DISCUSSION:
IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON VERTICAL SOCIAL MOBILITY
In the present investigation the measures for determining the impact of education on vertical social mobility were income, occupational prestige and social status. Two factors, job satisfaction and parental aspirations were taken as independent factors. The impact of education as measured by the three factors on social mobility has been discussed in the previous chapter.

In the present chapter the various findings from Chapter IV regarding vertical social mobility are synthesized. The variables of caste and education of the new generation are sought to be amalgamated in the overall situation regarding the vertical social mobility. Hence, this chapter depicts a wholesome picture of vertical social mobility presented in Table 4.4.1 and examines in totality the relationship between education and vertical social mobility on the basis of discussion of results in Chapter IV.

**DISCUSSION**

**The Illiterate Level**

6.0.1 The results revealed that majority of the families in which their heads had no formal education, had one to two steps
vertical upward social mobility, whereas a few (7%) of the families had the status-quo, that is, they had zero vertical social mobility (table 4.4.1).

Studying the occupational prestige, it has been found that, mostly the illiterates of the old generation had lower prestige occupations (table 4.2.4), a high percentage of them had lower income (table 4.2.1) and a majority of them belonged to lower (LL) and lower middle (LM) SES (table 4.2.7).

Under these social situations of the illiterate fathers, their sons in majority of the cases (77%) had moved upward by one or two steps on the SES ladder.

The results of the educational classification of the sons' population show that the sons of the illiterate fathers had higher level of education, 89 per cent of them had education from elementary to secondary levels, whereas the remaining 11 per cent of them had education up to graduate level (table 4.2.13). The occupational prestige analysis of the new generation depicts that the new generation of illiterate fathers had occupations of average prestige (third and second) categories (table 4.2.5). The results from the SES analysis show that majority of them were found in lower middle and middle (MM) levels (table 4.2.8).

The relationship between the job satisfaction and parental aspirations in the case of new generation was found positive and significant at .01 level (table 4.3.8).
Thus it is clear that education is playing a very vital role in upward mobility. It might be considered as a promoting factor for upward mobility. These results are supported by Swell, Mullar and Stratus (1957). They inferred that "education facilitates access to the channels of mobility. An educated man is likely to be more socially mobile than non-educated men." Its effect was also seen in increasing job satisfaction and parental aspiration, which were related directly with each other and might also be responsible for upward mobility. These variables motivate one to raise his standards of living and also those of his progeny. Thus, education influencing positively the variables, job satisfaction and parental aspiration was also contributing to upward mobility. It is interesting to note here that high percentage of the people in this group belonged to scheduled castes and backward classes (table 4.2.12). The new generation of these castes was certainly moving upwards as the results are clearly showing upward mobility. They were having significantly higher aspirations for their children than their fathers (4.3.6). Hence, it is expected that the third generation of these castes would show more upward mobility.

Elementary Level

6.0.2 The results showed that high percentage of families in which their heads had formal education upto the elementary level had one to four steps vertical upward inter-generational
social mobility. Whereas a very small percentage (3%) of the families had no change in their socio-economic status. They had zero vertical social mobility (table 4.4.1).

Studying the pattern of social mobility in the social context, it was found from the analysis of the occupational prestige of the old generation that majority of them had occupation of average prestige (third and fourth categories), (table 4.2.4). The analysis of income highlights that majority of them were in the lower income group (table 4.2.1).

The study of the job satisfaction and parental aspiration of the old generation revealed that they had average satisfaction with jobs (table 4.3.1) and average level of aspirations for the future of their children (as is clear from table no.4.3.4). The relationship between job satisfaction and parental aspiration of the old generation was found positively significant (table 4.3.7). The caste analysis showed that majority of them belonged to scheduled castes and backward classes while a few of them came from the higher castes (table 4.2.12). Under such social and family conditions of the fathers' population, educated upto elementary level, it has been found that in majority of such families there had been vertical upward intergenerational social mobility. The possible reason may be the level of education of the sons population. It was found that the sons of the fathers educated
upto elementary level had high educational qualifications (table 4.2.13).

It has also been found that the new generation had high level of parental aspirations (table 4.3.5) and high level of job satisfaction (table 4.3.4). Further, the job satisfaction and parental aspirations were positively and significantly related with each other (table 4.3.8). The results show that the new generation had significantly higher level of job satisfaction and parental aspirations than their fathers who were educated upto elementary level (tables 4.3.3 and 4.3.6). Thus, it can be inferred as in the previous case that education is playing an important role in upward mobility.

Its effect has also been observed in getting higher occupational prestige (table 4.2.5) and higher income (table 4.2.2).

It is interesting to note that in this sample majority of the people belonged to lower castes which included scheduled castes and backward classes (table 4.2.12). Thus, it can also be inferred that lower castes are showing upward social mobility.

Comparing the results of step wise mobility of elementary level with the results of step wise vertical social mobility of the sons of the illiterate fathers, it has been found that level of vertical mobility was significantly higher in the former case than in the latter (table 4.4.2).
The result revealed that high percentage (84%) of the families in which their heads had secondary level of education had one to two steps vertical upward intergenerational social mobility while 8 per cent of them had status quo and the remaining 6 per cent of them had gone one step downward on the mobility ladder (table 4.4.1).

Studying the mobility pattern in the social context, it was found from the occupational prestige classification of the old generation that large majority of them had occupations of average prestige (fourth and third categories) (table 4.2.4). The classification of income shows that they had average income (fourth and third groups) (table 4.2.1), the results of classification of SES revealed that majority of them fell under the lower middle (lm) and middle (mm) levels of SES (table 4.2.7).

From the analysis of personal factors such as job satisfaction (table 4.3.1) and parental aspirations (table 4.3.4) it has been found that this sample of old generation had high level of job satisfaction and high level of parental aspirations which were related with each other (table 4.3.7).

Hence, from the above results it can be inferred that the old generation population coming from average occupation with average income belonging to lower middle and middle (mm) levels of SES, with high job satisfaction and parental aspirations
had one to two steps upward mobility with the exception of 14 per cent of them who had either no mobility or downward mobility. The possible reason may be the education background of the new generation.

It has been found that high percentage of the new generation was educated upto graduate and post-graduate levels. 14.5 per cent of them were holding research degrees and only 25.5 per cent of them were having education equivalent to their fathers while there were none with lower qualifications (table 4.2.13).

It has been found that the new generation had high level of job satisfaction (table 4.3.1) and high level of parental aspirations (table 4.3.4). Further, it has been found that job satisfaction and parental aspiration of the new generation were positively and significantly related to each other (table 4.3.8).

Thus, the trend established at the two previous levels of education of the old generation is repeated here. The vitalness of education is further confirmed and well established.

It is interesting to note that in this sample lower castes (scheduled castes and backward classes) were almost in equal number to the higher castes (table 4.2.12). Hence, the upward mobility is equally applicable to lower and higher castes.
Comparing the results of step-wise mobility of secondary level with the results of step-wise mobility of elementary level, it has been found that the level of vertical social mobility was higher in the latter case than in the former (table 4.4.2).

**Graduate Level**

6.0.4 The findings showed that the families in which their heads had graduate level of education, majority (61.5%) of them had one to two steps upward social mobility whereas the remaining 38.5 per cent of them had either no mobility or one step vertical downward social mobility (table 4.4.1).

It was found from the analysis of occupational prestige of the old generation that a high majority (81%) of them were in the occupations of above average to high prestige (third and second categories) (table 4.2.4). The analysis of income group shows that majority of the graduate fathers had above average income (table 4.2.4) and from the analysis of socio-economic status, it has been found that majority of them were in the middle (m) to upper middle levels of SES (table 4.2.7).

The analysis of personal factors, that is, job satisfaction and parental aspirations shows that old generation holding graduate degrees had high level of satisfaction with their jobs (table 4.3.1), it has also been found that they had higher level of parental aspirations (table 4.3.4).
The relationship between job satisfaction and parental aspirations in case of the graduate degree holders of old generation was positive and significant at .01 level.

Hence, from the above results it can be inferred that old generation holding graduate degree education had above average prestigious occupations and above average level of income. They belonged to middle (m.) and upper middle levels of SEC and they had high level of parental aspirations and job satisfaction. It is interesting to note that 61.5 per cent of them had one to two steps upward mobility, whereas 38.5 per cent of them had either no mobility or one step downward mobility.

The possible reason for upward mobility may be the educational background of the new generation. It has been found from the table that in the sample, whose fathers were holding graduate degrees, 68 per cent of them had education upto post-graduate and research degree levels, 23 per cent of them had graduate level and the remaining 9 per cent of them had education upto secondary level (4.2.13).

The results show that the sons whose fathers were educated upto graduate level had high level of job satisfaction (table 4.3.2) and also had high level of parental aspiration (table 4.3.4). It was found that the job satisfaction and parental aspirations were positively and significantly related to each other (table 4.3.8).
Thus, the trend of upward social mobility established at the three previous levels of education of the old generation was repeated here.

It is interesting to note that in this sample, 41 per cent of the population belonged to lower castes (scheduled castes and backward classes), while the remaining 59 per cent of them belonged to higher castes. Hence, it may be inferred that the upward mobility at this level is almost as true to the higher castes as to the lower castes (table 4.2.12).

Comparing the results of upward mobility of graduate level with the upward mobility results of the secondary level, it has been found that the level of vertical mobility was significantly higher in latter case than the former (table 4.4.2). It may be due to the fact that for the families having graduate level of education and higher level of socio-economic status, it was very hard to rise further in the socio-economic status ladder. Since the old generation educated upto secondary level had lower socio-economic status, the new generation with higher qualifications could easily get higher socio-economic status than the old generation.

Post-graduate level

The results from table 4.4.1 reveal that a majority (77.5%) had either no vertical mobility or had downward mobility by one or two steps whereas only 22.5 per cent of them had one step upward mobility.
Studying the social context of the post-graduate level sample, it was found that majority of them had occupations of high prestige (first and second categories) (table 4.2.4). They had higher levels of income (table 4.2.1) with the result, majority of them fell into upper middle and upper (uu) levels of SES (table 4.2.7).

The analysis of the personal factors such as job satisfaction and parental aspirations shows that they had very high level of job satisfaction (table 4.3.1), and very high level of parental aspirations (table 4.3.4). The job satisfaction and parental aspirations are positively and significantly related to each other (table 4.3.7).

It is interesting to note that inspite of all the social and personal factors favouring the sons of the fathers holding post-graduate degrees for upward mobility, they had gone down in the mobility scale. It has also been found from the educational analysis of the new generation that this group of sons' population had more or less same level of education as their fathers (table 4.2.13). Thus, it can be said that the people of new generation with same level of education could not get the occupations of similar higher prestige and income, with the result that they moved slightly downward in social status level.
From the caste analysis it has been found that higher castes at this level of education were in majority (table 4.2.12). This shows that higher level of education in the families coming from higher castes and from higher socio-economic status group tend to go down in social mobility in new generation. It may be because of the fact that the highly qualified people with higher socio-economic status were already at the apex of socio-economic status. So the chances to go up were very rare. At best they could have stayed at the same level of SES. Thus, the trend of vertical social mobility established at the previous levels of education was reversed here. The assertion that education leads to higher vertical social mobility has not been confirmed, in the case of highly educated fathers. It leads to the conclusion that the families having post-graduate level of education or even higher level of education is not showing its vitalness in the upward mobility. The obvious reason may be the availability of more people with higher qualifications than the jobs requirements in 1970's than in 1950's (refer page 172).

Comparing these results of vertical social mobility of post-graduate level with the vertical social mobility at the graduate level, it has been found that the level of vertical upward mobility was significantly higher in the latter case than the former (table 4.4.2).
The findings reveal that majority of the families had one to two steps vertical downward social mobility (table 4.4.1). Only 5 per cent of the families had one step upward social mobility.

From the analysis of the social factors, it has been found that majority of the old generation was in the occupations of higher prestige (table 4.2.4) with higher income (4.2.1) resulting into higher socio-economic status level (4.2.7). The caste analysis shows that very few families in this sample belonged to lower castes (scheduled castes and backward classes), majority of them were coming from other higher castes (4.2.12).

The inferences drawn from the study of the personal factors such as job satisfaction and parental aspirations show that the old generation educated up to the Research Degree level had high level of job satisfaction (table 4.2.13) and very high level of parental aspirations (table 4.3.4). The relationship between job satisfaction and parental aspirations has been found to be positive and significant at .01 level of significance.

It has been found that majority of the sons of the fathers educated up to Research Degree level, had education from graduate to post-graduate level (table 4.2.13). Only 20 per cent had same educational background as that of their
father's (research degree). Thus, the new generation had lower educational qualifications than their fathers. Further, it has been noted from the results of job satisfaction that the new generation of research degree holding fathers had high level of job satisfaction (table 4.3.1) and high level of parental aspirations (table 4.3.4) but the job satisfaction was lower than their fathers and the level of parental aspirations was at the same level as their fathers.

The overall analysis of the upward mobility shows that 10 per cent of the total population had vertically downward social mobility by one or two steps, 11 per cent of them had no mobility and 79 per cent of them had upward mobility.

Similar findings are reported by D.V. Glass (1954), in a social mobility study of Scotland. He found that social mobility is a typical experience of Scottish society in a hierarchical order, only 27.4 per cent were immobile while 42 per cent were upwardly mobile and 30 per cent downwardly mobile.

In a mobility study Packard Vane (1959) came to the conclusion that education which is considered an important factor of vertical social mobility in other societies fails to enhance level of social mobility in America. His observation is that the chances for vertical mobility have decreased substantially during the past two decades.
Comparing the mobility results of the present study with the other two studies mentioned above, it may be observed that amount of vertical social mobility is different in different societies. Similar observation about the rate of mobility is given by Lipset and Bendix (1960). They observed that societies differ in the amount of social mobility they allow but every society (even a caste society) has some mobility.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the families in which education was up to research degree level, had moved vertically downward which may be due to the lower educational qualifications of the new generation in comparison to their fathers; or the new generation may not be getting suitable jobs, because of hard competition in the field of occupations.

Comparing the results of vertical social mobility at different levels, it has been found that maximum vertical social mobility was found at the elementary level.

2. Illiteracy and secondary level of education of the old generation were the next in the ladder showing the upward mobility.

3. Graduate degree level of old generation had shown vertical upward social mobility. After graduate degree education the downward mobility trend became predominant. The families with post-graduate educational background had gone slightly downwards whereas the families with research degree level of
education had significant downward mobility.

The overall analysis shows that upward social mobility was maximum in the lower qualified families, majority of which came from lower castes whereas maximum downward mobility was in the case of those families which already had high level of education and coming from higher castes and from higher socio-economic status. These results are similar to those reported by Harold L. Hodgkinson (1960) who inferred that it was impossible for those in the top-level to become upwardly mobile and those in the bottom category could not show downward mobility.

Thus, the two extremes of mobility are: the elementary level of education showing highest upward mobility and research degree level showing highest downward mobility (Fig. 16).

In the consideration of mobility pattern the most interesting feature which emerges out is the applicability of law of regression in social situation. The law of regression in the inheritance of intelligence was pronounced long back. In social situations, its presence was also reported. This study, however, provides proof on the basis of the data collected methodically. The children of lower educated parents move up while the children of higher educated move down. It is perhaps through such a law that a balance is kept in a social situation.