CHAPTER II

RELATED STUDIES
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2.0.1 INTRODUCTION

The present chapter deals with the literature related to the problem of the study. In the following pages under various subcaptions those studies which have adequate resemblance to the present investigation are described and their findings are briefly discussed.

The related literature has been grouped under the four captions. The caption 2.1.0 deals with the studies concerning the concept, factors and conditions which effect the social mobility. The caption 2.2.0 deals with the studies on education and social mobility. The caption 2.3.0 is devoted to the studies related to the job satisfaction and vertical social mobility. In the last caption 2.4.0 the studies of parental aspiration and vertical social mobility are described.

2.1.0 SOCIAL MOBILITY

A number of studies have been conducted on social mobility. In most of them effort has been made to clarify the concept of social mobility and to present the conditions conducive to the mobility in a structured society.
In this connection Singh Lakhshmana (1976) observes that social mobility has been an important area of research in the field of sociology to measure the degree of transformation and progress achieved by individuals, groups and communities. Sociologists all over the world have been concentrating on the analysis of mobility and the parameters governing the measures used in mobility studies. Territorial mobility and vertical mobility in social status and horizontal mobility within the social status group are some of the important areas of mobility analysis. Broadly occupation, income and education are some of the important factors associated with mobility of individuals and groups within forms of short term trends, medium term changes and long term transformation.

Below are described some of the important studies which try to present a clear concept of social mobility and also conditions and measures of it.

Holand K. Havbed (1972) in his study has defined Mobility as "the arithmetic difference of sons and father's status. He considers that there are no other inputs to the mobility measure since its value (with the possible exception of measurement error) is caused only by these two variables. The mobility has been defined as upward, stable or downward according to whether sons' status is higher than equal to or lower than fathers' status."
Lipset and Bendix (1960) in their investigation came to the conclusion that societies differ in the amount of social mobility they allow but every society even a caste society has some mobility. At the other extreme no society has anything near "Perfect" mobility which would be a condition in which ascribed (birth given) status did not exist. They stress justifiably that increased status in one dimension (occupation) does not necessarily mean increased status in another dimension (religion). Individuals strive selectively for status and members of different groups award status selectively. Even so, there are general patterns of consistency, that changes in occupational status generally correspond with increase in economic status, which may lead to increased social status.

Harold L. (1965) refers that we cannot talk of social mobility unless we are referring to a change in the amount of social reward or status given to an individual or group by other individuals or groups.

Many social thinkers have attempted to set up criteria to explain social mobility in terms of vertical and horizontal mobility.

Havighurst (1958) had put forth conditions which promote vertical mobility.
1. Free and easy access to the kind of education that opens the way to middle and higher status occupations combined with fairly rigorous standards.

2. Open competition for middle and higher status jobs preventing a man or his family from getting a vested interest in a particular position.


4. Upward Group mobility of the lower castes and classes increasing their standards of living and thus enable them to give advantages of better education, and better health to their children, thus increasing their competitive ability.

5. Introduction of new industries and increase of industrial productivity with resultant increase in wages and salaries which allow people to spend more of their income and services provided by professional people.

Anderson & Parker (1963) have given various factors controlling vertical mobility:

1. **CHANGING OR STATIC SOCIAL CONDITIONS**

The clean structure of a society may itself change in response to altered conditions of a time. New classes may appear as old ones disappear. In an industrial society there are top level management, second level management,
foremen, skilled labourers and unskilled workers. The status is dependent upon ingenuity, hard work, ambitions, ability and achievement rather than in hierarchial class background.

The rise and fall of class structures occur where societies are disturbed by such external conditions as war, political, social or economic revolution.

2. POPULATION MOVEMENT

Vertical mobility is stimulated when people migrate and upward thrust is given to those who were previously in the power position. So these movements of population segment in society keep class organisations flexible.

3. DIFFERENCE IN FERTILITY RATES

Family in the upper social classes generally have fewer children than those in the lower social classes. These upper classes create a "Social Vacuum" within the society when they do not reproduce themselves. People from lower strata have an opportunity to move up to their positions and advances in the social scale. Too high reproduction rates in lower class families, on the other hand, hamper the chances of specific family members in rising on the social scale.

4. THE OPENING OF NEW CHANNELS OF VERTICAL MOBILITY THROUGH INCREASED EDUCATION

Many attempts have been made to study social mobility in different societies. About such investigations
Bluemen and Rogeff (1953) say that the study of social mobility has two major traditions, one tradition inquires into the causes of social attainment, it seeks to identify the characteristics of individuals, social positions and the social system that effects the allocations of scarce values like ability, prestige and wealth. The second tradition examines the form of the social mobility process, it tries to describe the way in which the movement of population among social positions unfolds overtime.

About the measures of social mobility, Harold L. (1968) arrives at the conclusion that the typical measure of social mobility is a comparison of the social status of one generation of fathers with those of their sons. In a completely mobile society one would expect a complete dispersion of the sons into the entire occupational range, that is, the sons of bankers would be found in all occupations. They would become postmen, un-skilled labourers, skilled mechanists, and minor white collared workers just as frequently as they become bankers. Sons of farmers would become bankers just as often as they become farmers. Occupation of father would have no influence on occupation of sons. We can, therefore, compare occupations of the sons actually to discover how much mobility exists.

About the rate of mobility, Harold L. Hodgkinson (1960) observes that the chances of mobility vary with the
size of the community in which the person was raised, giving the person from a large area, a distinct advantage over the person who grew up in small town. There is a list of occupations with a top and bottom status, it is impossible for those in the top levels to become upwardly mobile and those in the bottom category cannot show downward mobility.

The investigations regarding the amount of mobility in different structures of the society present interesting results. Rogoff (1963) had found that the amount of mobility in the past was not as great as assumed in industrial society. In his views strong open-class ideologies do not necessarily have greater mobility than industrial societies without such ideologies.

Turner (1960) contrasts the mobility processes in England and U.S.A. He refers to the American system as based on contest mobility in which alike status is the prize in an open contest and is taken by the aspirants' own efforts. Whereas under sponsored mobility alike recruits are chosen by the established alike or by their agents, and alike status is given as the basis of some criterion of supposed merit and cannot be taken by amount of efforts.

Lipset (1963) concluded in his study that in England although one may attain upward mobility through one's own efforts, once a family has reached high status, its later generations are assured of maintaining that status. Such
pattern would result in relatively high levels of intergenerational continuity of social status.

As may be evident the above studies throw light on the concept of social mobility. Some of the studies also show the nature and dimensions of the variables of social mobility. The conditions and factors which promote vertical social mobility in different societies are also highlighted in some studies.

In the next caption the studies conducted in the area of education and social mobility are described.

2.2.0 EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Swell, Muller and Stratus (1957) found that education facilitates access to the channels of mobility. An educated man is likely to be more socially mobile than non-educated men.

Joseph Leporeate (1967) in his study comes to the conclusion that if there is upward mobility then new entrants are likely to emulate the behaviour of most respectful upper class and there are also status discrepancies as old class discriminates the new raised classes in some societies.

Vilhelm Aubert (1972) reports that in order to reach the higher position in a modern society, it is in most areas,
a requirement to have undergone higher education for immediate entrance into the higher strata of a social system. Achievement is also recognised as a plausible basis of social movement.

Havighurst and Neugarten (1964) quote that "every one ought to have equal chances for social advancement and that promotions ought to be based upon achievement or upon a mixture of achievement and seniority. In order to reach higher position in a modern society it is a requirement to have undergone higher education and to have graduation with certain distinction. A higher education may qualify a person for immediate entrance into the higher strata of a social system as engineering, administration, education etc. However, some important channels of social advancement still remain relatively independent of formal education requirements e.g. sports, politics and art etc."

Wilbert E. Moore (1962) observed that social change in modern times has become the symbol of a continued movement towards modernisation. The mode of social change in Indian society is rapid in the twentieth century and it is to be distinguished from its earlier connotations which included a cultural renaissance emancipation of women, awareness of political freedom and an associated consciousness of rights and privileges, social and
political movements, adult franchise etc. The momentum of social change in terms of vertical mobility is felt utmost after 1950's because of the spread of education.

Moore believed that the pace of change in general and particularly the rate at which the world is becoming a single unit though highly disordered system gives a kind of urgency to the motion in the ordinary state of affairs is due to the effect of education system on different societies.

Glass (1964) inferred that in Britain studies of the determinants of mobility within the system of social stratification have for the most part centered on the nature of the educational institutions of the system, including both the value elements and the actual expansions or contractions of the number of institutions located within the system. In recent years some attention has been paid to the motivational and aspirational elements of such mobility.

Correcting and expanding the socialization processes which began in the family education is to identify to what is in the individual's personality make up and to help the growth of democratic skills and attitudes in the community institutions that are necessary to maintain an open society. In an open society, the individuals must in a sense find their own level of service. There are wider
chances for vertical upward mobility. In a closed society avenues for the individuals are limited there is interference of caste or race, in the long run, the society loses the greatest possible contribution from the individuals. Hence it becomes weak and reduce the chances of vertical upward mobility.

The Education in our society is geared to the individual. It aids his personality development and helps him to use his potentialities to the utmost. As our society becomes more complicated various groups turn more and more to the educational system for training, selection and screening of children and youth for different roles in industry, business, agriculture, the trades and professions.

Robert J. Havighurst (1968) referred that, social mobility is basic fact of our social structure. Education is an important means of achieving social mobility, more important now than it was at the beginning of this century. Secondary schools and the Colleges provide the major avenues in our society for social mobility. It is further concluded that through those institutions a person accomplishes two things that will tend to make him mobile upward in the social mobility. He prepares for an occupation that will place him higher in the social scale, and he learns attitude and manner of a higher social class by making contacts with other people from the higher social status.
The results of Packard Vance's study (1959) in U.S.A. are different from the results of various studies presented above. He says that education which is considered an important factor of vertical social mobility in another society 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.

Coleman (1950) conducted a study in Kansas City and indicated that in a sample of middle aged adult of middle classes in the 1950's 33 per cent or more have higher status than their parents while 12 per cent or more have acquired lower status leaving a net upward mobility rate of nearly 21 per cent. This is fairly high. Warner and Abegglen (1950) studied the social origins of business leaders in 1950's and found some evidence of increased upward mobility among business dealers as compared with 30 years earlier period.

Elizabeth N. Louren Anderson (1950) revealed that in Britain and U.S.A. formal education is also viewed as an agency for upward mobility, supplying opportunities for the children of working class parents to better themselves and secondary education is particularly originated as a special privilege attached to social position, and developed middle class interest outlook.
Wamor and Abegglean (1955) made a comparative study of fathers and sons in Kansas city and found that the population of business dealers whose fathers are labourers, farmers or minor white collar workers has gone up on social status ladder from 36 per cent in 1900 to 43 per cent in 1950. This evidences that the amount of said mobility is not decreased but has perhaps increased in the past 50 years.

Blau and Duncan (1967) found that "with increasing industrialisation the mobility from one class to a higher class is more often the result of early and formal schooling. People with better education enter the jobs of better status and generally shift their jobs for still better social positions.

Passin (1965) infers that education linked constraints are provided by post-restoration in Japan, where the structure of all occupational and educational status becomes rather highly crystalized. Career advancement was specific with more or less distinct channels, each with its own entry requirements. A labour with its own entry requirements (no schooling) a production channel (elementary school) and higher executive channel (University graduates). Once a person enters a given channel, mobility into a higher channel is improvable.

Glass (1955) has described the purpose of the
first major analysis of occupational mobility at a national level. He says that the interpretation of occupational mobility is simply movement among status levels which presumes that occupational positions are nothing more than status levels. If status is all there is no occupational position, then movement between occupation is just movement between status levels and occupation status is equivalent to occupational position as a base for measuring occupational mobility.

In the studies discussed above the role of education on vertical social mobility has been emphasized. Most of the studies were conducted in the countries abroad, namely, United States of America, England and Japan. The investigator could not locate any worth while studies conducted in the Indian situation.

In the next caption the studies conducted in the area of parental aspiration and social mobility are described.

2.3.0 EDUCATION, JOB SATISFACTION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

There have been conducted some studies regarding the relationship between education and job satisfaction and also regarding the relationship between job satisfaction with social mobility. Below are described some of the important studies which throw light on the association of
education, job satisfaction and social mobility.

Lahiri and Srivastava (1967) found that for the middle class managers and workers, the motivators like education and technical skills were important for both dissatisfaction and satisfaction. These factors determine their social status and vertical mobility in the society.

Burke (1966) has stated that certain intervening variables (job or occupational level, age of respondent, sex) have been found to be important in determining whether a given job characteristics will be a source of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. These variables must be taken into consideration for proper interpretation of research findings which are responsible for vertical social mobility.

Rehman, C and Dhavale, A (1976) found that the motivation ability and opportunity for advancement indicate a tendency to use the same job characteristics as contribution both to job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction. The satisfying conditions provide better socio economic status in the society and help to move upward on the social status ladder.

Nancy Brandon and Tuma's (1976), findings on social status attainment suggest that the main determinate of the rate at which a person leaves a social position are
the levels of prestige and earnings associated with a social status. The characteristics of individuals are sex, race, schooling and job that help them gain access to reward positions or increase rewards. It is assumed that social mobility is a strong process that tends to link people with most resource positions with the most rewards. He further illustrates that expected rewards of persons tend to be higher when greater proportion of jobs in the system is available on keeping the distribution of human resources constant. The expected rewards tend to be lower, if the greater proportion of people is available on keeping the distribution of job constant.

In his study Srinivas, A. N. (1965) found that the larger the duration of education higher is the prestige attached to the jobs the people get and higher is the level of job satisfaction.

2.4.0 EDUCATION, PARENTAL ASPIRATION, JOB SATISFACTION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

In the present section the studies conducted regarding the relationship between education, parental aspirations, job satisfaction and social mobility are described. Those studies which show relationship between any two of the above variables are mentioned in this section.

Barker Lunn (1970) found a relationship between success in school and parental aspirations. According
to her above average ability of children appeared to raise parental aspirations and particularly the aspirations of lower class parents. She concludes that the success or failure of children in school may increase or weaken parental aspirations.

Seger (1953) and Roc (1966) found that occupations and aspirations are directly related to each other. The aspirations affect the job status which encourage the vertical social mobility.

The educational background of the parents raises the level of aspirations for the future of their children. More the education, higher is the level of parental aspirations. These are the findings of Elisabeth M. Doum and Joseph B. Adelson (1955).

In the views of Robert-Mason Hauser (1957) education and aspirations are related conceptions. The author observed that father's occupations, education, number of siblings, aspirations for the child, organisational membership are the principal independent and intervening variables. They have shown that American society is having relatively loose process of stratification in which movement is the primary mode of ascent.

Glass D.V. (1967) quoted that most of the manual workers with poor background and with poor social status showed educational aspiration to give superior education to their sons. 40 per cent of them aspired to provide
university education. Two thirds of the middle professional classes preferred their children to have high school education. "Majority of the Manual workers wish to see their children to have elementary to secondary level of education. The salaried group aim somewhat higher but below the level set by the professional and executive groups.

In the study by R.K. Merton (1950) it was observed that "within a group of relatively low status, high aspirations for their children were voiced more often among those who did have a sense of personal lower satisfaction than among others. Low satisfaction is almost frequent in the group with high aspirations for their sons.

Rose (1950) indicated that occupational prestige and aspirations are associated with each other. For those with high status prestige dispersion has a significant relationship with educational aspirations and for those with low status, the association is almost statistically significant. The same trends were seen in data relevant to the respondents in occupational aspirations.

J.H. Gold Thorpe (1966) argues that the tightening links between educational and occupational achievement in the course of industrialisation may not only foster more intergenerational mobility but also decrease the prospects for upward mobility. He notes that those who start with
little education may discover their upward mobility change progressively diminished as promotion criteria become more tightly linked to educational performance than to work performance. Thorpe indicates that this may even be the case at upper as well as at lower strata.

Khajuria (1974) has concluded that people with elementary level of education have above average aspirations for the future of their children.

Douglas (1964) and M. Flavden (1967) have shown that certain aspects of the socio-economic background of the parents determine the degree to which they value education. Such values in turn influence the level of school achievement of their children. The children of the parents with working class value think in short term and the children of the parents with middle class values think in the long term. The educational and vocational aspirations will tend to be higher in latter group than the former. In this way the probability of certain educational and vocational events being associated with certain status categories within the educational system serve as the predominative basis on which individual children and parents make their judgement and formulate their aspirations for higher social mobility.

Child and Whitney (1969) reported that success generally leads to raising the levels of aspirations where
a failure had the opposite effect. Further the greater the degree of success, the more likely the inflation of the level of aspiration. Hence the success of the children raises the parental aspirations especially for the better social status of the sons in future life.

Rosenthal and Cofer (1948), explored the effect of other people upon the level of aspiration. One member of the group significantly effects the decrease or increase in case of agreement in setting the group levels of aspiration. In this way group aspirations become the source of vertical mobility.

The investigations by Anderson and Anderson (1974-75) show that changing levels of education account for the growth of mass ideology and aspirations. By comparing the levels of aspiration, it is found that the aspirations of the people having higher educational background are higher than the people having lower educational background.

Shekhar (1968) believed that "in our society the influence of the old structure has not yet diminished and the new structural frame is not yet internalized or emotionally integrated. Usually when the aspirations are structure-wise in terms of new ideologies, the old structure cannot cope with them. In other words, they are no more in a position to cater to the needs of the new aspirants. The conception that there is a rise in the aspirational
level itself implies that there is an anticipatory socialization for change or mobility into the new structure and education is to facilitate socialization to make them mobile from one status to another according to their talents and abilities.

The survey of the related literature clearly shows the importance of mobility studies. It also presents a very wide area of study so far as social mobility is concerned. What is social mobility, what are its various aspects, how is it measured and what factors promote it have all been investigated. The relationship between education and mobility has also been studied in different settings. However, in the stratified society of India no comprehensive study to establish the association between mobility and education has been done. The present study fills this gap.