DEFINITION:

The first systematic formulation of the concept of social mobility came with Sorokin (1927). The subject of social mobility, for him, deals with "phenomenon of the shifting of individuals within social sphere" (1927: 4). He used the metaphor 'Social Space' for the study of social mobility which refers to 'a kind of universe compose of human population of the earth)......to find the position of a man or social phenomenon in the social space means to define his or its relations to other men or other social phenomenon chosen as the 'point of reference'......a man or a group of men or several groups" (1927: 4). It suggests that an individual's position in social space assumes a network of relations related to this point (man or group of men).

Sorokin defines social mobility as 'any transition of an individual or social object or value anything that has been created or modified by human activity - from one social position to another" (1927: 132). More or less similar definitions have been formulated by Lipset and Bendix (1959), Gold Hamer (1968), and Horan (1974). But all these definitions of social mobility stress upon changes in 'position' only and the change in 'role' has not been given due consideration. Bernard Barber formulated a more clear definition of social mobility. He defined social mobility as 'movement between one relatively full time functionally significant social role and other that is evaluated as either higher or lower. This movement is conceived with individual's social role and "social class position" (Barber:
1959: 356-57). This definition is now most quoted one in the studies of social mobility. In the present study this definition is taken for the analysis of occupational dimension of social mobility. It is the role which gives a meaning to an occupational position and is also a base of class and status differentiation in developed and developing societies. Thus, occupational mobility can be defined as the movement of between one full time functionally significant occupational role and other that is evaluated either higher or lower.

TYPES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY:

The sociologists used various criteria in distinguishing different types of social mobility.

Sorokin used 'direction of social mobility' as criterion and made a distinction between two major types of social mobility - horizontal social mobility and vertical social mobility. (Horizontal social mobility, according to him, refers to "transition of an individual or social object from one social group to another situated on the same level" (1927: 133). On the other hand, vertical social mobility refers to "the same relation involved in a transition of an individual (or a social object) from one social group to another" (1927: 133).)

He further made a distinction between two types of vertical social mobility. Ascending or social climbing, that is in upward direction and descending or social sinking - that is in downward direction. Most of the studies of social mobility in the last four decades have been confined to the vertical
upward social mobility. Only a very few studies dealt with downward social mobility.

S.M. Miller (1960) made a distinction between three types of vertical social mobility, intergenerational, intragenerational and career or stratum mobility. Intergenerational mobility refers to "change in the occupational standing of son related to his father" (Miller 1960: 5). Intragenerational mobility indicates "change in an individual's occupational position during his lifetime. One point of his career is compared with another" (Miller 1960: 5). Stratum mobility refers to "movement of an occupation, class or stratum from a higher to lower position in stratification structure whether in terms of income, prestige, skill or another dimension - from one time period to another (Miller 1960: 5).

Turner (1961) on the basis of dominance tendency in the educational system of different sources made a distinction between two types of mobility system; 'sponsored' mobility system and 'contest' mobility system. In the sponsored mobility system, the elites set social as well as educational criteria for occupational recruitment, requiring the segmentation of children into different types of schools which train them in occupation. In contrast, in 'contest' mobility system the educational system creates a sense of open mobility in which children contest to reach the highest level (Turner, 1961: 125-26). These two types of mobility can be found in any society bu
difference is of degree which directly depends upon the nature of education system. Turner clarified that these two types of mobility systems are ideal type.

**METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY**

Social scientists have borrowed three approaches from the studies of leadership in order to identify leaders. There are: the reputational, the subjective and the objective. These approaches can be used to identify the social strata as well, and then questions relating to mobility from one to another over a generation studied.

**THE REPUTATIONAL APPROACH:**

In order to identify strata, one way to study the stratification system in a given society is to ask people, How they classify one another? What kind of categories they use? How they evaluate these categories? and How they rank them in a hierarchy? The strata discovered by this method are called the reputational strata and the method is called the reputational approach, because the categories are based on reputation that various members of community have in the eyes of other members. (Morris 1963: 182).

The most influential series of studies using the reputational approach is that of W.Lloyd Warner and his associates. They interviewed people of three communities - a New England town of about 17,000 population called 'Yankee city', a southern town of about 10,000 population called 'Old city' and a mid-
western town of about 6000 population variously called 'Jones Ville'. In these three communities six social classes were identified: Upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower and lower-lower.

The number of classes identified by the members of a community varies according to the social class of the informant. The criteria for judging class membership also vary. The lower classes use money as the main criterion, the middle classes—money and mortality and the upper classes—style of life and ancestry.

These differences in the perspective of different classes make it difficult to picture a single class structure in a community and hence has not attracted much attention from social scientists.

THE OBJECTIVE APPROACH:

The objective approach is based upon detailed observation to determine the strata that exist, whether or not the members are aware of the strata. To determine objective strata, the social scientist 'stands outside' the society and tries to discover the criteria that accurately divides the population into strata. The investigator generally selects a criterion, such as income, occupation, education or some combination of these. He establishes categories with arbitrary boundaries and then proceeds to investigate (Morris, 1963: 183).

Most of the studies of social mobility have used the
objective approach and they frequently rely on occupation as the sole criterion of vertical mobility. (Glass 1954; Lipset and Bendix 1959; Blau and Duncan 1967; Garnier and Hazelrigg 1974; Maczynski 1974; Porter, 1974; Sweetser and Starit 1977; Schieldt 1977; Sweetser and Mc Donell 1978; and Fry 1980).

THE SUBJECTIVE APPROACH:

The logic of subjective approach is straightforward to discover the effective stratification by asking the members where they place themselves, not others. The investigator merely ask: In what class (or stratum or category) do you belong? On the basis of the answer, the investigator can construct a picture of number, size and arrangement of the subjective strata in that particular society, community or organisation. This approach has an obvious advantage, that "it can be applied to much larger units than the reputational approach, which is limited by the extent of acquaintance of the judges" (Morris, 1963: 183). Sociologists who use the subjective approach further argue that to determine the effectiveness of stratification i.e. its effect on behaviour - it is more important to know where a person thinks he is than it is to find where he place himself.

Introducing this approach to the field of social mobility, Mayer and Muller (1971) conceived social mobility as social locomotion from the perspective of individuals. In this perspective a researcher, according to Mayer and Muller deals
with such problems such as:

"The subjective meaning of social mobility, mobility experience, aspirations, mobility cognition, values and norms, the inter relations of individual movement in role spheres; the connection between social mobility and status consistency or congruence; the effects of social mobility on interpersonal relationships and vice versa; the treatment of social mobility as a process; i.e. as sequence of specific positions, roles and statuses for which occupational career is but one example."

[Mayer and Miller, March 1961]

Any mobility research using any of the above approach requires a well defined methodology. Any consideration into the methodology of social mobility research need to answer four basic questions:

1. What is the unit or universe of the study?
2. In which dimension social mobility is studied?
3. What are the techniques of data collection?
4. What are the measures of social mobility?

SPECIFYING THE UNIT OF ANALYSIS:

Very first task in the research is the specification of geographical as well as analytical unit. In the studies of occupational mobility one should ask; where mobility is to be observed? "Whether it is a comparison between nations or of nation or of a sub-continent of nation or a city or a town" (Miller, 1960: 12). In other words, he should specify
the level of inquiry - micro, macro and intermediate.

After specifying the geographical universe of the study, researcher should specify: "who are studied? Whether it is a study of males or females (sex); of blacks or whites (ethnicity)" (Miller 1960: 12)

The main problem in the study of occupational mobility which creates difficulty for researcher is of ranking of occupations. Main questions before researcher as raised by the Miller are: -

"Which occupation should be listed as the major occupation of the individual? Should those persons, who have risen educationally and deserve for higher skill occupation but suffer chronic unemployment, be considered as upwardly mobile? Which occupations to group together and where should be boundary between groups be placed? What criteria should be used for grouping and the homogeneous should the categories be? and what to do with those in agriculture? Is the son of a farm worker moving to a city and assuming a factory job as a semi-skilled or unskilled worker achieving upward mobility? or a farm owner's son who becomes a clerk? should the ranking of the Strata be on the basis of the rank order in the son's generation or in the father's?" (Miller, 1960: 11).

Miller (1960: 11) suggested that when one is involved into more occupations, the selection of occupation should be on the basis of income or the longer time venture. In regards
to boundary problem, he suggested, that any reduction of occupations into a smaller number of categories distinctly the occupational information. The main criterion for categorizing occupations is on the basis of their occupational prestige. All occupations of similar prestige should put together usually in six or more occupational groups (Glass et al 1954; Blau and Duncan 1967; Warner et al 1959; Goldthrope and Llewellyn 1977). The boundary problem is sharply raised in the stratification field in terms of the continuum category issue. In the continuum point of view class is viewed as a continuous variable in which the cutting off points of different classes regarded as merely convenient fiction. Classes are merely statistical aggregates not substantive groups. In the category approach classes are distinctive groupings with basic similarities and comprise sociological groups. Leaving aside this controversy investigator should distribute the population in the more categories rather than a two fold classification. The scale having more categories is particularly useful to measure short range mobility. Secondly, each category should further divided into heterogeneous categories which facilitate the analysis of horizontal social mobility almost a neglected field in mobility research.

The time factor always affects the ranking of strata particularly in the analysis of intergenerational social mobility. Usually, it is assumed that in a time period of thirty years the prestige of some occupation relatively may be changed. While Glass (1954) and Blau and Duncan (1967) assume that in the last fifty years the occupational structure in the
U.K. and U.S. respectively has not been changed. It may be true for the developed (highly industrialized) societies but in the developing societies where the social and occupational structure is in transitional phase and changing with the increase in the degree of urbanization and industrialization, this assumption is not true and a researcher should be very careful in ranking of the occupations for the analysis of the mobility.

**EXPLAINING THE DIMENSION OF MOBILITY:**

As the problem of social mobility is directly linked with the notion of social stratification, sociologists usually conceived social mobility as a process of social stratification (Blau and Duncan 1967). Thus, there might be as many dimensions of social mobility, as many as abstraction of stratification system are. Sorokin (1927) developed the notion of multi-dimensional social space. Consequently, social mobility is a multi-dimensional process. The idea of multi-dimensionality of social mobility came from Max Weber’s famous distinction of class, status and Party in reference to social stratification (Weber 1946: 21-27). It has become a common practice among the sociologists to say 'social mobility' when we mean 'occupational mobility'. Lipset and Letterberg (1956) laid emphasis on different dimensions of social mobility and identified four dimensions: 

1. Firstly, it may be examined to measure the change in occupational position of individuals or groups; 
2. Secondly, by comparing the consumption patterns of families at the same
income level whose occupational class or income has changed over some particular period of time; thirdly, social class mobility i.e. comparison in terms of occupational or economic class position of husbands and wives before marriage of the respective in laws or by asking respondents to name the occupational status of their friends and forthly, the power dimension of mobility" (Lipset and Zetterberg 1956: 561-64). But despite of multidimensionality of the phenomenon, the studies of social mobility has been centred on the single dimension of economic or occupational change and within this dimension on the one indicator of occupational prestige. Although, the phenomenon of social mobility refers to "a change in income, political power, social relations (social distance or difference), skill or social and occupational prestige" (Miller 1963: 7). In this sense, social mobility refer to a change occurring in the economic, political and social orders. Each of these orders or dimensions has several indicators of change. The economic dimension has occupational indicators of income, skill, power (order employees), prestige. The social dimension has the social indicators of change in social difference or of changes in patterns of associations (as in the friendship cliques and voluntary associations) or of change in the consumption style (Miller 196:7)$. Similarly, Coxon and Jones (1975) pointed out that some of the studies of occupational mobility have been excluded the purposive facet of social mobility i.e. interactive aspect of mobility (the net work of social and associational interactions which the subjects are involved in). They further laid emphasis on
the significance of this aspect by saying that "network of social relations is the part of the individual's social identity and defines the occupational position itself. It is these network of contacts which the middle class child uses as a resource in establishing his initial occupational status and which go a long way to groups" (Coxon and Jones, 1975:15). This dimension is increasingly attracting the attention of the sociologists now (Bruace, 1970; Granovetter 1973; Granovetter 1974; Sharma 1976; Saberwal 1976; Sachchidanand 1977; Singh 1980).

TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION:

The quality of the data used in an investigation is an important aspect and is usually neglected in the case of social mobility research. The two basic questions are the validity and reliability of the data which determine the standard of techniques of data collection. By validity one is meant "do the data represent the order and kind of information which is needed? Reliability refers to consistency with which the data can be received and recorded. The two basic methods available for obtaining data on mobility have been through documents and through interviews. Recently, some authors used the case study method in addition to interview (Sharma, 1976; Saberwal, 1976, Sachchidanand, 1977).

1. DOCUMENTS AND DOCUMENTARY RECORDS:

In several nations, it is possible to conduct research
through use of documentary records, such as official birth records or records filed at marriage or during school or occupational careers. A great usefulness of such material is that it provides an opportunity for study of mobility over a considerable time period. But the limitation of the technique is that in that documentary information is obtained from what the individual himself has said or written or what someone else writes about him. The reliability of such a data is sometime doubtless. Secondly, in the documents usually the facts are over-estimated and this bias cannot be checked. In studies using records or registers the problem is that information on the father's occupation typically refers to the date of record, e.g. that of the son's birth or marriage.

2. THE QUESTIONNAIRE, INTERVIEW AND CASE STUDY:

(The questionnaire technique for the data collection in social mobility research has been used rarely. The most applied technique in the social mobility research is interview, interview, a direct source of information, beliefs and attitudes from individuals - has been the basic source of data for the social sciences.) Glass and his associates (1954) used this technique in their pioneer study of social mobility in Britain. In interview studies of intergenerational mobility, the procedure is to ask individuals about their own and their fathers. How accurately does the individual report about his and his father's occupations (and in a few studies grandfather's occupation)? Sometimes the respondents overstate or understate parental occupation in order to win acceptance from...
the interviewer or to make an impression. Despite this difficulty, the information collected through interviews is definitely more reliable than any other secondary source of information.

In the anthropological tradition, some social scientists have used case study method of the data collection. Usually this method is used with interviews to go into the depth of the process of social mobility. The method is particularly useful for the study of mechanism of social mobility. The sociologists who had conducted micro-level studies generally used this combination of method (Granovetter 1974; Sharma 1976; Sachchidanand 1977; Saberwal 1976).

**3. SAMPLES AND CENSUSES:**

The most applied instrument for the data are sampling. This method is used to analyse the rates of mobility for different nations and their comparisons. The information is derived from the surveys conducted by different organisations for other purposes rather than sociological at different periods in a nation or state. Blau and Duncan's (1967) study *American Occupational Structure* is a fine example of this method. Sharanje (1971) used this technique for the rural area of Punjab State in India. The limitation of this method lies that it cannot be applied for any country. The efficiency of the organizations collect the information is low for the developing countries. Secondly, the main purpose of these surveys are for the sociologists...
MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL MOBILITY:

Fourth significant problem in the methodo-logy of social mobility is that of measurement. This problem can be dealt with by concentrating first on the measuring devices and then on other problems.

A large number of techniques have been used to measure the social mobility. Most of the techniques applied quantitative measures. Only few of them are taken for discussion here.

INDEX OF ASSOCIATION:

Glass and his associates (1954) have approached the problem of measurement by developing a measure of "perfect mobility" - what would happen if chances alone operated is compared with the actual rate of inheritance of father's occupational stratum. What is done is to take the percentage that fathers in a given stratum are of the total number of fathers and to apply this percentage to the number of sons in the same occupational stratum. The product is the number of sons of fathers in a given stratum if the sons entered in this occupational strata only on the basis of their relative numbers in the total population; this constitute perfect mobility. The index of association is the ratio of the actual amount of inheritance to this perfect mobility. Thus index has been used in comparing studies because it provides an abstract number to compare and it adjusts for shifts in occupational distributions between the two generations of
of fathers and sons. But its limitation lies in the fact that high (or low) immobility in a given occupation can exist with much downward (or upward) mobility for those who are mobile relative to their fathers. Secondly, when one is concerned with avenues of movement — the occupation that individuals who are moving up are most likely to terminate the fall of those of high position, the index of association is not useful.

The previous studies of intergenerational mobility have typically employed a matrix form of presentation. The mobility matrix is constructed using the categories of father's occupation as rows and of son's occupation as columns of a data matrix. The row data for analysis, obtained by asking respondents for their own and their father's occupation can be presented in a frequency matrix in which each cell \( a_{ij} \) contains the number of individuals in occupation \( j \)-Patterns of mobility are disclosed by computing one of two different sets of percentages one set based on the row marginals \( a_{ij} / \Sigma a_i \) and the other on the column marginals \( a_{ij} / \Sigma a_j \). These sets are typically interpreted as the 'outflow' from father's occupation (or transition probability from father's occupation to son's occupation) and the inflow to son's occupation (or recruitment from father's occupation to son's occupation), respectively.

Blau and Duncan (1967) employed three novel techniques for analytical purpose. These are: multiple classification analysis, regression analysis and convariance analysis. Multiple Classification analysis has been used whenever one dependent variable regarded as quantitative (i.e. measured on an interval scale),
and two or more independent variables each regarded as qualitative or classificatory. In the case of classificatory variables no assumption is made about the several categories comprising classifications. When all the variables, dependent and independent, entering into an analysis as quantitative (measured on interval scale), then regression is preferred. Curvi-linear and linear both type of path analysis can be used. Path analysis is used to calculate the indirect effects of some of the variables, i.e. the influence of some of the background variables have through certain intervening variables.

But all these measures of mobility in one or other way study only different points of the process not the process as a whole. To understand the actual process of mobility one has to confined the study at micro-level. The network as conceptual tool may be helpful for the reason that it makes enable to researcher to analyse the relationship beyond the boundary of the community.

**NETWORK AND OCCUPATION**

The term 'network' was first introduced by Radcliffe Brown in his definition of social structure as 'a complex network of relations' (1940:222). But the idea of using network as an analytical tool was first introduced by John Barnes in his analysis of Norwegian Island Parish (Barnes, 1954). The social structure is conceived best tool where the fields of interactions are confined to some territory. But when these
fields cut across each others boundaries and territory of community, social structure as a tool of analysis becomes weak. In the particular case of Bremnes Island, the stationary field is donated by the domestic, agriculture and administrative areas; the fluid field by industrial area, consisting of fishing vessels, marketing, co-operatives and herring oil factories. The 'Third Field' which links the other two: stationary and fluid fields of interaction was termed as social network. This 'third field' had no units or boundaries; it had no co-ordinating organization (Barnes 1964:237). It was made up of the totality of the 'contours' which were one growing up in the Bremnes, partly inherits and largely build up for himself. The elements of this social field were not fixed, for new ties were continually being formed and old links were broken or put into indefinite cold storage.

Since Barnes, a great deal of literature has appeared analysing the impact on the behaviour of individuals of the social networks in which they are embedded. Some of the studies have emphasized the ways in which behaviour is shaped and constrained by one's network (Bott, 1957; Mayer 1961; Frankenber 1965); the others the way in which the individuals can manipulate these networks to achieve specific goals (Mayer 1966; Bossevain 1968; Kasperer 1969). Both aspects are supposed to be affected by the structure of one's network. Bott argued that the crucial variable is that of whether one's friends tend to know one another ("close knit" network) or not ("loose knit" network). Barnes suggested the term "density" in place of "connectedness"
which can count in terms of "The number of ties observed in
the network formed by ego and his friend and dividing it by
the ratio of possible ones" (1969:55).

Eckstein (1969) points out that different parts of ego's
network may have different density. No calls those with whom
one "interacts most intensely ... most regularly, and who ... therefore likely to come to know one another", the "effective
network", the "remainder constitute the extended network"
(pp 110-11). This idea is somewhat close to what Granovetter
formulated. He suggested that the ego's network is composed of
mainly two types of ties: strong and weak. The basis of this
distinction is the strength of the tie which is a combination
of amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual
coinciding), and the reciprocal services which characterise the
tie" (1973:348). The tie between two individuals may act as a
bridge in between two networks which can be defined ' as a
line in the network which provides the only path between two
points (1973:351). The strong ties are not be conceived as a
bridge. It is the weak tie which form a bridge in the network.
The reason for this is that the strength of the tie is directly
proportional to the proportion of individuals in their networks
to whom they will go both find that is connected by a weak or
strong tie. This overlapping in their network disqualify a
strong tie from being a bridge. Thus the analysis of proces
in interpersonal networks provides the most fruitful micro-ls
bridge. In one way or another, it is through these networks th
that small-scale interaction becomes translated into large-scale patterns, and that these in turn, feed back into small groups (Granovetter, 1973:347). Chauhan emphasized on the relevance of the concept of social network in the analysis of articulation between rural and urban communities, and suggested that the concept is helpful in analysing the cultural, political administrative and economic dimensions of the social phenomena (1979: 237-49).

Miller (1960) in a classic review of literature on social mobility suggested that although network patterns are highly co-related with occupational patterns but not studied yet. A number of studies emerged on the scene later examined the relation between networks and occupational mobility. But some studies are confined to examine the consequences of occupational mobility on the patterns of social network of mobile persons, the others analysed the effectiveness of social networks in the process of occupational mobility. This section is devoted to examine this aspect of the social network.

Network as an external entity affects any social group in two ways: either network divides the group or supports it against itself. The latter characteristic of the networks is of importance for the present analysis. A number of studies provide empirical evidence to the coping aspect of social network (Croog et al. 1972; Selloway 1973; McKinlay 1973; Finlayson, 1976; Brandwein 1978; Gazenave and Murray,
1978; Oden and Zitomorsky, 1978). The help in different forms flows to the family through networks. But in the analysis of occupational mobility coping aspects of the networks is analysed by Grenovetter (1973), Sharma (1976) and Saberwal (1977). Granovetter examined the role of networks of contracts in the change of occupation. He studied the professional, technical and managerial job changers living in a Boston suburb of United States. He interviewed a random sample of 237 respondents. He measured the strength of the tie in terms of degree the job changers saw the contact around the time. He used the following categories for frequency of contacts: often – at least twice a weak; occasionally – more than once a year but less than twice a weak; rarely – once a year or less. Of those find a job through contacts, 16.7% reported that they saw their contact often at the time, 55.6% said occasionally, and 27.8% rarely (N=54). He found that the skew was clearly to the weak continuum; which suggested the primacy of structure over motivation. In many cases, he found, the contact was only marginal which included currently in the network of contacts, such as an old college friend or a former workmate or employer, with whom sporadic contact had been maintained. Usually such ties had not even been very strong when first forged. For work-related ties, respondents almost invariably said that they never saw the person in a non-work context. Chance meeting or mutual friends operated to reactive such ties.
It was remarkable that people receive crucial information from individuals whose very existence they have forgotten.

He also asked respondents where their contacts got the information they transmitted. In most cases he traced the information to its initial source. The results were against the hypothesis that in the diffusion of job information (like diffusion of rumors or disease), the long path would be involved. But in 39.1% of the cases information came directly from the prospective employer, whom the respondent already knew; 45.3% said that there was one intermediary between himself and the employer; 12.5% reported two; and 3.1% more than two (N-64). This suggests that for some important purposes it may be sufficient to discuss the egocentric network made up of ego, his contacts and their "contacts. Those who did acquire information through paths with more than one intermediary tended to be young and under the threat of unemployment; influence was much less likely to have been exerted by their contacts on their behalf. These respondents were more similar to those using intermediaries (agencies and advertisements) than to those hearing through short paths." Both of the former are badly placed and dissatisfied in the labour market, and both receive information without any influence. Just as reading about a job in the newspaper affords one no recommendation in applying for it, neither does it to have heard about it fifth hand" (Granovetter, 1973: 359).
Thus usual dichotomy between "formal" or mass procedures, and diffusion through personal contacts may thus be invalid in some cases where, instead, the former may be seen as a limiting case of long diffusion chains. This is especially likely where information of instrumental significance is involved. Such information is most valuable when earmarked for one person.

From the individual point of view, then, weak ties are an important resource in making possible mobility opportunity. Seen from a more macroscopic vantage, weak ties play a role in effecting social cohesion. When a man changes of jobs, he is not only moving from one network of ties to another, but also establishing a link between these. Such a link is often of the same kind which facilitated his own movement. Especially within professional and technical specialities which are well defined and limited in size, this mobility sets up elaborate structure of bridging weak ties between the more coherent clusters that constitute operative networks in particular locations. Information and ideas thus flow more easily through the specificity, giving it some 'sense of community' activated at meetings and conventions.

What can one get from the findings of this study is that weak tie between the individuals set as a bridge their corresponding networks and this bridge plays an important
part in the flow of information about job situations. Secondly, information about job situations follow short path rather than long path in most of the cases, that is, the number of intermediary was not more than two in most of the cases. But this study is a case of intragenerational mobility, where the most of the respondents were employed in a situation and were seeking further opportunity of job. But in the case of intergenerational mobility, which is not explored yet from this point of view, strong tie are of great importance in the sense, that for the first job, effective ties are activated by the reason that the subjects do not like to take a risk of failure and they activate most effective ties of the network. When we are emphasizing this point it should be noted that its implication does not affect the strength of weak ties i.e. bridging function between two individuals networks. This point needs further exploration, in the sense, that in case of flow of information about job situation, weak ties are significant but when one activate the ties for securing position, he activates strongest ties of his network.

Sharma (1976) analysed the relationship between occupational mobility over a period of fourteen years in a village of Kanpur district in India. He argued that the villagers cannot be sure of securing urban employment only on the basis of merit, but what he found important was social networks which have played a significant role in securing employment for the residents of Gamra village.
But this study does not give any account of the process how the social networks were activated for getting employment? or how many intermediaries were involved in the process?

Saberwal (1976) examined the inter-relationship between social network and occupational mobility in his study of a Punjabi industrial town - Modelpur. He found that apart from education the courses taken by the three castes in their occupations had been divergent. In the sense, that the Kamarthias had risen in a context of elaborating their familial skills, attempting relatively novel tasks and surviving in open competition; the Adi Dharmis had used inter-caste and other links to learn the non-familial machine skills; and the Balmikis had learned on many diverse contacts with high castemen - jaimans, political leaders, sympathetic neighbours, classmates in schools - to enter a wider scatter of occupations. There were two major strategies for occupational links with social networks and it was noticed that the group was the intended unit of mobility in the first and the individual in the second strategy. The ambitious man resorts to one or the other (or a mix), depending on his estimate of the likely situational pay-offs; but as we ascend the lower runges of Modelpur’s caste hierarchy; one finds that the importance of caste solidarity declines and that of social networks increases (Saberwal 1976: 221).
The above mentioned studies indicate the importance of social network in analysing the process of occupational mobility from getting information about the job situation to clearing occupational skills. But it requires further exploration in this direction.

3. EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION:

Education is an institution by which the society transmit cultural traits and socialized its members for different social roles. The new members of the society are trained for participating in different types of social and economic activities. Education acts as an important factor in the occupational mobility of individuals in the society. A number of studies have been conducted in order to find out relationship between education and occupational mobility.

(Emile Durkheim defined education as "the action exercised by the older generations upon those who are not yet ready for social life. Its objective is to awaking and develop in the child those physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specialized destined" (Durkheim 1956:71).) This action takes place in all societies but its form in a society differs in respect of its own diversity and complexity. The stage of development in a given society is responsible for the form of education.

In the simplest societies where the degree of social differentiation is little, education is not organised as a
separate activity; it is provided by the family, the kin group and the society as a whole through participation in everyday life, in role relations, etc. Education is given by formal institutions. Formal education acquires greater importance and in these societies the period of systematic interaction increases. In addition, an specialized occupational group of teachers is formed. Each occupation constitutes a milieu sui generis, which requires particular aptitudes and specialized knowledge in which certain modes of viewing things prevail (Durkheim 1956:68).

Thus, in a more developed society education seems an important condition for obtaining membership of an occupational milieu. A number of sociologists have examined the relationship between education and occupational mobility but they disagree in answering the question to what extent education is responsible for the occupational mobility of an individual.

The sociologists have shown a keen interest in knowing the impact of different types of schooling on the amount of occupational mobility in a given society. They conceived education as a crucial factor which is responsible for occupational mobility of individuals and social classes. They assumed that equality of educational opportunity promotes social equality, in the sense that if educational opportunity is equally available to all social classes it will increase
the rate of occupational mobility in the society. The main authors who propounded this view are Glass (1954), Floud and Halsey (1961), Havighurst (1961), Nakamura (1971) and Lauer (1975).

Glass and his associates were curious in knowing the effect on the amount of occupational mobility in Britain of 1944 Education Act which has opened the doors of 'education ladder' for all the social classes. They conducted a sample inquiry of 10,000 civilians aged 19 years and over, living in England, Wales and Scotland. A seven-folded occupational prestige scale was used in this inquiry. It included seven occupational categories: (1) Professional and high administrative, (2) Managerial and Executive, (3) Inspectional, Supervisory and other non-manual, high grade; (4) Inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual, low grade; (5) Skilled manual and routine grade of non-manual; (6) Semi-skilled manual and (7) Unskilled manual. Their results indicated that the type and level of education attained by subjects depended very heavily upon the occupational status of the subject's fathers. For the male subjects, the relation between parental and filial status was seen to be positive and significant at all levels of status hierarchy and especially high at the upper levels. They found that education acts in two ways to influence the relation between the status of subjects and their father. Firstly, the type of secondary schooling affects the degree of association between parental and filial status. In this connection, the effect of the grammar school is significant. The subjects...
whose fathers were in the upper status categories, with a grammar school background had high parental—filial association. On the other hand, the subjects whose fathers were in lower status of categories had a low association. For latter group of subjects, a grammar school education increased the distance ascended in the status scale; for the former group it reduced the distance descended. Secondly, education appeared as a reinforcing rather than as a critical agent. The decisive stage in the educational background was the grammar school or its equivalent. If a subject attained that stage, further education intensified the parental, filial association for the sons of upper status fathers. It still further managed the social ascents of the sons of lower status category. For subjects coming from lower half of the status scale (excluding category 5), further education in itself helped to promote the ascent of those individuals whose secondary education ceased at the senior elementary school (Glass 1954: 391).

Floyd and Halsey (1961) examined the effect of educational system on the occupational structure of the British society. They found that the education affects the efficiency of the distribution of the labour by its influence on ability and opportunity; the skilled labour of various levels reflect the scale and nature of educational provision, which also exercises a decisive influence on vocational choice and on movement between occupation. They found that the nature of educational system has special importance for the occupa-
tional structure in the highly industrialized community. Here, the educational system becomes the prime agency of occupational selection and mobility. The scale of enterprise limits the possibility of working up small concerns into large through the low backs of profits and multiply the number of 'black coated jobs'. The significance of traditional avenues of mobility (apprenticeship and long service) declines and formal educational qualifications are required to enterence to all but the lowest class occupation (1961:83-84). In other words, it can be said that greater the degree of industrialisation the mode of young people limited in their choice employment by their educational attainments and the more difficult it is for adults to move outside the range of occupations of for which their formal education attainment equip them.

Havighurst distinguished between symbolic and functional values of education and their impact on occupational mobility. Education has a functional value. He define, "when it is used directly to accomplish a purpose" and it has a symbolic value "when it is used as a symbol of status" (Havighurst 1961:36). He compared the rates of net upward occupational mobility for U.S.A., Brazil, Australia and England and found that the U.S.A. and Brazil had the greatest net upward mobility (33 percent and 40 percent respectively) while England and Australia had some net upward mobility (33 percent and 35 percent respectively) during the present century. He argued
that in U.S.A. education has the functional value rather than the symbolic value, on the other hand, great Britain and Australia have relied more on the symbolic value of education than has the U.S.A. The secondary education has a great symbolic value in the eyes of the English and Australians though primary education has been re-organised to possess functional value. Only since 1940 great Britain and Australia have adopted policy of using secondary and higher education in a functional way for economic development of the society. In Brazil, education of a functional type in beginning to be used consciously and Explicitly as an instrument of social change to increase productivity. It is obvious that education has a high co-relation with economic development. The policies adopted by the government determine the type of educational values in a giving society. In achieving the goals of development the education is used as an instrument faster the rate of vertical occupational mobility. These findings of Havighurst laid an emphasis on the role of education in social change via vertical occupational mobility particularly in societies where the process of transformation of traditional occupational structure is taking place.

Turner distinguished between 'sponsored' and 'contest' mobility systems in education and used his distinction to contrast between the dominant tendencies in the British and American education systems. He emphasized that the British system has the tendency of sponsored mobility. In the sponsored mobility system "the elites set social as
well as educational criteria for occupational recruitment, requiring the segmentation of children into different types of schools which 'train' them in values appropriate for different levels of occupation" (Turner 1961: 125-26). The upward occupational mobility is sponsored under the British system, because it covers only through acceptance of the values and norms of behaviour established by the elites. The private schools trained people in elite norms and values; the grammar schools inspired children with appropriate sense of responsibility for second level of occupations such as clerk or manager; and the population is left to the secondary modern school.

In contrast, he claimed that "the American educational system creates a sense of open mobility in which children contest to reach the highest level" (Turner 1961:125). There is no educational segregation from an early age, and the possibility of reaching the highest level of education are not foreclosed. He claimed that "the American system creates a sense of opportunity and represents a device to integrate Americans into the dominant achievement value of the society". (Turner 1961: 126).

Turner and Havighurst both emphasised on the significance of values attached with education which determine the form and mechanism of occupational mobility in highly industrial societies.
Nakamura (1971) in a study of graduates of vocational and middle 'School of Osaka, reported the opportunities of pre-war secondary and higher education and the allocation of their graduates in occupational ladder. He found that the father's status of graduates of the vocational schools was lower than that of the graduates of the middle schools. Secondly, inter generational upward occupational mobility was more frequent among the vocational school graduates than among those of middle school.

Lavine (1973) compared educational and occupational attainments of three generations of Japanese, Americans and found that the occupational and educational attainment of first generation were reflected in the achievements of second and third generations. He classified Japanese American community into two categories; one of relatively traditional and other of more assimilationists. The assimilationist Japanese Americans have conceived education as an instrument for occupational mobility. He also analyzed the relationship between education and occupational mobility in a small western city and found that education was significantly responsible for occupational mobility in the sense that those who were highly educated crossed the greater distance in the occupational ladder than those who were less educated.

Above mentioned studies emphasized on education as an important instrument by which society trains its members for performing different occupational roles. The needs of different types of society varies and accordingly the form
of educational system also varies. The values attached to education also vary from society to society which in turn determine the openness of occupational ladder in a given society. The form of education system and the values attached to it are responsible for differential rates of occupational mobility in a society at a given period of time. The level of education determines the distance one moves in the occupational ladder. The extent and mechanism of occupational mobility are different as one moves from one society to another. Thus education seems to be an important variable which determine the extent of mobility, form of mobility and mechanism of mobility in a society.

But a number of sociologists have been skeptical about the part played by education in the process of occupational mobility. They have a view that education is not the only determinant of occupational mobility. They have criticized the authors who have over-emphasized the role of education in the process of occupational mobility (Anderson 1961, Blau and Duncan 1967, Garnier and Hazelrigg 1974; Raczynski, 1974; Porter 1974; Sweatser and Mc Jonell 1976 and Fry 1980).

For example (1971) put a question mark against the view that in complex societies vertical occupational mobility is closely depended upon formal education. He re-analysed the data of previous studies for Stockholm, Sweden and Great Britain and found that "education is but one of the many
factors influencing occupational mobility and it may be far from a dominant factor" (Anderson 1961: 56). He further argued that the qualifications not easily provided by formal schooling affect job success and there is no reason to disregard individual preferences among jobs. Additionally, there are many individual qualifications that are relatively independent of formal training. Intelligence differentials is one of those individual qualifications which affects the occupational success.

Blau and Duncan (1967) initiated the current theoretical and methodological base for the study of both status attainment and occupational mobility. They emphasized that all stratification systems can be viewed as being a mixture of ascribed and achieved factors. The ascription refers to the process of assigning individuals to positions on non-performance-related grounds based upon their membership in certain categories or their inherited characteristics. These characteristics or categories can be such things as sex, age, race, religion, family background, region of birth and many more. Achievement refers to the process of obtaining positions based upon one's own efforts. But Blau and Duncan go beyond this common place distinction by suggesting that sociologists should study the causal consequences by which people attain positions. They think of individual life cycle as a sequence in time that can be described by a set of classifyactory or quantitative measurements taken at successive stages. The main questions, they
raised are; "How and to what degree do the circumstances of
birth conditions subsequent status? And how does status
attained (whether by ascription or achievement) at one stage
of the life cycle affect the prospects for a subsequent
stage?" (Blau and Duncan 1967: 163).

With the help of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Blau
and Duncan provided an initial answer to these two questions
by analysing a sample of 20,700 American men, aged 20 to 65
in 1962. This sample represented 45 million civilian non-
institutionalised male population in the United States that
time. Blau and Duncan wished to know not only what factors
in an individual's life cycle influence the status attainment
process, but also how much each factor affects subsequent
one's. They constructed a path model of the process by which
people obtain position that included measures of the influence
of the five variables. Father's education, father's occupation,
son's education, son's first job and son's occupation at the
time of survey. They asserted that a causal chain existed
in which father's educational and occupational attainment
preceded his first job and son's first job and son's first
job preceded his subsequent jobs. (Blau & Duncan 1967: 165-63).

Their main findings were; Father's education and his
occupation are strongly correlated with each other; father's
education and his occupation each moderately influence son's
occupational attainment; son's level of education strongly
determines both his first job and his subsequent occupation.
Thus, man's background (as indicated by his father's socio-
economic status) indirectly influences his occupational status attainment because of its strong relationship to his educational accomplishment. A son's first job directly influences his subsequent occupation; at the same time, however father's occupation has a moderate but direct influence on son's first job, and finally father's occupation also has a direct but weak relationship to son's subsequent occupation (Blau and Duncan 1967: 165-201).

This pioneering work on occupational mobility suggests that although son's level of education strongly determines both his first job and subsequent occupation, but son's own level of education in itself depends upon father's education and occupation. As father's occupation has also a moderate but direct influence on son's first job, the process of occupational mobility can be analysed by asking following two questions:

1. How does the socio-economic status of father influence the son's level of education?

2. How does father's occupation influence son's first job and subsequent job?

In seeking the answer of the above mentioned questions, the findings of Boudon's study can be considered at a length. Boudon (1974) argued that "the higher the social background of a child the more likely he or she is to stay on at school; consequently, the more stages and choices there are in schooling,
the more likely children from higher social class background to predominate in the latter stages of education (high level of education). Children from upper middle class homes are not under the same pressure to leave school to earn money. For them, the cost of persistence with education is less, both the economic cost of persisting with education and the

them, it is difficult to leave schooling both because they will be abandoned by their friends who will increasingly diverse from them in interest and activities, and because of pressures from their parents to stay on" (Boudon 1974: 125). On the other hand, "the working class child is under pressure from his parents and his peers to leave earlier. Boudon claims that children and parents from working class background need to expend relatively more efforts just to keep pace with that what is normal for children of upper middle class background. For example, even obtaining the information require to make the right choices of school or curriculum will be easier for those of upper and middle class background because of the range of courses is more likely to form part of the normal background at these classes. Since educational attainment requires special efforts from those of working class background even where they have similar intelligence and potential to middle class children, it is the middle class children, who were more likely to persist with education. Boudon's analysis of the relationship between social structure and education
enterprises the existence of several crucial branching points within schooling, each leading to different classes of occupation. With economic development there has been an increasing division of labour in society and an increasing degree of occupational differentiation. This process has been accompanied by an increasing sophistication not only in technology but in economic and political organisation too. These changes have been similar throughout the developed world. Entry into occupation has become more specialized in the types of training demanded and this specialization has usually meant that schools have had to provide different curricula or even that there are quite different types of schools which prepared children for different kinds of occupations.

One implication of Boudon’s argument is that a reduction in the number of branching points in schooling is likely to reduce inequality of educational opportunity. This suggests that the lower level of educational inequality in the U.S.A. compared to the France or Great Britain is to be attributed in part to the lower number of branching points in schooling. In the U.S.A., everybody normally goes right through primary and secondary education; from grade school through high school. Those completing high school in most part of the U.S.A. are entitled to proceed to higher education. Students successfully completing the two years junior college of the high school proceed to the third year of a state college or state university. Though higher education
is highly differential by type of institution and by the prestige of institution, there is at least for and equivalence of standard between institutions. The power of Boudon's argument is that the ladder of the educational system allows people to make these choices which affect their futures. The more chance there is for the social disadvantage to pursue one of the better careers. Baudon stresses the social paradox that people strive to raise the educational levels of their children so that they can secure good jobs, but their success in getting their children educated means that these levels of education are no longer sufficient to obtain good jobs. (Boudon 1974: 165-201). He shows that in Europe this process has meant that for children from middle class families higher level of education, than those of their parents, are not enough in secure jobs equivalent in status to those their parents held. In such cases, children will move downward despite the superiority of their educational qualifications. As more children finish secondary education, competition, whether for jobs or for entry into higher education increases and give rise to parental anxiety about the quality of secondary schools. This growing demand for job seekers wishing to give themselves competitive advantages over others now have to acquire even higher qualifications and employers wishing to differentiate among job applicants come to demand such advanced qualifications as a matter of course. It is this social process which may account for the rapid expansion of formal and especially higher
education. Ultimately of course credentialism is likely to reinforce the effects of social background since once those qualifications become general employers will back on such criteria as the quality of the school attended, personal presentation, social contact and so on in making their selections.

It is now clear that educational attainments of an individual are highly depended on his social background. The social contacts of father and family has an important bearing on the process of educational and occupational attainment. The following questions can be raised in order to analyse the process of education and occupational mobility.

(1) How does social network shape the process of education of an individual?

(2) How do the ties of social network affects the process of occupational mobility of an individual?

On these lines the present study is aimed to analyse the role of social network in process of educational attainment as well as in occupational mobility of a lawyer. The role of social network in occupational mobility is examined at two levels (1) at the entry point into legal profession and (2) in occupational role performance.

The study addresses the following questions:

(1) To what extent the social network play a part in the process of education of rural lawyer?
(ii) To what extent the social network affects the process of occupational mobility at the time of entrance into legal profession?

(iii) How does the social network influence the occupational role performance of a lawyer after his establishment in the profession?

METHODOLOGY:

The data were collected through administering a questionnaire on a random sample of 200 lawyer. In addition, the information about social network of the lawyer was collected through case materials, collected during interpersonal discussions with some selected lawyers. The sample of the study was drawn from Electoral list of Uttar Pradesh Bar Council, Allahabad. The total number of the lawyers according to this list was 2508 as on 31-12-1985. Out of which 500 lawyers were not practicing at the time of survey. It was verified from the office of District Judge, Meerut where this list was available. Thus, it was decided to exclude the names of the non-practising lawyers from our sample. For remaining 2008 lawyers random numbers from random table were drawn and the lawyers whose names were against these numbers were included in the sample of the study. An alternative random sample of 50 lawyers was also drawn to supplement the main sample.

From the very beginning the investigator was aware of the fact that there would be certain problems in contacting
a lawyer and to convince him for providing information. The experience during pilot work for the study suggested that to conduct an interview with a lawyer would be very difficult because in the courts, a lawyer has to be busy with his clients and he does not prefer to give an interview. The second alternative was to conduct interview at the residence of the lawyer. But as the lawyers have also to deal their clients at home and have to prepare for their cases it was also not considered suitable for the study. Finally decision was taken to administer a questionnaire, so that lawyer can fill up this questionnaire according to their convenience. It had taken some more time but once the subject was convinced properly the reliability of the information would be more than that of interviews conducted in group situations. The investigator was well acquainted with a number of lawyers who had been his classmate, friends, neighbours and kinsmen. Through these ties of investigator's social network 123 lawyers of the main sample were contacted and the questionnaire was given to the respondents personally after convincing them properly. The attitude of the lawyers was very co-operative. Forty two lawyers were contacted at their residence and the questionnaire was given to them. Thus, from the main sample we could contact as many as 165 lawyers. Remaining 35 lawyers could not be traced. These were replaced by alternative sample. In total the study covers 200 male lawyers.

The present study is located on the lawyers of Meerut City. The city of Meerut is the seat of administrative division
comprising of the five districts of the region, namely, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Ghaziabad, Saharanpur and Bulandshahr. In that sense, Meerut is a regional city with nearly five lakh population. It is the seat of the University which regulates the examination in sixty college spread over the five districts. It has the only medical college in the region and provides the best of the marketing facilities in the region. It is linked with national capital, Delhi (70 Kms) along a national highway which links Delhi to Dehradun. The city arranges at its out skirts one of the famous fairs Nauchandi in Northern India. It has vigorous peasantry spread over the surrounding rural area. Green revolution has entered in the region in a big way with modern equipments of agriculture like tractors, pumping sets, fertilizers and new variety of seeds being widely spread in the whole region.

In the ancient and middle ages Meerut had a fort and township grew around it. The most recent history of the Meerut and its surrounding region is centred around the year 1857 when the Indian army revolted against the British. Meerut was the starting point of revolt and the region around it became a scene of battle and reprisals. The rule of British East India Company was brought to an end as the British crown took over the administration of the country directly. Persons who were loyal to the British were rewarded with land grants and the revolt was run down through armed action to ensure its non-occurrence. The period from
1860 to 1890 can be said a dark period in the history of Meerut in the sense that the people of the region were oppressed by the British rulers. In the last quarter of nineteenth century, Meerut was visited by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of Arya Samaj movement in India. It created a great impact not only awakening of the consciousness of the people but also halted the process of conversion of Hindus by Christian missionaries and introduced a reformist approach within it. The movement appealed to a section of urban intelligentsia as well as the rural peasantry.

One of the salient features of the caste structure in Meerut and its surrounding region is that the degree of sanctity developed in daily life and situats in classical Hinduism has some how not been fully practised in this part of the country. Mere the Brahman and Kshatriya plough the field and perform all the agricultural activities that their counterparts among the peasant castes undertake. The Jat constitute the most hard working sections of the peasantry in the Meerut region and their ways of life appears to have become a model for the rest. The distance between upper castes and the lower castes has not appeared sharply even as one between the workers and owners. Since the owners themselves have been workers of some consequence.