CHAPTER FOUR

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

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE IN INDIA: Interplay of Traditional and Modern Factors

Dunkerley (1975: 5) recognises the emergence of the notion of occupational choice as a very crucial development in the industrialised and urbanised societies. In such societies the individuals have to make the choice of entering into some kind of employment situation. An individual’s entry into gainful employment is classified by the type of industry or the type of end product of the work, and by the occupation or the
specific character of the work-force. In an industrialised society there are both large number of industrial and occupational settings. In this situation it can be assumed that those individuals who cross the threshold from non-work life to work life undertake a choice between the alternative industrial and occupational settings that are open to them at least in theory.

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

Among the traditional factors influencing occupational choice 'caste' deserves mention because of the traditional association of many occupations with some specific castes. "Generally a caste or a group of allied castes considered some of the callings as its predatory occupation, to abandon which in pursuit of another, though it might be lucrative, was thought not to be right ........ This was only generally true" (Ghurye 1969 : 15). In their usual occupational practice the caste members followed in addition to their caste callings some other occupations like agriculture. Therefore, "to associate a caste invariably with a single occupation is an over simplification" (Srinivas 1991 : 9). However, the caste has been a very important factor with its caste status in allowing or not allowing its members to select some occupations. "No caste would allow its members to take to
any calling which was either degrading like toddy-tapping and brewing, or impure, like scavenging or curing hides. It was not only the moral restraint and the social check of one’s caste fellows that acted as a restraint on the choice of one’s occupation, but also the restriction put by other castes, which did not allow members other than those of their own castes to follow their callings” (Ghurye 1969 : 16). The priesthood is entirely monopolised by Brahmans. And Brahmans throughout the country were not only priests but also followed agriculture, civil, public, and military services, trading, shopkeeping and the like (Ibid. : 16). The quintessence of the argument is that not simply an occupational category is associated with a caste and also not all members of a caste were forced to follow the caste occupation even in the past. As the traditional occupations could not provide adequate income to the artisan castes throughout the year their members had to work on land. This elasticity in a way facilitated the continuation of the nexus between castes and occupations. Srinivas argues, “in the context of a growing population, the occupational aspect of the caste system would have broken down completely if the surplus in the artisan, trading and serving castes had not been either absorbed in agriculture or able to migrate to other areas” (1991 : 9).

The occupational aspect of caste system also brings to our notice the reproduction and perpetuation of the occupational hierarchy modelled after the caste hierarchy. The occupations practised by the high castes had been regarded as high. Throughout the land manual labour is looked upon as low. Certain unclean occupations like swine herding and butchery are considered to be polluting (Srinivas 1991 : 9). The high and low notions associated with occupations have been continued even with the modern trends, of course,
with different implications for different castes situated differently in the regional caste hierarchy. On account of the changes that were introduced during the British rule several non-remunerative polluting occupations became remunerative. Bailey's (1958 quoted in Ibid. : 76) Bispara study revealed that two non-land owning castes made money because they could not get a monopoly of the profitable trade in hides and liquor. These castes could take to this occupation because of their low caste rank. Of the two castes one was able to raise itself up in the hierarchy by sanskritising its ritual and way of life. However, the other could not be socially mobile because of its untouchability.

The relationship between the processes of occupational choice and caste has undergone changes. The dominant role played by caste in occupational selection has been disrupted to a great extent by the emergence of 'caste-free' and 'Entry-type' occupations in urbanising and industrialising India. The traditional occupations have been replaced by new occupations which are ranked on the basis of economic considerations and not on the notions of purity and pollution defined within the caste frame-work (Shah in Desai et al. 1985 : 5). The caste ruling on prescription of traditionally highly ranked occupations like priesthood and land owning for higher castes and subsequent correlation of upper castes with upper classes worked so long as non-agricultural occupations were limited, interaction of villages was confined within a narrow territorial boundary, market for agricultural surplus was limited and man-land ratio among the land-owning castes was not skewed (Ibid. : 6). In the changed socio-economic context no caste is a category consisting of homogeneous family units. It will be incorrect to argue that all upper caste members also are upper class members or all lower caste members are lower class
members because of their respective families following hereditary prescribed caste and family occupations. Various village studies from different parts of the country borne out the fact that any caste community is no longer a homogeneous structure in terms of occupation and wealth and caste is today a limiting factor and not a determining factor in occupational choice (see Bailey 1950 and Gough 1950). Such studies point out the intra-caste economic differentiation based on land-ownership and occupation (Shah in Desai et al. 1985: 7). Sometimes the occupations selected and pursued by some members among other factors acted as bases for sub-caste formation and demarkation among themselves (Ghurye 1969). Such sub-caste formation processes have been interrupted by the processes of class formations within caste and sub-caste groups and also formation of mobile-kin and village networks. These two forces by themselves are very influential in the process of occupational choice.

Just as caste has been reduced to a limiting factor so also the family especially the traditional joint family, and the socio-economic exchanges within the village community characterised by the Jajmani system underwent transformation. In the structural net-work of caste, family and village community in India either some groups monopolised certain skills and secrets associated with certain occupations or have been simply assigned with certain occupational tasks because they are 'pure' or 'impure' and 'high' or 'low'. The former, which associated with the earliest division of labour across the world, (Caplow 1970: 13 - 14 provides a description of such division of labour) in India could be associated with such occupations as rendering medical services, bell metal casting, magical practitioners, and so on. In the latter case the priesthood could be chosen by the
members of eligible Brahman groups and the scavenging could be selected by the so called untouchable caste members. In both the categories some are caste occupations and some others are family occupations. Even those occupations which had association with caste have some relations to family as an institution. In actual practice the caste occupations are actually family occupations because they actually were followed by families as parts of larger caste groups. Some occupations are only family occupations the following of which is not governed by caste ideals and dictates. Two traditional Indian institutions that facilitated the continuation of caste, family, and occupation nexus within a region or a cluster of villages had been caste panchayats and Jajmani system. Now a days both the institutions have lost their importance (Karanth 1996 : 89). The caste Panchayats regulated the processes of occupational choice. “But after independence and passing of the constitution of India (1950), caste panchayats were made legally redundant. This in effect meant that the members of a given caste were free to choose the occupation they liked and caste exclusiveness of occupations was no longer tenable in law. In the past, encroachment into an occupation by members of another caste was resisted by the specialist castes through the caste panchayat and the local village panchayat. The constitution deprived the panchayat of this power” (Ibid. : 90). The second institution which underwent drastic modifications in many regions and lost significance in many other is Jajmani. The institution marked the interdependence of families and jatis. (Mandelbaum 1970 : 161 - 180). However, as early as 1950 Bailey (1950, quoted by Shah in Desai et al. 1985 : 7) observed in a Orissa village, “Not every person works at his traditional occupation. The distillers do not touch liquor. The Kond potters do not know how to
make pots. The fishermen do not fish. The warriors are cultivators. Everywhere there is scope for practising an hereditary occupation not all members of caste engage in the work." In the southern state of Tamil Nadu Gough noted, "The caste community is no longer homogeneous in occupation and wealth, for caste is today a limiting rather than a determining factor in the choice of occupation. Exactly half of Kumbapettai's adult Brahmans are now employed in towns as government servants, school teachers or restaurant workers. Of the remainder, some own up to thirty acres of land, others as little as three. One runs a grocery store and one a vegetarian restaurant. Among the non-Brahmins, the fishermen, toddy-tappers, Marathas, Kallans, Koravas and Kultadis have abandoned their traditional work" (quoted in Ibid. : 7). The new forces that entered the realm of occupational choice are many: industrialisation, spread of modern education, urbanisation, improved means of transport and communication, creation of new and secular occupations, and migration. Social restructuration that is underway is marked by both old and new roles attached to traditional factors of family, caste and village community and creation of altogether new forces and factors like migration and occupational diversification. The contours of the restructuration process are defined and redefined on a continuous basis and in such an extremely complex social scenario a wide variety of occupations can be recognised and their categorisation conceived. Subsequently, an individual's selection of an occupation or occupations has become a complex process with varieties of experiences.

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

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

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

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE IN DAKSHINA KANNADA DISTRICT

It is popular observation that economic history of Dakshinna Kannada district is marked by competition, trade and migration. The same has been recorded in such documents as *Karnataka State Gazetteer* (1973) and *Karnataka: Kannada Vishaya*
Arthakosha (1976), and in such observational analysis as that of Bhat (1993). Important agricultural occupations like land owning had been cornered by the upper castes. Among upper castes also the declining man-land ratio rendered cultivation a less profitable occupation. The non-existence of major irrigation projects, dependence on rain, and subsistence farming made cultivation hardly sufficient for the fulfilment of growing necessities and comforts. Even those who followed non-agricultural occupations like retail and wholesale trading, especially Gowda Saraswat Brahmans found DK small for their growing socio-economic expectations.

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

“However, in the coastal line travel from one end to the other on the plain had been interrupted by many estuaries and back waters. I, in 1920s - while travelling from Kundapur to Mangalore in connection with education, used to travel on horse ridden carts. This sixty miles long way is interrupted by six rivers. Every river had to be crossed
with the help of canoes and the land distance had to be covered by different carts. If one travels for the whole day it would be possible to reach Mangalore.

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

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

**OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AMONG THE UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA**

At the backdrop of general conditions in India and DK influencing the process of occupational choice we will now examine the same process in relation to Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.
The Place of Food in Socio-Religious Organisation and the Selection of Hoteliering as Occupation: Brahman Respondents

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

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

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

Among the Brahman respondents we could mainly trace three different groups with distinct culinary skills - Shivalli, Kota, and G.S.B. The Shivalli group consists of Madhvas and for analytical purposes we group even Koteshawara Magane Madhvas with them. As our Sthanik respondents’ culinary activities resemble with that of Kota Brahmans
we consider both of them as one group. We will consider how the gastronomical aspects of these three groups led initially to the growth of Udupi Hotels and fundamentally acted as initiating traditional factors of occupational choice among pioneers.

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

While delineating the focussed meaning of sacred food or prasad in the Krishna Matha, Rao (1994: 215) recognises that the Krishna idol in Udupi nominated Anna Brahman (food Brahman) just like the Nad -Brahman (musical Brahman) of the Pandrapura and Kachan-Brahman (golden Brahman) of Tirupati. "The tradition of public feeding (prasad) which is a full course meal, is the responsibility of the Paryaya
pontiff" (Ibid.: 216). Rao identifies four spaces where food/prasada within Krishna Matha is served. They are: the Mrishthanna bhojan, Chowki prasada, ground floor Bhojanshala (public eating space) and the first floor Bhojanshala. In all the four spaces food is cooked by male Madhava Brahmans. Only the first floor bhojanshala permits all non-Brahmans. The entry to the first three spaces is opened to the Brahmans.

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

The Shivalli respondents opined that some Sayasis rendered financial assistance to opening up of Hotels and Restaurants to some families in the beginning and they told that the first Udupi Hotel at Panjim (which was in the old market yard and now demolished) had been established as one such Hotel. They told that the relationship between the Krishna Matha and the Udupi Hotels run by Shivalli Brahmans across the country is still unbroken and good amount of donations to Krishna Matha come from these Hoteliers. Our respondents too give donations to the Matha. The gastronomy of market economy is thus linked to the gastrosemantics of the Matha. The Udupi Hotels that emerged relatively recently as a part of modern entrepreneurial culture with economic symbols of sellability have their organic links with traditional and divine culture of Matha, God, and Prasada. Of course, there are both differences and similarities. We can understand the differences clearly with the help of a juxtaposition (see table 25). In one case the food is served free of cost for the devotees. The other case is allowed with a choice of selecting an occupation which allows the sale of food for profit. The meaning of
food and various social categories attached to it differ markedly in the spaces of Matha and Hotel. In the Matha the food is sacred. It is to be cooked in a ritually pure state, namely *madi*, by only Madhvas and it is offered to Lord Krishna as *Naivedya*, and when retrieved it becomes *prasada* and is distributed to different groups of devotees like *Sanyasi*, priests, scholars, students and laymen of different sub castes in Matha. In *Chowki prasada* even *dakshina* is given to the devotees with the full course of meal. In the case of prasada the menu is not decided by the devotees but by the authorities of Matha. In the Hotel the food is profane. It is cooked by an expert who is not obliged to be in *Madi*. Though the researcher could find only the male cooks in the Hotels he visited there is no bar for even a woman to be employed as cook. The cook need not be a Brahman also. Food is not served freely; it is charged according to the available items selected by the customers. Hence, the customer can select the course of his food. Food served in Matha is otherwordly in orientation. It is related symbolically to God and embodies certain complex relations among God, Sanyasi, and devotees. According to Pandurangi, a Madhva scholar, what is given away or distributed as *prasada* is knowledge of Brahman and what is preserved is his glory (1990 : 102 quoted in Rao 1994 : 220). Existentially, the food distribution system delineates the caste and varna positions of individuals and the resultant hierarchies. Food served in the Hotels is devoid of any philosophical considerations; it is purely consumeristic and hence, thisworldly. It is for fetching livelihood and to fulfil the thisworldly goals of the Hoteliers. The caste and varna considerations are not important. The eating spaces are graded not according to caste positions but according to the paying capacity of the customers like ordinary eating places and air-conditioned eating places.
The shift has taken place from caste consideration to that of class. As the Hotel is a secular space and the goals too are secular the Brahman pioneers could no longer restrict themselves to employ only the Brahmans as workers. This will help us to understand why even the people from other castes entered this occupation.

**TABLE 25 FOOD IN MATHA AND FOOD IN HOTEL JUXTAPOSED**

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

Now we know that the Shivalli Brahman group is traditionally associated with food production and distribution through Matha. However, this association is not the absolute cause for the selection of Hoteliering as an occupation. Gastronomy is ubiquitous; cooking and beliefs and practices associated with cooking are found among...
almost all human groups. All such groups did not take to Hoteliering. To be specific, all Shivalli Brahmans could not or did not open Hotels. Then the question arises: why and how some Shivalli Brahmans utilised the traditional culinary skills associated with their socio-religious life for the purpose of earning their livelihood and fulfilling their consumeristic goals through the secular spaces of Hotels?

The above question needs to be answered even in the context of other Brahman sub-castes from DK included in this study. The gastrosemantics of Kota and Sthanik Brahmans is slightly different from Madhvas. The Kota Brahmans, a *smaṛtha* sub-caste do not have *sanyasi* as Guru. The centre of socio-religious organisation for them is Shri Gurunarasimha Temple, situated at Saligrama, a municipal town of Udupi taluka. In this temple the regular everyday feeding of devotees is not a traditional phenomenon. If among the Madhvas the position of a *sanyasi* is important, among the Kota Brahmans the purohits (learned priests) are at the helm of socio-religious activities. The Kota Brahmans are divided into two groups: Vadika and Grihastha. Purohits are invariably from the former category. Throughout the year members of both the categories perform many rites and rituals which include *samskaras* like hair cutting, naming, upanayana and marriage, *pujas* like Naga, Rudhra, Gauri, Ganesha and Satyanarayana. In all such occasions purohits and other relatives and friends are invited for dinner which includes a full course of meal comprising several dishes (see Appendix II for details). The purohits officiate these functions and usually during the dinner *dakshina* is given to both priests and non-agnatic kins and friends. The regular performance of such rites and rituals has given rise to a category of professional cooks who belong usually to such families of either *Vaidika*
or *Grihastha* Brahmans who are relatively poor and less educated. They organise themselves into groups under the leadership of master cooks and their honourarium is fixed according to the quality of their culinary skill. From our Kota Brahman respondents we came to know that some pioneering Udupi Hotels in Bangalore had been established by some such cooks, who on account of poverty and less land base and later they became rich, purchased land in the native and constructed houses. Later on all Kota Brahmans Vaidika, Grihastha, Sthanika - took the initiative to open Hotels.

The third Brahman group, namely the G.S.B. too are associated with the production of food for mass consumption, but in still another way. Their socio-religious organisation is marked by their affiliation to their caste temples. They worship Shri Venkataramana or Srinivas, the Lord of Wealth and business is their main occupation (they are not Vaishyas). For him they have established temples across DK. They are subdivided among themselves on the basis of their *gurusthan* headed by *sanyasis* : Kashi Matha, Parthagali Matha, and Gokarna Matha. When their *sanyasis* visit their temples casually or for *Chaturmasa Vrita* they arrange *Samooha* or *Sangha bhojan*. These food production and distribution occasions are known as *samaradhane*, meaning worshipping together. Also their temples maintain community halls which are rented for marriage and other purposes for caste members and again these are occasions for mass feeding. In both the cases the food served is vegetarian and is marked by variety and delicacy. Among the G.S.B. households also the culinary skills are highly developed as it is known from a popular book on G.S.B. gastronomy authored by Jaya V. Shenoi 'Amgele Khana-Jevan'. The other Brahman groups share a popular notion that the G.S.B. women have
no work at home except cooking because generally the G.S.B. are merchants and hence women do not have the burden of agricultural work or the works associated with cow-shed. It is held that the G.S.B. women spend most of the time in kitchen preparing different types of eatables. *Amgele Khana-Jevan* is an invaluable presentation in the weddings by the bride's mother to the bride.

Among our Brahman respondents, as we noted earlier are found the representatives of all these Brahman sub-castes from DK. However, out of 114 Hindu respondents only 11.40 per cent constitute Shivalli, Kota, Koteshwara Magane, and Sthanik Brahman, and 27.19 per cent are G.S.B. respondents. All of them are male and almost all of them admitted that they know cooking. They told that at their home in Goa and also at the native they strictly follow their religious and caste *vichara* and *achara*. But in the Hotel they are secular minded, their employees are from different castes and in some cases different religions. The important question that is to be answered in this section is why and how these respondents and some of their parents and children could use the culinary background for the purpose of gaining their livelihood. Their knowledge of cooking or their association with the production and distribution of sacred food cannot explain fully why they selected Hoteliering as an occupation. Their occupational life is a process marked by several kinds of challenges and while responding to them they creatively manipulated their traditional gastronomical links to suit to the contemporary secular and economic needs. To understand this process of "making of entrepreneurs" fully and clearly, we will now discuss some of the challenges and corresponding responses that led to the process of occupational choice first by Brahmans. Then we expand the
same to the other castes also to recognise fully the fact that the moment an occupational category detached from the notions of purity and pollution, and ascription emerges it opens itself to modern secular forces. Gradually, it transforms itself to such a great extent that its traditional character changes totally and in the course of time it becomes very difficult even to grasp clearly its original form and one may wonder whether this transformation has really taken place?

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

Case - I

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

Case - II

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

Case - III

He is a middle class Shivalli Madhva Brahman respondent. Father was a cultivator who owned four acres of paddy field and some coconut trees. The family was assisted by relatives in financial matters and that was how he could get education. During that time he
could have very well got a government job. But he did not want a salaried job. His main aim was to work independently through self employment. This particular conception which he held at that time, now he recalls, may be due to the prosperous business of his relatives. He migrated directly to Goa along with the relatives and for some years he worked in that Hotel. To start his own Hotel he got some portion of capital from them, and rest from the banks and other sources.

Case - IV

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

Case - V

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

**Case - VI**

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

Other than these cases of Brahman respondents we also came across some youth who started their Hotels in Goa as a response to their unemployment situation in the native place. And all of them have interest in culinary activities. A careful analysis of these cases show that the culture of entrepreneurship in the form of Hotel business has grown steadily as a latent function of responses of our Brahman respondents to the challenges of livelihood for which migration acted as a vehicle. There are three categories of respondents: first generation migrants, second generation migrants, and non-migrants.
The first generation migrant respondents are those whose fathers were non-migrants; the second generation are those whose fathers also were migrants; and the non-migrants are those who are born and brought up in Goa. In the case of non-migrants occupational persistency is the observed phenomenon. Their parents long back migrated to Goa and entered into Hotel business and these people just continued it. The migrant respondents and the non-migrant respondents’ fathers had to face challenges posed by such factors as poverty, lack of sufficient land-base, unemployment, personal ambitions, influence of the neighbours who succeeded in Hotel business either in Goa or elsewhere and so on. Therefore, the culinary skills and the gastronomical culture of the Brahmans of DK are not directly responsible for our Brahman respondent’s entry into Hoteliering. However, in the course of their response to the challenges of earning livelihood they had manipulated their traditional gastronomical culture to suit to their newly developing entrepreneurial culture in the form of Hoteliering. These adaptations are the results of their creativity. Our respondents admitted that even in the beginning in their Hotel cooked such food items which included the use of onion and garlic which are prohibited in the purely Brahmanic style of cooking. Some dishes like wada are prepared only during such ceremonies when the dead ancestors are propitiated. But they are now very attractive items of an Udupi Hotels’ menu. Our Brahman respondents at the beginning of their Hotels took along with them some boys of non-Brahman muttina jatis for cleaning work and Brahman boys for supplying work. The trend exists to this day with modifications. Now a days big boys irrespective of castes are searched for supplying work and small boys of non-Brahman jatis are searched for cleaning work. Some of the boys who were brought by Brahman
respondents and other pioneering Hoteliers who are not there now are the leading Udupi Hoteliers in Goa at present. Now our aim is to know the processes of migration and the resultant occupational choice among our respondents in general.

**Migration, Occupational Choice and Growth of New Entrepreneurial Culture**

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

**TABLE 26 MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No.</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No. of Hoteliers</th>
<th>Percentage to the Total *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>First level Migrants</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>91.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Second level Migrants</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Non - migrants</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>**118 *</td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dakshina Kannada (DK) district is the reference point to measure the level of migration. The first level migrants are those who by themselves out-migrated from DK and the second level migrants are the children of fathers who out-migrated from DK and settled elsewhere and they moved out of the places where their fathers settled. For them Kolhapur, Dharwad, Hubli and Shimoga are the reference places for out-migration. The non-migrants are the children of the fathers who out-migrated from DK and settled in Goa.
TABLE 27 AGE AT MIGRATION OF UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Illiterate</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>H.S</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>P.G.</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hotelier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.S.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.G.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to know the reasons for out-migration, the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa are asked to state the reason for their migration from their respective native places. The responses are tabulated in the Table 29.
### TABLE 29 REASONS FOR OUT-MIGRATION FROM NATAL HOME

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

1. **Poverty**

Poverty is referred to as the specific cause of migration by thirty Hoteliers. Among the 33 responses of more than one/any other reason, eight have got poverty as one among the reasons and all six cases of non-migrants stated that their fathers or close relatives who were responsible for starting Hotels in Goa migrated mainly on account of poverty situation at their native place. Except for seven Brahmans all other cases of poverty are of non-Brahmans. Among them nine belonged to *durina jatis* and four are Muslims. One of the reasons for introduction of *durina jatis* also for Hoteliering is the
increasing number of non-Brahmans in this field who usually do not give much attention to the notions of purity and pollution except for 'untouchables'. Secondly, successive generations of Brahmans took with them members of any castes as the need for such Hotel workers increased with the expanding membership of this enterprise across the country. Moreover, Brahman boys, irrespective of their economic background were not ready for such jobs as cleaning. On the contrary non-Brahmans were ready to handle any job situation. As opined by our respondents, among all the jatis the Brahmans and Bunts are comparatively better positioned than other castes because of their land ownership and ownership of business establishments. The Muslim respondents opined that their poverty is due to the over population at home and reliance on petty business like dry-fish vending.

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

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

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

4. Aspirations for better business opportunities as reason for migration

Ten respondents expressed that they had high aspirations to step into better business enterprises since the beginning. All of them were of secondary or above secondary educational level. Among them one is Kota Brahman, one Bunt, one Muslim and others are G.S.B.s. Among these respondents four were first stage migrants to Goa. Though their ambition was to make money, they mentioned the role of friends/relatives/caste members in coming directly to Goa. Except for a Muslim respondent who was taken to Hoteliering after a brief stint as working in a Barge
Company, these were directly introduced to Hoteliering. Three were second generation migrants, among them two came to Goa in their first stage migration due to border-dispute in Kolhapura and selected Goa by thinking that it will be a safer place. They also had mother-tongue affiliation to Goa. The third respondent of this category came to Goa as the manager of the newly opened branch of his father’s Hotel. The remaining two second level migrants and one third level migrant worked in Hotels elsewhere under different job situations except cleaning. The third level migrant and one second level migrant came to Goa and started Hotels at the invitation and help of caste members/friends/relatives. The third level migrant, infact, in his second stage of migration served as a cook in the Gulf and the money accumulated there served as capital source to open the Hotel in Goa. The other respondent has come down to Goa initially on account of his transfer from a Mumbai based Hotel to its branch in Goa.

5. Miscellaneous specific reasons for migration

We came across three cases of over crowding on land and four cases of quarrel at home and ran away as reasons for migration. The respondents for whose migration over crowding on land was responsible belonged to Bunts group and attained secondary education; one migrated at 15 years of age and others after 25. One respondent came directly to Goa at the invitation of some caste members. Another was a second stage migrant to Goa from Mumbai; he too came to Goa at the invitation of caste friends. The third one came to Goa at the third stage of migration because he considered Goa near to his native place. All these respondents since the beginning were associated with only Hotels for their livelihood.
Among the respondents who quarreled at home and ran away two are Bunts, one G.S.B., and the other had not revealed his caste identity. Two of them directly came to Goa, one with a view that he would not be located and the other came on account of his earlier acquaintance with Goa as a pilgrim. The other two were the fourth level migrants to Goa the other stages being such distant places as Punjab and Varanasi. Two of them migrated around the age of 22. This shows that they were adults when they took decision to run away. The fourth level migrants have been re-united with their native family, and of course, their arrival to Goa has been planned by their relatives and caste friends.

6. More than one/any other reason for migration

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

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

9. Did not go well with the brother-in-law at the native. Better business opportunities.

10. Over crowding on land, due to better business opportunities.

11. Curiosity, wanted to go out of the home and the native. Wanted to continue education.

12. Poverty. No interest in agricultural work.


14. Poverty. Some relatives picked up with them. Due to better business opportunities.

15. Over-crowding on land. Some relatives picked up. To make money.

16. Misunderstanding with ancestral family. Wanted to show that he is something.


18. Some relatives called. Due to better business opportunities.


20. No interest in education. Brother is a driver in Goa who searched a premises. Father’s assistance through initial capital.

21. Some relatives called. In search of better business opportunities.


23. No interest in studies. Initial training in Hoteliering acquired through brother’s Hotel in the native.
24. Was in search of some business. Married and came to look after father-in-law’s business established in Goa.

25. Land was sold. Went with father to Dharwar.

26. For better prospects. Invited by some caste friends.

27. Came along with father to Goa.

28. Came along with father to Goa.

29. Poverty. Some known people from near by village took with them.

30. After degree did not know what to do. Along with a friend came to Goa to start this business.

31. Wanted to be independant. Wanted to study away from home.

32. Poverty. Some relatives picked up with them.

33. Poverty. Unemployment. In search of better business opportunities.

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

1. Except for the six non-migrants (whose fathers were migrants) all others were migrants.

2. The majority, i.e., 91.53 per cent are first level migrants.

3. The cross-tabulation of the educational background shows steady increase in the level of education from father's to son's generation. However, the majority of the sons are half educated (i.e., 85 out of 118 are H.S or below H.S.).

4. Forty three out of 118 are first stage migrants to Goa. Among others, there are some who are highly non-stationary before arriving at Goa. Mumbai was the popular destination for many. This might be due to the better transportation to Mumbai through road and waterways and concentration of Udupi Hotels.

5. Only a few are entrepreneurs or proprietors at the beginning of their occupational career. All others joined as workers of different category in Hotels. This fact is reinforced by low age at migration of many migrants. This reinforces the argument that most of the present Hoteliers are brought by the pioneering Hoteliers as workers.

This last observation provides a clue to the recognition of a pertinent role being played by 'social capital' in guiding the course and consequences of migration in search of livelihood. By social capital we mean the primary relational network of family, caste, village and friendship.
Usually, the causes of migration are explored in the contexts of place of origin and place of destination by referring to 'push' and 'pull' factors. In the present study also push factors like poverty and unemployment and pull factors like better business opportunities in the cities have instigated migration. However, the actual process of migration has been guided by or taken care of by the 'social capital'. This supports our hypothesis that the majority of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa have been introduced to this occupation through their relatives/friends/village members.

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

We can conclude that "occupational choice" and "occupational entry" have been guided in the majority of the cases by social capital and the phenomenon of selection of occupation as such has taken place in a restricted sense in the case of majority of respondents. In other words, except for a few cases, occupation in the Hotel is not a conscious selection among many alternative occupations which are visible. All those who marched through a career pattern to ultimately become proprietors and those who continued their father's occupational tradition of Hoteliering did not make any calculated
selection as far as their occupation is concerned. Their occupational entry can be understood through delineating the role played by social capital through migratory channels (see figure 1).

FIGURE 1 EXPANDING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ENTRY

The social capital in Hoteliering is so pervasive and influential that it limits the alternatives and develops a false consciousness that Hoteliering alone is an answer for the solution of the problems of livelihood. Many of our respondents expressed that they are equipped only to this occupation; their relatives, friends and many villagers are prosperous mainly with this business. The popular notion among them is that those who cannot pursue education or those who cannot get white-collar job have only one option,
that is to start business or to be employed as assistants of various categories in flourishing business enterprises. The first preference in the latter occasion has been work in Hotels. The Hoteliers' tendency to employ known people for various job situations in their Hotels and their visits to the native for this and other purposes have created a favourable atmosphere in DK towards recruitment in Hotels outside DK as a means of earning livelihood for many.

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