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

OCCUPATION AND SOCIETY

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

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

The process of occupational selection was governed by tradition and custom. The occupations were attached with the notions of purity and pollution and graded and ascribed to the caste groups. The works like scavenging and toddy-taping were ascribed to certain low-caste groups while the priesthood was given to the Brahmans (Ibid.). In
such a situation the search for an occupation other than that of his own caste was not proper, if not actually sinful (Kroeber quoted in Pande 1986 : 2). However, there were opportunities for occupational mobility in India (Tapar 1984 : 145). Traditionally, the shifting over to non caste and non familial occupation followed a pattern. Brahmans for example, while taking up occupations other than priesthood preferred those occupations which were not polluted (Ghurye 1969 : 15-18).

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

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

**SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND NEW OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITIES**

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

The decades after World War I saw the growth of industrial and service occupations which were the results of the general modernisation of Indian society. The process is organically linked with the processes of migration, urbanisation, and industrialisation. Especially during the past four decades, there has been massive growth in urban centres and industrial units. The urban population of India grew from 25.8 million in
1901 to 156 million in 1981. The increase in urban population during these eight decades was six-fold. In 1951 it was at 62.4 millions and it comprised 17.3 per cent of the total population. In 1981 it had risen to 27.7 per cent of total population (Rao et al. 1991 : 78). The social composition of older and larger cities has radically changed because of migrant population.

Migrants constitute a sizeable section of urban India. Rural to urban and urban to urban migration accounted for 30 million in 1961 and 39 million in 1971 showing an increase of 30 per cent over the decade (Ashish Bose 1971 quoted in Rao et al. 1991 : 70). The urbanward migration is male-dominated in India as it is in many Asian and African countries. In 1961 and 1971 urban India had 10 million and 21 million male immigrants respectively. The urbanward male migration accounted for nearly 38 per cent of the total male migration in 1961 and roughly 40 per cent in 1971. During the decade 1951-61 about 11.62 million people migrated from the rural to urban areas and nearly 3 million migrated in the reverse direction. In the next decade (1961 - 71) the number of rural - urban migrants was 10.98 million whereas the number of urban to rural migrants was 5.33 million (Premi 1981 quoted in Rao 1991 : 80). As per the 1981 census, there were 15.74 million rural- urban migrants and 6.39 urban rural migrants by place of last residence during 1971 - 81. The net rural- urban migration of 9.35 million contributed to a growth of 18.7 per cent in the urban population during 1971- 81 (Cherunilam 1987 : 92 quoted in Rao 1991 : 80). The net result of these processes is that between 1951 - 1991 about 985 towns /town agglomerations emerged in India and the number of UAs/Cities with million plus population increased roughly by four fold (see table 1 and 2).
**TABLE 1 TRENDS OF URBANISATION IN INDIA 1901 - 1991**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census year</th>
<th>Uas/Towns</th>
<th>No. of Total Population</th>
<th>Urban population</th>
<th>Urban population as percentage of total population</th>
<th>Decennial growth rate of urban population (per cent)</th>
<th>Annual exponential growth rate</th>
<th>Annual gain in percentage of urban population</th>
<th>Annual rate of gain in percentage of urban population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>238,396,327</td>
<td>25,851,873</td>
<td>10.84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>252,093,390</td>
<td>25,94,1633</td>
<td>10.29</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>251,321,213</td>
<td>28,086,167</td>
<td>11.18</td>
<td>8.27</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>2072</td>
<td>278,977,238</td>
<td>33,455,989</td>
<td>11.99</td>
<td>19.12</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>2250</td>
<td>318,660,580</td>
<td>44,153,297</td>
<td>13.86</td>
<td>31.97</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>2843</td>
<td>361,088,090</td>
<td>62,443,709</td>
<td>17.29</td>
<td>41.42</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2365</td>
<td>439,234,771</td>
<td>78,936,603</td>
<td>17.97</td>
<td>26.41</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2590</td>
<td>548,159,652</td>
<td>109,113,977</td>
<td>19.91</td>
<td>38.23</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>3378</td>
<td>683,329,097</td>
<td>159,462,547</td>
<td>23.34</td>
<td>46.14</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>3768</td>
<td>844,324,222</td>
<td>217,177,625</td>
<td>25.72</td>
<td>36.19</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**
1. Annual gain in per centage of urban population
   
   $= \frac{(X_c - X_p)}{10}$

2. Annual rate of gain in per centage of urban population
   
   $= \frac{(X_c - X_p)}{X_p} \times \frac{10}{100}$

   where
   
   $X_c =$ Urban population as per centage of total population, current year
   
   $X_p =$ Urban population as per centage of total population, previous year

3. As the 1981 census was not conducted in Assam, the 1981 population for India include interpolated figures for Assam.

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

*Source: Bose Ashish (1994 : 24)*
### TABLE 2 URBAN AGGLOMERATION/CITIES WITH POPULATION MILLION PLUS, 1901 - 1991

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

Source: Bose Ashish (1994: 26)

In India along with urbanisation substantial industrial expansion has also taken place. The figures of joint-stock companies both public and private show that their number in 1971 was to the tune of 30,461, and it rose to 118,305 in 1985 (December). The growth in private companies has been more rapid in terms of numbers than in the public companies. There is a rise in the number of labourers working in organised sector from 12.09 millions in 1961 to 24.2 millions in 1984. Sociologically, these changes had major
implications for social restructuration not only in these sectors of activity but also in the society in general (Singh 1993:33). Occupational restructuration is one among such implications.

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

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

Thirdly, occupational restructuration involves the swelling of the urban middle class. This has been made possible by the mobility of individuals from traditional agro-
based occupations to industrial occupations and caste-bound occupations to secular open occupations. Presently, the urban middle class comprises of the professional classes in the domains of technology, education, science, law, medicine, civil services, army and police services, journalism and architecture etc., mercantile capitalists and industrial entrepreneurs. These upward mobile groups represent the process of modernisation in India today (Singh 1993: 33 - 34).

Fourthly, in the process of social and occupational restructuration the traditional institutions of caste, joint family, village community and religion have played both positive and negative roles in our society. Positively, the traditional institutions such as caste, joint family and religion have played a role supportive of modernisation in our society. Both Hinduism and Islam, considered to be traditionalistic in economic-ethical orientations have not come in the way of positive response to economic entrepreneurship. In the same way, joint family has provided for the promotion of economic enterprise, techno-economic innovations, generation of capital and promotion of credit and marketability of products. The traditional skills of castes based on hereditary occupations have been very helpful both in agriculture and mercantile vocations to promote innovation and high productivity. The leadership provided for the Green Revolution in most parts of the country has come from peasantry who are traditional agriculturists. Both Hindu and Muslim castes who were traditionally engaged in trade and crafts have stepped into the new role of commercial and marketing activities adopting modern institutional systems. These developments articulate the resilience of our traditions for adaptive response to the process of modernisation (Singh 1993: 16).
At present we are confronted with the problem of understanding the process of social and occupational transformation and restructuration in India which is very complex. On the whole we are marching from status society to occupational society and closed caste-based hereditary occupational structure to open caste-free non-hereditary occupational structure where both labour and capital are free. But labour and capital mobility is also guided by the social structural positioning of the individuals and groups. The new and open occupations which are remunerative and prestigious are cornered by some individuals and groups and managed to be distributed among their close circles resulting in the better off positioning of some against others. A close look into the aspects of social change provides us a picture of complex relationships between social processes and occupational processes. What an individual does for himself to gain his livelihood is not just an individual activity; it is a social activity having far-reaching implications for his own immediate group and the larger society. To know these processes fully and clearly, it is necessary to undertake sociological studies of occupations and professions in contemporary India. As new and non-hereditary occupational categories loom larger and larger in the changing social reality, for such sociological studies the proper units of investigation are not communities qua communities, but occupational categories in the context of different types of communities and integrated into a system of social stratification (Gould quoted in Saberwal 1978: 218).

During the last four to five decades sociologists have evinced keen interest in the studies of occupations in India and as such we have different sociological studies relating to different occupations such as teachers (Bhoite 1987, Hiremath 1983), the managers
Important as these studies are they are very few. There are innumerable other occupations pursued in Indian society about which no systematic studies have been undertaken. Hoteliering, for example, has emerged in modern India as a lucrative occupation. Among the Hotels the Udupi Hotels and Restaurants are well known. There is hardly any city in India without a Udupi Hotel/Restaurant. As far the knowledge of the present researcher goes no systematic study has been undertaken on the Udupi Hotels. The out-migration of the Udupi Hoteliers from their native places and entry into specific occupational categories and not others, their occupational mobility and the emerging reformulation of their social relationships with the traditional institutions of caste, family, village community and religion— all these present themselves to be important elements of social and occupational restructuration that is going on now in India. It is for this reason that the present study of the occupational mobility of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa has been planned.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Theoretical Considerations

The Udupi Hoteliers are out-migrants from the Dakshina Kannada (DK) district of Karnataka state. Udupi is the name of a matha-town, not temple-town, in DK; the town is also one of the taluka head-quarters. Developed over the centuries around the matha dedicated to Lord Krishna, the town is popular throughout the world because of Madhva.
dwaita philosophy and Udupi Hotels/ Restaurants. Both Udupi matha and Udupi Hotels are marked by practices relating to food preparation and food distribution, of course, with different orientations (Chapter Four and Appendix II provide some more details in this regard). Being a pilgrimage centre, Udupi matha is famous for annadana to the devotees of Lord Krishna everyday; Lord Krishna in the matha is considered as Annabrahma.

Udupi Hotels are the commercial centres for annavikraya and they provide livelihood for their proprietors.

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

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

The economic condition of the DK during the first half of this century was miserable. Dr. Shivarama Karanth describes in one of his interviews appeared in Udayavani, Kannada daily, dated 10.5.95, “In the earlier days there were only two classes amongst us, namely Brahmans and non-Brahmans. All were poverty-striken. The situation was so worse that even the Brahmans who were of upper class could eat once in two days. Only they could manage to consume milk and curd. The members of the remaining class had to depend upon manual labouring. When small holdings became still small after division, many Brahmans migrated to distant places and stucked on to hotel business. The
Konkanas and Bunts followed the same path. Now the members of other groups also entered this field and got success. The workers in those Hotels were also from DK. In one sense, hotel business is responsible for improving the economic conditions of DK. These days people possess some money to spend. Their life standard has improved substantially”. This synoptic description of social and economic transformation of DK describes the role of Udupi Hotels in social restructuration. The personalities who took to this business are the creative men, the innovators, who responded to the challenges of social change and migration and became occupationallty innovative and mobile.

The personalities of Udupi Hoteliers can be understood with the help of Thomas and Znaniecki’s (1958) typology of human actors. They developed the typology in an effort to explore the interplay between social organization and individual attitude, between social constraint and individual response. They distinguished three typical cases in terms of the different responses of people to cultural demands. The first type is that of the Philistine who is a conformist. He usually accepts social tradition in its most stable elements. He finds it extremely difficult to adjust to the important and unexpected change in the condition of life. The polar opposite of this type is the Bohemian who is a rebel. He is highly inconsistent but shows a degree of adaptability to new conditions quite in contrast to the Philistine. The Creative man, the third type, is an innovator adaptable to new conditions, displaying different types of interests. His activities are superior than those offered by tradition because they are modified in nature. The Creative man does not simply act within the framework of tradition nor is he totally rebellious. On the contrary
by judiciously blending innovation with tradition he clears a new path through the forest of
the customary and can hence be a creative guide in efforts to bring about social change
(Coser 1977: 516 - 517).

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

An occupation is primarily an economic activity. The economic activities and the associated occupations can be classified into various categories using different criteria. On the basis of nature of the community background occupations are classified into rural and urban occupations. On the basis of the level of technology handicrafts and cottage industries and highly sophisticated industrial occupations are identified. On the basis of the nature of relationship to the process of production of wealth occupations are classified as pecuniary and industrial. On the basis of the nature of skill unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled occupations are identified. On the basis of the nature of relationship to the firm workers are categorised as either self-employed or employees in others' firms. Lastly,
occupations can be classified as productive and service occupations on the basis of type of work. Of course, these classifications are only informative and not exhaustive. The occupation of an Udupi Hotelier can be classified as an urban, pecuniary, self-employed, service occupation. Its membership in these categories reflects its origin in modern times and the present study examines the nature of the process of in-flow into this occupation and out-flow from the same.

The mobility of an individual from traditional occupation implies many things for other individuals and groups with whom he establishes social relations. The other individuals and groups may be his family members, relatives, caste and village community members, occupational colleagues, partners, employees or friends at the place of work. An Udupi Hotelier's changing occupational position will result in the horizontal or vertical mobility which in turn affects his social relations. Being a pecuniary occupational activity the hoteliering leads to monetization and the increasing wealth base of the Hoteliers. Among them how the upwardly mobile spend their income could be understood in the light of the 'theory of conspicuous consumption' of Thorstein Veblen. Those who are engaged in pecuniary employment make money. They are not satisfied with that. While spending money they attempt to symbolise their high standing in the continuous struggle for competitive advantage. Conspicuous consumption, conspicuous leisure, Conspicuous display of symbols of high standing are to Veblen some of the means by which men attempt to excel their neighbours and so attain heightened self-evaluation (quoted in Coser 1977: 269). In the modern society Veblen contended that the tendency to display wealth tend to permeate the whole social structure. Even the downwardly mobile may
imitate the upwardly mobile. "The result is that the members of each stratum accept as the ideal of decency the scheme of life invoked in the next higher stratum, and bend their energies to live up to that ideal" (Veblen 1934: 84 quoted in Coser 1977: 269). In this study an attempt is made to examine the occupational mobility and the consequent social relations of Udupi Hoteliers in the framework of the struggle for competitive standing as formulated by Veblen.

The Main Objectives

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

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

The Hypotheses

1. The Udupi Hoteliers in Goa are of multi-caste background.
2. The majority of the Udupi Hoteliers are introduced to this occupation through their friends and relatives and caste and community members.
3. In the case of majority of the Udupi Hoteliers over the years the inter-generational occupational mobility has taken place along with upward social mobility.

4. Hoteliering in general is leading to monetization which in turn is leading to conspicuous consumption.

5. The rate of occupational persistency is high among the male children of the Hoteliers.

**Conceptual framework**

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

1. Udupi Hotelier: - An Udupi Hotelier is a migrant from DK in Goa who owns any type of Hotel or Restaurant.

2. Inter-generational occupational mobility: - The nature of occupational changes from fathers to the respondents and respondents to their children's generation.

3. Intra-generational occupational mobility: - Occupational changes in the lifetime of one generation.

4. General social status of the respondents as perceived by them: - The way in which the respondents perceive their class positions as upper or middle or lower class. Their own account of their social standing in Goa and in their native places.

5. Multi-caste background: - The differences in the caste background of the respondents.

6. Upward social mobility: - The social climbing in the status hierarchy.

7. Monetization: - Increase in the wealth base during pecuniary activity.

8. Conspicuous consumption: - The consumption of wealth, goods and services primarily for the purpose of display. The term was used by Thorstein Veblen in his
theory of the *Leisure* class (1934 New York : Modern Library) to point out that people who have a surplus of wealth (above the subsistence level) use it not for constructive or useful purposes, but rather to enhance their social status (cited in Scott 1988 : 74)

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

**THE REASONS FOR CONFINING THE STUDY TO GOA**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Overall Methodological Framework

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

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

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

The descriptive components of the study attempted to know the social background of the respondents and the types of occupational mobility. This was done through the survey design. An attempt also has been made to describe the layout of a typical Udupi Hotel and occupational statuses and roles within it. These research exercises helped to raise some critical questions of theoretical significance like why most of the Udupi
Hoteliers moved out of their traditional occupation of cultivation and where their children are moving out and why? Field work technique was followed in this analytical phase also. Throughout, the researcher was guided by a constant interplay of exploratory, descriptive, and analytical research designs.

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

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

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

Since the full information about the total number of units within the population is not available the 'snow-ball sampling' method has been employed to identify them. Snow-ball sampling is one of the recently developed sampling plans which is different from the traditional ones. If the universe to be studied lacks exact list of units, this method can be adopted to identify them. This method is extremely useful when all the target groups maintain contacts between them, and the group is willing to reveal the names of others. The serious limitation of this sampling is that those who could not be located may have
peculiarities, in which case the study gets biased (Sharma et al. 1988: 199). This method is not useful if the universe is very large because basically this method is guided by socio-metric techniques.

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

**Methods and Phases of Data Collection**

Keeping in view the complexity of the problem under consideration, multiple data collection methods have been employed and out of them 'interview' and 'observer as participant' are important. Keeping in view the specific objectives of the study, an exhaustive interview schedule has been prepared. Wherever possible the questions and answers have been structured to facilitate the process of data analysis. After conducting a pre-test, the schedule has been finalised (the copy of the same is provided in Appendix I). It has been divided in to seven components. The first part is on the general information which includes questions on the sex, age, caste, religion, marital status, length of residence in Goa, mother tongue, other languages known and the language used at the place of work and at home. The second part elicits information about the natal home, the location of the native village, traditional occupation and its continuation by other members, reasons for continuation, the general economic status of the native family, and the social linkages of the out-migrants with the non-migrants are some of the areas covered. The third part
deals with the experience of migration by the respondents. The reasons for out-migration, the people involved in his migration, the places went and occupations under took, and the reasons for coming to Goa are the major issues dealt with. The part four elicits information about the present family of the respondent in Goa and the type of housing. The part five is concerned with the education of three generations. The part six collects data regarding the occupational aspects like the type of the Hotel, number of workers and their background, career pattern of the respondents and the occupational mobility. The part seven deals with some other relevant data regarding the type of family, mate choice, dowry, associational activities and relationships with other kin, caste, and village community members in Goa. The actual interviews were conducted in Kannada language.

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

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

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

Keeping in view the advantages and disadvantages of the purposive sampling techniques, the respondents of the first phase of survey have been classified into several categories like on the basis of location, caste and size. The locations are cities/towns, mining and industrial centres. The caste groups are Bunts, Brahmans, Gowda Saraswat
Brahmans and others. On the basis of the number of persons employed, Hotels are classified into small (five and less than five), medium (6 to 10 workers), and big (11 or more workers). Some Hoteliers from all these categories have been re-interviewed (see table 3) with the help of an interview guide. The preparation and finalisation of the guide was done after a pre-test.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste/Community</th>
<th>Size of the Hotel on the basis of no. of Employees</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 and less than 5 workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmans</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>13 (4)</td>
<td>11.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunts</td>
<td>8 (2)</td>
<td>44 (8)</td>
<td>37.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.S.B.</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>31 (5)</td>
<td>26.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>18 (2)</td>
<td>30 (5)</td>
<td>25.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>33 (6)</td>
<td>118 (22)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>27.97</td>
<td>33.90</td>
<td>38.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Figures in parenthesis indicate the size of the purposive samples.*

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

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

A Note on Field Experiences

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

The Hoteliers were initially not ready to talk to the researcher. They did not believe him and were suspicious about his work. Because every now and then they were harassed by such government officials as Food Inspectors, Labour officers and Municipality officers. In the beginning they suspected the researcher to be one of them.
One very important fear was that the researcher may be connected with Tax Officer. However the identity letters were of great help in removing the suspicion.

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

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

CHAPTER SCHEME

The whole thesis is organised into an introduction and six chapters. The introduction deals with the background of the research problem, statement of the problem, research design and methodology, the reasons for confining the study to Goa, and the chapter scheme. Chapter one is an overview of literature on occupations and occupational mobility. It gives an idea of some western perspectives on mobility, study of mobility and occupations in India, study of Udupi Hotels and Hoteliers. Chapter two is on research setting. It provides a descriptive account of social transformation in DK and Goa. It also discusses Udupi Hotel as an organised social group. Chapter three explores the background social characteristics of the Udupi Hoteliers in order to find answer to the question: who are the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa? Chapter four makes an attempt to
understand the processes associated with and the factors responsible for the selection of Hoteliering as an occupation among the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. Chapter five, to begin with, clarifies the meaning of some of the important concepts used extensively in occupational mobility research. Later on it discusses the nature, extent, and consequences of occupational mobility among the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. The last chapter comprises of the summary of the thesis and its conclusions. It also attempts to identify the limitations of the present research and possible areas of future research. In addition to the six chapters outlined above, the thesis consists of a bibliography and appendices.