CHAPTER V

NATURE OF RESETTLEMENT: PROCESSES AND PATTERNS

Two important decisions, implicit or explicit, precede before an ex-serviceman actually accepts his post-retirement life. The first is about the place where he wants to settle down and second, the type of career which he might prefer to take up. A decision regarding the two problems is determined by a number of choices available in society at a given point of time which operate as socially (external) limiting factors. The preference or suitability of one choice against another are guided by the personal capability, ambition and limitations, which operate as personal limiting factors for an individual ex-serviceman. The two limiting factors, therefore, set the ultimate boundary for an ex-serviceman, within which his decision about place and work of his post-retirement life is to be taken.

The primary focus of the present chapter is the classification and outline of those compulsions which move an ex-serviceman towards one social choice or the other regarding post-retirement life and career.

The Choice of Place

While getting released/retired the first question which arises is "where to settle down, where to go to spend the remaining part of life?" For most of the ex-servicemen,
however, the answer to this question is already given, right from the day he entered to the profession of arms and more so from the date he got married.

Although one may find it surprising, the process of resettlement for an individual begins from the day he joins army. His decision regarding the choice of place of resettlement is taken well before he is retired/released from the army. Usually for a jawan, the date of entry into the army and the date of marriage have a close proximation. These coincidences tend to strengthen the jointness of family, even though it is generally being held that joint families in India are ebbing away and there has been sea change even in the existing 'jointness' in the families as compared to past.

It is evident from Tables 5.1 and 5.2 that most of the ex-servicemen families (49% from Bihar and 64% from Haryana) live in the 'joint family'.

The professional requirement is such that usually the spouse (and kids, if any) of a serving jawan have to be kept away from the place of his duty. In the early phase of the career it is difficult to find a family station. In most of the cases wherever the decision in respect of choice of residence for the spouse and kids are to be taken, the spontaneous and often implied response is 'with his parents' and in the paternal house. In case father is not
Table 5.1: Kartas, If Living in A Joint Family (% Frequency)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Uncle</th>
<th>Grand</th>
<th>Self-1</th>
<th>Self-2</th>
<th>Eldest Brother</th>
<th>Younger Brother</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Not applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(32)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(37)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(36)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Self-1 = Self being the eldest brother.
Self-2 = Self being other than the eldest.

Table 5.2: If Living in A Nuclear family,
When Got Separated (% Frequency)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>LBR</th>
<th>SBR</th>
<th>JBR</th>
<th>In Process</th>
<th>Not applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(40)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(64)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LBR = Long Before Retirement
SBR = Sometime Before Retirement
JBR = Just Before Retirement
alive, the preferential residence is with the brother, usually the elder one.

A serving jawan's wife and children either staying with the father or (if not alive) with the brother(s) enjoy his co-parcenary rights in the family. The relationship between the family of the serving jawan and his paternal relatives, reflects the tendency of strengthening the joint family system. The mere fact of a jawan existing in a family, gives an indication that in family of orientation, even if nuclear, will become joint soon after he gets married, for his wife is to be left with his parents when he goes out for duties after spending brief annual vacations of about two months every year.

When a young boy joins army he is in his teens. Much depends upon his parents whether he should join the army or not or even he should think of it or not. Since the father of a serving jawan is in picture right from the day his son joins the army and he is active partner in his decision-making process, the responsibility of taking care of his would-be-wife and kids are implied right from the day he sent his son to the army. That is why 'Inami jagir' is given to the parents of the only son being inducted into the army, or only two sons, or three or more sons. Parents get such facilities also in recognition of the fact that they are taking extra responsibility of keeping and taking care of the family of his son(s) apart from the general incentive given for motivating his son(s) to join army.
There are many factors which (contribute to the joint¬ness of family and) ensures the return of ex-serviceman into his joint family soon after retirement/release, almost natural. First of all he visits the joint family regularly throughout his professional career for the satisfaction of some of his basic psychological needs. In the earlier years of marriage, it is the gratification of sexual desire which is paramount and often draws him towards his spouse who normally resides with her in-laws. Later on, when his children grow, need for providing them affection and security start weighing equally high. When the kids grow up, in case of daughters, it is the anxiety about her marriage which is more important than education and career which is more applicable in case of sons. For, providing all these, he constantly depend upon his relatives.

So long the serving son is in the field duty, he invariably requires the help of his parents or brothers. Only in rare cases the help of father-in-law and brother-in-law as against his own father or brothers is required. But it is not only the son who requires the help of his parents/brothers, etc., so that his wife and children are taken care of but also all those who claim to have done their duty towards his wife and children, look upon him for certain favour or help. The very first benefit, though non-material, which they receive is the 'goodwill' aspect. Performing the 'social functions' of husband in absence of a jawan on duty,
the Karta of the joint family thereby acquires goodwill among his friends and relatives which is of immense social value and significance. Goodwill in every case has a tendency to make the person powerful where it comes - whether it is economic, social or political. Then in great many cases, the serving son or brother is the only government functionary which adds to their prestige and power in the social system to which the Karta belongs. Further, an armyman is a regular source of income. His regular remittances in lieu of the monthly provisions arranged for his wife and kids is invariably the only regular cash flowing to the members of the joint family. His wife is an additional hand in the service of all in the joint family. Often, he brings subsidised items, such as blankets, watches, rum, etc. to his family members (of orientation). He is asked to contribute some cash for his sisters' marriage or for nieces' marriage, or for some other important social functions or family problems such as meeting the requirements of seeds, irrigation, electricity or any developmental plan of the joint family in which capital investment is required. He is also required to be present during the harvest seasons all through his service career and often he manages leave during those periods and his services are fully utilised for that purpose too. In certain cases he is also asked to avenge the grudge and gravel of his family members which they have piled up for him throughout the year. A serving jawan therefore remains as useful everywhere. The state,
the society and the family, all equally benefit from him. His family members and relatives, therefore, need him as much as he needs their help and attention.

Towards the close of his career, however, the need for having closer ties with his family members get invariably accentuated especially when he has a growing daughter to get married for which he will at least require the liaisoning functions to be performed by his brothers and relatives. Similarly, the old parents and brothers/relatives of the retiring officer too show all overtures of red-carpet welcome because they know well what money and benefit he will carry home. The chances of getting a share out of the benefits arriving is always tempting. Thus, much before retirement the choice for the place of resettlement where he should look for a second career is almost clear in majority of cases.

Apart from the push and pull factors which are generated by the joint family ties in favour of his resettlement in the area of his ancestral joint dwelling, the considerations for reviving the contacts of his old peer group, with the caste/community members and the secondary and tertiary relatives is also important. He does expect some sympathy, favour from his already existing civilian contacts and thinks it wise to cultivate the same rather than taking a major social risk by choosing an alien environment for re-settlement.
Additionally, the Army socialization also promotes close ties to one's sub-cultural religious group. The regimental living tends to promote the local social network.

Not only that the society other than the place where he grew up before getting recruited to the army is socially alien for him, in great many places in the contemporary Indian local situations, he may even feel scared to settled down. Apart from the requirements to adjust with ever-changing, unpredictable and deteriorating local political situation, the barriers of language and culture also weigh equally high in discouraging him from considering any offer (which is virtually none) from outside one's linguistic and cultural zone. There are all possibilities of seeking social security from relatives and community members as a matter of right. One feels confident about it. The elements of social security is almost nil even if the situation of the alien local setting is not hostile. It is almost impossible to escape labelling by insiders which on a great many occasions exceed its socialising humour and warm contents rendering the outsider into social and psychological defensive position. There are certain occasions on which even after returning to his own village, he is treated as an outsider but such cases are few and far between and wherever it occurs the fauzi has full right to counter or brush aside their sneer and offending enthusiasm towards him.
For an individual retired/released army JCO or jawan the factors relating to the choice of place of resettlement can therefore be summed up in a formula like this:

\[ \text{CPR} = \text{DEcp} \times \text{Icp} - \text{Acpp} \]

where CPR signifies "Choice of Place for Resettlement",

DEcp signifies "Duration of Estrangement from Cultural Pull"

Icp signifies "Intensity of Cultural Pull of the native pace"

Acpp signifies "Alien Cultural push".

Where the cultural pull of native place is zero or in the negative, the retired/released officer may think of finally settling down anywhere in India but such situation is rare to find. But if it does happen the ex-serviceman will prefer the areas where alien push is 0, i.e. cosmopolitan urban or industrial setting. The situation of the ex-servicemen may be contrasted with the politically distressed group such as refugees, war victims, etc. or economically and socially distressed individuals prepared to pick up anything anywhere for sheer survival. The ex-servicemen, on the contrary, are those having firm social base in the place of their origin. In addition, they have regular income by way of pension and assured concessions and sympathy of the Government. The pension amount and assured benefits and concessions in terms of medical, canteen, housing facilities, etc., provide material conditions for them to wait and try for a second career job in the vicinity of his
native place where he has returned.

The Choice of work

Quest for the second career begins once an ex-service-
man returns to the place of his choice after discharge. The
choice of place, therefore, conditions the choice of work
of a person. In other words, the opportunities available
in the local employment market puts the outer boundary for
an ex-service man from which he can exercise his option for
preferring one job opportunity from the other. The supply
situation or the number of skilled persons available for
the job that an ex-service man is trying to get makes the
task of job seeking easier or tougher for him. Therefore,
in view of the different demand-supply situation in the
labour market from region to region and state to state and
also the different wage structure provide enough sub stance
to the assumption that the sheer fact of differences in
the socio-economic and political conditions of two regions
would make the process of re-settlement of an ex-service-
man simpler or tougher. Regional factors contributing to the
re-settlement of ex-service man, such as, cultural tradition,
economic development and political support, etc. have been
dealt with separately. Here we will concentrate on some
general factors which determine the choice of work of ex-
servicemen.

In table 5.3, statewise distribution of occupational
status of ex-service man is given. (Also see question 29
in Appendix 'E'). Through our preliminary enquiries it was gathered that a number of ex-servicemen seeking employment do not sit idle. They actively participate in the family farm while looking for a suitable job. It would have been erroneous to put them either in unemployed or self-employed category. A new category named "self-employed"

Table 5.3: Occupational Status of ex-servicemen by State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total Employed</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Self-Employed</th>
<th>No Employment</th>
<th>Employed Seeking Self-Employment</th>
<th>No Job Required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>frequency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(200)</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>51.04</td>
<td>53.57</td>
<td>32.14</td>
<td>57.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>48.96</td>
<td>46.43</td>
<td>71.43</td>
<td>42.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

seeking job" was therefore included in the final instrument. Two more hypothetical categories were also included, namely, "Employed Seeking Self-Employment" and "No job required". As it is clear from the table 5.3, that the last two categories are not found among our respondents.

Majority (48%), therefore, are employed, followed by self-employed seeking job (23.5%), self-employed not wanting
job (14.5%) and unemployed (14%). As it will be clear in the next chapter the unemployed ex-servicemen are the ones who do not have any prospects for getting self-employment for a variety of reasons. Thus, 85.5% of the ex-servicemen show their preference for re-employment and only 14.5% have preferred self-employment as their post-retirement career.

It should be made clear at the very outset that the thinking process regarding choice of work begins much before the date of retirement. Usually, those dreaming of some self-employment are more clear about their future re-settlement than those who thought they would get some employment. However, those consciously opting for self-employment venture are few. There is direct correlation between pre-mediated clarity of goal in favour of self-employment and success. Those taking up self-employment as residual option have invariably failed. These points have been explained in greater detail with the help of field data in the next chapter.

In the present section we intend to examine the issues involved in the processes relating to the choice of re-employment or self-employment as post-retirement career of the ex-servicemen.

(a) Re-employment

Special facilities in terms of reservation and relaxation in age and qualification is given to ex-service-
men to ensure that they are reemployed quickly without much difficulty. The rationale for making special arrange-
ment for the placement of ex-servicemen in their post- 
retirement career can be explained in terms of personal 
necessity and social necessity. The rationale of personal 
necessity is subsumed in the very fact that most of them 
(the ORs) get retired between 32-41 years of age. Their 
early retirement as the requirement of the job is, there-
fore, inevitable. If youthful profile of the army is to 
be maintained they must leave the army before they get 
old. Thus, they get retired while still in the age-group 
which is socially very crucial. They are married and often 
have school going kids. With growing family responsibili-
ties, many of them do not have fixed assets, such as land, 
family business, etc. to fall back upon. Thus, for quite 
a few of them, the only source of running the family, educat-
ing the children and meeting expenses according to the status 
attained just before retirement/release, re-employment 
remains the only source of income.

The rationale of social necessity is best summed up 
in the words of HLC as

"while in the service many of them would have 
received specialised training. It would, 
therefore, be in the national interest that 
this reservoir of trained and disciplined 
manpower is gainfully and effectively utilised 
in different walks of life." (HLC, 1984, p.19)
The crux of the matter is that investments incurred in the specialized training of ex-servicemen while in service, should not be allowed to be lost without use. It takes time and money to impart an individual certain specialised skill. Similarly, it also requires some time and money to make a man culturally rich to enable him to understand the importance of hard work, discipline, sincerity to work and honesty in ones' dealings etc. Therefore, the training acquired in the army, both technical and moral, should not be allowed to get wasted. For the purpose of avoiding duplication in training for getting a civilian post and thereby saving immense time and money, "The DGR has equated a total of 211 military trades with current civilian trades as laid down by the DGET". (HLC: 1984, p.48) The equation of military trades and qualifications, if accepted by all the state governments for the purpose of re-employment of ex-servicemen will not only avoid duplication in training but will also ensure that an ex-serviceman usually gets the occupational status of the kind which he occupied before his retirement/release.

Every year, roughly about 16,000 ex-servicemen are being helped in getting re-employment (Military Year Book, 1986: p.83). In other words, one out of every four retiring servicemen can think of getting a job with the help of the facilities and concessions extended by the Government.
months before the retirement of a serving officer who is supposed to submit four copies of duly filled in application form for registration in the concerned ZSB. Even if he fails to submit the form through proper channel while in service, he can get himself registered at concerned ZSB after showing his Discharge Certificate.

"The Government of India have granted reservations for employment of ex-servicemen in Civil posts as under:-

(a) 10% of the vacancies in Group 'C' posts and 20% in Group 'D' posts.

(b) 14½% and 24½% in Group 'C' and 'D' posts respectively in Public Sector undertakings and Banks.

(c) As far as Group 'A' and 'B' posts are concerned, there is reservation of 10% in the posts of Assistant Commandants in the Para Military Forces only." (HLC, p.20).

The State Government have reserved their posts of different types in varying percentage for the purpose of civil employment of ex-servicemen, details of which are given in Appendix 'B', with explanatory notes. The states providing maximum reservation, however, are Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana and states which do not provide any reservation facilities at all are Bihar, Kerala, Meghalaya and Nagaland.

Since the opportunities available are limited and vary from state to state, the choice of employment is determined
by the interplay of existing opportunities where the work is being sought for and the ex-servicemen's ability to avail of the opportunity in his favour as against other ex-servicemen competing for the same post.

Question 14 of the Employment Index Card of the Directorate General of Resettlement (DGR) puts the question as follows:

Whether willing to serve (a) Anywhere in India? Yes/No. (b) In Home state only? Yes/No. (c) In para military forces? Yes/No. (d) In foreign countries. Our enquiries reveal that most of the applicants have shown their willingness to serve in their home state only, a fact which was also correlated by the DGR office though precise data was not made available.

The table 5.4, given below, however, clearly shows that the ex-servicemen prefer to work near home. But preference to serve in one's own state, tells only the half story about the choice of place where the work (job) is intended. The truth is that an ex-serviceman wants employment as close to his village so that preferably he lives at the place where his agricultural farm/cattle are situated. If he works near his house, not only that he gets the much needed family care and affection, but he can also better supervise and attend to his family affairs, such as kids' education, marriage, participation in the festivals, etc. If the place of work is near the
### Table 5.4: Distance between Home and Workplace (in km.)

*by State (percentage frequency)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>0-5</th>
<th>6-15</th>
<th>16-30</th>
<th>31-50</th>
<th>51-100</th>
<th>101-200</th>
<th>201-400</th>
<th>Touring</th>
<th>N.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.A. = Unemployed, not working anywhere.
place of his residence, he can attend to the affairs of the agricultural field/cattle on daily basis. Thus, for Haryana, where road conditions are good and villages are well connected with public transport system, the maximum preferred distance limit away from home gets extended as compared to Bihar where road conditions are not so good. Table 5.4 explains the fact that ex-servicemen of Haryana do not face much problem in finding a suitable job near their dwelling place for the simple reason that a good many districts of Haryana are directly connected with Delhi. To and fro journey for an ex-serviceman of the southern and western districts of Haryana is possible if one gets a job in Delhi. Delhi has immense opportunities for the ex-servicemen, innumerable Central Government Offices are situated there besides the Central Secretariat. All these organisations are statutorily bound to provide reservation to the ex-servicemen. The number of reservation is more in the lower level than the upper level. It is a known fact that occupational mobility (in terms of region: space) is less at the lower level of any occupation than the higher level. Therefore, it is not convenient for an ex-serviceman from Bihar to come to Delhi to work as a group D or C employee of the Central Government. For him the cost of establishment will be many times more than the monthly income received. On the other hand, an ex-serviceman of Haryana is doubly benefitted if he gets a permanent job in
the Central Government in Delhi. For him whereas the cost of establishment remains zero as his family lives in the village he not only earns attractive salary and facilities and the job security of the central government but also increases his agricultural income by putting his infrequent direct personal care and money to his land and cattle.

A great many of the ex-servicemen get a job in their own district. In every other district in Haryana now there is a booming industrial belt. The reservation in government services too is pretty high. The development work in industry and services are regularly creating a great number of vacancies in the Government. Since in all the government vacancies, a fixed quota of jobs lie reserved for them, things become easier for the ex-servicemen of Haryana. Vacancies kept for them are sizeable and accommodate a great many of the retired armymen returning to Haryana.

The case of Bihar differs greatly from that of Haryana in terms of choice of place. Here willingness to work within the state hardly conveys the same meaning. This is not just because the size of the state is bigger and the transport communications are not so easy (time taking) but also that Bihar has at least three distinct cultural zones - the North Bihar, the South Bihar (Tribal, Plateau, Bihar) and the Central Bihar. The dialects, rituals, food habits and other elements of the folk culture of these three regions
are quite apart. A tribal ex-servicemen of Singhbhum or Ranchi will feel a greater stranger in Darbhanga than a Jat of Gurgaon in Meerut. Haryana is far more a homogenous unit than the three cultural zones of Bihar. Cultural differences in Bihar are vivid and variety of social forces are sharpening it every day.\(^1\) In Bihar, it is the predominant local dialect (language) of the cultural zone which occupies a central place in everyday transactions including the urban/industrial work place, rather than Hindi. Thus, for Bihar, the choice of place is not only limited by space and time constraint but also by the cultural factor. Alien culture works as a deterrent as distance from one's place of living. Thus it depends more on what direction an ex-serviceman in Bihar chooses from his place than merely a distance factor. The direction which leads him to culturally familiar zone, even though more distant from the direction which leads him to culturally unfamiliar zone, will be preferable. The additional dimension of direction makes the problem of choice of work for a Bihari ex-serviceman more complex.

In the case of Bihar, the problem is further complicated in the wake of the State Government not reserving any seat in public appointment in favour of ex-servicemen. This is because the statutory quota for reservations in public appointments have already reached its limits. Transgressing the limits of reservation (50%) will be violative of Indian Constitution. Considering the size and population of Bihar,
ex-servicemen are too small a category to exert adequate political pressure for reservation. Thus, a Bihari ex-serviceman can only knock the doors of Banks and other Public Sector Undertakings of Central Government in Bihar. Thereafter, they have to accept the security jobs in private factories, business houses, etc. for which they are in great demand. The last in the order of preference is a job in a security agency. A detailed treatment on regional factors influencing resettlement of ex-servicemen is being given in the next chapter. In the following sub-sections let us examine in general terms the issues involved in the organisational and job-wise preferences of ex-servicemen.

a.1) Organisational Preferences

The type of organisation is another motivating factor in terms of ordering one's priority for choice of work. Army is an organisation par-excellence. Every activity is thoroughly institutionalized, conformist to the organisational norms are rewarded and the deviants are severely punished. Even before retirement, the armymen know well that it will be difficult to find the job security and the facilities that the army provides when they go out. At the same time, they do not like the rigours and hazards and frequent transfers of army. They also do not endorse the culture of imposed subordination. The free and comparatively egalitarian life in terms of one's behaviour towards one's boss (and also towards subordinates!) attract them. Therefore, their first choice is the organisation which provide
them most of the facilities which the Army gives minus its negative aspects, such as physical rigour, unstable life, deterrents of non-conformity, etc. Organisationally, the security job in a public sector banks suit them most. It offers good salary, easy facilities for loans, medical facilities and so on. Besides, the bank culture is pretty egalitarian. The security personnel in a bank is hardly supervised by an officer of security line. The duty is officially standing in the shaded area/near the door, but it is sitting operationally nearly without exception. The added advantage is the posting to the village or the possibility of transfer into a nearby branch. It is a separate issue, however, whether or not the ex-servicemen meet the professional security requirement of public sector banks and other undertakings? If yes, whether with or without additional training for the specific security requirement of a particular organisation. Although these issues are beyond the scope of present work, the researcher considers it worthwhile to place his impressions and apprehensions about the efficiency of ex-servicemen in banks and public sector undertakings as security guards.

Seldom ex-servicemen expect salary and benefits more than they drew last while in army. Similarly, a pay package less than the amount which they received last before retirement even after adding up the pension amount is not acceptable to many of them. Still those who work on such low
salary are either incapable of getting better jobs merely by virtue of their old age or special considerations such as choice of place, work, flexibility in employment terms especially with regard to leave, agricultural income, settlement/education of the kids, etc.

a.ii) Job-wise Preferences

In terms of nature of jobs preferred the ex-servicemen are more inclined towards security jobs than any other job. The prolonged military training of giving standing sentry duty explains why most of them prefer security jobs. Non-security jobs are considered wearisome. It is also possible that the demand from the market largely for security jobs must have reinforced this attitude. But it is only because of the performing security jobs better that there is ready market available for their absorption. We will deliberate subsequently whether the notion that they are better security guards also on the industrial scene is correct or not.

The demand for security personnel in industrial establishments is always higher than the number of ex-servicemen getting retired every year. The ever rising labour unrest and deteriorating law and order conditions have ensured a permanent place for this service. Apart from doing general policing function, acting as a deterrent against crime within the factory premises, they also do the additional functions of industrial safety, such as fire fighting, vigilance
against pilferage of raw and finished products, etc. Luckily they are also preferred by the private business houses for their smartness, discipline, health and combat skills. Those who have their own licenced gun get an additional gun allowance of around ₹200 per month. Despite their great demand why are they not available?

Answer to this question may vary from place to place and from person to person but among the general factors contributing to their disinclination to work as a security guard in private establishment are less pay, bad work condition hard duty and lack of job security.

Those who prefer to work in private factories as security guards, distinguish between direct employment and employment through security agencies. The latter is taken the last option by the ex-servicemen because the principle of "agency cut" is known to them even before they join the service. Even if the agency is capable of bargaining a better deal for their services what they could have got through individual application, the popular notion, (which is an outcome of the prevailing large-scale exploitation of ex-servicemen by the security agencies) prevails that the cut from their wages forms the basis of existence of security agencies. Their notion lamentably include those reputed security agencies who meet non-security and development expenditure and also earn profit through the so-called "service charges" charged in addition to the wages of the
securitymen. Such expenses ostensibly incurred largely for guaranteeing regular qualitative service to their clients. Another factor which inhibits them from joining a security agency is that for most of the security agencies in India do not employ them directly but, act as intermediaries to prospective employers for security personnel. Therefore, the contract of an ex-serviceman with his agency depends upon the contract of the latter with his client. Most of the agencies operating in India, organisationally as well as financially, are too small to support their security guards. Once even a small contract is cancelled it is very difficult to route its personnel elsewhere immediately.

In Haryana, ex-servicemen are not available for private security jobs. Most of them have strong agricultural base and finding alternative employment for supplementing their income is easier. But why ex-servicemen are not available for private security jobs even in Bihar? We have already mentioned that Bihar Government does not provide any reservation for the employment of ex-servicemen. The agricultural base of the ex-servicemen of Bihar is also not as sound as is the case with the Haryanvis. Then what possible explanation can be given for their poor response for very attractive and promising calls given by the security agencies of the state? The fact of ex-servicemen's poor response to employment in private establishments/factories etc. can be
explained by citing an example of a company in Patna which has very earnestly tried to attract ex-servicemen in a number of ways but has drawn almost a blank.

Organisationally, the ex-servicemen are given better terms and conditions than the young recruits. At the first place, there is age relaxation. In fact quite a few are selected ignoring even this relaxed limit. The organisation has its own rationale for keeping the overaged men. In field duty the task of supervision becomes easier because of the age factor and heterogenous groupings makes the task easier. In spite of all the considerations, the agency finds it difficult to attract adequate number of ex-servicemen for employment.

A premier security agency of the region, therefore, is unable to attract sufficient number of ex-servicemen even on very competitive terms. There are a few in this organisation who joined it as first try after retirement or were sponsored by the ZSBs. Even those who stick to such organisations, request for long leaves during harvesting seasons almost en masse. The Agency being aware of this seasonal pattern keeps special arrangements to meet the short-falls either by allowing overtime or by transferring the staff from surplus to deficit areas. This shows that even in the case of Bihar, the ex-servicemen in general, have definite agricultural income. Our data reveal that quite a few of them have acquired
agricultural land even during the tenure of service. If there is no marriagable daughter at the time of retirement, investing money on land is always considered wiser than putting it in bank only on simple interest.

It is, therefore, apparent that the ex-servicemen do not prefer to in industrial security where they are very much in demand. But what is the reason for their low absorption against reserved variances even among their preferred organisations such as Public Sector Banks, Public Sector Undertakings and Central Government Ministries? In 1983, altogether 15,386 group C and D posts were kept reserved by the said three government establishments out of which only 5,724 were filled by the ex-servicemen. Their percentage utilization of the posts kept reserved in favour of ex-servicemen during 1981-82 have always been below 50% except in case of Central Government Ministries (in 1981) when the percentage utilisation was 56% and in case of Public Sector Banks in 1983 when it went up to remarkable 70%. The Public Sector Undertakings between 1981-82, however, annually reserved maximum number of vacancies out of the three major establishments. This amounted to more than 7,000 but less than 8,000 every year against Group 'C' and 'D' posts but could never fill more than 35% of the posts reserved by the ex-servicemen.²

While giving the reasons for shortfall in placement of ex-servicemen against their reserved vacancies the HLC state that,
"this is because of relatively poor performance of the Sainik Board Organisation which fact was also brought to the notice of the Committee by individually ex-servicemen and associations in their memoranda and during visit of the sub-committees to the States. Besides this, there is a lack of ineffective monitoring system and poor feedback from employers." (HLC:1984, p. 23)

With the given reservation and age and educational relaxation thereon, it is difficult to assume that any ex-servicemen will be ineligible at least for group D post. The jobs of the Central Government Organisations, as mentioned above, are centrally advertised and the ex-servicemen are supposed to directly respond to that. If one sleeps over one's claim, no one can be held responsible to whatever he is deprived of. And ZSB is responsible for applying for the posts in favour of ex-servicemen. We have already defined Resettlement as the joint responsibility of the state and the individual. If an ex-serviceman does not respond to vacancies no agency, however, efficient can make the (an unwilling) person to respond.

Whatever the criteria involved the ex-servicemen cannot be held more deprived than the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, it would have been more appropriate for the HLC to ask how many ex-servicemen were rejected from those applied against the reserved vacancies. This would have clearly revealed the actual position. Pay and allowances, perks and organisational status in public sector banks and public sector undertakings tally with each
other for a given rank in their organisational structure. Then, one may ask, why ex-servicemen have responded better for vacancies in banks than the public sector undertakings. This reaffirms the fact that proximity to one's place of dwelling works as most crucial factor for taking up employment in majority of the cases. Banks can offer a job near one's home, the Public Sector Undertakings may be nearer only to few ex-servicemen. Also work pressure and discipline in the Public Sector Undertakings is more tough than the banks. As mentioned earlier, factors which keep an ex-serviceman bound by his place of dwelling (village) basically because he wants to compensate for his segregation with his family (basically of procreation) during his army career. For him, living has been compartmentalised, in one part he has done professional duties honestly; now he wants to do his family duty with the same devotion and sincerity. The additional factor (economic) is that he has agricultural land or economically productive cattle where he lives. If he leaves his place of dwelling not only that he will lose money that he may earn out of his land and cattle by its better supervision but also that there is a danger of losing one's 'interest' or 'possession' on one's property, at a time when pressure on cultivable land is increasing in the same proportion the price and productivity of land is increasing.

Although apparently it is felt that the ex-servicemen are best suited for re-employment, on a deeper probing this comes to be a false notion. The reality is that even those
who have sought employment, have so got it that it contributes to their interests in agricultural land and productivity. Not only that an ex-serviceman has his initial training in agriculture, he also refreshes his training and interest on his agricultural land and productivity whenever he comes back to his village on leave. He is seldom cut off from his roots. While in service, his sole attention is drawn towards reinforcing his root firmly rather than taking it out. For this purpose, he invests his money on the acquisition of land, or improvements in land and house, etc.

(b) Self-Employment

In the report of HLC the Government have made their bias explicit in favour of self-employment for the resettlement of ex-servicemen. The HLC contends that the large and medium industries have now "paved way for the establishment of a number of small and cottage types of feeder units which are ideally suited for self-employment ventures." (HLC:1984, p.51). It has been stated that of all opportunities available, the ex-servicemen have been chiefly attracted towards industry, agriculture and allied activities, and agencies. The HLC, however, quickly adds that "owing to general lack of entrepreneurial training their efforts have not always been successful." (HLC:1984, p.51)

It is appreciable that Government want more job creators than job seekers. In view of current spurt in our economy, there may as well be enough room for entrepreneurs to exploit
the demand generated in various products and services. But can ex-servicemen take up the task of an entrepreneur? Can success in their entrepreneurial ventures be ensured if they are given adequate training? Entrepreneurship presupposes the capacity to take risk and ability to tackle uncertain and unfamiliar situations for the purpose of maintaining ones enterprise and earning profit out of it. Thus, an entrepreneur is at once an innovator and skilled manager. He is the "recipient of the non-contractual or residual income".  

The recruits are always caught young. Their professional training is prolonged and rigorous which is guided towards strict adherence of the orders of the superior, physical fitness and acquisition and mastery of those skills which are necessary for performing rank role in the battlefield. Job security and facilities accruing out of it is par-excellence in army life. Breach of duty results into court martial and punishments are severe. Expecting an entrepreneur out of an ex-serviceman goes against the very fact that the conditioning in the army life bears a lasting impact on an individual. The army socialization, in general, makes a man feel economically secure, expect privileges and prestige according to his rank which are always given to him. There is hardly any room for innovativeness for the ORs and JCOs during their army career, an element which is so indispensable for entrepreneurship. Although the officers do get opportunities to organise and manage their men and
material - another element necessary for entrepreneurship, even for them, their military training hardly make them 'the windfall absorber of the economic system... taking of those decisions with regard to future which involve uncertainty; and it is this political, as distinct from executive element in the conduct of economic affairs that is entrepreneur function par excellence.'

Once it is demonstrable that the prolonged training acquired in army is contrary to the traits the pertinent question is whether the elements of entrepreneurship can be injected in armyman soon after his discharge? Any training package designed for entrepreneurship development among the ex-servicemen must take into account at least four factors - (i) that an ex-serviceman is by and large a product of his previous military socialization, (ii) the learning of entrepreneurial skills presumes unlearning age-old military training which has now become his habit, (iii) the time which an ex-serviceman can afford for such training are limited and (iv) the age factor.

Even if one assumes that a training package is developed taking into consideration factors mentioned above and any other relevant factor for the purpose, it is difficult to demonstrate whether formal training plays any positive role in entrepreneurship development. The studies on entrepreneurship in India and elsewhere have failed to establish a link between entrepreneurship training and success in
entrepreneurship venture. Most of the successful entrepreneurs have had no formal training in entrepreneurship. Even those who have received some formal/technical education have seldom applied their previously acquired knowledge or training in any specific sense. However, young age, urban background, experience in industry and adoption propensity have been taken as attributes positively correlated with the quality of entrepreneurship in India. In another study, "all the entrepreneurs were persons with initiative, drive and hard work, though the majority of the entrepreneurs had no technical knowledge, nor strong economic base or strong political connections." Therefore, once the link between training and success itself remain unestablished, it is difficult to ensure entrepreneurial success by imparting entrepreneurial training to the ex-servicemen, a category which remains unfavourably disposed at least on two counts viz. older age with added family responsibilities and prolonged anti-entrepreneurial military training. Even so, Government have extended certain facilities to the ex-servicemen for setting up small-scale industries which include grant of industrial plots and sheds, loans, subsidies on interest, etc. Given their rural background, low educational and economic status and imposed rigorous training only for obeying the orders and command during service career, it is less likely that the ICOS and ORs, the subject matter of the present study will find it conclusive to
exploit opportunities offered by the Government for setting up their own Small Scale Industrial (S.S.I.) units. The details of ex-servicemen having used benefits and records about the result of their venture are not known. In the present study, however, no ex-serviceman was found running his own industry nor any such scheme was under serious contemplation among anyone of them.

Another important sector for self-employment as is envisaged by the Central Government is transportation. To facilitate this the measures taken include (a) allotment of discarded military vehicles, (b) grant of national permits for goods carriage, transport routes in states and tourist taxi permits and (c) transport companies of ex-servicemen for coal transportation.

The allotment of discarded vehicles can hardly be treated as a factor facilitating viable self-employment. Though no first hand data about the socio-economic background of the purchaser and the nature of the use of the vehicles purchased are available, it has been gathered that few JCOs and ORs have received such vehicles so far. Even those who have received them, have hardly put them to some regular remunerative/productive use. Although the transfer of ownership of vehicles is legally barred for three years, it is said that informal licence for using the vehicle is soon given to those who can pay enough consideration for it and actual transfer of ownership takes
place automatically after three years. Even if one assumes, however, that an allotment at last gets an opportunity to put the purchased vehicle into productive use, number of such vehicles disposed are too small to significantly alter the state of self-employment prospects of ex-serviceman as a major alternative to their resettlement as against re-employment. Average figure of vehicles disposed between 1981-83 are 781. In view of 70,000 ex-servicemen being added to the existing population every year, only one out of ninety can have a chance to get such vehicle if individuals retired previously do not compete for the same. With regard to national permits, the HLC states,

"the Ministry of Transport and Shipping... had issued instructions to all state Governments to reserve 10% of the National permits in favour of ex-servicemen. The secretaries of the respective Rajya Sainik Boards are expected to follow this up with the state governments and ensure that these instructions are implemented, provided ex-servicemen of the area seek such benefits". (HLC 1984, p.52, italics added)

Although driving in the far remote area have been a familiar job for all MT drivers in the army, it is not known how many of the ex-servicemen, and, how many of the MT drivers among them have availed of such opportunities. It is also not known how many of the permit owners actually utilising the permit as entrepreneurs and for how many permits has a property value capable of being informally rented or sold. Although it is not justified to make any remark without
having special knowledge of the subject, one can say that most of the statutory provisions to give special assistance to a class of people for the purpose of doing their own business have either failed or have been greatly diluted by vested interests. There is no complaints about the provision for reservation in favour of ex-servicemen. It is apprehended that, being devoid of any entrepreneurial trait, many of them may not succeed in their business venture and the benefits specially meant for them may be utilised by others.

These days there is great profit in transportation of coal. The income is assured as the services are hired by a single client. For more enterprising transporters (and in coal transport it is nearly impossible for the less adventurous to survive) there is good profit also between loading and unloading. The business, which is so notorious for its invincible influence of the mafia, it is impossible to believe that the ex-servicemen have remained unaffected from the clutches of the mafia and the benefit is going to the right hands.

Another important sector for self-employment as envisaged by the Government is agriculture. The DGR provides 'guidance in the field of various agro-industries viz. Diary Farming, Poultry, Piggery, Sheep and Goat, Breeding, Beekeeping, Sericulture, etc.'; Rajya Sainik Boards are, therefore, requested to provide necessary guidance to the interested
parties in their areas of operation. This is one sector, where ex-servicemen have performed well in general, most of them even without seeking any guidance or financial assistance from any source. Reasons are manifold which ensure their success in agro-industrial venture, provided that they are willing to take up the task whole heartedly. Most of the interviewees, however, took up agriculture only as a second option, either in case no employment was available to them or the available employment did not engage him fully.

For the successful ones, it was found that only clarity of goal and firm will were the crucial factors. Neither training nor financial assistance was found necessary. This is because, most of the ex-servicemen have agricultural background. They have worked in the field, ploughed and reared the cattle. They are also aware of the socio-economic environment of their villages. They have seldom been out of touch from agricultural activities. While in service majority of the ex-servicemen having some agricultural land regularly visit their countryside also to demonstrate and maintain right to their ancestral property. During their service tenure the family land and agriculture invariably get benefitted by their regular contribution. Thus the contact of an armyman with his land and agriculture is maintained throughout both in terms of regular remittances for the purpose of agriculture and also in terms of his active and physical participation in agricultural activities.
for about two months in every year when he visits home to spend his leave. Even while on duty in the army, quite a few have to work in the military farms, look after the cattle, etc. Therefore, no break in their initial interest, training or familiarity towards agricultural activities take place.

The investments required for the agro-industries are little. The household equipments and members of the family are assets for any new work undertaken. The agro-industries go hand in hand with (the face to face, personal relationship) the type of relationship characteristic of the villages. Everything is within the conceivable limit of the undertaker.

Unlike small scale industries the products of agro-based industries are more familiar to the producer. He knows the technique of production, he also knows how to organise things. He does not have any labour problem. The produce gets consumed soon after production. With the advent of cooperatives and agricultural marketing corporations in practically every Community Development Block, whatever risk element involved in the sale of the produce which may seem to exist have also been taken care of. Agro-industry based self-employment, therefore, is an activity best suited for those who came from rural areas who usually have a small dwelling house and a piece of land. Given the special attention being paid on rural development and the background of an ex-serviceman who returns to his village with a decent
lump sum amount after retirement, it is easier and lucrative for him to stick to the village and make agriculture as source of high livelihood for the remaining part of his life. He does not have to handle an unfamiliar member or an uncertain situation like in industry and transport. Favourable result in any of the agro-industrial venture is almost assured. What is required is his will to take up the task, to understand that he can earn more in agro-industry than what he can in petty employment. The military training of hard work and discipline, if properly translated into any agro-industrial venture can bring good fortune to them. After retirement, an ex-serviceman wants to lead a peaceful life. He is happy after getting freed from age old rigorous routine and tight subordination. He loves freedom and relaxation of post-retired life and would not normally compromise with it, unless it is inevitable to do so. Therefore, in agro-industry, an ex-serviceman finds all that he wants. This is a unique job-experience for an ex-serviceman where job satisfaction, social prestige and monetary rewards all combine together.

In addition, regular allotment of Massy Ferguson tractors in small numbers also helps the ex-servicemen, particularly those having larger landholding of the agriculturally developed regions. Since the number of such allotments are small, their impact is very limited. For example, between 1981-1983 a total of 492 tractors were distributed in 11
agriculturally advanced states. However, three states have claimed the bulk of them (461 tractors), namely, Rajasthan (322), Haryana (77) and Punjab (62).

Agencies, including the allotment of booths and stalls become another avenue for the self-employment of ex-service-men. This goes very well with their urge to earn money with regulated and assured system of work, where risk is practically nil at the same time there is charm of freedom and independence.

The Food Corporation of India (FCI), Hindustan Fertiliser Corporation (HFC), Rashtriya Chemical Fertilisers (RCF) and National Fertilisers Ltd. (NFL) have reserved 15% of their fertiliser agencies for allotment to ex-service-men. This is one package which goes hand in hand with the other packages available for self-employment in agriculture and agro-based industries. Fertiliser agencies are quite remunerative these days, it is also easier for an ex-service-man to handle it without any special training because the functions are simple and results of one's labour is predictable.

There were 548 Jai Jawan Stalls as on 9-12-1983 run by ex-servicemen throughout India the statewise position is given in Appendix 'U' of the HLC Report (HLC:1984, p.136). While the sites are obtained from the Municipal Authorities concerned, the structures are generally built by various commercial companies such as Pure Drinks, Modern Bakeries,
etc." (DGR:1984, p.80) It is a scheme which is very much in tune with the likings and limitations of the ex-service-men desirous of getting settled in urban areas.

"The milk vending booths of the Mother Dairy in Delhi are manned by ex-service personnel. There are 300 such booths in Delhi. The Delhi Milk Supply Scheme has also appointed 30 ex-servicemen as concessionaires at their milk vending booth." (HLC:1984, p.52) Although this scheme is limited within the city of Delhi, it is very much in line with the Jai Jawan stall type of activity. Agency of any kind suits an ex-serviceman. They are happier here because of the factors mentioned above. With the active utilisation of ex-servicemen in the public distribution system, which spans in every nook and corner of the country, their re-settlement should not be a problem.

Among the self-employment avenues, for the ORs and JCOs, therefore, agriculture and agro-industries should be encouraged. They should be made an integral part of the public distribution system and agencies for the retail outlets of the goods produced by the Government may be granted to them on priority basis. All these will be in tune with their job preferences, attitudes and ability and will go a long way in coping with their problems of re-settlement. By involving them into public redistribution system, most of them are likely to get a self-
employment avenue at the place of their dwelling and this would instantly facilitate their resettlement.

A brief discussion on the processes and patterns of resettlement of ex-servicemen whether by way of reemployment or self-employment suggests that their problems are of a different nature than either the fresh competitors in the labour market or the duly retired civilians having completely withdrawn from active economic life. That is the story of ex-servicemen are rather different. While in service they are away from home, therefore, are very much in demand when they occasionally visit home on leave. Once they come finally to live with their family members, they come with an altogether different status. Now they are retired. There is loss both in terms of money and position. Whereas the expectations of family and relatives are on the increasing side, they confront a typically anomie situation both in terms of time and money. They are suddenly thrown out from a tight work schedule to an idle living. Soon people start saying "Why don't you work?" But there is no work for them at home. Moreover, an ex-serviceman is habitually not used to entertaining petty family bickerings and complaints because most of his service tenure he has been physically away from his family. All this frustrates him. His family members too are not used to day-to-day interferences by him. His wife and children grunt on his excessive interferences on family matters. Thus, soon after retirement he faces social, economic and cultural
voids. He feels he is no longer useful to others. His self-hatred at times gets transmuted into hatred for society at large about which every social planner should be cautioned.

We will discuss more about the sociological factors influencing resettlement of ex-servicemen in the coming chapters. What we have suggested in this chapter is that the ex-service-men's problems are of special nature and therefore deserve special treatment from every corner. The resettlement patterns have shown that efforts both on the part of society and the state are commendable. Further, their lack of entrepreneurial capacity and every attempt to subordinate the interest of the second employment below family and agricultural requirements only go to prove that their problems are of different nature and ought to be tackled differently. An employment near his village or self-employment based on or contributing to his agricultural activities best suits him. There are hosts of developmental programmes, at district and block levels, including IRDP, NREP etc., in which room can always be made for the active participation of ex-servicemen. In addition, as already suggested, they can play a key role in public distribution system and in handling the agencies of the consumer goods being produced by the Government.
Footnotes & References:

1. There is increasing 'folkization' in Bihar everyday, the term which explains glorifying one's own culture (little tradition) without posing any threat/offending other cultures. The inspiration to coin the term "folkization" has been derived from T.K. Oommen's work "Insiders and Outsiders in India: Primordial Collectivism and Cultural Pluralism in Nation Building", International Sociology, vol.1, No.1, University College of Curdiff Press, Bristol, 1986.

2. Data worked out on the basis of Appendix 'P' of HLC, 1984, p.131.


4. Ibid., p.559.

5. SIET: Socio-Psychological factors Influencing the Adoption of the Innovation of Starting A Small Industry Unit - A Research Study, 1974, SIET Institute, Hyderabad. The study of 61 entrepreneurs near Hyderabad has been reviewed by M.V. Deshpande, Entrepreneurship of Small Scale Industries, New Delhi, 1982, p.71.

6. Gaikwad, V.R. and Tripathi, R.N., Socio-Psychological Factors Influencing Entrepreneurship in Rural Areas, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1970. It attempts at bringing out the pre-requisites of successful entrepreneurship by studying the small entrepreneurs of Tanku region of West Godavari District. Also reviewed by Deshpande, op. cit., p.70.

7. Refer Appendix P&Q of HLC Report, G.C.I., 1984. In a booklet, entitled "Ex-serviceman as Entrepreneur" 1981, DGR, 843 items reserved for small scale industries have been listed out of which 384 items are kept reserved for exclusive purchase by the Government from the small scale sector.

8. For example, a few years back the Bihar Government, by a notification, made qualified engineers as the only eligible category for getting Government contract because in those days political pressures by the unemployed engineers had gathered momentum. The provision did not bring about any change, the old contractors continued to get contract in the name of unemployed qualified engineers, some of them even in the direct employment of such contractors.