CHAPTER FIVE

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

SOME CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

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

Scott’s (1988 : 259) Dictionary of Sociology defines mobility as a movement or change in relative position, whether it be physical or social. Consideration of mobility as positional change has been accepted by many writers (Goldhamer 1968 ; Miller 1960 ; Barber 1957 ; Sorokin 1972 ; and so on ). The positions are many and varied: geographic, class, caste, political, ritualistic, occupational, educational and so on. Very broadly mobility occurs in the context of all these positions. However, one very important analytical distinction is made between spatial mobility and social mobility. The spatial mobility, according to Caplow (1970 :88) includes two different things: the mobility involved in migration from place to place, and the mobility involved in the performance of work which is not attached to a single work site. The first is studied under the heading “migration“ and the second under “transiency”. The social mobility is indicative of social
positional changes of individuals, families and groups. Though very often the concepts of occupational mobility and social mobility are employed to indicate the same social process, it is very important to note that occupational mobility is only a part of social mobility. However, some mobility studies (see, for example, Payne 1987) consider that occupational mobility research is very useful to know various aspects of social mobility. According to such studies movement between social classes and statuses is operationalised in occupational terms and what is actually measured is movement between broad groupings of occupations. Hall (1969: 306) and Young and Mack (1972: 207 -220) recognised occupation as one of the most frequently used indicator of mobility in empirical sociological research. Occupational status is closely correlated with educational status, income, style of life, and other determinants of class status. Thus for research purposes a change in occupational position is probably the best indicator of social mobility. Miller, therefore, writes: “It has become common practice among sociologists to say ‘social mobility’ when we mean ‘occupational mobility’ ” (1960: 4).

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

**Vertical Occupational Mobility**

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

**Horizontal Occupational Mobility**

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

**Ecological Mobility**

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

**Types of Vertical Occupational Mobility**

Miller (1960: 5) distinguishes three types of mobility: inter-generational, intra-generational and stratum mobility. All these concepts are self-explanatory. The inter-generational mobility is changes in the occupational standing across generations. It is possible to have a two generational or three generational analysis. Intra-generational mobility is indicative of changes in an individual's occupational position during his lifetime - one point in his career is compared with another. Stratum mobility can be compared
with Caplow’s conception of ascent or descent of an entire occupational category in terms of income, prestige, skill, or another dimension - from one time period to another.

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

Rates, Causes and Consequences of Occupational Mobility

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

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

The study of the consequences of occupational mobility seeks to answer the question: “what happens with mobility”? By taking into account the personal and interpersonal consequences of occupational mobility it seeks to delineate the subtle relationship between occupational change and socio-cultural change. As observed by us in
the First chapter, the mobility of an individual from traditional occupation implies many things for himself and other individuals and groups with whom he establishes social relations. And also, by observing the particular occupational activities and the social relationships of the individuals engaged in them, one can discern the role of occupational changes in social change and vice versa (Desai 1981: 133).

Measurement of Occupational Mobility

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

Units to be Considered

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

Levels of Occupational Mobility

Occupational mobility takes place at several levels like the individual, the family and the group. Mobility takes place at all these three levels simultaneously. Sometimes it may be interrelated and some other times it may be discrete. Most of the studies interested in this aspect of mobility are rooted in the issues relating to stratification theory in sociology. For example, Sharma (1994: 196-209) discusses the levels of mobility in caste structure by employing several theoretical and conceptual tools. He writes, “Mobility at the familial level could be better explained in terms of repercussions of structural reforms. Reference group theory helps in the analysis of mobility at the level of individual and corporate mobility is better understandable by the concept of Sanskritisation and other related concepts” (Ibid. : 197). Traditionally, the Indian world view is not centred around vyakti unlike the western counterpart; it centred around sangha or samooha. An individual
was identified as a member of one or the other corporate group, say for example a caste or a tribe. Mobility or positional changes had to be understood mainly in the context of such corporate groups and Prof. M. N. Srinivas felt “sanskritisation” to be an important concept in this regard. Defining sanskritisation as “the process by which a ‘low’ Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, ‘twice-born’ caste”. Prof. Srinivas asserts that sanskrisation was generally accompanied by, and often resulted in, upward mobility for the caste in question. However, mobility may also occur without sanskrisation and vice versa (1972 : 6-7). While describing the nature of the process of sanskrisation in the case of tribes he maintains that the tribe undergoing sanskrisation always claimed to be a caste, and therefore, Hindu. In the traditional system the only way to become a Hindu was to belong to a caste, and the unit of mobility was usually a group, not an individual or a family (Ibid. : 7). The concept and its wide recognition only reiterate the existential reality of continuity of the Indian social hierarchy as a hierarchy of ritual purity and pollution. However, as observed in the First chapter, on account of the process of social restructuration other hierarchies also are getting prominance in defining the position of individuals, families and groups. These are the hierarchies of education, occupation and income. As a result, the contemporary existential reality exemplifies the coalescence of individuals, families and groups in the experience of mobility.

By examining the inter-generational and intra-generational occupational mobility of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa an attempt will be made to ramify, at least in a micro-level, the complex existential reality highlighted above.
INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF UDUPI HOTELIERS IN GOA: Occupational Background of the Natal Family and Inflow Analysis

All of our respondents originally belong to the DK district of Karnataka State. Therefore, irrespective of the migrant, non-migrants status and the levels of migration an attempt has been made to know the location of the natal family of the respondents. As shown in Table 30, the majority are from rural background (76.06 per cent). As a consequence, through an inflow analysis we can expect that majority of the Hoteliers natal family members traditionally are associated with rural occupations, agro-based and caste and craft-based. To probe into the matter we asked a question about the traditional occupation of the natal family. The answers to this question are classified in the following table.

**TABLE 30 LOCATION OF THE NATAL FAMILY OF THE HOTELIERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of the Natal Family</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Town/City</th>
<th>Near by town/City</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Hoteliers</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>76.07</td>
<td>17.09</td>
<td>6.84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:**
(i) One respondent did not answer this question.
(ii) Data also include those Hoteliers who by themselves are non-migrants.
TABLE 31 TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION OF THE NATAL FAMILY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional Occupation</th>
<th>Cultivation</th>
<th>Other than cultivation</th>
<th>More than one</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Respondents</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>118*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage to the Total</td>
<td>44.92</td>
<td>26.27</td>
<td>28.81</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Cultivation as the Occupation of the Natal Family

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultivation as the only Occupation</th>
<th>Cultivation as one among other occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owner cultivator</td>
<td>Owner cultivator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landless</td>
<td>Landless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labourer</td>
<td>Agricultural labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Hoteliers</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage to the Grand total</td>
<td>58.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

TABLE 33 OWNER CULTIVATORS AND THEIR LAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No.</th>
<th>Owner cultivators and their land</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage to the Total*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Both irrigated and unirrigated</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Only irrigated</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Only unirrigated</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Land lost</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Land gained</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Land sold</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72*</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among the owner cultivators only a few own more than 10 acres of land, irrigated and unirrigated or either irrigated or unirrigated. In DK no major irrigation projects exist. Here and there people follow lift irrigation. When the researcher visited some of the villages he came across many such instances where pumpsets had been fixed to wells, ponds and rivers; some cases of hand-lifting had also been observed.

TABLE 34 LAND OWNERSHIP OF NATAL FAMILIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0-1</th>
<th>2-3</th>
<th>4-5</th>
<th>6-7</th>
<th>8-9</th>
<th>10-11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unirrigated</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 above</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The amount of land owned is available to 61 natal families as revealed by Table 34. If we define those households with less than 5 acres land as small farmers, more than 5 and less than 10 as medium farmers and more than 10 as big farmers most out of 61 natal families belong to small and medium group. The frequencies in Table 34 concentrate around 4-5 acres of irrigated land and 6-7 acres of unirrigated land class intervals. Paddy
and coconut are the standard crops and we come across only a few cases of natal households growing sugarcane. However, our respondents and the members of the natal households which we visited in DK revealed that the cultivation is not at all a full-time and prosperous employment for them. Out of 82 Hoteliers who are related to the cultivation background and answered to our question, "do you assist your natal home?", 48 (58.5 per cent) replied with affirmative answer. Assistance takes several forms: sending some amount every month, major expenses like sinking the well, house construction or house repair, religious and social ceremonies. This shows that the majority of the natal households that fall within this category are dependent on the out-migrated members who flowed into Hoteliering. A look into the average number of dependents on land available to 59 native households reveals that it is comparatively high for small and medium farmers (5.76 members per family).

2. **Natal Families with More than one Occupational Background**

Among the 34 native households with more than one occupation, as noted earlier, 31 follow other occupations along with cultivation; the remaining are not involved in cultivation. Among the occupations listed in the below Table 35 many are 'petty' occupations as noted by our respondents; many are not at all lucrative.
TABLE 35 IMPORTANT OCCUPATIONS PURSUED BY MORE THAN ONE OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND CATEGORY OF NATIVE HOUSEHOLDS

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

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

3. Natal Families with other than Cultivation Occupational Background

Thirty one Hoteliers with other than cultivation occupational background natal families have varied occupations. However, most of them have entrepreneurial occupations which they term as business. Table 36 provides the occupational background of the native families of 30 Hoteliers of this category, for one respondent’s father has migrated long back and he can not recollect what his grand father did to earn his livelihood. Among those with the entrepreneurial occupational background four are having Hotel Keeping as occupation and the rest are distributed into such occupations as Fish Vending, Grossary/Provision Shop, Trade, Cloth Store, Vegetable Vending, Traditional
Condiments Store and so on. In this category information is available to 17 households of the number of family members. They have the average of 6.10 member per family.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No.</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No. of families Followed</th>
<th>Percentage to the Total*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Entrepreneurial Occupations</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>83.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Weaving</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Unskilled Labour</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

1. Majority of the Hoteliers, by and large, have natal families with rural, caste-based/craft-based occupations.

2. Cultivation is the major occupation of the natal families. Most of the natal households are small and medium level owner cultivators.

3. The occupational distribution of natal families shows that they followed either purely "Entry-type" or "Exit-type" occupations, or combination of "Entry-type" and "Exit-type" occupations. For example, some of the native households followed only priesthood or weaving or toddy tapping or Hoteliering; some other households
followed priesthood plus cultivation, or business plus cultivation or oil-seed pressing
plus cultivation.

4. Some occupations followed by the natal households like pipe blowing which were
Jajmani occupations, but our respondents denied the existence of Jajmani system in
their native place.

5. Among the 35 Hoteliers with entrepreneurial natal background 10 have Hoteliering as
the specific occupation of their natal families. To them we can add six non-migrant
respondents whose fathers or close relatives migrated to Goa and started their Hotels.
These are the cases of occupational inheritance and persistency in this level of
inter-generational analysis.

6. A substantial number of the natal families in one way or the other look toward their
Hotelier relative in Goa for financial assistance. For our question, "do you assist your
natal home financially?", as many as 52 Hoteliers answered affirmatively and 58
answered negatively. Among the latter 16 felt that the native households have
substantial resource base to maintain themselves without the financial help from
Hoteliers from Goa; and eight of them manage their families in Goa with great
difficulty. Some others admitted that earlier they used to help the natal family, but now
they are not. During the present researcher's visit to some of the native households it
became evident that the economic development in the form of house renovation,
building new houses, and sinking of wells owe much to the out-migration and
occupational mobility of the Hoteliers in Goa. These observations together with a re-
look into the causes of out-migration -like poverty, un-employment, and better
business opportunities in the cities - allow us to infer that the inflow of our respondents from diverse occupational background into the occupation of Hoteliering as workers in the initial stages for many and as proprietors directly for a few others has led to the changes in the economic position of the native households. Therefore, in this level of inter-generational occupational mobility not only occupational changes have taken place, but some amount of economic and positional changes have occurred. These can be treated very well as symptoms of upward social mobility.

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

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

It is sociologically significant to note that careers exist in a variety of occupations other than the professions. It can be argued that the notion of career is as applicable to manual occupations such as lorry driving as it is to professional occupations such as medicine (Dunkerley 1975: 25). Careers are defined as unfolding sequences of jobs usually related to each other (Hall 1969: 316). The mobility of an individual from one job to the other is predictable. Furthermore, this predictable series is arranged in a hierarchy of
status. "Viewing career in this structural sense means that it is possible to discuss the career of an individual as he passes through the related jobs and the career of a particular occupation, in that most occupations comprise a related series of jobs arranged in status hierarchies" (Dunkerley 1975:22).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) **The enterprise defined - early ceiling** career involves little advance preparation for the career; it also involves minimal skill and aptitude expectations. The individual in this type of work adopts the heuristic strategy in the beginning of his career. With the attainment of seniority and responsibilities shift will take place first to organisational and then to stability
strategy. (2) The enterprise defined - late ceiling occupation. Typical example is that of executive. As soon as completing formal education he will develop heuristic strategy while looking for best opportunities to utilise his skills. After entering the career he uses organisational strategy and changes jobs within his organisation and lastly his ceiling is reached and/or aspirations are satisfied. At this time the stability strategy is adopted.

(3) The early ceiling - colleague defined career is characterised by skills transferable from organisation to organisation, for example that of doctors, engineers, nurses, and teachers. But more or less the rewards offered are standardised. In this case merit is evaluated by the occupation itself. These occupations are themselves given higher ranking. The ceiling is achieved at the early stages of the career; the movements across organisations are usually based on attempts to improve living conditions. The career strategy is occupational at the outset and soon it will be shifted to the stability strategy. The advancement is sought through collective action in the form of union or professional actions.

(4) The colleague defined - late ceiling occupation pattern is exemplified by the professions. Soon after meeting the prerequisites for entering the occupations the membership is achieved. The occupational strategy followed at the outset continue rather late in life when the stability strategy is adopted. The professionals who depend upon clients are exception to this.

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

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

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

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

gaining experiences as role occupants of various categories of Hotel workers. It is during this time that their identification of their career basis has been emerged and subsequently evolved; the career strategies have been crystalised; and the definitions of occupational role have been clarified. In quintessence, the master target of proprietorship has to be recognised as the cumulative end product of their movement across positions in their pre-proprietorship career pattern. The time taken to achieve the master target, in terms of years, varies substantially for each Hotelier of this category.
TABLE 38 DISTRIBUTION OF HOTELIERS ON THE BASIS OF THE DURATION OF EXPERIENCE IN OTHERS’ HOTEL AS WORKERS

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

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

The above table gives the duration of work experiences in others’ Hotel for 76 Hoteliers including 62 who worked only in others’ Hotel and 14 who worked in both Hotels and establishments other than Hotels. The mean duration of work experience in others’ Hotel for these 72 Hoteliers is calculated to be 10.17 years. This brings home the fact that many of them have experienced a substantially long career pattern to reach to the point wherein they can prepare for adopting stability strategy. We prefer to categorise the career pattern of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa under the enterprise defined - early ceiling occupations for three reasons. Firstly, most of them in the pre-proprietorship phase had
been located in the occupation where the roles are defined by the employing enterprise itself. Secondly, their jobs were the parts of an occupation where little advance preparation for the career was anticipated. Thirdly, their jobs involved minimal skill and aptitude expectations. In their career the ceiling of each job was achieved soon and after remaining sometime in each job they progressed to other higher jobs until they became the proprietors.

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

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

Case II: - Worked in barge companies; owned a Hard-ware shop.

Case III: - Worked in fishing as assistant as well as a mechanic.

Case IV: - Worked in fishing as fisherman.

Case V: - In the native place assisted father in running the cloth store.

Case VI: - Worked as mechanic; the job was transferable; he was tired of transfer.

Case VII: - Worked in Kirlosker company; established this Hotel for better business opportunities.

Case VIII: - Assisted father in running his grossary shop in the native place.

Case IX: - Worked in a goodangadi as assistant.

Case X: - Worked as a screen printer.

Case XI: - Assistant in cloth store; the present Hotel is a supplementary to it.

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

In order to know the extent of the influence of social capital in deciding the career pattern of the Hoteliers two questions were asked - (1) whether the owner of the Hotel in which you worked is your relative? (2) Where did you get finance to furnish the Hotel?
Whereas the second question was asked to all, the first was to be answered by those who stated that they worked in others' Hotel before starting their own Hotels. The answers available to the first question shows that 34 Hoteliers earlier worked in their relatives' Hotels and another 34 expressed that the owners of the Hotels in which they worked were from either their caste/village/friend's circle or from their native district, that is, Dakshina Kannada. However, it is to be noted that many who worked in both the categories of Hotels felt that they were treated often not as workers but as family members.

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

TABLE 39 FINANCIAL SOURCES FOR FURNISHING THE HOTELS

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

The above table shows that a substantial number of Hoteliers drew upon multiple sources while establishing or refining their Hotels. Out of 36 of such cases 26 recognised
bank as one of their sources, and 16 recognise relatives/friends as one of the sources, and
four recognised the assistance extended by their earlier owners. With the help of this data
we can discern two important sources of finance for the present Hoteliers, the first
represented by the financial institutions, and the other represented by the social capital
source inclusive of earlier owner's help amounting to 49 cases. A further probing revealed
that most of the bankers were nationalised banks with employees from DK. This allows us
to conclude that even in the intra-generational occupational mobility of Udupi Hoteliers in
Goa, in deciding their career pattern social capital plays a major role and hence social and
occupational restructuration in the context of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa is guided by both
modern network of new occupational activities, cybernetic revolution, migration and
banking on the one hand and traditional network of primary relations of caste, family, kin,
friendship and district community ties on the other. The trend still continues. As many as
56 Hoteliers conceded that they have relatives as assistants in their Hotels. Almost all of
them are given such responsible jobs as overall management, cash counter, supervising and
cooking. Adding to these are workers of same caste group as that of Hoteliers and workers
form DK. The researcher could estimate that more than 60 per cent of Hotels employ
workers from DK though the trend is declining. All these are potential future proprietors
of Udupi Hotels.

**Proprietary Career**

The becoming of a proprietor can be seen as the culmination of one career
indicating the mobility from Hotel worker to proprietor. Of course, it can also be seen as a
beginning of another career, that is, the proprietorship to successful proprietorship.
Though all proprietors are not successful proprietors, quintessentially, all of them want to be successful. To achieve this they adopt mixed strategies in their proprietary career, By sticking on to the proprietorship they give expression to stability strategy. Heuristic strategy is given expression to in attempts to strengthen the economic position by investing in such items of additional earning as tourist taxi keeping, opening branches of the existing Hotels and so on. We will look into this phase of career pattern of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.

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

Ownership of the Hotel Premises

For the question, ‘whether the Hotel building is owned?’, only 18 Hoteliers answered affirmatively. Ninety six of them are running their Hotels in rented premises. Four of them have disturbed relationship with their premises mainly on account of legal matters. Among the 18 who owned their Hotel building except for the owner of a Gada Hotel all others expressed that the premises may cost several lakhs of rupees. The actual rent paid for the rented premises depend on several facts: the old rent or new rent; the size or type of the Hotel; and the location of the Hotel. For example, old rents are less when compared to the new. Old rents are as less as Rs. 51/- per month and new rents are as more as Rs. 16,000/- per month. The rent for gada Hotels are comparatively lesser than those of built-in premises. The Hotel premises located in the central part of a town are costlier in terms of the rent than in the sub-urban and extention areas. These examples
explain why most of the newly opened Hotels are found in the extension areas or why many Hotels that had been started after 1980 were small and middle sized (see chapter four table 22).

Class Perceptions

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

**TABLE 40 CLASS PERCEPTION OF THE HOTELIERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No.</th>
<th>Class Perception</th>
<th>No. of Hoteliers</th>
<th>Percentage to the total *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Upper Middle class</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>65.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Lower middle class</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Lower class</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>117</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As described in the above Table 40 the majority of the Hoteliers stated that they belong to the middle class, very few are the members of upper class and a few are of lower class. The Hoteliers who stated that they belong to upper class are mainly Bunts and
Brahmans. Those who stated that they belong to lower class are mainly from non-Brahman castes like Devadiga and Poojari; only two Bunt proprietors stated that they have lower class position. Almost all Hoteliers of middle class position stated that they posses most of the modern gadgets like fridge, LPG connection, fans and so on. The eating places of most of the Hotels are attractive with polished furnitures. Of course, there are a few exception of gada Hotels making substantial profit and their proprietors claiming that they belong to middle class. Another aspect of their career as proprietors is owning house or aspiring to own a house.

Profit Making and Career Stabilisation

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

To our question, ‘where do you invest the capital accumulated as profit?’, 108 Hoteliers responded and among them 14 categorically claimed that they have not made much profit and out of them a few earn only that much which is sufficient to manage the household. The capital accumulated by the other Hoteliers finds different ways for expenditure and investment. Some of the ways of expenditure are house construction, self and other relative’s marriage, social and religious functions at the native households and in
Goa, financial assistance to the native households, clearing the loan raised to establish or furnish the Hotel, and so on. Some identified avenues of investment are opening up new branches in Goa and across the state boundary, running other types of business enterprises like whole sale distribution, investing in the real-estate business, children's education (especially the capitation fee for diploma, engineering and medical education), Barge business, assisting relatives in starting their business enterprises, investing in tourist taxis, and so on.

Job Satisfaction and Career Stabilisation

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

1. Most of the Hoteliers perceive that there are enough opportunities in Hoteliering to improve their economic and social status.

2. Most of them are satisfied with their occupation.

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

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

INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY: Outflow Analysis

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

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

Among 83 Hoteliers who stated that they have children, 79 answered our question regarding their children's career. Out of these Hoteliers 28 specifically recognised that their sons will continue their occupation. Among them two Hoteliers mentioned that their
two male children will continue their occupation. Another important trend to be noted is that in some families if one son continues in Hoteliering other sons will go for other occupations, entrepreneurial or white-collar. Majority of the Hoteliers want their children to pursue higher education and subsequently to join white-collar salaried occupations. We could also come across another set of male children who will continue their fathers' occupation only if they fail to get any other work. Some Hoteliers do not want their children to join Hoteliering at any cost. Some others have not yet evolved any perspective regarding their children's future. Still others give freedom to their children to carve out their work-future. The white-collar jobs aspired for their children too are variegated. Some of the broad areas of work in this regard are: medicine, pharmacy, engineering, accounting, and the like.

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

Consolidating our findings about the inter-generational occupational mobility at two levels, inflow and outflow, it can be stated that a specific movement has taken place from rural, agro-based, caste/craft-based occupations to urban entrepreneurial
occupation of Hotel/Restaurant keeping at the first level, while at the second level a diversified movement is taking place which is seen in the tendency toward occupational persistency and deviation among the male children of the Hoteliers. One very important fact to be noted is that we could find out only two cases where children of the Hoteliers moved back to the native places of their fathers to pursue the traditional occupation of their forefathers, namely, fishing (of Mogaveera caste) and fish vending (Muslim). This fact allows us to infer that re-migration to once out-migrated area is a rare demographic phenomenon in the case of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.

CONSEQUENCES OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

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

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

**TABLE 41 FREQUENCY OF VISIT TO NATAL HOME BY THE HOTELIERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No.</th>
<th>Frequency of Visit</th>
<th>No. of Hoteliers</th>
<th>Percentage to the Total *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Often</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>65.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Very often</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Once in a year</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Occassionally</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>No visit</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>112</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Six Hoteliers did not answer this question.

The above Table indicates that most of the Hoteliers have kept up their pre-migration primary relations; a substantial number of them visit their native extended families often. Their continued relationship with the native extended families helps them in various ways. Such a relationship, for example, provides them with reliable and responsible assistants in looking after the Hotels. As many as 56 Hoteliers admitted that
they have got relatives assisting them in running the Hotels. Many Hoteliers are reluctant to treat them as workers; they are their intimate family members in the place of work. Some experienced workers from the same caste and village of the Hoteliers too get same kind of treatment.

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

The relatives assisting in the Hotels, and the workers belonging to various categories are the potential future Udupi Hoteliers. In the course of our discussions it became evident that these workers wish to establish their own Hotels in future. The male children of Udupi Hoteliers who show tendency towards occupational persistency and these workers of various categories are responsible for the continuation of the entrepreneurial culture of Hoteliering. As our respondents admitted, recently they have started employing anybody coming and, asking for job because of the non-availability of workers from only DK. As a result the current workers in Udupi Hotels belong to
different parts of the country and they are of different castes and religious background. Udupi Hoteliering is now an open "Entry-type", and secular occupational category thanks to its multi-caste, multi-religious, and multi-regional recruitment pattern as depicted in figure 2 below.

FIGURE 2 EXPANDING MEMBERSHIP OF UDUPI HOTELS IN GOA

![Diagram showing membership expansion of Udupi Hotels in Goa.]

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

An important area where the Hoteliers are supported by the native extended families is mate choice. Most of the married Hoteliers, except for a few, selected their partners from the same religion and sub-caste as theirs and native place. While searching mates suggestions have been taken from the elderly members of their respective extended families. Most of the single Hoteliers too expressed their desire to marry the members of their own religion and sub-castes belonging to their native place. With regard to the attitude of the Hoteliers towards the selection of mates for their children, changes are visible. Though they search mates for their children within their religion and sub-caste, the consideration of the 'native place dwelling' of mates is declining.
Migration and occupational mobility have led to changes in the residence aspect of the family. In the native place, all of our Bunt respondents and some others followed matrilocal residence and lineality traced through the eldest female member of the family. But in the place of work all of our married respondents have established patrilocal and patriarchal families. Simultaneously, our respondents continue with their relationship with native extended matrilineal families adding to the complexity of the process of social restructuration.

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

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

In the first phase of field work, we attempted to know the actual income of the Hoteliers in terms of rupees earned per month from all sources including Hoteliering and also the income of their fathers and children. Our main aim in so doing has been to find out whether Hoteliering has been leading to monetization and whether monetization in turn leads to conspicuous consumption. In the course of field work it has been realised that though the Hoteliers have good business they are very much hesitant to reveal their
actual income because of several reasons. Firstly, they are always worried about the Income Tax and Sales Tax officials. Secondly, they do not want to reveal their exact income to the researcher, who is a stranger. Inspite of these informational gaps, on the basis of the nature of the business activities in the Hotels the researcher could estimate that most of them are earning more than what is required for subsistence. The estimation has been confirmed during the second and third phases of field work wherein the researcher could establish more intimate and personal relations. Increasing income and the resultant monetization has been testified in more than one ways: in owning flats in the central areas of the city; in owning a variety of consumer goods. The manifestation of monetization has been clearly observed in the patterns of conspicuous consumption among our respondents. Conspicuous consumption presupposes monetization. Conspicuous consumption involves "wasteful" consumption and expenditure for show.

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

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

One important form of conspicuous consumption in marriages among the Hoteliers is dowry which corresponds by its nature to Prof. Srinivas' conception of 'modern dowry'. He writes, "In the dowry of today large sums of cash - frequently amounting to a few lakhs of rupees - are transferred along with the bride's kin to the groom's kin. In addition, the bride's kin have to meet all the expenses of the wedding including the travel expenses of the groom's party" (1984:11). Modern dowry presupposes a high degree of monetization in the community (Ibid:10). With monetization the incidences of dowry increase. In order to know whether the occurrence of dowry is increasing among the Hoteliers we asked two questions to them. They are: did you accept dowry in marriage? Whether dowry is essential in the settlement of your children's marriage? Out of 90
responses available for the first question, 28 are affirmative and 62 are negative. For the second question, totally 83 responses are available: 72 affirmative and 11 negative. Among 27 Hoteliers who are single, 20 have decided to marry and out of them 16 would like to demand dowry and four would not accept dowry. These responses reveal that demand for dowry is increasing and the tendency towards considering dowry as one of the preconditions for marriage is being strengthened. Most of the Hoteliers who accepted dowry stated that it is only in terms of a few thousands of rupees and some amount of gold. Only some of those who married recently had accepted dowry in some lakhs of rupees. However, while settling the marriage of their children most of the Hoteliers expressed that the dowry will be in terms of several lakhs and jewellery depending upon the socio-economic status of the bridegroom. Higher dowry is symbolic of higher socio-economic status of the bride and the bridegroom.

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

In the area of religion conspicuous consumption is visible in Goa as well as in the native place. In the Hotel premises God’s place is lavishly decorated with the use of silver and perpetual lighting arrangements. The researcher could also locate a Hotel with plaster of paris wall decorations depicting Gitopadesha. Performing special pujas in temples and inviting friends are examples of expenditure for show. In the native place many of the
Hoteliers have financially contributed to the renovation of their Bhutasthanas and Daivasthanas. Grand celebration of Kola or annual propitiation of Bhutas, making rich donations to the renovation of temples are some other avenues of conspicuous consumption in the area of religion.

3. Occupational Mobility and Status Inconsistency

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

Some of the Hoteliers face the problem of status inconsistency. Normally, similar social and cultural expectations are directed toward the various statuses occupied by an individual; this is the situation of status consistency. The acquisition of a particular status is often followed automatically by other consistent statuses. For example, people who accumulate wealth often gain positions of power, influence, and honour as a result (Scott 1988: 417 - 418). Status inconsistency is the opposite situation. In the course of informal discussions with the Hotliers several such instances have been noticed. Some of them are listed below.
1. Some Hoteliers felt that they are economically well-off and at the same time staying in Goa for quite a long time. However, in the decision making processes of the occupational association of Hoteliers in Goa (Goa Hotel and Restaurant Owners’ Association) they are discriminated because of the insider-outsider considerations.

2. Some Hoteliers were previously workers in other’s Hotels and now even after succeeding well in their present Hotels, when they meet their earlier proprietors they feel a sense of inferiority.

3. Some Brahman Hoteliers are often called to officiate religious ceremonies like Satyanarayan Puja by the wealthier non-Brahman Hoteliers. During such occasions the Brahman Hoteliers, though ritually superior, feel socially inferior.

4. Some of the Hoteliers, irrespective of their economic success, felt that their occupation is not as prestigious as that of white-collar professions. Therefore, their intention is that their children will get good education and they will enter these professions.