The question posed in the earlier chapters has been: 'What determines individual's chances of achieving upward occupational mobility?' The question has been answered, partially, by indicating the main factor that determines a man's chances of upward mobility is the educational and occupational level on which he starts. Thus we have been able to suggest that even though the scheduled castes belong to the lowest strata within the caste system and are treated as a homogenous category by the government, they are in fact internally differentiated on the basis of secular dimensions of education and occupational status, and so, even among them one can legitimately speak of 'levels' of social origin.

However, the issue of levels at which an individual starts can be misleading. For, the lower the level from which a person starts, the greater the probability that he will be upwardly mobile, simply because many more occupational and educational levels entail upward mobility for men with low origins than for those with high ones. For a more meaningful analysis of Scheduled Caste occupational mobility, we must view occupa-

1 Previous chapters reveal that the rates of inter-generational mobility are highest for men with low social origins and decrease regularly with increasing social origins. However, individuals at the bottom most rung of the educational and occupational hierarchy experience only short distance mobility and therefore the question of their mobility entailing 'many more' occupational levels can be misleading.
occupational mobility as a process. To study what affects occupational mobility we must first decompose this concept into its constituent elements by examining how socio-economic and familial origins influence later achievements, and then proceed to investigate how several other antecedent conditions interact in their effect on later occupational attainment. Regression and path analysis will be used to clarify the process of occupational mobility in this manner. Only multivariate analysis of this kind can allow for prediction.

Conceptual model - Path model

In order to examine the process by which Scheduled Caste become located or locate themselves in positions in the occupational hierarchy we shall adopt the conceptual framework of 'socio-economic life cycle' as introduced by Duncan. In the application of the life cycle scheme, we shall conceptualize Scheduled Caste individuals in the study as passing through a set of life cycles. The cycle begins with birth into the family of orientation located in a caste and class system ("origin status"). Through childhood socialization, individuals pass through school ("schooling"), and then comes employment ("destination status").

Such a theoretical framework enables us to describe and predict the processes by which Scheduled Caste individuals

attain a certain status in the occupational hierarchy. Such a framework also focuses on the extent to which circumstances of birth or ascriptive factors condition subsequent status.

Finally, another utility of this approach is that it allows us to examine the relative importance of education or achievement factors for upward occupational mobility. Even though there is strong agreement that education is an asset for the upwardly mobile Scheduled Castes, there is no research estimating its strength relative to ascriptive forces such as, father's occupational status, nor has there been any study which estimates the role of education in mediating the influences of father's status and family background.

Figure 1 gives a graphic representation of the conceptual model explaining the system of relationships among the variables that we propose as our basic model. Our model assumes a causal or temporal ordering of the variables under study. We should naturally assume precedence of father's occupation ("origin status") with respect to son's education. Son's education which follows in time is susceptible to causal influence from the background variables. The next step in the sequence is first job and then, second job. Whereas inter-generational mobility and intra-generational mobility have so far been treated as two

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3 This step in the sequence is problematic: we are assuming that the present job follows the first occupation. Many Scheduled Castes leave school only to return some years later, whereupon they complete a degree or start a degree programme.
Figure I: A Conceptual Model Explaining Occupational Attainment
separate problems, we have, in the present analysis, investigated the two simultaneously because the influence of social origins (father's position), and that of career origins (first job) on occupational attainment are, of course, not independent.

In proposing this sequence, we are not overlooking the possibility that an independent variable may affect a later variable only via an intervening variable but also directly. Furthermore, in such a causal scheme, variables recognized as effects of certain antecedents factors may serve as causes for subsequent variables.

In such a model, the causal scheme must be complete in the sense that all causes must be accounted for. Formal completeness is achieved by representing the unmeasured causes as residual factors, presumed to be uncorrelated with the remaining factors lying behind the variable in question.

Finally, the model is recursive, i.e., the causal flows move in a single direction with no reciprocal links among the endogenous variables. The uni-directional arrows symbolize direct causal influence. The curved lines with arrow-heads at both ends indicate that their explanation is not a problem at hand.

**Data and Variables**

This investigation is based on the analysis of 209 male employed Scheduled Caste respondents who have a minimum of high/high secondary school education.

To begin with, we shall examine the following variables. The origin status is indexed by father's occupation. Father's
occupation is taken as an indicator of socio-economic status and family background. Numerous studies have used this variable as an indicator of social status. For the present study, father's occupation is classified into seven categories. These are indicated in chapter four.

**Familial situation** depicts whether a person was living in a paternal joint family or not, after employment. Family size and sibling position have been excluded from the analysis as they were found to be insignificantly related to the dependent variables. The **demographic** variable depicts the age of the respondent. The education variable depicts those who are at the following levels of

---

the educational ladder viz (1) high school (2) graduate (3) post-graduates. Such a coding scheme differentiates between men who have completed one educational level and who may or may not be pursuing the next. First job and current occupational status are measured in the same way as father's occupational status.

The particular research issues to be dealt with in the present investigation are:

- the extent to which father's occupational status influences son's level of educational attainment.

- What is the correlation of father's occupational status and sons occupational status. This will allow us to assess the extent to which fathers pass on their occupational advantage or disadvantage to their sons.

- the influence of type of family and age of respondent or occupational mobility.

- How are background variables mediated by the intervening factor of educational attainment. In treating education as an intervening variable, it is convenient to regard the gross father and son occupational status correlation as having two components, the 'direct effects', independent of the association with father's occupational status and the indirect effect of father's occupational status, manifested via education.

- finally, we shall examine the association of respondent's (sons) first job with that of his current occupational status.
Note: Variables are: X - Father's Occupation; F - Type of Family; A - Son's age (in years); U - Level of Educational attainments of respondent; W - First occupation of respondent; Y - Current occupation of respondent.

* Insignificant. Not included.
The basic analytical method is path analysis. In path analysis the variables are linear and additive and it is written as a set of structural equations. These equations are the same form as those of linear multiple regression except that we work with a recursive system of regression equation rather than a single regression equation. Figure II is a heuristic device for depicting the causal relationships among the variables verbally expressed above. The model as formulated verbally and represented diagramatically can also be rendered algebraically as a set of linear equations. The equations for the model in Figure II can be written as:

\[ \begin{align*}
X &= F + A + U \\
U &= P_{ux} + P_{uf} + P_{ua} + P_{ul} \\ 
W &= P_{ux} + P_{wf} + P_{wa} + P_{wu} + P_{w2} \\ 
Y &= P_{yx} + P_{yf} + P_{ya} + P_{yu} + P_{yw} + P_{y3}
\end{align*} \]  

(1) (2) (3)

Table 8.1: Zero order Correlation Coefficients, mean and standard deviations, for selected variables in the model of occupational attainments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>Y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father's occupation</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Family</td>
<td>0.087</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of Respondent</td>
<td>-0.048</td>
<td>-0.428</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>0.112</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>-0.081</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Job</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>-0.096</td>
<td>0.245</td>
<td>0.341</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Job</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>-0.213</td>
<td>0.343</td>
<td>0.387</td>
<td>0.323</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.321</td>
<td>0.718</td>
<td>28.983</td>
<td>1.727</td>
<td>1.598</td>
<td>3.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>1.580</td>
<td>0.451</td>
<td>8.771</td>
<td>0.666</td>
<td>1.735</td>
<td>1.281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 8.2: Standardized Regression Coefficient for Analysis of Path Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Predetermined Variables</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X$</td>
<td>$F$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (U)</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Job (W)</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Job (Y)</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: All coefficients are significantly different from zero at the .05 level
* Denotes non-significance at the .05 level

### Table 8.3: Unstandardized Regression Coefficients

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Predetermined Variables</th>
<th>Constant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X$</td>
<td>$F$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (U)</td>
<td>0.645</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Job (W)</td>
<td>0.079</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Job (Y)</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>-0.238</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: All coefficients are significantly different from zero at the .05 level
* Denotes non-significance at the .05 level

Variables are: $X$ - Father's occupation
$F$ - Type of family
$A$ - Age of respondents in years
$U$ - Level of educational attainments of son
$W$ - First job of son
$Y$ - Current occupation of son
**Findings**

In translating the conceptual framework into quantitative estimates, the first task is to establish the pattern of association between the variables in the sequence. This is accomplished with the correlation coefficient. Table 8.1 gives the correlation matrix, means and standard deviations. The correlation coefficient measures the gross magnitude of the effect of antecedent variables upon the consequent variables. The means show that on an average the son's occupational achievements when he enters the labour market are lower than his father, although, a son's current occupational status is higher than that of his father.

The socio-economic achievement of the respondents can appropriately be termed as 'early achievement' as the mean age of the respondents is about 29 years. Many of the respondents (sons, in the sample) are still pursuing their studies and for a majority, their present occupation is their first occupation. It is likely that with further education and job experience, persons are likely to achieve even higher educational attainments than their present occupational status.

**Influence of Social Origins on Educational Attainment**

Correlation coefficients (Table 8.1) show that, while type of family and father's occupation are positively related, age is negatively associated with educational attainment. These coefficients range from 0.112 for father's occupational status, $-0.681$ for age and 0.447 for type of family.

Table 8.2 gives the path coefficients, showing the
effects of predetermined variables on various dependent variables. From these we can see the influence of one social origin variable on educational attainment when the remaining two variables are taken into account, i.e. type of family and age. The influence of father's occupation becomes -0.10 (a decrease of 11 per cent). On the other hand, the influence of type of family (whether one is living in a paternal joint family or not) on educational attainment is insignificant. Age is negatively related to the level of educational attainment of respondents (sons) - the lower the age the higher the level of educational attainment. This is indicative of the expanded educational opportunities that are now being availed of by scheduled Caste youth.

In terms of the relative magnitude of the influence on educational attainments, father's occupation has the largest influence when compared with age and type of family. Both correlation coefficients and path coefficients reveal that relative to other origin variables, father's occupation has the largest influence on son's level of educational attainment. It can be concluded therefore that fathers with a high occupational status provide the opportunity and encourage their sons to obtain higher levels of education.

**Social Origins, Educational Attainments and First Job**

Table 8.1 indicates that with the exception of the family variable (i.e., whether sons are living in a paternal joint family or not) all the other variables - father's occupational status, respondent's age, and respondents level of educational attainment - are positively related to son's first occupation.
These coefficients range from 0.243 for age, 0.241 for respondent's educational attainments, 0.089 for father's occupational status and finally, -0.046 for type of family. Compared with other variables, father's occupational status has a larger influence on son's first job. That age is positively related, means that the higher the son's age the more likely it is that he enters the labour market in higher occupational positions. Living with parents, at the time of entry to the labour market, enables sons to attain a higher occupational status than they would be without their help.

Table 8.3 gives the influence of one antecedent variable on the respondents first job when the other independent variables are taken into account. The total association of respondent's education on first job is 0.241. However, when father's occupation, age and type of family are taken into account, the influence of education is reduced to 0.239 (a reduction by 0.8 per cent). Similarly, the association of father's occupation and son's first occupation is reduced from 0.089 to 0.07 (a reduction by 22.5 per cent).

In terms of the relative magnitude of any one variable on respondent's first job, path coefficients show that respondent's educational level has the largest influence on son's first job (0.241). Father's occupation has a very low association (0.072) with son's first occupational status.

**Influence of Social Origins, Educational Attainments and First Job on Respondent's Current Occupational Status**

Table 8.1 shows that, with the exception of familial
situation, all the other antecedent variables are positively related to the respondent's present occupational attainments. The correlation coefficients range from \( r = 0.387 \) for education, \( r = 0.343 \) for age, \( r = 0.323 \) for first job, \( r = 0.213 \) for type of family, to \( r = 0.109 \) for father's occupational status. Table 8.2 gives the effect of all these variables on the current occupational status of the respondent when they are all taken together. They jointly explain 32 per cent of the variance in the respondent's current occupational status.

The variable that has the largest effect on son's current occupational status is the level of educational attainment of the respondents (\( r = 0.387 \)). Of the origin variables age has the largest influence, followed by familial situation and father's occupation. The higher the age the more likely is a person able to attain a higher occupational status. We found earlier that living with parents at the time of entry to the labour market enables sons to reach higher occupational positions; this is perhaps because at the beginning of one's career those who are supported by parents are more likely to benefit from the additional support provided by their parents. The same situation prevails for a respondent in his current occupation: living with parents continues to be an added advantage for persons who are at their 'present' occupations.

From Table 8.3 we see the influence of one antecedent variable on the respondent's current occupation, when the other three antecedent variables are taken into account. The total association of respondents education on present occupational status is \( r = 0.387 \). However, when the other three antecedent variables are
taken into account, the influence of education is increased to 0.727. The association with age is reduced from 0.343 to 0.044. The influence of first occupation is reduced from 0.323 to 0.105 (decrease of 67.4 per cent).

In terms of the relative magnitude of any one of the antecedent variables on respondent's present occupation, path coefficients show that education has the largest influence on son's present occupation (0.57).

One of the advantages of path analysis is that the total association can be decomposed into its constituent parts; in this way one is able to find the direct influence of father's occupation on son's current occupational status, and the influence that is transmitted via education and first job.

The basic theorem of path analysis by which the total effect is decomposed is:

\[ \text{rij} = \sum_{K \in i} P_{jK} \text{r}_{K1} \]

where \( i \) and \( j \) are any two variables in the system and \( K \) runs over all variables in the system from which direct paths lead to variable \( j \).

Accordingly, if we decompose the effect of father's occupation on son's current occupational status we have:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ryx} & = \text{Pyx} + \text{Pux Pyu} + \text{Pux Pyv} \\
0.109 & = 0.07 + (0.10) (0.57) + (0.072) (0.140) \\
100.0 & = 64.2\% + 27.5\% + 8.2\%
\end{align*}
\]

Total effect = Direct effect or due to the association with education

Effect via first job or due to the association with first job
From the above figure we see that 64.2 per cent of the association between father’s occupation and son’s occupation is direct. A fairly large percentage, 27.5 per cent is due to the association of father’s occupation with son’s educational attainment, and 5.5 per cent is due to the association with son’s first job. In other words, father’s occupation does not only influence son’s occupational attainments directly, but a large proportion of this effect is manifested indirectly through its influence on the son’s level of educational attainment and the influence of father’s occupation on son’s first job.

**Education as An Independent Variable**

In the discussion so far, education is used as an intervening variable. We now move to a discussion of education as an independent variable and study its influence on the respondent’s current occupational status and how much of this influence is mediated through its influence on son’s first job.

The total effect of son’s education on their present occupational status may be decomposed into the following constituent parts:

\[
ryu = Pyu + Pyw + Pyx\]

\[
.583 = .37 + (.14)(.23) + (0.7)(0.10)
\]

\[
100.0 = 85.8 + 8.3 + 1.8
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total effect of education on current occupation</th>
<th>Direct effect of education on current occupation</th>
<th>Indirect effect via father’s occupational status</th>
<th>Indirect effect via first job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct effect via father’s occupational status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ Pye Pun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ (.30, (-0.375)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- 5.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indirect effect via respondent’s age
The figure above shows that only a small percentage, 8.3 per cent, of the influence of respondent's education on his present occupation is mediated through the association of education on first occupational status. 95.8 per cent of the influence of educational attainments on son's occupational status is direct.

Summary and Discussion

We have tried to explain: (1) the influence of father's occupational status and other social origin variables on selected dependent variables; these are, education, first and current occupational status, (2) the influence of father's occupational status on respondent's occupational status and the role of education as an intervening variable, (3) the influence of respondent's education on his current occupational status.

In order to explain the above influences, we have developed a path model by making use of the conceptual model of the 'socio-economic life cycle' as articulated by O. D. Duncan. Findings show that father's occupation as one of the background variables, has the largest influence on son's educational attainment. Scheduled Caste persons of a younger age group are more likely than those who are older, to attain higher levels of educational attainment. This is probably indicative of the greater awareness, among parents in higher occupational positions, of the educational facilities available for their children. There has also been considerable expansion of educational opportunities for Scheduled Caste youth, today, than it has been in the past.
Education has the largest influence on respondent's first job when compared with other background variables. Father's occupation has a very low association with son's first job. The latter influence reflects, to a large extent, the correlation between education and father's occupational status.

Education also has the largest influence on respondent's current occupation, the influence of education on respondent's current job is greater than it is on his first job. The influence of father's occupation on son's current occupation, reflects to a large extent the correlation between father's occupation and son's education and, to a smaller extent, the correlation between father's occupation and first job. Findings show that most of the influence of education on current occupation is direct and only a very small percentage of this association is manifested via first job.

On the other hand, only a small proportion of the association of first job on current job is direct, most of it is indirect i.e. reflected in the association of education on first job.

In conclusion, occupational status of our respondents is determined to a very large extent by the level of education attained. Father's occupation and first job have a small influence on occupational status of respondents, and, in fact the influence of these two variables on the respondents occupational status reflects their association with education. Education does
not only have a strong independent effect on occupational status, but as an intervening variable, it moderates the influence of father's occupation on later occupational achievements.