CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE
Man's dream of equality is also as old as his civilization. Thousands of years before men were attempting to measure and assess the properties of stratification, philosophers were theorizing about the matter. While some like Plato and modern functionalist sociologists, like Davis and Moore insist on its desirability – although on different grounds—others like the ancient Biblical Prophet’s and the ‘utopian socialists’ like Rousseau and Voltaire and the communists led by Marx and Engels advocate the abolition of this social aberration and its replacement by a classless society. With greater demands for equality grew the need to promote social mobility and as such equity.

Although theoretical interest in social stratification and social mobility dates back to the time of publication of Plato’s Republic, empirical study of the phenomenon of social mobility is of a recent origin. In this chapter the most prominent empirical studies conducted in India and abroad and the theoretical orientations on which they are based and lead to are reviewed. This is followed by the major conclusions drawn from the review of these studies. The review of studies related to the present theme is divided into two sub- headings of:

Studies made abroad
Mobility studies in India

2.1 STUDIES MADE ABROAD

The most influential pioneering work on social mobility viz. Sorokin’s “Social Mobility” was published in 1927. This work opened the vast domain of social mobility for subsequent explorations. For this reason a somewhat detailed review of this study is necessary.

At the heart of Sorokin’s study is a theory of stratification, which might have found favour with Plato, as he argues that there are certain permanent and universal bases of occupational inequality. At least two conditions seem to have been fundamental in Sorokin’s view. He writes, “First, the importance of an occupation for the survival and existence of a group as a whole; second, the degree of intelligence necessary for a successful performance of an occupation”. According to Sorokin the successful performance of those occupations which deal with the tasks of social organization and
control demand a considerably greater degree of intelligence than that of routine work and that the strategic nature of these occupations in society enables the occupants of these occupations to secure for themselves the maximum privileges and power. “Hence”, writes Sorokin, “we may say that in any given society, the more the occupational work consists in the performance of the functions of social organization and control, and the higher the degree of intelligence necessary for its successful performance, the more privileged is that group and the higher the rank does it occupy in the inter occupational hierarchy, and vice versa”. This theory looks very like the functional theory of Stratification’ proposed by Davis and Moore in 1945. However, Sorokin does not believe in the inevitability of the correlation between the functional importance of an occupation and intelligence and argues that the correlation may be broken down in periods of decay, although such periods usually lead to an upheaval, after which, if the group does not perish, the correlation is re-established”. Thus, in other words, social mobility is necessary to secure the appropriate allocation and reallocation of talents to occupations and failure to achieve it ends in inefficiency and disorder. Sorokin holds that the actual distribution of talents between occupations is determined by the specific character and functioning of the various “channels of vertical circulation” and wrote, ‘varying in their concrete forms and in their size, the channels of vertical circulation exist in any stratified society, and are as necessary as channels for blood circulation in the body”. These channels of mobility include the army, the church, the school, political organizations, professional organizations, wealth making organizations, and the family last in the sense of intermarriage between the members of different strata. According to Sorokin, the channels of vertical mobility not only permit movement up and down the social strata, but they also act as mechanisms of testing, selecting and placement – sifting individuals into their places in the society. Despite this functionalist line of thinking, Sorokin has cast doubt on the perfection of the channels of mobility as mechanisms of testing, selecting and placement. He wrote that there has scarcely existed any society in which the distribution of individuals has been in complete accordance with the rule; “Everybody must be placed according to his ability”. In this regard Sorokin’s comments on the role of school as an agency are interesting. He wrote “At the present moment, it is certain that the school, while being a training and an educational institution, is at the same time of piece of social machinery which tests the abilities of the individuals, which sifts them, selects them, and decides their prospective social
position ... From this standpoint the school is primarily a testing, selecting and distributing agency". However, he argues that the functional fit between the channels of vertical circulation and the needs of society is far from being perfect. As such the educational system may select for inappropriate characteristics, with the result the upper strata "display a pretty intellectual ability and pretty conspicuous moral slackness" or again, there may be an over – or under – production of suitable recruits for the elite – "by increasing the rapidity of production of university graduates. Our universities are preparing dissatisfied elements out of these graduates, under emergency conditions capable of supplying leaders for any radical and evolutorial movement".

Sorokin also enumerates a fairly thorough list of positive and negative consequences of mobility. Thus, on the positive side, mobility leads to a better distribution of talents, which in turn increases living standards and raises economic efficiency and innovation. It gives the more ambitious members of the lower strata a chance to rise and thus, "instead of becoming leaders of a revolution, they are turned into protectors of social order". Sorokin argues that these upwardly mobile recruits to the elite will not have the weak humanitarian traits of the hereditary aristocracy and "having climbed through their personal efforts, they are sure of their rights; they are not soft hearted. If it is necessary, they will not hesitate to apply force and compulsion to suppress any riot. In this way they facilitate the preservation of social order". Lines of conflict and solidarity also become much more complex and flexible. The mobile individual's face-to-face contacts become more numerous and less intense; he becomes like a polygamist who is not obliged and does not invest all his love in one wife, but divides it among many women. Under such conditions the attachment becomes less hot; the intensiveness of feeling less concentrated", and thus the likelihood of class solidarity and class conflict is reduced. Finally, the absences of hereditary and similar privileges decrease the validity of the arguments of the dissatisfied. Instead of being heroes they are regarded as failures”.

On the negative side, Sorokin underlines, increase of mental strain and the likelihood of suicide. Mobility facilitates the disintegration of morals, encourages crass materialism and individualism, like Durkheim (whom he quotes with approval) Sorokin argues that in a mobile society individuals do not accept their position in life. He who is below wants to go up. He who is in the upper stratum wants to climb further or dreads being put down. Hence, there is a mad rush to put down all obstacles
irrespective of whether it leads to social disorder or not and hence, an increase in the centrifugal tendencies of the present society". In response, there is a search for belonging, a trend ‘conspicuously manifested in the social schemes of communists, revolutionary syndicalists; and guild socialists’. They contemplate a complete engulfment of an individual within the commune, or syndicate, or a restored guild. They unintentionally try to re-establish “the lost paradise” of an immobile society, and to make an individual again only a “finger of the hand” of a social body. The greater the loneliness, the more urgent is the need”.

Sorokin, however, does not conclude that these contradictory tendencies (positive and negative consequences of social mobility) will lead to a continual oscillation from mobility to immobility. He claims, empirically, that there has been no consistent trend towards increased mobility. He writes ‘As far as the corresponding historical and other materials permit seeing, in the field of vertical mobility... There seems to be no definite perpetual trend toward either an increase or decrease of the intensiveness and generality of mobility. This is proposed as valid for the history of a country, for that of a large social body, and, finally for the history of mankind”.

He reports data collected by himself and his students on various groups of Minneapolis population which showed that over time there has been considerable increase in the rates of mobility but Sorokin argues that ‘eternal historical tendencies’ cannot be inferred from the data covering a mere century or so. At most, then according to Sorokin, there has been only an alternation of periods of greater mobility with those of greater immobility.

Sorokin explains this oscillation by suggesting that ‘like an organism, a social body, as it grows older, tends to become more and more rigid and the circulation of its individuals tends to become less and less intensive presumably as the more privileged strata close their ranks in an attempt to preserve their privileges. There is also a tendency for institutional lag. The mechanisms of selection do not respond quickly enough to changes in the social environment and as a result ‘there almost always is a lag between the “human flour” sifted through this machinery for different social strata and between the “flour” which is necessary because of the new changed conditions’.

Thus, there develops a defective social distribution of individuals, which eventually leads to upheaval and a subsequent increase in mobility as new and more appropriate mechanisms of selection are instituted ‘The revolutionary policemen of history’ then go away and the revolving circle of history starts all over again.
Since the publication of Sorokin’s book, theoretical writing on social mobility did not make much progress. Much of the later theory had already clearly been formulated by him and equally refuted by him in his 1927 monograph. ‘Indeed’ says Heath, ‘one is tempted to speculate that if post-war sociologists’ had paid more attention to Sorokin and less to the false gods of their own such as Talcott Parsons, they would have avoided some of the darker blind alleys of the 1950s and 1960s’. Modern sociology has mainly progressed in the collection and analysis of data. Before the war, Sorokin had placed great weight on the careful inspection of the data, but the data available to him were neither systematic nor representative. Numerous studies of recruitment to particular occupational groups – social origins of millionaires, men of genius, businessmen and even saints had been studied – but there were no representative surveys of the population as a whole or even particular, areas or cities. Notable among the available such studies were F.Galton’s 1869, ‘Hereditary Genius’, an Inquiry into its laws and consequences (London), J.Schneider’s 1937 study, ‘Social Class, Historical Circumstances and Fame; F W Tausig and C S Joslyn’s study of “American Business Leaders”; S J Chapman and F J Marquis, 1912 study ‘The recruiting of the employing classes from the ranks of the wage earners in the cotton industry’; J Wedgewood’s 1929 study, ‘The Economics of Inheritance; S J Chapman and W Abbot’s 1913 study, ‘The tendency of children to enter their fathers’ trades”; A W Ashby and J M Jones 1926 study, ‘The social origins of farmers in Wales’. Sorokin himself made a beginning with his study of Minneapolis students, Minneapolis Businessmen and some other groups of the Minneapolis population. However, it was only after the World War II that representative national samples were examined.

In this context studies conducted at the London School of Economics by David Glass and his team is a landmark in the history of social mobility studies. First of these studies carried out by Glass and his team (Glass 1954) was of a random sample of 10,000 adult civilians aged eighteen years and over in England, Scotland and Wales in the summer of 1949. Although the work has since been heavily criticized, it was a major pioneering study from which many others drew their inspiration. The respondents were asked questions about their age, sex and marital status, the schools they attended and the qualifications they obtained; and about their own and their fathers’ occupations – the pivotal point of a mobility enquiry. From data on the occupation of the respondents and that of their fathers, the classic intergenerational occupational mobility tables were constructed. The main conclusions drawn from
these tables were that Britain exhibited a considerable amount of relatively short range mobility coupled with a higher degree of rigidity and self-recruitment at the extremes, particularly at the upper levels where there was the strongest tendency for sons to follow in their fathers' footsteps and enter broadly comparable occupations.

Glass's 1949 enquiry was the only major study made in Europe. The next important milestone was 'Social Mobility' in Industrial Society by Lipset and Bendix (Lipset and Bendis 1954). The major reason for their studying social mobility lies in its consequences for the individuals and society. The basic lines of Lipset's argument have become common knowledge by now: social mobility acts as a safety valve which can reduce the chance of radical collective action which would threaten the regime. Lipset argues, "as long as the ruling group is flexible it will allow talented and ambitious individuals to rise from lower strata; yet an ever present tendency towards the formation of aristocracy tends to restrict such individual mobility in any society. If the restriction is sufficiently tight it can provoke discontent, which may result in efforts by members of deprived groups to achieve collective or group mobility, sometimes through a struggle to supplant the dominant group. However, Lipset does not treat this proposition as a universal truth. Rather, it is clear that he is concerned with the role of mobility in a modern industrial society and the implication is that lack of mobility does not provide the same threat to stability in a traditional society. This is a major theoretical shift from Sorokin's work. Sorokin took as his time-span, the whole of recorded history while looking for trends in mobility, but the post-war writers have been especially concerned with analysing the conditions of contemporary industrial society, and so the time-span shortens. While sharing with Sorokin the belief that a certain amount of mobility may contribute to social stability, Lipset contends that too much mobility may lead to social destabilization and it is on the destabilizing effects of mobility that Lipset comes to place most of his attention. According to him the crucial source of the destabilizing effects of mobility is the problem of status inconsistency. He takes a multidimensional view of stratification, the system containing a number of different hierarchies based on status, class and authority. The status inconsistency is caused due to mobility on one dimension and not on another or upward mobility on one and downward on the other. Lipset sees these inconsistencies as sources of frustration for the individual or group which predispose them to accept extremist politics. Thus he suggests, 'the French bourgeoisie in the eighteen century developed its revolutionary zeal when it was
denied recognition and social prestige by old French aristocracy'. The converse could also be true. The threat of downward mobility which imperiled the social standing of particular groups could also be a source of radicalization although in this case the political content may take a different form, threatened social groups turning to antidemocratic ideologies such as fascism rather than communism.

In all this Lipset is in agreement with Michels, who had earlier argued that the Jews' leaning towards socialism could be attributed to the fact that their legal emancipation had not been followed by their 'social and economic emancipation'. To put it in Michels' own words 'Even when they are rich, the Jews constitute, at least in eastern Europe, a category of persons who are excluded from the social advantages which political, economic and intellectual system ensures for corresponding portion of the gentile population. Beside the sentiment which it naturally aroused in their minds by this injustice, they are often affected by that cosmopolitan tendency which has been highly developed in the Jews by the historical experiences of the race and this combines to push them into the arms of working-class party...For all these reasons the Jewish intelligentsia is apt to find a shorter road to socialism than the Gentile. It is clear from the above that Lipset and Bendix's theoretical interests demonstrate that there is historical continuity in mobility studies. However, their work is most famous for their attempt at comparative empirical research. Lipset and Bendix carried out a secondary analysis of the results available on nine industrialized societies- France, Japan, Great Britain, Denmark, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, U.S.A. and Italy. They reclassified the occupations of the subjects of these surveys and their fathers as best as they could into manual, non-manual and farm categories (since the finer occupational classifications used by the original studies varied considerably from one country to another). Then they concentrated on upward and downward mobility across the manual/non-manual line, adding together the figures for upward and downward mobility to measure the total vertical mobility between the middle and working classes. Lipset and Bendix found that virtually all the nine countries exhibited similar, high rates of total vertical mobility and contrary to their expectations they found no evidence that America was more open than the traditional societies of Europe. For instance, they report that in America total vertical mobility across the manual/non-manual line amounted to 30%, but in Germany 31%, in Sweden and Britain 29% and in Japan and France 27% had been mobile.
The striking feature of these results being the similarity of the total vertical mobility rates, to explain their results, Lipset and Bendix had to seek factors universal throughout industrial societies as the factors which varied between societies, such as historical background, cultural patterns and national values could not be used to explain the rates since the rates appeared to be more or less the same. Thus they argued, 'several different processes inherent in all modern social structures have a direct effect on the rate of social mobility, and help account for the similarities in rates in different countries. These include: (1) changes in the number of available vacancies; (2) different rates of fertility; (3) changes in the rank accorded to the occupations; (4) changes in the number of inheritable status-positions; and (5) changes in the legal restrictions pertaining to potential opportunities'.

These five processes seem to imply that modern industrial societies are characterized by their openness, high rates of mobility and universalism. In this connection, the first and fourth processes are perhaps the important ones. The first, implies that industrial societies are the ones with expanding economies which need increasing number of higher level workers in managerial and administrative positions which in turn creates an 'upward surge of mobility'. The fourth indicates that the declining influence of family on the occupational status and the emergence of bureaucratic enterprise with its formalized method of selection or in other words the occupational status is dependent on individual's own merit rather than on his personal connections.

In emphasizing the similarities of inherent features in the working of all modern industrial societies Lipset and Bendix were in line with a great deal of sociological thinking of post-war period during which the 'convergence thesis and technological functionalism' held sway. The convergence thesis and technological function thesis held that advanced industrialism required small, nuclear, geographically and socially mobile families; mass education; a pluralistic power structure; a mixed economy with a measure of government regulation.

Floyd Wesley Reeves(Reeves, 1948) in his book titled, "Inequality of Opportunity in Higher Education: A study of minority groups" agreed with the fact that was derived from a study made for the Temporary Commission on the need for a state University that is in accord with the prevalent belief that there are indeed economic barriers to higher education. He also adds that if the additional enrollees are to be drawn in the right proportion from each segment of the population, the resulting increase would indeed eliminate economic barriers to higher education.
J.E. Floud, A.H. Halsey and F.M. Martin in “Social Class and Educational Opportunity” (Floud, Halsey and Martin, 1957), analysed the relation between social class and chances of admission to grammar schools in certain parts of Britain during the 1950’s and say, “As might be expected, there were in both areas considerable disparities in the chances of boys from different social classes. In general, the sons of manual workers had a chance below the average, and the sons of non-manual workers a chance above the average, of being selected for grammar schools. The sons of clerks had four or more times as good a chance as the sons of unskilled manual workers and two to three times the chances of sons of skilled workers. The difference in chances at the extremes of the occupational scale was still greater.

S.M. Miller, in “Comparative Social Mobility” (Miller, 1960) provides a comprehensive bibliography on the Social Mobility studies that were conducted after the publication of Lipset and Bendix’s Book ‘Social Mobility in Industrial Society’. This report reanalyzes the data on various industrialized nations to compare the rates of upward and downward mobility internationally and deduce the trend in these rates. In Miller’s view, “... all societies have some mobility. No society, has no mobility (not even the Indian caste society); no society has complete mobility or interchange of positions from generation to generation. Between these two boundaries stand all societies and it becomes necessary consequently to attempt to study closely the actual amount of mobility”. Comparing the results of mobility studies conducted in nineteen nations Australia (Melbourne), Belgium (St. Martins-Latin and Mout-St.Gilbert), Brazil, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Hungary, India (Poona), Brazil (Sao Paulo), Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Puerto Rico, Sweden, Switzerland, USA, USSR (émigré’s) and west Germany – across the globe Miller arrived at a brief profile of each nation. These profiles are reproduced below:

“. . . Great Britain has a high upward-mobility of the manual, high down-mobility of the non-manual, low long-range up mobility of the manual, low, long-range up-mobility of the non-manual, high movement out of the elites, high downward mobility of the middle classes (relative to the up-mobility of the same strata), high long-run down mobility of the elites and low indices of association for various strata”.

A close parallel was found in the finding for USA, USSR (Émigré’s) and Brazil (Sao Paulo). It is an interesting pattern of high upward, short and long distance manual mobility; high upward mobility of the middle classes and relatively low downward movement; low downward motion of the non-manual and the elites; low occupational inheritance
with variation among the three in extent of long range downward mobility of the elites. It is thus a general pattern of upward mobility with limited downward mobility".

A somewhat similar pattern of high rates of movement have been found for Great Britain and India (Poona), but with downward and limited upward movement than in USA and USSR.

Italy, Japan, Netherlands and Puerto Rico have been found to be less clear as a group. "The tendency (however) seems to be downward mobility, although in Japan and Puerto Rico access to the elites is relatively high.

Due to the difficulties inherent in all international comparative studies and the specific weaknesses of this study, as pointed out by the author himself, Miller suggests that the results of the comparison should not be ... "viewed as adequate description of nations" but as 'suggestive of trends'. These profiles, the culmination of the data of this report, must be taken as no more than suggestive of possibilities".

Weighing the relative advantages and disadvantages (dangers) of a cross national approach Miller points out that such an approach to social mobility contributes effectively to our understanding of society; it becomes possible, with comparative data, to discover the benchmarks for highest and lowest levels of mobility with which the rates in other societies can be compared. It can possibly lead to the isolation of significant variables affecting social mobility; such as the relationship of the economic development of a nation with rates of social mobility, and may finally develop a general theory of social mobility. Comparative study may also help in analyzing the consequences of mobility; such studies also clarify the kind of most useful data for analysis.

Difficulties such as the classification and ranking of occupations; class or strata; Geographical units of study, time period of study, sex of the population studied, Ethnicity, the problem of boundary, crudities of data available in documents and documentary records etc., are inherent in mobility studies; Miller points out that "these difficulties get compounded in comparative analysis for the results of rather disparate investigations have to be molded [Sic] into a form permitting them to be compared with one another.

Therefore distortion is inevitable. One must operate with the hazardous assumption that the distortion does not destroy the product".

Miller points out the following limitations of the study.

i) The research reported in the monograph is not primary research.
ii) Though the unit of comparison is basically the nation, but for four nations data are reported on a city- Australia (Melbourne), Belgium (two cities of St. Martins- Latin and Mout –St. Gilbert), Brazil (Sao Paulo) and India (Poona) with hope that they may be to some degree representative for the respective nations. For the Soviet Union data on Émigré’s has been used. For Hungary the national census data are employed.

iii) Only two-step intergenerational mobility (father-son) has been studied. Only outflow from a stratum is analyzed.

iv) For purpose of comparison strata or occupational categories have been combined.

v) The time of studies varies although all except that of the USSR are post-World War II studies. The USSR study is of 1940 while others range from 1946 to the mid fifties.

vi) Although the attempt was made to gain similarity in the ages of some studied in different nations by using data on a cross section of all sons, complete success was not achieved in this regard.

vii) The age for which father’s occupation was ascertained was not uniform in all studies and in some it was unexpected.

viii) Even the age profiles of sons are not claimed to be the same for all the nations. And

ix) Only three basic strata of elite, middle class and working-class or manual strata were used for comparison, although the individual national studies differ in the number of strata into which the sons and their fathers were classified.

In view of these limitations Miller points out that the monograph should be treated only as offering a rough indication of the mobility in a number of industrial nations taken as a whole.

Among the implications of the data (used in the study) he points out that mobility is an asymmetrical phenomenon. A nation can be high in one measure of mobility and low on another, as pointed in profiles for the nations under study. The links between mobility of one kind and mobility of another kind are unclear. There is no single measure of mobility, there are many measures tapping different dimensions of mobility and therefore, while making comparisons the measure on which comparison is based must be clearly specified. However, in Miller’s opinion the one clear result
of the comparisons is that on both the simple comparison of working classes into manual, non-manual and elite strata, the Soviet Union (Émigré’s) has the highest rate.

. . . on the other hand Soviet Union had a rather low rate of downward movement out of the non-manual categories generally and out of the elite strata specifically. Thus, the upward manual movement is not due to the decline of the middle classes and the elite, but to the expansion of these strata. The United States has a high rate of manual movement into non-manual occupations, but not one that is distinctively higher than that of France or USSR (Émigré’s). On the other hand it is distinctively higher in the manual movement into the elite strata than all nations other than the Soviet Union (Émigré’s).

Miller, while comparing the conclusion drawn from his study with the results of the earlier such study made by Lipset, Bendix and Zetterberg (L-B-Z) using the data from nine industrialized nations of France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, USA, Japan, Great Britain, Denmark and Italy, is in a general agreement with the latter. Although he concedes to Lipset’s conclusion that all the industrialized nations exhibit the same rates of social mobility, he points to the following divergences from such a contention...

i) The rates of manual into non-manual occupations seem to be closest together, only if the low Italian and Finish figures and high Soviet figure are disregarded. Even then the range is not narrow, from 14% in Hungary and Puerto Rico to 30% in France and if the former two are disregarded as not being very industrialized, the lower limit is about 20% in the Netherlands and West Germany.

ii) The rates of non-manual into manual occupations show a spread between 20% of USA and USSR (Émigré’s) on the one hand and the more than 30% of several other nations.

iii) The rates of movement of manual strata into elite strata also reveal a considerable range.

iv) The rates of movement out of elite strata are widely varying.

Thus, he concludes that while there appears to be more convergence in the rates of mobility among industrialized nations than most people had believed, the kind of divergences that have occurred cannot be ignored and the attention must be focused on the reasons of such divergences. Thus, Miller casts some doubt on Lipset’s contentions that all modern industrial societies are characterized by their openness, high rates of mobility and universalism.
Finally, Miller makes the following suggestions for future research in social mobility.

i) Studies of smaller units (e.g. Regions) of a nation should be made.

ii) Data should be refined along the lines of Goldhamer Rugoff and the Hutchinson procedure to isolate structural change from fluidity (circulation mobility or exchange mobility).

iii) Adequate attention should be paid to inflow data to understand the differences in social origins of members of different strata and their relations to differences in attitudes of the strata.

iv) Instead of employing two or three categories it would be useful to employ larger number of classifications to be able to understand the mechanics of short and long range mobility.

v) Historical changes in the rates of mobility in a nation should be studied.

vi) Age cohort data should be analyzed.

vii) Study of particular populations like university students, elites, and unskilled labourers should be made.

viii) A heavy emphasis on the cause of different rates of mobility is needed.

Blau and Duncan’s ‘The American Occupational Structure’ is another important, rather the final, landmark in the history of social mobility studies (Blau and Duncan’ 1967). The American Occupational Structure is not a broad overview of existing research in the area of social mobility, nor is it a secondary analysis of data collected for some earlier study. It is not even an international comparison of rates of mobility. In all these respects it differs from the important earlier studies like those of Sorokin, and Lipset and Bendix.

This study lies in the tradition of national surveys of occupational mobility that began with David Glass’ study ‘Social Mobility in Great Britain’. Blau and Duncan’s survey was carried out as an adjunct to the current population survey of the US Bureau of the Census and was based on a sample of 25000 men aged between twenty and sixty-four and representative of the forty-five million men in this age cohort in the civilian non-institutional population of the United States, in March 1962. Each respondent was asked to give information about his present occupation, his occupation on his first entry into the labour force; the occupation of his father when the respondent was sixteen years of age, the educational attainment of the respondent and his father, the number of siblings and so on. No information was gathered on attitudinal or
psychological data, but was restricted to relatively ‘factual’ biographical information because this could be conducted reasonably efficiently on national scale.

The novelty that Duncan introduced into mobility studies, with The American Occupational Structure, was not in theory nor in data collection but in techniques of analysis. The technique, which made Duncan famous, is known as ‘Path Analysis’ a relatively simple extension of multiple regression first used in 1918, by Swell Wright who applied it to his studies in population genetics and animal breeding. This technique is not only statistically sophisticated but is also sociologically informative.

Path analysis enables a sociologist to estimate the relative importance of different determinants of individuals’ occupational attainment. Earlier analysis of mobility was made to estimate the rates of upward or downward intergenerational mobility. The American Occupational structure too has a plenty of this kind of analysis, but with the help of path analysis Duncan was able to analyze efficiently the process of occupational attainment. Thus Duncan introduced two shifts in the nature of mobility studies: one, there was a shift from mobility itself to attainment, and second, there was a shift from rates of mobility to the determinants of attainments. Thus Duncan, unlike the earlier sociologists, did not address himself only to the question, ‘How much mobility is there in a particular society?’ But he also attempted to find an answer to the question, ‘what is the relative importance of factors such as social origins and education as determinants of individuals’ eventual occupational attainment?

Explaining the reasons for this shift Blau and Duncan explain, ‘the main reason for this reformulation is that the likelihood of upward mobility depends, of course, greatly on the level from which a man starts; this makes the finding, that a given factor is associated with mobility, ambiguous’. Therefore, the basic question which Blau and Duncan address’ . . . ‘is how the status individuals’ achieve in their carriers is affected by the statuses ascribed to them earlier in life, such as their social origin, ethnic status, region of birth, community and parental family’. They conceive of occupational status in 1962 (the survey date) as the outcome of a life long process in which ascribed status position of birth, intervening circumstances, and earlier (educational and occupational) attainments determine the level of ultimate achievements. A formulation in terms of a simple mathematical model (Path Model) permits an appropriate assessment of the relative importance of the several measured determinants’.
Although the precise questions Blau and Duncan ask and try to find an answer to differ in important ways from the ones asked by their predecessors, their theoretical concerns exhibit a marked continuity with those of the earlier researchers like Lipset and Bendix. The two passages quoted above from the American Occupational Structure illustrate the link with the broader issues raised earlier. Both the passages reflect a contrast between ascription and achievement, between the ascribed statuses with which an individual starts life and occupational status, which he eventually achieves. This reflects Blau and Duncan's faith in the post-war functionalist view that a stable industrial society requires to place greater emphasis on a man's achievement and lesser one on his ascribed characteristics; and that achievement be judged by universalistic criteria, such as educational attainment, which can be applied to all and be empirically verified. Nepotism and connection must give away to demonstrable merit. In accordance with this view, Duncan and Blau claim that, as they expected to find, they found that the importance of ascription has declined whereas that of achievement has increased over time. Formulating this claim explicitly in functionalist terms they argue that industrial society is characterized by 'a fundamental trend towards expanding universalism which has profound implications for the stratification system. The achieved status of a man, what he has accomplished in terms of some objective criteria, becomes more important than his ascribed status of who he is in the sense of what family he comes from. This does not mean that family background no longer influences careers. What it does imply is that superior status cannot any more be directly inherited but must be legitimated by actual achievements that are socially acknowledged. Education (therefore) assumes increasing significance for social status in general and for the transmissions of social standing from father to son in particular'.

Blau and Duncan see this 'fundamental trend' as having been brought about by the needs of industrial society. They argue that in the pre-industrial society class barriers and immobility did not present any great problems since there were few positions that required search for knowledge and skills: 'In previous periods the knowledge and skills the society was able to utilize were severely limited, which made this waste of talent regrettable from the standpoint of individuals but unavoidable from the perspective of social order. Today, (however) technological progress has created a need for advanced knowledge and skills on the part of a large proportion of the labour force and not merely small professional elite. Under these conditions society cannot
any longer afford the waste of human resources, a rigid class structure entails. Universalistic principles have penetrated deep into the fabric of modern society and have given rise to high rates of occupational mobility in response to this need'.

Another important empirical study conducted in the USA since the publication of Blau and Duncan's book is the one reported in the book 'Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect Family and Schooling in America' by Christopher Jencks and his team of investigators (Jencks 1972). This study is based on a reanalysis of data reported in James Coleman's report on Equality of Education Opportunity Survey (popularly known as Coleman Report), and supplemented by data collected for earlier studies of Project Talent, NORC data on veterans, etc.

Jencks and his colleagues reanalyzed the said data using the technique of path analysis, which was earlier used by Blau and Duncan. Jencks' study is more comprehensive a study as far as the range of variables involved in explaining the inequalities in educational attainment, occupational status and income, is concerned. The major conclusions reported by Jencks and his colleagues are outline below:

i) The most important determinant of educational attainment is family background. The impact of family background is accounted for partly by measurable economic differences between families and partly by more elusive non-economic differences. Besides the family background, the next important determinant is probably cognitive skill, but the precise effect of cognitive skills is hard to determine.

ii) Qualitative differences between the high schools attended do not explain more than 2% of the variation in the students' eventual educational attainment.

iii) Occupational status is strongly related to educational attainment. While family background and cognitive skill influence educational attainment and as such influence occupational status indirectly, they have no direct impact on educational attainment. However, despite a strong relationship between occupational status and educational attainment, enormous status differences exist among people with the same amounts of education. This remains true even when people who have not only the same amounts of education, but the same family background and the same I.O, test-scores.

To quote Jencks, 'Anyone who thinks that a man's family background, test-scores and educational credentials are the only things that determine the kind of work he can do in America is fooling himself. At most these characteristics explain about half the variation in men's occupational statuses'. Jencks attributes the unexplained variation partly to the variation in the status of the same individual at different times in his life,
and partly but "presumably" to unmeasured character traits, like alcoholism, mental health and drive to succeed, but the extent of explanation by such traits ought to be insignificant. As such, much of the variation is attributed to chance and some to choice.

iv) As far as income is concerned none of the factors among family background, cognitive skills, educational attainment and occupational status, explains much of the variations in men's income. In the absence of any measured influence on income variation, Jencks comes down to 'luck' as the explanation. "Income also depends on luck": Chance acquaintances who steer you to one line of work rather than another, the range of jobs that happen to be available in a particular community when you are job hunting, the amount of overtime work in your plant, whether bad weather destroyed your strawberry crop, whether the new super highway has an exit near your restaurant and a hundred other unpredictable accidents" (Jencks, 1972, p.192).

v) To remedy the inequalities in educational attainment, occupational statuses and income Jencks et al. reviewed a large number of proposals, but conclude that no proposal other than 'political control over economic institutions' is feasible. They argue, "As long as egalitarians assume that public policy cannot contribute to economic equality directly but must proceed by ingenious manipulations of marginal institutions like the schools, progress will remain glacial. If we want to move beyond this tradition, we will have to establish political control over economic institutions that shape our society. This is what other countries usually call socialism". Similar results have been reported by Boudon in his Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality (Boudon, 1974). In this Boudon has attempted to synthesize the main findings accumulated by empirical research on two closely related points. One, a society is characterized by a certain amount of Inequality of Educational Opportunity (IEO). One, the probability of going to college is smaller for a worker's son than for a lawyer's son. Second, "... a society is characterized by certain amount of Inequality of Social Opportunity (ISO) if the probability of reaching a high social status is smaller for former child than for the latter". Boudon has attempted to develop a theory leading to some specific conclusions on a number of questions related to IEO, such as "Is IEO likely to decrease? If yes, to what extent? Is the probability that a worker's son will go to college likely to be equal in a more or less remote future to the same probability for a lawyer's son? Then, he has related to ISO the change over time in IEO and in other factors, such as overall average increase in level of educational
attainment. In this way he examines, "the effects on social mobility of the tremendous increase in rates of school attendance that has occurred in most societies since 1945". The numerous consequences of the model so developed have been checked against data, he has . . . "tried to confront the numerous consequences of the model as systematically as possible with the existing body of empirical data, both survey findings and school book keeping data - official statistics."

The major conclusion drawn from this study includes, that as long as societies are stratified, inequality of educational opportunity will continue to operate. Boudon goes to the extent of proving that "Even if grade school education were so effective that achievements at its completion were independent of social background, the probability of lower class youngster attending college and for that of attending a prestigious institution of higher education would probably remain much lower than that of an upper-class youngster". Therefore, changes in the educational system (like expanding the facilities for higher education) will reduce the inequality of educational opportunity only marginally. Again, even if the inequality in the levels of educational attainment is reduced, the curriculum differentiation as a response to the needs of the industries would offset this reduction and "the trend in all Western Societies is toward differentiation of curricula and institutions rather than toward uniformity". Although as a result of technological progress and economic growth social status is becoming increasingly dependent on cognitive skills and as such on educational attainment, this only leads to the growth in demand for education and not necessarily to the reduction in economic inequality and consequent change in social structure. Boudon has found, "... no uncontestable empirical evidence that economic inequality, one of the major dimensions of stratification, is necessarily decreasing as a result of technological and industrial development".

Regarding the trends in social mobility in industrial societies Boudon concludes that mobility in industrial societies does not appear to change over time according to any definite general pattern . . . toward increase or decrease". The explanation for this lies in the proposition "that although IEO decrease over time, the overall increase in demand for education causes the expectations associated with a given level of education to be non-constant over time", in fact these expectations lower down.

Another outcome of the study is the weak relation between education and mobility in industrial societies, "Even with a high level of IEO and a strong influence of educational level on social status, the relation between education and mobility is
normally very weak. Attainment of the highest level of education is often followed by social demotion, whereas social promotion quite frequently occurs, a poor level of education notwithstanding’.

The doubt about the relationship of education and social mobility was raised first by Anderson and is often referred to as ‘Anderson’s Paradox’. Although, quite a few studies showed positive correlation between educational and social and occupational status but all of them showed only a weak relationship. Boudon explains this paradox by the argument that, “Except under very special conditions, which are unlikely to be met, a highly meritocratic society will not necessarily give to those who have reached a high level of education more chances of promotion or fewer chances of demotion than those whose level of education is lower. This apparent paradox derives from two circumstances. First, since those who obtain a high level of education more frequently have a higher background, they have to climb still higher in hierarchy of social statuses in order not to experience demotion. Second, one consequence of the discrepancy between educational and social structure is that even under a high degree of meritocracy, people with the same level of education will reach different social statuses”.

Thus, Boudon emphasizes stratification as the principal factor responsible for inequality of educational opportunity as well as inequality of social opportunity and suggests that “any lessening of the rigidity of stratification” such as through a reduction of economic inequality is more likely to reduce inequality of both educational and social opportunity. Although he does not, unlike Jencks, say that socialism is the key to eliminating inequality but argues that the greater equality of educational opportunity and social opportunity in Eastern European Societies is due to the nature of their political economy than the anything else. Thus he remarks, “. . . . It can be stated that differences with respect to IEO as between Norway and Sweden on the one hand and most other Western European countries on the other, are probably due in great part to the deliberate policy of equality conducted by these countries over the last decades. Probably, too, the comparatively low amount of IEO in Eastern European countries is attributable not only to the authoritarian quota system (which fixed the proportion of students from various social backgrounds who could obtain higher education) but also in part to the political organization of these countries. Even if this type of organization has clearly been unable to build up ‘class-less societies’, it
has beyond doubt had equalitarian effects on the previously existing stratification systems of these countries”.

Thus both Jencks et al. and Boudon’s conclusions are in consonance with the hypothesis advanced by Parkin (Parkin, 1971) who propounds the thesis, that East European nations as also the West European countries where left-wing parties were in power for long periods, exhibit lower extent of inequality of educational opportunity and higher rates of social mobility. The argument underlying this thesis is that such governments use the educational system as a tool for social reform. Education being under the direct control of the government, a close link between the educational attainment and occupational status has been established, and such measures as free secondary education and maintenance grants for students at the university have enabled a larger number of working class students to obtain the educational qualifications required for entry into elite occupations.

By reforming the educational system the state has widened opportunities both educationally and socially, however, to prevent the privileged from taking more than their share of the opportunities political action has been taken to increase the equality of opportunity and consequent increase in upward social mobility. Parkin argues that the “range and extent of upward mobility” is the most significant difference in the reward system of the socialist and capitalist societies. A number of reasons have been given for the socialist societies’ more openness, one is that some of the Eastern European nations have been transformed from largely peasant and agricultural societies to modern industrial economies, achieved within a couple of generations (faster than the most Western societies). This has rapidly transformed their occupational structure and therefore, their ‘upward surge of mobility’ has been large. Another reason could be, that having realized the relevance of scarcity of formal education, technical skill and their concomitants to the industrial development, the socialist regimes transformed the educational system and linking it to the reward system and, as expected, the totalitarian government could promote equality of opportunity in the distribution of education as well as in the allocation of the outcome therefrom, the reward system, by enshrining the performance principle as against ascription or even need. Connor attributes higher rates of upward mobility in the socialist societies to rapid expansion of non-manual strata as a result of revolution and rapid industrialization and “... their (non-manuals) source of recruitment could be only external proletarianization, demographically at least, of the non-manual strata.
The generally humble origin of the political elite in socialist states, is attributed to the “demands, insecurity and uncertainty of such a career as limiting its attractiveness for many a child of political and non-political elite, who are well-equipped (with education and other cultural inheritance) to seek comfortable careers outside the political main line, and as such leaving greater room for the members of the lower strata, with some initial advantage, to enter such an elite group “... currently politics seems a particular mobility channel that few choose, but that remains open to persons of worker and peasant origin who have less initial disadvantage, because of that origin, in this than in other careers requiring deeper, but perhaps narrower, technical expertise”.

Another reason given by Connor is the elimination of ownership of private property in the means of production and as such the elimination of the chances of inheritance of upper class membership. “All, under socialism, must sell their labour, manual or non-manual to the state (private peasantry remaining a partial exception)” and “The dictate, ‘he who does not work, neither shall he eat’. Socialism has (also) broken, in a rather decisive way, with whatever automatic particularistic advantages sons might have in inheriting their father’s profession of engineer, doctor, etc., through specific preferential access to the requisite training, etc., and that meritocracy has taken hold, with certain lapses and inconsistencies”.

John H. Goldthorpe and Clive Payne (1972-1983), in their study, ‘Trends in Intergenerational Class Mobility in England and Wales’, analysed the results of trends in intergenerational class mobility in England and Wales obtained from the Nuffield inquiry of 1972 and updated to 1983 on the basis of material derived from the British General Election Study of that year. Overall, a marked continuity in trends in absolute mobility rates and in associated patterns of social fluidity and structural change is revealed. The most important new development in the context of far more adverse economic conditions is for the mobility chances of men of working-class origins to polarise - a continuing improvement in opportunities for upward mobility into service-class positions going together with increasing risks of downward mobility via unemployment. The results reported are shown to be ones that do not readily accord with current theories, whether Marxist or liberal, of the development of the class structures of modern western societies.

Ian J. Deary, Michelle D. Taylor, Carole L. Hart, Valerie Wilson, George Davey Smith, David Blane and John M. Starr (Deary, et al, 2003) in their work, ‘Intergenerational Social Mobility and Mid-life Status Attainment: Influences of
Childhood Intelligence, Childhood Social Factors, and Education, examined the influences of childhood social background, childhood cognitive ability, and education on intergenerational social mobility and social status attainment at midlife. The subjects were men born in 1921 and who participated in the Scottish Mental Survey of 1932 and thereafter in the Midspan Collaborative study in Scotland between 1970 and 1973. In logistic regression analyses, childhood cognitive ability and height were associated with upward and downward change from father's social class to participant's social class at mid-life. Education significantly influenced upward social mobility. Number of siblings had no significant effect on social mobility. These effects were also examined after adjusting for the other variables. In structural equation modeling analyses, father's social class and childhood cognitive ability influenced social status attainment at midlife, with education and occupational status in young adulthood as partially mediating factors. It was noteworthy that childhood cognitive ability related more strongly to occupation in midlife than to first occupation.

Hiroshi Ishida in her work, 'Educational Expansion and Inequality in Access to Higher Education in Japan' (Ishida, 2003), examines the relationship between social background and educational attainment in post war Japan. The overall scenario regarding the effect of social background and educational attainment in post war Japan is of stability. However, gender inequality in access to higher education was reduced substantially in the post war period, although gender inequality in access to university rather than junior college persisted. There was neither a clear correspondence between the pattern of the effects of social background and the stages of expansion, nor a linear pattern of diminishing or increasing effects of social background. The stability is remarkable given that the Japanese higher education went through a series of changes, closely following the educational policies of the Ministry of Education. Although the educational policies of the Ministry of Education did not explicitly attempt to reduce the impact of social background, the expansion of the higher educational system did not necessarily bring about equality of access to Higher education in Japan.

Miles Corak, Garth Lipps, John Zhao in their work, "Family Income and Participation in Post-secondary Education" (Corak, et al, 2004), studied the relationship between family income and post-secondary participation in order to determine the extent to which higher education in Canada has increasingly become the domain of students.
from well-to-do families. An analysis of two separate data sets suggests that individuals from higher income families are much more likely to attend university, but this gap between the highest and the lowest income families has in fact narrowed. The relationship gap between family income and post secondary participation did become stronger during the early to mid 1990s, but weakened thereafter. This pattern reflects the fact that policy changes, increasing the maximum amount of a student loan as well as increases in other forms of support occurred only after tuition fees had already started increasing.

David Byrne, Bill Flatcha Byrne (Bill William and Flatcha 1975), in their study, "The poverty of Education: A study in the Politics of opportunity, London have attempted to identify some of the main points that accounts for educational inequality. Both Britain and the United states derive their theoretical strength from a particular view of the nature of social stratification. However, the conclusion of their research has been that although there is an unequal distribution of education, social income has implication only for the current consumption by school children. According to their findings, the danger in assuming that the school has little impact on difference in results is that differences then have to be accounted for in terms of the attributes of individuals. The general conclusion sustained by their findings is that school system inputs are of considerable importance in explaining difference in attainment, in addition, there is a systematic relationship between the class background of an area and the educational resources available. In general, the higher the school class composition of an area the better the provision, for the cohorts they studied; there was not equality of opportunity and the spatial distribution of system inputs guaranteed that school system had different and unequal consequences for the cohorts, for them, the basic promise of the equal for all has not been realized. Despite post-war educational reform they have had to negotiate external and geographical barriers to educational success. Equality of opportunity and especially equality of educational opportunity has been a corner stone of social democratic politics since the 1930’s. The authors feel that this perspective can only be seen as a device for obscuring the relationship between education and fundamental inequality. Equality of opportunity has served as a legitimizing account of educational system and for those who are affected by it, this argument in no way detracts from the importance of an unequal distribution of educational and social income. To say that it is impossible to achieve equality in education, in an otherwise fundamentally unequal society, does not mean
that inequalities in education become as important. They are a part of and contribute to the general structure of inequality, just as that general structure maintains them.

Michael P. Keane in his study “Assessing Policies to Equalize Opportunity using an Equilibrium Model of Educational and Occupational Choices” (Keane 2009) found that the Inter-generational Correlation of Education in US is tremendous. For instance, in PSID data from 1990, young males with no college-educated parents had only a 15% chance. In this paper, they analyze the impact of college attendance bonus schemes designed to increase college attendance rates and PV of lifetime income of youth from disadvantaged backgrounds. Of course, policies that increase the supply of skilled labour may reduce the college wage premium. The strength of such equilibrium effects on wages depends on the substitutability between different types of labour. Thus, it is important to evaluate education subsidies within an equilibrium framework that allows for flexible patterns of substitution across factor inputs. This is exactly what the authors have done, using an overlapping generations equilibrium model of the US labour market fit to PSID data from 1968 to 1996. The model allows for imperfect substitution among types of labour differentiated by education, gender, age and ten (1-digit level) occupations – a much finer differentiation than has been considered in prior work. They found that very large college attendance bonuses are necessary to equate college attendance rates between youth whose parents had only high school degrees or were high school dropouts and youth whose parents attended at least some college. The size of these bonuses far exceeds any reasonable measure of college costs; suggesting the “cost” the bonuses overcome are primarily psychic or effort costs. For example, youth from disadvantaged backgrounds may be poorly prepared for college. This suggests that bonuses targeted at college age youth are probably a very inefficient way to reduce inequality. Earlier intervention is likely called for.

David Reimer and Reinhard Pollak in “Educational Expansions and its Consequences for Vertical and Horizontal Inequalities in Access to Higher Education in West Germany” (Reimer and Pollak, 2009), say that for scholars of social stratification one of the key questions regarding educational expansion is whether it diminishes or magnifies existing inequalities in educational attainment. The effect of expansion in educational inequality in tertiary education is of particular importance as tertiary education has become increasingly relevant for labour market prospects and life course opportunities. Their article studies the access of tertiary education of students
with different social origins in the light of educational expansion in Germany. First, they examined inequalities in access to four vertical alternatives of post secondary education by means of multinomial regression with national data from four school linear surveys from 1983, 1990, 1994 and 1999. Second, for those students who enrol at a tertiary institution, effects of social origin in horizontal choices of fields of study are analyzed. Results show that unequal opportunities to access post secondary and tertiary institutions remain constant at a high level likewise social background effects have not changed over time for the choice of field of study. Thus, students from different social backgrounds did not change their educational strategies irrespective of ongoing expansion of secondary and tertiary education.

**STUDIES MADE IN INDIA**

Sovani and Pradhan made an Occupational Mobility survey of Poona city in 1955 (Sovani and Pradhan, 1955). This study attempted only to measure the rates of upward and downward occupational mobility and immobility and did not inquire into the question whether caste mobility was taking place or not. The survey was conducted on a four percent random sample of families selected from the rationing registers in the Poona corporation area and the Poona and Kirkee cantonments, covering 5601 families.

This study led to the finding that only about four percents of the heads of the families surveyed, improved their positions continuously through the three generations, while only about one percent experienced a continuous decline. As against this, about 38 percents remained in the same position over the three generations. The proportions in complementary pairs of movement or ‘inertia’ (immobility) between grandfather – father; and father – respondents showed no definite pattern.

Thus, there were 35.8% families that indicated inertia between grandfather – father (first – second) generations but ‘ascent’ (upward mobility) between father-respondent (second – third) generations; 7.6% showed inertia between first and second, but descent (downward mobility) between second and third generations; 5.4% showed ascent, followed by descent; 1% indicated descent followed by inertia; 6% indicated ascent followed by descent; and 1.7% indicated descent followed by ascent.

Commenting on their findings the authors say that very large proportions (35.8%) in the category of inertia – ascent, and the unidirectional ascent (37.7%) indicate that the movement upward has been significantly more than downward. However, while the
percentage of ascending considerably outweighs that those descending, the overwhelming importance of those who are stable is too plain.

On the whole, the authors claim that the urban community of Poona has been stationary. However, in the younger generations the tempo of change seemed to have been quickened, which is reflected in the declining proportion of those engaged in unskilled manual work and among clerks and shop assistants in the total occupational pattern; “Urbanization would thus seem to bring about the transformation of unskilled manual workers into other types of skilled, highly skilled, etc., workers, even in centers like Poona, where the process of urbanization is not based on industrial development. Miller while reanalyzing Sovani and Pradhan’s data shows that 27.3% respondents had moved from manual to non-manual category; 26.9% from non-manual to manual; and 73.1% had retained their non-manual status; while 1.4% had moved from manual into elite, within elite comprising 5.1% of the population. Miller concludes, that the pattern indicates a high rate of movement, but with downward and limited upward movement much more pronounced, than in industrialized nations except Britain.

B.V.Shah in his study, “The Social background of the college Students in Gujarat” (Shah, 1964), points out that the three upper castes of Banias, Patidar and Brahmin constituted nearly 88% of the total students sample, Bania 38%, Patidar 26% and Brhamin 24% of the remaining 12%, 5% was composed of intermediate castes of Luhana 3% Bhatia 0.5% and Rajput 1.5%. The rest 7% were distributed over the lower castes in access to educational opportunities, except for making a general observation concerning the ‘upper castes’ as having been “the first to come into the vortex of these new forces and some observations regarding the general economic conditions and socio-cultural milieu of the ‘lower castes’, Shah attributes the backwardness of lower castes in education mainly to lack of tradition of literacy and poverty. The combined effect of these two factors seems to have been to encourage the men from their early boyhood to take to the traditional occupation of their castes. He, however, points out that there has been a gradual awakening among these castes about the benefits of formal education, and that some have even started taking to higher education. But most of the students from these castes who pursued higher education seem to have been able to do so with the economic aid from their caste associations and non-caste charitable resources, or from the government (in the form of free studentships and backward class scholarships). In his findings he also
concluded that urban residence seems to provide easier access to higher education than rural background in Gujarat also. Nearly 70% of the students in Shah’s sample hailed from an urban background.

Bernard Barber has reviewed the results of studies in social stratification and social mobility within the caste system of Hindus (Barber, 1968). He reports that most of the earlier sociologists and anthropologist who studied the Indian caste system analysed their data only in reference to the possibility of upward and downward caste mobility and concluded that the Indian society is as closed today as it was in the ancient time, and as such neither there was nor is any possibility of mobility. Referring to his own earlier study of doctrines of Dharma and Karma and the immobilising effects of these ideas of Hindu society, he says even he represented the same older views, “To the Hindu, consequently, social mobility is both impossible and immoral in this worldly life”. However, now it is explicitly recognized that “Caste” refers only to ranking along the religious and ritual behaviour dimension among a host of dimensions of stratification and interaction patterns. Although the ritual ranking is more or less fixed throughout an individual’s life – but “it can be altered under certain conditions” through the processes of “symbolic justification” which Srinivas has termed ‘Sanskritization’. Apart from the ritual basis of stratification, economic and power dimensions are also relevant to the understanding of Hindu society. Barber points out that although it is not possible to know exactly how much mobility occurred in India, but evidence shows that “more mobility occurs in India than was granted in the older picture of its stratification system, social mobility is not just a recent phenomenon in India”, on the contrary it occurred even during the Vedic age when Vaishya and Shudras were also assimilated.

Barber identified two major classes of sources of such social mobility. One, effects of the “outside” forces i.e. factors arising in physic-biological elements or these that are the product of social system other than the Indian one. Second, of these two sources is, various internal socio-structural pressures for mobility that are effective despite ‘cultural’ disapproval or opposition. “One important ‘outside’ factor that had consequences for Indian social mobility, both upward and downward, was successful military invasion and conquest. Such conquest affected the native Hindus as well as providing higher social class positions for many of the invaders. Sometimes lower caste Hindus would unite their armed forces with those of the invaders and thus ensure a rise in their in their own positions”. Similarly there would be downward
mobility when the ‘Rajas’ fell and were replaced by members of the community of lower-castes than that of Raja’s. A series of unusually good harvests or a famine, both resulting from uncontrolled forces of weather or natural pests, was another kind of outside factor that contributed to upward and downward mobility in Hindu Society”.

Population changes, such as migration, may also lead to the change of occupation and as such of the caste rank; success or failure in the market among the members of the same caste may also lead to upward occupational mobility and give rise to new caste groups. These changes are both external and socio-structural in nature. Changes in the demands of economy might force some individuals or families change their occupation and as such lead to their upward and downward occupational mobility and also changes in the caste rank. “Another internal socio-structural factor that led to upward and downward mobility in Hindu society was concentration and dispersion of property that occurred, depending on whether single or multiple heirs inherited from the older generation. Technological changes leading to new occupations, although less common in India than the west during the modern times, has nevertheless been a source of some social mobility in Hindu society. Quoting Srinivas, Barber says that castes changed their occupations in the recent past, and perhaps in the remoter past as well Social mobility was sometimes also achieved through hyper- or hypo-gamy, although hyper-gamy was more widespread than hypo-gamy. Again, from time to time, there were some explanations of the whole opportunity structure, which provided another socio-structural source of mobility. All this mobility, upward or downward, occurred within an essentially stable or relatively unchanging system.

“The religious values and ideologies, the kinship system, the localism, the occupational structure, community organization, all these and other essentials features of Hindu caste society were able to remain fundamentally the same despite the mobility which occurred and unlike the west. The (caste) structure did not rupture with this mobility. Thus, to gain acceptability the new entrants into a higher occupational group engaged in what Srinivas calls “Sanskritization” to gain acceptance by those whose caste occupation they had entered upon. Some succeeded in this but not all. Although a different type of society and different stratification system are emerging with different patterns of social mobility based on the values of egalitarianism and competence and expressing themselves through new and modern social roles (Westernization), the old system has emerged as stable too. Thus, Barber
suggests that while studying social mobility in India account should be taken of both the processes of "Sanskritization" and "Westernization".

Karuna Ahmed, in her study, "Socio-Economic Background of Students of two Women's Colleges of Delhi during 1962-63" (Ahmed, 1968), found that lower castes accounted for only 22% of the students, while 77.8% of the students consisted of upper caste Hindus. Brahmin (8.1%); Vaishya, Kayastha and Vaidya castes together accounted for 32.8%, Khatri and Arora 26.9%. Her study also showed that a preponderant number of students were drawn from the upper income and education strata of the society. In her analysis the students of the two colleges have different styles of life and value orientation. These differences are not merely a matter of accident. In fact, they arise from differences in the social background of the students belonging to the two colleges. Social background is, of course, a comprehensive term referring collectively to such elements of students' life as religion caste, pre-college education, educational background and the educational occupational and income levels of the family. In her study she found that there are significant differences in the occupational and educational levels of the families of the students in two colleges. In the context of social change she had found that there are certain positive relationship between some elements of social background and the students' attitudes and behavior pattern.

K. Ahmed in her study, "The Social Context of Women's Education in India 1921-81" (Ahmed, 1985), found that, formal education or schooling involves moving into public spaces, interaction with males (in co-educational schooling and with teachers) or being socialized (through the curriculum) as boys and moving away from the goal of wifehood and motherhood. However the main concern to control sexuality in the direction of motherhood remains, for example small girls are given some freedom and may be sent to primary schools (even the co-educational ones). But the nearer they are to puberty the more the restrictions imposed on them.

Sachidananda in his study, "Education among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Bihar (college students) (Sachidananda, 1974), examined the status of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe Students in the Colleges", He compared the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students, with other classes of students; and identified the kinds of difficulties and obstacles faced by these students. The following are some of the major findings of this study:

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1. Girls college students form twenty five percent among the scheduled tribes and only 0.4% of the scheduled castes.
2. Nearly 30% of the scheduled caste college students were married.
3. Three fourth of the students in both the communities went in arts courses.
4. At college level the students were not much burdened by house-hold duties and responsibilities.
5. In general, the teachers had helpful attitudes towards them.
6. Most of the students had high academic and occupational aspirations.
7. Most of them were exposed to mass media of communications.
8. Bulk of students was politicised.
9. They had friends mostly from their own caste or tribe.
10. Very few had experienced discrimination.
11. Most of them were aware of the reservation of government job for them.
12. A large number of students felt that their status had improved but not as much as that of caste Hindus.
13. By and large male and female students did not differ in choice of their courses of study.
14. Educational aspiration of both male and female was nearly same as also their pattern of social interaction.

Most of their teachers regarded scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students as inferior, the reason being the absence of conducive atmosphere at home.

K.L. Sharma in his study, ‘Educational Inequalities among Rajasthan’s Scheduled Castes’ (Sharma, 1974), analysed three crucial factors of enrolment, hostels and scholarships which are related to the education of the scheduled castes, and found that their alarmingly backward condition is connected to the deprivation they suffer in relation to higher status groups and to the different treatment they received from the power elite. Broadly the distributive disparities’ affecting the scheduled castes are at three levels; between the scheduled castes and the general population; between the various scheduled castes and among the Scheduled Castes in particular areas district or place.
His major findings were:

1. The higher the educational level, the lower is the enrolment rate of the scheduled castes;
2. This clearly reflects the inability of most scheduled caste parents to send their children to school and college particularly because crucial family earnings being supplemented by working children.
3. Therefore, even the available facilities for higher secondary and college/university education cannot be availed by the scheduled castes. This indicates that it is not the quantum of available educational facilities which determines the educational attainments of various groups but it is the differential backgrounds of social networks, status, power, etc. of these groups which determine their level of education. Therefore, an increase in the educational facilities for the scheduled castes may not result in the lessoning of the gaps between caste Hindus and scheduled castes or between the different scheduled castes themselves. Unless a fair distribution of the use of educational facilities is ensured, the present educational system will continue to accentuate the distractions among the scheduled castes. Another dangerous consequence of this trend would be to continue and further increase as is well known this has already led to a situation where the jobs and positions earmarked for candidates belonged to the scheduled castes remain unfilled for some time and are then filled by recruiting non-scheduled caste candidates.

Dubey, reports the results of a survey of “The Intergenerational and Career Mobility of Professionals in an ‘Industrializing’ town—Gorakhpur, U.P., India” (Dubey, 1975). The major findings reported by Dubey are:

i) The proportions of professionals from rural and urban background are almost equal. The highest degree of spatial mobility has taken place among the doctors and engineers and the least among lawyers with college teachers in the middle.
ii) Income and intelligence play an important role both in nature of migration and mobility of the group.
iii) Those who have received special professional training and technical education have come from very large distances to Gorakhpur. They have come from as far as Burma, East and West Pakistan.
iv) The proportion of traditional elite (big agriculturalists, landlord, and businessmen, shows a decline through the three generations of grandfather, father and respondents, while the proportions of white collar workers shows a constantly increasing trend.

v) Sons of non-manual, white collar and professional fathers have greater chances of entering professions. Among those of the sons of agriculturalist fathers, sons of big farm families with highest origins have the greater chances of entering professions.

vi) Low income, poverty and inability to meet the expenses of higher professional education reduce the chances of sons of agricultural laborers and caste occupation workers to enter professions, and even their aspirations to do so.

vii) Increased education has lessened the interest in agricultural occupations and more and more people are inclined to enter urban occupations.

viii) Scheduled castes and O.B.C. are very highly underrepresented (4.33% and 2.66% respectively) among the professionals. However, Dubey argues that caste alone does not limit the chances of entering a profession but educational attainment plays a more important role.

ix) The rates of upward occupational mobility was highest (52.6%) for the sons of middle class and white-collar fathers while for those of the sons of working class fathers it was the lowest (1.66%).

x) Salaried professionals are more likely to shift to private practice.

xi) Men with 'liberal' education are more likely to change their occupations than those with technical and professional education.

xii) Men from white-collar occupations find it somewhat easier to enter professions, but not a single manual worker had risen to professions.

xiii) No downward career mobility was noticed among the professionals.

Among the factors influencing the rates of upward mobility, Dubey lists urbanization and industrialization, expansion of educational facilities, father's education and occupation as the most important.

K.K. Premi in his study, "Protective Legislation and Equality of Educational Opportunity: A study of Scheduled Caste, in Panjab" (Premi, 1977), aimed at:

I. measuring the extent of equality for the Scheduled Castes vis-a-vis non-Scheduled Castes in respect to equality within educational system and to study the trend with regard to the last two decades from 1950-51 to 1970-71;
2. estimating the extent of equality for the scheduled castes vis-a-vis others in terms of post-school performance; and
3. assessing the role of protective privileges in the educational advancement of the scheduled castes as perceived by them and to explain the emerging in equalities in extent of privileges.

The findings of this study point out that equality of educational opportunities for scheduled castes as compared to the non-scheduled castes was still as distant goal even in terms of equal access to educational institutions. The aspects of equality in terms of equal inputs had not so far been accepted in principle. Education to a certain extent at higher level had been able to bridge the gap in the earning of the two groups; it was incapable of negating the influence of social origin. A distinct caste and class pattern in the use of educational facilities at higher stages was observed. A critical examination of the assumptions underlying the scheme of educational facilities revealed that:

1. Education among scheduled castes might not filter down as advocated by Ambedkar;
2. Free tuition did not carry education to the majority of scheduled castes who were extremely ill-fed and ill-clad, besides, the opportunity cost was much higher for them;
3. Equal access for unequal groups was not truly equality;
4. Partial help tended to benefit the ‘have’ rather than the deprived section of the schedule caste; and
5. Administrative delays and official in difference tended to tell more.

N. Jayaram in his works, ‘Higher Education: Inequality and Social Change in India’ (Jayaram, 1977) and ‘Higher Education as Social Stabilizer’ (Jayaram, 1979), makes two major points. One, expansion of higher education has been working as the maintenance of status quo in the relation to the occupation among the members of the middle class, and second, it has been glorifying in egalitarian tendencies as the people of lower classes and castes have seldom received higher education and entered the professions on which middle class has absolute monopoly.

J. Singh, in his thesis on Impact of Education on Intergenerational Vertical Social Mobility and Compared it between SC's, Backward and Other classes as Measured by Income, Occupation and Social status, Ph.D, Pan.U. 1978.
The major objectives of the study were:
1. To study the impact of education of intergenerational vertical social mobility through income, occupation and social status as measures of mobility.
2. To study the relationship between education, parental aspirations, job satisfaction and social mobility, and
3. To make a comparative study of the intergenerational vertical mobility among the people belonging to SC, Backward classes and other Castes.

The major findings of the study were:
i) The educational level of old and new generations was positively related to the income, occupational prestige, SES, job satisfaction, and parental aspiration.
ii) The SCs and backward classes were backward in education as compared to the high castes. Their number was very small at higher educational levels.
iii) 79% of the population had upward intergenerational social mobility.
iv) The vertical social mobility consistently decreased with the increased in the educational level.
v) Lower strata of society had lower parental aspirations.

Pimpley, in his study, “The Socio-Economic Background of the Scheduled Caste Students from Punjab” (Pimpley, 1978), aimed at surveying the socio-economic background of the scheduled caste students from Panjab. The author tried to assess the status of the scheduled caste students, their performance at school their feelings of social distance and their opinion about the facilities for them and thereby tried to show how these could be problematic in their educational aspiration.

The major findings of the study were as follows:
1. Scheduled caste school students were namely, Adharmia, Balmiki, Mazhabi and Ramdassia.
2. Parents were almost all illiterate, economic condition of the family was ‘difficult’ and the father’s occupation was mainly farming.
3. Scheduled caste students mainly spend a fair amount of time for studies, they could follow the class, their educational aspiration were very high and they aspired for white collar jobs yet their dropout rate was quite high.
4. They were inferior in their academic caliber as opined by their teachers.
5. Government servants and national leaders were most popular to scheduled caste students.
6. They were not much exposed to mass media and their polarization was low.
7. They felt that economic, social and educational status were important consideration for the choice of spouse.

8. They had no experience of ill treatment and their caste status did not become a barrier in communication with other students.

9. Their participation in extra-curricular activities was low.

10. About sixty percent maintained that their condition had improved but they continued to have inferior status than that of non-scheduled section of the population.

11. They were aware of the facilities provided for them but their age group had not availed of those facilities.

In his other study, Educational Problems of the Scheduled Castes Students in the Punjab College Students (Pimply, 1978) Pimpley studied the educational problems of the scheduled caste students in the Punjab colleges. The author tried to see, how their education affected, their aspirations and performance, their lifestyle, their social outlook, their attitude towards government assistance and finally their opinion about the status of scheduled castes in general.

The major findings of this study point out that:

1. The scheduled caste college students were mostly averaged male students oversubscribed in the sample about 90% of them were unmarried and mainly Hindus rather than Sikhs.

2. In most cases, their parents were illiterate and had meagre financial resources and the students had to spend a lot of time in domestic duties.

3. Most of them could follow the class and wastage was not very high.

4. Their educational as well as occupational aspirations were a very high.

5. Exposure to mass media was quite high and national leaders and government officials were the most popular reference person.

6. Behaviour of other students towards them was determined by their caste status yet many of them had non-scheduled caste friends.

7. They had no experiences of ill-treatment.

8. Most of them considered endogamy and parental authority as most important.

9. A large number of them felt that the status of scheduled caste had improved but was still inferior.

C.K Gogol, studied the Occupational Differentiation, Perception of Status and Social Interaction in an Oil Town (Gogoi, 1979). The study was designed to explore the emerging pattern of Social Organization of a Small Industrial Town with special
reference to three Interrelated Sociological issues viz. Occupational differentiation, Perception of Status and Social Interaction. 10% stratified sample was used to collect the data a total of 3248 employees of the company at Duliajan Town in Tinsukia district. The findings of the study are-

1. The mean age of the respondents was 35.9 years.
2. Hindus constitute the largest religious group (88.74%), Budhist, occupied smallest number of respondents (0.66%).
3. Out of twelve linguistic groups, Assamese showed the highest representation with 69.53% respondent followed by Bengali (12.25%), Hindi (5.96%) and (4.31%) were Nepali speaking respondents.
4. Upper caste Brahmins dominate the executive rank jobs (28%).
5. Assam represented the highest number of respondents (73.84%) and lowest number of respondents was from Manipur (0.33%), Kerala (0.33%) and Orissa (0.33%).
6. Majority of the respondents was from rural origin and they were employed in skilled, semiskilled and unskilled jobs. Again, respondents from urban origin were larger in upper three categories of occupations viz. executives, supervisors and clerks.
7. This is reflected in the findings that each occupational category is associated with certain education and income levels.

P.N. Pandey's study 'Education and Social Mobility among Schedule Castes' (Pandey, 1979) was devoted to analyse the influence of education on Social Mobility among the Schedule Castes in terms of vertical changes in the status along with Mobility in their living arrangements, patterns of behaviour and style of life in an orthogenetic city. The major findings of the study were:

(i) The growth of modern education and the changing socio-economic status among the SC’s were closely related to each other.
(ii) Among the educated there was strong relation to traditional social status and occupational structures.
(iii) Education, protective discrimination and democratic secularism were very helpful. They were more achievement oriented than ascriptive oriented.
(iv) Not getting sanskritised in the rituals, Practices etc. of the higher castes, they aspired to imitate the elite sections of any caste, class or culture in urbanized and westernized values.
(v) The emergence of high men of the SC in the government jobs of prestige and power was another adaptive change.
(v) The highly educated and those who had an elevated social standing formed an exclusive group to move upward by seeking marital relations among the upper castes and form contacts with the elite sections of the society. They did recognize their obligations towards their caste fellow men had a low social and economic status.

(vi) Elite emulation was the basis for structural mobility rather than cultural and ritual mobility through Sanskritization.

B.N. Sarkar in his study, "Two Generation Educational Mobility of Males in Villages of District around Calcutta" (Sarkar, 1980), examined the educational mobility between the father and son based on the survey data and compared the rate of educational growth during one generation. The findings of the study were:

There was a fall in the progress of literacy in recent years among the villages of the district around Calcutta. Out migration of the high caste Hindus arising out of landlessness were largely responsible for the observed phenomenon. The number of dropouts among the scheduled caste males was at least twice the number of those among the female of the community of Muslims. The growth of literacy was about 19.1% considering males of birth cohort before 1964. The corresponding figures were 16.4%, 21.9%, 24.8% and 16.8% in respect of males of birth cohort before 1934-43, 1944-53 and 1954-63 but the mobility was in the reverse direction with a magnitude of 9.6% for males of age group 6 to 14 years (birth cohort 1964-72). A decline of 10% was observed over a period of 20 years from those in age group 35-44 to 15-24.

B.N. Sarkar and B.K. Mukhupadhyaya in their study, 'Two Generation Educational Mobility of males and females in Villages of District around Calcutta', (Sarkar and Mukhupadhyay, 1980), examined the educational mobility variations among the males of different caste/religious groups. Their findings were:

1. In all, 43% sons of age 15 years and above had higher educational status and 11% had lower educational status than their fathers.
2. Net higher educational mobility was 27% for the scheduled caste Hindus in comparison with 35-39% in other three caste/Religious groups.
3. About 30% females of age 15 and above failed to attain the educational status of their mothers whereas 28% attained higher education than their mothers.

Jacob Aikara, in his study, "Scheduled Castes and Higher Education" (Aikara, 1980), aimed at: (a) Finding out the rate of stagnation and drop-out among scheduled caste (SC) students, to investigate the reasons and post dropout situation, (b) Understanding the situation of SC College students and (c) Comparing scheduled caste and non-
scheduled caste college students, and scheduled caste students in different colleges. In
the sample for the study of the situation of the scheduled caste students, one college
each from arts, science, commerce and law run by the government and by the
organizations committed to the education of the weaker sections was selected.
Besides, government college of Medicine and Engineering and two other private
colleges were included in the sample. A questionnaire was mailed to all those
scheduled caste students of the ten sample colleges who had met with stagnation or
dropped out during the period of five years 1968-69 to 1972-73, of which 52 percent
responded. The sample for studying the nature of educational problems of the
scheduled caste was drawn through stratified random sampling where stratification
was done on the basis of the performance of the students in the university
examinations of the previous year. The findings of this study point out that:
1. In comparison with the non-Scheduled Caste students, the Scheduled Caste
students were found to be inferior in almost every aspect in socio-economic
background and in performance and progress in studies;
2. The students studying in the government colleges had a superior background and
better performance record than those of private colleges.
3. There had been a very high incidence of stagnation and dropout among the
scheduled caste students.

V.S.D' Souza's study on "Educational Inequalities Among Scheduled Castes: A Case
Study in the Punjab State" (D'Souza, 1980), had the objectives to unfold the structural
differentiation of the educational inequalities among the scheduled castes in the
Punjab state. Specifically, the investigator attempted to find out the reasons for: 1. the
slow rate of narrowing the educational gap between the scheduled castes and the rest
of the society; 2. the inequalities among the scheduled castes, themselves, and the
widening educational gaps among the Scheduled Castes. The universe of the study
was the Punjab state, and was confined to the decade 1961-71, with the population,
having thirty-seven sub-castes. These castes were divided into three broad categories,
viz. large (population more than 1,00,000) medium (population between 25,000 and
1,00,000) and small (below 25,000). Eleven large and medium sized castes
constituting 94.15% of the total scheduled caste population were considered for
detailed analysis. The data were obtained from the relevant census reports and records
of the department of Education, Punjab.
The major findings of this study point out that:

(i) The educational inequalities between the scheduled castes and the rest of the society were due to the long standing socio-economic exploitation of the former by the rest of the society;

(ii) Remedial measures by way of protective discrimination taken by the state had succeeded, although to a minute extent, as was clear from the 1971 educational data report in so far as the educational inequality between the scheduled castes and the rest of the society was concerned but among the scheduled castes themselves they were acting with greater vigour;

(iii) Educational inequalities among the scheduled castes were found to be related to two structural dimensions, namely the division of these people into mutually exclusive castes and the concentration of different castes in various educationally and socio-economically differentiated regions.

(iv) Castes and regional disparities were to a great extent interrelated;

(v) Caste segregation by itself was also an independent factor in the inequalities;

(vi) Whether due to caste separation or regional variation, the educational inequalities were found to be related to differences in socio-economic or occupational status;

(vii) The state aid for educational development required the recipients to supplement it with their family resources; therefore, since most of the poorer people were unable to do so they could not avail themselves of the special facilities at all, hence the persistence of educational inequalities;

(viii) The scheduled castes with higher occupational status concentrated in districts with higher socio-economic levels and vice-versa, giving some people an added advantage.

P.R. Panchmukhi in his study, ‘Inequality in Education’ (Panchamukhi, 1981), examined the problem of Inequality in Educational Opportunities. The basic objective of the study was to examine the extent to which the policies of expansion had achieved the aims of equality in the distribution of education. A sample survey was conducted with nearly 1050 students from selected primary and secondary schools of educationally advanced city, viz. Dharwar. The scope of enquiry was restricted to pre-college education only covering nearly 12% students from high schools and about 71% students from primary schools of a single town. The investigation aimed at collecting detailed information on dual aspects of the problem namely distribution of schooling facilities and participation in these educational facilities. With this view,
details with respect to students' characteristics, their socio-economic background, their other neighbourhood characteristics and school characteristics were obtained.

The main conclusions of the study were:

1. Even in an educationally advanced environment in a city like Dharwar, participation in education was severely constrained by socio-economic environment of students.

2. Not scholarship but parents’ income had significant positive influence on the performance of students.

3. Home study rather than study in the hostel contributed positively to the students’ performance.

4. Even the performance of friends had a significant positive influence on performance.

5. When there were extreme socio-economic inequalities, policies for only equalization of education were destined to be least successful, because the access to and participation in education was a function of several socio-economic factors, and many of them could not be controlled by an educational policy.

6. The study reinforced the argument that extension of educational facilities did not necessarily ensure distributive justice in respect of use of the educational facilities.

J.P. Sharma in his study, "A study of Scheduled Caste Students in Patna University" (Sharma, 1982), had the following purposes: 1. to identify social, economic, educational and political problems of the scheduled caste students studying in Patna University, and 2. to study their relationship with teachers and students from upper castes. The sample of the study consisted of 130 scheduled caste students studying in the faculties of arts, science, commerce, law, engineering and education of Patna University. The subjects, randomly chosen, belonged to Chamar, Dushadh, Rajak, Pasi, Dome, Bhuiya, Bhangi and Vunjara Subcastes. An interview schedule was developed covering areas like age, courses undertaken, subjects chosen, religion, habitation, marital status, age at the time of marriage, family income, education of parents, parental occupation, lodging, distance of daily travelling for attending classes, locality of lodging, facilities at home, treatment of authorities, years spent in each class, reasons for the choice of courses, perception about the course content, scholarship facilities, attitude towards classroom teaching, teachers' willingness to help, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with examination, favour by teachers to upper
caste students, friendship pattern, reservation policy and hostel life. The main findings of the study were:

1. There was disparity between scheduled castes and other castes in respect of age, habitation, facilities, per capita income, parental education, study facilities, choice of subjects, rate of stagnation, adjustment to the climate in the hostel and in the institution, and level of academic achievement;
2. The members of the scheduled castes felt neglected and alienated in the university system;

G. Nambissan in his study, “Educational and Occupational Mobility among the Bhils of Rajasthan” (Nambissan, 1983). The objectives of the study were: 1. To understand the nature and magnitude of inequality of educational opportunity between the tribal (Bhil) and non-tribal (Brahmin) community, between sections of the tribe which have had uneven exposure to modern institutions and opportunities and between households of differing economic status in each section of the tribe and 2. To study the nature of occupational opportunities in the tribal area and the magnitude of occupational mobility expressed by the educated Bhil hill area, intergenerational occupational change in the Bhil area, intergenerational occupational mobility and the attitudes to education and occupational mobility and the attitudes to education and aspirations of the tribals and occupational opportunities.

The major findings of the study were:

1. The tribal households were educationally backward as compared to the Brahmin Household.
2. The ability of the households to send one or more children to school appeared to vary with the size of the households. However, within each household, a larger percentage of Mina as compared to Bhil children were students.
3. The economic status of the household appeared to be a crucial factor behind inequality of educational opportunity.
4. Households with access to income from service holder had enrolled the largest percentage of children in school.
5. The importance of access of a household to service income could be seen in the education of members beyond the age of 11 years. It was in the 12-16 years age group that economic and social constraints in education were more pronounced. Households having more than one member in service were able to send the maximum number of
children in this age group to school and had relatively higher levels of attainment within the educational mainstream.

6. Only a small proportion of tribal adults had entered the service sector and a majority of these members were found in lower grade supervisors' occupations. On the other hand, a majority of Brahmins with service income had entered occupational categories of higher status.

7. The spread of occupational opportunities among the tribal households was relatively narrow. There was a definite process of status-inheritance or self-recruitment in households which already had access to new occupational opportunities. Only a small proportion of service income earning youth had upward occupational mobility.

8. As a minimum middle school education was essential for the service sector a large number of tribal children who did not enter the educational mainstream were excluded from new occupational opportunities.

9. The tribal respondents revealed extremely positive attitudes towards education. S K Bhattacharya made a study of ‘Social Mobility through Three Generations’ in four different areas of west Bengal (Bhattacharya, 1986). The study leads to the findings that

(i) inequality of educational opportunity (IEO) has been in existence for a long time;
(ii) the educational system itself is stratified; (iii) the lower classes remain immobile while the middle classes, although not experienced long range upward mobility, experienced short ranged mobility from lower middle class to middle-middle class, downward mobility was also observed among them; (iv) members of the upper class could not only protect and maintain their status in society, but also enhanced these attributes over the years.

Bhattacharya suggests that it is not only higher education, as reported by Jayaram which stabilizes the structure of status, but it is also the system of education which does that through intricate mechanism generating a different type of IEO emanating primarily from a stratified system of education. Bhattacharya also contradicts Boudon’s thesis that the impact of a system of education on inequality of social opportunity (ISO) is negligible. On the contrary, his study reveals that although ISO is a self-generating and propagating process, the system of education is seen to be quite in its role as a reinforce of social stratification and Inequality. Although Bhattacharya apparently disagrees with Boudon, but it appears that he is actually supplementing
Boudon’s thesis. While Boudon believes that a reduction in IEO will not necessarily reduce ISO, Bhattacharya adds that IEO instead increases ISO. This is quite in keeping with Boudon’s thesis. In line with Boudon’s observations Bhattacharya also suggests that IEO and ISO can be reduced only by reducing the economic inequality or, in other words, lessening the rigidity of the social stratification alone can reduce IEO and ISO. He also suggests that the system of education also should be reformed and made uniform by abolishing the stratified educational system.

Suresh Kumar’s study ‘Social Mobility in four Villages around Bhilai Steel Plant, Madhya Pradesh’ (Kumar, 1986) reveals that although industrialization of rural areas uproots the inhabitants initially, but they get rehabilitated as the large scale industries themselves and through the growth of ancillary (smaller) units have a great employment potential. Not only this, whatever, impact it may have on agriculture but it helps the agricultural workers experience upward vertical and horizontal occupational mobility as opportunities for unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled and professional employment are opened up by the industrial development. In consonance with the ‘techno-functionalism’ Kumar also finds that the rural agricultural population experienced not only upward occupational mobility but the younger generation experienced upward educational mobility too. The income of both the younger generations and the older one’s increased. Not only this, apart from changing the lifestyles of the people, mobility aspiration was heightened and hence demand for education has also increased. Kumar also notes that with these changes consumption and savings patterns also have changed and importance of caste as a determinant of social status has diminished considerably.

A study by Punam Arora in her study, “Equality of Educational Opportunity in Jammu Division” (Arora, 1987), led to the following conclusions:
1. There are wide regional disparities in the literacy rate of all age groups in different districts.
2. There are major inequalities in the enrolment ratios (according to total population) in various age groups in different districts.
3. There are wide disparities in the literacy rates between rural and urban areas in all age groups in different districts.
4. There are major inequalities in the social enrolment ratios in various age groups in different districts. The extent of this disparity varies from district to district with the widest rural urban disparity in Doda district and narrowest in Jammu district.
5. There are wide disparities in the literacy rates of scheduled caste and general population in various age groups in different districts.

6. There are major inequalities in the school enrolment ratios of scheduled caste and general population in various age groups in different districts.

7. There are wide disparities in the literacy rate of boys and girls in Jammu at all age groups of different districts.

8. There are major inequalities in the school enrolment and the disparities are to the extent of 1:2 to 2:5 at different stages of education and in different districts of the division.

Kusum Kotwal in his study, “Inequalities in Access to Education among Scheduled Castes in Jammu and Kashmir State” (Kotwal, 1987), shows that upward occupational mobility in case of Ramdasia children which rank highest with 87.5% in occupation higher than that of their fathers, followed by Masha children with 37.5% in occupation higher than that of their fathers and Bahagat children occupy third place with 22.22% in occupation higher than that of their fathers. 12.5% of Ramdasis, 22.2% Bhagats and 23% of the Mashas are in the same occupations as those of their fathers. No Ramdasia child is in an occupation lower than that of his fathers, while there are 55.56% Bhagat children, 37.5% Masha children in occupations lower than those of their fathers. There is only one employed child of a Sarayara father who is in higher occupation than that of his father. Since, there is only one case no valid inference can be drawn from it. Further, he in his study has found that among the Ramdasia the proportion of children with higher education than their fathers is compatible with their proportion in higher occupations than their fathers (87.5% in both cases). In case of Bhagats the proportion (93.33%) of children with higher education than their fathers is greater than in case of Ramdasia (87.5%), their proportion in occupations higher than that of their fathers is still low being 22.20%.

This can lead to inference that higher education (than their fathers) had not led many Bhagat children to enter jobs higher than their fathers, and that it has helped them to remain in their fathers occupations. It also implies that those with similar educational levels (to that of father) has not been able to enter the same occupation (in white collar or skilled manual), but into lower occupation than the father. This is due to what is called inflation of education. This inflation of education is felt in all the sections of society but it is obviously more pronounced among the scheduled castes as they continued to be exploited by other sections. She has concluded in her study that
the present policy of reservation has been helpful only in creating inequalities of various kinds among the scheduled castes themselves. Those who are politically powerful and those who are aware of the availability of facilities take greater advantage (Ramdasia and Masha), while the other castes continue to be at the level where they were before the Constitution of the state was enacted.

D.N. Jena in her study, ‘Social and Occupational Mobility among the Artisan Castes’ (Jena, 1988), examined all artisan castes of the Kendrapara area, a middle class town in Orissa, and found that the incidence of migration was greater in higher than the lower artisan castes. Urbanization, mass-media, education, political support, financial assistance was positively associated with mobility. Artisans were in favour of providing jobs to women.

V.K. Pandey in his study “Social Mobility among Women in the Transitional city of Raipur in Madhya Pradesh” (Pandey, 1988) analysed trends, directions and consequences of social mobility among women as well as factors responsible for it. He found that the present changes in society have improved the social position of women and women’s education and that education can only play an important role in their children’s careers.

Upendra Razdan in his study, ‘Socio-Economic Background of Under-Graduate Students in District Jammu’ (Razdan, 1989), had the following major objectives:

1. To find out if rural and urban population avail themselves of the facilities of higher education in equal proportions.
2. To find out if members of all religious communities’ participate in the higher education in proportion to their population.
3. To find out if members of different castes participate in higher education in proportion to their population.
4. To find out if the participation of men and women in higher education is equal.
5. To find out the average income of the families able to send their children for higher education.
6. To find out if the children of parents with different levels of education participates equally in higher education.
7. To find out if the children of parents in different occupation are able to participate equally in higher education.
8. To find out if the children with different types of schooling participate equally in higher education.
The following are the major findings with regard to the participation, in higher education, by different sections of the population living in Jammu district:

1. The proportion of girls going to college is lower than that of boys, considering the proportion of the two sexes in the general population. This conclusion indicates that far fewer girls complete higher secondary school stage than boys.

2. The rural residents' participation, in higher education is far lower than that of the urban residents;

3. In this respect rural girls are at a greater disadvantage than the rural boys as the proportion of rural boys entering colleges after completing the higher secondary school is greater than that of the rural girls. This means that besides the lower proportion of rural girls completing higher secondary school than that of the rural boys, the transition rate, from higher secondary school to college, of rural girls is lower than that of rural boys or in other words, larger number of rural girls than rural boys, dropout of the educational system before taking the first university degree.

4. Even those rural boys and girls who have somehow succeeded in entering colleges have greater chances of dropping out of the college, without completing the three year degree courses than their urban counterparts. However, rural girls have still greater chances of doing so than the rural boys. This argument is supported by the figures relating to the proportions of literacy, college attendance and proportion of graduates, in rural-urban, male-female sections of the population, given in the introduction to this report. The rural and urban students differ even in their choice of subjects of study. While larger proportion of urban students study science and commerce subjects, larger proportion of rural students study Arts and Social science subjects while rural boys venture into relatively new areas of study like commerce and compound Arts (Arts with Mathematics) the rural girls continue in the traditional science and simple Arts stream. Also, a larger proportion of rural girls than their urban counterparts enter college at a later age for reason of failure in the examination prior to entry into colleges. Some of the, also enter at later age because they are admitted late to the school itself.

5. The participation of the Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains is higher than that of Muslims and Christians when the respective proportions of these communities in the general population are considered.

6. Among the Hindus, wherein the division into a hierarchy of castes is a dominant feature, there is a dominance of upper castes (Brahmins, Baniyas and Rajputs) in
participation in higher education. The lower caste Hindu's namely the scheduled castes and other backward community's participation among the Hindus living in the district are at a disadvantage.

7. The constitutionally defined backward communities among the Muslims, “the social castes” do not seem to participate in the higher education at all, as none of the respondents in the study belongs to these communities. Among the Sikhs also, the scheduled caste community, “Mazhabi Sikh” are not found on the rolls of the colleges in the district.

8. Among the 13 castes listed as scheduled castes under the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, only two viz., Chamars or Ramdasia and Megh or Kabirpanthis participate in higher education; the other 11 castes are not found at all on rolls of the colleges in the district.

9. The proportion of the children of illiterate fathers participating in higher education is insignificant considering the fact that over 57% of the population of the district is illiterate. The proportion of children whose fathers have acquired an education up to matriculation, and above is the largest proportion of the college going students. Majority of them are the children of graduate fathers. The proportion of daughters of such fathers is greater than the sons of such fathers.

10. There is only a slightly higher proportion of children of educated mothers than the children of illiterate mothers, indicating that mothers’ education brightens up chances of entering a college only slightly.

11. Larger proportion of children whose fathers are in non-manual or white collar jobs participate in higher education than those of the children whose fathers are in manual jobs, traditional or caste occupations. Among the fathers in white collar occupations the class IV employees are not able to send their children to colleges in the same proportion as the other white collar workers. This situation is true of all religious communities and castes irrespective of their rural urban residence. The children of professional and administrative fathers form disproportionately larger section of the college going students.

12. The proportion of girls who are daughters of fathers in manual jobs or in class IV employment is even lower compared to the boys whose fathers are in such jobs.

13. There is no difference in the proportions of children of working and non-working mothers going to college.
14. Higher the per capita income greater is the participation in higher education by the children. Thus the children from the economically weaker sections of the population do not participate in higher education at all. They perhaps do not participate even in the school education especially the higher secondary stage.

15. The proportion of college going students having attended high fee private schools is smaller than those having attended state-run schools. But the proportion of those who have had private coaching at the X, XI and XII class level is far larger than those who did not get private coaching at the school stage.

16. The level of academic achievement at the higher secondary stage does affect college attendance (college of general education) as the state has an open door admission policy and anybody with a higher secondary pass, irrespective of the marks obtained, can be admitted to a general degree college.

17. The largest proportion of the population under study intend continuing their education till they acquire a post-graduate degree. The second largest proportion is of those who want to discontinue their education and enter employment after acquiring the first degree. The third largest proportion is of those who intend taking some kind of professional education after completing the general first degree course. A very small proportion of this population intends taking research degrees as well.

18. Larger proportion of girls than boys intend continuing their education through post-graduation and research levels. The larger proportion of girls intending to continuing their education through post-graduate and research degrees hail from the rural areas and not from the urban areas.

19. Largest proportion of the population under study have limited their job aspirations only to clerical jobs followed by those who aspire to enter professional jobs, administrative jobs, school teaching and business, in that order.

20. More boys than girls aspire to enter clerical jobs. However larger proportion of girls than boys aspire for professional careers. Larger proportion of boys than girls like to take up administrative jobs. Larger proportion of girls than the boys want to enter school teaching jobs. While a considerable proportion of boys want to do business, hardly any girls are interested in this kind of employment. The proportion of girls, who like to end up as house wives, is however, only very small.

21. As revealed by the reading interests of the student population under study a majority have non-intellectual interests. Only a small proportion of them are interested in serious academic work.
22. Despite their non-intellectual interests, a vast majority of them have a negative attitude towards manual work even as hobbies. This is true for both rural and urban residents as well as for both the sexes.

23. The size of family does not seem to be a characteristic of the college going students. However the largest proportion of them belongs to families with the size of up to 6 members.

Nusrat Jehan Fatima, in her study, ‘Education, Social Mobility and Social Change, among Women in Bangalore City’ (Fatima, 1989), attempted to examine the relation between various levels of education and social mobility, among women in Bangalore City. The main objectives of the study were:

1. To study the relation between various levels of education and occupation, among women of Bangalore city and
2. To study the relation between various levels of education and social change among women, especially in terms of attitudes and behaviour.

The major findings of the study were:

1. Secondary education amongst women had a positive effect on their occupational mobility.

2. Professional and post-graduate education was found to raise the status of women, especially in terms of employment.

3. Women with higher education had a favorable attitude towards girls' education.

4. Education of women also showed a positive association with preference for co-education, nuclear families, girls' education, adoption of family planning methods, shedding of social malpractice such as dowry and blurred caste and religious identity, etc.

U.P. Chandrashekhar, in his study, ‘A Study of the Utilization of various measures provided by the state to promote Equality of Educational opportunity in the case of other Backward classes in Karnataka’ (Chandrashekhar, 1990) studied the utilization of various facilities offered by the state of Karnataka for promoting equal opportunities for education in the case of various backward communities. The main objectives of the study were:

1. To trace the history of the involvement of the state in the welfare of the backward classes in Karnataka,

2. To analyse the growth of institutions, beneficiaries and expenditure at the state level with respect to the educational development of the other backward classes.
3. To compare the background characteristics of the backward class members utilizing scholarship and hostel schemes,
4. To compare the background profiles of pre-matric and post-matric scholarship beneficiaries,
5. To survey the motivational factors in the form of aspirations and relate them to the contextual factors of the hostellers, and
6. To study the occupational mobility and attainment in relation to factors amenable to policy intervention through a follow-up study of hostel beneficiaries.

The major findings of the study were:

1. A trend analysis of the growth of major developmental schemes for the other backward classes at the state level revealed that the policy of the state towards educational development of the other backward classes might not have been guided by developmental needs.
2. The benefits of all major schemes had gone to the male segments of backward classes. Within this segment, the better-placed categories of the other backward classes had derived greater benefits.
3. The shift of students from their poor socio-economic home background to the hostel environment breaks the vicious circle of poor home background - poor educational development - low educational performance - poor occupational attainment. Punjab Raj in his study, "Educational and Occupational Mobility among Scheduled Castes in Hirenagar Tehsil" (Raj, 1990), pointed out in his findings that:

1. Although considerable upward educational mobility (among scheduled castes) of the intergenerational type is indicated by our data, a negligible proportion of scheduled castes even in the younger respondents' generation are able to acquire education beyond the school stage. Only a stray case here and there enters the institutions of higher learning especially of the professional type.
2. A vast majority of those fathers who complete the high school education or beyond do not succeed in preventing their offspring from skidding into semi literacy and illiteracy.
3. Scheduled caste women, are illiterate in general and have not made even a beginning. The most important of the causes of this low participation in education is poverty, followed by uncertainty of a regular monthly income. The poverty condition is aggravated by landlessness or very small holding and lack of paid work through a large part of every year. Migration to urban centers for work keeps them only at a
subsistence level. Further, the rural power structure, dominated by the upper caste better off section prevents these scheduled castes from acquiring education and even when they do acquire the requisite educational level this power structure prevents their entry into white collar occupations.

4. Lack of high schools and the prejudicial attitude of the teachers from urban, middle class, upper caste background discourage these people from getting education which could enable them to get white collar job.

5. A considerable upward intergenerational occupational mobility is also indicated by the data, but almost all this upward mobility takes place from one manual job to another. Hardly any upward mobility from manual to non-manual occupations is indicated. Even among the younger generation hardly any entered white collar occupations even with the requisite educational qualifications. Almost all those who succeeded in coming out of the manual background end up at the lowest rungs of the hierarchy of white collar jobs i.e. clerical work only. Almost none is able to end up as a professional.

6. Fathers who succeeded incoming out of the shell of manual work and entered into white collar work fail to pass on the advantage to their offspring, who skid back into manual work.

7. As most of our respondents are manual labourers, where are hardly any chances of their improving the occupational status even with their growing age. As such the chances of their real income growing are also bleak because in rural economy wages of manual workers are not likely to grow. The policy of the landlords to employ from other states, particularly, from Bihar and U.P. creates a tough competition for the local labour in the job market and as such has to settle for a lower wage.

8. Among the six scheduled castes from which sample for the present study was drawn only one viz. Ramdasias have made a beginning in acquiring higher education and through it in entering white collar occupations and earning an assured income. This process has also enabled them to pass the advantages to their offspring.

9. The policy of protective discrimination (reservation policy) has not proved effective in raising the educational, occupational and income status of the scheduled castes.

P.S. Dutta in his study “North-East: A Study of Mobility and Political Behaviour” (Dutta, 1991), examined a samples from Dibrugarh and Lakhimpur Districts of Assam to investigate direction of mobility under three separate sections, viz, educational
mobility, objective social mobility and subjective social mobility. The major findings of the study are –

i) In reality, the society till now appears to be a closed one, where channels for upward mobility remain concentrated in urban and industrial areas leaving the vast majority of rural and tea estate population deprived of such opportunities.

ii) The level of political information is very low. The respondents having lower political information are apathetic towards the political process. The apathetic attitude is also common among the respondents with high level of political information.

iii) In comparison to the attitude of the respondents on the three issues of industrialization, role of private sector in the economy of the country and implementation of the programme of “land to the tillers”, a decisive trend has been found in favour of the question on “land to the tillers.”

iv) The degree of political involvement is very low as indicated by the revelation that about 40% of the respondents reported total apathy. However, mobiles reported more involvement and less apathy than the non-mobiles.

v) Very few people reported membership of political parties. However, the upward mobiles appeared to have a tendency to identify themselves with the ruling party.

Subodh Chandra Mishra in his study, “A study of the Relationship between Education and Social status of Scheduled Caste students of Cuttack District” (Mishra, 1991), attempted to study the possible causes affecting the social status of scheduled caste graduates at the micro level in Orissa state. The main objectives of the study were:

1. To study the extent to which the social status of scheduled caste graduates had improved as a result of education.

2. To compare the social status of scheduled caste graduates with non-scheduled castes graduates.

3. To study the effects of the changed economic condition on the social status of scheduled caste graduates.

4. To study the extent to which the attitude of scheduled caste graduates towards self had changed as a result of education, and

5. To study the effect of family background on the social status of scheduled caste graduates.
The major findings of the study were:

1. A larger percentage of scheduled caste respondents were in the Arts stream and a smaller percentage in commerce and science streams in comparison to non-scheduled caste respondents.

2. Scheduled caste groups like Dhoba, Bhoni, Bauri and Kandara aspired more for higher education than the sub caste scheduled castes like Pano, Haddi and Mochi.

3. The economic condition of scheduled caste graduates had improved to a considerable extent due to education but it was still weaker in comparison to non-scheduled caste graduates.

4. A larger percentage of scheduled caste graduates were government officers and company executives. Their larger size of the family affected the socio-economic condition of the scheduled caste respondents. A larger percentage of scheduled caste respondents had an inferiority complex due to continued social discrimination. Due to limited aspiration, insecurity of jobs and poverty, the majority of the scheduled caste respondents did not feel encouraged to go in for higher education.

R K Mujoo, in his study, “Higher Education and Social Mobility: An Interdisciplinary Study of the impact of University Education on the Careers and the Attitudes of Graduates in Jammu and Kashmir” (Mujoo, 1992), reports that Jammu and Kashmir adopted its own constitution in 1956 and according to the constitutional provision, free education at all levels, from class I to the University, is to be provided.

This study found that college and university education in Jammu And Kashmir State benefits only the Hindus of the upper castes, men more than women and urban population more than rural population. This study finds that those parents who are in white collar occupations or in business manage to send their children to the institution of Higher and Professional education. The system is especially biased against the women of lower occupational and educational level families as the author finds a high positive correlation between parents’ educational attainment and their children’s attainment. Although a few of the scheduled caste men students find their way into colleges and universities, Scheduled caste and Muslim women hardly appear in the sample. In another of his papers, “Correlates of Access to Higher Education in Jammu and Kashmir states that in Jammu and Kashmir” (Mujoo, 2005), reports that the participation of the Muslims in education in general and Higher Education in particular remains low in comparison to that of their Hindu counterparts even in Kashmir valley where Muslims constitute about 95% of the population. In regard to
the differential access of different caste groups, the author says that Hindus in Kashmir who are only Brahmans dominate the enrolment in higher education, while in the Jammu region where Hindus exhibit an elaborate caste system the scene of Higher Education is disproportionately dominated by upper castes. He also reports that the beneficiaries of free Higher education in the state are mainly urban residents who form a very small proportion of the population compared to the population inhabiting rural areas.

Malati Sinha, in her study, “Role of Education in Social and Occupational Mobility” (Sinha, 1992), examined 150 educated persons drawn randomly from the population of Patna and found that social mobility has taken place among educated persons. She found that more than 80% of educated persons changed their professions and the mobility has always been upward.

J. Dash's study on “Trends and Problems of Higher Education of Scheduled Tribes in Orissa” (Dash, 2002) found that due to low enrolment and higher rate of drop out, equality of opportunity in enrolment achieved by ST’s in higher education, universities and technical and professional courses was the lowest. Majority of the scheduled tribes of backward districts of the state were deprived of higher education. He also found that non-provision of educational institutions for ST boys and girls, lowest pass percentage of tribal students in class X, lack of hostel facilities, overcrowded rooms, irregular running mess, poor standard of food, lack of proper study atmosphere, irregular disbursement of scholarships are some of the causes of unequal educational opportunities among schedule tribes. Most of the ST students are admitted to arts courses and majority of them are dissatisfied. They consider that teachers were not helpful, they avoided and underestimated them and they did not pay extra attention to them as a result of which most of them never went to their teachers for seeking guidance and advice.

Deben Ch. Baruah studied the “Occupational Mobility among the Scheduled Tribes of Assam with special reference to the Thengal Kacharis of Jorhat District” (Baruah, 2003). All heads of the households taken from five villages were considered for the study. The main objectives of the study are to study occupational pattern and tribal social structure of Thengal Kachari of Jorhat and north-eastern region, to gather a comprehensive knowledge about occupational change of the respondents and to know the intergenerational and intra-generational occupational mobility among the tribals and also to examine the impact of occupational mobility on social structure of the
respondents. He found that majority of the population practice the trend to increase of economic resources and engagement of subsidiary occupation. The extent of occupational mobility is also reflected in the nature of assessment of one’s own social class position in society. A comparison between forefathers status in relation to respondents’ status depicts that 54% cultivators, 60% businessmen and 76.67% service holders as well as 56.14% other occupational holders feel themselves superior in comparison to their forefathers status. He also found that majority of respondents preferred white collar jobs for their children.

Khirod Ch. Gogoi studied the “Occupational Mobility among the Tea Garden Labour Community of Assam” (Gogoi, 2005). Stratified random sampling technique was used to collect data from five districts of Brahmaputra valley, one tea garden estate from each districts was selected randomly. The main objectives of the study were:

1. To find whether occupational mobility takes place or not among the tea-garden labour community (TGLC) of Assam.
2. To find out the factors contributing towards occupational mobility.
3. To examine the nature of occupational mobility.
4. To investigate whether the whole tea garden labour community of Assam is undergoing occupational mobility or it is confined to some sections of the population.
5. To analyze how occupational mobility influences upon the social stratification system among tea-garden labour community of Assam.
6. To study about some important aspects of the influences of occupational mobility upon the tea garden labour community of Assam, such as education, aspiration, attitude and interest etc.

The findings of the study are-

1. There comes a considerable amount of occupational mobility of the TGLC of Assam which is found to be almost 40%. In respect of the occupational mobility of the community, the women are still lagging behind men.
2. In occupational mobility, womenfolk are still lagging behind men excepting in the medical profession such as nursing, which is generally a women’s profession.
3. As major religion, Hinduism and Christianity prevail only in the Tea garden labour community. The Christians are converted only with the impact of the Christian missionaries with giving facilities like education, medical, etc.
4. This study found that the maximum migration of those community people took place in the grandparents’ generation which will be almost more than a century back,
reflecting the fact that this migration took place mostly in the last decades of the 19th century.

5. This study found wide prevalence of child marriage in the community, remarriage of widows with others or divorced as a typical nature of its sub-centre or tribal origin, where these are quite common.

6. Minimum importance of formal education helps the tea garden labour community to have occupational mobility by occupying the maximum amount of the artisan jobs, even by their illiterates also. In comparing to the grandparents, researcher found considerable employment of the parents of the respondents in Tea in this findings and not only that, they have found the first trace of the occupational mobility of the tea garden labour community in this generation, having its mobility into staff jobs as Technical 15.25%, clerical 2.54%, medical 1.69% although the mothers are found to be far lagging behind the fathers.

7. In this study about the inter-generational occupational mobility of the respondents with reference to their grandparents have found that on the whole it does not come into reference for more than half of the grandparents owing to their not having any employment in Tea despite vertical mobility of 47.46% and 36.44% relating grandfathers and grand mothers respectively.

Deepa Phukan Baruah studied “The Changing Trends in Occupation and Economy among the Indigenous Assamese Blacksmiths in Jorhat and Golaghat District of Assam” (Baruah, 2008). She examined four villages each from two districts drawn randomly. The specific objectives of the study were to draw a historical sketch of the inhabiting villages of the indigenous Assamese blacksmiths, to conduct a fact finding study of the socio-economic life of the respondents and to establish the fact with social condition, economic soundness and occupation are inter-related, the extent the various effects of the changing trends penetrated to their occupation and economy, to know the inter-generational and intra-generational mobility, to understand the continuing effect of traditional occupation and subsequent conflict between traditional and modern way of life and to evaluate the co-existence of both change and continuity in the way of general life of the people under study. She found that good number of respondents were breaking joint family system and raising their nuclear family in their own lifestyle and they also make their children highly educated as well as make them eligible for white collar jobs and majority took some prestigious occupation instead of their traditional one. She also founded that occupation and income greatly affect their
Lifestyle. Education has also played a multidimensional role to upliftment of respondents' agricultural as well as socio-economic life. They desired to raise the socio-economic condition of the family by adding more income.

Sunita Sarmah in her study “Social Mobility ‘Into’ and ‘Out of’ Teaching Profession: A Study in North Lakhimpur Town of Lakhimpur District (Assam) (Sarmah, 2009)” aimed:

1. To study Socio-economic Background of teachers teaching at Elementary, Secondary and College/University levels.
2. To examine the extent and process Intergenerational Educational Mobility between the teachers and their parents' generations.
3. To study the Intergeneration Occupational Mobility “Into” the teaching profession.
4. To study the Intergeneration Occupational Mobility “Out of” the teaching profession.
5. To study the ‘Career’ or Intragenerational occupation mobility among the teachers.
6. To examine the trends in occupational shift between two generations.

The major findings of the study are,

1. Young people enter teaching profession generally between 25-45 years of age and women enter the profession younger than men implying that women do less of hunting for other jobs than men before choosing to enter teaching profession. Again, the proportion of women declines as we advance on the age ladder probably because as women get married, homemaking takes precedence over their career and therefore opt out.

2. School teaching seems to be the first choice for more women than men while this is also the path of least resistance for young people of both sexes. However, college teaching is dominated by men. This seems to be true for all communities and categories except the SC, among whom no female figured in our sub-sample of college teachers. Among the scheduled tribes 92% of secondary school teachers were female. The reason for this situation may be the preference given to this profession by ST women and the policy of protective discrimination. The SC women either do not get sufficient education to enter college teaching or they may be discriminated against in this regard. Comparing the proportions of different religious communities among the respondents with the proportions of these communities in the general population, it is found that Hindus who constitute 85% of the respondents are over represented as this community constitutes only 79% of the population, Muslims who constitute only
11.12% of the sample are highly underrepresented in comparison with their 16% proportion in the population. Similarly, other important religious community viz. the Christians were also under represented as they constituted only 0.53% of the sample although they form over 4% of the population.

3. Detailed analysis of the data on distribution of educational attainments of the respondents by religion and category show that the proportions with higher education are larger among the respondents in the General category of both Hindus and Muslims followed Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes while the proportion of the OBC’s with this level of education is lowest. This supports our inference that there is predominance of General category at all levels of teaching profession especially at the college level and that SC especially their women are discriminated against as they are not able to enter college level teaching despite their possessing the requisite qualifications and the quota for them.

4. Through the analysis of the type of schools attended by the respondents it is found that over 95% of them had their elementary education in government school through vernacular medium. The reason for this is not that parents could not afford a high fee private English medium schooling for their children but the lacks of such schools near their homes and that the parents would not send these young children to distant places. However, with the increasing levels of education consequent upon increase in age of the respondents’ proportions of respondents with private English medium education at secondary level and college level also increases. It is interesting to note that there are more males with English medium background than the female and most of them are teaching at the college level. This may reflect the tradition of placing greater premium, by the middle classes, on the education of their male children and as such giving them an edge in the employment market. Very few respondents had schooling through private vernacular medium schools and it appears that when it comes to choosing a private school people prefer an English medium for their children to vernacular medium.

5. The rural and urban populations seem to have equal opportunities of entering teaching at the school level but at the college level teaching it is the urban population that has an edge. Among the rural population larger proportion of males were found in teaching than their urban counterparts while in the urban population it was just the reverse.
6. A vast majority (79%) of the teachers were children of fathers with at least the compulsory elementary education of eight years and 53% of them had mothers with this level of education. Again while about 95% were children of literate fathers, 82% teachers had literate mothers. This is true across the levels of teaching. Again the data also show that larger proportions of female teachers than male teachers had more educated parents.

Ruba Phukan’s study “Education and Social Mobility in an Urban setting: A case study of Nagaon District, Assam” (Phukan, 2010), aimed to

1. Find out extent of vertical social mobility through three generations in terms of educational, occupational attainments and income of the population under study.
2. Find out the relation between various socio-economic background variables and an individual’s educational and occupational attainments and income.

The major findings of the study were –

1. 28.18% respondents had the same educational attainments as their fathers and as such had not experienced any intergenerational educational Mobility. About 65% respondents had higher educational attainments than those of their fathers and as such had experienced upward intergenerational educational mobility. Only about 7% respondents had lower educational attainments than those of their fathers and as such had experienced downward educational mobility. Thus, in the absolute terms there has been a very high rate of educational mobility between fathers and sons generations, but the data shows a lot of inheritance of educational attainments when relative mobility is considered.

2. The data show that educational attainments of a person are determined by not only fathers’ educational attainments, but also by the socio-economic background factors such as religion, category, parents and grandparents, educational and occupational attainments and income. On the whole Hindus have highest educational attainments and the Muslims have the lowest. However, while there were 6.5% illiterates among the General category respondents and 6% among the SC’s, among the OBC/MOBC/ST categories there was no illiteracy but proportion of graduates and above was highest among the General categories. The data also show that higher are the levels of educational attainments of parents and grandparents, higher the educational attainments of the respondents. Similarly the sons of parents employed in non-manual work have higher educational attainment compared with the sons of parents employed in manual work.
3. 46.76% respondents had the same occupational attainments as theirs fathers and as such had not experienced any intergenerational mobility. 51.09% respondents had higher occupational attainments than those of their fathers and as such had experienced in upward occupational mobility and 2.19% sons had experienced in downward occupational mobility as their occupational attainments were lower than that of their fathers. The chances of inheritance of non-manual occupations are very high, the chances of downward mobility from non-manual to manual and the chances of upward mobility from manual to non-manual are very low. Thus there has been a high rate of occupational mobility in absolute terms, but the data shows a lot of inheritance of occupational attainments when relative occupational statuses of sons and fathers are considered.

4. The data shows that occupational attainments of a person are determined by not only fathers’ occupational attainments but also by the other socio-economic background factors such as religion, category, parents and grandparents occupational and educational attainments and income.

Only 8% of Hindus were employed in manual occupation, among the Muslims 30% were so employed and among ‘Others’ (including Christian, Sikh and Jain) none was employed in manual occupations. The non-manual occupations were dominated by ST followed by OBC/MOBC, General category was in third place and SC’s were the most disadvantaged group in this regard. The data also shows that at the extremes of occupational attainments and educational attainments were related. (It is interesting to note that while the 20.72% of the respondents with the secondary level of education were in manual occupation 26.39% of the graduates were also manual workers) while illiteracy and functional literacy restricts a person’s occupational status, other levels of education do not appear to be related to occupational attainments. This data also shows that higher the parents’ and grandparents’ educational attainments higher the sons occupational status.

5. The data analysis reveals that among the different religious communities in the highest income group (more than one lakh eighty thousand) the ‘Others’ had the largest (32.14%) proportion, followed by Hindus (10.83%) and Muslims with 2.73% had the lowest proportion in this income group. The respondents from the General category had the highest income followed by OBC/MOBC and SC’s. ST’s were the poorest. The data also shows that in general higher the level of education higher the income of the respondents, though there are a few exceptions. From illiteracy to
highest level of education, the income also increases progressively. This data also shows that the average income of workers in the non-manual occupations was several times more than those in manual occupations. The data also show that parents educational attainments and occupational status were also related the sons income and in general higher the level of parents education and occupation higher was the income of the sons.

R. Suresha and B.C. Mylarappa made study of, “Socio-Economic Status of Rural Scheduled Caste Female Students in Higher Education” (Suresha and Mylarappa, 2012) with the objectives:

1. To analyze the socio-economic background of the rural scheduled caste female students in higher education with special reference to demographic and status characteristics such as age, marital status, caste, education, parental education, occupation and income.

2. To study the whole environment of the students in terms type of their house, facilities available in them and material possessions including paraphernalia and gadgets etc.

The sample for this study consists of rural scheduled caste female students studying in graduate and post-graduate courses of liberal arts, science and commerce, management courses like B.B.M and M.B.A, engineering courses like B.E, Educational courses like B.Ed and M.Ed and professional courses like L.L.B and M.B.B.S.

The major finding of the study were

1. A small number of respondents expressed their desire to become self employed. It is from this point of view that the government should create more structure of opportunity for the self employment of SC women for their development and employment.

2. The study reconfirms the inter caste disparity in the utilization of educational benefits. It is therefore, necessary to identity the course for extreme backwardness among certain scheduled castes in education and initiate action to induce them so as to utilize educational benefits.

3. The practice of endogamy as one of the features of the caste system has seriously affected the selection of mates. It is evident from the fact that the preponderant majority in this study preferred to marry within their sub-castes. Hence the government should take steps to mitigate this problem.
4. The scheduled caste female students facing ill treatment based on gender bias is found in the study to a small extent. This problem has to be tackled by bringing about suitable change in the attitudinal frame of teachers administrators and others involved in the spread of education for the benefit of disadvantaged children at different levels of learning.

5. The urban bias inherent in our educational system is seriously affecting the education of the disadvantage children, particularly girls in rural areas.

Manoshikha Boruah in her research paper, "Teacher Educators and their Mobility – A Case Study in Nagaon District of Assam" (Boruah, 2012) aimed at the following objectives:

i) To find out the educational and occupational attainment and income level of the teacher educators.

ii) To study the intergenerational mobility of teacher educators in terms of educational and occupational attainment and income level.

Major findings of the study are:

(1) All the teacher educators are qualified as per NCTE norms.

(2) Most of them are well experienced.

(3) Teacher educators are very much conscious of their professional growth.

(4) All the teacher educators are under -paid in comparison with their higher educational qualifications.

(5) All the teacher educators have upward mobility as compared with their parents and grandparents in relation to their educational and occupational attainments.

The results of the studies reviewed above can be summarized as follows:

1. There is a positive relationship between socio-economic background and educational attainment.

2. Educational attainment is positively related to the occupational attainment.

3. Reduction in Inequality in educational opportunity does not lead to the reduction in the Inequality of Social opportunity or reduction in Inequality in educational opportunity does not automatically lead to upward social mobility.

4. Industrialization increases the opportunities of occupational mobility and consequently leads to an increase in the demand for higher education.

5. Urbanization, like Industrialization opens up the chances of upward occupational mobility through the expansion of the tertiary sector (Service sector) of industries.
6. Industrialization and urbanization diminish the role of caste in the determination of social status.

7. Inequality of social opportunity cannot be reduced, not to speak of eliminated, without lessening economic inequality or breaking the rigidity of stratification system. This implies that some kind of state control of the distribution of educational and occupational opportunities is essential to promote social mobility and through it to reduce the social and economic inequalities and thereby use education as an instrument of social change and social engineering.