CHAPTER ONE

PERSPECTIVE

Present day society witnesses widespread change in every sphere of social life. This change is a universal process and irreversible process of the transformation of cultural, political, and economic order of society can be observed everywhere in the world. The process starts from the urban centres which have constituted as the centres of cataclysmic forces which engulf not only human community living in the heartland of the cities but also the areas which surround it, because the process of urbanisation, generally known as the forceful vehicle of social transformation and modernisation, involve well-knit system comprising even remote communities which are directly or indirectly exposed to new conditions of social life. Therefore, change that can be observed in the cities and their immediate proximities can be seen with more or less similar strength in the surrounding regions that comprise a series of villages and small townships. The actual perspective of social change involved in the process of modernization has been presented by several empirical exploitation in recent years.

Many villages all over India are becoming increasingly subject to the impact of urban
influence. The nature of urban impact, however, varies according to the kind of relations a village has with a city or town. Broadly, three different situations of urban impact may be distinguished. Firstly, there are villages in which a sizable number of people have sought employment in far-off cities. The second kind of urban impact is to be seen in villages which are situated near an industrial town. These are exposed to a different kind of influence from those with a sizable group of urban emigrants. While industrial urbanization determines the general nature of its influence on villages, the more specific effects follow from the nature of industry. The growth of metropolitan cities accounts for the third type of urban impact on the surrounding villages, and it is with this context of urbanization that we are presently concerned.

The area beyond the buildup suburbs may be called the urban frings. Human ecologists and geographers describe this frings as a transition zone between the urban and rural land uses.

Processes of change might be initiated by a variety of factors such as, advancing trade and administrative frontiers, political changes, religious movements, industrialization and urbanisation, or a combination of some of all, of these.

Indian Society today is experiencing rapid change in its socio-economic, and cultural spheres. The major catalyst of this change is the process of urban growth which involves not only an effective coordination of economic activities of 'growing proportions of population' within a framework of functional inter-dependence but also gradual increase in the scale of society itself. The process involves two major trends of social transformation: gigantic urban increase, in terms of both number and size of townships and through suffusion of urban values and institutions far beyond the physical limits of the city.

Analysis of the process of urban growth, however, has been too conventional to highlight its far-reaching implications. For instance, the usual view of urbanization hardly goes beyond treating it as an increase in the proportion of urban population to total population.

The urbanization of India appears a paradox, it is urban geography through the looking glass. Where effects are the same as those in industrialized countries, their cause is the opposite; where the course of history seems the same, its end is different. In industrial Europe and America, urbanization was the result of positive demands for labour from industry. In India, urbanization has proceeded from lack of demand in rural areas. The effect of urbanization in the west was that not only did the large majority of the population live in towns, but that the numbers living in rural areas decreased as well. In India, it
has produced a huge aggregate urban population but forms only a
small proportion of the whole: while towns grow, the rural
population seems nowhere to diminish. In the west, as urbani-
tization and industrialization progressed, the proportion of workers
in the primary sector decreased. In India, the proportion has
remained continuously high and in the last Census it registered
an increase. Industrialization and urbanization, so stably
married in the industrialized west, are often divorced in India.

The attention given to the rapid growth of millionaire cities
at low latitudes might lead one to assume that the rate of urba-
nization in countries such as India.

The trend of urbanization during the last seven decades is
indicated in Table No. 1.

**TABLE NO. 1**

Trend of Urbanization in India, 1901-71.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>% of urban population to total population</th>
<th>% of population in each size class of towns to total urban population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class-I 10,000-50,000</td>
<td>Class-II 50,000-20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>10.85</td>
<td>22.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>10.29</td>
<td>24.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>11.18</td>
<td>25.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>27.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>13.86</td>
<td>35.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>17.30</td>
<td>41.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>17.98</td>
<td>48.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>19.91</td>
<td>55.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be observed from Table No. 1 that in 1961, the urban population was roughly 18 percent of the total population, while, in 1971, it was roughly 20% of the total population. But in terms of the % increase of the urban population, the rate of urbanization during 1961-71 cannot be regarded as very high. However, this is primarily a statistical phenomenon. In terms of absolute population size there has been an increase of about 30.2 million in the urban population of India during the last 10 years and the rate of growth of the urban population has been of the order of 38.2%. Thus from the point of view of the urban growth rate, urbanization has indeed been rapid during the last decade. A growth rate of 2.5% is enough to convince most people about the population explosion. Therefore, a growth rate of over 3.8% must certainly be a cause for concern whether one calls it an urban explosion or not.

Table No. 1 also gives the percentage distribution of the urban population by six classes of towns according to the size of population. The most interesting feature which emerges from this table is the increasing role of class-I cities (population-100,000 and over). In 1901 these cities accounted for 23% of the total urban population, while in 1971, more than 55% of the urban population was residing in these cities. Even in one single decade (1961-71), the proportion of urban population in class-I cities has increased from 48.% to 55.8% whereas in the case of towns belonging to urban classes II, III, IV, V and VI, there has
been a decrease in the proportion. In fact, even if the entire period (1901-71) is considered, there is stagnation in the case of class II and III towns, whereas there has been a substantial decline in the % of urban population in class IV, V and VI towns. For example, class II towns accounted for 11.5% of the urban population in 1901 and the comparable figure in 1971 was 11.3%. But in the case of class V towns, the % has come down from 20.4% in 1901 to 4.7 in 1971. Part of the explanation lies in definitional changes as we have noted earlier. The 1961 census adopted a rigorous definition of 'urban'. This practice was followed in 1971 also. Thus, the figures of 1961 and 1971 are not vitiated by definitional changes. Therefore, emerges that the number of Class-I cities has increased and the population of Class I cities has also increased considerably. The process of urbanization thus has been essentially a process of city-ward migration.

Ingenious though the idea is, to predict the moment of urban take-off, it is misfounded. In the presumed analogous cases, urbanization is a function of industrialization, in India it is not. The comparisons reveal not the progress of urbanization but its failure. The growth in urbanization is an effect of a different cause and has therefore disappointed all predictions.

While it is true that much of the country urban growth is due to industrialization, it is apparent that the small increases in urbanization are not. It is true that economic growth in India has been spectacular but it has not been the cause of
urbanization. This is because while industrialization has created a large amount of employment it has not created sufficient to alter the occupational structure of the country's workforce.

It is true that no worthwhile analysis of urbanisation can afford to be isolated from the demographic or the industrial context projections for India suggest that there may be more than 150 million net immigrants moving into the cities of 20,000 or more during the period from 1950 to 2000, and that the largest city in the country may have 36 to 66 million and the second largest between 18 and 33 million people by the end of the century. This corroborates the contention that as the size of the total population involved gets larger, the volume of internal immigration, entailed by the process of urbanization, becomes enormous.

In fact, analysis of urbanisation, in an encompassing perspective, requires not only identification of physical and non-physical source of change in the nature and form of urban community but also macroscopic explanation of socio-economic and cultural processes which link the city with its surrounding region.

There seem to exist multiple sources of normative and structural changes in the Indian society after 36 years of independence. And the process of adaptation to changing situation is quite prominent. Nevertheless, the process of assimilation of new values and behavioural pattern in the social system operates simultaneously, and lends it a kind of dynamic equilibrium.

It may be reiterated that classification of concepts and theoretical

formulations for the study of social change in India necessitate due attention to; (i) Evolutionary approaches, (ii) cultural theories of sanskritization, westernization, etc. and (iii) structural models of differentiation and mobility, including historical approaches. The concept of semi-urban pocket exposing a new organizational set-up and an emerging reality, satisfied the last of the three theoretical formulations. Besides, it helps increase the analytical and explanatory power in our endeavour to study urbanization and social change. It is the main purpose of the present study to justify this claim.

It sounds logical to believe that the urban community, however segmental, is organic insofar as people are compelled by circumstance to internalize values and patterns of behaviour followed by most of the urbanites. But when rapid change begins to take place in a society, due to a host of new factors impinging in quick succession on its "structural solidarity", it generates such reaction as lead to centripetal and centrifugal generates forces pulling the community in an unprecedented direction of change. And in the process, it gives way to identifiable pockets of social reality in the form of heterogeneity of types due to dislocation of core institutional order. In brief, something that is the outcome of change, and which cannot be contained elsewhere, is contained in the form of a packet. In other words, the compulsion

to forge secondary sets of social relationships with different types of people for legal, political, economic and intellectual pursuits, as is the case with rural people migrating to big towns, tend to form pockets of semi-rural type, indicating centrifugal urge. On the other hand, people desirous of protecting primary sets of social relationships, in the midst of complex network of secondary relationships all around, as in the case of rural people compelled to live in the pockets of semi-urban type, indicating centripetal urge. It is proper to use the term semi-urban pocket for naming such a new reality, instead of semi-rural pockets, because the society is evidently set out for a higher scale of urbanization.

The Indian society retained a considerable degree of differentiation between its urban and rural macrostructures. The introduction of technological advances in the fields of communication, industry, education, etc. have eventually created a state of partial modernization.

In spite of the social apathy of the migrant population towards the local community and their social, cultural and political institutions their very presence has affected the local social system in many ways. The migrant population with their relatively liberal outlook and lack of rigidity in social customs and rituals and different life styles, to a great extent, have served as a

4. Trivedi, Harshad R. : Urbanism 'A new outlook; Atma Ram & Sons; Delhi, 1976 (pp. 177-78).
catalyst of social change in the local community. The presence of the better educated migrant population has created a sense of awareness of the importance of education among the local population and as a result many of them send their children to colleges in the city for higher education. An inevitable outcome of the impact of urban growth in an urban fringe community is the structural change in occupational distribution and mobility of the workforce.

The most crucial element in the process of social change as symbolised by the system of urbanization is the structural linkages which combined different structure in a given reason and the cultural influences, which ensure from them. By surrounding region we mean the whole urban region which consists of the suburbs (both industrial and residential), Fringe, hinterland and remote rural areas comprising a number of villages which have direct or indirect contact with the central city. The growth of suburban region is linked with various elements: gradual expansion of commercial and industrial enterprises, deconcentration, growing network of transport and communication, extension of urban services beyond the periphery, and the rise of sub-urban class. Trends of functional interdependence and differentiation within metropolitan region can be understood with the help of Diagram No.1.

Located within the circle No.1 the metropolitan centre (M.C.) or the Central City which is surrounded by the urban fringe.

Obviously, the Central City is the nucleus of regional urban framework, which has the formal administrative boundary indicated.

Diagram 1

Functional Interdependence Within an Urban Region.

References:
M.C. - Metropolitan Centre or City
T.S. - Township
P.C. - Primary Centres
1. - City Nucleus
2. - Urban Fringe
3. - Hinterland
4. - Remote Rural

within the first circle. Its normal and semi-administrative boundary extends to the circle No.2 which is accompanied by a discontinued circle indicating the process of its further extension. The circle No.2 corresponds to the urban fringe where the main-industrial/residential sub-urbs can be located. The Circle No.3 corresponds to the hinterland which immediately follows the urban fringe. In fact, most of the townships/growth centres (TS) can be located within the hinterland which is in the process of being gradually urbanized. And, finally in the circle No.4 can be located relatively remote rural areas functioning as primary service centres (PS) that ensure the supply of raw material of primary/tertiary industries of the central city. Twin arrows indicate the two fold relationship between the Central City (MC) and township (TS) as also between township and relatively remote rural sector comprising primary service Centres (PS). The principal assumption behind this general scheme of drawing concentric circles around a given metropolitan centre is that all the types of cities (traditional/religious, commercial/political, and industrial manufacturing) are linked with their environment mainly through economic relations constituting the necessary ground for the operation of various social forces and processes that facilitate extension and reinforcement of city boundaries. And the significant changes brought forth by these forces in social and cultural spheres, strongly favour the process of political socialization of urban as well as rural population which is scattered over a vast territory of an urban region.
When we examine the perspective of social change as associated with the process of urbanisation, the obvious conclusion which emerges before using that urban region represent a vast area which comprises different parts from city nucleus to urban fringe, hinterland and remote rural areas. Any form of change, structural or cultural, in any part of the system tends to influence the other parts. And this is because different communities living in these areas interact with each other in terms of man power, economic resources and cultural heritage. From this viewpoint movement of individuals from one part of the given urban region with lower order of services to the areas with higher order of services becomes the most crucial factor in the diffusion of urban ideas and values. This is why in recent years migration has been highlighted as one of the most important factors of social change because it symbolises social dynamics of a given society. The physical mobility of the individuals in search of employment opportunity for the betterment of the social positions leads to obvious changes in occupational positions, thereby paving the way for the emergence of a new social structure and significant shifts in the cultural orders of the society as a whole. Therefore, there is an obvious relationship between migration of whatever form and occupational mobility involving visible changes in the occupational and economic positions of the individuals in terms of a hierarchy. Migration and occupational mobility together constitute the most congenial condition of structural change as well as institutional diversification. It is from this view that the present study
is undertaken in order to explore the patterns of social change which are associated with patterns of migration and occupational mobility. We can discuss these three factors, separately so as to seek logical relationship between them in terms of structural and cultural transformation of the society.

(1) MIGRATION

Migration is a process of movement of people from one defined geographical area to another. Such movement during a time interval involving change of residence, plays a significant role as an agent of socio-economic and demographic change, both in sending and receiving areas. It has been the key factor in the growth of cities and also in the modern world of science and technology. As for growth of cities during the 19th century is often regarded as the result of a great migratory movement from farm to the town. It has, further, been observed that immigration has played the largest role in the growth of French and Italian Cities than in German, the Scandinavian and finally in English Cities.

The term as used in the social sciences refers to geographical movements of individuals or groups. In specialised literature types of migration are distinguished, e.g. internal and external, voluntary and involuntary, primary and secondary, complete and incomplete, constructive or innovating, short term or long term.

International agencies have endeavoured to provide a definition in order to make possible the preparation of comparable statistics of migration and immigration. The International labour office suggested that 'statistics' of permanent migration should cover every person passing from the country to another for more than a year, whatever may be the reason for their removal. The statistics of temporary migration should cover every person, who passes from one country to another for more than a month and, not more than a year, for the purpose of carrying on an occupation.  

In the light of discussion between statistical experts in this field and of current usage, both common and technical, the U.N. Department of social Affairs placed within the category of migrants those travellers who are not: (a) Tourists, businessmen, students, transit passengers, (b) residents in frontier areas engaging the frequent frontier traffic, (c) refugees, displaced persons, transferred population, the two important groups which remain are: (i) Those who come seeking employment either permanent or seasonal or temporary, and (ii) dependents of such persons. Thus latter groups constitute the migrants; and their movements constitute migration.  

The main movements of populations throughout the world are distinguished between primary and secondary migrations. The former meant occupation of hitherto uninhabited territories while the latter involved Contact with an indigenous population and consequent

social adaptation; secondary migrations differ from primary in many respects. They are slower, because the resistance is that of Humanity to Humanity and they are violent because dispossession is the object. They are partial, abortive, followed by their exterminations, as the case may be.¹⁰

R. Mayo-Smith¹¹ distinguished between internal and external migrations. The former took place within the limits of single nation state and the latter crossed international boundaries giving rise to migration and immigration. Other writers such as A.M. Carsauders¹² made a further distinction between inter-continental and intra-continental migration. The latter also draw attention to the difficulty in giving a precise definition to the term migrant for statistical purpose. Who is migrant? one who leaves a country in order to take up permanent residence in another country, it may be replied yes, but intention is not enough. The migrants must fulfill it, and then the question arises how long he must. Live in a new country in order to be considered a resident.

Most migrations are a voluntary response to an expectation that if removed, will lead to an increase in overall gratification or a diminution of deprivation. But there are also the forced

migrations of those who are expelled by invaders, taken as slaves, involved in compulsory transfers of population or who are refugees from religions or political persecution. Having been coerced into emigrating the latter sometimes find themselves unable to complete the process by becoming acceptable immigrants in another country. They are then compelled to remain in camps for displaced persons under international supervision. In this respect emigration and immigration are not merely the same phenomenon seen from different points of view, but may involve 'incomplete migration'.

A distinction has been made between conservative migration, which involves radical change. It has been pointed out also that some international migration are part of the process of urbanisation, and the grossing of national boundaries merely incident to it. Studies of international migration since the second world war have also recognised that increasing numbers of people, while fulfilling international definition of migrants, are only short-term residents in the receiving country. They either remigrate or return to their former country, not because they are dissatisfied or maladjusted, but because this was their original intention having achieved their particular goals.

The form of population movement which in course of cultural evolution follows dispersion (Q.V.) The participants are sufficiently advanced is economic culture, intelligence, and geographical knowledge so that they are conscious of a true destination. The movement is planned, purposeful, and deliberate. The movement is as rapid as the available means of transportation make possible. Migration as a whole falls within the historical period and manifests for chief distinct forms: Invasion (Q.V.), conquest (Q.V.), colonization (Q.V.), and immigration (Q.V.)

A coordinated voluntary movement of a considerable number of people from an accustomed habitat to a new one. The outcome of migration depends upon possibilities of gaining a foothold in the region. Gino has described migration as a process that expresses those basic changes which are transforming the world a planet of cities and metropolises. As cities grow they continue to 'Import' population, although urban communities also grow by natural increase, that is the excess of urban over deaths.

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Mehta has treated migration as an act of movement or special mobility. This involves defining space-differentiating between the place of origin and destination. Thus generally movement from one community to another community is taken as migration.\textsuperscript{19}

Various migration studies in recent years indicate that although a considerable number of migrants more from one city to another, yet the bulk of them move from rural areas into cities. Thus a sizable population of the section of population of all other centres specially of the in-migrants is both rural and urban.

Urban areas in India, as their studies show, have grown significantly in size by receiving in migrants from the rural areas. The available data on urbanization indicate that the extent of urbanization was about the same, during 1951-61 as during 1941-51 though its character was a little different Zachakariah points out that during 1951-61 the boom of rural-urban migration fell to 5.2 million from 8.2 million during 1941-51, recording a fall of 37\%. This data indicates that the urban population has swollen move by natural increase than in migration during 1951-61.\textsuperscript{20} As hish Bose (1980) has estimated that during 1951-61 natural increase in urban population was of the order of 10 to 12 million, while

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19} Mehta, B.C., Regional population growth, A case study of Rajasthan, Resequly Book Jaipur, 1978.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Zachakariah, K.C. and J.P. Armenmavar ; Population, Redistribution in Indian- Inter-state in rural-urban, Mimeographed paper presented at a Seminar on population Institute of Economic growth, Delhi, 1964.
\end{itemize}
net rural-urban migration was of the order of 5.7 million.  

Sovani has also indicated that in migration is not, as generally believed, of pre-dominantly 'push type'. He has asserted that rural situation though socio-economically backed is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for a rural urban migration. In view of these factors must be interpreted in the overt demographic context. According to him push factors operate in the cities also and as such `there is term, 'push back factors.' All these authors believe that tendencies of population increase in the urban centre do not necessarily fit into the much professed modes of a hard pressed rural population. We are pushed out to urban areas in respect of employment opportunity.

(It is true that there are not always clear steams of migration from rural to urban areas but there is a high rate of turn over migration indicating push to and fro. However, the actual patterns of such increase to certain extent contradicts this stand. It is well known that 80% of India's population leaves in rural areas. Yet one can observe that there has been a gradual and steady growth in the urban population also, during 1951-71, for example the urban population of country increased by 37.83%. The corresponding figure for the state of Bihar is 44.45%. The growth in rural


population has increased by 21.7% and that was the state of Bihar by 19.13% only. The cultivators and agricultural workers constitute a little over one third of the working populations in India as well as in Bihar. The factory workers however also form a sizeable group. Figures in this context indicate that there were about 49.38 lakhs factory workers in India and 2 lacs 79 thousands in the state of Bihar during 1970. This fact indicates that the industrial or factory workers consisting of a significant proportion of rural migrants have to play a crucial role in the economic development of the country as a whole, as also of the state of Bihar which, itself is known for backwardness in social as well as economic spheres of national life.

(Migration is one of those important areas which have many dimensions that require an integral perspective of analysis so as to highlight not only the factors and constraints but also their implications for the social life and society as a whole. If individuals or groups of individuals migrated from village to cities or in certain cases from city to city, the obvious implication is a significant increase in the scale of society. In other words, human concentration of particular areas cannot be explained merely by referring to the development of urban characteristics including proliferation of and multiplications of the existing township. The individuals who lived in such areas are not only the part of their immediate urban environment but also ensure and perpetuate the social and cultural conditions of communities of origin. Besides there is inevitable economic interdependence between the communities of organization and the migrants in the
farm of aliens. Empirical study has shown that the every village community develops because the migrants inspite of the physical distance subtained both economically and culturally the development of their own communities. Instance of such interdependence between the village communities and migrants have been indicated extensively by Rao (1976). Given this perspective, it is fallacious to view migration as merely a demographic phenomenon because migration brings about significant changes in the characteristics of population composition. It is itself a symbol of on-going process of social change, which is not confined to particular groups of migrants but engulfs the major portion of their actual in so-far as social, Psychological, cultural and political implications are concerned. From this viewpoint, migration is important area of study. However, it has been generally studied in demographic and economic perspective only. A review of available literature shows that little effort has been done to highlight cultural and political dimensions of migration. It is only in recent years that some studies for explaining these dimension have been conducted but they have been peripheral rather than intensive in approach. Myron weiner has tried to highlight only the problem of cultural assimilation rather than multifacetal characteristics of migration as a process of social change and even as a vehicle of general as well as specific modernization.

23. Rao, M.S.A.; Urbanization and social change, A study of rural community on a metropoliton frings, New Delhi, orient longmans 1970
24. Weiner, Myron; Sons of the soil, "Ethnic conflict among the Migrant."
Before we try to highlight the changes in behaviour and outlook of urban migrants, it would be worth while to examine the relationship between migration and urbanization.

While urbanization is a complex process including many and different aspects, there is a necessity to understand the fact that both internal and external migration, constitute the most important elements in urban dynamics. Obviously, urban demographic growth is caused by population movements and migration itself as a social process is an expression of those basic changes, which are transforming the nature and shape of actual community under the influence of cities and metropolises. Migration as a physical mobility of individuals from one place to another, which is propelled by the changes in the system of new needs, ideas and expectations, is the pre-condition of the process of urbanization. It is this process of migration which sustains the process of urban growth by way of diversified economic activity in terms of the probability of the needed man's power; of course, the migrants in the urban setting, in the beginning, are raw hand but with the passage of time such individuals acquire those skills and specific knowledge which fit them into a number of urban jobs. It means that the migrating individuals are characterized by aspiration to better their economic position by acquiring needed skills and efficiency. The urban environment itself has the inbuilt mechanism of fulfilling their expectations by way of offering a range of jobs and occupations which ensure their gradual and upward mobility in terms of the process of migration.
in its initial phase involves only physical displacement. It also implies a psychic mobility in terms of new ideas, attitudes, and aspirations, which characterise the urban environment. From this viewpoint, migration is a crucial phase of the general process of urbanization. Here it would be necessary to point out the fact that urbanization is an ongoing process of social change which involves transformation of social life in terms of not only economic imperative of social life, but also certain psychological attributes, which make this process of change meaningful and far reaching in implication. Gibbs has indicated that the process of urbanization must be analysed in terms of three basic dimensions, namely, economic and demographic variables, the social cultural variable and their psychological or behavioural implications. Unfortunately, the process of urbanization itself has been generally viewed as changes in the economic bases of social life which result from unprecedented human settlement of migrant population in particular areas. This fragmentary view of urbanization had led to the proposition that urbanization is merely a concomitant process of migration. This is perhaps because that studies of migration and urbanization have been dominated by demographers, who treat the changes in population composition and its growth as key factors for explaining the whole process of change in the bases of community life.


26. Bose, Ashish, R.N. Agarwala, Davel Thorner, Pierre George, R. Singh, 'India's Urbanization; India's population.'
As for the progress of migration, we have not so far devised such conceptual tools as to analyse it in a comprehensive framework of reference which can correspond to various overt and covert dimensions of the process of migration. As a matter of fact for a systematic analysis of migration, we have required to distinguish its three dimensions, which are interlinked processes. These dimensions are the decision to migrate, the actual transfer of physical displacement and the acculturation into urban society.

When we examined available literature, we find that the most of the studies of migration are chiefly concerned with quantum and the magnitude of the second dimensions only. The two other dimensions have been only marginally referred to or even completely ignored. We, therefore, feel that the present studies a particular stress on the third dimension of migration that is a acculturation into urban society will have to be made and this will require special efforts for throwing light on the process of cultural assimilation. Obviously this cannot be done unless we have the knowledge and an understanding of the whole process of migration including the process which occurs in the place of origin. The outcome of the decision to migrate in actual physical transfer to the city, is accompanied by a propensity to adopt new ways of thinking and behaviour in a different social and cultural environment.

Philip M. Hauser\(^{27}\) has suggested three levels of the analysis of migration. These levels are objective level, normative level and psycho-social level. We can analyse the process of migration in terms of

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of these levels so as to throw adequate light on the nature and effects on assimilation. Let us briefly discuss these levels of analysis of migration and also the implications of the process of assimilation that accompanies the actual physical transfer to the city.

Generally 'Rural-Urban' migration is analysed in terms of push and pull factors that is the circumstances and factors of migration that characterized social and economic life of the community and the factors which attracted such migration in the urban areas. Thus, it has been frequently observed that, while rural-urban migration in developed countries is related mainly to increases in the labour demand created by urban industrial growth in many developing nations mass movements towards the cities take place even when such new and better employment opportunities are extremely low or even completely lacking. In this case, we have a different combination of forces in which the weight of the push factors in the countryside is much stronger than pull factors in the urban areas. In other instances we may even find situations in which rural conditions, although actually improving are still insufficient to countervail overwhelming incentives radiating from the cities. Analogous mechanisms may be used, of course to describe not only the existence and degree of rural-urban migration, but also the lack of it.
While this approach may be quite useful in certain respects, it must be recognized that it has the risk of over simplifying the process, reducing it to a kind of mechanical balance of external impersonal forces. At the same time it seems to put an excessive emphasis on 'rational' or instrumental motivations, not taking into account the possible complexity of the psychological process which results in a decision to move or to stay. For purpose of macroscopic analysis using mainly aggregate data this model may be adequate. But when the research is aiming at a study of migration differentials, a description of the adjustment, participation and acculturation of migrants in urban areas, and a causal analysis of the major factors associated with these processes, the model to be used must take into account not only push and pull factors but, also, the other social, cultural and subjective conditions under which such factors operate both at the place of residence and at the place of destination.
In fact, we suggest the convenience of distinguishing three levels of analysis: an objective level, a normative level and a psycho-social level.

Under this heading we will include two main categories: on one side the push and pull factors, and the other the nature and conditions of communications, accessibility and contact between rural and urban areas, or in more general terms, between place of origin and place of destination.

Push and pull factors are well known and there is no need to describe them here. It is necessary, however, to indicate that we should not limit ourselves to the contrasts between rural and urban conditions if we want to cover all kinds of urban migrations. In many countries (either developing or advanced ones) migration may and does occur between urban places, generally between cities of different size and characteristics, and in such urban centres attractive and repulsive forces operate and influence the flow of in- or out-migration.

Communications and accessibility between place of origin and place of destination are another set of objective factors which condition migration (formal and informal contacts, mass media, transportations system, distance, costs and so forth).

Objective conditions do not operate in a vacuum: they operate in a normative and a socio-psychological context. Not only criteria

of what must be considered bad or good conditions, attractions or repulsions are to be found in the norms, beliefs and values of the society of origin, but also attitudes and behaviour patterns which in this society regulate migration. That is: at the normative level institutionalized role, expectations and behaviour pattern will provide the framework within which the persons will perceive and evaluate them. It is well known that one frequent trait of many rural areas, and in general of more traditional societies (with such exceptions as nomad peoples, and the like), is the emphasis on stability, isolation and fixation of the people to the native soil. In industrial and more fully modernized societies, ecological mobility is just another possible answer (among many) to certain situations. While in the former it is normally expected, and even in some cases, it is considered deviant behaviour and negatively sanctioned, in the latter ecological mobility is at least permitted, if not actually facilitated and emphasized.

The normative pattern may also facilitate the migration of certain categories of persons, while making difficult the migration of others, as for instance is the case in the migration of women which may depend on their status within the society. In any case, norms and values must be considered as intervening variables in the analysis of the impact of push and pull factors. What to an outside observer would appear as exceptionally bad economic conditions, will not operate as a push factor at all if they correspond to a traditional pattern which not only is institutionalized in the norms, values and beliefs of the society but also, continues to
operate as an internalized expectation in the minds of the people.
This last observation indicates, however, that the knowledge of
ideal norms and values alone is not enough for the study of migra-
tion; here arises the need of a third level of analysis.

At the psycho-social level the attitudes and expectations
of concrete individuals must be taken into account. In a perfectly
integrated society with no deviants from the ideal pattern, the
normative framework would be accurately reflected in the internal-
ized attitudes and expectations of the people. Another basic condi-
tion for the maintenance of such integration would be that objective
conditions do correspond to the expectation attitudes and actual
behaviour. Such a situation of perfect or quasi perfect correspon-
dence between the three levels (objective conditions, normative frame-
work and internalized attitudes) will be in fact extremely rare to
find, and it must be remembered that a certain proportion of deviance
must be considered normal in every society. In present developing
nations, the opposite situation will be much more frequent, if not
universal. Lack of correspondence may occur in a variety of manners:
changes in the objective conditions (such as over-population, low
wages, war, etc.) may make it impossible to carry on the social
actions as expected by the institutionalized framework and the inter-
nalized roles and attitudes; or changes in the expectations may
have been brought about by cultural contacts, mass communication,
etc.; or perhaps, as is more likely, different causes of change may
operate simultaneously. In any case, either directly or indirectly,
the psychological level will be involved, and the way in which indi-
individual attitudes are affected conditions precisely, not only the
decision to emigrate, but also the character of the migration, and
the subsequent behaviour of the migrant in the receiving society.

Let us emphasize that we are not reducing the causes of migra-
tion solely to a psychological process; what we are trying to point
out is the need to use a psychological and a normative context in
order to understand the working of the objective factors. Further-
more it must be remembered that this or an equivalent conceptual
scheme must be used in analysing all the stages of the migration
process, that is, not only the decision to migrate, but also the
acculturation and adjustment to the receiving society. In fact,
the objective conditions existing there, such as job opportunities,
housing, salaries, educational facilities and the like, as well as
norms, beliefs and values which characterize the urban society and
its component social groups, will exercise a profound impact on
the reception of the migrants and their integration.

Finally it must be stressed that the several elements
so far indicated do not operate atomistically; on the contrary
they are closely interdependent. The emphasis on analytical disti-
uctions should not lead us to forget the basic fact that, in the
empirical process to be observed, those elements constitute a
specific configuration rather than a mere collection of isolated
traits.

This broad conceptual scheme must now be focused on the specific
problem of the assimilation of migrants in urban areas. It is well
known that this concept is rather ambiguous. On the one side we have a series of terms which refer to the same or related phenomena on the other, quite often, the same term has different meanings. This is not the place for a terminological and theoretical discussion on this topic; we will rather start by distinguishing a minimum number of notions which will allow us to identify the most important phenomena and processes relevant for the study of assimilation in urban areas: adjustment, participation, acculturation.

The notion of adjustment refers to the manner in which the migrant performs his roles in the various spheres of activity in which he participates. Here the interest of the observer is focused on the migrant himself: it is his personal adjustment which is studied, that is, his ability to perform the roles without excessive or unbearable psychological stress. There are, of course, a variety of ways of defining adjustment: what must be stressed here is the need to distinguish as clearly as possible this particular aspect from all the others.

With the concept of participation we assume the standpoint not of the individual migrant but of the receiving society. Here we must distinguish again at least three different dimensions. In the first place we may ask about the extent and degree of his participation: how many and which roles is he performing within the institutions, social groups and various sectors of the urban society. This interest will include participations as well as
non-participation, and participation in non-urban structures; for instance, how much is he still connected (that is, participates), with his original community? Or, very often - and if he is participating in institutions and social groups located ecologically within the boundaries of the urban area in which he is living - to what extent do these belong to the urban society proper? In the second place we may inquire about the efficiency with which roles are performed, efficiency to be defined from the standpoint of the receiving institutions and groups and the values of the receiving society. Thirdly we may be concerned about the reception given by the urban society: how its social groups and institutions react with regard to the migrants and their participation. Here we may be confronted with situations of accepted, non-accepted and conflictual participation. Perhaps we could speak in this respect of integration, referring specifically to the degree of accepted and/or non-conflictual participation. This distinction means that a group of migrants could be participant in a particular urban structure, without being integrated into it, if the group is performing roles within the said structure, but such activity is resisted or non-accepted by other relevant groups in the same structure (the common cases of racial and political conflicts).

By acculturation we indicate the process (and the degree) of acquisition and learning by the migrant of urban ways of behaviour (including roles, habits, attitudes, values, knowledge). As noted by anthropologists, such process will not take place without having some influence on the receiving society. This aspect must be remembered, even if it is not always considered very important from the point of view of a study chiefly concerned with the assimilation of urban migrants. Another observation is more in order. Acquisition of
new cultural traits may occur in different ways; it may consist of relatively superficial learning, or it may penetrate deeply into the personality. It may be more or less internalized and the subject may feel more or less involved in the new behaviour pattern. By internalization we mean the process by which the trait becomes part of the personality of the individual in which case a completely internalized behaviour pattern would be experienced as a spontaneous expression by the subject himself. Through the normal socialization and learning process within the family, during childhood, the migrant has internalized the culture of his society of origin; in the new urban setting he is confronted with the need of acquiring new roles, new knowledge, and also new attitudes and new values. But in such re-socialization, he may achieve sometimes a sufficient, but not deeply experienced knowledge of the new behaviour patterns; and sometimes he may achieve a deeper level of internalization. In the field of attitudes and values the re-socialization may lead to a deep involvement and identification with the new urban pattern, to a very superficial acceptance, or to a more or less complete rejection.

The recognition of such different forms and degrees of acculturation is sometimes of paramount importance. Intellectual learning is easier than the acquisition of traits where the emotional and affective components dominate, such as attitudes, values, or behaviour patterns associated with given fields of interpersonal relations. It is well known that the rural migrants are able to acquire with relative speed new technical skills; at the same time,
However, their acculturation to new types of modern industrial social relations in the factory or in the union will usually require much more time, and may not be achieved so completely.

There are some further observations to be formulated in connexion with the three notions of adjustment, participation and acculturation. All of them refer both to a certain state of affairs at a given moment, and to a process in time: in this sense the interests of the research may be centred on one or the other, or both. One may want to assess which is the degree of adjustment, participation, etc, as it may be observed at a certain period, and/or one may want to study the process by which the migrants are adjusting to the urban conditions. This distinction seems obvious enough, and different techniques will be employed in each case. Furthermore the three processes are not necessarily simultaneous and associated in the same group or in the same individual. This of course, is the primary reason for introducing such distinctions. Also, a given degree of adjustment (or participation, or acculturation) may be achieved in one sphere of activity, and not in another. A person may be (or feel) quite adjusted with regard to the concrete technical tasks required in his job, and be unable to bear the psychological stresses introduced by the impersonal human relations. Acculturation to certain traits does not involve acculturation to others, participation in given urban groups may be performed with insufficient acculturation, etc. It is true that, at least with regard to certain spheres of activity, adjustment, participation and acculturation will
usually go together, but incongruities between different spheres of activity may be quite frequent.

Concerning this possibility it must be noted that while most migrants will be able at least to perform a number of roles, which are the minimum required to continue to live in the urban areas, they will remain nonetheless segregated or alien to a number of other activities, which on the contrary may be considered normal for the native urbanite of the same education and socio-economic status. For instance, they are likely to have a job, to use public services, to buy goods, etc, and in this sense they must have acquired the knowledge needed to carry on these activities and perform the various roles involved in the corresponding social situations. At the same time, however, the same persons may well continue to live in an encapsulated neighbourhood formed by migrants of the same origin, maintaining or trying to maintain the same culture of their village or place of origin, and close interpersonal relations with friends and kin groups still residing there, while living physically in the city, and even participating in a number of urban activities, these migrants remain partially or totally alien to other important sectors of the urban life, such as certain forms of leisure, union participation, politics, voluntary association and the like.

The preceding two sections will have suggested to the reader the complexity of situations characterizing migration and the variety of factors which may condition such processes. While it
would be impossible to give a complete and coherent survey of them, not only because of the limited scope of the present chapter, but also on account of the still very imperfect state of our theoretical and empirical knowledge, we will attempt to indicate the kind of data the researcher should look for in a study devoted to migration of emigrants in urban areas.

In the present section we will be concerned chiefly with what we have called the first two stages in the process: decision to migrate and actual transfer; we will thus examine the kind of data needed for such analysis and, in particular, data on: (a) characteristics of the place of origin; (b) characteristics of the migrants before migration; (c) motivation to emigrate; and (d) circumstances of the transfer.

While it is unusual to find studies on urban migration which include systematic surveys actually conducted in the place of origin and on the migrant groups previous to migration, most of them gather information on both topics, either by analysis of secondary sources, or by direct inquiry on the migrants after migration. Knowledge about the place of origin is necessary not only because its characteristics will deeply influence the type of migration but, also, because the degree of similarity or the difference between the place of origin and the place of destination (that is, the cultural distance), is an important factor in itself in conditioning the incorporation of the migrant to the urban way of life.
On the other hand, for purposes of comparison with changes subsequent to migration, the information on the place of origin (and the characteristics of the migrant groups) should be fairly well detailed. For instance, a general description of the main institutions—family, work and economy, religion, politics, education, etc.—and their functioning constitutes very important background information against which the observations made on the migrants in the city could be compared. Of special importance will be the data related to degree of economic development and of cultural modernization and the particular aspects which may characterize the place of origin from the point of view of the transition from less modern to more modern or more traditional to less traditional structure: forms of land tenure, degree of concentration of land ownership, extent of monetary or subsistence economy, degree of the integration of the area into the national market, kind of social relations prevailing in the field of work and economy, as well as in other orders of life.

Unfortunately, the researcher will seldom find previous studies or even primary data on such essential topics. However, it would not be advisable to restrict oneself only to the material gathered through the migrants interviewed in the city, and efforts should be made to have at least an approximate picture through other sources or even personal acquaintance.

One conspicuous example of thorough analysis of the society of origin is the classical study on the Polish peasant by Thomas and Znaniecki. It is well known that these authors included in their
book on the assimilation of the Polish immigrant in America a deep analysis of the Polish peasant society, its main institutions and the process of individual and social disorganization. Their study was based on collections of letters, newspapers, biographic material complemented by ethnographic sources, other systematic studies and their own knowledge of the Polish society. In those developing countries in which an indigenous population still lives in folk or tribal societies, there may exist an important body of ethnographic and anthropological studies which may contribute a great deal to a complete picture of the nature of sending societies, of their present degree of integration, and of the characteristics of the groups from which the migrants are drawn. Such are, for instance, the cases of Africa and the Indo-mestizo countries in Latin America. In most cases the authors do not perform specific analyses of the place of origin, but employ their knowledge of other information about it mostly for comparison with the receiving society and as a basis for inference as needed when studying problems of acculturation.

Sometimes, summary comparisons between place of origin and place of destination may be quite useful in giving the general context within which a more detailed analysis may be conducted.

Often, the most readily available information relevant to some of these general topics is found in census data and other analogous statistics. City size and non-agricultural employment are two of the best known indicators of modernization and economic
development. However, even though both are often associated with such processes, it would be quite misleading to rely exclusively on them. Not only for theoretical, but also for empirical reasons, they must be considered as different processes. In fact, we have both modernized rural areas and traditional cities. In some of the more advanced countries, rural-urban differentials—with regard to demographic, social, cultural and psycho-social characteristics—have diminished considerably. In such cases, the cultural distance between modernized rural areas, small and large cities, may be not very large or non-existent at all. An analogous situation of reduced cultural distance is often found in those developing countries where traditional patterns still prevail both in urban and rural areas. However, considerable internal discontinuities in degree of modernization will be quite normal in most developing countries and not uncommon in developed ones.

According to the previous indications, city size and proportion employed in non-agricultural activities should always be completed with other data regarding areas of emigration, such as fertility, general mortality and infant mortality rates, size of family, proportion employed in factory industry, size of plants, per capita income, proportion of middle socio-occupational strata, literacy and other educational rates, proportion of voters, proportion of union affiliation, newspaper circulation, radio and television sets in operation, etc.

In addition to indicators relevant to degree of modernization, what we could call degree of disintegration of the traditional...
order should be explored. Attitude change, new expectations, partial refusal of old values, beliefs and obligations, and other kinds of innovating behaviour could be inferred often from the degree of modernization assessed on the basis of demographic and other indicators suggested above. However, especially in the early transitional stages, psycho-social changes most relevant to migration—i.e., spread of attitudinal deviations from predominant values and norms—may well precede the kind of change likely to be detected by the said indicators.

Size and composition of in-and out-migration from the area of origin should be carefully analysed if possible, not only to assess the demographic characteristics of the migrants, but also in relation to the nature of the migration and of the sending society as a whole. For instance a high rate of out-migration from an otherwise traditional setting would suggest the hypothesis, worth exploring of the advanced disintegration of the old order, or perhaps of the existence of overwhelming push factors; the selectivity of the migration should be rather low. On the contrary, a low rate, in a society at an equivalent traditional stage, should be interpreted as highly selective, and probably not related to disintegrating processes.

Information on the society in which the migrants were born and lived before migration is not sufficient to ascertain the various factors which may intervene in their decision to migrate, producing different propensities and various kind of motivations,
and in their subsequent behaviour in the city.

We distinguish two types of characteristics: socio-cultural (including biosocial or demographic) aspects, and individual attributes.

Among the first the most known and universal are age and sex: most migration are characterized by such differentials, various kinds of societies and configurations of conditions will originate different propensities among the various groups of age and also will induce different proportions of family or individual migration. But not less important than these are education and occupation which will be highly important in themselves and, also, for the fact of their close correlation with other variables, such as standard of living income, housing or, in more general terms, socioeconomic status which usually is taken to include all of them together with occupation and education.

Intelligence and other psycho-social traits related to the propensity for innovating attitudes, high aspirations, leadership and the like, are among the most prominent individual characteristics.

It may be seen that the distinction among the two types of characteristics is not very clear: on one side all the socio-cultural characteristics are expressed—empirically—as individual attributes, no less than those labelled as individual and psychological. On the other side, the latter are not (or not always)
independent from the socio-cultural aspects (e.g., intelligence, etc.) and may be differentially distributed among the various socio-economic strata, etc. The reason for the distinction will be made clear, once we analyse the role it has in the analysis of motivation, adjustment and acculturation. The socio-cultural characteristics affect individuals, not qua individuals, but by the fact of their belonging to a certain category, social group or social stratum. Females are not only a category defined by biological characteristics, but also by a specific status, defined by a set of norms and values. It is precisely this status which will forbid, make difficult or facilitate migration. And, of course such status is part of the social structure of the society.

The same can be said of the other categories and of those defined by the socio-economic strata, a category which may be thought of as combining occupation, education and the other variables indicated above. People belonging to the same socio-economic stratum are exposed to analogous conditions, which will facilitate or prevent migration, determine the kind of migration, facilitate or or make difficult adjustment and acculturation. This can be seen quite easily with regard to economic conditions: unemployment or low wages affect some socio-economic strata, not others; forms of land tenure or land-population ratio impinge only on given categories of peasants, etc. But the same considerations may be made with regard to values, norms and attitudes; socio-economic strata may constitute to a certain extent specific 'sub-cultures' characterized by different normative frameworks and, consequently,
endowed with different propensities to migration and eventually to assimilation. More than that: in transitional societies, the different biosocial and socio-economic categories may be differentially exposed to the process of disintegration of the old order and to attitudinal changes. While the conditions which affect one given stratum may have left it unchanged, so that most of its individual members still feel and behave according to the traditional pattern, in another stratum this may be impossible because of modifications in the objective conditions, or because of changes in attitudes perhaps as a result of differential exposure to communication media. A given socio-economic group may feel so frustrated that it may, even in a society which forbids or discourages migration, resort to it.

'Individual traits' operate within the general framework set by the categories as defined by socio-cultural characteristics. Even if a considerable proportion of the younger people or the women, or the labourers want to emigrate (or actually do emigrate) there will be others who prefer to stay. There is always a selection and the factors which condition such selection, within the socio-cultural category, must be sought precisely in differences in intelligence, needs for achievement, etc. Under given conditions it will be the more intelligent, or the high achievers who will emigrate, or who will be more readily acculturated.

It must be noted that the two categories of attributes are employed as explaining factors in the motivation to migrate and in their subsequent behaviour: however, they do not exhaust all
the causation, in both aspects. A third series of factors may and do intervene: these we could call purely random factors, such as idiosyncratic traits, biographical accidents and the like. We have not included them in the categories to be taken into account because the research is focused on discovering regularities, on determining the given probability of occurrence of certain behaviour in a category of individuals and not on predicting individual behaviour as such. It could be further noted that sometimes what in most situations is considered a 'biographical accident' turns out to be, under different circumstances, a common condition affecting all the persons classified in a given category. But in such cases it is precisely because of its nature of common condition, affecting a whole stratum, age group, etc, that it will be not considered by the researcher, as an individual, biographical occurrence.

Sources of data for the characteristics discussed so far are approximatively the same as those indicated with regard to the place or area of origin, and similar difficulties and limitations are likely to arise in this respect. Usually the census will give at least a modicum of information which may offer a picture of the demographic characteristics of the migrants, for instance, age and sex groups, often by place or area of origin. Such data may allow a comparison to ascertain to what extent are they drawn disproportionately from certain categories. In some cases such comparisons may be extended to other attributes, such as education. In any case, however,
the migrants and the comparison must be based on this group as against data regarding the population of the place of origin. As for intelligence and other psychological characteristics, usually a special study will be required, if one includes in the research design this kind of attributes.

The study of motivation is a strategic point in the whole research: on the one side, to understand it correctly, all the data discussed so far must be meaningfully integrated and used as a basis to interpret whatever direct information one may obtain on the individual decision to emigrate; on the other side, types of migration (e.g., permanent or transitory), types of motivation and types of migrants are closely related aspects which represent one of the basic keys to understand adjustment, participation and acculturation.

Data on the character of the migration and its motivation are generally obtained through the migrants by means of questionnaires, interviews, etc; in some cases other kinds of personal documents may be used. Surveys at the place of origin on attitudes or propensity to migration are much more scarce: their interest, however, is very high because they illuminate the total socio-psychological context which is conducive to the decision to migrate or to stay. One may also attempt to reconstruct such context by questioning the migrants contacted in the city.

Relevant literature reveals that in an overwhelming majority, 'economic' motives are imputed to migration; thus direct answers by the subjects seem to confirm the analysis made in terms of push and pull factors. We have seen, however, that migration is the outcome
of a very complex process, in which the so-called 'economic' as well as other pressures, be attractions are mediated through the peculiar values and norms of the society and the social groups to which the migrant belongs, as well as through his attitudes. As indicated earlier, though we are not concerned with discovering the peculiarities and complexities of individual motivations and decisions as such, we do emphasize the need of ascertaining the nature of the migration in so far as it is related to the social context of the place of origin and to adjustment and acculturation in the city. From this point of view we may indicate some aspects of motivation which should be explored:

1. Manifest motives, which may be reported and analysed in the usual terms of economic (low salaries, unemployment, lack of land, etc.), domestic (i.e., wish to rejoin other members), educational and other reasons (wish for new experiences, from traditional setting, higher aspiration and mobility, etc.).

2. Manifest intention of the migrant regarding the temporary or permanent character of the migration.

3. Nature of the decision, which could be analysed in terms of degree of deliberation, such as from high rational choice to sheer impulsivity, in which no conscious stage of deliberation could be detected.

There are, of course, many other aspects to be added to those just indicated. However, the scheme of analysis should be designed
according to the specific purposes of the research and also in relation to the particular circumstances of the migration which is being studied. Some examples drawn from the literature may illustrate this possibility.

Touraine, for instance, distinguishes between déplacement (displacement), where the migration is not an expression of a personal and matured design, but the result of fortuitous circumstances, occasional pressures or attractions (as when an industrial job is offered to the migrant, without deliberate effort on his side to look for one); départ (departure), where at least this intention exists and it is conscious enough; and finally mobilité (mobility), where the migration is motivated by deliberate aspirations to higher social status. It is important to note that the three modes are related to the process of assimilation in the city. In the first case the migration is likely to be transitory or, if permanent the acculturation will be lacking or incomplete participation in urban structures, as a consequence, may be very restricted, and the probability of maladjustment higher. On the contrary, in the case of mobilité, assimilation to urban life will be easier and more complete.

Another typology of mobility orientations, takes into account the connexion between occupational status and mode of decision. Here the hypothesis is advanced that the higher the status, the more frequent the 'purposive-rational' mode of decision, and vice versa, the lower the status, the more frequent the 'short-run
hedonistic' orientation. The former will be conditioned by lifelong goals, while the latter is determined chiefly by situational factors of the moment. It could be suggested that this typology should be related not only to the social stratum, but also to the degree of modernization and development in the place of origin as a whole; the more advanced the cultural modernization of this society, the more frequent 'rational-purposive' decisions, while 'short-run hedonistic' ones, will be more likely in traditional areas.

Furthermore, types of motivation are not independent of the degree of disorganization and change of the traditional order. Emigration may be a substitute for revolution; in any case it is an expression of social mobilization and, as it has been frequently observed propensity to emigrate is correlated with refusal of the traditional order.

Finally it has been suggested that types of decision may be also determined in part by the relative position of place of origin and place of destination as to prestige, and by their cultural distance: when the place of origin is still accepted, highly valued by the individuals (an indication of good integration in this society) and the cultural distance with place of destination very large, if there is migration at all, it will more likely be transitory, and the migrant will tend to isolate himself from the host society, participating in it as little as possible, and achieving little acculturation. When the cultural distance is smaller, the place of origin less valued than the place of destin-
ation, and the degree of integration in the former is rather low, the migration will tend to be permanent and the acculturation easier.

This scheme seems adaptable to many situations in developing countries, as in Africa and in Latin America, and the existence and degree of a demonstration effect between place of origin and place of destination could be used in the construction of interesting working hypotheses. Still other situations may affect the mode and type of migration. For instance, we could compare situations of mass migration with isolated migration; in the first case it may be suggested that selectivity will be low and the decision will tend to be of the 'short-run hedonistic' type; the opposite tendency should be observed in the case of isolated migration.

The most important aspect to be included here is the nature of what we could call the 'channel' through which the transfer takes place. As for all other aspects, it is not an independent feature of the process of migration. In this regard, the distinction has been made between work-related channels and kinship and friendship channels. A typical and 'pure' case of the former is the migration of the executive or other employees of a corporation or public administration, who move from one place to another, along the lines of the 'organizational network'; similar cases are the migrations of professionals and persons in other occupations which one may speak of as an 'occupational contact network', that is, a system of communication which supports the ecological mobility.
Kinship and friendship channels are best illustrated by the typical migration chains, which are so commonly found in many countries; the in-flow of migrants occurs along the chain established by the pioneers who settle in the city: friends, relatives and neighbours will then follow, finding support for location and work, as well as a powerful mechanism of adjustment to the new situation. It may be observed that these two modes of transfer are closely connected with the mode of decision and with motivation. On the other hand they are related to the process of adjustment and acculturation: it is worthwhile to mention here that the chain of migration facilitates encapsulation and alienation from full participation in the urban culture, even though, as indicated, it may give psychological support. Another important aspect related to the circumstance of the transfer, is the distinction between family and individual migration. By family we understand here the nuclear or conjugal family only. Information on this aspect, as well as on the kind of channel mentioned earlier, may be of great importance in analysing motivation and subsequent processes of assimilation in the city.

As indicated in a previous section the assimilation of migrants may be analysed in terms of three processes: adjustment, participation and acculturation. Such processes may be observed in the various spheres of activities of an individual, and in relation with the different institutions, groups and sectors of society. How deeply one goes depends on the scope and the comprehensiveness of the study, the inclusion of specific spheres and the omission
of others. The literature reveals a great variety of topics: anthropological inventories can in fact give an idea of such variety. Most of the studies, however, restrict the field of observation to a number of subjects defined according to main purposes of the research. There are, of course, some topics which are very frequent, and rarely omitted, even if different emphasis is given to them: family and kinship, work (technical, social, and psychological aspects), location and neighbourhood (material culture and social relations), mass media and other contact with the larger society, informal participation (especially political participation), education (formal and informal, special types such as technical and professional), customs and habits (clothing, food), language career patterns and social mobility (both intra- and inter-generational). Factual information on occurrences, overt behaviour, and on aspects of the material culture, as well as information on attitudes and other psychological aspects are usually included in the surveys.

Whichever may be the particular interest of the research, and the particular aspect which is emphasized (work, family, political participation, etc.), it is convenient to take into account the possibility stressed in a previous section that the same person may not achieve comparable degrees of assimilation simultaneously in all the spheres of behaviour, and that this lack of congruence may be highly important when it is not a merely idiosyncratic expression of an isolated individual, but affects whole categories - social strata, social groups - of subjects.
Each of the various aspects of assimilation (adjustment, participation, acculturation) will require specific indicators to be selected within the spheres of activity which have been in the research. The study of adjustment is also conducted at a more general level, by means of psychological tests, not necessarily related to behaviour or attitudes in specific institutions (or else including samples of many possible situations, in various areas).

The choice of indicators should be guided by the criterion of maximum discriminating power between the 'assimilated' and 'non-assimilated' behaviour (and attitudes). This, of course, involves an operational definition of 'assimilation' for each of the specific items being observed. As is well known, the determination of the validity of the indicators is one of the crucial problems in social researcher may decide in favour of a pragmatic criterion. For instance, the model or the average behaviour of the native urbanite is taken as the model against which the migrant is compared. Of course, such comparison must be restricted to what is really comparable: consideration of age, sex and socio-occupational level must be taken into account. Degree and extent of political participation of the migrant unskilled worker only may be compared with the native unskilled worker; attitudes towards the unions, or types of interpersonal relationships within the family are likewise compared, taking as a criterion the equivalent categories among the native urbanites. Many a research assumes explicitly these kinds of pragmatic criteria.

There are however, other solutions: the criterion may be not
set by an empirical but by a theoretical model. In this case a 'type' must be constructed, and this should be made in accordance with a specific theoretical background. An explicit and theoretically founded definition of 'industrial man' or the 'modern urbanite' (with all the specifications for age, sex and socio-economic strata) could be used as a criterion for comparison with the various empirical types observed in the research. It must be said that such an explicit construction is rarely found in research on urbanization and migration. More often the model is implicit and, when it does not coincide with the empirical model offered by the local urbanites, may take as a basis for comparison the examples offered by the urban society in more advanced countries. For instance, while studying the rise of 'working class consciousness' among workers of rural origin in a developing country the research may compare it with the present situation or sometimes with the historical situation in Europe and the United States. Now, this is a perfectly adequate approach, provided the relevant historical differentes are duly considered.

Comparisons with the criterion assumed as the model for 'assimilation' are not enough; a 'base-line' against which to
measure or compare the change which have occurred since the migration took place is likewise necessary, not only in explanatory studies, but also when one simply wants to describe the process. Such 'base-line' is offered by the description of the society at the place of origin and by the characteristics of the migrant, before migration. Usually here, it is not the same concrete group of migrants which is being compared: the migrants found at present in the place of destination are compared with the corresponding group observed at present in the place of origin. Such procedure has its risks, but very often it is the only one available to the researcher: in any case it should be complemented by additional data concerning possible changes which may have altered the situation at the place of origin, since the departure of the present migrants. Also, allowance for the selectivity of migration and other precautions to be taken are obvious enough. As indicated earlier, present respondents in the city and at the place of origin may report on previous situations and subsequent changes.
Migration has come to characterise the industrialising and urbanising society. Much of this migration, however, is traditional, usually, seasonal circular or marital and over given period of time attach demographic composition of both sending areas and receiving areas. In studying migration data about economic factor has been over stated and other factors such as social, political, educational and occupational have been grossly ignored even the relationship between sending and receiving areas has been analysed in terms of remittances by migrants. As if no other relationship is maintained by the migrants with those communities of origin. Even where highlighting the economic variables suffers from serious limitation. John Conneell has for example observed "on national level there are strong arguments for believing that the capacity of migrants to change such key variables as the share of people living in villages, or working in agricultural has been grossly over stated in much of the current literature". There these shares do fall, the main cause does not usually lie in mass permanent not movement of villagers to towns; rather it, lies in the fact a high national rate of population growth; (a) pushes many communities over the definitional 'borderline', between villages and towns, from one census to the next; (b) Causes some villages to expend specially until they becomes contiguous and sometimes to pass over the definitional borderline that way; (c) similarly expands the areas of many town, which 'Swallow' near by villages in the process. Moreover migration is usually sex selective, creating enormous disparities in the receiving areas in the procreative age groups but
they very small corresponding disparities in the areas of origin, so that relatively high birth rates in the latter may balance the effective as such net out migration as exists. 29

Apart from the agricultural factor other economic variables can be highlighted in order to explain the facts in migration but not in other; among these factors are village characteristics. That is rich poor composition of population, scarcity and gradual split of land, seasonal land uses, growth of non-agricultural occupations side by side the farm jobs, village location and communications, regional characteristics with a certain proportion rich and poor villages can be mentioned. Land reforms for agricultural development and governmental states taken in this regard also promote migration. In analysing such factors of migration certain important questions have been ignored, such as who decides about migrations? What are motives behind the migration? How the information about the receiving places the migration percolates down to the migrants. Apart from these economic factors, social factors should also get due attention in analysing the pattern of migration. The social factor comprise decides biological factors like sex and age the prevalent family size, family conflict and the social structure. Inside villages the social factors may also relate to marriage migration, system evidence and rites of passage; and nature of integration on village society; what determining who migrates and which factors stimulate particular section of population for out migration. Similarly the relationship between the individual and community its attitudes towards the

existing socio-cultural condition and his interaction to fellow members may also affect the nature, condition dimensions of migration. More often it has been found that the traditional social hierarchy be characterised by stresses and strains due to inevitable forces of change, itself becomes a propulsive factor of migration. In such cases, the individuals escape the social strains of conflict segregation and exploitation. Many recent studies corroborate the fact that a majority of the migrants, non-else than those who belong to lower castes or weaker sections, who have no alternative but to leave the villages and move towards the urban centre for trying their luck for embettering their social and economic lot. It has also been found that migration of these people are mostly of landless agricultural laboures, are of marginal small peasants turned peoples who migrate to urban areas in search of better opportunity to life. In some studies Correlation between education and migrants has been found but the data available in this regard are rather inadequate, the education factor theory of migration is often contradicted by the fact that the migrants; urban areas, specially those of rural background illiterate, un-educated or poorly trained even in traditional occupation.

The consequences of migration too, are many-fold. The result of migration is not confined nearly to promotion of occupational skills and as such betterment of economic position but are reflected by the marked changes in total life situation.
response to a new stimulus or situation. Change of movement of this type is called mobility.

Mobility, it is evident, involves change, new experience stimulation. Stimulation induces a response of the person to those objects in his environment which afford expression for his wishes. For the person, as for the physical organism, stimulation is essential for growth. Response to stimulation is whole some so long as it is a correlated integral reaction of the entire personality. When the reaction is segmental, that is detached from and uncontrolled by, the organisation of personality, it tends to become disorganizing or pathological. That is why stimulation for the sake of stimulation, as in the restless pursue partakes of the nature of vice.

Mobility is not migration or movement of population from one place to another. It is to be distinguished from inter-caste movement by virtue of intercaste marriage.

It is movement from one social class to another in terms of economic again, prestige and power. Class is more likely achieved, through the life chances one may have. Mobility can also be due to the movement of population from village to the city. Mobility, though natural is not universal. Its scope is limited. It is rarely from extreme low to extreme high; it is generally a short range movement. Most changes occur in the early years of ones career. Not much change generally comes in the later period. Mobility is of several types; the vertical and horizontal mobility are significant. There is also the ideal
type mobility known as the open and close mobility and, the inter-
generational mobility.

Mobility, generally refers to the vertical mobility and covers class, occupation and power. It indicates the use of opportunities that is being made to achieve improved socio-economic status. Such a mobility has always been going on. No society puts checks on progress. Mobility and contributivity is the strength of social order. But the mobility may occur upwards or downwards. The downward mobility may occur due to loss of fortune, or because one was socially.

Mobility involves the change of social status. But, these may be mobility without any change in social status and prestige. Thus when a lawyer or a doctor gives up his private practice and joins an industrial corporation as a salaried professional, there is no change in his social status. A lawyer's son may become a doctor or a doctor's son may become a lawyer, still there will be only a change in social position and not in social status.

Mobility is natural but not common, it applies to some and not to all. It contrast, the intergenerational mobility is natural and also automatic. Yet in intergenerational mobility, one may not experience just the same way as others do. The seeing eyes may miss much that should have been watched. Intergenerational mobility is taken full account of in the Ashrama system; twenty five years for each ashrama, and thus one moves from Brahmacharya to Grahastha, to Vanpar-stha and to Sanyas. It is systematic, simple and free from much complexity.
These two are the ideal types of mobility, each standing at the extreme point. Open system of mobility taking the extreme view, open system mobility, does not recognise the formal fixation of status. Social mobility is recognized and encouraged in the open system. An individual is free to improve his status and position.

Close system mobility, it concerns the close social system, as is taken to be a caste society. It is based on caste stratification. Mobility in such society generally is fixed by birth. Caste cannot be changed and therefore, the chances of mobility are limited. But these ideal types are not to be found in actual practice. There cannot be a completely open or completely close society. That is bound to affect the social equilibrium. These exists in every society, opportunities and the pathways of mobility. Caste barriers in the past did not hinder social mobility; and now there is every thing to weaken them.

The mobility of city life, with its increase in the number and intensity of stimulations, tends inevitably to confuse and to demoralise the person. Mobility may be thought of in more than a factual sense, as the 'pulse of the community'. Like the pulse of the human body, it is a process which, reflects and is indicative of all the changes that are taking place in the community, and which is susceptible of analysis into elements which may be stated numerically.

The elements entering into mobility may be classified under two main heads:
(i) the state of mutability of the person and
(ii) the number and kind of contacts or stimulations in his environment.

Mobility may be measured not only by these changes of movement, but also by increase of contacts.

The term "social mobility" refers to the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society—positions which by general consent have been given specific hierarchical values. When we study social mobility, we analyse the movement of individuals from positions possessing a certain rank to position either higher or lower in the social system. It is possible to conceive of the result of this press as a distribution of talent and training such that privileges and perquisites accrue to each position in proportion to its difficulty and responsibility. An ideal ratio between the distribution of talents and the distribution of rewards can obviously never occur in society, but the approximation to this ideal, or the failure to approximate it lends fascination to the study of social mobility.

There are two basic reasons why social mobility exists in every society.

1. Changes in demands for performance—complex societies change and whether social change is slow or rapid it leads sooner or later to a change in the demands which different positions make on those who occupy them. The few who have inherited their high positions...

30. Lipset, Seymour Martin and Reinhard Bendix: Social Mobility in Industrial Society: Heinemann, pp. 1-3,
may not have the competence to meet the responsibilities which these positions entail, yet in a society dominated by a hereditary ruling class these few exclude able individuals from lower ranks from positions of leadership. And their failure to lead, together with their exclusion of those capable of doing so, may cause tensions which will eventuate in the rise of a new social group and a subsequent attack upon the traditional prestige of the hierarchy.

2. Changes in supplies of talent - Just as there are changes in the demand for various kinds of talent, there are constant shifts in the supply. No elite or ruling class controls the natural distribution of talent, intelligence or other abilities, though it may monopolize the opportunities for education and training. As long as many of those with high abilities belonging to the lower strata there will be leaders who come from those strata.

The study of social mobility involves several analytic steps:

(i) Study of the relationship between the strating point of a person's career and the point the person has reached at the time of the analysis. Essentially, this is a comparison of the position which an individual inherits with his current position. Such data however, have little analytic value unless presented on a comparative basis, or in relation to an ideal typical society, i.e., one involving equal opportunity.

(ii) A second major question involves the relationship between social inheritance and the means of mobility. Here we may be concerned with the degree to which given background determine the level of education, the acquisition of skills, access to people at different levels in the social structure, intelligence, and
motivation to seek higher positions. The factors associated with the possession of the means of mobility are analysed through much of this study.

(iii) As yet we have little knowledge concerning the process of mobility. That is, most studies have dealt with the present and initial position of individuals, ignoring the degree to which there are patterned variations in careers.

(iv) The ultimate reason for our interest in this subject is the study of the consequences of social mobility. Unless variations in mobility rates and in the subjective experience of mobility make a difference for society or for the behaviour pattern of an individual, knowledge concerning rates of mobility will be purely academic interest. Most studies of social mobility have almost completely ignored the question of social consequences.

We defined social mobility as the process by which individuals move from one stratum of society to another. It should be noted that most cases of mobility—though by no means all—involves concurrent changes in more than one kind of position. A person who moves up in the social hierarchy will tend to change his friends, join new organisations, move to a new neighbourhood, perhaps he will even change his religious affiliation in some cases he will change his name; often he will alter his political attitudes. In more general terms, a person who raises his occupational status will normally seek also to raise his social status; the man who moves downward occupationally will try to retain his social position.
The Indian Society is in the throes of a transition. Every aspect of its life and organisation is undergoing change. Nowhere is this change so prominent, perhaps, as in the pattern of stratification and differentiation. In the place of a relatively 'classed system' of stratification, based on birth and kinship, we are now witnessing the emergence of relatively 'open system' based on merit, and achievement. Likewise, the traditional pattern of differentiation, rooted in heredity and family, is being replaced by a new pattern based on competition and specialisation of functions, which have thrown up modern occupations and professions.

In recent decades, social mobility and stratification have emerged as prominent fields of sociological enquiry. In fact, the phenomenon of mobility is intimately associated with industrial urbanism and the improved channels of transportation which have accelerated the process of migration from village to cities, movement of people from one job to another, and vertical urbanism, as a global trend, has changed the demographic composition of different regions of the world, created new hierarchical groups and classes and initiated new forms of division of labour and social differentiation. In the same way, the resolution in the channels of transportation, which started in the last century, has gradually broken the isolation of rural and tribal consumption and has brought them nearer to the cities and the industrial centres of production. As a consequence, the increased rate of migration and change from lower occupations to higher occupation resulting in changes in the pattern of status and the notions of prestige have also been emerging.
This whole process is naturally a field of interest to the students of social mobility and stratification.

In sociological traditions, since the days of Comte (1798-1857), two trends—representing the static and dynamic aspects of social life—have been operating. In the early part of the 19th century, what Comte preferred to call 'social status' and 'social dynamics', in the early quarter of the 20th century, almost the same ideas and notion emerged in the concepts of 'social control' and 'social change'. Social mobility is the part of the broader concept of 'social change'. Society as a process may be understood in terms of community and dynamism. It is a common concept of sociology that the social order is a 'state of equilibrium' between the forces of stability and mobility. Forces of stability preserve order and maintain social solidarity, whereas, the forces of mobility bring about social change and speed up the dynamism of society.

Mobility, whether physical or social, is the consequence either of migration or vertical changes in the positions of individuals, classes, and groups. Several historical evidences from ancient and medieval periods may be cited to indicate the migratory movements or population and vertical changes in the position of classes, groups and individuals in all parts of the world. But in the modern period, the growth of cities, factories, bureaucracy, and demands for new personnel and talent are the chief factors for the increasing rate of mobility. The main bases of the increasing rate of mobility are
equal opportunity to the aspirants, open competition and the sense of individual achievement and that is the reason why, the idea of mobility is rooted in the pattern of stratification and classes, which emerged along with the rise of capitalism, advent of the democratic form of power structure and the spread of industrial urbanism.

It is clear that social mobility means 'change either in the status of an individual or of a whole group'.

Mobility has been defined by different authors in different ways. The first systematic formulation of the concept, we owe to Sorokin who defined it 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. A more or less similar definition of the concept has been offered by Bendix and Lipset also. "The terms social mobility" according to them "refers to the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society positions which by general consent have been given specific hierarchical values. When we study social mobility, we analyse the movement of individuals from positions possessing a certain rank to positions either higher or lower in the social system."

A distinction\(^{31}\) is usually drawn between 'social and occupational' mobility, but the term has a very wide meaning and represent a

multi-dimensional problem. As suggested by Hall mobility is usually approached from a number of dimensions, one such dimension is the time phase of mobility. A second dimension of mobility involves its direction. In the first dimension of mobility, inter-generational and intra-generational mobility are included. Regarding the direction of mobility, three separate but often related directional axes can be identified. The first is vertical mobility, indicating up or down movement. The second axis is a change in social function that does not involve change in status or horizontal mobility. The third axis is spatial mobility, change in the location of the occupation.

Mobility as a social phenomenon is the result of multiple factors. The revolutionary changes in the system of transportation and communication have shortened the distance of time and place, resulting in a high degree of horizontal mobility in the form of immigration displacement and shift from one place to another.32

Growth of population is another factor which is producing regional and territorial mobility. Growth of population and lack of resources for living have often forced people to leave their original places and to move to other places in search of employment. The industrial mode of production has influenced even the political system of the world. Early industrialisation can easily be considered

as a factor in the rise of imperialism and colonialism. Finally, the present system of transferable services, too is one of the important factors of horizontal mobility.

In the same way vertical social mobility is also influenced by a number of factors. Sorokin has divided the factors of social mobility into primary and secondary factors. Among the primary factors are:

1. Demographic factors which lead either to the dying out of the upper strata or to their relative dimensions in the total population.
2. Dissimilarity of parents and children;
3. Change of environment, especially of the anthropo-social environment.
4. Defective social distribution of individuals within social layers.

Local and temporary factors have been included within secondary factors by Sorokin.

Apart from the above mentioned factors as discussed by Sorokin the pace and degree of vertical social mobility depend on a number of other prominent causes, viz. Pattern of stratification, educational opportunities, urbanization and the psychological motivations.

Though the degree of social mobility, and the height of individuals' aspirations may differ from group to group, yet, there is no such society which can be cited as an example of immobile society. To Lipet and Bendix there are two basic reasons why social mobility exist in every society:
(A) Change in demands for performance;
(B) Changes in supplies of talent.

As pointed out by them, during the course of social change the few, who have inherited their high positions, may not have the competence to meet the responsibilities which these positions entail; and in the same way, no elite or ruling class controls the material distribution of talent, intelligence or other abilities though it may monopolize the opportunities of education and training.

Mobility is a part of the general and broad process of social change. Mobility, whether horizontal or vertical, brings about changes in the social structure and the speed and amount of change are fastened by it.

As we have seen earlier, mobility is a multidimensional problem. In the same way, its impact and consequences are also multi-dimensional. Sorokin has divided the results of social mobility into three parts:
1. the effects of mobility on the racial composition of a society;
2. the effects of mobility on human behaviour and psychology;
3. effects of mobility in the field of social process and organization.

The influence of mobility is also visible in the social organisation. Mobility develops the sense of individuality and competitive spirit. With an increased rate of mobility, the solidarity of primary groups is broken and it affects the system of social control in a mobile society. It has been suggested that
social mobility is likely to have disruptive consequences on primary group, structures, such as family and friendship and the secondary groups are likely to be less affected. Other consequences of mobility may be change in the states pattern, political system, income and consumption pattern and system of values.

Two important problems relating to social mobility have been particularly discussed by sociologists in recent years. These are:

(a) The problems of marginal men; and
(b) the problem of reference group.

In the present day mobile societies, where a man moves from one status group or occupation to the other, he is faced with a new pattern of behaviour and values. Such a man cannot suddenly alienate himself from the previous influences and habits but at the same time he has to adjust himself to the changed conditions. Such a man neither belongs wholly to the old group nor to the new group, he is actually poised between two points and is confronted with two systems of values and is placed in a peculiar situation. This phenomenon has been called 'marginality', and the individual the 'marginal man'. Mobility and migration are responsible for changes in the individual's membership of a group also. There are two aspects of this problem:

(a) first, a man leaves his primary group or decides to leave it.
(b) Secondly, a man forms a aspires to be a member of another group.

(III) OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

After a general discussion of the concept of social mobility,
let us turn our attention to the concepts of "occupation" and "profession." Occupation is a regular activity of an individual which implies payment or remuneration.

An occupation is a kind of work a person is doing. A person whether he is in industrial society, does take up some work to earn a living. That is to say an occupation gives its follower a social position. This position can be called a set of status-role. As soon as a person holds in occupation, he is expected to behave in a socially approved pattern. That is, he is expected to perform his role which is a set of socially expected and approved behaviour pattern consisting of certain cluster of duties and obligations (Johnson, 1966: 76).

Dubin and Bogardus lay emphasis on 'pay' as a distinct criterion of work and occupation. Remuneration is an important aspect of occupation, but it is only a part. To sale occupation is 'specific activity' continuously pursued by an individual to obtain a steady flow of income. This activity also determines the social position of the individual.

According to Bogardus, "An occupation is any type of activity to which a number of persons give themselves regularly for pay. A profession is a specialized type of occupation which maintains formal standards for admission which requires training."

Any occupation emerges out of a set of repeated and standardized activities and develops a notion of status around similar economic standards, pattern of consumption, interests and values, and an attitude towards life. In the determination of status of an
individual by the other members of society, and the status of an individual by the other members of society, and the attitude of individual himself,

role of occupation is very significant. There is much emphasis on the economic values as determinants of occupation. It can not be disputed that common and standardized work, equal opportunities of life and income, and similar patterns of consumption, to a considerable extent, are the determinants of an occupation. Apart from these factors, the system of values and stratification of society, provide meaning and hierarchy to any occupation.

An occupation is a kind of work a person is doing. A person whether he is living in pre-industrial society or in advanced industrial society, does take up some work to earn a living. In pre-industrial or so-called primitive societies, as division of labour is rudimentary, an occupation hardly signifies the status of its followers. But modern industrial societies differentiate their members in terms of occupation and evaluate them accordingly. That is to say an occupation gives its follower a social position. This position can be called a set of status-role. As soon as a person holds an occupation, he is expected to behave in a socially approved pattern.

Every complex society the theoretically opposite type of society is called 'open' or mobile in which the 'internaiveness' and 'generally' of social mobility is so great that a group can easily move up and down. Between these two extreme types of society, there are mostly intermediate types.
The 'internnaiveness' and 'generality' of social mobility can thus be used as an index of social stratification. It is not an exaggeration to say that 'no area or social stratification has received more attention... than has that of social mobility.'

The work of P. Sorokin which appeared in 1927 is the pioneer and first systematic sociological study of social mobility. It is still hailed as a unique work. He has defined social mobility as "The transition of an individual or social object or value any thing that has created or modified by human activity from one social position to another. He has used two terms horizontal and vertical to describe the movement, horizontal mobility he means the movement or shifting from one group to another or from one stratum to another situated on the same level.

Occupational mobility has occurred in every place. The real test of occupational India is primarily rural, but urbanisation is not a new thing in this country. It is as well as civilisation. The archaeological discovery of Harappa and Mohanjodaro which were among the new oldest cities in the world, brings India close to Egypt and Mesopotamia in respect of city civilization.

The cities of urban centres, however, grow in the conformity with the cultural fabric of the Indian society. Primary association and personal relation relaxed rural-urban dichotomy. Groups of people or caste monopoly over some occupations. New occupations practised by people. Their social status over time varied with the increase or decrease in the importance of the work.
These old cities or towns were either the capitals of some kingdoms some important duties. Some towns developed as convenient centres of trades. But the growth of these towns were stable, slow and continuous. Even today, the cities like, Delhi, Agra, Varanasi, Mathura, Patna and Ranchi a host of others are the repleni of the classical cities.

In contact to these classical cities, the growth of modern towns, is rapid and planned and these are based on highly modernized power bound industries. This ushers in a new meaning of urbanism as 'descriptive ways of living in contrast to ruralism. These towns are characterised by impersonal social interaction, social and occupational mobility and the ways of work in factories, in consumer and transportation, in communication and many kinds of services. The way of life has a special kind of rhythm regulated by clock.

No society can impose an absolute restriction on the mobility of its people. Occupational mobility is a continual process. But the process can be accelerated through a number of factors. Industrialization is on the most important factors. A society with a high degree of industrialisation displays higher rate of social mobility than a non-industrial of feudal society.

In every group, some occupations are rated as possessing higher status and prestige while others are regarded as lower in grade. System of values and pattern of stratification are responsible for creating such grades or hierarchies. The
inter-relationship of occupational choice and value-orientation has been verified by Schwartz Weller also and he has arrived at two conclusions:

(a) Value orientations influence occupational selection.

(b) Occupational value orientations are learned in the process of socialization.

The next point which has to be considered is the role or functions and occupations. Much stress has been laid on the economic and social functions of occupation. Occupational differentiation and hierarchy help in the divisions of labour as well as in social stratification. Durkheim has drawn our attention towards the normal roles of occupations. In his study of the 'solidarity of the occupational group' Durkheim has thrown much light on the historical role and the causes of decline of Roman Corporations during the Medieval period. In this connection he has made it abundantly clear that the solidarity and significance of occupational group are not because of the economic services it can render, but because of the moral influence it can have what we specially see in the occupational group is a moral power, capable of containing individual ego, of maintaining a spirited sentiment of common solidarity in the consciousness.

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of all the workers, of preventing the law of the strongest being brutally applied to industrial and commercial relations.

In the present industrial urban societies the occupational structure has been influenced and modified by three factors:

1. Industrialization
2. Mobility
3. Education.

Due to impact of industrialisation, the occupational structure has been multiplied leading to a lot of differentiation. As a result of the impact of mobility the barriers of ascriptive occupational stratas have been broken and an 'achieving society' has gradually come into being. Education has transformed certain occupation into professions which require special training. Prescribed educational standard/skill. Parsons defined a profession as 'to be a category of occupational role which is organised about the mastery of and fiduciary responsibility for any important segment of a society cultural tradition, including responsibility for its perpetration and for its future development. In addition, a profession may have responsibility for the application of its knowledge in practical situations.

Modern professions are equally the result of education as well as industrialization. During the 19th century, when most of the present professions were in the process of rise and growth, they did not require so much specialization and training, but now a days there is a definite indication that one often
the other, different occupations are being transformed into professions, demanding skill and standard. In this sense modern industrializing society can also be characterized as a professionalizing society. In the present occupational strata, professionals are on the top and unskilled labourers are at the bottom. Our society is moving towards professionalization and if we have to make a clear and accurate analysis of the direction of change and mobility, the study of persons belonging to different professions, their method of recruitment, pattern of inter-generational and intra-generational mobility and attitude towards life and society is essential.

The relationship between industrialization and professionalization, may be explained in terms of:

1. a gradual increase in the number of persons engaged in the white collar occupation is general and professions and semi-professions in particular.

2. a gradual increase in the number of occupation trying to acquire the status of a profession.

3. due to the impact of industrial urbanism, emergence of similar cosmopolitan professionals like lawyers, medical practitioners, university professors, engineers etc. roughly with equivalent prestige, all over the world.

According to Greenwood, presence of systematic theory,

professional authority, formal and informal community sanctions of the profession, its power and prestige, a regulative code of ethics and a professional culture are the main attributes of a profession. William F. Goode has listed some additional traits of a profession:

1. the profession determines its own standard of education and training.

2. the student of professions goes through a move for reaching adult socialization experience than the learner in other occupations.

3. professional practice is often legally recognized by some form of licence.

4. most legislation concerned with the profession is shaped by that profession.

5. higher income, increased prestige and strong identification are the other important features of a profession.

All modern profession have emerged out of certain social requirements and it is not an easy task to determine their status and importance. Moreover, in the present industrial urban setup, where division of labour is much complicated,

leading as it does to organise solidarity and functional rationality, all occupations and professions are equally important and are interdependent on each other. Robert E. Clark\textsuperscript{36} has attempted to rank the different occupational groups in order of increasing prestige and income. In this list large owners, doctors, lawyers, dentists etc. have been ranked on the top in income and prestige and earrand and office boys on the bottom. Though the rank of technical engineers is higher in income than clergy, teachers, social workers etc. yet they are lower in prestige. There are nineteen occupation in all in this list.

We may finally conclude that the relative status and prestige of professions may differ from sample to sample, but professionalization in the modern context is a universal characteristic of our said life and has helped in the development of a cosmopolitan style of life, educational standard, a common attitude and value towards life and the traits of the different occupations, irrespective of spatial affiliations, are similar and common.

Finally, we wish to review the previously discussed concepts in the light of Indian conditions India, with her ancient culture and deep rooted traditions, developed a pattern of stratification which is commonly known as based on the

\textsuperscript{36} Robert E. Clark, 'Psychoses, Income and Occupational Prestige in Class, Status and Power, 1960.
caste-system. In sociological terms, Indian society has been viewed as the ascpective society where status of an individual was determined by his birth and heredity. Traditional Indian stratification and caste system were, therefore, considered as the examples of the relatively immobile society. These are two basic propositions on which a student interested in Indian social stratification and mobility prepares the whole plan for further study.

1. The occupational structure of India was based on the caste-system.

2. In the caste system, status was ascribed and it did not permit vertical social mobility.

Misra states that except for the educated and salaried employees in business, the bulk of the Indian professional classes excluded. Those engaged in trade and industry, who in England constituted powerful groups among the educated class. Moreover, except during the three most recent decades, the increase in the number of Indian lawyers and public servants, doctors and teachers, writers, scholars and members of other recognized professions was due to educational, judicial and administrative development rather than to technological or industrial progress. In fact, from the peculiar circumstances of their growth the professional classes in India continued to comprise those who also ranked high in the hierarchy of caste.

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Misra

As urbanization in India was not the direct result of industrialization but developed out of administrative, colonial and commercial requirements of the alien rule, in the same way professionalization in India was not caused so much by the industrial growth but was more a product of modern university education and the British system of justice and administration. Even today, the industrial base of professionalization in India, has not been able to find a deep root. In India's westernization professionalization and modernity are synonymous. Since the symbols of modernity—new technology, industrialization, urbanization, scientific outlook, rationality and cosmopolitan culture, have arrived in India via England and Europe, these phenomena are not a part of the life of the vast Indian masses, rather they are associated only with the educated urban upper and middle classes engaged in different professions and practices.

The emergence of professions and white collar occupation indicate a clear trend towards vertical social mobility. These new professions may be regarded as 'reference group' which are the sources of motivation and aspiration for the educated Indians. The new class of professionals and intellectuals has acquired an important place in the social hierarchy of our country and in Shils's words 'a modern country with a progressively developing economic system, a literate and skilful population, high standard of living in material and non-material goods, and efficient and reliable administrative and
judicial system contrast dispense with a large crop of intellectuals. If it needs or desires the fruits and glories of science, if it wishes to induct its youth into the heritage of past and to inform them about the nature of the present, if it seeks government based on assent and assent based on opinion it needs intellectuals.

The conditions of professional men in the political, cultural and social life of India are of paramount importance. During the pre-independence era, the peaceful Indian revolution was led by lawyers, teachers and university students, doctors and retired civil officers and even today the dominate the national area.

(IV). SOCIAL CHANGE

By "Social Change" 38 is meant only such alterations as occur in social organization - that is, the structure and functions of society. Social change thus forms only a part of what is essentially a broader category called "cultural change". The latter embraces all changes occurring in any branch of culture, including art, science, technology, philosophy, etc. as well as changes in the forms and rules of social organization.

Cultural change is thus much broader than social change. Since our interest is focussed on the narrowed topic we shall not become involved in such matters as the evolution of phonetic

sounds, the history of art forms, the transition of musical styles, or the development of material theory. Of course, no part of culture is totally unrelated to the social order, but it remains true that changes may occur in these branches without noticeably affecting the social system. Sociologically, therefore, we are interested in cultural change only to the extent that it rises from or has an effect on social organization. We are not interested in it for itself apart from social change.

The Indian people are now engaged in the tremendous task of transforming themselves from a traditional, hierarchic, poverty-stricken society to a modern, equalitarian and affluent society. This involves not only enormous social and economic changes but also a basic change in the personality structure of the individual from a dependent to an autonomous person.

One of the most significant features of contemporary India is not only the tremendous social change that is taking place but also a deliberate attempt by the state to change its social structure. Of course, this is not a new phenomenon. Before analysing the nature of the social change that is taking place in India, it would be useful to describe some of the broad concepts relating to the change process in a society and the way in which thinkers have tried to understand these problems in the last and the present country.

The French thinker Auguste Comte explained social change as the outcome of intellectual development. He formulated his famous law of the three stages of intellectual development.
It is a progress from the theological mode of thought through metaphysical mode of thought to the positive mode of thought represented by modern science. He assumed that this intellectual progress is accompanied by moral development, particularly in the growth of altruism over egoism and by change in the social institutions. He had faith in the human ability to assume responsibility in individuals as well as in social life.

The German thinker Karl Marx emphasized two elements in social life which are most significant, namely, the development of technology and the resulting changes in the production of goods and services, and the relation among the social classes. Marx asserted that there is a correspondence between a particular stage of development of the productive force and the systems of class relations stabilized and maintained by the dominant class.

The great British historian Toynbee, saw twenty one cultures in human history as compared to Spengler who saw only eight. He also asserts that in all these cultures are could discern the same common pattern of growth and the decay. He constructed his theory of social change in terms of two major concepts, challenge and response. Society grows when it faces challenge, responds to it and then build it up.

Pitrim Sorokin in his four volume study social culture and dynamics, Sorokin considers the course of history as continuous but irregular, fluctuating between two basic kinds
of cultures - the 'sensate' and the 'Ideational'. However, according to Sorokin, no society is absolutely sensate or absolutely ideational because excess of 'sensatism' makes the pendulum swing and leads the culture towards the ideational pole.

Social change may be defined as the process in which is discernable significant alteration in the structure and functioning of a particular social system. The term 'change' itself is wholly natural. It only implies that there is some difference through time in the object to which it is applied, when we speak of social change we simply assest that there is some change in social behaviour and in the social structure.

In the recent decades, the interest of the social scientist has been more in the study of concrete situations of social change rather than in indulging in speculation regarding the stages in the evolution of society, as the 19th century thinkers were went to do. Still, it cannot be said that the search for a dominant pattern of change and for an overall direction in change have been givenup. It is fascinating, and though full of pitfalls, it helps us in some measure to understand the way in which human society has been changing through the ages.

Many thinkers have held that technological invention is the primary factor in explaining social and cultural change. Still in a broad way we can say that technological development have brought about many changes in attitudes, beliefs and even in traditions. There is no doubt that the modern factory, the
railway carriage, the bus, the restaurant etc. have brought about changes with respect to caste and class behaviour. People of various castes work side by side in the modern factory.

Studies of social change in the context of the societies characterised by the influences of the twin processes of industrialization and urbanisation, have taken into consideration the interplay between physical displacement of individuals from one place to the other in search of employment are other opportunity as reliable index of changing scale of those societies. The physical displacement essentially conscious and voluntary in nature refers to different patterns of migration which we have discussed earlier. In such studies it has been emphasised that the individuals living there native place and settling, temporarily or permanently in new places with new conditions of life, such as the people coming to the town or cities for a considerable period of time, tend to change in their ideas and outlook. Such change takes place in terms of their psychological or behavioural adjustment with cultural imperatives of the new place. These studies have however, ignored the fact that an individual does not change his ideas and outlook simply because he happens to be a new place of residence. Various factors account for such change such as the individuals occupational and professional situation may be characterised by acquisition by individual of new skills and capabilities which enable him to be integrated into the
given social structure. The actual period of migration essentially involves individual's striving for new occupational or professional opportunity which become the basis of his new social position. This period, therefore, is involving significant shifts in the cultural orientation as reflected by physique or personality adjustment. In view of this fact it is important to underline the intervening factors like occupational situation and the shifts involved in it, for highlighting the process of social change in the total area integral perspective. It is this factor which makes the process of migration itself meaningful items of structural or normative changes. Analysis of these variables will enable us to establish proper conceptual linkages between migration and social change.

The present study is intended to fill up this conceptual gap in the studies of migration and social change by exploring the patterns of occupational and professional changes which represent significant shifts not only in the occupational stratification but social hierarchy as a whole such perspectives alone can be lend. Credibility to our effort to stand relationship between migration and social change. In this study attempt will be made to throw light on migration as a social process and not just a demographic phenomenon and its implications in the social and cultural orders of the societies to which individuals may belong. Analysis of intervening variables like change in the occupational position too appear to be the crucial condition for the changes which may be characterised the society because these variables them
selves symbolize a continuous process of cultural and behavioural changes which are themselves the causes as well as consequences of the interplay between migration and social change involved in it. The underline presumption is that the migrant individual in new condition of social life acquires new cultural orientation through his occupational adjustments thereby ameliorating his social position and life situation as a whole. Systematic study of the linkages between migration and occupational mobility on the one hand and professional adjustment and social change on the other will enable us to establish a proper perspective for the study of social change, in the context of shifts in the patterns of occupational stratification and social hierarchy of the society as a whole.

It is obvious that most studies of social change and modernization are conducted in the actual perspective that is the way the individuals acquire the new bases of interaction among them and by implication internalise new values and ideologies that characterised the social life. These studies have failed to pay adequate attention, the fact that modernisation as process of physique mobility is itself a product of the interplay between a host of factors which motivate individuals to become mobile in the space so as to better their social positions. The proposed study through a balanced and a systematic approach to the proceed linkages between migration and occupational mobility can constitute on the basis for a proper understanding of the causes and consequences of social change and modernisation especially in the context of such societies as are in the process of economic and social transformation.