in general is that of Maiyya (1995 : 47 - 49). The study is not on Udupi Hoteliers *per se*. It is a literary cultural study of a geographical unit in DK by name 'Kota'. The unit which is also a cluster of 14 villages is the native place of more than 60 per cent Brahman Udupi Hoteliers in Bangalore. In its brief note on hotel business as an important factor in the economic transformation of the region, the study describes the course of innovation and occupational mobility and identifies its consequences. The occupation of a hotelier is the product of "self reliant and determinant mind - set" of out-migrants who moved to such distant places like Bangalore, Bombay, Mysore and Shimoga in the earlier decades of this century. One important consequence of Hoteliering is the improvement in the economic conditions of the Hotelier's natal family and the families of the employees in the Hotels. The second important consequence is educational advancement. Here, Maiyya recognises the role of elder brother's income as a support for education of younger brothers and sisters. Another important phenomenon recognised by him is the role of Hotels in providing lodging and boarding facilities for students seeking higher education in the cities. On the whole Maiyya's comment has got to tell mainly positive consequences of the growth of Udupi Hotels.

As noted above there is no study dealing with the Udupi Hoteliers as such. It is for this reason that the present study is planned. The main objective of the study is to understand the occupational mobility among the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. Thus the study is an attempt towards understanding of occupational mobility in India.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH SETTING

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH SETTING

This chapter is devoted mainly to the description of the research setting which is divided into two parts, namely, the geographical settings of Dakshina Kannada (DK) and Goa, and the institutional setting of an Udupi Hotel as an organised social group. The first provides the Udupi Hotelier with the geographical spaces for migration with both places of origin and orientation, while the second provides an understanding of the social environment in which an Udupi Hotelier experiences his various aspects of occupation.

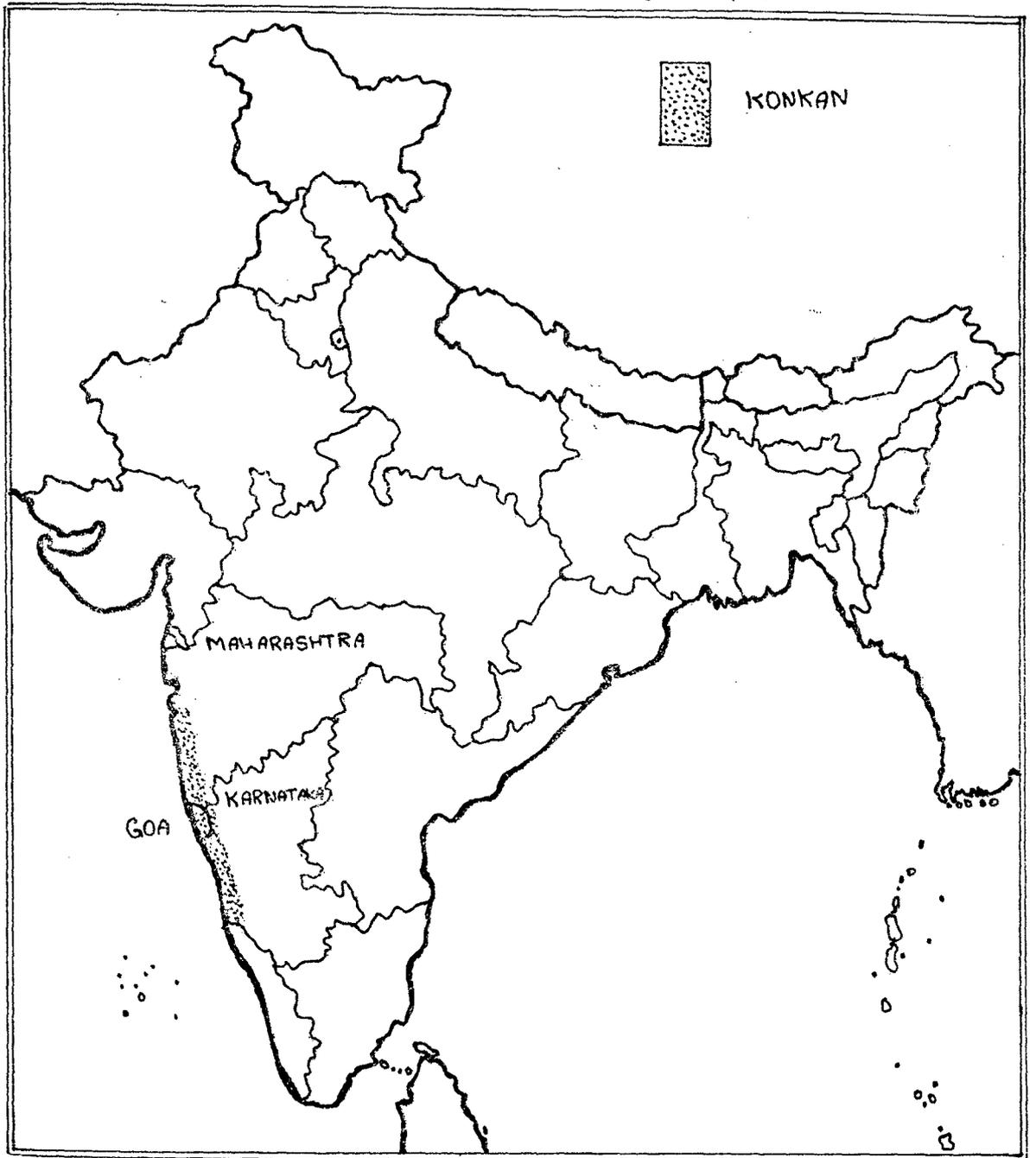
GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

Along the western coast of India stretches a long strip of land known from time immemorial as the Konkan. It is also known as *Parasurama Kshetra*. The area extends from the Thane district in the North, including the districts of Raigadh, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg in Maharashtra State down to the Uttar Kannada and Dakshina Kannada districts in Karnataka State, Goa is its heart land (Gomes 1996 : 10) [see map no. 1].

1. Dakshina K annada

Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka State was referred to by different names in the past. Since time immemorial it was known as *Tulunadu* which means Tulu country or the land of people speaking Tulu language. Up to the 14th C.A.D. this area was ruled by Alupas. Afterwards it was divided into several geographical and political units namely *Nadus* and they were under the control of small chiefs like Bhairarasas, Chautas, and Ajilas either independently or as provincial administrators of Vijayanagara rulers. In

1 MAP OF INDIA LOCATING GOA AS HEART-LAND OF KONKAN



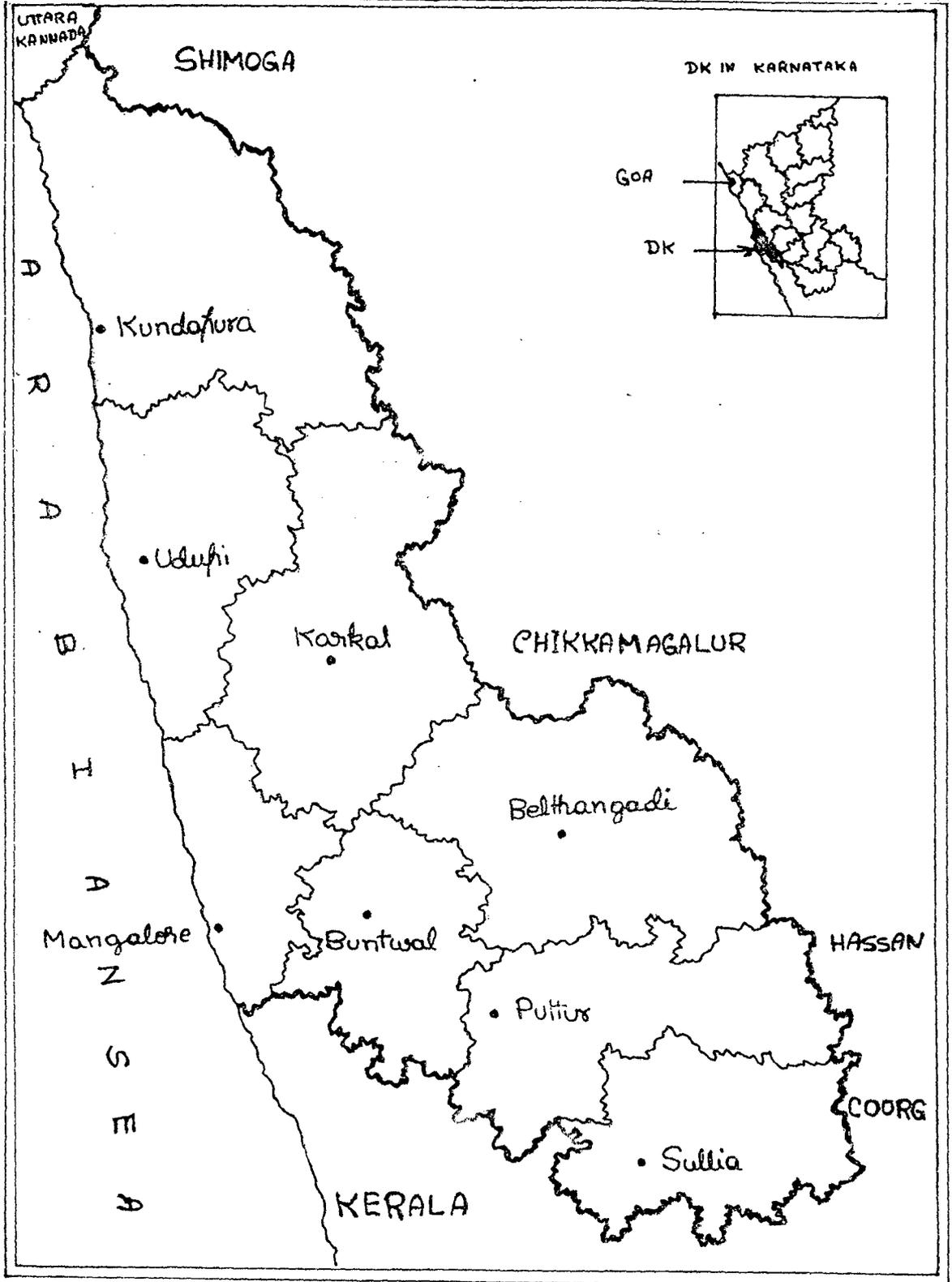
between for some time it was under the Keladi ruler. In 1763 it was conquered by Hyder Ali of Srirangapattanam (Nayaka 1976 : 763).

The western traders when arrived here found the people of the present coastal Karnataka speaking 'Kannada' and hence they called the entire area 'Canara'. As the Europeans commonly replace the cerebral 'd' with 'r', 'Canara' denoted 'Kannada'. The British conquered the area from Tippu Sultan in 1799 A.D. and referred to it as 'Canara'. In 1860 A.D. the British divided the area into two districts namely North Canara and South Canara and attached the former to Bombay province and the latter to Madras. In the course of time the word 'Canara' was replaced by 'Kanara'. In 1956 when states reorganisation took place, the two Kanaras became part of new Mysore State, which was subsequently renamed as Karnataka State. Officially, now 'Dakshina Kannada', Kannada translation of South Kanara is in use (D'Souza 1993 : 3).

Geography and General Boundaries

Geographically, the district is separated from the rest of the South Indian peninsula by the towering heights of the Western Ghats. It lies in between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. The length of the coast line, straight but broken at numerous points by rivers, cracks and bays, is 140.8 kms. The district lies between 12° 27' and 13° 58' north latitude and 74° 35' and 75° 40' east longitude. It is about 177 kms. at its widest part. On the north of the district situated Uttara Kannada district, on the east it is bounded by the districts of Shimoga, Chikkamagalur, Hasan and Coorg, to its south lies the Kasargod taluka of Kerala state and on the west it is bounded by the Arabian Sea [see map no. 2]

2 MAP OF DAKSHINA KANNADA SHOWING TALUKA BOUNDARIES



With an area of 8,441 square kms, the district is sub-divided into eight talukas, 635 residential villages, 17 towns and town agglomerations. For the whole State of Karnataka, DK is the only district where there are no non-residential villages.

Demographic aspects

In 1991 the total population of the district was 26.92 lakhs with 13.05 lakh male and 13.87 lakh female population. The sex ratio was 1,059 females for 1,000 males in 1981 and it differs significantly from that of Karnataka as a whole which was 963 females for 1,000 males and resembles Goa and Kerala. One of the reasons for this sex ratio is the out-migration of the males. Due to the reasons like population pressure, high literacy, and absence of modern industries many young men in the past out-migrated to the cities like Bombay and Bangalore in search of employment (D'Souza 1993 : 4-5). As far the literacy is concerned DK rates high in Karnataka. In 1981 the literacy rates were 53.47 % for all persons and in 1991 the district was officially declared as totally literate (D'Souza 1993 : 5). In 1981, the density of population in DK was 282 per square kilometer, compared with 194 in Karnataka as a whole (D'Souza 1993 : 3). In 1991 it was 319 in DK and 234 in Karnataka (Ramesh 1994 : 11). Within DK the coastal districts are densely populated than the interior areas. Among all other districts of Karnataka, DK is densely populated.

Economic Considerations

The industrial and urban growth in DK could gain momentum only in the 1960s and 1970s, not prior to that time, because of two important reasons. Firstly, upto 1956 the territory was a part of the periphery of Madras State and did not receive much attention from the administrators. It was not linked with the developmental activities of the

erstwhile Mysore State (D'Souza 1993 :6). Secondly, improper communication was a major bottleneck for economic progress of the region. The rugged and mountain-ridden parts of the district and even small streams assuming river like proportions during the monsoon months the road transport was a time consuming affair. Bridge construction was a costly problem. For a length of 96.5 kms. from Kundapur in DK to Kumta in Uttara Kannada it used to take nine long hours because of rivers and streams cutting across the road. With a view to opening up uninterrupted and straight road communication from Bombay to Kanyakumari the National Highway 17 was developed at the cost of Rs. 3.94 crores (Government of Karnataka 1973 : 325). The Highway linked the district with the whole of India and improved communication within the district itself. Another National Highway linking Mangalore with Bangalore was developed and reduced the distance and time required to reach Bangalore, the state capital. Adding to this, several roads linking the villages and towns of the district have been developed. The growth of industries has been facilitated by the opening up of an all-weather new port in Mangalore.

All these developments led to the changes in the economy of the district in the recent past. At present there is a growth of non-agricultural occupations in the district as a whole. In 1971, for example, 54.17 per cent of the workers depended on agriculture, 29.38 per cent as cultivators and 24.79 per cent as agricultural labourers. However, in 1981 only 25 per cent of the total workers were cultivators and 19.43 per cent were agricultural labourers (see table 4). The 1971 census provides information on occupation other than agriculture and household industry, according to which trade and commerce

provided employment to 7.55 per cent of the workers, transport to 2.77 per cent, and various services to 8.32 per cent (D'Souza 1993 : 8).

TABLE 4 OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF WORKERS IN DK (1981)

| Occupational Category | Males | % | Females | % | Total | % |
|----------------------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------|
| I MAIN WORKERS | | | | | | |
| Cultivators | 1,51,153 | 26.86 | 86,520 | 22.35 | 2,37,673 | 25.00 |
| Agricultural labourers | 93,823 | 16.65 | 90,941 | 23.48 | 1,84,764 | 19.43 |
| Household Industry | 37,034 | 6.57 | 1,16,415 | 30.06 | 1,53,449 | 16.14 |
| Other workers | 2,81,403 | 49.95 | 93,404 | 24.12 | 3,78,407 | 39.43 |
| TOTAL | 5,63,413 | 100.0 | 3,87,280 | 100.0 | 9,50,693 | 100.0 |
| II MARGINAL WORKERS | | | | | 43,745 | |
| | | | 8,720 | 35,025 | | |
| III NON WORKERS | | | | | 13,82,286 | |
| TOTAL POPULATION | 11,54,122 | | 12,22,602 | | 23,76,724 | |

Source :- Census of India, 1981. Series 9, Karnataka, part II -B(i). Primary census Abstract pp 18 - 21 (quoted in D'Souza 1993 : 7).

The people of the district are adventurous as far the trade and the banking are concerned. As early as 1906 Canara Bank came into existence here. In 1913 the District Co-operative Bank was established here. The nationalised banks like the Syndicate and the Vijaya had been started in this district. In addition to the Cooperative and commercial banks, numerous financial corporations are functioning here. In this district we find the highest number of banks and financial institutions while considering people-bank ratio

(Nayaka 1976 : 762). The commercial activities undertaken by the people of this district within and outside the district and remittances by the out-migrants are responsible for the flourishing banking network. This could be achieved even in the absence of large scale industries until recently.

Castes and Communities

The reports of the two Backward class commissions, popularly known as Havnur Commission (1975) and Venkataswamy Commission (1984), provides information about the castes and communities of the district (see table 5). Among the Brahmans there exist at least 12 sub-castes which differ among themselves in origin, language, religious practices and traditions. Some important sub-castes are the Kota Brahman, the Shivalli Brahman, the Havik Brahman, the Saraswat and the Gowda Saraswat. The last two groups are Konkani speaking Brahmans and they migrated from Goa in the 16th century.

The non-Brahman castes of the district in the past followed *aliyakattu* or *aliyasantana* law of inheritance. Literally, *aliyasantana* means the lineage of sister's son and it is opposed to *makkalasantana*, the lineage of father and his children. In this system family property passes from the maternal uncle to sister's son, and relates indirectly the inheritance to female line. The modern forces have brought about changes in this system (D'Souza 1993 :9).

The most important non-Brahman caste in the district is that of Bunts. They ^{immigrants} stayed here since time immemorial and took lead in the administrative, social, economic and cultural activities of the region and contributed towards the total progress of Tulu Nadu

TABLE 5 POPULATION OF MAJOR CASTES AND COMMUNITIES IN DK IN 1971
AND 1984

| Sr. No. | Caste or Community | Havnur Commission 1971 | | Venkataswamy Commission 1984 | |
|---------|--------------------|------------------------|--------|------------------------------|--------|
| | | Persons | % | Persons | % |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1 | Billava (Idiga) | 3,01,727 | 15.56 | 4,25,688 | 17.56 |
| 2 | Brahman | 1,74,476 | 9.00 | 2,27,347 | 9.38 |
| 3 | Bunt and Nadava | 1,97,868 | 10.20 | 2, 81,000 | 11.60 |
| 4 | Devadiga (Moili) | 49,088 | 2.53 | 75,637 | 3.12 |
| 5 | Vokkaliga (Gauda) | 72,749 | 3.75 | 1,42,958 | 5.90 |
| 6 | Scheduled Castes | 99,687 | 5.14 | 1,43,673 | 5.93 |
| 7 | Scheduled Tribes | 63,596 | 3.28 | 72,353 | 2.99 |
| 8 | Other Hindu Castes | 5,42,667 | 27.98 | 5,29,006 | 21.83 |
| 9 | Muslims | 2,37,802 | 12.26 | 3,09,251 | 12.76 |
| 10 | Christians | 1,87,570 | 9.67 | 2,01,100 | 8.30 |
| 11 | Jains | 11,947 | 0.62 | 15,173 | 0.62 |
| 12 | Other Religions | 138 | 0.01 | 129 | 0.01 |
| TOTAL | | 19,39,315 | 100.00 | 24,23,315 | 100.00 |

Sources :- Havnur L.G. Report, Karnataka Backward Classes Commission., Vol II,

Government of Karnataka Bangalore : 1975 pp. 6-96

Venkataswamy, T. Report of the second Backward Classes Commission, Vol.

III Government of Karnataka, Bangalore : 1986 pp. -55 (quoted in D'Souza

1993 :9).

(Shetty 1995 : ix). There are four principal sub -castes among them. Masadika Bunts are the ordinary Bunts of Taluva. The second sub caste is of Nadava found in the northern parts of the district. They speak Kannada. The third sub-caste is Jain Bunts. Tulu speaking Parivara Bunts constitute the fourth sub-caste (D'Souza 1993:9-10).

Both Brahman and Bunt are the land-owning castes since ancient times. Another land lord caste is Gouda or Vokkaliga. They are found in the various parts of the district though concentrated in the eastern talukas. Among them are both Kannada and Tulu speakers. They do not follow *aliyasantana*. Billava, Idiga or Marakala constitute the numerically largest caste group in the district. Their traditional occupation is toddy tapping. In the past they became tenant cultivators or agricultural labourers (D'Souza 1993 : 10). They were considered to be the occupants of the last rungs of the caste hierarchy. The Mogaveera or the fisher-folk, the Devadiga or the temple servants, the Ganiga or the oil-men, the Achari (rya) or the smiths are some of the occupation based caste groups of the district.

P
TABLE 6 POPULATION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN DK 1981
A

| Sr. No. | Religion | Households | Males | Females | Persons | % |
|---------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1 | Hindus | 2,89,995 | 8,87,007 | 9,48,789 | 18,35,796 | 77.24 |
| 2 | Muslims | 42,138 | 1,58,186 | 1,55,239 | 3,13,425 | 13.19 |
| 3 | Christians | 38,388 | 1,01,681 | 11,241 | 2,12,922 | 8.96 |
| 4 | Jains | 2,655 | 6,731 | 6,731 | 13,646 | 0.57 |
| 5 | Others | 159 | 517 | 418 | 935 | 0.04 |
| TOTAL | | 3,73,335 | 11,54,122 | 12,22,602 | 23,76,724 | 100.0 |

Source : - *Census of India, 1981 series 1, India. Paper 4 of 1984. Household Population by Religion of Head of Household, pp. 260- 265 (quoted in D'Souza 1993 : 11).*

Almost all major religious groups of India are found in DK (see table 6). Numerically, the Hindus constitute the majority and Muslims, Christians and Jains are the minority. Other religions include Buddhism and Brahmo Samaj.

Social Transformation in DK

Social change ?

Social transformation in DK is the result of various factors and processes like the growth of education, migration, land reforms, economic development and ideological influences. In broad terms, the process of westernisation and urbanisation that are taking place in the region especially after the coming of the British have brought about socio-cultural change among the caste groups (Bhat 1993 : 15).

In the early decades of this century out-migration from DK to cities and towns in other parts of the country took place mainly on account of population growth, poverty, and joblessness in the district. The Brahmans, especially the Shivalli Brahmans, migrated to Madras and other South Indian Towns. This was facilitated by the railways. As early as 1907, the Calicut-Azzhikal section of the broad-gauge was extended upto Kanhangad and then by stages Kasargod, Kumble and Mangalore. The Kota and Koteswar Magane Brahmans migrated to Bangalore, Shimoga, Mysore, Bellary and other cities and towns. These Brahmans established Hotels and Restaurants in the cities where they in-migrated. The Bunts migrated to such places as Goa, Maharashtra and Gujarat in greater number and established Hotels inspite of the fact ^{that} they had no socio-cultural tradition in favour of the Hotel industry. They always endeavored to project themselves as Kshatriyas. It was the

spirit of adventure and enterprise that enabled them to launch the Hotel industry in those areas where it was a felt need (Bhat 1993 :16).

In the case of those Mogaveeras who remained in the district, the mechanisation in fishing brought about socio-economic changes and status enhancement. However, among the Billavas those who clinged on to the traditional occupation of toddy-tapping could not prosper much because toddy-tapping could not be modernised as in the case of fishing.

For the members of all caste groups including scheduled castes and tribes education was an important avenue for occupational and social mobility. The pioneers in the field of education and industry in DK are the Christian missionaries. The Basel Mission for example established educational institutions, tiles factory and the printing press. The first to get modern western education were the Brahmans, particularly the Saraswat Brahmans. As a result they could enter the government service. This made the members of other groups also take the benefits of English education. The Christian missionary activities created mixed reactions among Hindus. On the one hand they welcomed the entry of English education, but they protested evangelical activities through reform movements like the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society and the Ramakrishna Mission. These reform movements while encouraging modern education also facilitated the emergence of capitalistic enterprises. The person who founded the Canara Bank was Ammembala Subraya Pai who was associated with the Brahma Samaj. The members of the same caste and the other castes followed the lead and Vijaya Bank, Syndicate Bank, Karnataka Bank and other financial institutions came into existence (Bhat 1993 : 17).

Over the years DK has experienced enormous progress in the field of education, thanks to the initiative of the private sector. The all-round development of the district was mainly because of the expansion of higher education and more particularly, the establishment of professional colleges. The profile of professional education in this district gives an account of five Medical colleges, three Dental colleges, four Engineering colleges, two Pharmacy colleges, two Nursing colleges, one Speech and Hearing college, one Physio-Therapy college, nine Polytechnics, four Law colleges, sixteen Industrial Training Institutes and five Vocational Education Centres. Adding to these are 41 colleges of general education, seven Teachers' Training Institutes and three B.Ed colleges with one University centre in the district (Damle 1993 : 29 - 30). The educational expansion in DK was due to the value placed by the people on education. In the district there had been a large number of small and medium land-holders belonging to upper and middle class who formed a sizeable middle class. Their contribution in the establishment of schools both in terms of money and voluntary labour was remarkable. The benefits of non-agricultural jobs in terms of continuous flow of income throughout the year unlike agriculture made many marginal land holders and landless labourers to send their children to schools. The result has been the sharp decrease of the proportion of workers engaged in agriculture out of the total workers. In 1961 the agricultural work force out of the total workers was 46.95 per cent which came down to 19.72 per cent in 1991 (Damle 1993 : 39). The creation of an educational environment has also been due to the political factors. During the freedom struggle the political leaders of this district sincerely took up the constructive programs suggested at the national level by the Congress party. Education was placed at

the top of their agenda. After independence the political representatives from the district have strongly supported the cause of education. Even the politicians of 1990s also show keen interest in the establishment of Government schools and colleges in their constituencies. Beside these factors the printing press and the publication of newspapers, periodicals and literary and cultural organisations have great influence in the creation of learning atmosphere. Presently, the programme of total literacy has given the message of the fruits of learning to all sections of society. In DK more than 90 per cent of the children of school going age are attending the schools regularly (Ibid. : 38 -39).

The educational expansion in the district has created and creating a huge army of educated human resource which can not be utilised fully within the district. The result has been the out-migration in search of suitable job opportunities. Only recently the district is opening itself for large scale industrialisation. Even the land base of the district is highly insufficient for the growing population pressure. The changing agrarian relations after Land Reforms Legislation of 1974 are responsible for rendering many members of upper and middle strata of caste hierarchy either landless or owners of only subsistence holdings. Together with these factors the spirit of rivalry and competition among the neighbours, castes and ethnic groups for higher achievements in all walks of life are contributing towards the out-migration of the people of DK on the one hand, and the general socio-economic development of the district on the other.

2. Goa

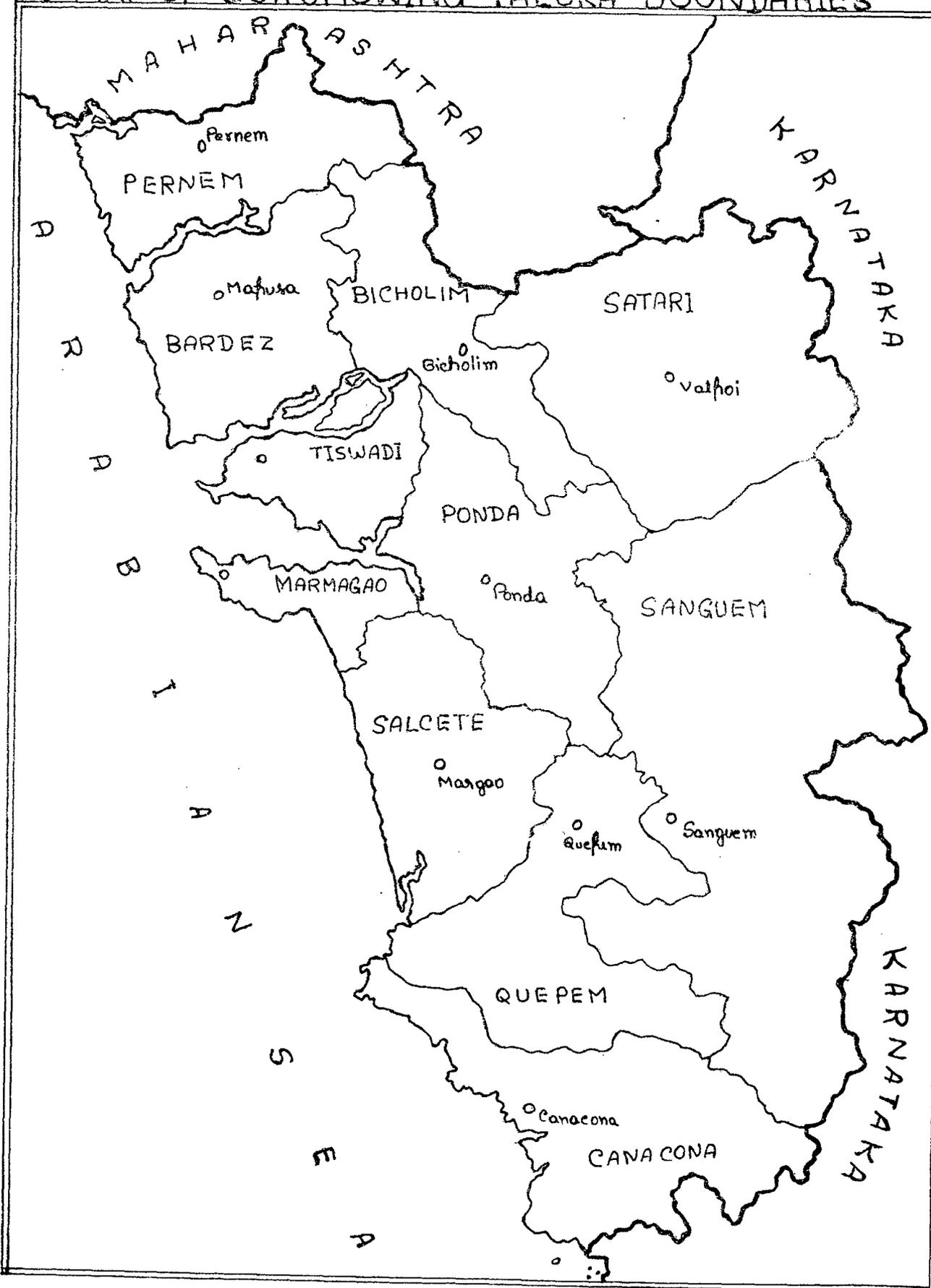
Geographical and Physical Environment

Goa is considered ' a pearl of the orient' and is well known for its scenic beauty, long stretches of golden beaches, beautiful temples, architecturally rich churches and the green country side situated on the one side of the Arabian sea (Shirodkar *et al.* in Singh 1993 : 1).

With an area of 3701.2 square kms., Goa is geographically situated between $15^{\circ}48'$ and $14^{\circ}53'$ north latitude and $74^{\circ}20'$ and $73^{\circ}40'$ east longitude. From north to south the state has a length of 105 kms. and it measures 60 kms. width from east to west. In the north, it is bounded by Sawantwadi taluka of Sindhudurg district of the State of Maharashtra and in the South its territory touches Belgaum and Karwar districts of the State of Karnataka and on the west it is bounded by the Arabian Sea. All these regions which surround Goa were a part of Bombay Presidency till the linguistic reorganisation of states (Angle 1994 : 2) [see map no. 3].

Mandovi and Zuari are the main rivers of the State interspersed with the major and minor estuaries. The other rivers Terekhol, Sal, Talpona and Galgibag traverse a considerable distance creating vast drainage areas. At the confluence of the Mandovi and the Zuari rivers situated the Mormugao Harbour. The eastern hilly terrain forming the northern edge of the Sahyadri Mountain range serves as a source region for most Goan rivers. The portion of the Sahyadri Mountains lying in Goa has an area of about 600 square kms. and an average elevation of 800 metres. Noticeable mountain peaks in Goa are Sonsogad (1,186 metres above the sea level), Katlachi Mauli (1,126 m), Vagauri

3 MAP OF GOA SHOWING TALUKA BOUNDARIES



(1,085 m), and Morlengad (1,054 m). The Dudhsagar waterfall is the most well-known cascade originating from the Sahyadris and its catchment area lies predominantly in the State of Karnataka (Angle 1994 : 1-2).

The regional landscape of Goa can be divided into four main zones.

(1) The northern and the central coastal lands of Bardez, Tiswadi, Mormo

Salcete. This zone includes the Calangute beach, the alluvial valleys of Mapusa, the Mandovi and the Zuari and the lateral plateau extensions of the Mapusa - Porvorim-Aguada and the urban land models of Mapusa, Panaji, Margao and Mormugao.

(2) The southern coast land of Betul - Talpona stretch.

(3) The zone of the central laterite plateau and the intermediate valleys.

(4) The Sahyadrian Goa comprising the hilly and forested Sahyadris (Shirodkar *et al.* in Singh 1993 : xxi).

Goa has a tropical, maritime and monsoon type of climate. The temperature varies between 20^o C to 34^o C. The humidity in the atmosphere is due to the regions proximity to the sea. There is sufficient rainfall during the south-west monsoon season, mainly from June to September. During the rest of the year, the weather is temperate. The climate of Goa is generally pleasant. The annual rainfall is noted as (+ -) 357 cms. The month of July normally accounting for 36 per cent of the total annual rainfall (Shirodkar *et al.* in Singh 1993 : xxi ; and Angle 1994 : 2).

The coast line of Goa is scenic attraction of bays and headlands broken by the estuaries of Mandovi and Zuari and interspersed with minor estuaries. The beaches like Baga, Calangute, Vagator, Siridao, Bogmalo and Colva with their whitish sands and palm

fringes have been attracting numerous domestic and foreign tourists to Goa (Angle 1994 : 2). Goa has got around 200 springs. Many of them have medical properties. The springs of Pomburpha, Curca, Keserval in Cortalim and Makddambo in Sarzora are very popular.

Agriculture is the principal occupation of many Goans. The principal crops grown are rice, pulses, plantains, sugarcane, papayas, sweet potatoes, onions, lady-fingers, water-melons, chillies, areca - palms, coconut palms, betel vine, cashew, jack-fruit and mango. In the new conquest areas forests are dense and green. They are the abode of leopards, tigers, fowl, hyenas and wild-boars. Many kinds of birds like pigeon, peacock, parrot, teal duck, sun bird, woodpecker, hornbill, fly-catcher and crows are abundantly found in Goa. The reptiles are snakes and large number of them are poisonous. The domesticated animals are the cow, buffalo, and the pig. The sea coast of Goa and the rivers and cracks abound in fish. The most important fish and crustacea found are: mackerel, squalors, sardines, mullet, shad, horn-beak, trout, crabs, lobsters, shrimp, cockle (D'souza 1975:11- 12).

Goa's Brief History

Goa's political history mainly includes two phases : - (1) Ancient times to 1510 A.D. Kadambas, Vijayanagara rulers and Mohamedans (2) 1510 A.D. to 1961 A.D. Portuguese.

Pre-Portuguese Goa did not exist as it is today. During different periods of history Goa's territories belonged to different kingdoms (D'Souza 1975 : 17). Bhishmaparva of the *Mahabharata* refers to the area as Gopakpattam or Gomanta. In Ptolemy's geography, Goa is mentioned as 'Gouba'. Goa's history can be traced back to the Mauryan empire in

India in the third century B.C. The Chalukyas of Badami ruled over it for 175 years since A.D. 578. The Rastrakutas of Malkhed dominated over Goa from A.D. 753 to A.D. 973 followed by Kalyani Chalukyas over Shilaharas. The Kadambas ruled over Goa from A.D. 1020 to A.D. 1350, when Goa was an important centre for maritime trade. Afterwards Goa came under the control of the Sultan of Delhi from A.D. 1356 to A.D. 1378, the Vijanagara rulers from 1378 to 1470 A.D., the Bahamanies of Deccan from A.D. 1471 to A.D. 1478, and the Adilshahis of Bijapur from A.D. 1489 to A.D. 1510 when the Portuguese took it over (Shirodkar *et al.* in Singh 1993 :xx).

The Portuguese conquered Tiswadi in 1510 A.D. followed by Bardez and Salcette in 1543 A.D. It took them another 180 years to take over Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona in 1763 A.D. (old conquests). The talukas of Pedne, Bicholim and Satari were annexed by the Portuguese in 1788 A.D. (New conquests). Thus it took the Portuguese 278 years to have a total command over Goa (Angle 1994 : 8-10).

After a long and continuous struggle launched by the Goan people to oust the Portuguese from their land, 19 December 1961 military action liberated Goa. After liberation the Indian Parliament passed the constitution (Twelfth Amendment) Act, 1962, whereby Goa, Daman and Diu were integrated on the 19th December 1961 with the Indian Union and included in the First Schedule to the Constitution specifying the Union territories (D'Souza 1975 : 306). On the 30th May 1987, Goa attained statehood within the Indian Union, thus becoming the twenty fifth and the youngest state in the country.

Transport and Communication

In Goa there are mainly four varieties of transport systems : Landways, Waterways, Railways and Airways. Table 7 gives the statistical description of the length of

Roads in Goa. National highway 17 connecting Bombay with Kanyakumari passes through Goa. Goa is also connected to other major cities and towns of Maharashtra and Karnataka. Within Goa also the road network is very efficient. Panjim, the state capital is connected to taluka head quarters through several routes (see table 8). On these routes different types and increasing number of motor vehicles are in operation (see table 9).

TABLE 7 LENGTH OF ROADS BY TYPE OF SURFACE AS ON THE 31st MARCH,
1989

| Sr No. | Category | Total Length | Surfaced Roads | | | Unsurfaced Roads | |
|--------|----------------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------|
| | | | Water Bound | Black Topped | Cement Concrete | Motorable | Unmotorable |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 1 | Roads under P.W.D. | 4253.00 | --- | 2,931.00 | --- | 1,322.00 | --- |
| 2 | Roads under Municipalities | 265.25 | 46.58 | 142.13 | 0.33 | 75.79 | 0.42 |
| 3 | Roads under Panchayats | 2,336.25 | 419.60 | 341.22 | --- | 1,021.90 | 553.53 |
| 4 | Roads under Forest | 239.57 | --- | 238.52 | --- | 0.85 | 0.20 |
| TOTAL | | 7,094.07 | 466.18 | 3,652.87 | 0.33 | 2,420.54 | 554.15 |

Source :- (1) Public works Department, Panaji.

(2) Directorate of Municipal Administration, Panaji.

(3) Directorate of Panchayats, Panaji.

(4) Conservator of Forests, Panaji (quoted in Government of Goa 1993 : 99).

The territory of Goa is interspersed with navigable rivers that provide water ways for traveling and transportation throughout the year. Mandovi and Zuari, the two major rivers, are the important waterways of Goa. Country crafts, mine ore barges and steam launches ply on these rivers.

TABLE 8 DISTANCE FROM PANJIM TOWN TO OTHER TOWNS BY ROAD

| Sr.No. | Name of the town | Route | Kms. |
|--------|-------------------|---------------------------------|------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 1 | Margao | Via Ponda | 45.0 |
| 2 | Margao | Via Agacaim - Cortalim | 33.4 |
| 3 | Vasco-da-Gama | Via Agacaim - Cortalim | 29.3 |
| 4 | Ponda | Via Ribandar - Old Goa | 28.8 |
| 5 | Quepem | Via Ponda - Sanvordem | 60.3 |
| 6 | Quepem | Via Agacaim - Cortalim - Margao | 48.2 |
| 7 | Sanguem | Via Ponda - Sanvordem | 60.0 |
| 8 | Sanguem | Via Agacaim - Cortalim - Margao | 62.3 |
| 9 | Chauri (Canacona) | Via Ponda - Margao | 81.4 |
| 10 | Chauri (Canacona) | Via Agacaim - Cortalim - Margao | 69.8 |
| 11 | Valpoi | Via Ponda - Usgao | 69.4 |
| 12 | Valpoi | Via Betim - Bicholim- Sanquelim | 53.5 |
| 13 | Mapusa | Via Betim | 11.1 |
| 14 | Bicholim | Via Mapusa | 29.8 |
| 15 | Pernem | Via Mapusa | 28.7 |

Source : Public Works Department, Panaji (quoted in Government of Goa 1993 :104).

TABLE 9 MOTOR VEHICLES IN OPERATION AS ON THE 31ST MARCH

| Sr.No | Type of Vehicle | 1991 - 92 | 1992 - 93 |
|-------|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 1 | Motor Cycle on hire | 3,849 | 3,937 |
| 2 | Motor Cycles and Scooters | 99,265 | 1,10,451 |
| 3 | Private Cars and Jeeps | 16,256 | 18,071 |
| 4 | Motor Cabs (taxis) | 2,682 | 3,237 |
| 5 | Goods Vehicles | 10,707 | 11,723 |
| 6 | Buses/Mini Buses | 1,507 | 1,551 |
| 7 | Tractors | 370 | 375 |
| 8 | Autorickshaws | 1,511 | 1,669 |
| 9 | Government Vehicles | 2,301 | 2,400 |
| TOTAL | | 1,38,448 | 1,53,414 |

Source : - Directorate of Transport, Panaji (quoted in Government of Goa 1993 : 103)

Goa has recently renovated international aerodrome at Dabolim which connects Goa to different destinations within and outside the country.

Goa has a 90 kms. long railway line which connects Murmagao port with Castle Rock on the Western Ghats in Karnataka State. Presently this railway line is being converted to broad-gauge. Another new broad-gauge railway line popularly known as Konkan Railway connecting Roha with Mangalore passes through Goa. After the completion of this work major socio-economic changes will take place in this region.

Goa has got a good Postal and Tele-communication network (see table 10).

TABLE 10 NO. OF POST OFFICES, TELEGRAPH OFFICES AND TELEPHONES
IN USE 1993 - 94

| State/District Taluka 1 | Post Offices 2 | Urban Post Offices 3 | Rural Post Offices 4 | Telegraph Offices 5 | Telephones in use 6 |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| GOA STATE | 249 | 57 | 192 | 71 | 27,356 |
| North Goa | 154 | 32 | 122 | 40 | 15,934 |
| Tiswadi | 28 | 11 | 17 | 14 | 9,077 |
| Bardez | 47 | 14 | 33 | 17 | 4,074 |
| Pernem | 17 | 1 | 16 | 1 | 155 |
| Bicholim | 17 | 2 | 15 | 3 | 525 |
| Satari | 16 | 1 | 15 | 1 | 149 |
| Ponda | 29 | 3 | 26 | 4 | 1,954 |
| South Goa | 95 | 25 | 70 | 31 | 11,422 |
| Sanguem | 14 | 1 | 13 | 2 | 200 |
| Canacona | 12 | 2 | 10 | 2 | 414 |
| Quepem | 16 | 3 | 13 | 3 | 770 |
| Salcete | 37 | 11 | 26 | 17 | 6,002 |
| Mormugao | 16 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 4,036 |

Source :- Goa at a Glance 1994, Directorate of Planning Statistics and Evaluation,

Panaji -Goa.

Demographic Profile of Goa

Until liberation Goa had a low rate of population growth. Table 11 presents the population growth in Goa and in India, during the period 1901-1991, with its decadal variations. Two important trends are noticeable here : the sudden increase in Goa's decadal population growth during 1961-71 to that of 34.77 per cent and its decline in the subsequent decades.

The former trend was mainly due to in-migration to Goa from other states of India. The birth rate of Goa for the decade 1961-71 was very low compared to the national birth rate. Goa's birth rate was 25 per thousand while the national birth rate was 35 per thousand. The death rate in Goa was also maintained at a low rate of 8.9 per thousand. Therefore, population of Goa should have grown only at a rate of 1.8 per cent per annum. But the growth has been 3.6 per cent or exactly 50 per cent of the total growth per annum. This is due to in-migration. This fact is reiterated by the sex ratio of Goa. The 1971 census Report observes : " A remarkable change has been taken place in this Union Territory since its liberation in 1961. It is used to be in the past a female predominated society since in all the previous Censuses from the year 1900 onwards there had been an excess of females over males for Goa In 1971 the sex ratio for the Union Territory as such was 989 females per 1,000 males. The low sex ratio in urban area is due to in-migration of population amongst whom the proportion of males is usually very high" (1971 Census, Part II-A : 22 quoted in Phal 1982 : 53).

TABLE 11 POPULATION GROWTH IN GOA AND INDIA : 1901 - 1991

| Year | Population in Goa | Decadal Variation % | Population in India | Decadal Variation % |
|------|-------------------|------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1901 | 4,75,513 | --- | 23,83,00,000 | --- |
| 1911 | 4,86,752 | 2.36 | 25,20,00,000 | 5.75 |
| 1921 | 4,69,494 | -3.55 | 25,10,00,000 | -0.40 |
| 1931 | 5,05,281 | 7.62 | 27,89,00,000 | 11.12 |
| 1941 | 5,40,925 | 7.05 | 31,85,00,000 | 14.20 |
| 1951 | 5,47,448 | 1.21 | 36,10,00,000 | 13.34 |
| 1961 | 5,89,997 | 7.77 | 43,91,00,000 | 21.63 |
| 1971 | 7,95,120 | 34.77 | 54,78,00,000 | 24.78 |
| 1981 | 10,07,749 | 26.74 | 68,38,00,000 | 24.80 |
| 1991 | 11,68,622 | 15.96 | 84,39,00,000 | 23.50 |

NOTE : - (a) Country's population figures rounded to the nearest lakh

(b) Goa's population figures shown against 1901, 1911, 1941, 1951 and 1961 relate to one year earlier.

Source : -(Angle 1993 : 14).

The second trend has been mainly due to tapering off to a sizeable extent the "heavy influx of outsiders" (Angle 1994 : 14). Such issues as 'Goa for Goans' or 'sons of the soil' policy are at the root of this phenomenon. Another reason for the decline in the rate of population growth is the adoption by Goans the small family and late marriage norms. Improvement in the literacy percentage, especially the female literacy, has

substantially contributed in restricting Goa's population growth. The literacy percentage has been risen from 35.41 per cent in 1960 to 76.96 per cent in 1991. Goa now ranks fifth after Kerala, Mizoram, Lakshadweep and Chandigarh in the scale of literacy percentages (Ibid. : 14 - 15).

The four coastal talukas of Tiswadi, Mormugao, Salcete and Bardez account for about a fifth of Goa's geographical area and accommodate 57.79 per cent of the state's population. The Sanguem taluka with an area of 23.25 per cent accounts for only 5 per cent of the population (Angle 1994 : 15).

Tremendous growth in the urban population of Goa is another demographic trend of sociological interest. Urban population of Goa now has a share of 41.02 per cent of the total population as against 32.46 per cent and 26.44 per cent in 1981 and 1971 respectively. The share was only 14.8 per cent in 1960 (Angle 1994 : 15). At present four out of every ten persons live in an urban area. While the average density of population has increased from 170 per sq. km. in 1960 to 316 per sq. km. in 1991, the density in the urban areas has grown rapidly and in the major towns like Panaji, Margao, Mapusa and Vasco-da -Gama it is as high as 4000 persons per sq. km. (Kamat in GCCI 1992 :2). Another reason which is suggested earlier, is in-migration to Goa on account of " a sudden spurt in economic and other activities after liberation" (Phal 1982 : 53). Analysing the decadal population growth during 1961 - 71 the Census reports, " A sudden expansion in the Government sector of employment, tremendous increase in the number of educational institutions and the consequent fillip to the secondary and tertiary sectors of

economy contributed to a large extent to this spectacular rise in urban population” (Census 1971. Part II-A : quoted in Phal 1982 : 54).

Socio-economic Change and New Occupational Activities

Being a major socio-historical and political event Liberation brought about far reaching changes in many aspects of Goa's social life. The emergence of new economic and occupational activities is one of the areas of social change. Earlier primary occupations like agriculture, fishing, toddy tapping, fenny distillation etc. provided livelihood for Goans. Prior to liberation the economy of Goa was essentially trade oriented. It relied totally on the imported consumer goods to meet the domestic demand. The major sectors of the economy like agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery, industry and transport and communication were grossly neglected and the available resources were not fully exploited. The employment opportunities in the non- primary sectors were restricted to the sectors of public administration and retail trade. The result was the out -migration of local people in search of vocations. The mining industry did start before liberation but no serious efforts were made to develop it systematically (Kamat GCCI 1992 : 1).

On account of conscious development policy since 1962-63 Goa has taken major strides in the spheres of economic development. Measured by the indicators of per capita income, level of literacy, per capita power consumption, birth rate, death rate, infant mortality rate, doctor population ratio, road length per thousand sq. kms., motor vehicles per lakh population and population per banking office Goa has earned the distinction of

achieving the best physical quality of life among all the states and the Union Territories in the country today (Ibid. : 1-2).

TABLE 12 GENERAL INFORMATION OF INDUSTRIES : 1961 - 1991

| 1 | 1961 | 1970 - 71 | 1980 - 81 | 1990 - 91 |
|--|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. No. of factories in operation | 34 | 142* | 186 | 272 |
| 2. Estimated average no. of workers employed daily in registered factories | N.A. | 10,488* | 12,393* | 19,653 |
| 2 | 1961 | 1970 - 71 | 1980 - 81 | 1990 - 91 |
| 1. No. of small scale industries in Goa registered with industries development | N.A. | 621* | 1,460 | 4,763 |
| 2. Large and medium industries | N.A. | 10 | N.A. | 42 |
| 3. Estimated average no. of workers in small scale industries | N.A. | 4,936 | 13,394 | 30,073 |
| 4. Employment in large and medium industries | N.A. | 1,004 | N.A. | 9,120 |
| 5. Sheds in industrial estates | N.A. | 54* | 356* | 598 |

Note : - * includes Daman and Diu

Source : - Annual survey of Industries (quoted in GCCI 1992 : 178).

The developmental activities in Goa ensured the growth of industries, both small and large scale resulting in the increasing employment opportunities (see table 12). At present in Goa we find a wide variety of industries. Some of the sophisticated goods produced include spectacle frames, pesticides, sanitary towels, drugs and pharmaceuticals, fasteners, PVC footwear, nylon fishing nets, batteries, paints and varnishes, cutting tools,

carbon papers, capacitors, stern gear and propellers, plastic articles, welding electrodes, auto springs, laminated packaging, coir defibring, electronic lamps, aluminium collapsible tubes, sport goods, ready made garments, paper cones, diamond cutting tools, industrial valves and furnaces, flash guns, audio-visual equipment and assembly of watches and TV sets, computers, development of software, computer stationery, cameras, photo chemicals, ball pen tips, industrial jewels, washing machines, gelatin capsules, imitation jewellery, defence equipments, and so on. Some medium and large scale products are brewery products, iron ore pallets, fertilisers, pharmaceuticals, fish nets, cashew nuts, synthetic leather, filtration media, PVC pipes, printed circuit boards, polyconcrete items, electric fans, etc. (Sequeira in GCCI : 34).

Another important area of industrial growth is tourism. Goa started receiving tourists immediately after liberation in 1961, by the time the rest of the country was in the midst of third Five Year Plan. However, since then there has been phenomenal growth and now more than 10 lakh tourists, both Indian and foreign, visit Goa every year. Accommodation in Goa has grown steadily, accounting for about 14,000 beds. Out of this only 4,000 beds are in star category hotels and the remaining are in unstarred category. During the peak tourist season the bed capacity is found short of requirements. On the other hand tourist traffic drops down during the monsoon period (Mahajan in GCCI :68).

In Goa together with industrialisation took place the expansion of financial institutions like banks and credit cooperatives and the growth of higher educational

dwellers. On the basis of informal discussions with tourists, this researcher could infer that among the vegetarian restaurants, their first preference goes to Udupi Hotels or Restaurants serving Udupi type of food items. These days Udupi Hotels are becoming famous among even non-vegetarians and those who relish north Indian dishes. These and other aspects of creative adaptations of Udupi Hoteliers to the changing reality will be discussed further in the subsequent chapters.

ROLE-STRUCTURE AND LAYOUT OF AN UDUPI HOTEL : A Note

Though hotels are lodging houses and restaurants eating places, in popular usage the words are used interchangeably. For the people of DK, therefore, it did not make any difference to call the Udupi Restaurants they started as Hotels. For instance, for their Hotels they put such names as Hotel Sri Krishna or Hotel Vrindavan or simply Udupi Hotel.

A typical Udupi Hotel is an organised social group with an institutionalised set of interrelated work-roles and statuses. These have been evolved and acquired the nature of a complex division of labour over the years. Their growth is the consequence of the development of the Hotel as a large business establishment catering to many people. According to the type of occupational assignments, duties and wages paid, these roles and positions can be broadly classified as managerial and manual. Under the former can be included, the Hotel Manger, the Supervisor, the Cashier and the Bill Writer. Among the latter can be included the Cook, the Sweet Master, the Dosa Man, the Grinder Attendant, the Store Keeper, the Counter Attendant, the Juice Maker, the Supplier, the Cleaner and the others. The jobs of the second category can be divided into skilled and unskilled. The

jobs of the Cook, the Sweet Master, and the Dosa Maker are skilled and the others are unskilled.

In the earlier days, as narrated by elder Hoteliers, the Brahman Hotelier used to do all other works of the Hotel with the help of his family members or caste-men and used to employ one or two lower caste-boys as cleaners, whom he took with him from the native place. At that time there was no much division of labour. But now some Hotels have grown to such an extent that they employ more than 30 members for different tasks. Among all the tasks the most menial and the least paid is that of cleaners. However, it is the first available job for those boys who are run-aways from home or those who have migrated to cities without earlier experience of work. Therefore, they join this job with the main intention of fulfilling the economic needs. The cleaners are mostly less educated or illiterate. Many a times they do not know the local language also. The grown up among them may join the kitchen as assistants or counter attendants. These, if remain in the kitchen for long, turn out to be cooks. The waiters or suppliers are a little educated. The experienced among them are posted in special or air-conditioned rooms where the higher class customers sit. The allotment of the tables in such rooms is a kind of promotion because the possibility of getting 'tips money' is greater there.

Earlier mainly Brahmans were employed as cooks as they have vegetarian culinary tradition. At that time, the Udupi Hotels served only vegetarian food. Now some Udupiwalhas serve non-vegetarian food too. Some others have included Punjabi and North Indian dishes in their menu. As a result the experience of a person as a cook, and not caste, is a criterion in the recruitment of cooks.

The Bill Writer, the Supervisor, the Manager, and the Cashier constitute the inner circle of the management of the Hotel with the Proprietor. Among them the Manager and the Supervisor play crucial roles in the running of the Hotel. They see to it that the necessary things like the vegetables and provisions are brought. They resolve the interpersonal problems of the workers. The decisions regarding the menu, the allocation of leisure time for the workers and such other tasks are performed by them.

The proprietor looks after the Hotel in its totality. His main responsibilities include the settlement of official matters with the Tax Officers, Labour Officer, Food Inspector, Municipality Officials, Electricity and Water Supply Department. The settlement of the daily cash accounts is his major responsibility. For the workers and the proprietor the daily routine begins early in the morning and completes late in the evening. During this long period every day they perform the same work of food preparation and catering the same to the customers in an organised network of occupational role responsibilities.

Inside the Hotel the available space is divided systematically and utilised in such a way that its maximum utilisation is ensured. At the entrance of the Hotel the cash counter is installed (see photograph - 1). On the wall above the cash counter is fixed a decorated (sometimes lavishly) stand containing photographs of different Gods, Swamiji's like Nityananda or Raghavendra and Sai Baba. Along with the God are found *Mantrada Kayi*, some sacrificial things like *kumkum*, *Tayita*, *Tamraphalaka* endowed with magical powers to prevent 'evil eye' and promote prosperity, and a *Nandadeep*. In no Udupi Hotel in Goa the researcher could trace the idol or photograph of Lord Krishna of Udupi. However, in Bangalore and Mysore the Brahman's Udupi Hotels keep Lord Krishna's photographs.

If the Hotel sells sweets in a large scale the sweet counter is attached to or near by the cash counter. If the Hotel contains lodging section the reception too is kept at the entrance. The main space of the Hotel accommodates the tables and chairs where the customers could sit and eat. Some Hotels contain only special rooms for families while some others contain an air-conditioned block (see photograph -2). At an important corner of the eating place is kept the Bill Writers desk [see photograph - 3] . In big Hotels the electronic equipments are used for the purpose. In Goa the *Darshini* or *Cafe* type of vegetarian restaurants, found in abundance in Bangalore, are yet to be introduced. In recent years they have grown like mushrooms in Bangalore. They are fast food centres serving fresh and tasty etables like *Lilli-Wada*, *Puri-Sagu*, *Chauchau Bath* and *Chats*. Self service is their important characteristic. The eating places contain only high raised tables and not chairs. The phenomenon of the growth of such restaurants is due to the fast moving nature of urabn life and the scarcity and non-stationery nature of Hotel employees. The Udupi Hoteliers in Goa opine that such an attempt may not be succeful in Goa because of the nature of Goan customers who prefer to come to the restaurants and relax. This is true even with the tourists in Goa.

At the interior end of the eating place the food and beverages counter is fixed from where the suppliers 'shout' their orders - *Ondu Massala* or *Ondu Kafee*- and get what are required to serve through the counter boys [see photograph - 4]. The space beyond the counter, in some cases a room by itself, is the Hotel Kitchen where the food and bevearages are prepared. An intruder in this place will be aghast to see the mechanisms and processes of large scale preparation of Chapatis, Puris, Dosas and so on. The

environment is spicy and mouth-watering. Nowadays modern gadgets like Gas, Boilers, Grinders are made use of. [See photograph -5]. The washing and cleaning section acquires considerable space. It is provided with both the warm and the cold water. The warm water is used with two important reasons. Firstly, it cleans away the oily residue on the utensils fastly, and secondly, it is believed that it is hygienic in the sense that it kills viruses and bacteria.

Only a few Hotels have got separate common hall for the workers to stay. In such Hotels the staying halls are shared by all the workers to keep their belongings. The wooden boxes or the iron trunks or the suit cases are used to keep the things. Several ropes are lined up to hang the clothing. These halls are utilised during the rest hours to sleep. The main eating place is converted into bed-room during the night. The employees of managerial class usually stay either in the proprietor's house or in rented houses.

The role structure and the layout of an Udupi Hotel described so far is only an account of a typical Udupi Hotel, and in actuality some Hotels may not fit neatly into the frame work. The Udupi Hotels of popular understanding more or less exhibit the above characteristics. However, according to the definition of the Udupi Hotels adopted in this study even the Gada Hotels which are installed many times in make-shift sheds by the people from Udupi are Udupi Hotels. Such Hotels differ markedly in their occupational role structure of employees and the Hotel layout from the typical Udupi Hotel. The non-vegetarian and Bar attached Hotels run by the people from Udupi possess their own internal organisation. They combine, for example, the roles of the supplier and the cleaner.

One important organisational aspect of Udupi Hotels is their advertisement mechanisms. Installment of Welcome Boards [See photograph - 6] and using different scripts in the writing of Menu Cards/Boards [see photograph -7] are the two important observations made by the researcher in this regard.

Photograph-1 Cash Counter



Photograph-2 Air-conditioned Block



Photograph-3 Bill Writers Desk



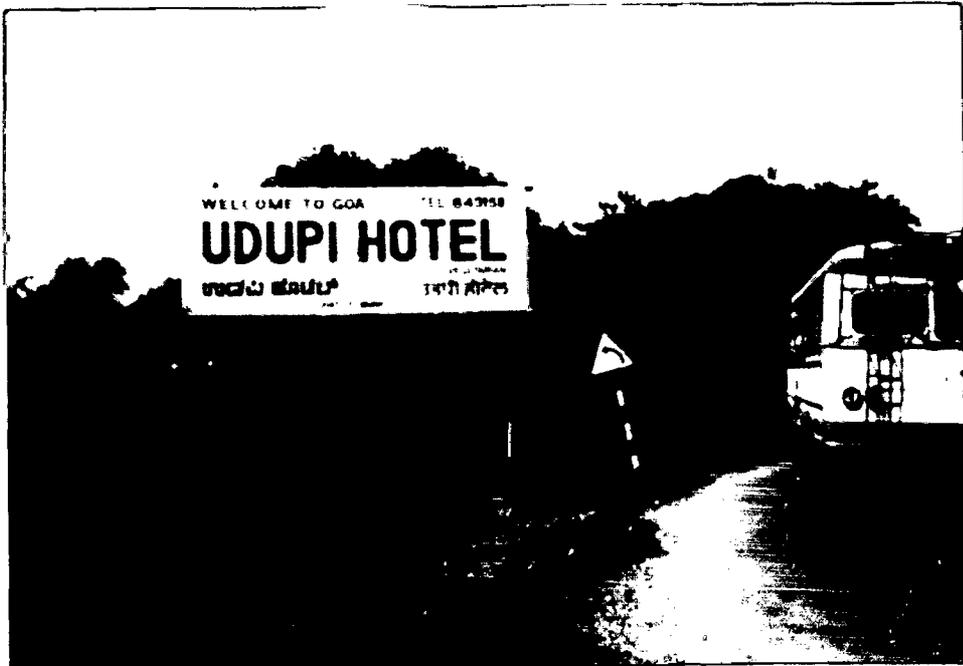
Photograph-4 Food and Beverages Counter



Photograph-5 A Hotel Kitchen



Photograph-6 A Welcome Board



Photograph-7 A Menu Board



CHAPTER THREE

**SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE UDUPI
HOTELIERS IN GOA**

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SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA

This chapter explores the background social characteristics of the Udupi Hoteliers in order to find answer to the question : who are the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa ? The background characteristics include sex, age, religion, caste/sub caste, marital status, length of residence in Goa, languages known, education, dwelling place, growth of Udupi Hotels and their geographical distribution in Goa, geographical distribution of the Hoteliers in the place of origin, and some changing characteristics of Udupi Hotels. As stated in Introduction altogether 125 Hoteliers from Dakshina Kannada (DK) were identified. Among them 118 provided information for this study.

With regard to the sex composition of the Udupi Hoteliers, except for one lady all others are men. The lady proprietor's case is an exception to the general rule of Udupi Hotels. It was revealed from the interview that this lady has decided to run the Hotel for herself after the death of her husband because in Goa it is quite common among women to run bars and Hotels. The Manager of the Hotel is her younger brother. In the official member's list of the Hotel and Restaurant Owner's Association is one more lady's name as Proprietor. Unfortunately, the researcher's endeavor to personally meet her had not materialised. However, it has been found out that in this case the lady is the nominal proprietor and the person who actually runs the Hotel is a male kin. However, the preponderance of male proprietors will not allow us to contend that woman do not have any say at all in the establishment of the Hotels and their management. While narrating

how his Hotel came up to the present prosperous stage one of the Hotelier remembered the role played by his father's sister. Initially, she used to prepare food items at home and used to sell to the coolies during the lunch time. She started the present Hotel in a small scale and used to manage it single handedly. She was instrumental in bringing his father and uncles to Goa. Some other Hoteliers revealed that their spouses were consulted in matters relating to the renovation of the Hotel premises, enlargening it or opening up branches.

TABLE 13 AGE WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOTELIERS

| Sr.No. | Age (in years) | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the Total * |
|--------|----------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | 21 - 30 | 12 | 10.17 |
| 2. | 31 - 40 | 47 | 39.83 |
| 3. | 41 - 50 | 43 | 36.44 |
| 4. | 51 Above | 16 | 13.56 |
| TOTAL | | 118 * | 100 |

The age wise distribution as shown in Table 13 reveals that the age range of the Hoteliers varied between 21 and 51 or more years. One Hotelier with 70 years of age also found in the survey. For the purposes of classification they are grouped under four categories. They are 21-30, 31-40, 41-50, and 51 above. This distribution of the Hoteliers within these age-groups shows their concentration in the age -groups of 31-40 and 41-50 and among them the highest percentage of 39.83 are found in the 31 - 40 age-group.

Among the Hoteliers 114 are Hindus and four are Muslims. The Muslims are Malayalam speaking Mopillah Muslims who are found in greater number in the Malabar and Kasaragod districts of Kerala and the southern most part of DK.

TABLE 14 CASTE WISE BREAK UP OF THE HOTELIERS

| Sr.No. | Caste | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the Total * |
|--------|------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Brahman | 13 | 11.40 |
| 2. | Bunt | 44 | 38.60 |
| 3. | Gowda Saraswat Brahman | 31 | 27.20 |
| 4. | Poojarí | 10 | 8.77 |
| 5. | Gauda (Vokkliga) | 2 | 1.75 |
| 6. | Devadiga (Moili) | 5 | 4.39 |
| 7. | Shettigar | 3 | 2.63 |
| 8. | Ganiga | 2 | 1.75 |
| 9. | Kothari | 1 | 0.88 |
| 10. | Mogaveera | 1 | 0.88 |
| 11. | No answer | 2 | 1.75 |
| TOTAL | | 114 * | 100 |

Among the Hindu Hoteliers, as revealed in Table 14, the representatives of various castes and sub-castes are found. This supports our first hypothesis that the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa are of multi-caste background. In Goa, as in the cases of other south Indian towns and cities like Bangalore, Madras, and Hyderabad the pioneering Udupi Hoteliers are Brahmans. One of the pioneering Udupi Hoteliers in Goa, in one of his

informal discussions with the researcher, recalls that even before liberation Brahman entrepreneurs from DK ventured to start Hotels in the central localities of the major towns of Goa. The credit of establishing the first Udupi Hotel in Panjim goes to the "Woodlands" group of Hotels. This group headed by Late Shri Kadandale Krishna Rao has been responsible for bringing international recognition for Udupi Hotels (Rajalaxmi 1993 : 18). All of the pioneering Hoteliers are not continued to stay presently in Goa. Some such Hotels are either purchased by others or demolished. The present researcher could trace only two of them who are still engaged in running their Hotels. Through their itineraries it is discerned that they did not face any torture or persecution from the Portuguese rulers. On the contrary they were treated well and during the military action by the Government of India leading to liberation they were provided with military/police protection.

Among the Brahman Hoteliers are found Shivalli, Kota, Koteswara Magane, and the Sthanik Brahman sub-castes. Among these groupings the first two constitute the major sub-castes of DK. The Kota Brahmans are Smarthas; they worship almost all gods and goddesses of Hindu pantheon with equal devotion. They consider Lord Narasimha of Saligrama as their Guru ; unlike other Hindus they do not have human Gurus. The Shivalli Brahmans are mainly Madhvas and worship Lord Krishna of Udupi. They belong to the village Shivalli. The Koteswara Magane too are Madhvas but settled in the village Koteswara of Kundapura Taluka. The Sthanik Brahmans are basically the artisans in the temple and lowly situated in the sub-caste hierarchy.

The Bunts of DK are sub divided into four sub-castes as described in Chapter three. However, the researcher could not exactly identify the sub-castes of Bunt Hoteliers, for most of them are not aware of their sub-castes. Most of the Bunts hail from the talukas of Karkala, Udupi and Kundapura where Masadik and Nadava sub-castes of the Bunts are found.

The Gowda Saraswat Brahmans, whose relatives in their out-migrated space mostly engaged in trading and petty business, constitute the second largest group among the Hoteliers. The popular view is that their ancestors originally belonged to Goa and left it due to Portuguese persecution. The other castes, together accounting for 22.81 per cent are the third group. Among them the Poojari are the toddy tapers, the Gauda or Vokkaliga are the cultivators, the Shettigar are the weavers, the Ganiga are the oil-men, the Kothari are the cultivators, and the Mogaveera belong to the fishing community. Two of the Hoteliers did not reveal their caste or sub caste identity.

TABLE 15 MARITAL STATUS OF THE HOTELIERS

| Sr.No. | Marital Status | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the Total * |
|--------|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | Single | 27 | 22.89 |
| 2 | Married with living spouse | 89 | 75.42 |
| 3 | Widowed | 2 | 1.69 |
| TOTAL | | 118 * | 100 |

Table 15 shows that the highest number of Hoteliers are married and are with living spouses. Only two Hoteliers, one male and the other female, are widowed. Among the Hoteliers none is divorced or separated. Out of 89 Hoteliers who are married and

living with spouses 91.01 per cent are with children, and 8.99 per cent are without children. Both of the widowed respondents are with children.

TABLE 16 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF HOTELIERS IN GOA

| Sr.No. | Length of residence (in years) | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the Total * |
|--------|--------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | 1 - 10 | 31 | 26.27 |
| 2 | 11 - 20 | 38 | 32.20 |
| 3. | 21 - 30 | 34 | 28.82 |
| 4. | 31 above | 15 | 12.71 |
| TOTAL | | 118 * | 100 |

In the Table 16 it is seen that 41.53 per cent of the Hoteliers are staying for 21 or more years, and 58.47 per cent are staying for 20 or less years. Majority of the respondents have been residing in Goa for the last two decades.

TABLE 17 MOTHER TONGUE WISE DISTRIBUTION OF HOTELIERS

| Sr. No. | Mother Tongue | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the Total * |
|---------|---------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Tulu | 52 | 44.07 |
| 2. | Kannada | 30 | 25.42 |
| 3. | Konkani | 31 | 26.27 |
| 4. | Malayalam | 5 | 4.24 |
| TOTAL | | 118 * | 100 |

As revealed by Table 17 many respondents (44.07 per cent) have Tulu as their mother tongue, followed by Konkani speakers (26.27 per cent) and Kannada speakers

(25.42 per cent). A few (4.24 per cent) are having Malayalam as their mother tongue. These are from DK and Kasargod border.

Though Konkani is not the mother tongue of 73.73 per cent of the Hoteliers all of them know Konkani. Among them 86.21 per cent know only to speak Konkani and 13.79 per cent know also to read and write Konkani. All Konkani speaking Hoteliers know Kannada. Majority of the Hoteliers (54.24 per cent) stated that they can speak Marathi and 66.95 Hoteliers acknowledged that they can speak English. All of the Hoteliers have the knowledge of Hindi, 22.88 per cent know only to speak and 77.11 per cent can also read and write. The Hoteliers did not find any problem with regard to the learning of the languages other than their mother tongue. The learning of new languages has been a part of their occupational socialisation. All of the Hoteliers are multi-lingual in characteristic. There are examples of Hoteliers who know even such languages as Japanese, the reason being their association with the navigators in Goa. Some others who worked in various places of South India know almost all south Indian languages.

The educational achievement of the parents has influence on the educational and occupational achievement level of the children. Education is seen as an important avenue for social mobility through entry into salaried occupations and professions. Working in other's hotel as cleaners or suppliers and also running small scale Hotels are the occupations which are less prestigious. Generally, these are occupations open to the less educated persons. Educational background of the Udupi Hoteliers, their fathers, spouses, and children help us to know to some extent the relationship between education and occupation of a Hotelier. The description of the educational background of the Hoteliers

and their immediate family members is provided in Table 18. It is evident that 31.36 per cent of the respondents studied up to primary school, 28.81 per cent up to secondary, 11.86 per cent up to higher secondary level. There were 22.03 per cent graduates, less than one per cent post graduates and 3.39 per cent professional. Finally, 1.69 per cent belong to the category of 'others' which involved here mainly the traditional learning of Vedas.

As far as the educational background of the fathers is concerned 45.76 per cent are illiterate, 42.37 per cent studied up to primary level, 7.63 per cent went up to secondary school and less than one per cent completed higher secondary education. No father belonged to the categories of degree and professional education. Only 1.69 per cent had post graduation and information is not available for 1.69 per cent.

In this study educational information regarding 90 daughters and 104 sons is available. Among them nobody is illiterate. The information pertains to even school and college going persons. Among the 90 daughters 31.11 per cent are in primary school, 14.44 in secondary school, 13.33 per cent in higher secondary, 28.89 per cent are either in degree or completed it, 3.33 per cent are in the post graduation, and 2.22 per cent are in the professional colleges. The others constitutes 6.67 per cent and they include even non-school going daughters. Among 104 sons 28.85 per cent are in primary school, 11.54 per cent in secondary school, 8.65 per cent are in higher secondary, 37.5 per cent are either in degree classes or completed degree, 12.5 per cent belong to professional and less than one per cent others.

TABLE 18 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE HOTELIERS AND SOME C

| Sr.No. | Members | Illiterates (%) | Primary (%) | Secondary (%) | H.S.S. (%) | Degree (%) | P.G. (%) |
|--------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 1. | Respondent's Fathers | 54 (45.76) | 50 (42.37) | 9 (7.63) | 1 (0.85) | -- | 2 (1.69) |
| 2. | Respondents | -- | 37 (31.36) | 34 (28.81) | 14 (11.80) | 26 (22.03) | 1 (0.85) |
| 3. | Wives | 6 (6.74) | 32 (35.90) | 30 (33.70) | 9 (10.11) | 9 (10.11) | -- |
| 4. | Daughters | -- | 28 (31.11) | 13 (14.44) | 12 (13.33) | 26 (28.89) | 3 (3.33) |
| 5. | Sons | -- | 30 (28.85) | 12 (11.54) | 9 (8.65) | 39 (37.5) | -- |

A close look into Table 18 shows that only in the case of fathers and wives illiteracy is found. In father's generation a considerable number of members are illiterate (45.76 per cent), whereas in the case of wives only 6.74 per cent are illiterate. Among Hoteliers and sons there are some who have undergone informal training at home of letters and occupations. For example, some Brahmans have undergone vedic training and some Devadigas were taught pipe-blowing when they were young.

TABLE 19 TYPE OF DWELLING PLACES OF THE HOTELIERS

| Sr.No. | Dwelling Place | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the Total * |
|--------|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Own | 67 | 56.78 |
| 2. | Rented | 39 | 33.05 |
| 3. | Staying in the Hotel | 8 | 6.78 |
| 4. | Staying with the Relatives | 4 | 3.39 |
| Total | | 118* | 100 |

With regard to the type of dwelling place (see table 19) 56.78 per cent live in their own houses. Among them 89.55 per cent have got R.C.C. houses which include flats/bungalows, and 10.45 per cent dwell in own tiled houses. Among the total Hoteliers 33.05 per cent stay in rented houses, the rent ranging from minimum Rs.150/- to maximum Rs. 1,500/- per month ; 6.78 per cent stay in their respective Hotels and 3.39 per cent are staying with their relatives.

The geographical distribution of the Hoteliers in their out-migrated space, that is, DK (see table 20) shows that highest number of them hail from Udupi Taluka ; and

Kundapur, Karkala, and Mangalore sent large number of Hoteliers. The coastal talukas of DK together have sent large number of Hoteliers.

TABLE 20 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOTELIERS : OUT-MIGRATED SPACE

| Sr.No. | Taluka/District | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the Total * |
|--------|-------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Belthangadi | 1 | 0.84 |
| 2. | Buntwal | -- | -- |
| 3. | Kundapur | 31 | 26.27 |
| 4. | Karkala | 23 | 19.49 |
| 5. | Mangalore | 17 | 14.41 |
| 6. | Puttur | 3 | 2.54 |
| 7. | Sullia | 1 | 0.84 |
| 8. | Udupi | 41 | 34.76 |
| 9. | Not revealing Taluka Identity | 1 | 0.84 |
| 10. | DK | 118* | 100 |

The geographical distribution of the Udupi Hotels in Goa is given in Table 21. It could be seen from the table that the Udupi Hotels are concentrated in the major towns of South Goa. Of the total Udupi Hotels in Goa 69.49 per cent are situated in South Goa district. Among the talukas of South Goa, Mormugao and Salcete have the maximum number of Udupi Hotels. In these South Goa talukas most of the Udupi Hotels are found in the two major towns, namely, Vasco and Margao. In North Goa Tiswadi taluka has the major share of Udupi Hotels. Of the 36 Udupi Hotels of North Goa, Tiswadi taluka alone

houses 21 of them. Further all these 21 Udupi Hotels are located in Panjim town only. The remaining 15 Udupi Hotels are distributed in Bardez and Ponda talukas of North Goa

TABLE 21 DISTRICT AND TALUKA WISE DISTRIBUTION OF UDUPI HOTELS
IN GOA STATE

| District/State | Taluka | Total no of Hotels | Per centage to the Total * |
|----------------|-------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| North Goa | Tiswadi | 21 | 17.80 |
| | Bardez | 10 | 8.47 |
| | Pernem | -- | -- |
| | Bicholim | -- | -- |
| | Satari | -- | -- |
| | Ponda | 5 | 4.24 |
| | Total | 36 | 30.51 |
| South Goa | Sanguem | - | -- |
| | Canacona | 2 | 1.69 |
| | Quepem | 3 | 2.54 |
| | Salcete | 31 | 26.27 |
| | Mormugao | 46 | 38.98 |
| | Total | 82 | 69.49 |
| Goa state | Grand Total | 118 * | 100 |

District. In Bardez there are 10 and in Ponda there are five Udupi Hotels. The growing commercial, industrial and administrative activities, and increasing residential blocks in these places is an important reason for the growing number of Hotels in these areas.

TABLE 22 CATEGORISATION OF UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA ACCORDING TO YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT BY COMMUNITY AND NO. OF WORKERS

| Castes and Communities | YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------|
| | Before 1960 | | | | 1961 - 70 | | | | 1971 - 80 | | | | 1981 - 90 | | | |
| | 5 and less than 5 workers | 6 to 10 workers | 11 or more workers | TOTAL | 5 and less than 5 workers | 6 to 10 workers | 11 or more workers | TOTAL | 5 and less than 5 workers | 6 to 10 workers | 11 or more workers | TOTAL | 5 and less than 5 workers | 6 to 10 workers | 11 or more workers | TOTAL |
| Brahmans | -- | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | -- | -- | 1 | -- | 3 | 1 | 4 | 3 | -- | -- | 3 |
| Bunts | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1 | 1 | 2 | -- | 4 | 8 | 12 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 18 |
| G.S.B. | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1 | 4 | 5 | -- | -- | 10 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 7 |
| Others * | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | -- | 2 | 11 | 6 | 2 | 19 |
| Total | -- | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 1 | 8 | 19 | 28 | 23 | 14 | 10 | 47 |

NOTE : - * Others include even Mopillah Muslims

TABLE 23 GROWTH OF HOTELS AND LODGING HOUSES INCLUDING
PAYING GUEST HOUSES IN GOA (1989 - 1994)

| Sr.No. | State/District Taluka | REFERENCE YEAR | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|----------------|----------|-------|-------|
| | | 1989 - 90 † | 1990-91† | 1992* | 1994* |
| 1 | Goa State | 310 | 325 | 930 | 1,149 |
| 2 | NORTH GOA | 217 | 221 | 792 | 908 |
| 3 | Tiswadi | 124 | 128 | 159 | 287 |
| 4 | Bardez | 75 | 75 | 610 | 589 |
| 5 | Pernem | 2 | 2 | 15 | 13 |
| 6 | Bicholim | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 7 | Satari | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 8 | Ponda | 15 | 15 | 6 | 17 |
| 9 | SOUTH GOA | 93 | 104 | 138 | 241 |
| 10 | Sanguem | 1 | 1 | -- | 1 |
| 11 | Canacona | -- | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| 12 | Quepem | 2 | 2 | -- | 2 |
| 13 | Salcete | 62 | 68 | 106 | 196 |
| 14 | Mormugao | 28 | 30 | 31 | 38 |

NOTE :- † include only boarding and lodging houses

* include not only boading and lodging houses but also paying guest houses.

SOURCE :- 1. Statistical pocket Book of Goa 1989 - 91, Government of Goa, p.-87.

2. Statistical Pocket Book of Goa 1991-93, Governement of Goa, 1991-93,
p.- 118.

3. Goa at a Glance - 1992, Govenment of Goa.

4. Goa at a Glance - 1994, Government of Goa.

A close look into the year wise growth of the Udupi Hotels in Table 22 shows a steady increase in the number of Hotels in Goa. For the State of Goa also there is an increase of hotels and lodging houses including paying guest houses as shown in Table 23. The Udupi Hotels in Goa might have grown in the manner in which other Hotels have grown. The reasons/factors like urbanisation and tourism development which are responsible for the growth of Hotel industry in general are responsible for the growth of Udupi Hotels also.

TABLE 24 HOTELS WITH AND WITHOUT UDUPI ADAGE IN THEIR NAME

| Hotel Type on the basis of Food | Hotels with Udupi Adage | Hotels with out Udupi adage | Total |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| Vegetarian | 16 (13.56) | 53 (44.92) | 69 (58.48) |
| Non- Vegetarian | 3 (2.54) | 46 (38.98) | 49 (41.52) |
| TOTAL | 19 (16.10) | 99 (83.90) | 118 (100) |

NOTE :- Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage to the total.

Using of Udupi or Udipi adage was once very popular among Udupi Hoteliers in naming their Hotels. 'Udupi' adage has been a sellable symbol. However, in Goa its use is a declining interest as shown in Table 24 ; not many are keen to use the adage. According to Brahmans it has become very 'cheap' when the non-Brahmans too started using the same not only for their vegetarian but also for their non-vegetarian restaurants. Similarly, by gone is the era of selling purely Udupi style food items by Udupi Hotels. The reason being the introduction of Punjabi, chats, and other non-Udupi dishes by the Udupi Hotels in their menu which earlier were popular only with the Punjabi Dhabas and Pani-Puri

stalls. Of course, this is the natural consequence of the process of migration and cultural diffusion. Mobility takes place not only among the members of an occupational category ; occupations themselves are mobile. In this scene of transformation some Hoteliers from Udupi argue that there is no meaning and no need to use 'Udupi' adage in the name plate to attract customers. They are of the opinion that it is not the name that counts ; it is the overall appeal of the Hotel, its entrance, its sitting arrangements, its quality and taste of the food items and its service, its cleanliness and its price-chart attract the customers more. During his field work the researcher could find some Hotels with 'Udupi' adage running a very poor show on account of their failure in attracting the customers. We should therefore be very careful in tracing the identity of Udupi Hotels in the context of social transformation. At present the 'Udupi' adage is not confined only to the Hotels run by the Brahmans ; even non-Brahmans use it. It is also not true that the adage is used by the people of Udupi or DK only ; it is being used also by the Hoteliers from Uttara Kannada and Northern Karnataka. But they are not included in our study as they fall outside the scope of the definition of the Udupi Hoteliers adopted in this study.

One popular understanding about the Udupi Hotels is that they are vegetarian restaurants. This is a thing of past. Our study recognises 41.52 per cent non-vegetarian Udupi Hotels in Goa.

CHAPTER FOUR

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AND OCCUPATIONAL ENTRY

CHAPTER FOUR

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AND OCCUPATIONAL ENTRY

This chapter makes an attempt to understand the processes associated with and the factors responsible for the selection of Hoteliering as an occupation among the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. As a presage the phenomenon of occupational choice in general, and traditional and modern factors of occupational choice in India are considered. In this connection it is necessary to consider two theoretical limits associated with occupational choice as postulated by Caplow who writes, " At one extreme the occupation of the father determines that of the son, and no problems of individual choice are allowed to arise. At the other, occupational functions are rigorously allocated according to individual characteristics as determined by testing and observation" (1970 : 214). In contemporary India the situation has become complex. Among the idealised theoretical limits, the former applies to ideal traditional societies and the latter to ideal modern societies. In modernising traditional societies like India the phenomenon should be analysed through a multifactoral restructuration approach.

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE IN INDIA : Interplay of Traditional and Modern Factors

Dunkerley (1975 : 5) recognises the emergence of the notion of occupational choice as a very crucial development in the industrialised and urbanised societies. In such societies the individuals have to make the choice of entering into some kind of employment situation. An individual's entry into gainful employment is classified by the type of industry or the type of end product of the work, and by the occupation or the

specific character of the work-force. In an industrialised society there are both large number of industrial and occupational settings. In this situation it can be assumed that those individuals who cross the threshold from non-work life to work life undertake a choice between the alternative industrial and occupational settings that are open to them at least in theory.

The visibility of alternative occupations and selection of a specific occupation are crucial and complex phenomena in the industrialising, urbanising and modernising societies also. They become all the more complex in the Indian context because of the subtle interplay of traditional and modern factors in influencing an individual's occupational preparation, occupational choice and occupational entry. Together with the general social influences the personality character and the general regional background of those who seek to be employed also play their role in the above mentioned occupational processes.

Among the traditional factors influencing occupational choice 'caste' deserves mention because of the traditional association of many occupations with some specific castes. "Generally a caste or a group of allied castes considered some of the callings as its predatory occupation, to abandon which in pursuit of another, though it might be lucrative, was thought not to be right This was only generally true" (Ghurye 1969 : 15). In their usual occupational practice the caste members followed in addition to their caste callings some other occupations like agriculture. Therefore, "to associate a caste invariably with a single occupation is an over simplification" (Srinivas 1991 : 9). However, the caste has been a very important factor with its caste status in allowing or not allowing its members to select some occupations. "No caste would allow its members to take to

any calling which was either degrading like toddy-tapping and brewing, or impure, like scavenging or curing hides. It was not only the moral restraint and the social check of one's caste fellows that acted as a restraint on the choice of one's occupation, but also the restriction put by other castes, which did not allow members other than those of their own castes to follow their callings" (Ghurye 1969 : 16). The priesthood is entirely monopolised by Brahmans. And Brahmans throughout the country were not only priests but also followed agriculture, civil, public, and military services, trading, shopkeeping and the like (Ibid. : 16). The quintessence of the argument is that not simply an occupational category is associated with a caste and also not all members of a caste were forced to follow the caste occupation even in the past. As the traditional occupations could not provide adequate income to the artisan castes throughout the year their members had to work on land. This elasticity in a way facilitated the continuation of the nexus between castes and occupations. Srinivas argues, " in the context of a growing population, the occupational aspect of the caste system would have broken down completely if the surplus in the artisan, trading and serving castes had not been either absorbed in agriculture or able to migrate to other areas" (1991 : 9).

The occupational aspect of caste system also brings to our notice the reproduction and perpetuation of the occupational hierarchy modelled after the caste hierarchy. The occupations practised by the high castes had been regarded as high. Throughout the land manual labour is looked upon as low. Certain unclean occupations like swine herding and butchery are considered to be polluting (Srinivas 1991 : 9). The high and low notions associated with occupations have been continued even with the modern trends, of course,

with different implications for different castes situated differently in the regional caste hierarchy. On account of the changes that were introduced during the British rule several non-remunerative polluting occupations became remunerative. Bailey's (1958 quoted in *Ibid.* : 76) Bispara study revealed that two non-land owning castes made money because they could not get a monopoly of the profitable trade in hides and liquor. These castes could take to this occupation because of their low caste rank. Of the two castes one was able to raise itself up in the hierarchy by sanskritising its ritual and way of life. However, the other could not be socially mobile because of its untouchability.

The relationship between the processes of occupational choice and caste has undergone changes. The dominant role played by caste in occupational selection has been disrupted to a great extent by the emergence of 'caste-free' and 'Entry-type' occupations in urbanising and industrialising India. The traditional occupations have been replaced by new occupations which are ranked on the basis of economic considerations and not on the notions of purity and pollution defined within the caste frame-work (Shah in Desai *et al.* 1985 : 5). The caste ruling on prescription of traditionally highly ranked occupations like priesthood and land owning for higher castes and subsequent correlation of upper castes with upper classes worked so long as non-agricultural occupations were limited, interaction of villages was confined within a narrow territorial boundary, market for agricultural surplus was limited and man-land ratio among the land-owning castes was not skewed (*Ibid.* : 6). In the changed socio-economic context no caste is a category consisting of homogeneous family units. It will be incorrect to argue that all upper caste members also are upper class members or all lower caste members are lower class

members because of their respective families following hereditary prescribed caste and family occupations. Various village studies from different parts of the country borne out the fact that any caste community is no longer a homogeneous structure in terms of occupation and wealth and caste is today a limiting factor and not a determining factor in occupational choice (see Bailey 1950 and Gough 1950). Such studies point out the intra-caste economic differentiation based on land-ownership and occupation (Shah in Desai *et al.* 1985 : 7). Sometimes the occupations selected and pursued by some members among other factors acted as bases for sub-caste formation and demarkation among themselves (Ghurye 1969). Such sub-caste formation processes have been interrupted by the processes of class formations within caste and sub- caste groups and also formation of mobile-kin and village networks. These two forces by themselves are very influential in the process of occupational choice.

Just as caste has been reduced to a limiting factor so also the family especially the traditional joint family, and the socio-economic exchanges within the village community characterised by the Jajmani system underwent transformation. In the structural network of caste, family and village community in India either some groups monopolised certain skills and secrets associated with certain occupations or have been simply assigned with certain occupational tasks because they are 'pure' or 'impure' and 'high' or 'low'. The former, which associated with the earliest division of labour across the world, (Caplow 1970 : 13 - 14 provides a description of such division of labour) in India could be associated with such occupations as rendering medical services, bell metal casting, magical practitioning, and so on. In the latter case the priesthood could be chosen by the

members of eligible Brahman groups and the scavenging could be selected by the so called untouchable caste members. In both the categories some are caste occupations and some others are family occupations. Even those occupations which had association with caste have some relations to family as an institution. In actual practice the caste occupations are actually family occupations because they actually were followed by families as parts of larger caste groups. Some occupations are only family occupations the following of which is not governed by caste ideals and dictates. Two traditional Indian institutions that facilitated the continuation of caste, family, and occupation nexus within a region or a cluster of villages had been caste panchayats and Jajmani system. Now a days both the institutions have lost their importance (Karanth 1996 : 89). The caste Panchayats regulated the processes of occupational choice. " But after independence and passing of the constitution of India (1950), caste panchayats were made legally redundant. This in effect meant that the members of a given caste were free to choose the occupation they liked and caste exclusiveness of occupations was no longer tenable in law. In the past, encroachment into an occupation by members of another caste was resisted by the specialist castes through the caste panchayat and the local village panchayat. The constitution deprived the panchayat of this power" (Ibid. : 90). The second institution which underwent drastic modifications in many regions and lost significance in many other is Jajmani. The institution marked the interdependence of families and jatis. (Mandelbaum 1970 : 161 - 180). However, as early as 1950 Bailey (1950, quoted by Shah in Desai *et al.* 1985 : 7) observed in a Orissa village, " Not every person works at his traditional occupation. The distillers do not touch liquor. The Kond potters do not know how to

make pots. The fishermen do not fish. The warriors are cultivators. Everywhere there is scope for practising an hereditary occupation not all members of caste engage in the work." In the southern state of Tamil Nadu Gough noted, " The caste community is no longer homogeneous in occupation and wealth, for caste is today a limiting rather than a determining factor in the choice of occupation. Exactly half of Kumbapettai's adult Brahmans are now employed in towns as government servants, school teachers or restaurant workers. Of the remainder, some own up to thirty acres of land, others as little as three. One runs a grocery store and one a vegetarian restaurant. Among the non-Brahmins, the fishermen, toddy-tappers, Marathas, Kallans, Koravas and Kultadis have abandoned their traditional work" (quoted in Ibid. : 7). The new forces that entered the realm of occupational choice are many : industrialisation, spread of modern education, urbanisation, improved means of transport and communication, creation of new and secular occupations, and migration. Social restructuration that is underway is marked by both old and new roles attached to traditional factors of family, caste and village community and creation of altogether new forces and factors like migration and occupational diversification. The contours of the restructuration process are denfined and redefined on a continuous basis and in such an extremely complex social scenario a wide variety of occupations can be recognised and their categorisation conceived. Subsequently, an individuals selection of an occupation or occupations has become a complex process with varieties of experiences.

The extent of the complexity is illucidated by refering to the phenomenon of occupational choice in the context of "Entry-type" and "Exit-type" categorisation. Some

occupations which once were the prerogatives or socially dictated to be followed by the members of some castes are now becoming secular and can be selected by anybody at least theoretically. This is an example of mobility within the occupational structure. It marks the partial transformation of an "Exit-type" occupation into "Entry-type" occupation (for instance, Fishing, Haircutting). Such a mobility is due to increasing income associated with these occupations in the changing socio-economic milieu. Among the totality of the members pursuing these traditional occupations in the modern set-up are found both members of traditionally assigned groups and new entrants. With regard to certain "Entry-type" occupations (for instance, agriculture and allied occupations, employment in courts, and military services) which are found both in the traditional social structure and amidst the contemporary restructuration occupational choice had been/is being influenced by forces of both ascription and achievement. Accordingly, a land-lord's son had all the good fortunes of continuing on father's line as a land-lord acquiring more land than his father had or improve upon what father held by employing new scientific knowledge and techniques of cultivation. In the contemporary situation of availability of professional education, national citizenship and consequent migration the traditionally privileged father's son may select and subsequently enter the occupation of his choice available within the wide spectrum of occupations. In a quite opposite situation a traditionally affluent father's son may, on account of his own miscalculations, ruin his good fortunes ascribed upon his life by birth into a particular group and can be forced to select a comparatively menial occupation for his livelihood. The explanation clearly shows that ascription and achievement, tradition and modernity, affluence and otherwise are not

categorical influences but only analytic theoretical extremes which in actual situation have highly varying influences for different individuals and groups.

The above observation holds true of even modern "Entry-type" occupations which are functional to the ever expanding modern occupational structure. The principles of ascription and conditions of achievement simultaneously play a subtle role in deciding who will join what type of occupation and how long he will stay in that occupation and other related questions. In the restructuration process many old occupations have assumed new shape and functions, for instance, cooking for mass consumption, and those who followed it traditionally find it easy to enter the same in the changed circumstances.

Occupations are not isolated entities ; they are not monoliths of self-propelling status-role sets. They are comprised of several inter-related job-sets hierarchically arranged as far as ranks and emoluments are concerned. Each occupation is also functionally related to various other occupations and they in turn to the social structure. An individual's first entry into a job situation of an occupation and subsequent job-shifting and occupational mobility are influenced by multiple factors and processes in contemporary India. The role played by these factors and processes vary from one region to another because of their differential historical, socio-political and economic experiences, and ecological settings.

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE IN DAKSHINA KANNADA DISTRICT

It is popular observation that economic history of Dakshinna Kannada district is marked by competition, trade and migration. The same has been recorded in such documents as *Karnataka State Gazetteer* (1973) and *Karnataka : Kannada Vishaya*

Arthakosha (1976), and in such observational analysis as that of Bhat (1993). Important agricultural occupations like land owning had ben cornered by the upper castes. Among upper castes also the declining man-land ratio rendered cultivation a less profitable occupation. The non-existence of major irrigation projets, dependence on rain, and subsistence farming made cultivation hardly sufficient for the fulfilment of growing necessities and comforts. Even those who followed non-agricultural occupations like retail and whole-sale trading, especially Gowda Saraswat Brahmans found DK small for their growing socio-economic expectations.

The intensification of competetion and the desire for social standing had been the result of the general awakening of the micro-region that had been taking place since the beginning of this century. The ever widening transport and communication network is one aspect of that awakening. Some of the stray but sociologically significant observations of Dr. Sivarama Karanth (1993) throw light on this process. He reflects : “ At the dawn of this century or a little earlier in order to cross the Sahyadri mountain ranges to reach the west coast four or five ghat-roads had been developed. They were studded with curves and in a few stages provided way to reach the down hill. They were all meant primarily for carts

“ However, in the coastal line travel from one end to the other on the plain had been interrupted by many estuaries and back waters. I, in 1920s - while travelling from Kundapur to Mangalore in connection with education, used to travel on horse ridden carts. This sixty miles long way is interrupted by six rivers. Every river had to be crossed

with the help of canoes and the land distance had to be covered by different carts. If one travels for the whole day it would be possible to reach Mangalore.

“ But even before independence this problem had been resolved. Bridges had been constructed across several rivers. Since 1914 motor buses started to replace horse-ridden carts. Presently, in motor vehicles within one day a number of people travel from this district to such distant places as Mumbai, Hyderabad, Goa, Mysore, and Madras. Earlier, six hundred fifty miles distance between Mangalore and Mumbai could be travelled within two days in steam ships” (Ibid. : 28 - 31).

The competitive spirit coupled with population increase, expansion of higher educational facilities, and widening communication network acted as push factors for out-migration. In the beginning the out-migrants had to seek job in Mumbai and Madras, the cities which were connected to Mangalore through Steamer and Railway. Prof. M.N. Srinivas (1976 : 31), therefore, could recognise the “ South Canara Restaurant-Keepers” in Mumbai as an occupational category in some other context. In the next stage growing urban centres of South India started to attract persons from this district. In the recent years the educated, partly educated and job aspirants started to emigrate to Gulf countries and also to Canada and America. Therefore, any discussion on occupational choice among any section of the people of DK should take into account the social implications of the demographic process of migration.

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AMONG THE UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA

At the backdrop of general conditions in India and DK influencing the process of occupational choice we will now examine the same process in relation to Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.

The Place of Food in Socio-Religious Organisation and the Selection of Hoteliering as Occupation : Brahman Respondents

The birth of Udupi Hotels in India in general and Udupi Hotels in Goa in particular, is rooted in the values and practices associated with food production and food distribution of some members of some Brahman sub-castes who are modern entrepreneurs and therefore *creative men* of W.I. Thomas. They are the originators of new values and practises that led to the forming of a new entrepreneurial set up namely Udupi Hotels. The new values and practices were the modifications of old values and practices to suit to new circumstances in the context of social transformative challenges and personalistic and social responses.

All of the living pioneering Brahman Hoteliers in Goa and some children of dead pioneering Brahman Hoteliers were of the opinion that intially most of the less educated Brahmans out-migrated from DK in search of livelihood and their gastronomic knowledge provided them with an option, namely, opening up of Hotels.

The vegetarian culinary activities in DK among different Brahman sub-castes had grown and developed into a kind of art and a matter of delicacy. The very roots of Udupi type of spice-combination and subsequently the vegetarian dishes including sweets served in Udupi Hotels are found in these culinary habits of Brahmans of DK .

Among the Brahman respondents we could mainly trace three different groups with distinct culinary skills - Shivalli, Kota, and G.S.B. The Shivalli group consists of Madhvas and for analytical purposes we group even Koteshawara Magane Madhvas with them. As our Sthanik respondents' culinary activities resemble with that of Kota Brahmans

we consider both of them as one group. We will consider how the gastronomical aspects of these three groups led initially to the growth of Udupi Hotels and fundamentally acted as initiating traditional factors of occupational choice among pioneers.

The Shivalli respondents' views regarding the background of Udupi cooking coincide with the popular Brahman view which takes two considerations. The first view considers that Udupi was earlier known as Shivabelli. In the course of time it became Shivalli. The place had been inhabited in greater number by the Brahmans. They were well versed with Vedas, Puranas and Shastras. Their other hobby was cooking. They had been conducting different types of experiments in this regard. When Shivalli had been renamed as Udupi, Shivalli Brahmans cooking style assumed the name, Udupi Brahmans' cooking style. The second view is associated with Udupi Krishna Matha. Lord Krishna is known for mischief. Thinking that he may run away from them, the people of Udupi invented and developed vegetarian gastronomy including different types of *paka*, *paramanna*, and *Kajjaya* as a bait to him to keep him in Udupi permanently. Everyday Krishna is offered with fourteen types of eatables as *Naivedya* (Rajalaxmi 1993 : 20). This aspect provides the knowledge about why Udupi food has acquired uniqueness in the course of its evolution.

While delineating the focussed meaning of sacred food or *prasad* in the Krishna Matha, Rao (1994 : 215) recognises that the Krishna idol in Udupi nominated *Anna Brahman* (*food Brahman*) just like the *Nad -Brchman* (*musical Brahman*) of the Pandrapura and *Kachan-Brahman* (*golden Brahman*) of Tirupati. "The tradition of public feeding (*prasad*) which is a full course meal, is the responsibility of the *Paryaya*

pontiff' (Ibid.. : 216). Rao identifies four spaces where food/*prasada* within Krishna *Matha* is served. They are : the *Mrishthanna bhojan*, *Chowki prasada*, ground floor *Bhojanshala*(public eating space) and the first floor *Bhojanshala*. In all the four spaces food is cooked by male Madhava Brahmans. Only the first floor *bhojanshala* permits all non-Brahmans. The entry to the first three spaces is opened to the Brahmans.

The gastronomy developed in the Udupi Krishna Matha in general and Madhava Brahmans in particular has been linked to the market economy and had been exploited fully by Udupi Hoteliers as newly emerging entrepreneurial class.

The Shivalli respondents opined that some ~~Sasnyasis~~ rendered financial assistance to opening up of Hotels and Restaurants to some families in the beginning and they told that the first Udupi Hotel at Panjim (which was in the old market yard and now demolished) had been established as one such Hotel. They told that the relationship between the Krishna Matha and the Udupi Hotels run by Shivalli Brahmans across the country is still unbroken and good amount of donations to Krishna Matha come from these Hoteliers. Our respondents too give donations to the Matha. The gastronomy of market economy is thus linked to the gastrosemantics of the Matha. The Udupi Hotels that emerged relatively recently as a part of modern entrepreneurial culture with economic symbols of sellability have their organic links with traditional and divine culture of Matha, God,, and *Prasada*. Of course, there are both differences and similarities. We can understand the differences clearly with the help of a juxtaposition (see table 25). In one case the food is served free of cost for the devotees. The other case is allowed with a choice of selecting an occupation which allows the sale of food for profit. The meaning of

food and various social categories attached to it differ markedly in the spaces of Matha and Hotel. In the Matha the food is sacred. It is to be cooked in a ritually pure state, namely *madi*, by only Madhvas and it is offered to Lord Krishna as *Naivedya*, and when retrieved it becomes *prasada* and is distributed to different groups of devotees like *Sanyasi*, priests, scholars, students and laymen of different sub castes in Matha. In *Chowki prasada* even *dakshina* is given to the devotees with the full course of meal. In the case of *prasada* the menu is not decided by the devotees but by the authorities of Matha. In the Hotel the food is profane. It is cooked by an expert who is not obliged to be in *Madi*. Though the researcher could find only the male cooks in the Hotels he visited there is no bar for even a woman to be employed as cook. The cook need not be a Brahman also. Food is not served freely ; it is charged according to the available items selected by the customers. Hence, the customer can select the course of his food. Food served in Matha is otherworldly in orientation. It is related symbolically to God and embodies certain complex relations among God, *Sanyasi*, and devotees. According to Pandurangi, a Madhva scholar, what is given away or distributed as *prasada* is knowledge of Brahman and what is preserved is his glory (1990 : 102 quoted in Rao 1994 : 220). Existentially, the food distribution system delineates the caste and varna positions of individuals and the resultant hierarchies. Food served in the Hotels is devoid of any philosophical considerations ; it is purely consumeristic and hence, thisworldly. It is for fetching livelihood and to fulfil the thisworldly goals of the Hoteliers. The caste and varna considerations are not important. The eating spaces are graded not according to caste positions but according to the paying capacity of the customers like ordinary eating places and air-conditioned eating places.

The shift has taken place from caste consideration to that of class. As the Hotel is a secular space and the goals too are secular the Brahman pioneers could no longer restrict themselves to employ only the Brahmans as workers. This will help us to understand why even the people from other castes entered this occupation

TABLE 25 FOOD IN MATHA AND FOOD IN HOTEL JUXTAPOSED

| FOOD IN MATHA | FOOD IN HOTEL |
|---|---|
| Food is sacred. | Food is profane. |
| Cooked by male Madhvas in <i>madi</i> . | Cooked by any expert without <i>madi</i> . |
| Food should be offered to God as <i>naivedya</i> and then it is distributed as <i>bhiksha</i> for <i>sanyasi</i> and <i>prasada</i> for devotees. | No such consideration ; as soon as <u>cooking</u> the food is <u>ready to be served</u> for customers. |
| Food is served free ; in some sub-spaces even <i>dakshina</i> is given ; no choice. | Food is charged ; it is for sale ; the customers select and then purchase. |
| The major figure who controls the food production and food distribution process is a <i>sanyasi</i> ; a renouncer oriented to <i>moksha</i> . | The major figure manipulating the process is the proprietor who is an entrepreneur and a <i>grihastha</i> whose main aim is to fulfill <i>artha</i> and <i>kama</i> . |
| The orientation of food is otherworldly. | The orientation is this worldly. |

Now we know that the Shivalli Brahman group is traditionally associated with food production and distribution through Matha. However, this association is not the absolute cause for the selection of Hoteliering as an occupation. Gastronomy is ubiquitous; cooking and beliefs and practices associated with cooking are found among

almost all human groups. All such groups did not take to Hoteliering. To be specific, all Shivalli Brahmans could not or did not open Hotels. Then the question arises : why and how some Shivalli Brahmans utilised the traditional culinary skills associated with their socio-religious life for the purpose of earning their livelihood and fulfilling their consumeristic goals through the secular spaces of Hotels ?

The above question needs to be answered even in the context of other Brahman sub-castes from DK included in this study. The gastrosemantics of Kota and Sthanik Brahmans is slightly different from Madhvas. The Kota Brahmans, a *smartha* sub-caste do not have *sanyasi* as Guru. The centre of socio-religious organisation for them is Shri Gurunarasimha Temple, situated at Saligrama, a municipal town of Udupi taluka. In this temple the regular everyday feeding of devotees is not a traditional phenomenon. If among the Madhvas the position of a *sanyasi* is important, among the Kota Brahmans the purohits (learned priests) are at the helm of socio-religious activities. The Kota Brahmans are divided into two groups - Vadika and Grihastha. Purohits are invariably from the former category. Throughout the year members of both the categories perform many rites and rituals which include *samskaras* like hair cutting, naming, upanayana and marriage, *pujas* like Naga, Rudhra, Gauri, Ganesha and Satyanarayana. In all such occasions purohits and other relatives and friends are invited for dinner which includes a full course of meal comprising several dishes (see Appendix II for details). The purohits officiate these functions and usually during the dinner *dakshina* is given to both priests and non-agnatic kins and friends. The regular performance of such rites and rituals has given rise to a category of professional cooks who belong usually to such families of either *Vaidika*

or *Grihastha* Brahmans who are relatively poor and less educated. They organise themselves into groups under the leadership of master cooks and their honourarium is fixed according to the quality of their culinary skill. From our Kota Brahman respondents we came to know that some pioneering Udupi Hotels in Bangalore had been established by some such cooks, who on account of poverty and less land base and later they became rich, purchased land in the native ^{village?} and constructed houses. Later on all Kota Brahmans Vaidika, Grihastha, Sthanika - took the initiative to open Hotels.

The third Brahman group, namely the G.S.B. too are associated with the production of food for mass consumption, but in still another way. Their socio-religious organisation is marked by their affiliation to their caste temples. They worship Shri Venkataramana or Srinivas, the Lord of Wealth and business is their main occupation (they are not Vaishyas). For him they have established temples across DK. They are subdivided among themselves on the basis of their *gurusthan* headed by *sanyasis*: Kashi Matha, Parthagali Matha, and Gokarna Matha. When their *sanyasis* visit their temples casually or for *Chaturmasa Vrita* they arrange *Samooaha* or *Sangha bhojan*. These food production and distribution occasions are known as *samaradhane*, meaning worshipping together. Also their temples maintain community halls which are rented for marriage and other purposes for caste members and again these are occasions for mass feeding. In both the cases the food served is vegetarian and is marked by variety and delicacy. Among the G.S.B. households also the culinary skills are highly developed as it is known from a popular book on G.S.B. gastronomy authored by Jaya V. Shenoi 'Amgele Khana-Jevan'. The other Brahman groups share a popular notion that the G.S.B. women have

no work at home except cooking because generally the G.S.B. are merchants and hence women do not have the burden of agricultural work or the works associated with cowshed. It is held that the G.S.B. women spend most of the time in kitchen preparing different types of eatables. *Amgele Khana-Jevan* is an invaluable presentation in the weddings by the bride's mother to the bride.

Among our Brahman respondents, as we noted earlier are found the representatives of all these Brahman sub-castes from DK. However, out of 114 Hindu respondents only 11.40 per cent constitute Shivalli, Kota, Koteshwara Magane, and Sthanik Brahmans, and 27.19 per cent are G.S.B. respondents. All of them are male and almost all of them admitted that they know cooking. They told that at their home in Goa and also at the native ^{place} they strictly follow their religious and caste *vichara* and *achara*. But in the Hotel they are secular minded, their employees are from different castes and in some cases different religions. The important question that is to be answered in this section is why and how these respondents and some of their parents and children could use the culinary background for the purpose of gaining their livelihood. Their knowledge of cooking or their association with the production and distribution of sacred food cannot explain fully why they selected Hoteliering as an occupation. Their occupational life is a process marked by several kinds of challenges and while responding to them they creatively manipulated their traditional gastronomical links to suit to the contemporary secular and economic needs. To understand this process of "making of entrepreneurs" fully and clearly, we will now discuss some of the challenges and corresponding responses that led to the process of occupational choice first by Brahmans. Then we expand the

same to the other castes also to recognise fully the fact that the moment an occupational category detached from the notions of purity and pollution, and ascription emerges it opens itself to modern secular forces. Gradually, it transforms itself to such a great extent that its traditional character changes totally and in the course of time it becomes very difficult even to grasp clearly its original form and one may wonder whether this transformation has really taken place ?

The challenges that are posed before the Brahman respondents and other pioneering Brahman Hoteliers about whom we came to know through existing Hoteliers are manifold, complex, and varied. They just vary from too personalistic to collective experiences. Their general responses were migration and entry to Hotel occupation. To illucidate these points, a few cases of first generation migrant Brahman Udupi Hoteliers in Goa are given below.

Case - I

Father was a temple priest. He was not a purohit with a huge *shishya varga*. The shrine they propitiated was not very popular and hence had a very little income. The family depended on a small piece of land given as *datti* for performing the daily *puja*. The house was full of people including children. The household was poverty-stricken. He too had informal training both at home and *Guru matha* in *vedas* and *vedangas*. But he did not remain at home to continue father's profession of priesthood. There were many brothers to continue with the profession. All these factors facilitated his spatial mobility to Gadag where some of the relatives were running Hotels. In this case education received, or initial occupational preparation, i.e., priesthood, was not connected with the occupation he

ultimately selected. After a brief stint of Hotel assistant and Hotel proprietor in Gadag he came down to Goa to start the Hotel at the invitation of his sister's brother who settled down in Goa before the liberation.

kin-networking

Case - II

His father, a Shivalli Madhwa Brahman was a cook who used to go with a head-cook as an assistant. They had only two acres of land. It was difficult to manage the household of five with the income. At the time of his father's death the brother and sister were at a very young age; he had to shoulder the household responsibilities. For some time, he continued with father's occupation as an assistant cook. But he found that only during marriage season he had some earning and otherwise he could not get work. A villager who is also a distant relative long back established a Hotel in Goa and it was prosperous. He was in need of an all-rounder assistant. In the Udupi Hotel an all-rounder will have the responsibility of managing any occupational situation. If such a worker is a caste man usually he is given special treatment like invitation for house-meal which other workers of the Hotel do not get. As an all-rounder the respondent under consideration got different types of experiences relating to the management of a Hotel, including such tasks as managing the workers, supervising, managing the cash counter and so on. This came a long way in establishing and managing his own Hotel in due course.

Case - III

He is a middle class Shivalli Madhwa Brahman respondent. Father was a cultivator who owned four acres of paddy field and some coconut trees. The family was assisted by relatives in financial matters and that was how he could get education. During that time he

could have very well got a government job. But he did not want a salaried job. His main aim was to work independently through self employment. This particular conception which he held at that time, now he recalls, may be due to the prosperous business of his relatives. He migrated directly to Goa along with the relatives and for some years he worked in that Hotel. To start his own Hotel he got some portion of capital from them, and rest from the banks and other sources.

Case - IV

He is a Sthanik Brahman. He was born and brought up in an undivided Hindu joint family with small land base. His father was an *yakshagana* artist (*mridangavadaka*). The head of the family was his *doddappa*, who was a school teacher. After his higher secondary the respondent completed his stenographer training and opened a Typing Institute in the native. However, he was not satisfied with the earning. He could not meet many familial and ~~personal~~ ^{personal} demands. He sold his institute and first went to Bangalore as many of his neighbours have settled there as Hoteliers. From there he came to Goa with some known people to manage their Hotel. After a few years of managerial position he established his own Hotel and now he owns two Hotels and one drug centre and is instrumental in bringing his brother and some other relatives to Goa in connection with Hotel and other types of occupations.

Case - V

He is a Kota Brahman. Father was a *Purohit* with a huge *shishya varga*. Together with priesthood he had tremendous entrepreneurial ability. During the Portuguese regims only he had come to Goa to invest money in Hotel keeping. Whenever he was free from

his priestly duties especially during *hasta* he used to come to Goa to check the managers and streamline the enterprise. Through this extra earning he could expand his land base in the native. The respondent under consideration was born and brought up in the native place only. After passing S.S.L.C. he showed no interest in studies. He was sent therefore to Hyderabad where one member of their *shishya varga* was running his Hotel. While working in that Hotel the respondent got necessary training and from there he was brought by his father to Goa to continue as a manager. After father's death he became the proprietor and now owns several drug centres, flats, cars etc. But his entrepreneurship was started with Hotel.

Case - VI

A G.S.B. Brahman respondent. Father was a small Hotel keeper in the native place. He was born and brought up in the joint family. After degree, he searched for salaried job for some years. His elder brother was employed in a nationalised bank and when posted in Goa explored the possibility of starting a Hotel and brought our respondent and financed him.

Other than these cases of Brahman respondents we also came across some youth who started their Hotels in Goa as a response to their unemployment situation in the native place. And all of them have interest in culinary activities. A careful analysis of these cases show that the culture of entrepreneurship in the form of Hotel business has grown steadily as a latent function of responses of our Brahman respondents to the challenges of livelihood for which migration acted as a vehicle. There are three categories of respondents : first generation migrants, second generation migrants, and non-migrants.

The first generation migrant respondents are those whose fathers were non-migrants; the second generation are those whose fathers also were migrants; and the non-migrants are those who are born and brought up in Goa. In the case of non-migrants occupational persistency is the observed phenomenon. Their parents long back migrated to Goa and entered into Hotel business and these people just continued it. The migrant respondents and the non-migrant respondents' fathers had to face challenges posed by such factors as poverty, lack of sufficient land-base, unemployment, personal ambitions, influence of the neighbours who succeeded in Hotel business either in Goa or elsewhere and so on. Therefore, the culinary skills and the gastronomical culture of the Brahmans of DK are not directly responsible for *our* Brahman respondent's entry into Hoteliering. However, in the course of their response to the challenges of earning livelihood they had manipulated their traditional gastronomical culture to suit to their newly developing entrepreneurial culture in the form of Hoteliering. These adaptations are the results of their creativity. Our respondents admitted that even in the beginning in their Hotel cooked such food items which included the use of onion and garlic which are prohibited in the purely Brahmanic style of cooking. Some dishes like *wada* are prepared only during such ceremonies when the dead ancestors are propitiated. But they are now very attractive items of an Udupi Hotels' menu. Our Brahman respondents at the beginning of their Hotels took along with them some boys of non-Brahman *muttina jatis* for cleaning work and Brahman boys for supplying work. The trend exists to this day with modifications. Now a days big boys irrespective of castes are searched for supplying work and small boys of non-Brahman *jatis* are searched for cleaning work. Some of the boys who were brought by Brahman

respondents and other pioneering Hoteliers who are not there now are the leading Udupi Hoteliers in Goa at present. Now our aim is to know the processes of migration and the resultant occupational choice among our respondents in general.

Migraton, Occupational Choice and Growth of New Entrepreneurial Culture

The vehicle for the growth of new entrepreneurial culture of Udupi Hoteliering in Goa and its expanding membership is migration. Among our respondent the majority are first level migrants, a few are second level and some others are non-migrants but their fathers were migrants as could be seen from table 26.

TABLE 26 MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA

| Sr.No. | Category | No.of Hoteliers | Percentage to the Total * |
|--------|-----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | First level Migrants | 108 | 91.53 |
| 2 | Second level Migrants | 4 | 3.39 |
| 3 | Non - migrants | 6 | 5.08 |
| Total | | 118 * | 100 |

Dakshina Kannada (DK) district is the reference point to measure the level of migration. The first level migrants are those who by themselves out - migrated from DK and the second level migrants are the children of fathers who out-migrated from DK and settled elsewhere and they moved out of the places where their fathers settled. For them Kolhapur, Dharwad, Hubli and Shimoga are the reference places for out-migration. The non-migrants are the children of the fathers who out-migrated from DK and settled in Goa.

TABLE 27 AGE AT MIGRATION OF UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA

| Sr.No. | Age at migration (in years) | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the total * |
|--------|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | 5 - 10 | 18 | 16.08 |
| 2 | 10 - 15 | 33 | 29.46 |
| 3 | 15 - 20 | 34 | 30.36 |
| 4 | 20 - 25 | 22 | 19.64 |
| 5 | 25 - 30 | 3 | 2.68 |
| 6 | 30 - 35 | 1 | 0.89 |
| 7 | No response | 1 | 0.89 |
| TOTAL | | 112* | 100 |

Most of the migrants started experiencing migration when they were very young as shown in Table 27 ; 75.90 per cent migrant Hoteliers migrated when they were less than 20 years of age. A few had migrated between 20-25 years age (19.64 per cent) ; and very less had migrated when they were more than 25 years age. The Hoteliers' relative younger age at the time of migration presupposed their early entry into the career.

Before exploring the reasons for out-migration and subsequent entry to Hoteliering, let us have a glance at the cross tabulation of the educational background of the Hoteliers and their fathers depicted in Table 28. It reveals that the majority of the Hoteliers are of primary and secondary educational background and most of their fathers were either illiterate or just primary. Low educational level of the fathers and themselves are at the root of early age at migration and the resultant entry into Hoteliering as workers of different categories.

TABLE 28 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF HOTELIERS AND THEIR
FATHERS

| Father \ Hotelier | Illiterate | Primary | Secondary | H.S | Degree | P.G. | Profes- sional | Others | Total |
|-------------------|------------|---------|-----------|-----|--------|------|-------------------|--------|-------|
| Illiterate | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Primary | 32 | 5 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 37 |
| Secondary | 14 | 18 | 1 | -- | -- | 1 | -- | -- | 34 |
| H.S. | 4 | 9 | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 14 |
| Degree | 4 | 15 | 6 | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 26 |
| P.G. | -- | -- | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1 |
| Profes- sional | -- | 3 | -- | -- | -- | 1 | -- | -- | 4 |
| Others | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 2 | 2 |
| Total | 54 | 50 | 9 | 1 | -- | 2 | -- | 2 | 118 |

In order to know the reasons for out-migration, the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa are asked to state the reason for their migration from their respective native places. The responses are tabulated in the Table 29.

TABLE 29 REASONS FOR OUT-MIGRATION FROM NATAL HOME

| Sr.No. | Reasons for out-migration | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the Total* |
|--------|---|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Poverty | 30 | 26.79 |
| 2. | Unemployment | 7 | 6.25 |
| 3. | Loss of Land | -- | -- |
| 4. | Over crowding on land | 3 | 2.68 |
| 5. | Some relatives, friends, caste members picked up/went with some relatives | 25 | 22.32 |
| 6. | Quarried at home and ran away | 4 | 3.57 |
| 7. | Due to better business opportunities | 10 | 8.93 |
| 8. | More than one reason/any other reason | 33 | 29.46 |
| TOTAL | | 112* | 100 |

1. Poverty

Poverty is referred to as the specific cause of migration by thirty Hoteliers. Among the 33 responses of more than one/any other reason, eight have got poverty as one among the reasons and all six cases of non-migrants stated that their fathers or close relatives who were responsible for starting Hotels in Goa migrated mainly on account of poverty situation at their native place. Except for seven Brahmans all other cases of poverty are of non-Brahmans. Among them nine belonged to *durina jatis* and four are Muslims. One of the reasons for introduction of *durina jatis* also for Hoteliering is the

increasing number of non- Brahmans in this field who usually do not give much attention to the notions of purity and pollution except for 'untouchables'. Secondly, successive generations of Brahmans took with them members of any castes as the need for such Hotel workers increased with the expanding membership of this enterprise across the country. Moreover, Brahman boys, irrespective of their economic background were not ready for such jobs as cleaning. On the contrary non-Brahmans were ready to handle any job situation. As opined by our respondents, among all the jatis the Brahmans and Bunts are comparatively better positioned than other castes because of their land ownership and ownership of business establishments. The muslim respondents opined that their poverty is due to the over population at home and reliance on petty business like dry-fish vending.

An attempt has been made to know the stages through which these respondents finally arrived in Goa, entered Hoteliering and subsequently became proprietors. The stages are decided by referring to the places they settled for some time to earn their livelihood ; their first move from the native place is referred to as the first stage. Among the 15 second stage migrants 11 have first stayed in Mumbai and then came to Goa. Among the nine, third to sixth stage, three stayed at least sometime in Mumbai. The other places which attracted them initially were many : Bangalore, Madras, Hubli, Kolhapur, Gokak, Belgaum, and so on.

While recognising the reason for arriving at Goa, at least 50 per cent of this category of Hoteliers recognised the role played by their relatives/friends/ caste members. Any other reason was the response of 46.67 per cent of the Hoteleirs of this category. Any other reason category involves many reasons : opening a branch in Goa, coming to Goa

3. Cases of unemployment as reason for migration

We came across seven cases of unemployment as cause of migration. All of them were around 23 years of age when migrated and six had obtained their degree by that time. One respondent migrated after completing automobile diploma and migrated to Goa in the second stage. At first he went to Bangalore and worked in the area of screen-painting and then came down to Goa ; the specific reason was the attraction of Goa as a tourist centre. There is a case of fifth stage migrant as Hotelier to Goa who worked in places like Assam, Hyderabad and also Goa as Pest Control Officer. But due to some "unavoidable circumstances" he lost his job and migrated to Goa. His relatives helped him in establishing himself first in ice-cream dealing and later on in opening up the Hotel. All other respondents are first stage migrants to Goa. And they all recognised the role played by their relatives or friends or caste members and some other known contacts. They either started directly their own Hotels or joined as cashiers or supervisors or managers. The two respondents were Kota Brahmans and remaining were G.S.B.

4. Aspirations for better business opportunities as reason for migration

Ten respondents expressed that they had high aspirations to step into better business enterprises since the beginning. All of them were of secondary or above secondary educational level. Among them one is Kota Brahman, one Bunt , one Muslim and others are G.S.B.s. Among these respondents four were first stage migrants to Goa. Though their ambition was to make money, they mentioned the role of friends/relatives/caste members in coming directly to Goa. Except for a Muslim respondent who was taken to Hoteliering after a brief stint as working in a Barge

Company, these were directly introduced to Hoteliering. Three were second generation migrants, among them two came to Goa in their first stage migration due to border-dispute in Kolhapura and selected Goa by thinking that it will be a safer place. They also had mother-tongue affiliation to Goa. The third respondent of this category came to Goa as the manager of the newly opened branch of his father's Hotel. The remaining two second level migrants and one third level migrant worked in Hotels elsewhere under different job situations except cleaning. The third level migrant and one second level migrant came to Goa and started Hotels at the invitation and help of caste members/friends/relatives. The third level migrant, infact, in his second stage of migration served as a cook in the Gulf and the money accumulated there served as capital source to open the Hotel in Goa. The other respondent has come down to Goa initially on account of his transfer from a Mumbai based Hotel to its branch in Goa.

5. Miscellaneous specific reasons for migration

We came across three cases of over crowding on land and four cases of quarrel at home and ran away as reasons for migration. The respondents for whose migration over crowding on land was responsible belonged to Bunts group and attained secondary education; one migrated at 15 years of age and others after 25. One respondent came directly to Goa at the invitation of some caste members. Another was a second stage migrant to Goa from Mumbai ; he too came to Goa at the invitation of caste friends. The third one came to Goa at the third stage of migration because he considered Goa near to his native place. All these respondents since the beginning were associated with only Hotels for their livelihood.

Among the respondents who quarreled at home and ran away two are Bunts, one G.S.B., and the other had not revealed his caste identity. Two of them directly came to Goa, one with a view that he would not be located and the other came on account of his earlier acquaintance with Goa as a pilgrim. The other two were the fourth level migrants to Goa the other stages being such distant places as Punjab and Varanasi. Two of them migrated around the age of 22. This shows that they were adults when they took decision to run away. The fourth level migrants have been re-united with their native family, and of course, their arrival to Goa has been planned by their relatives and caste friends.

6. More than one/any other reason for migration

We have identified 33 cases under this category of reasons. Instead of quantifying the respondents against these reasons, we will simply state the reasons as declared by the respondents with an intention to bring home the complexity of the causalities that led to migration and subsequent occupational choice. They are as follows .

1. Always dreaming of eating such eatables as dosa and sweets. Some known people picked up with them.
2. Migrated for the continuation of education (A Diploma course).
3. Got employment in a private all India firm as a mechanic.
4. Poverty, some relatives took to Mumbai.
5. Married and came along with husband.
6. Invited by brother-in-law. Better business oppotunities.
7. Poverty. Failed in P.U.C. No work to do at home.

8. Poverty. Already working in somebody's Hotel at native. A third party approached and brought to Goa.
9. Did not go well with the brother-in-law at the native. Better business opportunities.
10. Over crowding on land, due to better business opportunities.
11. Curiosity, wanted to go out of the home and the native. Wanted to continue education.
12. Poverty. No interest in agricultural work.
13. Migrated for the purpose of education (BE).
14. Poverty. Some relatives picked up with them. Due to better business opportunities.
15. Over-crowding on land. Some relatives picked up. To make money.
16. Misunderstanding with ancestral family. Wanted to show that he is something.
17. Narrow land base. Unemployment.
18. Some relatives called. Due to better business opportunities.
19. Poverty. Father's death. Cheating by relatives. Quarreled at home.
20. No interest in education. Brother is a driver in Goa who searched a premises. Father's assistance through initial capital.
21. Some relatives called. In search of better business opportunities.
22. Marriage, Brother-in-law's business in Goa.
23. No interest in studies. Initial training in Hoteliering acquired through brother's Hotel in the native.

24. Was in search of some business. Married and came to look after father-in-law's business established in Goa.
25. Land was sold. Went with father to Dharwar.
26. For better prospects. Invited by some caste friends.
27. Came along with father to Goa.
28. Came along with father to Goa.
29. Poverty. Some known people from near by village took with them.
30. After degree did not know what to do. Along with a friend came to Goa to start this business.
31. Wanted to be independant. Wanted to study away from home.
32. Poverty. Some relatives picked up with them.
33. Poverty. Unemployment. In search of better business opportunities.

A close look into these reasons reveals that poverty, aspirations for better business and the role of relatives/friends/village or caste members were reasons in many cases. For the question why they came to Goa two broad patterns of answers were found, one that recognised the role played by the relatives, friends and caste members which included 18 respondents and the other recognised such miscellaneous reasons as transfer to Hotel branches to Goa, Goa as near to the native place, incurring loss elsewhere and trying luck in Goa, attracted by Goa as a tourist centre and so on. Most of these (17) are first stage migrants to Goa ; 10 are second stage, three third stage and three fourth stage migrants. Among the second, third and fourth stage migrants Mumbai is popular stepping place before they finally arrived at Goa.

On the basis of the reasons for migration, levels for migration and reasons for arriving at Goa and entering the entrepreneurial culture of Hoteliering among the respondents several conclusions are drawn .

1. Except for the six non-migrants (whose fathers were migrants) all others were migrants.
2. The majority, i.e., 91.53 per cent are first level migrants.
3. The cross tabulation of the educational background shows steady increase in the level of education from father's to son's generation. However, the majority of the sons are half educated (i.e., 85 out of 118 are H.S or below H.S.).
4. Forty three out of 118 are first stage migrants to Goa. Among others, there are some who are highly non-stationary before arriving at Goa. Mumbai was the popular destination for many. This might be due to the better transportation to Mumbai through road and waterways and concentration of Udupi Hotels.
5. Only a few are entrepreneurs or proprietors at the beginning of their occupational career. All others joined as workers of different category in Hotels. This fact is reinforced by low age at migration of many migrants. This reinforces the argument that most of the present Hoteleirs are brought by the pioneering Hoteliers as workers.

This last observation provides a clue to the recognition of a pertinent role being played by ' social capital' in guiding the course and consequences of migration in search of livelihood. By social capital we mean the primary relational network of family, caste, village and friendship.

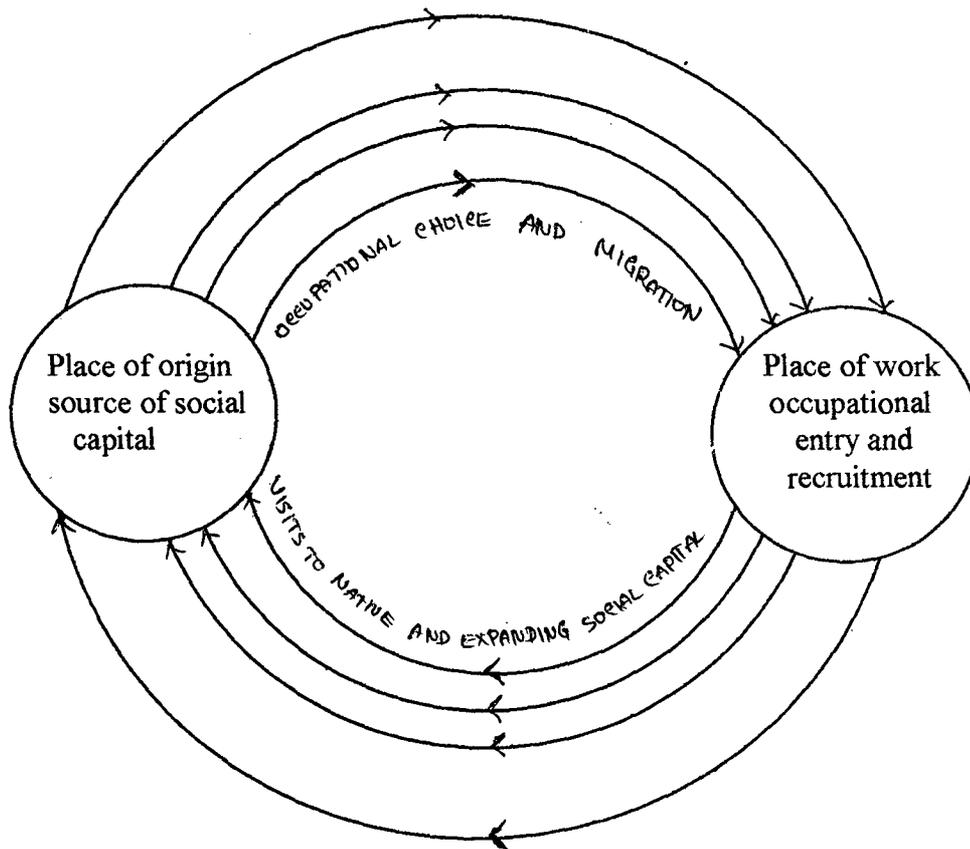
Usually, the causes of migration are explored in the contexts of place of origin and place of destination by referring to 'push' and 'pull' factors. In the present study also push factors like poverty and unemployment and pull factors like better business opportunities in the cities have instigated migration. However, the actual process of migration has been guided by or taken care of by the 'social capital'. This supports our hypothesis that the majority of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa have been introduced to this occupation through their relatives/friends/village members.

The role of social capital in occupational entry had been a much discussed sociological issue. As early as 1955 Prof. I.P. Desai while analysing joint family, wrote about the sociological pattern of migration, in that the family, the caste and the village moved to city. "After an individual came to the city and was settled in a job his next concern would be to bring someone from his joint family to the city, failing some other relative or a man from the village or the caste. This pattern could be seen in the personnel of the private commercial establishments and of the factories (September 1995, Sociological Bulletin, reappeared in Desai 1981 : 92 - 111).

We can conclude that "occupational choice" and "occupational entry" have been guided in the majority of the cases by social capital and the phenomenon of selection of occupation as such has taken place in a restricted sense in the case of majority of respondents. In other words, except for a few cases, occupation in the Hotel is not a conscious selection among many alternative occupations which are visible. All those who marched through a career pattern to ultimately become proprietors and those who continued their father's occupational tradition of Hoteliering did not make any calculated

selection as far as their occupation is concerned. Their occupational entry can be understood through delineating the role played by social capital through migratory channels (see figure 1).

FIGURE 1 EXPANDING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ENTRY



The social capital in Hoteliering is so pervasive and influential that it limits the alternatives and develops a false consciousness that Hoteliering alone is an answer for the solution of the problems of livelihood. Many of our respondents expressed that they are equipped only to this occupation ; their relatives, friends and many villagers are prosperous mainly with this business. The popular notion among them is that those who cannot pursue education or those who cannot get white-collar job have only one option,

that is to start business or to be employed as assistants of various categories in flourishing business enterprises. The first preference in the latter occasion has been work in Hotels. The Hoteliers tendency to employ known people for various job situations in their Hotels and their visits to the native for this and other purposes have created a favourable atmosphere in DK towards recruitment in Hotels outside DK as a means of earning livelihood for many.

One of the latent consequences of the mobilisation of social capital is the continuation of the entrepreneurial culture of Hoteliering. As members of the same sub micro-region participate in an entrepreneurial culture they form certain occupational traits which make them appear distinct from others. The micro -level social and personal reasons for such socio-cultural formation are poverty, less education , competitive spirit, ambition to earn money and so on ; the micro - level socio-cultural reason is the prevalence of a culinary culture and sophisticated gastronomy. The macro-level reasons are found in the larger processes of social restructuration which involve the formation of urban and sub-urban centres and growing need for service occupations, growing socio-economic necessities as corollaries of capitalistic transformation of society and increasing spatial mobility through improved means of transportation.

CHAPTER FIVE

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

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OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

An attempt is made here to know the nature, extent and consequences of occupational mobility among the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.

SOME CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

Any study of mobility is a study of change, transformation and movement. It has to be undertaken in the social temporal and social restructurational contexts of the individuals, groups and categories under consideration. The phenomenon of mobility is so closely inter-connected with other aspects of social change that, as Miller (1960 : 1) notes, it is no easy matter to set it off precisely from the other types of social change and attempt to offer a definition.

Scott's (1988 : 259) *Dictionary of Sociology* defines mobility as a movement or change in relative position, whether it be physical or social. Consideration of mobility as positional change has been accepted by many writers (Goldhamer 1968 ; Miller 1960 ; Barber 1957 ; Sorokin 1972 ; and so on). The positions are many and varied : geographic, class, caste, political, ritualistic, occupational, educational and so on. Very broadly mobility occurs in the context of all these positions. However, one very important analytical distinction is made between spatial mobility and social mobility. The spatial mobility, according to Caplow (1970 :88) includes two different things : the mobility involved in migration from place to place, and the mobility involved in the performance of work which is not attached to a single work site. The first is studied under the heading "migration " and the second under "transiency". The social mobility is indicative of social

positional changes of individuals, families and groups. Though very often the concepts of occupational mobility and social mobility are employed to indicate the same social process, it is very important to note that occupational mobility is only a part of social mobility. However, some mobility studies (see, for example, Payne 1987) consider that occupational mobility research is very useful to know various aspects of social mobility. According to such studies movement between social classes and statuses is operationalised in occupational terms and what is actually measured is movement between broad groupings of occupations. Hall (1969 : 306) and Young and Mack (1972 : 207 -220) recognised occupation as one of the most frequently used indicator of mobility in empirical sociological research. Occupational status is closely correlated with educational status, income, style of life, and other determinants of class status. Thus for research purposes a change in occupational position is probably the best indicator of social mobility. Miller, therefore, writes : "It has become common practice among sociologists to say 'social mobility' when we mean 'occupational mobility' " (1960 : 4).

While examining the theory of occupational mobility Caplow presents a three dimensional graph of occupational mobility. "A significant occupational change may be a promotion or demotion, an alteration of function, or a change in residence or workplace" (1970 : 59). The three dimensions thus are : the horizontal axis representing function, the intersecting horizontal axis representing distance, and the vertical axis is a status scale. These three axes represent three types of occupational mobility.

Vertical Occupational Mobility

This involves the gain or loss in social rank involving upward or downward

movement. This occurs in several different ways and some of them are : change of occupation involving a change in social position, promotion or demotion within an occupational group, accumulation of seniority representing a significant change in occupational status, change in occupational assignment from one generation to another, and ascent or descent of an entire occupational category.

Horizontal Occupational Mobility

This is a change in function including : change in employment within the same occupation, change in occupation which involves new and different activities, and horizontal mobility between generations.

Ecological Mobility

This axis involves two major phenomena. The first is migration and it refers to a change of residence and is closely associated with occupational shifts of one kind or another. The second involves the amount of travel and the changes in residence or in work-place which are entailed by the occupation itself.

Types of Vertical Occupational Mobility

Miller (1960 : 5) distinguishes three types of mobility : inter-generational, intra-generational and stratum mobility. All these concepts are self-explanatory. The inter-generational mobility is changes in the occupational standing across generations. It is possible to have a two generational or three generational analysis. Intra-generational mobility is indicative of changes in an individual's occupational position during his life time - one point in his career is compared with another. Stratum mobility can be compared

with Caplow's conception of ascent or descent of an entire occupational category in terms of income, prestige, skill, or another dimension - from one time period to another.

The process of vertical mobility may be oriented towards two directions, either upward or downward. The movements take place within a given occupation or among higher or lower ranked occupations. The owner of a hotel ending up with loss and being reduced to the status of a worker in another hotel provides a case of downward vertical mobility and an Officer in a Bank getting promotion to a Branch Manager is an example of upward vertical mobility. All of these types are interrelated in the actual situations of mobility.

Rates, Causes and Consequences of Occupational Mobility

The rates or frequency of mobility answers the question, how much mobility has taken place or is taking place? If the rate of mobility is high the social system under consideration is treated as relatively fluid and open and if the rate of mobility is low the social system is treated as relatively rigid and closed.

The causes of mobility or factors facilitating mobility refer to the reasons that induce individuals and groups to opt for movement. These reasons are found in social structural and cultural conditions and the personalistic responses of the individuals and groups to these conditions. This aspect of mobility answers the question: "why mobility"?

The study of the consequences of occupational mobility seeks to answer the question: "what happens with mobility"? By taking into account the personal and interpersonal consequences of occupational mobility it seeks to delineate the subtle relationship between occupational change and socio-cultural change. As observed by us in

the First chapter, the mobility of an individual from traditional occupation implies many things for himself and other individuals and groups with whom he establishes social relations. And also, by observing the particular occupational activities and the social relationships of the individuals engaged in them, one can discern the role of occupational changes in social change and *vice versa* (Desai 1981 : 133).

Measurement of Occupational Mobility

The measurement of the frequency or the rate of occupational mobility generally takes to two types of analysis : *inflow* analysis and *outflow* analysis. The first presents the distribution by social origins, i.e., by occupation of fathers of the incumbents of a given occupation : for example, of the 100 civil servants of highest rank, 20 per cent had fathers who were in manual occupations, 10 per cent of them had fathers who were in non-manual occupations, 10 per cent of them had fathers who were civil servants. This type of analysis is useful in studying the effects or consequences of mobility. The second method is the outflow analysis and as it is used in most of the mobility studies it is also known as *standard outflow analysis*. This presents the distribution of the occupations of sons of fathers in given occupational positions. Of 100 fathers in civil service occupations, 20 per cent of their sons are not in similar occupations, 15 per cent are independent professionals and so on. There are various ways of analysing outflow data. One common procedure is for each occupational grouping of fathers to present the percentage distribution of their sons into the various occupational strata. Some basic questions asked are : what percentage of sons of non-manual fathers end up in non-manual occupations ? What percentage in manual occupations ? (Miller 1960 : 6-7).

Closely related to the questions regarding the rates of mobility is the phenomenon of occupational persistency. This is quite useful in the studies of a single occupational category. The questions usually asked are : how many children inherit father's occupation ? And how many children inherit both father's occupation and the status ? Such questions are related to inquiries into the inter-generational occupational mobility.

Units to be Considered

Occupational mobility studies can be delimited in terms of the unit being studied. The studies may be oriented toward (a) the national cross-sections, (b) the particular areas of a nation-state, (c) particular occupations, (d) urban and/or rural areas, and (e) categories like caste and tribe.

Levels of Occupational Mobility

Occupational mobility takes place at several levels like the individual, the family and the group. Mobility takes place at all these three levels simultaneously. Sometimes it may be interrelated and some other times it may be discrete. Most of the studies interested in this aspect of mobility are rooted in the issues relating to stratification theory in sociology. For example, Sharma (1994 : 196-209) discusses the levels of mobility in caste structure by employing several theoretical and conceptual tools. He writes, "Mobility at the familial level could be better explained in terms of repercussions of structural reforms. Reference group theory helps in the analysis of mobility at the level of individual and corporate mobility is better understandable by the concept of Sanskritisation and other related concepts" (Ibid. : 197). Traditionally, the Indian world view is not centred around *vyakti* unlike the western counterpart; it centred around *sangha* or *samooha*. An individual

was identified as a member of one or the other corporate group, say for example a caste or a tribe. Mobility or positional changes had to be understood mainly in the context of such corporate groups and Prof. M. N. Srinivas felt “sanskritisation” to be an important concept in this regard. Defining sanskritisation as “the process by which a ‘low’ Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, ‘twice-born’ caste”. Prof. Srinivas asserts that sanskritisation was generally accompanied by, and often resulted in, upward mobility for the caste in question. However, mobility may also occur without sanskritisation and *vice versa* (1972 : 6-7). While describing the nature of the process of sanskritisation in the case of tribes he maintains that the tribe undergoing sanskritisation always claimed to be a caste, and therefore, Hindu. In the traditional system the only way to become a Hindu was to belong to a caste, and the unit of mobility was usually a group, not an individual or a family (Ibid. : 7). The concept and its wide recognition only reiterate the existential reality of continuity of the Indian social hierarchy as a hierarchy of ritual purity and pollution. However, as observed in the First chapter, on account of the process of social restructuration other hierarchies also are getting prominence in defining the position of individuals, families and groups. These are the hierarchies of education, occupation and income. As a result, the contemporary existential reality exemplifies the coalescence of individuals, families and groups in the experience of mobility.

By examining the inter-generational and intra-generational occupational mobility of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa an attempt will be made to ramify, at least in a micro-level, the complex existential reality highlighted above.

**INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF UDUPI
HOTELIERS IN GOA :Occupational Background of the Natal Family and Inflow
Analysis**

All of our respondents originally belong to the DK district of Karnataka State. Therefore, irrespective of the migrant, non-migrants status and the levels of migration an attempt has been made to know the location of the natal family of the respondents. As shown in Table 30, the majority are from rural background (76.06 per cent). As a consequence, through an inflow analysis we can expect that majority of the Hoteliers natal family members traditionally are associated with rural occupations, agro-based and

TABLE 30 LOCATION OF THE NATAL FAMILY OF THE HOTELIERS

| Location of the Natal Family | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|-----------|-------------------|-------|
| | Village | Town/City | Near by town/City | Total |
| No. of Hoteliers | 89 | 20 | 8 | 117 |
| Percentage | 76.07 | 17.09 | 6.84 | 100 |

NOTE :- (i) One respondent did not answer this question.

(ii) Data also include those Hoteliers who by themselves are non-migrants.

caste and craft-based. To probe into the matter we asked a question about the traditional occupation of the natal family. The answers to this question are classified in the following table.

TABLE 31 TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION OF THE NATAL FAMILY

| | Traditional Occupation | | | Total |
|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------|-------|
| | Cultivation | Other than cultivation | More than one | |
| No. of Respondents | 53 | 31 | 34 | 118* |
| Percentage to the Total * | 44.92 | 26.27 | 28.81 | 100 |

1. Cultivation as the Occupation of the Natal Family

Our understanding of "cultivation" is much broader than the census definition. The latter considers "cultivation" and "agricultural labourer" as distinct categories of workers ; it would not include all those engaged in agricultural production (Bose 1994 : 9-10 provides details). Cultivator in our definition includes owner cultivator, tenant cultivator and landless agricultural labourer under one occupational category for further analytical purposes.

Table 31 shows that 44.92 per cent stated cultivation related occupation as the only occupation of their natal home. Among those who stated more than one occupational background 31 Hoteliers conceded that out of many occupations pursued cultivation related occupations are included. Thus the total of 84 respondents (71.19 per cent) have natal families associated with cultivation related occupations like owner cultivator (big , small and medium), landless agricultural labourer and so on.

The below Table 32 shows that the natal families with cultivation background are mainly owner cultivators and a few are landless agricultural labourers. Among them some, especially Brahmans and Bunts, have recently been deprived of their land due to the strict

TABLE 32 HOTELIERS OF CULTIVATION BACKGROUND

| | Cultivation as the only Occupation | | | | Cultivation as one among other occupations | | | Grand Total |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------|--|--------------------------------|-------|-------------|
| | Owner cultivator | Landless Agricultural labourer | Tenant cultivator | Total | Owner cultivator | Landless Agricultural labourer | Total | |
| No. of Hoteliers | 49 | 3 | 1 | 53 | 23 | 8 | 31 | 84 |
| Percentage to the Grand total | 58.33 | 3.57 | 1.19 | 63.10 | 27.38 | 9.52 | 36.90 | 100 |

implementation of "Land to the Tiller" policy in the 1970's in Karnataka. Some others have been promoted to the owner cultivator status due to the same policy (see table 33). However, none of our respondents stated that the loss of land is the reason for out-migration and subsequently entry into Hotels.

All of the landless agricultural labourers belonged to the non-Brahman castes. As anybody can guess theirs has been hand-to - mouth existence.

TABLE 33 OWNER CULTIVATORS AND THEIR LAND

| Sr.No. | Owner cultivators and their land | No. of Respondents | Percentage to the Total* |
|--------|----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Both irrigated and unirrigated | 37 | 51.38 |
| 2. | Only irrigated | 3 | 4.17 |
| 3. | Only unirrigated | 20 | 27.78 |
| 4. | Land lost | 6 | 8.33 |
| 5. | Land gained | 3 | 4.17 |
| 6. | Land sold | 3 | 4.17 |
| | Total | 72* | 100 |

Among the owner cultivators only a few own more than 10 acres of land, irrigated and unirrigated or either irrigated or unirrigated. In DK no major irrigation projects exist. Here and there people follow lift irrigation. When the researcher visited some of the villages he came across many such instances where pumpsets had been fixed to wells, ponds and rivers ; some cases of hand-lifting had also been observed.

TABLE 34 LAND OWNERSHIP OF NATAL FAMILIES

| | | (Figures In Acres) | | | | | | | Total |
|-------------|----------|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------------|-------|
| Unirrigated | | 0-1 | 2-3 | 4-5 | 6-7 | 8-9 | 10-11 | 12 above | |
| Irrigated | | | | | | | | | |
| | 0-1 | 1 | 8 | 16 | 1 | -- | -- | 2 | 28 |
| | 2-3 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 2 | -- | 1 | -- | 20 |
| | 4-5 | 1 | 2 | 5 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 8 |
| | 6-7 | 1 | -- | -- | 1 | -- | -- | -- | 2 |
| | 8-9 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1 | -- | 1 |
| | 10-11 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1 | -- | 1 | 2 |
| | 12 above | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | Total | 6 | 16 | 29 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 61 |

The amount of land owned is available to 61 natal families as revealed by Table 34. If we define those households with less than 5 acres land as small farmers, more than 5 and less than 10 as medium farmers and more than 10 as big farmers most out of 61 natal families belong to small and medium group. The frequencies in Table 34 concentrate around 4-5 acres of irrigated land and 6-7 acres of unirrigated land class intervals . Paddy

and coconut are the standard crops and we come across only a few cases of natal households growing sugarcane. However, our respondents and the members of the natal households which we visited in DK revealed that the cultivation is not at all a full-time and prosperous employment for them. Out of 82 Hoteliers who are related to the cultivation background and answered to our question, "do you assist your natal home?", 48 (58.5 per cent) replied with affirmative answer. Assistance takes several forms : sending some amount every month, major expenses like sinking the well, house construction or house repair, religious and social ceremonies. This shows that the majority of the natal households that fall within this category are dependent on the out-migrated members who flowed into Hoteliering. A look into the average number of dependents on land available to 59 native households reveals that it is comparatively high for small and medium farmers (5.76 members per family).

2. Natal Families with More than one Occupational Background

Among the 34 native households with more than one occupation, as noted earlier, 31 follow other occupations along with cultivation ; the remaining are not involved in cultivation. Among the occupations listed in the below Table 35 many are 'petty' occupations as noted by our respondents ; many are not at all lucrative.

TABLE 35 IMPORTANT OCCUPATIONS PURSUED BY MORE THAN ONE
OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND CATEGORY OF NATIVE HOUSEHOLDS

| Sr.No. | Occupational Category | Specific Occupations |
|--------|--|---|
| 1. | Entrepreneurial Occupations (Business) | Grossary shop , Hotel/Restaurant Keeping, Selling Fish, Hardware Shop, Vegetable Vending |
| 2. | Caste Based Occupations/Art and Craft Based Works | Toddy Tapping, Pipe Blowing, Fishing, Oil-Seed Pressing, Weaving, Priesthood, <i>Mridangavadana</i> , <i>Mantapa</i> Making, Spreading Straw over Roofs |
| 3. | Employment for Regular pay | Working for Tiles factory, Dairy Running, Job in Konkan Railway, <i>Patelgiri</i> |

Note :- The number of native households against each occupation pursued is not given because of their distribution in multiple occupations.

3. Natal Families with other than Cultivation Occupational Background

Thirty one Hoteliers with other than cultivation occupational background natal families have varied occupations. However, most of them have entrepreneurial occupations which they term as business. Table 36 provides the occupational background of the native families of 30 Hoteliers of this category, for one respondent's father has migrated long back and he can not recollect what his grand father did to earn his livelihood. Among those with the entrepreneurial occupational background four are having Hotel Keeping as occupation and the rest are distributed into such occupations as Fish Vending, Grossary/Provision Shop, Trade, Cloth Store, Vegetable Vending, Traditional

Condiments Store and so on. In this category information is available to 17 households of the number of family members. They have the average of 6.10 member per family.

TABLE 36 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVE HOUSEHOLDS WITH OTHER THAN CULTIVATION OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND

| Sr.No. | Occupation | No. of families Followed | Percentage to the Total* |
|--------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Entrepreneurial Occupations | 25 | 83.34 |
| 2. | Traching | 3 | 10.00 |
| 3. | Weaving | 1 | 3.33 |
| 4. | Unskilled Labour | 1 | 3.33 |
| TOTAL | | 30* | 100.00 |

The overall look into the inter-generational inflow to Hoteliering in Goa reveals several patterns and facts.

1. Majority of the Hoteliers, by and large, have natal families with rural, caste-based/craft-based occupations.
2. Cultivation is the major occupation of the natal families. Most of the natal households are small and medium level owner cultivators.
3. The occupational distribution of natal families shows that they followed either purely "Entry-type" or "Exit-type" occupations, or combination of "Entry-type" and "Exit-type" occupations. For example, some of the native households followed only priesthood or weaving or toddy tapping or Hoteliering ; some other households

followed priesthood plus cultivation, or business plus cultivation or oil-seed pressing plus cultivation.

4. Some occupations followed by the natal households like pipe blowing which were Jajmani occupations, but our respondents denied the existence of Jajmani system in their native place.
5. Among the 35 Hoteliers with entrepreneurial natal background 10 have Hoteliering as the specific occupation of their natal families. To them we can add six non-migrant respondents whose fathers or close relatives migrated to Goa and started their Hotels. These are the cases of occupational inheritance and persistency in this level of inter-generational analysis.
6. A substantial number of the natal families in one way or the other look toward their Hotelier relative in Goa for financial assistance. For our question, "do you assist your natal home financially?" , as many as 52 Hoteliers answered affirmatively and 58 answered negatively. Among the latter 16 felt that the native households have substantial resource base to maintain themselves without the financial help from Hoteliers from Goa ; and eight of them manage their families in Goa with great difficulty. Some others admitted that earlier they used to help the natal family, but now they are not. During the present researcher's visit to some of the native households it became evident that the economic development in the form of house renovation, building new houses, and sinking of wells owe much to the out-migration and occupational mobility of the Hoteliers in Goa. These observations together with a re-look into the causes of out-migration -like poverty, un-employment, and better

business opportunities in the cities - allow us to infer that the inflow of our respondents from diverse occupational background into the occupation of Hoteliering as workers in the initial stages for many and as proprietors directly for a few others has led to the changes in the economic position of the native households. Therefore, in this level of inter-generational occupational mobility not only occupational changes have taken place, but some amount of economic and positional changes have occurred. These can be treated very well as symptoms of upward social mobility.

INTRA-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA : Career Pattern

Intra-generational occupational mobility studies seek to know the occupational changes that occur during the life time of an individual member of a society. Such studies usually take such units for their study as national and international populations, industrial workers, migrant labourers and members of professional categories. However, intra-generational mobility studies can be conducted with reference to a single occupational category and its members. The Udupi Hoteliers in Goa, as an occupational category, constitute the unit for our present analysis.

It is sociologically significant to note that careers exist in a variety of occupations other than the professions. It can be argued that the notion of career is as applicable to manual occupations such as lorry driving as it is to professional occupations such as medicine (Dunkerley 1975 : 25). Careers are defined as unfolding sequences of jobs usually related to each other (Hall 1969 : 316). The mobility of an individual from one job to the other is predictable. Furthermore, this predictable series is arranged in a hierarchy of

status. " Viewing career in this structural sense means that it is possible to discuss the career of an individual as he passes through the related jobs and the career of a particular occupation, in that most occupations comprise a related series of jobs arranged in status hierarchies" (Dunkerley 1975 :22).

Orderly movement of an individual from lowly ranked jobs to highly ranked jobs is typical of most careers. Of course, careers are not always uninterrupted. Disrupted careers occur when an individual moves from one type of occupational category to the other. The nurse or teacher who goes into administration exemplifies this. Disrupted careers occur when occupations not related to each other are part of the individual's history (Hall 1969 : 316).

Any discussion on career patterns becomes more meaningful when it takes into account the career bases, career strategies, and occupational role definition as formulated by James D. Thompson, Robert W. Avery, and Richard Carlson in their work *Occupations, Personnel and Careers* (1962 : 5-40, quoted in Hall 1969: 315 - 319).

Three career bases have been identified. They are : the competence of the individual ; the aspirational pattern of the individual ; and the structure of opportunities as perceived by the individual. These factors contribute to the patterns followed by the individual in the course of his career.

An individual can adopt one of four career strategies which modify the above mentioned factors. They constitute the orientation of the individual toward his career.

(1) The "heuristic" strategy is oriented toward advancement without regard to organisational or occupational boundaries. The individual is oriented toward personal

attainment as he defines it. (2) In the “occupational” strategy the individual is sensitive to opportunities within his occupation and does not consider organisational boundaries to be important. (3) The “organisational” strategy is concerned with opportunities within the employing organisation, without strong ties to a particular occupation. (4) In the “stability” strategy the considerations of another job are irrelevant for the individual, representing resignation or satisfaction with the present position. These strategies may shift during the course of a career.

The sources of occupational role definition which vitally affect careers are many. For many occupations the role is defined by the employing enterprise. For other occupations the definition of the occupational role lies within the occupation itself, as in the case of the professions. Another basic consideration in a career is the progression within an occupation. Two forms of progression are identified. The “early-ceiling” occupation is one in which the ceiling in the career is reached at an early phase in the career. The machine operator or secretary can attain the top skill and salary levels within a short time on the job and expect to stay at the same level. The “late-ceiling” occupation, on the other hand, contains possibilities for advancement in later stages of the career.

Four basic career patterns are identified on the basis of the source of the occupational role definition and the form of progression within a career.

(1) The enterprise defined - early ceiling career involves little advance preparation for the career ; it also involves minimal skill and aptitude expectations. The individual in this type of work adopts the heuristic strategy in the beginning of his career. With the attainment of seniority and responsibilities shift will take place first to organisational and then to stability

strategy . (2) The enterprise defined - late ceiling occupation. Typical example is that of executive. As soon as completing formal education he will develop heuristic strategy while looking for best opportunities to utilise his skills. After entering the career he uses organisational strategy and changes jobs within his organisation and lastly his ceiling is reached and/ or aspirations are satisfied. At this time the stability strategy is adopted.

(3) The early ceiling - colleague defined career is characterised by skills transferable from organisation to organisation, for example that of doctors, engineers, nurses, and teachers. But more or less the rewards offered are standardised. In this case merit is evaluated by the occupation itself. These occupations are themselves given higher ranking. The ceiling is achieved at the early stages of the career ; the movements across organisations are usually based on attempts to improve living conditions. The career strategy is occupational at the outset and soon it will be shifted to the stability strategy. The advancement is sought through collective action in the form of union or professional actions (4) The colleague defined - late ceiling occupation pattern is exemplified by the professions. Soon after meeting the prerequisites for entering the occupations the membership is achieved. The occupational strategy followed at the outset continue rather late in life when the stability strategy is adopted. The professionals who depend upon clients are exception to this.

In the light of the above theoretical description the career pattern of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa will be discussed.

Pre-proprietary Career

A typical Udupi Hotel offers a career to its members with various types of hierarchically arranged jobs. The lowest rung of the hierarchy is occupied by cleaner boys. The supplier, the cook, the bill-writer, the cashier, the supervisor, the manager and the proprietor occupy the subsequent rungs of the hierarchy. There are also many other jobs with overlapping positions like store-keeper and counter-attendant with respect to their salary and other aspects. However, the actual roles performed, the positions held, the living conditions prevailed, the leave facilities enjoyed, the wages received and other aspects of work are extremely diversified and one finds no uniform pattern applicable to all Udupi Hotels. Hence, we prefer to categorise Udupi Hoteliering as an enterprise defined occupation, where the role responsibilities and other occupational aspects of a specific Hotel are specific to that Hotel. Notwithstanding this specificity and the resultant complexity, we will look into the career pattern of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa with reference to their occupational experiences.

The occupational history of the Udupi Hoteliers was attempted to be discovered by knowing what they were doing before starting their hotel/s or their pre-proprietorship status. While analysing the responses it is found out that they fall under six categories. Among the six categories of responses as delineated in the Table 37 below majority of the Hoteliers subscribe to first two categories. Among them the majority, as many as 83 accounting for 70.34 per cent to the total, worked in others' Hotel. On the basis of this we can argue that majority of the Hoteliers began their specific career as proprietors only after

TABLE 37 DISTRIBUTION OF HOTELIERS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR PRE-
PROPRIETORSHIP STATUS

| Sr.No. | Categories of Pre-proprietorship status | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the total * |
|--------|---|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Worked in others' Hotel only | 65 | 55.08 |
| 2. | Worked in others' Hotel and also the establishments other than Hotel | 18 | 15.26 |
| 3. | Worked in establishments other than Hotel only | 11 | 9.32 |
| 4. | Student | 22 | 18.64 |
| 5. | Housewife | 1 | 0.85 |
| 6. | Self-employed | 1 | 0.85 |
| Total | | 118* | 100 |

gaining experiences as role occupants of various categories of Hotel workers. It is during this time that their identification of their career basis has been emerged and subsequently evolved; the career strategies have been crystalised ; and the definitions of occupational role have ben clarified. In quintessence, the master target of proprietorship has to be recognised as the cumulative end product of their movement across positions in their pre-proprietorship career pattern. The time taken to achieve the master target, in terms of years, varies substantially for each Hotelier of this category.

TABLE 38 DISTRIBUTION OF HOTELIERS ON THE BASIS OF THE DURATION
OF EXPERIENCE IN OTHERS' HOTEL AS WORKERS

| Sr.No. | Experience in years of service | Worked in only others' Hotel | Worked in others' Hotel and other than Hotel | Total | Percentage to the Total * |
|--------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|-------|------------------------------|
| 1. | 1 - 5 | 13 | 3 | 16 | 21.05 |
| 2. | 6 - 10 | 24 | 7 | 31 | 40.79 |
| 3. | 11 - 15 | 11 | 1 | 12 | 15.79 |
| 4. | 16 - 20 | 12 | 2 | 14 | 18.42 |
| 5. | 21 - 25 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3.95 |
| | Total | 62 | 14 | 76* | 100 |

Note :- Seven Hoteliers did not give any idea regarding the duration of their pre-proprietorship work.

The above table gives the duration of work experiences in others' Hotel for 76 Hoteliers including 62 who worked only in others' Hotel and 14 who worked in both Hotels and establishments other than Hotels. The mean duration of work experience in others' Hotel for these 72 Hoteliers is calculated to be 10.17 years. This brings home the fact that many of them have experienced a substantially long career pattern to reach to the point wherein they can prepare for adopting stability strategy. We prefer to categorise the career pattern of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa under the enterprise defined - early ceiling occupations for three reasons. Firstly, most of them in the pre-proprietorship phase had

been located in the occupation where the roles are defined by the employing enterprise itself. Secondly, their jobs were the parts of an occupation where little advance preparation for the career was anticipated. Thirdly, their jobs involved minimal skill and aptitude expectations. In their career the ceiling of each job was achieved soon and after remaining sometime in each job they progressed to other higher jobs until they became the proprietors.

Totally 72 Hoteliers who worked in others' Hotel/s could identify their first job in the Hotel. It is found out that 24 of them started their career as cleaners, 26 as suppliers, three as cooks, three as supervisors, and 16 as managers. On the basis of this it can be inferred that most of them started their career either as cleaners or suppliers. They have covered relatively more number of jobs than the others before becoming proprietors.

Table 37 indicates 18 cases involving work experience in both Hotels and establishments other than Hotels and 11 cases involving work experience in only the establishments other than Hotels. They provide the examples of disrupted career among our respondents. Among the former category only one respondent entered the occupation of Hoteliering after a sufficiently long career in a white-collar occupation of pest controlling ; two worked in small industries as helpers ; one was a daily wage labourer ; three were cooks in houses; and the remaining worked in small enterprises like Tailoring Shop, Beeda Stall, Grossary Shop, Sweet Stalls, and so on. The 11 respondents of latter category provide glaring examples of disrupted careers. Their pre-proprietorship occupational background has been highly diversified. They are listed as stated by them .

- Case I :- Working as a bank manager ; started the Hotel as a measure to invest the savings ; still continues to be the manager.
- Case II :- Worked in barge companies ; owned a Hard-ware shop.
- Case III :- Worked in fishing as assistant as well as a mechanic.
- Case IV :- Worked in fishing as fisherman.
- Case V :- In the native place assisted father in running the cloth store.
- Case VI :- Worked as mechanic ; the job was transferable ; he was tired of transfer.
- Case VII :- Worked in Kirlosker company ; established this Hotel for better business opportunities.
- Case VIII :- Assisted father in running his grossary shop in the native place.
- Case IX :- Worked in a *goodangadi* as assistant.
- Case X :- Worked as a screen printer.
- Case XI :- Assistant in cloth store ; the present Hotel is a supplementary to it.

Among the 22 Hoteliers (see table 37) who were students before starting their Hotels only five became proprietors directly after education without any association with hoteliering during their student career. The remaining were associated with their fathers' or other relatives' Hotel during their student career. For them the preparation for becoming proprietor was not in superordination-subordination situation as experienced by their counter parts who worked in others' Hotels in their pre-proprietorship phase.

Inorder to know the extent of the influence of social capital in deciding the career pattern of the Hoteliers two questions were asked - (1) whether the owner of the Hotel in which you worked is your relative ? (2) Where did you get finance to furnish the Hotel ?

Whereas the second question was asked to all, the first was to be answered by those who stated that they worked in others' Hotel before starting their own Hotels. The answers available to the first question shows that 34 Hoteliers earlier worked in their relatives' Hotels and another 34 expressed that the owners of the Hotels in which they worked were from either their caste/village/friend's circle or from their native district, that is, Dakshina Kannada. However, it is to be noted that many who worked in both the categories of Hotels felt that they were treated often not as workers but as family members.

The second question , 'where did you get finance to furnish this Hotel?', was asked to all with an intention to ascertain the role of social capital in assisting the entry to the phase of proprietorship and subsequent improvements. We could obtain clear answers from 104 Hoteliers and their answers are clasified in the Table 39.

TABLE 39 FINANCIAL SOURCES FOR FURNISHING THE HOTELS

| Sr.No. | Financial sources | No. of Hotels | Percentage to the Total * |
|--------|----------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Multiple sources | 36 | 34.62 |
| 2. | Relatives/Friends | 29 | 27.88 |
| 3. | Self-earned sources | 25 | 24.04 |
| 4. | Bank Finance | 8 | 7.69 |
| 5. | Earlier owner's assistance | 6 | 5.77 |
| TOTAL | | 104 * | 100 |

The above table shows that a substantial number of Hoteliers drew upon multiple sources while establishing or refining their Hotels. Out of 36 of such cases 26 recognised

bank as one of their sources, and 16 recognise relatives/friends as one of the sources, and four recognised the assistance extended by their earlier owners. With the help of this data we can discern two important sources of finance for the present Hoteliers, the first represented by the financial institutions, and the other represented by the social capital source inclusive of earlier owner's help amounting to 49 cases. A further probing revealed that most of the bankers were nationalised banks with employees from DK. This allows us to conclude that even in the intra-generational occupational mobility of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa, in deciding their career pattern social capital plays a major role and hence social and occupational restructuring in the context of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa is guided by both modern network of new occupational activities, cybernetic revolution, migration and banking on the one hand and traditional network of primary relations of caste, family, kin, friendship and district community ties on the other. The trend still continues. As many as 56 Hoteliers conceded that they have relatives as assistants in their Hotels. Almost all of them are given such responsible jobs as overall management, cash counter, supervising and cooking. Adding to these are workers of same caste group as that of Hoteliers and workers from DK. The researcher could estimate that more than 60 per cent of Hotels employ workers from DK though the trend is declining. All these are potential future proprietors of Udupi Hotels.

Proprietary Career

The becoming of a proprietor can be seen as the culmination of one career indicating the mobility from Hotel worker to proprietor. Of course, it can also be seen as a beginning of another career, that is, the proprietorship to successful proprietorship.

Though all proprietors are not successful proprietors, quintessentially, all of them want to be successful. To achieve this they adopt mixed strategies in their proprietary career, By sticking on to the proprietorship they give expression to stability strategy. Heuristic strategy is given expression to in attempts to strengthen the economic position by investing in such items of additional earning as tourist taxi keeping, opening branches of the existing Hotels and so on. We will look into this phase of career pattern of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.

Our explanations in this regard are facilitated by questions relating to the ownership of the Hotel premises, the Hotelier's perception of his class position, and the aspects of job satisfaction.

Ownership of the Hotel Premises

For the question, 'whether the Hotel building is owned?', only 18 Hoteliers answered affirmatively. Ninety six of them are running their Hotels in rented premises. Four of them have disturbed relationship with their premises mainly on account of legal matters. Among the 18 who owned their Hotel building except for the owner of a *Gada* Hotel all others expressed that the premises may cost several lakhs of rupees. The actual rent paid for the rented premises depend on several facts : the old rent or new rent ; the size or type of the Hotel ; and the location of the Hotel. For example, old rents are less when compared to the new. Old rents are as less as Rs. 51/- per month and new rents are as more as Rs. 16,000/- per month. The rent for *gada* Hotels are comparatively lesser than those of built-in premises. The Hotel premises located in the central part of a town are costlier in terms of the rent than in the sub-urban and extention areas. These examples

explain why most of the newly opened Hotels are found in the extension areas or why many Hotels that had been started after 1980 were small and middle sized (see chapter four table 22).

Class Perceptions

In the course of proprietorship the Udupi Hoteliers have developed certain perceptions regarding their class positions. With a view to know their class locations through their own estimations we posed an open-ended question, 'To which social class do you belong?' They perceived a class as an economic category and answered this question on the basis of their income and standard of living exemplified through the type of house, modern gadgets used in the Hotel and at home and so on.

TABLE 40 CLASS PERCEPTION OF THE HOTELIERS

| Sr.No. | Class Perception | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the total * |
|--------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Upper class | 4 | 3.42 |
| 2. | Upper Middle class | 16 | 13.68 |
| 3. | Middle class | 77 | 65.81 |
| 4. | Lower middle class | 7 | 5.98 |
| 5. | Lowr class | 13 | 11.11 |
| Total | | 117* | 100.00 |

As described in the above Table 40 the majority of the Hoteliers stated that they belong to the middle class, very few are the members of upper class and a few are of lower class. The Hoteliers who stated that they belong to upper class are mainly Bunts and

Brahmans. Those who stated that they belong to lower class are mainly from non-Brahman castes like Devadiga and Poojari ; only two Bunt proprietors stated that they have lower class position. Almost all Hoteliers of middle class position stated that they possess most of the modern gadgets like fridge, LPG connection, fans and so on. The eating places of most of the Hotels are attractive with polished furnitures. Of course, there are a few exception of *gada* Hotels making substantial profit and their proprietors claiming that they belong to middle class. Another aspect of their career as proprietors is owning house or aspiring to own a house.

Profit Making and Career Stabilisation

As our respondents are in-migrants they do not have their ancestral houses in Goa. And, therefore, as a part of their stability in the occupation and also life they go for their own house, an independent bungalow or a flat, in Goa. Fifty respondents acknowledged that they possess their own house in Goa; twenty more expressed their ability to purchase the one in near future; many more want to have their own dwelling place. The overall observation is that owning a house is considered to be an important indication of the Hotelier's doing well in his occupation.

To our question, 'where do you invest the capital accumulated as profit?', 108 Hoteliers responded and among them 14 categorically claimed that they have not made much profit and out of them a few earn only that much which is sufficient to manage the household. The capital accumulated by the other Hoteliers finds different ways for expenditure and investment. Some of the ways of expenditure are house construction, self and other relative's marriage, social and religious functions at the native households and in

Goa, financial assistance to the native households, clearing the loan raised to establish or furnish the Hotel, and so on. Some identified avenues of investment are opening up new branches in Goa and across the state boundary, running other types of business enterprises like whole sale distribution, investing in the real-estate business, children's education (especially the capitation fee for diploma, engineering and medical education), Barge business, assisting relatives in starting their business enterprises, investing in tourist taxis, and so on.

Job Satisfaction and Career Stabilisation

In order to know the levels of career stability among the Hoteliers we asked a series of questions relating to the areas of job satisfaction and occupational continuation. Our first question was, 'are there enough opportunities available to you for improving your economic and social status?' Out of 117 responses available 99 were positive and 18 were negative. Our next question was, 'are you satisfied with your occupation?'. Out of same number of responses as above 98 were positive and 19 were negative. The third question was, 'do you have any idea of changing you job ?' Out of 118 responses available 11 answered positively and 107 answered negatively. An analysis of the above delineated responses allowed us to infer several sociologically significant points.

1. Most of the Hoteliers perceive that there are enough opportunities in Hoteliering to improve their economic and social status.
2. Most of them are satisfied with their occupation.
3. Most of them are not thinking of changing their job.

4. A few Hoteliers (five cases) are not finding any meaning in continuing in their occupation but still they do not have any idea of changing their occupation.

Whereas the first three are the cases of those Hoteliers who have adopted stability career strategy on the basis of satisfaction with their occupation, the last provides an example of those who adopt stability career strategy on account of resignation to the existential occupational and life situations.

INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY : Outflow Analysis

Our analysis in this second level of inter-generational occupational mobility aims mainly at knowing the tendency toward occupational persistency and/or occupational deviation among the children of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. The analysis is based on the study of the occupational aspirations nurtured for their children by the Udupi Hoteliers. This is so mainly on account of two reasons. Firstly, most of the children are still students. Secondly, our respondents themselves, not their children, are still proprietors.

We will start first with our observations about the daughters. Most of the Hoteliers with daughters were keen to arrange their marriage soon after their education. Even the fathers of such daughters who have completed professional education and also working, consider the task of arranging their daughters' marriage as a very important responsibility. In the second and third phases of field work these observations have been further confirmed.

Among 83 Hoteliers who stated that they have children, 79 answered our question regarding their children's career. Out of these Hoteliers 28 specifically recognised that their sons will continue their occupation. Among them two Hoteliers mentioned that their

two male children will continue their occupation. Another important trend to be noted is that in some families if one son continues in Hoteliering other sons will go for other occupations, entrepreneurial or white-collar. Majority of the Hoteliers want their children to pursue higher education and subsequently to join white-collar salaried occupations. We could also come across another set of male children who will continue their fathers' occupation only if they fail to get any other work. Some Hoteliers do not want their children to join Hoteliering at any cost. Some others have not yet evolved any perspective regarding their children's future. Still others give freedom to their children to carve out their work-future. The white-collar jobs aspired for their children too are variegated. Some of the broad areas of work in this regard are : medicine, pharmacy, engineering, accounting, and the like.

The complexity of the occupational situation thus outlined reflects the complexity of the general processes of social and occupational restructuring. Against this complexity one of our hypothesis that most of the children of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa show a tendency toward occupational persistency, could not be tested positively. In this context it is to be concluded that the male children of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa show a tendency toward both occupational persistency and occupational deviation. This is applicable even to the male children of non-migrant Hoteliers whose fathers' too were Hoteliers.

Consolidating our findings about the inter-generational occupational mobility at two levels, inflow and outflow, it can be stated that a specific movement has taken place from rural, agro - based, caste/craft-based occupations to urban entrepreneurial

occupation of Hotel/Restaurant keeping at the first level, while at the second level a diversified movement is taking place which is seen in the tendency toward occupational persistency and deviation among the male children of the Hoteliers. One very important fact to be noted is that we could find out only two cases where children of the Hoteliers moved back to the native places of their fathers to pursue the traditional occupation of their forefathers, namely, fishing (of Mogaveera caste) and fish vending (Muslim). This fact allows us to infer that re-migration to once out-migrated area is a rare demographic phenomenon in the case of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.

CONSEQUENCES OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Occupational mobility and the resultant social relations enmeshing the life of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa have been attempted to be examined under the head-line 'consequences of occupational mobility'. Though the word consequence is very much deterministic and absolutist, it is used here for a want of better word. By 'consequences of occupational mobility' we do not mean that occupational mobility alone has contributed to the occurrence of the consequences. The consequences examined here refer to the social restructurational aspects of occupational mobility experienced by the Hoteliers. These consequences have been discussed through the verbal accounts of Hoteliers, Hotel workers and the relatives of Hoteliers, and the researcher's field observations. Our findings in this regard have been presented under the following headlines.

1. Rural- Urban Continnum, Extended Family Cohesion and Continuation of the Entrepreneurial Culture of Hoteliering

Migration and occupational mobility have not resulted in the severance of Hoteliers' ties with their native families and villages. On the contrary, they have reinforced their family relations. They visit their ancestral villages and houses and take part in social and religious ceremonies. In this regard we asked a question, 'how often do you visit your natal home?', and the responses have been categorised in Table 41.

TABLE 41 FREQUENCY OF VISIT TO NATAL HOME BY THE HOTELIERS

| Sr.No. | Frequency of Visit | No. of Hoteliers | Percentage to the Total * |
|--------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | Often | 73 | 65.18 |
| 2 | Very often | 1 | 0.89 |
| 3 | Once in a year | 22 | 19.64 |
| 4 | Occasionally | 14 | 12.5 |
| 5 | No visit | 2 | 1.79 |
| Total | | 112* | 100.00 |

Note :- Six Hoteliers did not answer this question.

The above Table indicates that most of the Hoteliers have kept up their pre-migration primary relations; a substantial number of them visit their native extended families often. Their continued relationship with the native extended families helps them in various ways. Such a relationship, for example, provides them with reliable and responsible assistants in looking after the Hotels. As many as 56 Hoteliers admitted that

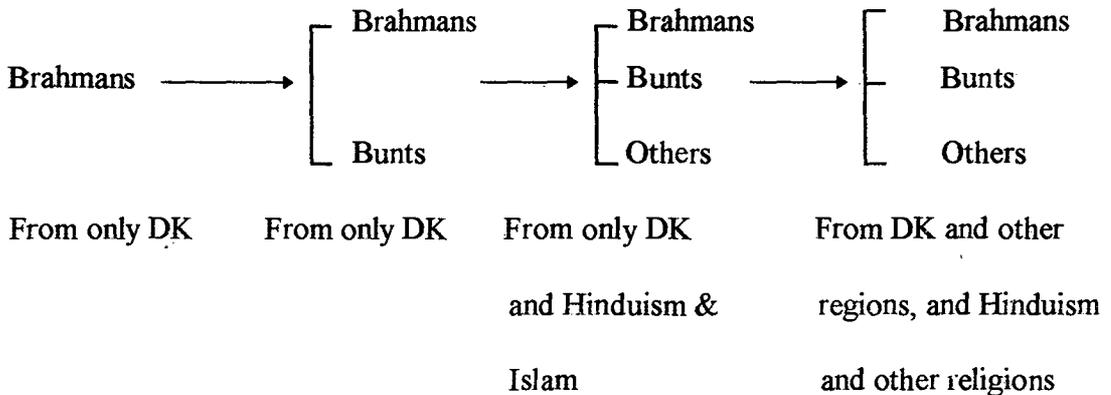
they have got relatives assisting them in running the Hotels. Many Hoteliers are reluctant to treat them as workers; they are their intimate family members in the place of work. Some experienced workers from the same caste and village of the Hoteliers too get same kind of treatment.

Until recently the Hoteliers' visits to the native used to provide them with workers for different categories of jobs. However, it is revealed during our discussions that now-a-days such workers are simply not available because of the availability of educational facilities in the villages and nearby towns and also of employment opportunities of various types. Though such type of recruitments will be stopped in the near future, most of the Hoteliers currently have persons from the native places as various categories of workers. Presently, another category of Kannada speaking workers with substantial members is emerging, they are the migrant labourers from the drought-hit areas of northern Karnataka. Adding to them are people from different states and different religious communities.

The relatives assisting in the Hotels, and the workers belonging to various categories are the potential future Udupi Hoteliers. In the course of our discussions it became evident that these workers wish to establish their own Hotels in future. The male children of Udupi Hoteliers who show tendency towards occupational persistency and these workers of various categories are responsible for the continuation of the entrepreneurial culture of Hoteliering. As our respondents admitted, recently they have started employing anybody coming and asking for job because of the non-availability of workers from only DK. As a result the current workers in Udupi Hotels belong to

different parts of the country and they are of different castes and religious background. Udupi Hoteliering is now an open “Entry-type”, and secular occupational category thanks to its multi-caste, multi-religious, and multi-regional recruitment pattern as depicted in figure 2 below.

FIGURE 2 EXPANDING MEMBERSHIP OF UDUPI HOTELS IN GOA



On the basis of the “Entry-type” nature of Hoteliering and its diversified recruitment pattern we can conclude that the proprietors of future Udupi Hotels will also be of diversified caste, religious, and regional background.

An important area where the Hoteliers are supported by the native extended families is mate choice. Most of the married Hoteliers, except for a few, selected their partners from the same religion and sub-caste as theirs and native place. While searching mates suggestions have been taken from the elderly members of their respective extended families. Most of the single Hoteliers too expressed their desire to marry the members of their own religion and sub-castes belonging to their native place. With regard to the attitude of the Hoteliers towards the selection of mates for their children, changes are visible. Though they search mates for their children within their religion and sub-caste, the consideration of the ‘native place dwelling’ of mates is declining.

Migration and occupational mobility have led to changes in the residence aspect of the family. In the native place, all of our Bunt respondents and some others followed matrilocal residence and lineality traced through the eldest female member of the family. But in the place of work all of our married respondents have established patrilocal and patriarchal families. Simultaneously, our respondents continue with their relationship with native extended matrilineal families adding to the complexity of the process of social restructuration.

2. Improvement in the Economic Position, Monetization and Conspicuous consumption

Migration and occupational mobility have in general led to the overall economic development of the Hoteliers and their native families. Their satisfaction with the present occupation, their consideration that they have enough opportunities for improving their social and economic position, their owning of houses in Goa are the symbol of their individual success and economic betterment. Most of our respondents are now the members of middle or upper classes. The native places have reaped the benefits of occupational mobility by adding to their necessities and comforts like wells, pumpsets, renovated houses, receiving some amount of regular remittances.

In the first phase of field work, we attempted to know the actual income of the Hoteliers in terms of rupees earned per month from all sources including Hoteliering and also the income of their fathers and children. Our main aim in so doing has been to find out whether Hoteliering has been leading to monetization and whether monetization in turn leads to conspicuous consumption. In the course of field work it has been realised that though the Hoteliers have good business they are very much hesitant to reveal their

actual income because of several reasons. Firstly, they are always worried about the Income Tax and Sales Tax officials. Secondly, they do not want to reveal their exact income to the researcher, who is a stranger. In spite of these informational gaps, on the basis of the nature of the business activities in the Hotels the researcher could estimate that most of them are earning more than what is required for subsistence. The estimation has been confirmed during the second and third phases of field work wherein the researcher could establish more intimate and personal relations. Increasing income and the resultant monetization has been testified in more than one ways : in owning flats in the central areas of the city ; in owning a variety of consumer goods. The manifestation of monetization has been clearly observed in the patterns of conspicuous consumption among our respondents. Conspicuous consumption presupposes monetization. Conspicuous consumption involves "wasteful" consumption and expenditure for show.

Thorstein Veblen, in the fourth part of his monumental work *The theory of the Leisure Class*, while elaborating upon the evolution of conspicuous consumption and its nature writes , " Throughout the entire evolution of conspicuous expenditure, whether of goods or of services or human life, runs the obvious implication that in order to effectually mend the consumer's good fame it must be an expenditure of superfluities. In order to be respectable it must be wasteful" (1974 : 77). Veblen calls conspicuous expenditure as wasteful consumption because this expenditure does not serve human life or human well-being on the whole, not because it is waste or misdirection of effort or expenditure as viewed from the stand point of the individual consumer who chooses it (Ibid : 78).

Among our respondents conspicuous consumption is noticed in two areas of life, they are, marriage and religion.

The marriages among the Udupi Hoteliers exemplify Prof. M.N. Srinivas' observation that Indian weddings are occasions for conspicuous spending and this is related to the maintenance of what is believed to be the status of the family which is given expression to by the articulation of networks of kin and caste, professional colleagues, friends and acquaintances, members of one's club and so on. "Care is taken to invite many important acquaintances as one can, and these become indicators of one's status just like the number of cars parked outside the wedding hall" (1984 :27). The researcher could attend some marriages of Udupi Hoteliers and their relatives and during the participation he could confirm what Prof. Srinivas observed in general with regard to the Indian weddings.

One important form of conspicuous consumption in marriages among the Hoteliers is dowry which corresponds by its nature to Prof.Srinivas' conception of 'modern dowry' He Writes, "In the dowry of today large sums of cash - frequently amounting to a few lakhs of rupees - are transferred along with the bride's kin to the groom's kin. In addition, the bride's kin have to meet all the expenses of the wedding including the travel expenses of the groom's party" (1984 : 11). Modern dowry presupposes a high degree of monetization in the community (Ibid : 10). With monetization the incidences of dowry increase. In order to know whether the occurrence of dowry is increasing among the Hoteliers we asked two questions to them. They are : did you accept dowry in marriage ? Whether dowry is essential in the settlement of your children's marriage ? Out of 90

responses available for the first question, 28 are affirmative and 62 are negative. For the second question, totally 83 responses are available : 72 affirmative and 11 negative. Among 27 Hoteliers who are single, 20 have decided to marry and out of them 16 would like to demand dowry and four would not accept dowry. These responses reveal that demand for dowry is increasing and the tendency towards considering dowry as one of the preconditions for marriage is being strengthened. Most of the Hoteliers who accepted dowry stated that it is only in terms of a few thousands of rupees and some amount of gold. Only some of those who married recently had accepted dowry in some lakhs of rupees. However, while settling the marriage of their children most of the Hoteliers expressed that the dowry will be in terms of several lakhs and jewellery depending upon the socio-economic status of the bridegroom. Higher dowry is symbolic of higher socio-economic status of the bride and the bridegroom.

Conspicuous consumption is visible in various other aspects of marriage like costly invitation cards, lavish dinners, the marriage pendal, lights, band, music and fireworks. Conspicuous expenditure in marriages has become very problematic because it has become customary in recent years. The worst sufferers are the lower class Hoteliers with daughters.

In the area of religion conspicuous consumption is visible in Goa as well as in the native place. In the Hotel premises God's place is lavishly decorated with the use of silver and perpetual lighting arrangements. The researcher could also locate a Hotel with plaster of paris wall decorations depicting *Gitopadesha*. Performing special pujas in temples and inviting friends are examples of expenditure for show. In the native place many of the

Hoteliers have financially contributed to the renovation of their *Bhutasthanas* and *Daivasthanas*. Grand celebration of *Kola* or annual propitiation of *Bhutas*, making rich donations to the renovation of temples are some other avenues of conspicuous consumption in the area of religion.

3. Occupational Mobility and Status Inconsistency

Some of the dysfunctional aspects of occupational mobility as delineated by Sorokin (1927) are high degree of mental strain, psychological problems, cynicism, social isolation and loneliness. These problems occur when the mobile individuals are cut away from their social moorings. Sometimes these problems themselves cut away the individuals from their social moorings. Among our respondents we have not come across many cases of high degree of anxiety. The Hoteliers making less profit are disturbed because of their struggle for existence. There are a few cases of Hoteliers with disturbed career who until being settled as proprietors experienced anxiety on account of instability.

Some of the Hoteliers face the problem of status inconsistency. Normally, similar social and cultural expectations are directed toward the various statuses occupied by an individual ; this is the situation of status consistency. The acquisition of a particular status is often followed automatically by other consistent statuses. For example, people who accumulate wealth often gain positions of power, influence, and honour as a result (Scott 1988 : 417 - 418). Status inconsistency is the opposite situation. In the course of informal discussions with the Hoteliers several such instances have been noticed. Some of them are listed below.

1. Some Hoteliers felt that they are economically well-off and at the same time staying in Goa for quite a long time. However, in the decision making processes of the occupational association of Hoteliers in Goa (Goa Hotel and Restaurant Owners' Association) they are discriminated because of the insider-outsider considerations.
2. Some Hoteliers were previously workers in other's Hotels and now even after succeeding well in their present Hotels, when they meet their earlier proprietors they feel a sense of inferiority.
3. Some Brahman Hoteliers are often called to officiate religious ceremonies like *Satyanarayana Puja* by the wealthier non-Brahman Hoteliers. During such occasions the Brahman Hoteliers, though ritually superior, feel socially inferior.
4. Some of the Hoteliers, irrespective of their economic success, felt that their occupation is not as prestigious as that of white-collar professions. Therefore, their intention is that their children will get good education and they will enter these professions.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Research Problem

This study has been undertaken with the aim of understanding the social background of occupation in general and occupational mobility in particular of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.

Indian society is experiencing rapid social transformation since independence which is manifest in wide-spread urbanisation, urbanward migration, industrial expansion, tourism development, cybernetic revolution, expanding communication network, and so on. These processes have had major implications for the social and occupational restructuring in Indian society. However, the sociological understanding of these processes is rather problematic because of their complex nature. On the whole we are marching from status society to occupational society, and closed-caste based-hereditary - occupational structure to open-caste-free-non-hereditary occupational structure where both labour and capital are free. But labour and capital mobility is also guided by the social structural positioning of the individuals and groups. In contemporary India such issues as occupational choice, occupational entry, and occupational mobility are guided by the traditional institutional network of caste, family and village community. Together with the primary relations of close friendship circle this institutional network operates as social capital in deciding and re-deciding the contours of social and occupational restructuring. To know these processes fully and clearly it is necessary to undertake sociological studies of occupations and professions in contemporary India.

During the last four to five decades the Sociologists have evinced keen interest in the study of occupations in India and as such we have different sociological studies relating to different occupations such as the teachers, the managers, the doctors, the industrial workers, the potters, the artisans, and so on.

Important as these studies are, they are very few. There are innumerable other occupations pursued in Indian society about which no systematic studies have been undertaken. Hoteliering, for example, has emerged in modern India as a lucrative occupation. Among the Hotels the Udupi Hotels and Restaurants are well known. There is hardly any city in India without Udupi Hotel. As far the knowledge of the present researcher goes no systematic study has been undertaken on the Udupi Hoteliers. The out-migration of the Udupi Hoteliers from their native places and entry into specific occupational categories and not others, their occupational mobility and the emerging reformulation of their social relationships with the traditional institutions of caste, family, village community and religion - all these present themselves to be important elements of social and occupational restructuring that is going on now in India.

It is for this reason that the present study of the occupational mobility of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa has been planned with the following objectives.

1. To explore the socio-economic background of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.
2. To know the reasons for taking up Hoteliering as an occupation in general and Hoteliering in Goa in particular.
3. To study the inter-generational occupational mobility of the Hoteliers.
4. To trace and explain the intra-generational occupational mobility of the Hoteliers.

5. To discern the overall impact of occupational mobility on the general social status of the Udupi Hoteliers as perceived by them and also to examine and explain the consequences of occupational mobility.

Initially it was decided to proceed with exploratory and descriptive research designs to know who are the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa and what are the characteristics of their occupational mobility. However, in the course of the actual research it became evident that even explanatory and analytical research designs are required at some level to deal with the research objectives.

The Udupi Hoteliers in Goa constituted the universe of the study. To go ahead we required a definition of the universe. Irrespective of the type of food served, and the names given all of the Hotels' and Restaurants' proprietors who hail from DK are considered as Udupi Hoteliers. Through the snow-ball sampling method 125 Udupi Hoteliers were located. Data collection was guided by empirical methodology.

Keeping in view the complexity of the research problem under consideration, multiple data collection methods have been employed and out of them 'interview' and 'observer as participant' are important. On the basis of the specific objectives of the study an exhaustive interview schedule has been prepared and finalised after a pre-test. As seven respondents out of 125 either did not co-operate or missing whenever they were to be contacted, in the first phase of data collection information has been gathered for 118 Hoteliers. Second and third phases of field work have been conducted among some selected Hoteliers, their relatives in the place of work and native place and some Hotel workers to gather qualifying data.

The data collected have been subjected to both quantitative and interpretative analysis. Simple statistical techniques of frequency distribution and tabular presentation have been used to describe and analyse quantitative data. Keeping in mind the purposes of the study, the theoretical underpinnings and the possible critical bearings of the research questions the qualitative data have been analysed.

The whole thesis is organised mainly in to Introduction, Six chapters and a conclusion.

Overview of Literature

The thesis includes an overview of some of the western and Indian perspectives on occupations and mobility. It was found by the present researcher that most of the occupational mobility studies in the west were national or international in character. Some are concerned with knowing the openness or closeness of society. While doing so highly sophisticated statistical techniques are used. The Western literature on mobility is of only limited use for the occupational mobility studies in India, especially the present study. Given its objectives the Western literature is helpful only to the extent of clarifying the meaning of some concepts. The studies on Indian society which have been overviewed recognised in one way or the other the transformational processes taking place in the Indian society and the resultant diversification of the Indian occupational structure. On the whole the studies overviewed stress the role of urbanisation, industrial growth, migration, administrative expansion, educational improvement, agricultural development and improved means of transport and communication as responsible for mobility.

It is also revealed that the relationship between occupation and society is very complex. The data reported from different regions for different groups and categories provide a variegated picture. Though occupations and mobility are ubiquitous the actual experiences are different for different individuals, groups, categories and regions. Unless and until we get data pertaining to most of the groups and categories we can not attempt at a general theory of occupational mobility in India. However, various groups and categories are still left to be studied. The Udupi Hoteliers constitute one such category.

Except for one sociological paper on Udupi Hotels by Stigtoft Madsen, a Swedish sociologist, all other available literature on Udupi Hotels are either impressionistic or journalistic. As far as the knowledge of the present researcher goes the sociological study of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa is non-existent. The present thesis contributes to our understanding and knowledge in this regard.

Research Setting

The setting of the study is divided into two parts : the geographical settings of Dakshina Kannada and Goa ; and the institutional setting of an Udupi Hotel as an organised social group.

Dakshina Kannada constitutes the out-migrated space for the Hoteliers under consideration. Out-migration is both a part and result of social transformation, which is the result of various factors and processes like the growth of population, education, land reforms, and the spirit of rivalry and competition among the neighbours, castes and ethnic

groups for higher achievements in all walks of life. The out-migration is responsible for the general socio-economic development of the district as a whole.

Ever since the liberation in 1961 Goa is experiencing rapid socio-economic transformation on account of industrial expansion, urbanisation, and tourism development. The transformation is manifest in the creation of new occupational activities, especially in the infrastructural components of the economy. One such area is that of service occupations; the concentration of visitors and workers in urban and industrial centres necessitates the growth of the service occupations. They are of wide ranging nature including such tasks as that of tailoring, hair-cutting, wholesale and retail trading, door-to-door vending of daily necessities like newspapers, milk and vegetables, restaurant and hotel keeping, pan beeda stalls and so on. In Goa, the growing demands for these have been met to a greater degree by the in-migrants. A careful observer of the occupational background of these in-migrants finds certain patterns in their vocational selection. For example, in retail trading and wholesale business one finds Gujarathis in greater number ; same is the case with milk -vending and tea-shops by 'Bhaiyas' ; plumbing, scavenging and masoning by in-migrants from northern Karnataka, and restaurant and hotel keeping by Udupiwalahs, Sardarjis and Karwaris.

Among different types of Hotels/Restaurants found in Goa Udupi Hotels are important. The number of Udupi Hotels and the Hotels serving Udupi type of food items are on the increase over the last two to three decades mainly due to the increase in the demand for such Hotels among the middle class tourists and the middle class urban dwellers.

An observational note on the nature of Udupi Hotel as an organised social group provides an idealised account of the role-structure and lay-out of a typical Udupi Hotel. According to the type of occupational assignments and wages paid the roles and positions are broadly classified as managerial and manual. Under the former are included the Hotel Manager, the Supervisor, the Cashier, and the Bill Writer. Among the latter can be included the Cook, the Sweet Master, the Dosa Man, the Grinder Attendant, the Store Keeper, the Supplier, the Cleaner and the like. The jobs of the second category can be further sub-divided into skilled and unskilled, for example, Dosa making is a skilled labour whereas cleaning is an unskilled one.

A typical lay-out of an Udupi Hotel locates the God's place, the cash table, the bill table, the eating place, the special room, the store room, the kitchen, and so on.

Social Background of the Hoteliers

While answering the question, who are the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa, an attempt has been made to know such background characteristics as sex, age, religion, caste and sub-caste, marital status, length of residence in Goa, languages known, education, dwelling place, growth of Udupi Hotels and their geographical distribution in Goa, geographical distribution in the place of origin, and some changing characteristics of Udupi Hotels. With regard to the sex composition of the Udupi Hoteliers except for one lady all others are men. Majority of the Hoteliers belonged to the age-group of 31 -40 and 41-50 years of age. Among the Hoteliers 114 are Hindus and four are Muslims.

Among the Hindu Hoteliers the representatives of various castes and sub castes are found. This supports our first hypothesis that the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa are of multi-caste background.

The highest number of Hoteliers (77.11 per cent) are married and are with living spouses. Only two Hoteliers, one male and other female are widowed; none is divorced or separated. Out of 89 Hoteliers who are married and living with spouses 91.01 per cent are with children and 8.9 percent are without children. Both of the widowed respondents are with children. Many Hoteliers (44.07 per cent) have Tulu as their mother tongue, followed by Konkani speakers (26.27 per cent) and Kannada speakers (25.42 per cent). A few (4.24 per cent) are having Malayalam as their mother tongue. Though Konkani is not the mother tongue of 73.73 per cent of the Hoteliers all of them know Konkani. All of the Hoteliers are multi-lingual in character. As far as the educational background of the respondents and their fathers is concerned the trends of change are visible. Whereas more than 50 per cent of the fathers were either illiterate or educated upto primary level, more than 50 per cent of the Hoteliers were educated either upto primary or secondary level of education. No one in their generation is illiterate. The members of children's generation are getting good education. With regard to the type of dwelling place 56.78 per cent live in their own houses; 33.05 per cent stay in rented houses; 6.78 per cent stay in their respective Hotels; and 3.39 per cent are staying with their relatives.

The geographical distribution of the Hoteliers in their out-migrated space, that is, D K, shows that the coastal talukas - Mangalore, Udupi and Kundapura - together have sent large number of Hoteliers.

The geographical distribution of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa shows their concentration in the major towns of South Goa.

A close look into the year-wise development of the Udupi Hotels shows a steady increase in the number of Hotels in Goa. For the state of Goa also there is an increase of Hotels and lodging houses including paying guest houses. The Udupi Hotels in Goa might have grown in the manner in which other Hotels have grown. The reasons/factors like urbanisation and tourism development which are responsible for the growth of Hotel industry in general are responsible for the growth of Udupi Hotels also.

Using of 'Udupi' or 'Udipi' adage was once very popular among Udupi Hoteliers in naming their Hotels. 'Udupi' adage has been a sellable symbol. However, in Goa its use is a declining interest. According to Brahman Hoteliers it has become very 'cheap' when the non-Brahmans too started using the same not only for their vegetarian but also for their non-vegetarian restaurants. Similarly, by gone is the era of selling purely Udupi style food items by Udupi Hotels.

Occupational Choice and Occupational Entry

The visibility of alternative occupations and selection of a specific occupation are crucial and complex phenomena in the industrialising, urbanising and modernising societies. They become all the more complex in the Indian context because of the subtle interplay of traditional and modern factors in influencing an individual's occupational preparation, occupational choice, and occupational entry. Together with the general social

influences the personality character and the general regional background of those who seek to be employed also play their role in the above mentioned occupational processes.

Together with the old influences like that of caste, family, and community new forces have entered the realm of occupational choice. Some of them are : industrialisation, spread of modern education, urbanisation, improved means of transport and communication, creation of new and secular occupations and migration.

For the people of Dakshina Kannada the competitive spirit coupled with population increase, expansion of higher educational facilities and widening communication network acted as push factor for migration. In the beginning the out-migrants had to seek job mainly in Mumbai and Madras, the cities which were connected to Mangalore through steamer and Railway. In the next stage growing urban centres of south India started to attract persons from this district. In the recent years the educated, partly educated and job aspirants started to emigrate to Gulf countries and also to Canada and America. Therefore any discussion on occupational choice among any section of the people of D K should take into account the social implications of the demographic process of migration.

The birth of Udupi Hotels in India in general and Udupi Hotels in Goa in particular is rooted in the values and practices associated with food production and food distribution of some members of some Brahman sub-castes who are modern creative entrepreneurs. They are the originators of new values and practices that led to the forming of a new entrepreneurial set-up namely Udupi Hotels. The new values and practices were the

modifications of old values and practices to suit to new circumstances in the context of social transformative and migratory challenges and personalistic and social responses.

All of the living pioneering Brahman Hoteliers in Goa and some children of dead pioneering Brahman Hoteliers were of the opinion that initially most of the less educated Brahmans out-migrated from D K in search of livelihood and their gastronomic knowledge provided them with an option, namely, opening up of Hotels. Of course, the culinary skills and the gastronomical culture of the Brahmans of D K are not directly responsible for our Brahman respondents' entry into Hoteliering. A careful analysis of several cases of Brahman Hoteliers and other non-Brahman Hoteliers also has shown that the emergence and continuation of the culture of entrepreneurship in the form of Hoteliering are the latent functions of responses to the challenges posed by such factors as poverty, lack of sufficient land base, unemployment, personal ambition and so on; migration acted as vehicle to the responses. The course and consequences of migration in search of livelihood is guided by social capital, by which we mean the primary relational network of family, caste, village, and friendship. This supports our hypothesis that the majority of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa have been introduced to this occupation through their relatives/friends/village members.

Occupational Mobility

Any study of mobility is a study of change, transformation and movement. It has to be undertaken in the social temporal and social restructurational context of the individuals, groups and categories under consideration.

Reputation

Considering mobility as positional change has been accepted by sociologists. The positions are many and varied: geographic, class, caste, political, ritualistic, occupational, educational, and so on. Very broadly mobility occurs in the contexts of all these positions.

Though very often the concepts of occupational mobility and social mobility are employed to indicate the same social processes, it is very important to note that occupational mobility is only a part of social mobility. However, occupational status is closely correlated with educational status, income, style of life and other determinants of class status. Thus for research purposes a change in occupational position is probably the best indicator of social mobility.

Among our research objectives studying of inter-generational, and intra-generational occupational mobility are included. The inter-generational mobility includes the changes in the occupational standing across generations. Intra-generational mobility is indicative of changes in an individual's occupational position during his life time. The former is analysed in terms of inflow into an occupational category and outflow from the same, and the latter is analysed in terms of career pattern.

The over all look into the inter-generational inflow in to Hoteliering in Goa reveals several facts.

1. Majority of the Hoteliers, by and large, have natal families with rural, caste based/craft-based occupations.
2. Cultivation is the major occupation of the natal families. Most of the natal households are small and medium level owner cultivators.

3. The occupational distribution of natal families shows that they followed either purely “Entry-type” or “Exit-type” occupations, or combination of “Entry-type” and “Exit-type” occupations.
4. Some occupations followed by the natal households like pipe blowing which were Jajmani occupations, but our respondents denied the existence of Jajmani system in their native place.
5. Among the 35 Hoteliers of the entrepreneurial natal background, 10 have Hoteliering as the specific occupation of their natal families. To them we can add six non-migrant respondents whose fathers or close relatives migrated to Goa and started their Hotels. These are the cases of occupational inheritance and persistency in this level of inter-generational analysis.
6. A substantial number of natal families in one way or the other look towards their Hotelier relative in Goa for financial assistance. The inflow of our respondents from diverse occupational background into the occupation of Hoteliering as workers in the initial stages for many and as proprietors directly for a few has led to the changes in the economic positions in the native households.

The outflow analysis of occupational mobility mainly aims at knowing the tendency towards occupational persistency and/or occupational deviation among the children of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. The analysis is based on the study of the occupational aspirations nurtured for their children by the Udupi Hoteliers. Most of the Hoteliers with daughters were keen to arrange their marriages soon after their education. Even the fathers of such daughters who have completed professional education and also working

consider that the task of arranging their daughters' marriage as a very important responsibility.

Only 28 Hoteliers specifically recognised that their sons will continue their occupation. Another important trend to be noted is that in some families if one son continues in Hoteliering other sons will go for other occupations, entrepreneurial or white collar. Majority of the Hoteliers want their children to pursue higher education and subsequently to join white collar salaried occupations. We could also come across another set of male children who will continue their fathers' occupation only if they fail to get other work. In this context it is to be concluded that the male children of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa show a tendency towards both occupational persistency and occupational deviation.

The intra-generational occupational mobility or career pattern has been studied in two levels : pre-proprietary career and proprietary career. Majority of the Hoteliers, 70.34 per cent, worked in others' Hotel before entering their specific career as proprietors. It is during this time that their identification of their career basis has been emerged and subsequently evolved ; the career strategies have been crystalised ; and the definitions of occupational roles have been classified. In quintessence, the master target of proprietorship has to be recognised as the cumulative end product of their movement across positions in their pre-proprietorship career pattern. Totally 72 Hoteliers who worked in others' Hotel could identify their first job in the Hotel. It is found out that 24 of them started their career as cleaners, 26 as suppliers, three as cooks, three as supervisors, 16 as managers. On the basis of this it can be inferred that most of them started their career

either as cleaners or suppliers. They have covered relatively more number of jobs than the others before becoming proprietors.

There are 18 cases involving work experience in both Hotels and establishments other than Hotels and 11 cases involving work experience in the establishments other than Hotels. They provide the examples of disrupted career among our respondents. By probing into the financial sources for furnishing the Hotels we could discern that even in the intra-generational occupational mobility of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa, in deciding their career pattern, social capital plays a major role. Our explorations in the context of proprietary career are facilitated by questions relating to the ownership of the Hotel premises, the Hotelier's perception of his class position, and the aspects of job satisfaction. Only 18 Hoteliers owned their respective premises, 96 of them are running their Hotels in rented premises, and four of them have disturbed relationship with their premises. The majority of the Hoteliers (65.81 per cent) stated that they belong to the middle class. As our respondents are in-migrants they do not have their ancestral houses in Goa. And, therefore, as a part of their stability in the occupations and also life they go for their own house in Goa.

Our probing into the aspects of job satisfaction brought home several sociologically significant points.

1. Most of the Hoteliers perceive that there are enough opportunities in Hoteliering to improve their economic and social status.
2. Most of them are satisfied with their occupations.
3. Most of them are not thinking of changing their job.

4. A few Hoteliers are not finding any meaning in continuing in their occupation but still they do not have any idea of changing their occupation.

While examining the aftermath of occupational mobility the study found out that migration and occupational mobility have not resulted in the severance of Hoteliers ties with their native families and villages. On the contrary they have reinforced their primary relations ; they have contributed towards extended family cohesion.

The relatives assisting in the Hotels and the workers belonging to various categories are the potential future Udupi Hoteliers. In the course of our discussions it became evident that these workers wish to establish their own Hotels in future. On the basis of the "Entry-type" nature of Hoteliering and its diversified recruitment pattern we can conclude that the proprietors of future Udupi Hotels will also be of diversified caste, religious and regional background.

Migration and occupational mobility have led to the changes in the residence aspect of the family. In the native place all of our Bunt respondents and some others followed matrilocal residence, but in the place of work all of our married respondents have established patrilocal residence.

Migration and occupational mobility have in general led to the overall development of the Hoteliers themselves and their native families. Their satisfaction with the present occupation , their consideration that they have enough opportunities for improving their social and economic position, their owning of houses in Goa are the symbol of their individual success and economic betterment. Most of our respondents are now the members of middle or upper classes.

Among our respondents Hoteliering has led to monetization and which in turn has led to conspicuous consumption mainly in the areas of marriage and religion.

Conspicuous consumption is visible in various aspects of marriage like dowry, costly invitation cards, lavish dinners, and the like. In the area of religion conspicuous consumption is visible in Goa as well as in the native place. Lavish decoration of God's place, performing special poojas in temples and inviting friends are the examples of expenditure for show. In the native place many of the Hoteliers have financially contributed to the renovation of their *Bhutasthanas*, and *Daivasthanas*. Grand celebration of *Kola*, making rich donations to the renovation of temples are some other avenues of conspicuous consumption in the area of religion.

One of the dysfunctional consequences of occupational mobility has been status inconsistency experienced by some Hoteliers.

Important Conclusions

The hypotheses stated in the introductory chapter have been tested against the data collected and analysed at the various phases of field work and the following conclusions are drawn.

1. The Udupi Hoteliers in Goa belong not to any one caste or sub-caste ; but they are of multi-caste origin.
2. Most of them have been introduced to their present occupation of Hoteliering through their relatives/friends/village members.

3. Most of the respondents experienced upward occupational mobility inter-generationally leading to monetization which in turn facilitated conspicuous consumption.
4. The male children of the Hoteliers show a tendency towards both occupational persistency and deviation.

Limitations of the Study

During the course of data collection and subsequent analysis several limitations of the study were identified. This was mainly due to some practical difficulties as well as due to some unforeseen problems. Some of the main limitations of the study are described below.

1. Our main plan initially was to interview all Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. However, in the absence of any official list of Udupi Hoteliers we followed snow ball sampling method and identified 125 Udupi Hoteliers. We feel that some more Udupi Hoteliers have escaped our identification. Out of the 125 identified Hoteliers 7 Hoteliers could not be contacted and the study misses to record the specificities of these left out Hoteliers.
2. Several statistical information recorded in the thesis are recollections of the Hoteliers during the course of the actual interview, and hence we can not expect mathematical accuracy from them.
3. In all the phases of field work we attempted to collect information about the income of the Hoteliers in terms of rupees earned per month. However, we can not obtain it.

4. In the course of our study we came across not more than 15 non-Dakshina Kannada Hoteliers who have included in their menu Udupi type of food items together with other items. They are not our subjects according to the definition of our study. The study would have become more inclusive if we were to use the term “Udupi” to refer to the type of food as in “Chinese” or “Punjabi” and “Udupi Hoteliers” as the category of Hoteliers serving that type of food. However, while analysing the expansion of membership of Udupi Hotels in Goa, Chapter four recognises the fact that by now Udupi Hoteliering is no more an occupational prerogative of the people from D K only.
5. While talking to some Hotel workers the researcher found out that in Goa there are a few cases of Hotel owners who turned out to be Hotel workers, experiencing downward mobility. The study does not take into account their experiences.

Some Areas for Future Research

An attempt is made here to identify some problems on which research can be undertaken in future.

1. In the course of study it has been observed that in Goa many people from D K are earning their livelihood as teachers, lawyers, businessmen, fishermen and priests. An occupational sociological study of these people can be undertaken.
2. The researcher could observe the prevalence of child labour in Udupi Hotels. The Udupi Hoteliers tell that the number of child labourers is declining. An indepth study of the existing child labourers is indeed a step toward the eradication of child labour.

3. The present study confined itself to only Udupi Hoteliers. It can now be extended to all other categories of Hoteliers in Goa.
4. The study recognises that the roots of Udupi Hoteliering is found in Udupi culinary culture. Social and anthropological study of Udupi culinary culture *per se* will be a worth pursuing research area.

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

COPY OF THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED IN THE FIRST PHASE OF PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION

(I) GENERAL INFORMATION

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---|-----------|-------|
| 1.1 | (I) Name of the hotel /restaurant | : | | |
| | (ii) Year of establishment | : | | |
| 1.2 | (I) City/town | : | | |
| | (ii) Locality/ Road | : | | |
| 1.3 | Taluka | : | | |
| 1.4 | District | : | | |
| 1.5 | Name of the respondent (Owner) | : | | |
| 1.6 | Sex | : | Male | () 1 |
| | | : | Female | () 2 |
| 1.7 | Age (in years) | : | 1 - 20 | () 1 |
| | | : | 21-30 | () 2 |
| | | : | 31 - 40 | () 3 |
| | | : | 41 - 50 | () 4 |
| | | : | 51 above | () 5 |
| 1.8 | Religion | : | Hindu | () 1 |
| | | : | Muslim | () 2 |
| | | : | Christian | () 3 |
| | | : | Jain | () 4 |
| | | : | Others | () 5 |

| | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|---|------------------|-------|
| 1.9 | Caste/Subcaste | : | Kota Brahmin | () 1 |
| | | : | Shivalli Brahmin | () 2 |
| | | : | Bunt | () 3 |
| | | : | Mogaveera | () 4 |
| | | : | Poojari | () 5 |
| | | : | G.S.B. | () 6 |
| | | : | Others | () 7 |
| 1.10 | Marital Status | : | Single | () 1 |
| | | : | Married | () 2 |
| | | : | Widowed | () 3 |
| | | : | Divorced | () 4 |
| | | : | Separated | () 5 |
| 1.11 | Length of residence in Goa (in years) | : | 1 - 5 | () 1 |
| | | | 6 - 10 | () 2 |
| | | | 11 - 15 | () 3 |
| | | | 16 - 20 | () 4 |
| | | | 21 - 25 | () 5 |
| | | | 26 - 30 | () 6 |
| | | | 31 - above | () 7 |
| 1.12 | Mother Tongue | : | Kannada | () 1 |
| | | : | Tulu | () 2 |
| | | : | Konkani | () 3 |

| | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---|--------------|-------------|
| | | : | Others | () 4 |
| 1.13 | Other Languages Known | : | Sr. To speak | To read and |
| | | | No. only | write also |
| | | | 1. | |
| | | | 2. | |
| | | | 3. | |
| | | | 4. | |
| | | | 5. | |

1.14 (I) Language spoken at work place
with customers

(ii) Language spoken at work place
with the workers

(iii) Language spoken at Home in Goa

II PARTICULARS ABOUT THE NATAL HOME

| | | | | |
|-----|---|---|------------------------------|-------|
| 2.1 | Natal Village/Town | : | | |
| 2.2 | Taluka | : | | |
| 2.3 | District | : | | |
| 2.4 | (I) Traditional occupation of the natal family | : | Cultivation (Agriculture) | () 1 |
| | | : | Other than cultivation | () 2 |
| | | : | More than one | () 3 |

- (ii) If more than one, specify : _____
- (iii) In case the traditional occupation is : _____
other than cultivation, please specify it
- (iv) Is any member of your family still : Yes () 1
engaged in it : No () 2
- (v) If yes, who is pursuing it ? : _____
- (vi) Why is he/she/they continuing ? : _____
- (vii) If cultivation is the traditional : Owner cultivator () 1
occupation, specify the occupational : Tenant cultivator () 2
status : Landless agricultural () 3
labourer
More than one () 4
- (viii) Is the members of your family still : Yes () 1
engaged in it : No () 2
- (ix) If yes who is engaged in it ? : _____
- (x) If owner cultivator, total land : 1) Irrigated
owned (in acres) : 2) Unirrigated
: 3) Total
- (xi) The type of irrigation : Well () 1
: Canal () 2
: River () 3
: Tank () 4

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|----------------------|-------|
| | | : | Bore well | () 5 |
| | | : | More than one source | () 6 |
| | | : | Not applicable | () 7 |
| | (xii) Total no. of dependents on land | : | | |
| | (actual number) | | | |
| | (xiii) Particulars of crops grown | : | | |
| 2.5 | (I) Whether the natal house is owned | : | Yes | () 1 |
| | | : | No | () 2 |
| | (ii) If owned, the type of roof | : | Tiles | () 1 |
| | | : | R.C.C. | () 2 |
| | | : | Partly R.C.C. | () 3 |
| | | : | Thatched | () 4 |
| | (iii) If rented the amount of rent (in Rs.) | : | | |
| 2.6 | Do you have any right over ancestral | : | Yes | () 1 |
| | property ? | : | No | () 2 |
| 2.7 | How often do you visit your natal home ? | : | Occasionally | () 1 |
| | | | once in a year | () 2 |
| | | | Often | () 3 |
| | | | Very often | () 4 |
| | | | Not visiting | () 5 |
| 2.8 | Do you take part in the religious/social | : | Yes | () 1 |
| | ceremonies at your natal home ? | : | No | () 2 |

- 2.9 (I) Do you assist your natal home : Yes () 1
 financially : No () 2
 (ii) If yes, in what way ? :
- 2.10 (I) Have you made investment in any : Yes () 1
 form at your native place out of your : No () 2
 income
- (ii) If yes : Name of Amount
 Investment Invested

III MIGRATION

- 3.1 When did you move out of your natal :
 home (in years of age) ?
- 3.2 (I) Why did you move out ? : Poverty () 1
 Unemployment () 2
 Loss of land () 3
 Over crowding on land () 4
 Some relatives/friends/
 caste members picked
 up with them. () 5
 Quarreled at home and () 6
 ran away
 Due to better business () 7
 opportunities

More than one reason ()8

Any other reason ()9

(ii) If more than one reason/Any other :
specify them

3.3 Where did you first go ? :

3.4 If not to Goa, an enumeration of successive : Places Duration Occupation
places where you stayed for certain duration
before arriving at and settling in Goa.

3.5 Why have you come to Goa : Near to the native ()1
place

Attracted by Goa as a ()2
tourist centre

Invited by some relatives ()3
or caste members or friends

Any other reason ()4

- 4.2 Total no. of members who stay with you : 1) Male
 in Goa : 2) Female
 : 3) Total
- 4.3 (I) Ownership of the house : Own () 1
 : Rented () 2
 : Staying in Hotel only () 3
 : Staying with the relatives () 4
- (ii) If owned, the type of roof : Tiles () 1
 : R.C.C. () 2
 : Partly R.C.C. () 3
- (iii) If rented, the amount of monthly rent
 (in Rs.) :
- (iv) If staying with the relatives, specify :
 the relation.

V EDUCATION OF THREE GENERATION

| Sr. No. | Generation | Illiterate | Primary | Secondary | H.S. | Degree | P.G. | Professional | Others |
|---------|------------|------------|---------|-----------|------|--------|------|--------------|--------|
| 1. | Father | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | Self | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | Children | | | | | | | | |
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VI OCCUPATIONAL ASPECTS

- 6.1 (I) Before starting this hotel where were you working ?
- (ii) If you were working in the establishment other than the hotel before list them one by one (or no establishment)
- (iii) If worked in other's hotel, as what did you work ?
- (iv) For how many years did you work in other's hotel ?
- (v) Whether the owner of the hotel in which you worked was your relative
- | | |
|-----|-------|
| Yes | () 1 |
| No | () 2 |
- (vi) If yes, how is he related to you.
- 6.2 (I) Who established the present hotel ?
- | | |
|-------------------|-------|
| Self | () 1 |
| Inherited | () 2 |
| Given for earning | () 3 |
- (ii) If inherited/Given for running, specify the relation.
- (iii) If inherited/given for running, what was the type of hotel you inherited
- | | |
|------------------------------|-------|
| Same as the one which is run | () 1 |
| Made several improvements. | () 2 |

- (iv) If the present hotel is different one, :
 briefly describe the hotel(s) you
 owned formerly
- 6.3 Type of your hotel on the basis of facilities : Lodging and Boarding () 1
 Lodging only ()
 Boarding only ()
- 6.4 On the basis of the type of food served : Veg. () 1
 Non- veg & Veg. () 2
 Bar & Restaurant () 3
- 6.5 (I) Whom do you prefer to employ : From Goa () 1
 Outside Goa () 2
 Whoever comes and () 3
 asks for job
 No employees () 4
- (ii) Why :
- 6.6 Number of employees : a) Cleaners
 (in actual numbers) b) Suppliers
 c) Cooks
 d) Supervisors
 e) Managers
 f) Others
 Total

- 6.7 Wages paid to each category of workers : a) Cleaners
(Monthly wage in Rs.) b) Suppliers
c) Cooks
d) Supervisors
e) Managers
f) Others
- 6.8 (I) Do you have relatives as employees : Yes () 1
No () 2
- (ii) If yes specify the category and relation :
- 6.9 Where did you get finance to furnish this :
establishment ?
- 6.10 Where do you invest the capital accumulated :
as profit ?
- 6.11 (I) Whether hotel building is owned ? : Yes () 1
No () 2
- (ii) If yes estimated cost (in Rs.) :
(iii) If no, monthly rent (in Rs.) :
- 6.12 List the modern gadgets used in the kitchen :
of your hotel.
- 6.13 To which social class do you think you :
belong ?
- 6.14 Are there enough opportunities available : Yes () 1

- to you for improving your economic and social status ? : No () 2
- 6.15 Are you satisfied with your occupation ? : Yes () 1
: No () 2
- 6.16 Do you have any idea of changing your job ? : Yes () 1
: No () 2
- 6.17 If yes, why ? :
- 6.18 What type of occupation are you aspiring for ? :
- 6.19 Why ? :
- 6.20 What occupation would you like your children to go in for : Children Occupation
a.
b.
c.
d.
e.
f.
g.
h.

6.21 Give the particulars of the occupation of the following members of your family, generation wise'

| Sr. No. | Generation | Occupation | | Monthly Income | Other Sources of Income with the amount | | | Total Monthly Income |
|---------|------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|---|-------|----------|----------------------|
| | | Broad Types | Specific work | | Agriculture | Trade | Industry | |
| 1. | Father | | | | | | | |
| 2. | Self | | | | | | | |
| 3. | Children | | | | | | | |
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- 7.5 (I) Did you accept dowry in marriage : Yes () 1
 : No () 2
 (ii) If yes please state the amount (in Rs.) :
 (iii) If you are single, do you accept dowry : Yes () 1
 : No () 2
- 7.6 (I) Whether dowry is essential in the : Yes () 1
 settlement of your children's : No () 2
 marriage ?
- (ii) If yes, approximate amount
- 7.7 Do you keep contact with your kin, caste : Yes () 1
 and village community members living : No () 2
 in Goa ?
- 7.8 Whether there is exchange of men and : Yes () 1
 materials with other hoteliers : No () 2
- 7.9 (I) Are you a member of Hotel and : Yes () 1
 Restaurant Owner's Association, : No () 2
 Goa ?
- (ii) Do you attends its meetings regularly ? : Yes () 1
 : No () 2

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II

A NOTE ON UDUPI CULINARY CULTURE

Culinary culture or culture pertaining to the ways and means of cooking and ideas and practices concerning food is an unique possession of human groups across the world. As regards to all culture traits culinary culture traits too vary from one region to the other. An attempt has been made here to describe some of the specificities and characteristics of Udupi culinary culture.

Culture of Food preparation and Food Distribution in General

Human cultural system relating to food are based on the fundamental biological need to fulfill hunger and thirst for the sustenance of life. Man's perennial search for the where withal to sustain life would have played a key part in bringing about the pivotal changes in diet that have been central to man's cultural evolution. In this process the move takes place from the consumption of natural foods to processed foods (Cohen 1987 : 77). One of the very important land marks in this connection had been the innovation of cooking through the controlled use of fire.

The nature of culinary culture of a region and its evolution depend to a very large extent on the availability of the type of raw materials for the preparation of the food on the one hand and the related ideas and practices of different groups inhabiting the region on the other. Like any other aspect of culture cooking also constitute a social sub-system. Though very often the preparation and consumption of food may have been seen as the meeting of a biological need, the sociologists see it as of diverse cultural and social significance (Marshall 1994 : 183).

The type of food being cooked and the ways and means of cooking in Udupi and surrounding areas can be understood by looking into the ideas and practices of food production among different categories of castes and classes. Their continual modifications in the face of socio-cultural changes in general have made the issue very complicated. The relationship of the subsystem of food preparation, distribution and consumption with other sub-systems of society has to be taken into consideration while delineating the nature of the former. Hence, the variations in Udupi culinary culture, and its relationship with the categories of castes and classes and also with the concepts of purity and pollution, sacred and secular, *satvika* and *tamsika* provide us some clues in this regard.

Food Production for Daily Consumption

Different caste groups of the region under consideration can be, for analytical purposes, categorised roughly into two groups, namely, Brahmans and non-Brahmans. The Brahman group comprises mainly of Kota, Shivalli, Koteshwara Magane, Sthanik, Gowda Saraswat and Havik Brahman sub-castes. The Non-Brahman group includes Bunts, Mogaveeras, Poojaris, Acharis, Ganigas, Nairis, S.C.s and so on. Except for some Gowda Saraswat all other Brahmans are vegetarian in their culinary practices. Among the Gowda Saraswat Brahmans except for the temple priests and *Purohits* others, usually, are fish eaters. In all caste groups a difference can be made between the daily culinary practices and those during the calendrical ceremonies and festivals. Even the non-vegetarian caste groups cook only vegetarian dishes during many of the calendrical ceremonies and festivals like the *jatras* (annual festivals in temples) of sanskritic pantheon like Devi, Narasimha, Mahalingeshwara and Ganapati. However on such occasions as

that of the propitiation of local and folk-deities like Mari and Chikku non-vegetarian food is cooked.

Usually, people of all castes consume *ganji* or porridge prepared out of boiled rice for breakfast. Idli, Dosa or *Avalaki Oggarane* are alternatives to *ganji*. Many non-Brahmans consume *ganji* even during lunch and only for supper they prepare rice and non-vegetarian curry. This is because of their work during the day time in the fields. Brahmans usually cook lunch with several side dishes. Home made pickle, papad, *sendige*, and milk and milk items like curd, butter milk and ghee are consumed, by and large, by only Brahmans. Every year during the summer women of most of the Brahman households are busy in the preparation of the yearly stock of papad, pickle and *sendige*.

Food for daily consumption among all caste groups is cooked by the women. Cooking takes much of their time in many houses because of the use of boiled rice and cooking with fire wood. Modern cooking ranges are yet to become common place. When compared with non-Brahman more Brahman households use modern cooking ranges, LPG connection and so on. However, use of gober-gas is becoming popular.

Among the Brahmans untill recently vegetables were divided as consumable and non-consumable on the basis of their supposed *satva* and *tamasa* characteristics. Onion, garlic, for example are non-consumable for Brahmans. In essence Brahmans do not eat non-vegetarian food and also do not consume alcohol because they are *tamasika* in nature.

If boiled rice, fish curry and occasional chicken curry constitute the staple food of non-Brahmans, boiled rice, vegetable curry and varieties of side dishes constitute the same for Brahmans.

The concepts of *madi* and *mailige* are very prominent in matters of cooking and distribution and consumption of food among the Brahmans. The two concepts can not simply be translated as clean and unclean though one of the intended consequences of *madi* is cleanliness. A wash in fresh water ensures *madi*. Before starting cooking the person who is to cook takes bath. All eatables prepared for consumption are grouped into two categories, *musure* and *non-musure*. Rice cooked in water is treated as *musure* which is prone to get polluted soon and hence it is set apart. Those who touch it should wash their hand before touching any *non-musure* things. The concept of *musure* forbids oneself from serving self with the help of left hand while eating. Therefore, among Brahmans “food-serving” is an important aspect of culinary culture. Every day it is the responsibility of female members of the family who prepares the food to serve it to the other members of the family. Use of dining tables is a rare phenomenon. The family members squat down in rows. Elderly members eat on banana leaves and other members use plates. The entire place is considered to be polluted once the food consumption is over and the place is brought back to normal only after it is wiped by using *gomaya*. Among the non-Brahmans such ideas and practices of *madi* and *musure* are not given importance.

Food Production for Gods, Ancestors and Public Feeding

Everyday in Brahman households *naivedya* is to be prepared to offer at the time of daily *puja* for the household God/s. In *vaidika* Brahman’s households everyday washed

raw rice or cooked raw rice constitute the *naivedya*. Everyday before the serving of the food a small portion of the same is kept out to be consumed by the crows. The belief is that the crows are the dead ancestors.

Other than daily *pujas*, every now and then throughout the year special *pujas* are conducted for different Gods. These are the occasions of feast. Together with those occasions the annual propitiation of the dead ancestors namely *shraddhas* and *mahalayas* also are the occasions for inviting the relatives, intimate friends and neighbours for dinner.

The very important part of the *shraddha* ceremony consists of the sons of the concerned deceased person offering rice balls known as *pinda* through the *purohits* (see photograph 8). Other than *pinda* the sons and the married daughters keep separate banana leaves served with full course of meal outside the house and call the crows to *come* and *take* from these leaves. Among the non-Brahmans the annual propitiation of dead ancestors is known as *meesal*. On that particular day special eatables are prepared and spread over banana leaves and offered to the concerned ancestor with *dhup* and water-pot with *tulasi* (see photograph 9).

The *vaidika* Brahmins are important persons to be fed during the *pujas* and *samskaras*. After the completion of the ritual aspects of the ceremonies they sit in rows in important and cleanest spaces of the house (see photograph 10) and other invitees sit in other spaces. While the first course of the dinner is served the *vaidikas* sing vedic hymns in chorus before the *hastodaka* is given.

Rajalaxmi (1997 : 17) rightly recognises seven stages during the occasion when many are fed together. In the first stage are served ghee, salt, pickle, *kosumbari*, *sasmi*,

chatni, palyas, chitranna, anna (naivadya), tovve, happala - sendige, fruits, prasada, kadabu. No one will touch their respective leaves until all these initial items are served. At the beginning of actual eating *gograsa* is given. With *hastodaka* to *vaidikas* and *sumangalis* actual eating will start. In the second stage *tambuli* and *saru* or *rasam* are served. In the third stage small *huli*, big *huli* and *avil* are served. The fourth stage comprises of sweet items. In the fifth stage *majjige huli* and in the sixth stage curd and butter milk are served. At the end of this stage all will go for a wash and at the seventh and the last stage *tambula* is distributed among the adults (see Ibid. for the ways and means of cooking different Udupi food items. In fact it is a book of Udupi recipe).

Food is prepared and offered mainly to Gods during certain special *pujas*. Our such example is that of *ranga puja*. Prepared food, usually *panchakajjaya*, is neatly served on a bench in front of the God (usually of snaskritic pantheon) and to the two sides kept rows of lights (see photograph 11). After a long *mangalarati* the food is retrieved and distributed among the devotees as *prasada*. During the special *pujas* for local and folk-duties usually *bali* is offered which includes huge quantities of cooked boiled rice (see photograph 12) with or without animal sacrifice.

Over the years performance of *pujas* and *sanskaras* have become occasions for social gathering, conspicuous consumption and status-display. And it has become mutual obligation among neighbours, friends and relatives to invite each other for dinner. Thus has evolved a culture of public feeding ; sometimes the number of persons to be fed runs into several thousands.

It may not be exaggerating to note that in Udupi during certain months the Brahmans have to attend everyday one or the other dinners. In recent years such functions accompanying dinners are performed in huge halls which are popularly known as *kalyan mandiras*, for they are primarily meant for marriages (see photograph 13 for cooking for mass feeding in are such kalyan mandiet). At a time they can accomodate thousands of people for dinner. Through out DK one witness a mashrooming growth of such *kalyan mandiras*. This is an indication of a concomitant increase in the celebrations accompanying dinners.

Udupi Gastronomy : A Problematique for further Discourse

Some scholars, especially Bhat (1993 : 15), opine that one of the results of constant feasts and dinners is the evolution of a special gastronomy in this region. At present we come across several bands of specialised professional cooks who earn their livelihood by catering to the gastronomical needs of the people of the region. Most of them are men. Though earlierly only less educated opted for this occupation now even educationally highly qualified but unemployed youth are entering the field.

The researcher's informal discussions with several categories of people like professional cooks, house-wives, *vaidika*-Brahmans, non-Brahmans who invite Brahman cooks for the purposes of cooking for public feeding facilitated him to problematise the phenomenon under consideration as follows .

1. What are the specificities and characteristics of Udupi gastronomy ?
2. How can we account for its growth and expansion ?
3. Who are the professional cooks in DK?

4. How is the occupational socialisation of the cooks take place ?
5. What are socio-economic and cultural conditions that favour their entry into their occupation ?

Only after answering these exploratory questions we may proceed to venture upon other comparative and analytical studies about Udupi gastronomy.

Photograph-8 Performance of a *Shraddha*



Photograph-9 Keeping *Meesal*



Photograph-10 Food for Brahmans



Photograph-11 *Rangapooja*



Photograph-12 Food for Local and Folk Deities



Photograph-13 Cooking for Mass Feeding



APPENDIX III

APPENDIX III

GLOSSARY

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Achara</i> | : | practice |
| <i>Agrahara</i> | : | Brahman settlement |
| <i>Aliyakatuu or Aliyasantana</i> | : | lineage of sister's son |
| <i>Amgele Khana Jevan</i> | : | our meal and tiffin |
| <i>Annadana</i> | : | donation of food |
| <i>Annavikraya</i> | : | selling of food |
| <i>Bhojanalaya</i> | : | the restaurant where meal is served |
| <i>Datti</i> | : | gift of land |
| <i>Doddappa</i> | : | father's elder brother |
| <i>Doorina jati</i> | : | the caste which is 'untouchable' |
| <i>Gurumatha</i> | : | traditional Indian school run by a Hindu teacher. |
| <i>Hasta</i> | : | an inauspicious season during which the celebration of such ceremonies as marriages are prohibited. |
| <i>Madhva Dawaita Philisophy</i> | : | Philosophical system propounded by Madhavacharya. |
| <i>Madi</i> | : | state of purity |
| <i>Mailige</i> | : | state of impurity |
| <i>Makkala santana</i> | : | lineage of children |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Mantrada kayi</i> | : | a coconut with magical powers |
| <i>Matha</i> | : | Monastery |
| <i>Mulina jati</i> | : | touchable caste |
| <i>Nandadeep</i> | : | perpetual lamp |
| <i>Ondu Masala. Ondu kafee</i> | : | one masala dosa, one coffee |
| <i>Paryaya</i> | : | two yearly celebrations marking the change of responsibility of the worship of Lord Krishna among the <i>sanyasis</i> of Udupi. |
| <i>Phalahara Mandira</i> | : | the restaurant where tiffin is served |
| <i>Savarna</i> | : | caste Hindu. |
| <i>Shishyavarga</i> | : | a category of disciples |
| <i>Tamraphalaka</i> | : | a copper plate inscribed with magical letters |
| <i>Vichara</i> | : | ideology |
| <i>Yakshagana</i> | : | a popular dance and drama form found in Uttara Kannada and Dakshina Kannada |

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Are you sure?
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