CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS
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Research Problem

This study has been undertaken with the aim of understanding the social background of occupation in general and occupational mobility in particular of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa.

Indian society is experiencing rapid social transformation since independence which is manifest in widespread urbanisation, urbanward migration, industrial expansion, tourism development, cybernetic revolution, expanding communication network, and so on. These processes have had major implications for the social and occupational restructuration in Indian society. However, the sociological understanding of these processes is rather problematic because of their complex nature. On the whole we are marching from status society to occupational society, and closed-caste based-hereditary occupational structure to open-caste-free-non-hereditary occupational structure where both labour and capital are free. But labour and capital mobility is also guided by the social structural positioning of the individuals and groups. In contemporary India such issues as occupational choice, occupational entry, and occupational mobility are guided by the traditional institutional network of caste, family and village community. Together with the primary relations of close friendship circle this institutional network operates as social capital in deciding and re-deciding the contours of social and occupational restructuration. To know these processes fully and clearly it is necessary to undertake sociological studies of occupations and professions in contemporary India.
During the last four to five decades the Sociologists have evinced keen interest in the study of occupations in India and as such we have different sociological studies relating to different occupations such as the teachers, the managers, the doctors, the industrial workers, the potters, the artisans, and so on.

Important as these studies are, they are very few. There are innumerable other occupations pursued in Indian society about which no systematic studies have been undertaken. Hoteliering, for example, has emerged in modern India as a lucrative occupation. Among the Hotels the Udupi Hotels and Restaurants are well known. There is hardly any city in India without Udupi Hotel. As far the knowledge of the present researcher goes no systematic study has been undertaken on the Udupi Hoteliers. The out-migration of the Udupi Hoteliers from their native places and entry into specific occupational categories and not others, their occupational mobility and the emerging reformulation of their social relationships with the traditional institutions of caste, family, village community and religion - all these present themselves to be important elements of social and occupational restructuration that is going on now in India.

It is for this reason that the present study of the occupational mobility of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa has been planned with the following objectives.

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

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

The Udupi Hoteliers in Goa constituted the universe of the study. To go ahead we
required a definition of the universe. Irrespective of the type of food served, and the
names given all of the Hotels' and Restaurants' proprietors who hail from DK are
considered as Udupi Hoteliers. Through the snow-ball sampling method 125 Udupi
Hoteliers were located. Data collection was guided by empirical methodology.

Keeping in view the complexity of the research problem under consideration,
multiple data collection methods have been employed and out of them 'interview' and
'observer as participant' are important. On the basis of the specific objectives of the study
an exhaustive interview schedule has been prepared and finalised after a pre-test. As seven
respondents out of 125 either did not co-operate or missing whenever they were to be
contacted, in the first phase of data collection information has been gathered for 118
Hoteliers. Second and third phases of field work have been conducted among some
selected Hoteliers, their relatives in the place of work and native place and some Hotel
workers to gather qualifying data.
The data collected have been subjected to both quantitative and interpretative analysis. Simple statistical techniques of frequency distribution and tabular presentation have been used to describe and analyse quantitative data. Keeping in mind the purposes of the study, the theoretical underpinnings and the possible critical bearings of the research questions the qualitative data have been analysed.

The whole thesis is organised mainly into Introduction, Six chapters and a conclusion.

**Overview of Literature**

The thesis includes an overview of some of the western and Indian perspectives on occupations and mobility. It was found by the present researcher that most of the occupational mobility studies in the west were national or international in character. Some are concerned with knowing the openness or closeness of society. While doing so highly sophisticated statistical techniques are used. The Western literature on mobility is of only limited use for the occupational mobility studies in India, especially the present study. Given its objectives the Western literature is helpful only to the extent of clarifying the meaning of some concepts. The studies on Indian society which have been overviewed recognised in one way or the other the transformational processes taking place in the Indian society and the resultant diversification of the Indian occupational structure. On the whole the studies overviewed stress the role of urbanisation, industrial growth, migration, administrative expansion, educational improvement, agricultural development and improved means of transport and communication as responsible for mobility.
It is also revealed that the relationship between occupation and society is very complex. The data reported from different regions for different groups and categories provide a variegated picture. Though occupations and mobility are ubiquitous the actual experiences are different for different individuals, groups, categories and regions. Unless and until we get data pertaining to most of the groups and categories we can not attempt at a general theory of occupational mobility in India. However, various groups and categories are still left to be studied. The Udupi Hoteliers constitute one such category.

Except for one sociological paper on Udupi Hotels by Stigtoft Madsen, a Swedish sociologist, all other available literature on Udupi Hotels are either impressionistic or journalistic. As far as the knowledge of the present researcher goes the sociological study of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa is non-existent. The present thesis contributes to our understanding and knowledge in this regard.

Research Setting

The setting of the study is divided into two parts: the geographical settings of Dakshina Kannada and Goa; and the institutional setting of an Udupi Hotel as an organised social group.

Dakshina Kannada constitutes the out-migrated space for the Hoteliers under consideration. Out-migration is both a part and result of social transformation, which is the result of various factors and processes like the growth of population, education, land reforms, and the spirit of rivalry and competition among the neighbours, castes and ethnic
groups for higher achievements in all walks of life. The out-migration is responsible for the general socio-economic development of the district as a whole.

Ever since the liberation in 1961 Goa is experiencing rapid socio-economic transformation on account of industrial expansion, urbanisation, and tourism development. The transformation is manifest in the creation of new occupational activities, especially in the infrastructural components of the economy. One such area is that of service occupations; the concentration of visitors and workers in urban and industrial centres necessitates the growth of the service occupations. They are of wide ranging nature including such tasks as that of tailoring, hair-cutting, wholesale and retail trading, door-to-door vending of daily necessities like newspapers, milk and vegetables, restaurant and hotel keeping, pan beeda stalls and so on. In Goa, the growing demands for these have been met to a greater degree by the in-migrants. A careful observer of the occupational background of these in-migrants finds certain patterns in their vocational selection. For example, in retail trading and wholesale business one finds Gujarathis in greater number; same is the case with milk-vending and tea-shops by 'Bhaiyas'; plumbing, scavenging and masoning by in-migrants from northern Karnataka, and restaurant and hotel keeping by Udupiwalahs, Sardarjis and Karwaris.

Among different types of Hotels/Restaurants found in Goa Udupi Hotels are important. The number of Udupi Hotels and the Hotels serving Udupi type of food items are on the increase over the last two to three decades mainly due to the increase in the demand for such Hotels among the middle class tourists and the middle class urban dwellers.
An observational note on the nature of Udupi Hotel as an organised social group provides an idealised account of the role-structure and lay-out of a typical Udupi Hotel. According to the type of occupational assignments and wages paid the roles and positions are broadly classified as managerial and manual. Under the former are included the Hotel Manager, the Supervisor, the Cashier, and the Bill Writer. Among the latter can be included the Cook, the Sweet Master, the Dosa Man, the Grinder Attendant, the Store Keeper, the Supplier, the Cleaner and the like. The jobs of the second category can be further sub-divided into skilled and unskilled, for example, Dosa making is a skilled labour whereas cleaning is an unskilled one.

A typical lay-out of an Udupi Hotel locates the God’s place, the cash table, the bill table, the eating place, the special room, the store room, the kitchen, and so on.

Social Background of the Hoteliers

While answering the question, who are the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa, an attempt has been made to know such background characteristics as sex, age, religion, caste and sub-caste, marital status, length of residence in Goa, languages known, education, dwelling place, growth of Udupi Hotels and their geographical distribution in Goa, geographical distribution in the place of origin, and some changing characteristics of Udupi Hotels. With regard to the sex composition of the Udupi Hoteliers except for one lady all others are men. Majority of the Hoteliers belonged to the age-group of 31 -40 and 41-50 years of age. Among the Hoteliers 114 are Hindus and four are Muslims.
Among the Hindu Hoteliers the representatives of various castes and sub castes are found. This supports our first hypothesis that the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa are of multi-caste background.

The highest number of Hoteliers (77.11 per cent) are married and are with living spouses. Only two Hoteliers, one male and other female are widowed; none is divorced or separated. Out of 89 Hoteliers who are married and living with spouses 91.01 per cent are with children and 8.9 percent are without children. Both of the widowed respondents are with children. Many Hoteliers (44.07 per cent) have Tulu as their mother tongue, followed by Konkani speakers (26.27 per cent) and Kannada speakers (25.42 per cent). A few (4.24 per cent) are having Malayalam as their mother tongue. Though Konkani is not the mother tongue of 73.73 per cent of the Hoteliers all of them know Konkani. All of the Hoteliers are multi-lingual in character. As far as the educational background of the respondents and their fathers is concerned the trends of change are visible. Whereas more than 50 per cent of the fathers were either illiterate or educated upto primary level, more than 50 per cent of the Hoteliers were educated either upto primary or secondary level of education. No one in their generation is illiterate. The member’s of children’s generation are getting good education. With regard to the type of dwelling place 56.78 per cent live in their own houses; 33.05 per cent stay in rented houses; 6.78 per cent stay in their respective Hotels; and 3.39 per cent are staying with their relatives.

The geographical distribution of the Hoteliers in their out-migrated space, that is, D K, shows that the coastal talukas - Mangalore, Udupi and Kundapura - together have sent large number of Hoteliers.
The geographical distribution of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa shows their concentration in the major towns of South Goa.

A close look into the year-wise development of the Udupi Hotels shows a steady increase in the number of Hotels in Goa. For the state of Goa also there is an increase of Hotels and lodging houses including paying guest houses. The Udupi Hotels in Goa might have grown in the manner in which other Hotels have grown. The reasons/factors like urbanisation and tourism development which are responsible for the growth of Hotel industry in general are responsible for the growth of Udupi Hotels also.

Using of ‘Udupi’ or ‘Udipi’ adage was once very popular among Udupi Hoteliers in naming their Hotels. ‘Udupi’ adage has been a sellable symbol. However, in Goa its use is a declining interest. According to Brahman Hoteliers it has become very ‘cheap’ when the non-Brahmans too started using the same not only for their vegetarian but also for their non-vegetarian restaurants. Similarly, by gone is the era of selling purely Udupi style food items by Udupi Hotels.

**Occupational Choice and Occupational Entry**

The visibility of alternative occupations and selection of a specific occupation are crucial and complex phenomena in the industrialising, urbanising and modernising societies. 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.

Together with the old influences like that of caste, family, and community new forces have entered the realm of occupational choice. Some of them are: industrialisation, spread of modern education, urbanisation, improved means of transport and communication, creation of new and secular occupations and migration.

For the people of Dakshina Kannada the competitive spirit coupled with population increase, expansion of higher educational facilities and widening communication network acted as push factor for migration. In the beginning the out-migrants had to seek job mainly in Mumbai and Madras, the cities which were connected to Mangalore through steamer and Railway. 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 D K should take into account the social implications of the demographic process of migration.

The birth of Udupi Hotels in India in general and Udupi 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 creative entrepreneurs. They are the originators of new values and practices that led to the forming of a new entrepreneurial set-up namely Udupi 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 and migratory 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 D K in search of livelihood and their gastronomic knowledge provided them with an option, namely, opening up of Hotels. Of course, the culinary skills and the gastronomical culture of the Brahmins of D K are not directly responsible for our Brahman respondents' entry into Hoteliering. A careful analysis of several cases of Brahman Hoteliers and other non-Brahman Hoteliers also has shown that the emergence and continuation of the culture of entrepreneurship in the form of Hoteliering are the latent functions of responses to the challenges posed by such factors as poverty, lack of sufficient land base, unemployment, personal ambition and so on; migration acted as vehicle to the responses. The course and consequences of migration in search of livelihood is guided by social capital, by which we mean the primary relational network of family, caste, village, and friendship. 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.

**Occupational Mobility**

Any study of mobility is a study of change, transformation and movement. It has to be undertaken in the social temporal and social restructurational context of the individuals, groups and categories under consideration.
Considering mobility as positional change has been accepted by sociologists. The positions are many and varied: geographic, class, caste, political, ritualistic, occupational, educational, and so on. Very broadly mobility occurs in the contexts of all these positions.

Though very often the concepts of occupational mobility and social mobility are employed to indicate the same social processes, it is very important to note that occupational mobility is only a part of social mobility. However, 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.

Among our research objectives studying of inter-generational, and intra-generational occupational mobility are included. The inter-generational mobility includes the changes in the occupational standing across generations. Intra-generational mobility is indicative of changes in an individual's occupational position during his life time. The former is analysed in terms of inflow into an occupational category and outflow from the same, and the latter is analysed in terms of career pattern.

The overall look into the inter-generational inflow into Hoteliering in Goa reveals several 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.

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 of the 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 natal families in one way or the other look towards their Hotelier relative in Goa for financial assistance. 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 has led to the changes in the economic positions in the native households.

The outflow analysis of occupational mobility mainly aims at knowing the tendency towards 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. Most of the Hoteliers with daughters were keen to arrange their marriages soon after their education. Even the fathers of such daughters who have completed professional education and also working
consider that the task of arranging their daughters' marriage as a very important responsibility.

Only 28 Hoteliers specifically recognised that their sons 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 other work. In this context it is to be concluded that the male children of the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa show a tendency towards both occupational persistency and occupational deviation.

The intra-generational occupational mobility or career pattern has been studied in two levels: pre-proprietor career and proprietary career. Majority of the Hoteliers, 70.34 per cent, worked in others' Hotel before entering their specific career as proprietors. It is during this time that their identification of their career basis has been emerged and subsequently evolved; the career strategies have been crystallised; and the definitions of occupational roles have been classified. 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. Totally 72 Hoteliers who worked in others' Hotel 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, 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.

There are 18 cases involving work experience in both Hotels and establishments other than Hotels and 11 cases involving work experience in the establishments other than Hotels. They provide the examples of disrupted career among our respondents. By probing into the financial sources for furnishing the Hotels we could discern that even in the intra-generational occupational mobility of Udupi Hoteliers in Goa, in deciding their career pattern, social capital plays a major role. Our explorations in the context of proprietary career 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. Only 18 Hoteliers owned their respective premises, 96 of them are running their Hotels in rented premises, and four of them have disturbed relationship with their premises. The majority of the Hoteliers (65.81 per cent) stated that they belong to the middle class. As our respondents are in-migrants they do not have their ancestral houses in Goa. And, therefore, as a part of their stability in the occupations and also life they go for their own house in Goa.

Our probing into the aspects of job satisfaction brought home 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 occupations.

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

While examining the aftermath of occupational mobility the study found out that 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 primary relations; they have contributed towards extended family cohesion.

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. 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.

Migration and occupational mobility have led to the changes in the residence aspect of the family. In the native place all of our Bunt respondents and some others followed matrilocal residence, but in the place of work all of our married respondents have established patrilocal residence.

Migration and occupational mobility have in general led to the overall development of the Hoteliers themselves 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.
Among our respondents Hoteliering has led to monetization and which in turn has led to conspicuous consumption mainly in the areas of marriage and religion.

Conspicuous consumption is visible in various aspects of marriage like dowry, costly invitation cards, lavish dinners, and the like. In the area of religion conspicuous consumption is visible in Goa as well as in the native place. Lavish decoration of God’s place, performing special poojas in temples and inviting friends are the 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, making rich donations to the renovation of temples are some other avenues of conspicuous consumption in the area of religion.

One of the dysfunctional consequences of occupational mobility has been status inconsistency experienced by some Hoteliers.

Important Conclusions

The hypotheses stated in the introductory chapter have been tested against the data collected and analysed at the various phases of field work and the following conclusions are drawn.

1. The Udupi Hoteliers in Goa belong not to any one caste or sub-caste; but they are of multi-caste origin.

2. Most of them have been introduced to their present occupation of Hoteliering through their relatives/friends/village members.
3. Most of the respondents experienced upward occupational mobility inter-generationally leading to monetization which in turn facilitated conspicuous consumption.

4. The male children of the Hoteliers show a tendency towards both occupational persistency and deviation.

Limitations of the Study

During the course of data collection and subsequent analysis several limitations of the study were identified. This was mainly due to some practical difficulties as well as due to some unforeseen problems. Some of the main limitations of the study are described below.

1. Our main plan initially was to interview all Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. However, in the absence of any official list of Udupi Hoteliers we followed snow ball sampling method and identified 125 Udupi Hoteliers. We feel that some more Udupi Hoteliers have escaped our identification. Out of the 125 identified Hoteliers 7 Hoteliers could not be contacted and the study misses to record the specificities of these left out Hoteliers.

2. Several statistical information recorded in the thesis are recollections of the Hoteliers during the course of the actual interview, and hence we can not expect mathematical accuracy from them.

3. In all the phases of field work we attempted to collect information about the income of the Hoteliers in terms of rupees earned per month. However, we can not obtain it.
4. In the course of our study we came across not more than 15 non-Dakshina Kannada Hoteliers who have included in their menu Udupi type of food items together with other items. They are not our subjects according to the definition of our study. The study would have become more inclusive if we were to use the term “Udupi” to refer to the type of food as in “Chinese” or “Punjabi” and “Udupi Hoteliers” as the category of Hoteliers serving that type of food. However, while analysing the expansion of membership of Udupi Hotels in Goa, Chapter four recognises the fact that by now Udupi Hoteliering is no more an occupational prerogative of the people from D K only.

5. While talking to some Hotel workers the researcher found out that in Goa there are a few cases of Hotel owners who turned out to be Hotel workers, experiencing downward mobility. The study does not take into account their experiences.

Some Areas for Future Research

An attempt is made here to identify some problems on which research can be undertaken in future.

1. In the course of study it has been observed that in Goa many people from D K are earning their livelihood as teachers, lawyers, businessmen, fishermen and priests. An occupational sociological study of these people can be undertaken.

2. The researcher could observe the prevalence of child labour in Udupi Hotels. The Udupi Hoteliers tell that the number of child labourers is declining. An indepth study of the existing child labourers is indeed a step toward the eradication of child labour.
3. The present study confined itself to only Udupi Hoteliers. It can now be extended to all other categories of Hoteliers in Goa.

4. The study recognises that the roots of Udupi Hoteliering is found in Udupi culinary culture. Social and anthropological study of Udupi culinary culture *per se* will be a worth pursuing research area.