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Occupational Mobility in an Urban Community

Introduction

SOCIAL stratification in a society refers to the structural inequalities prevalent therein. In an industrial society the unequal occupational structure makes the crux of the stratification system. Occupational mobility determines closeness or openness of a system of stratification. And the relative openness of a system is indicative of the mobility permissiveness of a social structure. But in a typical Parsonian sense the ongoing occupational mobilities in a society do not necessarily lead to structural changes/alterations in the short run rather these make that part of the system's activities which are essential for the maintenance of the equilibrium in a dynamic social structure. But high occupational mobilities in the long run are indicative of the structural alterations. Thus the concept of occupational mobility is a key not only to the study of openness of a stratification system but also to the study of structural inequality in a society.

This article tries to explore the different aspects of occupational mobility in an urban industrial community in India. Since the concept of occupational mobility is a key to study the openness of a stratification system, an attempt has been made in the article to find out the extent of occupational mobility that will serve as a measure of the openness of the system of stratification in the community under study and thereby the rigidity or otherwise of its social structure.

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Objectives

The basic objective of the paper is to examine different aspects of occupational mobility in an urban community. An urban industrial community is chosen for the study because it is often said that the caste-based traditional stratification system is opening-up due to the twin effects of urbanization and industrialization. In this context, our first objective is to find out the extent of occupational mobility at both inter-generational and intra-generational level and its reflection on the extent of openness of the stratification system.

In an open stratification system, individuals can move from the lowest occupational category to the highest one. Hence, the second objective is to analyse the average distance of occupational mobility. And the third objective is to compare the extent of upward mobility with that of downward mobility. Occupational mobility may occur due to opening of the stratification system. It may also occur due to the differential expansion or contraction of some occupational categories or even due to the expansion of the economy as a whole. Our fourth and last objective is to find out the extent of pure occupational mobility and thereby the extent of structural mobility among the sample respondents.

From Social to Occupational Mobility

Social mobility is defined as the transition of individuals from one class or strata to another. In an empirical study of social mobility the initial step is to locate and measure the social status of respondents. An individual occupies many statuses in a society simultaneously, only some of which are important for determining his position in the hierarchical structure of society. In an industrial society occupational status of a man is the most important factor determining his position in the social hierarchy as it determines prestige, income and power. Hence in most of the studies of social mobility, occupation is being taken as the indicator of social status and of the stratum to which the respondent belongs.

Social/occupational mobility is either horizontal or vertical depending upon the direction of the movements. Horizontal mobility occurs when individuals move from one occupation or status to another which is similar in terms of prestige, power and income. On the other hand if this movement is upward or downward it is called vertical mobility. Social/occupational mobility is called inter-generational when father's occupational status is taken as the point of reference and it is called intra-generational when subject's occupation in the past is taken as the point of reference in order to measure mobility.

Components of Occupational Mobility

Occupational mobility in any social system takes place mainly due to three reasons:

- (a) decreasing influence of father's status and family resources on subject's occupational attainment and its consequent opening-up of the stratification system to the subject.
- (b) It has been found that upper class has a lower fertility rate than lower classes. Hence the upper class is not able to procreate itself and has to accept members from the lower classes to fulfill some of its vacant positions arising out of deaths.
- (c) Because of structural changes in the economy some of the occupational categories may undergo contraction reducing the number of positions available therein. Similarly other occupational categories may undergo expansion increasing the number of positions available therein. These processes force individual's movement along the occupational hierarchy.

Occupational mobility which occurs due to opening of the stratification system is called 'pure' or 'exchange' mobility. In contrast, mobility that occurs due to the structural changes is called 'forced' or 'structural' mobility.

Literature Review

It is needless to emphasize that in industrial urban societies, occupation has become the most important determinant of social status. Time and again social scientists (Reid, 1977; Lipset and Zetherberg, 1966) have established that occupation of an individual greatly determines the extent of one's access to power, prestige and income. Hence, study of 'occupation in society' has become important in the understanding of stratification system. In sociology study of occupation has revolved around two basic themes, viz., occupational hierarchy and occupational mobility.

In any society occupations are not distributed at random. Rather, occupations in a contemporary society have a hierarchical structure in terms of prestige, power and income. In this context of occupational hierarchy the concerns have been to find out the amount of prestige associated with occupations on the basis of empirical studies and hence construct a hierarchy of occupations. Examples of such studies are the well known works of Halt (1961), Seigal (1971), Duncan (1961), Hall and Jones (1950) and Goldthorpe and Hope (1974). The other allied theme of concern has been to compare the occupational hierarchies of different countries and

communities for their similarities and dissimilarities. Studies of such kind are those of Thomas (1962), Trueman (1977), Lin and Xie (1988), D'Souza (1962) and Singh (1977). The basic aim of such studies has been, first, to find out the types of occupations that are more valued in a particular type of society and second, to find out the factors behind the differential values attached to occupations and their implications.

As indicated earlier the second major theme of concern among researchers in the area has been the mobility among occupation holders. In this context the subject matter of study has been inter-generational mobility and intra-generational mobility. And the main purpose of such studies has been to find out the frequency with which respondents have crossed the boundaries of occupational categories. Higher is the frequency of such instances lesser is the rigidity of the system of stratification. Hence such studies reveal the extent of openness of the stratification system. Study by Glass (1954) in Great Britain based on a national sample was pioneering of this kind. In the USA also studies based on national sample have been conducted by Blau and Duncan (1967) and Hauser and Featherman (1977). In India, studies of occupational mobility are based on samples drawn from urban and rural communities. Philips (1990) studied occupational mobility among the residents of Indore and found considerably high mobility among the subjects. His sample showed greater upward mobility compared to downward mobility. It also showed greater probability of occupational inheritance among respondents whose fathers had higher occupational statuses. Dubey (1975) studied occupational mobility among the professionals of Gorakhpur city and found high amount of status inheritance among the respondents. Most of the professionals' fathers were from non-manual, white collar and professional backgrounds. Intra-generational mobility among respondents were found to be very low. That apart, education, urbanization, nature and size of the community, size of the family, influence of parents, personal aspirations, etc. were found by Dubey to be the factors behind occupational mobility. Pande (1986) studied the effect of migration on occupational mobility in Hyderabad. This is a study of four generations. The author found negligible amount of downward mobility among the respondents but a high amount of (62.6 per cent) of horizontal mobility experienced by them. Presence of caste system has caused a somewhat different nature of studies in India. Saberwal (1976) in a study of small town in Punjab, has found that people were moving away from caste prescribed occupations and also observed withering away of the practices of 'purity and pollution'. Similarly, Rao (1987) studied two scheduled caste groups in Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh and found that because of industrialization, these groups have shifted from their caste based occupations to newer ones. Sarkar (1984) has also observed among his respondents in Mysore

city the shifting from caste-based occupations, inspite of the increasing demand of their caste based occupations.

Methodology

This article is part of a larger study on 'Occupational attainment and occupational mobility'. Field work for the study was conducted in Jamshedpur, an industrial-urban centre in the eastern Indian State of Bihar. Jamshedpur is a conglomerate of three administratively distinct cities. They are Jamshedpur Notified Area, Adityapur and Jugalalai Municipality. Universe for the present study is Jamshedpur Notified Area. The city is dominated by Tata group of companies like TISCO, TELCO, TataTimkin and Agrico and residential colonies of these companies. There are some other factories like ISWP, INCAB etc. located in the same area. Part of the land has been given on lease by the Tata group for the development of private colonies. These colonies are resided mainly by traders, transport agents, contractors, etc. In the fringe of this core has developed some ancillary units which take job contracts from Tata group of companies. Thus the universe has sizeable working class population particularly of the unorganized sector which are mostly sundry workers. Further, as the district headquarter, it houses the State Government offices and officials. Thus the universe of the study was sufficiently heterogeneous in terms of its ethnic, class and occupational composition.

For the purpose of sampling Jamshedpur Notified Area was divided into thirty grids. Of these thirty grids fifteen were selected randomly. Each of these grids was toured and 40 households were selected from each grid. Thus a sample of 600 households was randomly chosen from Jamshedpur Notified area. In this study the tool used for data collection is a self-administered questionnaire which was largely structured.

The representative nature of the sample is well reflected in its demographic characteristics. The sex ratio is 87:13. The frequency distribution in the sample for the variable of 'age' shows near complete normality. Majority of the respondents i.e. 51.3 per cent were younger being in the age groups of 15-25 and 26-35 (11.5 per cent + 39.8 per cent) while the other lot i.e. 43.4 per cent were in the middle age group of 36-45 and 46-55 (25.3 per cent +18.1 per cent) and the remaining 5.3 per cent were in the age group 56+. Similarly, 2.5 per cent of the respondents were illiterate and 9.7 per cent were not so well educated (below SSC). But of the remaining vast majority of the respondents 30 per cent were (SSC + HSC) high school passouts while the majority 57.5 per cent were highly educated (i.e. 30.8 per cent were graduates and 26.7 per cent were PGs and professionals). Lastly, in terms of their sectoral employment majority of the respondents i.e. 64.7 per cent

were in the organized sector, 29.9 per cent were in the unorganized sector and 5.4 per cent were self-employed.

The first step in the analysis of the occupational mobility is to divide the occupations into different categories. To analyse occupational mobility, usually two types of cross tabulations are employed. The first type is inflow analysis which analyses the recruitment pattern for each of the occupational categories. Here, we try to find out categories from which the inflow has taken place. The inter-generational inflow analysis reveals percentage of fathers in different occupational categories. In other words this table entails the pattern of the inflow into the respondents' occupational categories from the fathers' occupational categories. The inflow intra-generational analysis compares the present occupations of the respondents with their first occupations. It reveals the in-flow of percentages of respondents to their present occupational categories from first occupational categories. Unlike the inflow analysis, the outflow-analysis explicitly analyses the respondents' occupational mobility as it entails the proportion of individuals who have moved up or down to other categories in comparison to the occupational categories of their fathers. Hence here the point of reference being the fathers' occupational categories we are to find out the percentages of the respondents that have moved out of fathers' occupational categories to various other occupational categories. Therefore, it reveals the pattern of the outflow from the fathers' occupational categories to the respondents' occupational categories. Similarly outflow analysis can be attempted for intra-generational mobility, the table which indicates the percentages of respondents who have moved up or down to occupational categories other than their first categories. Thus out-flow analysis measures the total mobility i.e. both structural and pure mobility.

In order to measure pure mobility in the out-flow table instead of the percentage figures, mobility ratio is being used. The mobility ratio is based on the theory of probability. It takes into account both the margins to calculate the probable number of the respondents in each of the cells in the table. A value of 1 in any of the cells indicates that in the particular cell the number of respondents is equal to the number of respondents expected by the probability theory. Whereas a value of more than 1 in any of the cells indicates that the number of respondents in the particular cell is more than the expected and hence implies that mobility has occurred (Blau and Duncan, 1967: 35; Yasuda, 1964 and Goldhamer, 1968). The procedure of calculating mobility ratio is as follows:

if $P_{(EK/EJ)}$ = Probability of movement -of respondents with origin in Ej to Ek

then,

$$P_{(EK/EJ)} = \frac{\text{Respondents with origin in } E_j \text{, who enters } Ek}{\text{All respondents having origin in } E_j}$$

In order to get the mobility ratio. $P_{(EK/EJ)}$ is divided by the proportion of the total number of respondents who have entered into the category Ek, given by symbol $P_{(EK)}$ Thus:

$$\text{Mobility Ratio} = \frac{P_{(EK/EJ)}}{P_{(EK)}}$$

Categories of Occupations

It is evident from the above discussion that in order to analyse occupational mobility it is essential to categories different occupations on the basis of prestige (the criterion selected for occupational categorisation in this study) of occupations across which movement of the individuals will be studied. Usually the number and composition of such categories of occupations are dependent upon the scope and aim of the study and also to a great extent it is dependent upon the judgement of the concerned researcher. Owing to the involvement of the judgement which could be subjective such categorizations are always open to criticisms (Kelshall *et al.*, 1984: 120). Glass (1954) in his pioneering study of occupational mobility in Britain used seven occupational categories. Blau and Duncan (1967) had used 17 occupational categories to analyze occupational mobility in the U.S.A. In a later study of occupational mobility in the U.S.A. Featherman and Hauser (1978) have used two schemes of occupational categories. In one of these schemes occupations were classified into 12 categories while in the other they were classified into five categories only. In case of India, we find similar type of variation in the use of occupational categories. D'Souza (1962) who has studied the occupational grading in India has recommended use of seven occupational categories. Pande (1986) in her study of occupational mobility among migrants has used nine occupational prestige categories. Phillips (1990) in his study of occupational mobility in Indore has used four such categories.

After a careful consideration of the aims of our study, size of the sample and variety of occupations found in our sample and taking cue from earlier studies in

India we decided to use a classification scheme in which occupations are grouped into five prestige categories. Details of this classification is given below:

Category I: The most prestigious occupations; included Company Directors, Medical Doctors, General Managers, Divisional Managers, I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers and other Higher Civil Services officers, Academicians and Judges.

Category II: The more prestigious occupations; included Work Managers, Engineers, Middle Level Police and Administrative Officers, High School Teachers, Branch Managers of Banks, Heads of Small Firms, Post Masters, Journalists, etc.

Category III: The moderately prestigious occupations; included Head Clerks, Clerks, Junior Engineers, Foremen, Inspectors, Supervisors, Sales Agents, Senior level technicians like die makers, etc.

Category IV: The less prestigious occupations; included Operators, Machinists, Mechanics, Carpenters, Taxi Drivers, Bus Drivers and other skilled workers.

Category V: The least prestigious occupations; included unskilled sundry workers.

The frequency distribution in the sample for each of the categories is given in Table 1. It is based on the first occupations of the respondents and of the fathers as well.

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE ACROSS OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

| | <i>Number of the Respondents</i> | <i>Number of the Fathers*</i> |
|--------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Category I | 23 (3.8%) | 38 (6.4%) |
| Category II | 145 (24.2%) | 105 (17.8%) |
| Category III | 227 (37.8%) | 219 (37.1%) |
| Category IV | 135 (22.5%) | 185 (31.3%) |
| Category V | 70 (11.7%) | 44 (7.4%) |
| Total | 600 | 591 |

*9 respondents were unaware of their father's first occupations.

Inter-Generational Mobility

Inter-generational mobility compares the occupational status of the respondents with that of their fathers'. This comparison tells us whether the respondents have

moved up or down and also the extent to which respondents' occupations depend upon the fathers' occupations. In a society with open stratification system and equality of opportunity there is high degree of occupational mobility with off-springs moving upward or downward in accordance with their abilities. On the other hand, in a closed stratification system respondents' occupations greatly depend upon that of their fathers'. Hence, they mostly tend to remain in their fathers' occupational categories and the degree of occupational mobility remains low.

It is important that for the comparison between occupations of fathers and that of respondents, we need to refer to the same points of their respective careers. In the absence of this precaution a biased picture is likely to emerge. For example, if a respondent's present occupation is compared with his father's present/last occupation, mobility table is likely to show high amount of downward mobility. In view of this, we have compared the first occupations of the respondents with the first occupations of the fathers.

Inter-Generational Inflow Analysis

Inflow analysis at the inter-generational level finds out for each destination category the pattern of recruitment. For the purpose of this analysis the categories of respondents' occupation are infact the destination categories, whereas the categories of fathers' occupation are the origin categories. Table 2 provides the in-flow pattern for the present study.

TABLE 2: INTER-GENERATIONAL IN-FLOW

(in percentage)

| <i>Categories of fathers' first occupations</i> | <i>Categories of Respondents' first occupations</i> | | | | |
|---|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| | <i>I</i> | <i>II</i> | <i>in</i> | <i>IV</i> | <i>V</i> |
| I | 8.7 | 17.4 | 4.0 | 1.5 | 0 |
| II | 13.0 | 29.2 | 17.8 | 13.8 | 2.9 |
| III | 69.6 | 32.6 | 44.4 | 29.2 | 26.1 |
| IV | 8.7 | 13.2 | 27.6 | 48.5 | 56.5 |
| v | 0 | 7.64 | 6.2 | 6.9 | 14.5 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Self-recruitment is very much evident from this table. 44.4 per cent of the category III employee and 48.5 per cent of the category IV occupation holders

are from the same background. Even in the occupational category II where the self-recruitment is not so high (29.2 per cent) and in category V where the self-recruitment is only modest (14.5 per cent), most of the inflows have been from the adjacent occupational categories. Only exception of this trend is category I which has recruited a majority i.e. 69.6 per cent of its member from category III. This is indicative of high degree of upward mobility in the case of category I. On the contrary the evidences of downward mobility are not absent altogether.

Second trend which emerges from the table is the near total absence of extreme mobility. It can be seen that none of the respondents in the least prestigious group has father from the most prestigious group. Similarly none of the respondents in the most prestigious group has father from the least prestigious group.

Respondents who had fathers in category II and category III have been the most mobile. All the occupational categories except V have recruited at least 13 per cent of their members from category II. Similarly, categories I and II have recruited 70 and 33 per cents from category III which are reasonably high. Category IV and V have also recruited 29 and 26 per cents from category III. To Blau and Duncan (1967:34-48) such mobility should be accompanied by minimum amount of category self-recruitment. But in contradiction to this position we find a high degree of self-recruitment (44.4 per cent) in category III. This may occur due to high degree of structural mobility caused by the expansion of categories I and II. Expansion of the categories I and II was because of the growing nature of industrialization and the subsequent expansion of the city of Jamshedpur in the 1970s and 80s bringing a fairly good number of Central and State Government offices of which the middle class i.e. category III took the maximum advantage. From Table 2 it is clear that the three categories in the middle of the hierarchy i.e. II, III and IV are the most open ones. These categories have accepted members from all the origin categories. On the other hand, categories I and V are relatively more closed. Destination category I has no respondent from the origin category V and destination category V has no respondent from the origin category I.

Thus we find that on inter-generational level there is high amount of self-recruitment. It is associated with the contradictory trend of high degree of in-flow which are mostly of short distances. Thus the overall picture that emerges is only that of a moderately open stratification system.

Inter-Generational Outflow Analysis

In Table 3 we have cross-tabulated categories of respondents' first occupations against their fathers' first occupations in terms of both absolute numbers and percentages. This particular table will help us to understand the out-flow of

respondents from fathers' occupational categories to other categories and will thus throw light on inter-generational mobility.

A cursory look at the marginals of the table, makes clear that occupational categories I and IV have shrunk with the passage of time. While 6.4 per cent of the fathers were in the category I, only 3.9 per cent of the respondents are in this category. On the other hand category II and V have expanded and category III has almost remained constant. We may reasonably expect the mobility of respondents from the categories which have contracted towards the categories which have expanded. From Table 3 it is noticeable that there has been downward occupational mobility from the category I (which has contracted) to the category II (which has expanded). Other instances of such structural mobility are, upward mobility from category III to category II, from category IV to III and downward mobility from category IV to V.

TABLE 3: INTER-GENERATIONAL OUT-FLOW

(in percentage)

| <i>Categories of father's first occupations</i> | <i>Categories of respondents' first occupations</i> | | | | | |
|---|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------|
| | <i>I</i> | <i>II</i> | <i>III</i> | <i>IV</i> | <i>V</i> | |
| I | (2) ^a 5.3 ^b | (25) 65.8 | (9) 23.7 | (2) 5.3 | (0) 0 | (38) 6.4% 100% |
| II | (3) 2.9 | (42) 40.0 | (40) 38.0 | (18) 17.1 | (2) 1.9 | (105) 17.8% 100% |
| III | (16) 7.3 | (47) 21.5 | 45.7 (100) | (38) 17.4 | (18) 8.2 | (219) 37% 100% |
| IV | (2) 1.1 | (19) 10.9 | (62) 33.5 | (63) 34.1 | (39) 21.1 | (185) 31.3 100% |
| V | (0) 0 | (11) 25.0 | (14) 31.8 | (9) 20.5 | (10) 22.7 | (44) 7.3 100% |
| Total | (23) 3.9% | (144) 24.4% | (225) 38.1% | (130) 22.0% | (69) 11.7% | (591)* 100% |

a. absolute numbers, b. percentages.

* Nine respondents were unaware of their fathers' first occupations.

We find that a high percentage of respondents whose fathers had started career in categories I and II have moved downward. 65.8 per cent of respondents whose fathers were in category I have been made to start their career from category II

and 23.7 per cent from category III. A similar trend of downward mobility emerges in category II, inspite of the expansion of this category, although here a negligible 2.9 per cent of respondents have moved up to category I. Downward mobility of respondents originating from category I may be due to contraction of the group. But this argument does not hold true for category II as it has expanded.

In the third category a different trend emerges. Respondents whose fathers started their careers in category III are the most mobile lot. They have moved up to category II (21.5 per cent) and to category I (7.3 per cent), as well as moved down to category IV (17.4 percent) and category V (8.2percent). This same trend continues in category IV although here proportion of people moving up to category I (1.1 per cent) is very low. But significant percentages of respondents have moved up and down to adjacent occupational categories of III and V.

Respondents whose fathers were in category V face a constraint in the sense that none of them have been able to move up to category I. But a significant percentage (25 per cent) of subjects have been able to move up to category II. This is found to be the most upwardly mobile group because from it a high percentage of respondents have moved up to categories III and IV (31.8 and 20.5 per cents respectively).

On the basis of this analysis we may say that there is a high degree of inter-generational mobility among our respondents. To further examine this conclusion, we have found out the number of people who have moved up or down in Table 3. Addition of the number of respondents in the cells above the main diagonal gave the total number of downwardly mobile respondents. While addition of the number of respondents in the cells below main diagonal provided the total number of upwardly mobile respondents. Addition of the numbers in the cells of the main diagonal gave the number of respondents who have inherited their statuses from fathers. Thus, of the total sample 63.2 per cent of the respondents have started their careers in occupational categories other than that of their fathers. And 32.3 per cent of the total sample have been downwardly and 30.9 have been upwardly mobile. So status inheritance among respondents is 36.7 per cent which is moderately high.

This trend of high mobility is indicative of an open stratification system. But it is marked by some contradictory facts also. First, the values in the main diagonal of the Table 3, showing status inheritance are moderately high except for category I. Status inheritance is high in case of II and III categories where 40 and 45.7 per cents of the respondents respectively started their careers from their fathers' categories. Second, most of the mobilities are of short distances except in case of category V where 25 per cent of the respondents took a leap of three categories and started their careers from category II. Noteworthy is the fact that there is not

a single case of extreme upward or downward mobility i.e. none of the respondents who has father in category I have started his career from category V and similarly none of the respondents who has father in category V has started his career from category I. Third, the most likely cause of mobility in many of the cases is not opening of the stratification system but the expansion or contraction of the occupational categories.

Thus visibly that two contradictory trends are emerging. First trend is of high mobility and the second is of high status inheritance. This may be on account of high amount of structural mobility where mobility is forced due to structural changes in the occupational structure. This assumption will be examined in the next section with the help of a table of mobility ratio which separates pure mobility from structural mobility.

Inter-Generational Pure Mobility

Mobility table based on mobility ratios separates pure mobility from structural mobility. Here, value of 1 of mobility ratio in any of the cells signifies perfect mobility. It implies that in the particular cell number of respondents is equal to the statistically expected number. If in a mobility table each entry is 1, it implies that the variable of fathers' occupation has no effect on the variable of respondents' occupation. And a value of more than 1 implies that it is more than what is statistically probable. Hence, a value of more than 1 is the indicator of pure occupational mobility for that cell. Whereas a value of less than one means that frequency in the cell is less than the expected (on the basis of probability) and no mobility has occurred for the cell (Blau and Duncan, 1967: 35 and Yasuda, 1964).

Table 4 emphasizes the high amount of occupational inheritance. All the entries in the cells of the main diagonal have values more than one. It implies that respondents who have started their careers in the same category that their fathers had started are infact more than statistically expected.

As the table shows, it is not merely that the occupational inheritance is high, occupational mobility is also very low. Leaving 5 entries of the main diagonals showing occupational inheritance, of the remaining 20 cells, only 3 are showing occupational mobility. Thus it is clear that pure occupational mobility is very low. Whatever occupational mobility exists it is of short distances only.

Some of the contradictions exhibited in the Table 3 are resolved in this table:

- (a) According to Table 3 occupational inheritance was considerably low in category I because of low percentage (5.3 per cent) in the relevant cell of

the main diagonal. But according to Table 4, there is high level of occupational inheritance (mobility ratio of the cell is 1.36) and low percentage in the relevant cell of the category I in the Table 3 is due to contraction of the category I. (b) Table 3 had also shown that a good percentage (25 per cent) of respondents with fathers in occupational category V have moved up to category II. But in Table 4 the mobility ratio is 1 in the relevant cell. It means that no pure mobility has occurred from category V to category II. The high percentage in the corresponding cell of Table 3 was due to structural mobility.

TABLE 4: INTER-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN RATIOS

| <i>Categories of Fathers' first occupations</i> | <i>Categories of Respondents' first occupations</i> | | | | |
|---|---|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|
| | <i>I</i> | <i>II</i> | <i>III</i> | <i>IV</i> | <i>V</i> |
| I | 1.36 | 2.70 | 0.62 | 0.24 | 0.0 |
| II | 0.74 | 1.64 | 1.00 | 0.78 | 0.16 |
| III | 1.87 | 0.88 | 1.2 | 0.79 | 0.70 |
| IV | 0.28 | 0.42 | 0.88 | 1.55 | 1.80 |
| V | 0.0 | 1.00 | 0.83 | 0.93 | 1.94 |

Tables 2 and 3 which include both structural and pure mobility, had shown high degree of occupational mobility and moderate amount of occupational inheritance. Table 4 which includes only pure mobility shows low degree of occupational mobility and high amount of occupational inheritance. Hence it is evident that high amount of occupational mobility shown in Tables 2 and 3 were in fact structural mobility. Therefore, we observe that most of the mobility occurring are due to the structural changes and consequent expansion or contraction of occupational categories.

Thus we may say that in the urban community under study, there is high degree of inter-generational forced mobility occurring due to structural changes. Our study does not show high degree of pure occupational mobility indicating that our stratified occupational structure is only partially open.

Intra-Generational Mobility

In this section our aim is to examine the pattern and extent of mobility of the respondents, from the occupational categories, they had started their careers to the categories they have moved-in. Unlike in the previous section, here we attempt to

analyze movements within a generation. For this purpose, the first occupations of the respondents are tabulated against their occupations in 1993 when the data were collected for this study. Degree of occupational mobility is linked to the extent of openness of the stratified occupational structure. Like we did in the previous section, here too we will employ in-flow and out-flow analysis with percentages and ratios to analyse intra-generational occupational mobility.

Intra-Generational In-Flow Analysis

The intra-generational in-flow analysis examines the occupational backgrounds of respondents in different occupational categories. Table 5 presents data on intra-generational in-flow in percentages.

TABLE 5: INTRA-GENERATIONAL IN-FLOW

(in percentage)

| <i>Categories of occupations of the Respondents</i> | <i>categories of Respondents' first Occupations in 1993</i> | | | | |
|---|---|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|
| | <i>I</i> | <i>II</i> | <i>III</i> | <i>IV</i> | <i>V</i> |
| I | 26.8 | 0 | 0.4 | 0 | 0 |
| II | 61.0 | 68.1 | 5.0 | 0.8 | 0 |
| III | 11.0 | 29.4 | 68.2 | 5.0 | 5.3 |
| IV | 0 | 2.5 | 20.5 | 63.0 | 10.5 |
| V | 1.2 | 0 | 5.8 | 31.1 | 84.2 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

The dominant trend that emerges from the above table is the overall stagnation. As the main diagonal shows, in all the occupational categories except category I more than 60 per cent of the respondents were recruited from the same categories in which they are currently placed. Occupational stagnation is the worst in category V where 84.2 per cent of its respondents have stagnated in the same occupational category. The only exception to this trend is category I in which 61 per cent of its present constituents have been recruited from category II indicating an upward trend in the occupational mobility.

Within this overall trend of stagnation, some more signs of mobility are visible. Categories II, III and IV have recruited more than 20 per cent of their members from categories just below them indicating some amount of upward-mobility. But all the cases of such mobility are of short distances only. On the other hand, Table

5 shows hardly any significant downward mobility except in the case of category V which has recruited only 10.5 per cent of its members from category IV. With exception to the above case, value in each cell showing downward mobility is less than 6 per cent. Thus the analysis of recruitment patterns at intra-generational level clearly shows occupational stagnation, although there exists some amount of upward mobility.

Intra-Generational Out-flow Analysis

The point of reference for out-flow analysis is the first occupation of each of the respondents, from where they have moved to other occupations. Our analysis aims at finding out the magnitude and direction of such outflows among the sample population. Table 6 presents percentages of occupational out-flow by cross-tabulating categories of first occupations of the respondents against their occupational categories in 1993.

TABLE 6: INTRA-GENERATIONAL OUT-FLOW

(in percentage)

| <i>Categories of Respondents' first occupations</i> | <i>Categories of Respondents' Occupations in 1993</i> | | | | | <i>Total</i> |
|---|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|--------------------|
| | <i>/</i> | <i>II</i> | <i>III</i> | <i>IV</i> | <i>V</i> | |
| I | 95.7 ^a (22 ^b) | 0 (0) | 4.3 (1) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 100% 23: 3.9% |
| II | 34.5 (50) | 55.9 (81) | 9.0 (13) | 0.7 (1) | 0 (0) | 100% 145: 24.3% |
| III | 4.0 (9) | 15.4 (35) | 77.5 (176) | 2.6 (6) | 0.4 (1) | 100% 227: 38% |
| IV | 0 (0) | 2.3 (3) | 39.8 (53) | 56.4 (75) | 1.5 (2) | 100% 133: 22.3% |
| V | 1.4 (1) | 0 (0) | 21.7 (15) | 53.6 (37) | 23.2 (16) | 100% 69: 11.6% |
| Total | 13.7% (82) | 19.9% (119) | 43.2% (258) | 19.9% (119) | 3.2% (19) | 100% (597) |

a. Percentage.

b. Absolute number.

3. Respondents were technically unemployed at the time of the survey who had resigned from their jobs then.

Like the previous table this table shows high degree of occupational stagnation among respondents who have continued in the same category in which they had started their careers. A cursory look at the main diagonal of the Table 6 makes it obvious that occupational stagnation is the highest in category I, where 96 per cent of the respondents have continued in the same category. The main diagonal also states that except in category V, in every other occupational category majority of the respondents have continued in the same category of occupations in which they had started their careers (e.g. 56, 77.5 and 56.4 per cents). When we add up the total number of the respondents, who have stagnated in their careers, we find them to be 62 per cent of the total sample. The same trend of occupational stagnation at inter-generational level is also observable from the Table 7.

Opposite to this high degree of stagnation, there is a moderate degree (38 per cent of the total sample) of occupational mobility. The noticeable phenomenon here is the low degree of downward occupational mobility. Of the total sample, only 4 per cent of the people have moved downward. Maximum downward movement has occurred from category II to category III. Whereas in all other categories, downward mobility is very low. Out of the total sample, 34 per cent have been upwardly mobile. In all the occupational categories upward mobility has occurred, maximum being 53.6 per cent from category V to category IV. It is important to observe that most of the cases of upward mobility are of short distances. For example, from category IV, 39.8 per cent of the respondents moved up to the adjacent category III but only 2.3 per cent to the relatively distant category II and none to the most distant category I. This trend holds true for all the occupational categories.

Thus at intra-generational level we find a high degree of occupational stagnation accompanied by moderate amount of occupational mobility most of which is upward. And most of the cases of occupational mobility are of short distances whether they are cases of upward or downward mobility. This observation is in conformity with the tentative conclusions drawn from the inflow analysis of intra-generational occupational mobility.

Pure Intra-Generational Mobility

Objective of this section is to study the pattern and extent of intra-generational pure mobility. In this section, mobility ratio is being used to separate pure mobility from the structural mobility. Table 7 presents mobility ratios for intra-generational mobility.

Table 7 again points out the intra-generational occupational stagnation. It is evident from the values of mobility ratios in the cells of the main diagonal. It also

confirms our findings from Tables 5 and 6. In the main diagonal the ratio values are the highest in the extreme categories of I and V (7 and 7.20 respectively). This entails that persons who are fortunate enough to start their careers from category-I have continued there without facing the danger of downward mobility. On the other hand most of the respondents who started their careers in category V have stagnated there (value of ratio is 7.25) being deprived of opportunities to move upward.

TABLE 7: INTRA-GENERATIONAL OUT-PLOW IN RATIO

| <i>Categories of Respondents' first occupations</i> | <i>Categories of Respondents' Occupations in 1993</i> | | | | |
|---|---|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|
| | <i>I</i> | <i>II</i> | <i>III</i> | <i>IV</i> | <i>V</i> |
| 1 | 6.99 | 0.0 | 0.01 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 11 | 2.52 | 2.81 | 0.21 | 0.04 | 0.0 |
| 111 | 0.29 | 0.77 | 1.79 | 0.13 | 0.13 |
| IV | 0.0 | 0.12 | 0.92 | 2.83 | 0.47 |
| V | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 2.69 | 7.25 |

However within this scenario of stagnation, we find a few evidences of mobility. In both of category II and V the instances of movement are upward. A large number of the respondents who started their careers in the category II have moved up to category I. However, it is noteworthy that here all the instances of occupational mobility are of short distances i.e. only to adjacent categories. In conformity with the findings of Tables 5 and 6 we find no evidence of the downward occupational mobility.

Thus we have found evidences of high degree of occupational stagnation at intra-generational level. But the occupational structure is not altogether static, it has considerable mobility most of which are structural. Although low, but there exists a component of pure mobility as well.

Conclusions

It is evident from the discussion of our various mobility tables that occupational mobility scenario is characterised by mixed trends, which is a proof of the fact that stratification system under study is in transition. The inter-generational occupational mobility which includes both structural and pure mobility is moderately high. But when we examine the trends of pure mobility we find considerably low level of

mobility. Therefore, most of the occupational mobility occurring at inter-generational level are due to structural reasons, viz., industrialization causing expansion of occupational categories. Rapid industrial growth has created many new job opportunities inducing respondents to move away from their fathers' occupational categories.

Further, the analysis of intra-generational occupational mobility has exposed the high amount of stagnation and very low amount of occupational mobility. But the low occupational mobility at intra-generational level is predominantly upward in direction. And instances of downward mobility are negligible. These trends direct our attention to the occupational structure of the industrial sector in the community under study. Jamshedpur is known for the presence of big organised industrial units of Tata group and other companies. The organised sector has been bureaucratized to a large extent. And these bureaucratized organizations offer secured jobs as well as a structured career path to all of their employees. But the career promotions are gradual and therefore do not provide for long distance mobility. Moreover more prestigious the occupation or higher the position more limited they are in number. Thus the pyramidal nature of occupational structure restricts long distance upward mobility. And as one moves up the occupational hierarchy, occupations require more and more specialised knowledge and high performance. These requirements are in fact other barriers to long distance mobility in the organized sector. This is all the more true for India where formally in-service skill upgradation facilities are limited. In the organised sector downward mobility is possible via demotion, but such a possibility as a group phenomenon is remote. Thus, organised sector provides opportunities mainly for short distance upward intra-generational occupational mobility.

Most of the industrial units forming part of the unorganized sector of the labour market were in fact small ancillary units of various Tata companies. Consequently, they had no union activities and, hence, make the unorganized sector. These small industrial units of the unorganised sector have a similar story about offering meagre chances of intra-generational mobility. These small scale units making the unorganized sector of other sample are characterised by a flat organizational structure. Typically majority of the occupational categories in these units were of unskilled labours and just above them were the skilled workers like machine operators, machinists, dye-makers, etc. who were in fact a few in number. With exception to the few relatively large ancillary units where there used to be one or two foremen, and accounts clerks in most of these units the proprietors/partners were the immediate bosses over the workers. Thus flatness of the organizational structures denies opportunities for occupational mobility in the units that make the unorganized sector of the labour market.

Our mobility tables are not able to register the above stated small and gradual occupational mobility due to the broad nature of our occupational categories. Non-inclusion of such small occupational mobility could be the reason of meagre display of intra-generational mobility in our analysis. Nevertheless, it is obvious that in the community under study chances of occurrence of inter-generational mobility are more than occurrence of intra-generational mobility.

Thus we may conclude that industrial expansion has induced inter-generational occupational mobility. But the same industrial growth has failed to inspire visible intra-generational occupational mobility because of the structured career path offered by the organised sector.

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