

CHAPTER VII

FACTORS INFLUENCING RESETTLEMENT: CASTE AND RANK

It has been noticed so far how temporal and spatial factors tend to affect the resettlement process of the ex-servicemen in India. However, temporal (or historical) and spatial (or regional) approaches, though important, do not lead us to the roots of a problem because most problems are socially determined by various social forces operating in a society. The ex-servicemen are also an integral part of society. Their status in terms of particular caste or class play a vital role in their resettlement. A number of sociologists have demonstrated a definite nexus between caste and class in India which is popularly known as caste-class continuum in sociological phraseology. In the present section we intend to assess the role of caste and class in the resettlement of ex-servicemen in India and at the end we will try to verify if the caste-class continuum in the case of resettlement of ex-servicemen exists or not.

(a) Caste as a factor influencing resettlement of Ex-servicemen:

It is found that in the Indian Army a particular caste from a particular region gets recruited in greater number than others from the same region. The USI Journal of the late 19th century is full with the articles and monographs on warrior castes, mostly written by the British Officers

of the army of British India. (See Chapter II). The Regimental Histories are as old as the British Indian Army. Much emphasis was laid on segregating soldiers on the basis of caste and usually a regiment was named after the dominant caste of the region. If the regiment was named after a region, it was implicit in that it is dominated by one or two castes of that particular region.

Since independence, it is being encouraged to accommodate recruits from different castes, religion and region in a regiment irrespective of its nomenclature. Even so, things have not changed much and representation of a particular class of people from a particular region in a particular regimental army remains more or less unaffected.

For the purpose of present study castes were classified into five, namely (1) Upper, including Brahmans, Bhumihars and Rajputs; (2) Middle, including Jat, Gujjar, Ahir, Kurmi and Koiri; (3) The Scheduled Tribes (henceforth being referred to as ST); (4) The Scheduled Castes (henceforth being referred to as SC); and (5) Others. It is evident from Table 7.1 that the upper and middle castes have found nearly even representation in Bihar whereas middle castes reported from Haryana are double the number of the upper castes in the state. There is no one having reported as ST in Haryana whereas in Bihar they comprised 43 per cent of the total respondents. An explanation for the high turn up of STs

Table 7.1: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Occupational Status and by Caste (Percentage frequency)

Occupational Status	CASTE											
	Bihar						Haryana					
	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others
Total	100.0	21.0	19.0	43.0	5.0	12.0	100.0	26.0	53.0	0.0	14.0	7.0
Employed	49.0	71.4	57.9	39.5	60.0	25.0	47.0	69.2	39.6	0.0	35.7	42.9
Unemployed	15.0	4.8	10.5	23.3	20.0	8.3	13.0	15.4	9.4	0.0	28.6	0.0
Self-employed	9.0	9.5	5.3	7.0	0.0	25.0	20.0	3.8	28.3	0.0	0.0	57.1
Self-employed Wanting job	27.0	14.3	26.3	30.2	20.0	41.7	20.0	11.5	22.6	0.0	35.7	0.0

Units excluded from Table 0

from Bihar is that one of the districts selected as sample from Bihar was Ranchi, having overwhelmingly high proportion of tribals. Further, the tribals of the district have long traditions of serving the lower ranks of the army. The representation of SCs from Haryana are nearly three times more than that of Bihar. Not much variations have been found in the representation of other castes in the sample from the two states.

The data presented in Table 7.1 point towards a clear correlation between caste and quality of resettlement. In both the states those employed are more from the upper castes than any other castes i.e. 71 per cent (Bihar) and 69 per cent (Haryana). The SCs and middle castes have almost equal position in the employed category, i.e. 60 per cent and 58 per cent each of the sample selected for Bihar. The STs of the employed category of Bihar are 40 per cent of their sample. Other castes have 25 per cent employed status in the sample selected for the category in Bihar and 43 per cent of the same in Haryana. It is, therefore, possible to establish that in the case of ex-servicemen, higher the caste, better the employment prospects if the figure of SCs from Bihar in terms of its percentage representation in the employed category is ignored. This is because in absolute numbers only five SCs were interviewed in Bihar out of which three were found employed. Similarly, in terms of unemployment too higher the caste, lesser the

level of unemployment. It is interesting to note that no SC from both the states are self-employed. However, those from the "self-employed wanting job category", the Scheduled Castes of both Bihar and Haryana have topped the rank in their respective columns in Table 6.18. Thus, it is evident that higher caste ex-servicemen are better employed or self-employed than the lower castes.

It is not only that the employed upper caste ex-servicemen are more in proportion in both the states but also that they are better employed than the others in terms of the organisations where they have found employment and also in terms of salary and perks. Tables 7.2 and 7.3 clearly substantiate the two points respectively. The upper caste ex-servicemen from both states have been found more satisfied from their jobs than the lower castes. Again, when it was asked whether they applied for some better job those replying in negative were mainly from upper castes viz. 52 per cent from Bihar and 65 per cent from Haryana. A detailed position regarding this is contained in Table 7.4.

In case of self-employment also the upper caste ex-servicemen have shown their preponderance in non-agricultural self-employment than others. Agriculture, by way of self-employment, has been mostly accepted by the middle castes. Table 7.5 explains the point. All the SCs showing their self-employment under the category "others" in the Table 7.5

Table 7.2: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Organisation where employed and by Caste

Where employed	CASTE											
	Bihar						Haryana					
	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others
Total	100.0	21.0	19.0	40.0	5.0	12.0	100.0	26.0	50.0	0.0	14.0	7.0
Public Sector	23.0	37.0	41.0	11.0	40.0	17.0	37.0	65.0	25.0	0.0	28.0	28.6
Private Sector	26.0	29.0	21.0	31.0	20.0	8.0	10.0	4.0	12.3	0.0	8.0	14.3
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
NA	51.0	33.0	42.0	58.0	40.0	75.0	52.0	31.0	58.0	0.0	64.0	57.1

Units excluded from Table 0

Table 7.3: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Preferred Pay Vice Pay at Hand and Caste (Percentage frequency)

Pay Vice Last Pay drawn	CASTE											
	Bihar						Haryana					
	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others
Total	100.0	21.0	19.0	43.0	5.0	12.0	100.0	26.0	53.0	0.0	14.0	7.0
Less	6.0	9.5	5.3	4.7	0.0	8.3	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.0
Equal	16.0	19.0	36.8	9.3	20.0	0.0	10.0	11.5	9.4	0.0	14.3	0.0
More than Rs.100 but less than Rs.500	22.0	28.6	15.8	20.9	40.0	16.7	36.0	57.7	30.2	0.0	14.3	42.9
More than Rs.500 but less than Rs.1,000	4.0	9.5	0.0	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
More than Rs.1,000 but less than Rs.2,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
More than Rs.2,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
NA	52.0	33.3	42.1	60.5	40.0	75.0		30.0	68.1	0.0	11.3	

Table 7.4: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Whether applied for some better job and by Caste (Percentage frequency)

If Satisfied with the job	CASTE											
	Bihar						Haryana					
	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others
Total	100.0	21.0	19.0	43.0	5.0	12.0	100.0	26.0	53.0	0.0	14.0	7.0
Yes	28.0	57.1	42.1	9.3	40.0	16.7	37.0	65.4	26.4	0.0	28.6	28.6
No	8.0	9.5	15.8	4.7	0.0	8.3	6.0	3.8	7.5	0.0	7.1	0.0
Undecided	12.0	0.0	0.0	25.6	20.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	5.7	0.0	0.0	14.3
NA	52.0	33.3	42.1	60.5	40.0	75.0	53.0	30.8	60.4	0.0	64.3	57.1

Units excluded from Table 0

Table 7.5: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Major Source of Capital and by Caste (Percentage frequency)

Type of Self-Employment	CASTE											
	Bihar						Haryana					
	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others
Total	100.0	21.0	19.0	43.0	5.0	12.0	100.0	26.0	53.0	0.0	14.0	7.0
Agriculture	24.0	19.0	31.5	27.9	0.0	16.7	26.0	15.4	37.7	0.0	14.3	0.0
Transport	1.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	9.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Agency	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	3.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	14.3
Shop	3.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	16.7	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.6
Agro-industry	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3
S.S.I.	1.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	6.0	4.8	0.0	7.0	20.0	8.3	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.4	0.0
NA	62.0	66.7	68.4	62.8	80.0	33.3	60.0	84.6	49.1	0.0	64.3	42.9

Units excluded from Table 0

were engaged in their traditional service jobs after retirement. In case of income from the self-employed ventures, however, the middle castes of Haryana fetched better profit than the upper caste ex-servicemen of the state. In Bihar, the upper caste ex-servicemen continued to maintain their top position also in terms of earnings from self-employment (see Table 7.6).

In the final analysis, when we take into consideration the responses of ex-servicemen in terms of positive effects of retirement (see Table 7.7) and retired life ratings (see Table 7.8) we get a clearer picture of the quality of resettlement being enjoyed by different caste ex-servicemen in the two states. All the upper caste ex-servicemen from Bihar had some or other positive effects of retirement in the options given in question no.54 of our instrument, therefore, in the option given for the question as "none" shows nil in table 7.7 pertaining to Bihar. Those replying as "none" from the category Middle caste, ST, SC and others in Bihar are 21 per cent, 40 per cent, 40 per cent, and 33 per cent respectively. In Haryana, however, out of 53 middle caste ex-servicemen respondents only 5 (9%) have responded as "none" whereas out of 26 upper caste ex-servicemen 5 (19%) responded as "none" while replying to the question on positive effects of retirement. Thus, the retired life ratings of the upper castes are better than those of the lower castes.

Table 7.6: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Income Targeted in next 2 years (in ₹.) and by Caste
(Percentage frequency)

Income/Annum (approx.) (in ₹.)	CASTE											
	Bihar						Haryana					
	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others
Total	100.0	21.0	19.0	43.0	5.0	12.0	100.0	26.0	53.0	0.0	14.0	7.0
In Loss	9.0	0.0	0.0	14.0	0.0	25.0	4.0	0.0	5.7	0.0	7.1	0.0
Less than 10,000	19.0	14.3	26.3	16.3	20.0	25.0	28.0	15.4	34.0	0.0	28.6	28.6
Between 10,000- 25,000	7.0	9.5	5.3	7.0	0.0	8.3	8.0	0.0	11.3	0.0	0.0	28.6
Between 26,000- 50,000	2.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Between 50,000- 100,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Between 101,000- 500,000	1.0	0.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
More than 500,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
NA	62.0	71.4	63.2	62.8	80.0	33.3	60.0	84.6	49.1	0.0	64.3	42.9

Units excluded from Table 0

Table 7.7: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Rating Retired vice Preretired Life and by Caste (Percentage frequency)

Positive Effects of Retirement	CASTE											
	Total	Upper	Bihar Middle	ST	SC	Others	Total	Upper	Haryana Middle	ST	SC	Others
Total	100.0	21.0	19.0	43.0	5.0	12.0	100.0	26.0	53.0	0.0	14.0	7.0
Kids Education	4.0	0.0	5.3	7.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	21.4	0.0
Family happy	4.0	4.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	16.7	14.0	11.5	17.0	0.0	7.1	14.3
Family issues resolved	2.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Better Agricul- ture	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Business	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
1+2+3	12.0	4.8	5.3	18.6	40.0	0.0	8.0	3.8	3.8	0.0	28.5	14.3
1+2+3&4	47.0	81.0	68.4	27.9	20.0	33.3	52.0	65.4	58.5	0.0	14.3	28.6
1+2+3&5	4.0	9.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	7.0	0.0	7.5	0.0	0.0	42.9
None	27.0	0.0	21.1	39.5	40.0	33.3	14.0	19.2	9.4	0.0	28.6	0.0

Units excluded from Table 0

Table 7.8: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Reasons for Dislike of the Job at Hand and by Caste
(Percentage frequency)

Rating Retired vice Preretired	CASTE											
	Bihar						Haryana					
	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others	Total	Upper	Middle	ST	SC	Others
Total	100.0	21.2	19.2	43.4	5.1	11.1	100.0	26.0	53.0	0.0	14.0	7.0
Very Good	11.1	28.6	10.5	7.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	3.8	7.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Better	15.2	33.3	10.5	7.0	20.0	18.2	16.0	23.1	17.0	0.0	0.0	14.3
Good	24.2	23.8	31.5	18.6	40.0	27.3	31.0	30.8	32.1	0.0	0.0	85.7
Worse	30.3	14.3	15.8	44.2	20.0	36.4	35.0	23.1	35.8	0.0	71.4	0.0
Worst	19.2	0.0	31.5	23.3	20.0	18.2	13.0	19.2	7.5	0.0	28.5	0.0

Units excluded from Table 1

Similarly, no upper caste ex-servicemen in Bihar had "worst" experience after retirement in comparison with his pre-retired life. Those having "very good" experiences are also from the same group. In Haryana, the upper caste ex-servicemen having "worst" experiences are to the tune of 19 per cent and those having "very good" experiences are only 4 per cent of the same category in the state. However, the middle caste ex-servicemen leaving "worst" and "very good" experiences are 8 per cent each of their total sample in Haryana.

It has also been found that the upper caste ex-servicemen in Bihar are resettled better than the samples studied for the remaining caste categories in the state. But in Haryana the situation is somewhat different. Overall resettlement of the middle caste ex-servicemen in Haryana is better than the upper castes. In a situation like this, the hypothesis, "higher the caste, better the quality of resettlement" requires some further explanation for its verification or invalidation. If one views the middle castes of Haryana as 'dominant castes' the hypothesis stands verified. Whereas in Bihar, the upper castes in terms of varna hierarchy are also the 'dominant' castes as their economic, political and numerical influence in the state is overwhelming. The middle castes of Haryana, though placed in the middle of the varna hierarchy, possess

all the features of dominant castes in the state.¹ It is evident, therefore, that there is no real discrepancy between caste status of the ex-servicemen and the quality of resettlement when the understanding of the statuses of castes within varna framework are supplemented by additional concepts, such as 'dominant castes' and 'entrenched castes'.

(b) Rank as a factor influencing resettlement of ex-servicemen:

A general and brief reference of the class characteristics of ex-servicemen in India has been made in the ^{third} chapter. The Other Ranks and Junior Commissioned Officers of the Indian Army, by and large form a homogenous class because the ex-servicemen of this class have identical social base and are usually recruited into army as sepoy. The usual entry point in the Indian Army are two - one as sepoy, meant for the ranks and the other as 2nd Lieutenant, meant for the officers. Thus, two distinct classes in the army are inherent in its very recruitment process. Therefore, after retirement, invariably they retain the class in which they are initially recruited. We have already discussed why we have preferred to exclude the retired Commissioned Officers for the purpose of present analysis.

Each of the two broader category finding its basis in the two recruitment levels in the Indian Army, is separated by various ranks within the category. A sepoy at best expects to become Subedar Major although climbing up still

further is not theoretically impossible. Similarly, a young officer recruit of the Indian Military Academy (IMA) can think of rising upto Generals' level while serving in the Army. Thus, the two broader classes of Indian Army, by and large, remain as mutually exclusive group with very small percentage of ORs and JOOs finding a place in the officer rank in their whole career.

The present work includes ex-Sepoy, ex-Nayaks, ex-Havildars, ex-Naib Subedars, ex-Subedars and ex-Subedar Majors from Bihar and Haryana for the purpose of analysis. In terms of the organisational hierarchy and rights and duties each rank is endowed with its special class attributes. However, in respect of pay and perks while in service and its consequent relationship with pension and relief after retirement, the six ranks mentioned in the study can be broadly divided into three. Thus, total maximum pay drawn by Sepoy Group C, Havildar Group C and Subedar Group C in 1984 were Rs.732, Rs.900 and Rs.1,365 respectively.² Similarly, in 1984, the retirement benefits accruing at the said ranks were Rs.269, Rs.383 and Rs.773 respectively.³ Accordingly, Sepoy, L/NK, NK may be seen as one category and Nb. Subedar, Subedar and Subedar Major as another. The three categories of Havildars have already been clubbed together in the instrument itself. The ranks in terms of post retirement pension and relief can be broadly viewed

as three to bring about meaningful comparison in our analysis and discussion. These are Sepoy Group C (including Sepoy, L/NK and NK), Havildar Group C (including all the three grades at Havildar rank) and Subedar Group C (including Naib Subedar, Subedar and Subedar Major).

The rank of an ex-serviceman explains a number of important factors which may have direct bearing on his quality of resettlement. Mere knowledge of the rank of an ex-serviceman roughly reveals at least three important factors having great relevance in his resettlement: (a) age at which he may have retired; (b) the number of years of service he may have put in before retirement; and (c) the amount of pension and relief being received by him every month. As we shall find in our discussion each of the three factors are positively correlated with rank, i.e. higher the rank greater the age of retirement, length of service and, or pension and relief or vice versa.

The correlation between rank and age of retirement is evident in Table 7.9. Age of retirement affects the resettlement of the ex-servicemen in two important ways: (1) It determines to a large extent the responsibilities of an ex-serviceman, viz. size of family, number and age group of children, stage of their education, etc. (2) It determines prospects of employability of an ex-serviceman for the civilian posts.

Table 7.9: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Age and by Rank (Percentage frequency)

Age at which retired	Rank at which Retired													
	Bihar							Haryana						
	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB MAJ	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB MAJ
Total	100.0	41.0	30.0	14.0	8.0	4.0	0.0	100.0	44.0	33.0	11.0	6.0	4.0	2.0
31-34	40.0	70.7	36.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	75.0	21.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
35-39	33.0	29.3	56.7	23.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	41.0	25.0	78.8	36.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
40-44	20.0	0.0	6.7	71.4	100.0	0.0	0.0	11.0	0.0	0.0	63.5	66.7	0.0	0.0
45-49	7.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	8.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	100.0	100.0

Units excluded from Table 0

The age of initial recruitment into the army usually coincides with the age of marriage of the rank of ex-servicemen. Incidentally, we may mention that for the officer-ex-servicemen marriage takes place between 5 and 8 years after getting commissioned in the Army and in great many cases it is even more. Now returning to the rank-ex-servicemen, it is common to find that they have their first child soon after their marriage. The generation which we interviewed in our fieldwork, did not seem to have used any method for the delay^{of} the birth of their first child though a great number of them subsequently accepted some family planning norm either for the delay or prevention of birth of the second or third child. Thus, when a sepoy comes out of the army his first child is roughly around 10 years old and in case of a Havildar and Subedar, the age the first child is 15 years and 20 years respectively. In other words, when a sepoy returns home after retirement he finds his first child studying at primary level. A Havildar's first child is at secondary level. And a Subedar's first child is either employed in the army or looking for a civilian job. The age and sex of the first child, especially in a lower middle class family, explains a great deal about the kind of pressures and responsibility an ex-serviceman father may be having.

The prospects of employment is also greater for the higher ranks than the lower ranks. For the lower ranks,

whereas their supply in the job market is abundant, demands are few. As already discussed, the expectation is that an ex-serviceman is suitable for the job of security guards. But in almost all the para-military forces such as the Border Security Force (BSF), the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) and the Railway Protection Force (RPF) etc., there is direct entry system at the sepoy level. Therefore, vast number of ex-servicemen retiring as sepoy, LNK or NK, do not find a place in those forces. This is because of the simple reason that these forces too are required to maintain youthful profile of their respective forces. The Public Sector Banks and other Public Sector Undertakings do employ the ex-sepoys, LNK/NK as Security-guards at their respective establishments. Here there is great rush of the ex-sepoys, LNK/NK to find a place among the seats reserved for them. Apart from these, other avenues of employment as Security Guards are the Private Sector Factories/Establishments or Security Agencies, where payments are generally low and irregular and the work conditions are hostile.

The employability of ex-Havildar and above ranks are much better both in Public and Private sectors. First of all the supply of those ranks in the job market is very limited because of the very restricted promotion system in the army. Secondly, there is great demand for them in

almost every force to take up supervisory position in the force for ensuring discipline and turn-out. The fact that the demand for employment of the ex-servicemen in job market increases with the increase in their ranks is also evident in Table 7.10. The table shows nil unemployment for those in the rank of Havildar and above. Similarly, the category "Self-Employed Wanting Job" are also lesser from the Havildar and above ranks.

Various other indicators also strengthen the proof that the quality of resettlement of high-ranking ex-servicemen are better than those occupying lower ranks. Table 7.11 shows that the pay of all the employed ex-Subedars and Subedar Majors are either in the range of "more than Rs.100 but less than Rs.500" or "more than Rs.500 but less than Rs.1,000". Those who accept less or equal pay than the last pay drawn are from the lower ranks. However, it is clear to notice regional factor operating hand in hand with the rank factor when the ex-Sepoys, LNK/NK and Havildars of Bihar drawing more than the last pay drawn are compared with those of Haryana. Whereas only 12 per cent of the employed ex-Sepoys from Bihar are getting more than last pay drawn, in the case of Haryana those having drawn the same are roughly double in terms of percentage.

The rankwise analysis of the employed ex-servicemen in relation to satisfaction with their respective jobs also reiterates the undisputable correlation between rank and the

Table 7.10: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Occupational Status and by Rank (Percentage frequency)

Occupational Status	Rank at which retired													
	Bihar							Haryana						
	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB. MAJ.	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB. MAJ.
Total	100.0	41.0	30.0	14.0	8.0	4.0	3.0	100.0	44.0	33.0	11.0	6.0	4.0	2.0
Employed	49.0	39.0	43.3	64.3	87.5	50.0	66.7	47.0	38.6	42.4	63.6	50.0	100.0	100.0
Unemployed	15.0	22.0	16.7	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.0	13.6	21.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Self-employed	9.0	4.9	10.0	0.0	12.5	50.0	33.3	20.0	20.5	18.2	27.3	37.3	0.0	0.0
Self-employed Wanting Job	27.0	34.1	30.0	28.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	27.3	18.2	9.1	16.7	0.0	0.0

Units excluded from Table 0

Table 7.11: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Present Salary vice Last Pay drawn in Army and by Rank (Percentage frequency)

Pay vice Last Pay drawn	Rank at which retired													
	Bihar							Haryana						
	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB. MAJ.	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB. MAJ.
Total	100.0	41.0	30.0	14.0	8.0	4.0	3.0	100.0	44.0	33.0	11.0	6.0	4.0	2.0
Less	6.0	9.8	8.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Equal	16.0	17.1	10.0	28.6	25.0	0.0	0.	10.0	13.6	9.1	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0
More than Rs.100 but less than Rs.500	22.0	9.8	26.7	35.7	37.5	25.0	33.3	36.0	25.0	33.3	54.5	33.3	100.0	100.0
More than Rs.500 but less than Rs.1,000	4.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	12.5	25.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
NA	52.0	61.0	56.7	35.7	25.0	50.0	33.3	53.0	61.4	57.6	36.4	50.0	0.0	0.0

Units excluded from Table 0

Table 7.12: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Satisfaction with the Present Job and by Rank
(Percentage frequency)

If Satisfied with the Job	Rank at which retired													
	Bihar							Haryana						
	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB. MAJ.	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB. MAJ.
Total	100.0	41.0	30.0	14.0	8.0	4.0	3.0	100.0	44.0	33.0	11.0	6.0	4.0	2.0
Yes	28.0	12.2	26.7	50.0	50.0	50.0	66.7	37.0	31.8	27.3	54.5	33.3	100.0	100.0
No	8.0	12.2	3.3	7.1	12.5	0.0	0.0	6.0	4.5	6.1	9.1	18.7	0.0	0.0
Undecided	12.0	14.0	13.3	7.1	12.5	0.0	0.0	4.0	2.3	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
NA	52.0	61.0	56.7	35.7	25.0	50.0	33.3	53.0	61.4	57.6	36.4	50.0	0.0	0.0

Units excluded from Table 0

quality of resettlement. Table 7.12 shows that on the whole employed ex-servicemen have expressed their satisfaction with the job that they occupy. Those confirming their satisfaction with the job are much more than those disapproving or being undecided on the point. Around 65 per cent of the total employed ex-servicemen from Bihar and 85 per cent from Haryana expressed that they were satisfied with their post-retirement job. However, when we read rank-wise column from the given table, it is apparent to notice that those replying in the negative or answering as undecided were more among the lower ranks. For example, in Bihar, the employed sepoy's answering in the affirmative and negative were 30 per cent each of their total sample whereas 40 per cent were undecided on the matter. The negative response gradually decreases with the increase in the rank with negligible variation. The negative and undecided replies attain zero level in case of Subedar and Subedar Major ranks. The same trend is repeated in the case of Haryana also though the proportion of those replying in the negative/undecided are much less than that of Bihar. While the presence of regional variation in the response in Table 7.12 confirms the already discussed point that the overall quality of resettlement in Haryana is better than that of Bihar, the additional point which clearly emerges here is that those showing dissatisfaction with their respective jobs are less among higher ranks in both the states.

Table 7.13: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Income Targeted in next 2 years (in Rs.) and by Rank (Percentage frequency)

Income Targeted: next 2 years	Rank at which retired													
	Bihar							Haryana						
	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB. MAJ.	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB. MAJ.
Total	100.0	41.0	30.0	14.0	8.0	4.0	3.0	100.0	44.0	33.0	11.0	6.0	4.0	2.0
In Loss	2.0	0.0	3.3	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Less than Rs. 10,000	12.0	14.5	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.0	13.5	12.1	9.1	16.7	0.0	0.0
Between Rs. 10,000-25,000	3.0	0.0	3.3	7.1	0.0	25.0	0.0	9.0	13.5	6.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Between Rs. 25,000-50,000	6.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	25.0	25.0	33.3	10.0	4.5	15.2	9.1	33.3	0.0	0.0
Between Rs. 50,000-100,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Between Rs. 100,000-500,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
More than Rs. 500,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
NA	64.0	61.0	63.3	71.4	75.0	50.0	66.7	59.0	50.0	63.5	63.5	50.0	100.0	100.0
Do not know	13.0	19.5	10.0	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.0	18.2	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Units excluded from Table 0

The self-employed ex-servicemen were probed in regard to "income targeted for the next two years". Table 7.13 shows that the higher percentage of the respondents from the higher ranks have set higher income targets from their self-employment ventures. The sepoy and LNK/NK category of ex-servicemen from the both the states have not only set lower income targets for themselves but a number of them have replied, "Don't know". This reply is crucial for the purpose of our analysis because seldom correct estimates about income accruing or projected are provided by the respondents. Estimated income is one of the basic goals of any self-employment venture, if one is not certain about one's expected income it is unlikely that he will succeed in his venture. The lack of clarity of goal explains among many other things, the lack of training or exposure to the business being undertaken, lack of structural facilities and lack of interest, etc., all of which are essential requirements of success in any self-employment venture. It is interesting to note that those replying 'don't know' have no representation in the last three columns meant for the ranks of subedar level. Therefore, in terms of self-employment also, the resettlement of higher rank ex-servicemen are better than the lower ranks.

A question was designed to assess the retired life ratings of all the category of ex-servicemen vice their

Table 7.14: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Rating vice Preretired Life and by Rank (Percentage frequency)

Rating Retired vice Pre- retired	Rank at which retired													
	Bihar							Harvana						
	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB. MAJ.	Total	Sepoy	LNK/ NK	HAV.	NB SUBDR	SUBDR	SUB. MAJ.
Total	100.0	41.4	30.3	13.1	8.1	4.0	3.0	100.0	44.0	33.0	11.0	6.0	4.0	2.0
Very Good	11.1	4.9	3.3	7.7	37.5	25.0	100.0	5.0	0.0	3.0	9.1	16.7	0.0	100.0
Better	15.2	14.6	6.7	15.4	25.0	75.0	0.0	16.0	9.1	18.2	27.3	16.7	50.0	0.0
Good	24.2	14.6	36.7	38.5	25.0	0.0	0.0	31.0	31.8	27.3	45.5	16.7	50.0	0.0
Worse	30.3	39.0	30.0	30.8	12.5	0.0	0.0	35.0	43.2	33.3	18.2	50.0	0.0	0.0
Worst	19.2	26.8	23.3	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.0	15.9	18.2	0.	0.0	0.0	0.0

Units excluded from Table 1

pre-retired life. This is an important dimension for assessing the quality of resettlement of ex-servicemen. In a sense the question was applicable to all respondents, irrespective of their occupational status, year of retirement, etc. It was expected that all the respondents will choose one of the five options given in the question. However, out of the total sample of 200, only one respondent from Bihar declined to give any answer to the question. The data presented in 7.14 clearly affirms the point, higher the rank better the resettlement.

As the Table 7.14 shows all the Subedar Majors from both the states have responded as "Very good", the highest rating in this five point scale. Apart from the fact that all of them are meaningfully reemployed/self-employed, the additional factor contributing to this kind of response is the fact that attaining the rank of Subedar Major is the highest professional accomplishment in their service career. The rank Subedar Major is of great ornamental value even today. Therefore, if an ex-serviceman fully contended with his pre-retired career achievements, gets red carpet welcome for the post-retired life also, he possibly cannot rate his career as less than the best. Those having "very good" experiences from Sepoy to Havildar level are less than 10 per cent of their respective samples in both the states. On the contrary, the last three columns meant for officers of Subedar level show zero representation

against the column meant for "worst" experiences. The table therefore shows that the "worst" retired life ratings gradually decreases with the increase in rank whereas best ("very good") retired life ratings increases with the increase in ranks.

The rankwise discussion of the resettlement of ex-servicemen, therefore, leads us to a proportion like this: The demand curve for the lowest rank in terms of rising family responsibilities is at its maximum whereas supply curve in terms of pension and second career prospects are at its minimum. With the increase in rank, whereas the demand curve goes down, the supply curve moves up. Hence, rank emerges as a crucial factor in determining the quality of resettlement of ex-servicemen in India.

So far two sociological factors, namely, castes and rank, influencing resettlement patterns of ex-servicemen have been dealt with one by one. The discussion on each factor has confirmed the point that higher (ascribed or achieved) status positively contribute to the resettlement of the ex-servicemen in India. If a proportion, 'higher the caste better the quality of resettlement' is supplemented by another proposition 'higher the rank, better the quality of resettlement', then it is pertinent to ask whether some correlation exists between caste and rank as well? Table 7.15 amply shows that there exists a positive correlation between caste and rank. The higher

Table 7.15: Statewise Distribution of Ex-Servicemen by Rank and by Caste (Percentage frequency)

Rank at which retired	CASTE											
	Bihar						Haryana					
	Total	Upper	Middle	SC	ST	Others	Total	Upper	Middle	SC	ST	Others
Total	100.0	21.0	19.0	43.0	5.0	12.0	100.0	26.0	53.0	0.0	14.0	7.0
Sepoy	41.0	28.5	36.8	46.5	60.0	41.7	44.0	38.5	43.4	0.0	57.1	42.9
LNK/NK	30.0	14.3	31.6	34.9	40.0	33.3	33.0	26.9	32.1	0.0	35.7	57.1
HAV.	14.0	19.0	21.1	7.0	0.0	25.0	11.0	11.5	13.2	0.0	7.1	0.0
NB SUBDR	8.0	23.8	5.3	4.7	0.0	0.0	6.0	7.7	7.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
SUBDR	4.0	9.5	0.0	4.7	0.0	0.0	4.0	11.5	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
SUB. MAJ.	3.0	4.8	5.3	2.3	0.0	0.0	2.0	3.8	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0

Units excluded from Table 0

caste ex-servicemen usually occupied higher ranks in the army. The lower castes, specially the Scheduled Castes and the 'other castes' could seldom move beyond the rank of Havildar. The respectable representation of Scheduled Tribes in the Rank of Subedar, however, needs some clarification. All such ex-servicemen are Christians (STs) belonging to Ranchi district. Due to the impact of the role of Christian missionary activities the Christian tribes of the Ranchi district are better placed, than the so called Hindu Tribes. The level of education, income and health is comparatively very low among the Hindu Adivasis. Two Hindu Adivasi ex-servicemen were found pulling rickshaw in Ranchi town. Interestingly, the rickshaws which they pull are owned by one of their ex-colleagues in the army. The owner of the rickshaw Khatal is an ex-servicemen, (Bengali - Kayastha by caste) having a decent house at the outskirts of Ranchi. The non-Christian Adivasis invariably drank 'Hadia', an indigenous beverage and were quite ignorant about the resettlement facilities being offered by the government. Most of the Christian ex-servicemen were teetotlers, having adequate knowledge about the post-retirement career prospects.

The fact which emerges from the discussion is that whereas year of retirement and the opportunities associated with a particular region play important role in shaping the pattern of resettlement of the ex-servicemen, more significant

factors are sociological, i.e. caste and rank. This is because caste and rank play a guiding role in ensuring whether an ex-serviceman will be well placed in the second-career sooner or later from the date he retired from the army. Similarly, the high caste and high-ranking ex-servicemen are better resettled in both the states.

All the four factors discussed, (two in the preceding chapter - namely, time and region and two in the present chapter - namely, caste and rank) have been seen to exercise their relative influence on the resettlement pattern of ex-servicemen in India. In the absence of a sensitivity test, it is difficult to order their precise role in the resettlement process. On the basis of feedback of qualitative data from the field, however, our guess is that it is the rank which plays a significant role among the four factors discussed.

Notes & References:

1. M.N. Srinivas, "The Dominant Caste in Rampura", American Anthropologist, February, 1959.
2. Report of the High Level Committee on Problems of Ex-Servicemen, Govt. of India, p.138.
3. Ibid., p.139.

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