CHAPTER ONE

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Occupation is a socially desired activity and it is ubiquitous in nature. The *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, edited by Sykes J.B. defines occupation as, "what occupies one, means of passing one's time, temporary or regular employment, business, calling, pursuit..." (1989: 702). Sociological definitions of the term occupation subscribe, by and large, to the above dictionary meaning. However, these definitions are characterised by certain sociological perspectival specificities. Richard H. Hall, for example cautioned that any sociological definition of occupation should include the great variety of activities that could legitimately be called occupations and it should suggest the fact that an occupation had multiple consequences for the individual and society (1969: 4). He considers an occupation as, "the social role performed by adult members of society that directly and/or indirectly yields social and financial consequences and that constitutes a major focus in the life of an adult" (Ibid.: 4 - 5). The rationale behind limiting to the adult years in the definition is in recognition of the fact that schooling and occupational experiences prior to this period are essentially preparations for the occupational role of an adult. Another definition, inclusive of some other details is available in Scott's *Dictionary of sociology*. Occupation is, "a set of activities centred on an economic role and usually associated with earning a living - for example, a trade or profession. An occupation is a social role that is determined by the general division of labour within a society. As a specialisation of an
individual's function in society, it is an important factor defining a person's prestige, class position, and style of life" (1988: 280).

For sociologists, thus, occupations are the social roles and occupational groups the status groups. In the modern occupational structure the occupational roles are achieved and not ascribed. Hence, an individual is not stationary in one type of occupational role; he is also not given with one occupational option, but many. This epistemological position gives rise to certain sociological questions to be answered such as - why an individual chooses one occupation rather than another? What makes him to move out of father's occupation? What are the constraints placed upon individuals in this choice process? Why movement within an occupation and what comprises an occupational career? (Dunkerley 1975: 2). These questions are generally answered by sociologists by relating mobility to stratification.

Mobility is understood in terms of social or status-mobility which in turn is considered to be closely related to social inequality. From this it follows that the understanding of the social mobility problems of a group requires to have a knowledge of inequalities prevailing in the society and the prevalent pattern of social stratification (Shiva Prasad 1987: 39). In fact, the main point of contact between mobility and the rest of sociology has been the study of stratification. Thus normally social mobility is thought of as a movement between social classes. However, it is operationalised in occupational terms and what is actually measured is the movement between broad groupings of occupations. The fact often forgotten is that social mobility is in many respects occupational mobility, and so it is a product of occupational transformation and
employement processes that have taken place in specific historical and social milieu (Payne 1987: ix). An overview of some sociological works on mobility in the West will reveal the implicit significance of occupational dimension.

SOME WESTERN PERSPECTIVES ON MOBILITY

The various occupational dimensions of social stratification and mobility are examined in great detail in his classic work on social mobility by Sorokin (1927, 1959). He considers mobility as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. At first he classifies 'social space' into two principal dimensions, the vertical and the horizontal. The vertical dimension or the system of social stratification, to Sorokin means "the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superposed classes" (Sorokin 1959: 4 quoted in Coser 1977: 473). Stratification is composed of classes differentiated by three criteria - namely, the economic, the political and the occupational. The first refers to the differentials between the wealthy and the poor. The second refers to the hierarchical structuring of social ranks with respect to authority and power. The third is the differentiation of the members of a society into various occupational groups, the ranking of the occupations and the internal division within an occupation between those who give orders and those who receive orders which Sorokin terms occupational stratification (quoted in Coser 1977: 473).

Sorokin observed that no class-structured society is totally closed where no movement between one class and another was possible. Even the history of the caste-structured Indian society shows that there have been times when the highest Brahman caste was overthrown altogether and replaced by members of the lower castes. At the
same time no class structure has been totally open. He pointed out that societies vary in
the degree to which their respective class structures are opened or closed depending on
differences in legal institutions, historical legacies, ideologies, the stability of the economic
institutions, and the like (quoted in Pande 1986 : 6 - 7).

Sorokin understands mobility as the transition of people from one social position
to another. He identifies two types of mobility: horizontal and vertical. The first is the
movement from one social position to another situated on the same level as from work as
a clerk in one firm to similar work in the other. The second is the transition of people from
one social stratum to one higher or lower in the social scale, as a poor man becoming rich
or children of rich man becoming poor (quoted in Coser 1977 : 474).

Two principal forms of ascending and descending movements are identified. They
are, the individual vertical mobility and the collective vertical mobility. Out of these two,
Sorokin's main emphasis is on collective and not on individual mobility. He identifies the
channels of vertical mobility, the mechanisms of social selection and distribution of
individuals within different social strata and they are: the army, marriage, the church, the
school, professional associations, political alliances and wealth. These are "sieves" that
sift individuals who claim access to different social statuses and positions. These
institutions influence the social selection and distribution of the members of a society.
They allow some individuals to climb and others fall in the hierarchy.

Together with the types of mobility Sorokin proposes several features of mobility
in modern society (1927 : 435 - 9 and 455 - 6 quoted in Payne 1987 : 4). They are:
(1) there is a high level of dispersion of offspring to different occupational groups from those of their fathers;

(2) all occupational groups consist of members with heterogeneous origins;

(3) the difference between occupational groups as separate entities is 'blurred';

(4) there is, nonetheless, still a high level of occupational inheritance;

(5) similar occupational groups (i.e., those adjacent in the occupational hierarchy) are more likely to exchange members;

(6) mobility is therefore more likely to be 'short-range' than across the whole of the hierarchy; and

(7) the middle of the hierarchy is likely to be more stable than the extremes.

The researchers of succeeding generations have evinced keen interest in these propositions of Sorokin. Sorokin also identifies the consequences of mobility. He highlights its dysfunctional and functional aspects. The high degree of mental strain, psychological problems, cynicism, social isolation and the loneliness cut away the individuals from their social moorings. On the other hand, the increase in tolerance and the marked interest in the intellectual life were likely to occur in highly mobile societies (quoted in Coser 1977: 475).

Continuing on these lines, of course with different focus, Litwak in his essay "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion" (1960) examines the relationship between occupational mobility and extended family cohesion. He questions Parsons' hypothesis that extended family relations are antithetical to industrial societies because they are not consonant with occupational mobility. Parsons' hypothesis tends to be valid
only during periods of emerging industrialisation because it deals with classical extended
family which is defined by Litwak in terms of geographical propinquity, occupational
dependence, and nepotism, a sense that extended family relations are most important, and
a hierarchical authority structure based on a semi-biological criterion, i.e., the eldest
male. Litwak suggests that a modified extended family relation is in consonant with
occupational mobility and more functional than the isolated nuclear family. This extended
family by providing aid across class lines, permits the nuclear family to retain its extended
family contacts despite differences in class positions. At the same time the aid is isolated
from the occupational system and does not hinder mobility based on merit.

Another mobility study that stresses on the consequences of mobility is that of
Richardson's *contemporary social mobility* (1977). His work is based upon the data
collected in two investigations - a survey in 1970 by the Institute of Community studies of
854 males aged 17 years and over in the London Metropolitan Region; and a series of
extended interviews by him with a sub-sample of 117 men drawn from that initial survey.
The main aim is to study the experience of social mobility in industrial societies. While
analysing the consequences of downward and upward mobility Richardson (Ibid.: 27)
puts to test Sorokin’s thesis that mobility is also ‘dissociative’, diminishing intimacy and
increasing psycho-social isolation and loneliness. He recognises that considerable body of
research in the United States has sought to document empirically the dysfunctional aspects
of mobility. But all these are only small advances because they are scanty and
impressionistic. The main reason for this is the insufficient attention being paid to the
context in which mobility occurs and to the different kinds of mobility people are likely to
Thus structures, institutions, and ideologies all may be expected to have an effect not only on what happens to people who are mobile but also on their perceptions and difficulties of mobility and on the kinds of mobility experiences which are possible (Ibid. :28). Recognising the scarcity of such studies, Richardson embarks upon one. Some important conclusions of his study are delineated below.

1. While explicating the meaning and nature of downward mobility in industrial society, he concluded that previous theory and conjecture had over-estimated empirically the social and psychological significance of downward mobility in the middle class. It neither creates a cadre of discontents vulnerable to political extremism and racism nor does it tell us very much about how open or fluid is the social structure (Ibid. : 274-275).

2. Upward occupational mobility had involved an economic development for most of those experiencing it. However, improving economically is not the same thing as social mobility. Upwardly mobile had experienced only a limited change in life style and pattern of association (Ibid. : 275).

3. The upwardly mobile were no more isolated, no more prone to 'status insecurity', prejudice and anomia than others in the sample (Ibid. : 282).

4. The disruptive effects of mobility have generally been understood to be more likely to occur where there is a relatively high degree of status rigidity, inadequate preparation for mobility and where the social distance traversed is large. A further assumption is that the constraints of class are powerful and binding and when once broken by social mobility effectively leave the individual isolated and anxious about his social status.
and identity. However, in contemporary British Society several of these conditions are either missing or less relevant than in the past. While core members of the middle class remain concerned with status and do not readily accept new comers into their midst, those moving upwards do not, by and large, seem very anxious to be accepted by this group. Their mobility is not so intensive as to cause them to come directly into contact with core members of the middle class. The upwardly mobile also appear to be relatively devoid of interest in status striving (Ibid. : 286 - 287).

The significance of the study is the consideration of the operational measure of social mobility as occupational mobility and Richardson has confined the analysis to international movements across the manual/non-manual line and vice-versa. The data collected are historically specific and involve men who were born in the depression years and during World War II. The men born in post-war years are likely to have very different aspirations for mobility and perspectives about mobility than those who were born in the 20's or 30's. The recognition of the significance of changing conditions, and attitudes and values is the strength of Richardson's work (Ibid. : 288).

A macro sociological study of mobility had been attempted by Lipset and Bendix (1964). They did a comparative analysis of international data pertaining to France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Japan and the U.S.A. Their main thesis was that mobility was an integral and continuing aspect of the process of industrialisation. In their view a large proportion of the population in every industrial society were forced to find occupations considerably different from those of their parents. They recognised the increasing size of the labour force in urban occupations and decreasing number of people
engaged in agriculture. The changes in the distribution of occupations from generation to generation thus meant that no industrial society could be viewed as closed or static.

Among the mobility studies in America, Blau and Duncan’s work (1967) is more comprehensive, technically more sophisticated, and conceptually more developed than previous efforts. By using a sample of 20,700 respondents representing about 45 million men 20 to 64 years old in the civilian, non-institutionalised population, they examined the occupational mobility, relationship between mobility and migration, ethnicity, kinship and fertility patterns. They attempted to know the role played by the parental education and employment in deciding the respondent’s present socio-economic status. They concluded that social mobility was a process of status attainment and it is dominated by universalistic values. In an industrial society ascriptive factors like family background play a smaller part in deciding occupational fates than the role played by achievement factors such as educational qualifications and work performance which are considered while filling posts that require technical skill. This type of ‘universalistic system’ produces technological progress, high standard of living, greater equality of opportunity, reduced kinship, higher rates of migration, differential fertility, ‘stable democracy’ and high rates of occupational mobility.

They rated occupational groups into 17 categories, with professionals and managers at the top of the scale and farm workers at the bottom. They then proceeded to measure the amount of movement between these occupational groups. Their interesting conclusions are:

(1) the vast majority of sons do not end up in the same occupational group as their fathers;
(2) most of the moves, however, are only one or two steps upward or downward from the father's occupation;

(3) there is much more upward than downward movement, that is, the son is likely to have a higher status job than his father;

(4) the 17 occupational groups listed seem to break into three basic clusters: white collar workers, blue-collar workers, and farm workers; and there is little mobility among these three clusters.

By assembling historical data Blau and Duncan believed that the conclusions listed above have held true for at least the last 40 years in the United States (quoted in Baldridge 1980: 397).

One of the major influences on mobility research in Britain came from Glass (1954). Describing the key role played by this work in the growth of mobility research Payne (1987: 88) writes “for over twenty years Glass was to social mobility what Darwin was to the theory of evolution”. Leading English writers on social class such as Bottomore (1965), Westergaard and Resler (1975), Worsley et al. (1977), Parkin (1971), and Giddens (1973) quote Glass as foundation of their ideas about rates of mobility.

Because of its large sample with national coverage (3,497 male respondents in England and Wales and 417 in Scotland), its statistical innovations, and other reasons the study became unimpeachable (Payne 1987: 89). The interpretations of mobility by Glass and those who drew heavily on Glass contain several interrelated strands. First, mobility normally taken to mean exchange mobility rather than structured mobility: that is, mobility refers to those movements between occupational statuses over and above any
movements 'necessitated' by a change in the occupational structure between the father's and the son's generations. Second, movements over the whole range of the occupational structure are very rare. The typical move is short distance one. Third, social mobility has been subsumed under a wider concern with the contemporary class structure. Mobility is seen only as a contributory factor in the structured inequality of life chances, and in class formation (Ibid.: 91).

One of the critics of the mobility studies discussed above comes from Payne (1987). After a critical revision of the perspectives on mobility he recognises that the current place of mobility in the sociological lexicon is because of the connection between mobility and stratification. Paradoxically, the very strength of the connection has narrowed the relation of mobility to other sociological problems. He laments, "This has resulted in a failure to realise the potential of mobility analysis to contribute to a wide range of sociological debate. It has also hampered the development of a proper understanding of the relationship between class and mobility itself. Central to this is the way in which mobility researchers have on the whole neglected the social context in which mobility occurs and the way in which class mobility is in fact based in occupational mobility. We can't account for class mobility unless we first examine the occupational dimension" (Ibid.: 14). According to this approach mobility is grounded in the local economic, social and historical conditions of the society in which it occurs. As mobility constitutes comparison of the father's and the son's occupational statuses, an explanation of mobility involves an explanation of the way in which individuals are given jobs. "This in turn raises questions about the industrial and occupational structure, about labour markets, about job
choice and qualifications, about labour migration: that is, about the various processes by
which workers enter a system of employment which has an objective reality pre- and post-
existing the individual, and which constrains his or her freedom of action” (Ibid. : 15).
Thus, the overall approach of Payne’s study represents a shift in emphasis from
conventional stratificational theory to other aspects of sociology of work and labour
requirements of modern societies.

Payne (1987 : 12 - 13) recognises four lines of arguments that explicate the
relationship of mobility to stratification. Firstly, mobility is a measure of rigidity or
otherwise of the stratification system. High rates of mobility suggest the openness and low
rates of mobility suggest the closeness of the social order (Lipset and Bendix 1964 ;
Erikson et al. 1979 and 1981). Secondly, the mobility rates are used to identify the
boundaries of classes. Such statuses which readily exchange members can be thought of
as having more in common than those between which exchange is limited. The basic class
structure is revealed by the impediments or ‘natural breaks’ in the mobility flows. The
changes over time in such breaks indicate changes in the shape of society, and the relative
success or failure of groups in narrowing or maintaining the gaps between the classes
(Parkin 1971, Westergaard and Resler 1977). Thirdly, mobility is used as an explanation
of the lack of class consciousness. When there is considerable movement between classes
the present members of any class are less likely to be born in that class. This prevents the
complete and unquestioning belonging to new class. Therefore there is less chance for the
emergence of a distinctive class consciousness. This has been expressed less overtly in
Marxist terms by Giddens (1973), Galbraith (1967), and Crosland (1956). Finally, the
close conjunction between stratification and social mobility is political stability. There are two perspectives in this regard. On the one hand mobility is seen as a safety-valve used to bleed off working class pressure for change, by allowing the most able to pass into the ranks of the middle class, so leaving the working class without effective leadership (Marx 1959). The other view stresses the pacification effect on the immobile by believing either that the able really do succeed, or that their own lack of success does not stop their children from being mobile. Thus while recognising the significance of mobility in understanding the class structure and not arguing mobility as not about stratification, Payne suggests a more fruitful occupational dimension of mobility research which in his view will broaden its social theoretical horizon.

Accordingly, Payne examines the evolution of occupational structures, seeks an explanation of why new occupations are created and what the members of such occupations do in the production process. He analyses the occupational functions which lies at the core of arguments over boundaries between the capitalist and the new middle classes on the one hand, and the new middle classes and the class of manual labourer on the other (Payne 1987: x). He draws theoretical framework from Marxist and post-industrial society theories of social change. The degradation of skills and the proletarianisation of marginal labour is a dominant theme in Marxist analysis of the labour process. The deskilling and proletarianisation restrict the genuine opportunities for mobility. The theories of industrial society in contrast clearly identify the upgrading of skill levels and increases in social mobility as important elements of advanced industrialisation. Because the technology of modern post-industrial societies is comprised of specialised
knowledge. The new occupational roles are needed to acquire, apply and coordinate that knowledge. The resultant growth of new middle class calls for a revision of traditional class theory. Two views are pertinent here. According to the first view the class conflict is replaced by a new social order. According to the second view point class conflict is substantially modified by the existence of the new classes. Subscribing to the second view Payne singles out professional/managerial class for particular attention in the empirical analysis. He identifies the relationship between occupational achievement and educational qualifications as an important factor in recruitment to this class (Payne 1987: x - xi).

Payne regards three main themes from the theory of industrial society as relevant to mobility research. The first is the idea of sectoral shift of employment from primary production and manufacture into service industries. This facilitates the creation of new types of occupations and reduces the level of employment in old occupations. Second, the mobility rates increase in response to occupational transition. Finally, certain assumptions about mobility processes can be explicated by using the idea of labour markets and their segmentation. Similarly the mobility rates are proposed as possible means of identifying labour market boundaries. Payne explains the effect of occupational transition with the help of both Marxist and post-industrial society theories of social change (Ibid.: xi). After considering Glass's findings on rates of mobility as inaccurate, Payne draws on national mobility studies carried out in the 1970s to advocate the high level of social fluidity in contemporary Britain (Ibid.: xiii). His work is significant for several reasons. Criticising and deviating from conventional mobility research, he attempts to disentangle it from the clutches of statistics and stratification. In his own words, "it is not enough simply to
describe rates of movements or to discuss them purely in terms of class structures. It is necessary to free discussion of mobility from its prison of stratification. Once that is done, by recognising the occupational dimension, then a wider repertoire of sociological theories can be brought to bear, in order to *explain* why mobility happens*" (Ibid.: 148 - 149).

Almost all mobility studies in the West available to this researcher were national or international in character. Some are concerned with knowing the openness or closeness of industrial social structure or rates of upward or downward mobility. While doing so highly sophisticated statistical techniques are used. The western literature on social and occupational mobility is of only limited use for the occupational mobility studies in India, especially the present study, for it is not a national or international level study, and also it is not much concerned with the statistical measurements of mobility patterns. Given its objectives, the western literature is helpful only to the extent of clarifying the meaning of some concepts like horizontal mobility or vertical mobility. Only Payne’s study is useful most because it has shown a possible path of deviation. In order to achieve its objectives the study leans more on field data articulated in the framework of occupational sociological aspects of social transformation, migration, occupational restructuration, monetization, conspicuous consumption and the like.

**MOBILITY AND OCCUPATIONS IN INDIA**

Over the last five to six decades social researchers have shown considerable interest in the field of occupations and occupational and social mobility. The pioneering interest in occupations can be traced to the work of G.S. Ghurye entitled *Caste and Race in India* published in 1932 in C.K. Ogden’s History of Civilization series. The work
is dedicated mainly to analyse caste and the discussion of the category of occupation is only incidental. In its later editions the book is renamed as *Caste, Class and Occupation*. One of the earliest empirical works in occupational mobility can be traced to that of Sovani and Pradhan’s *Occupational Mobility in Poona City between Three Generations* (1955). Their conclusions were based on two socio-economic surveys of Poona city conducted in the years 1937 and 1954 by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona. On the basis of the changes in the occupational distribution of the population of Poona during these seventeen years, the authors found that a large mass of the population of the city has remained occupationally stationary. On the surface only a small unstable element has shown the tendency to move up in the occupational scale. Observing this movement over time with reference to three generations, the authors concluded that a large proportion of families tended to remain stationary in the first two generations and moved up in the third, or started moving only in the second generation. Thus the study confirmed the stationary character of the urban communities of Poona. While reviewing this study, Prof. I.P. Desai (1981: 127 - 130) brings to our notice some important aspects of the relationship between occupational mobility and social change and the dangers of using skilled unskilled or highly skilled categorisation in the Indian context. As far the latter he argues that if we consider increase in the highly skilled jobs as the indicators of mobility and as the consequence of urbanisation even the cobblers, carpenters, barbers, workers in the cotton mill and fitters, wiremen, gold-smiths, tailors and such other persons are included in the same category. As far the former he agrees with Sovani and Pradhan to the extent of considering the change in the proportion of different occupational groups in the
population as the indication of the effect of urbanisation on the occupational composition of the city. However, he does not agree with their views that there is an appreciable movement in favour of the transformation of unskilled workers into skilled and highly skilled workers. He argues that growth in the size of a population is a poor indicator of the character of urbanisation of a city. And occupational composition is not an indicator of the nature and quality of the social relationships. His concluding remarks are an eye-opener for the future students of occupation, occupational mobility and social change. He writes, "Thus, while the study of occupational composition and the mobility of the population is essential for measuring the degree of urbanisation, it is not possible to infer directly the nature of social change from occupational mobility alone. Urbanisation does not imply only industrialisation, i.e., change in occupational structure of the community but also a change in the character of the social relationships. Social change though related to economic change, is distinct from it" (Ibid. : 130).

Some descriptions of what type of occupational mobility is taking place in India is found in studies by Nijhawan (1969), Jain (1969), and Phillips (1979 in Phillips 1990). These three are similar in certain respects. Firstly, all the three make extensive use of statistical techniques in measuring the trend and pattern of occupational mobility. Secondly, all the three use occupation as an important variable indicative of social status. Infact, Jain (1969 : 1703) explicitly states, "In this study occupation was accepted as the main basis of class status since identification of social class on the the basis of prestige of occupation is more objective and useful." Accordingly he employs four classes in the study on the basis of the prestige criterion of occupations. Nijhawan (1969 : 1553) in consonant
with the views of Rogoff (1953: 19) believes that occupational status is highly associated with education, income, skill, style of life and social perspectives. Therefore the movement from one occupational class to another is believed to represent mobility within income, prestige and other social structures as well. The mobility out of father's occupation is dependent on a number of personal and group factors such as education, ambition, familial affiliations, etc. on the one hand, and demand or availability factor on the other. Mobility due to demand factor refers to the movement experienced by sons as a consequence of relative changes in the number of positions available in different occupations. For example, "irrespective of their social origins, some sons are likely to move from occupation B to occupation A if there is a relative increase in the proportion of positions in occupation A compared to occupation B between the father-son generation (Ibid.: 1553). In order to isolate the extent of mobility experienced by sons due to personal and group factors alone, the effect of demand factor has to be neutralised. Nijhawan does this with the help of the index of social distance mobility developed by Rogoff. After that he sought answers to several questions that relate to the problem of social change and occupational change. They are :- Do persons with particular social origins have greater opportunity in gaining admission to certain occupations? Or, does the system offer equal chances of seeking entrance to various occupations irrespective of their social origins? Which are the occupational classes from which persons could move over to other classes with greater ease compared to others? Is the movement disproportionately concentrated in a few occupational classes or distributed uniformly over all classes? Which occupational classes offer greater opportunities to persons with other social origins? Whether or not
some occupational classes have over representation of persons of certain origins and under representation of others?

For the purpose of answering these research questions data have been drawn from a study of the general election of 1967 conducted during March - May 1967 by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi. An individual adult voter was the unit of the study. The sample consisted of 1,858 male and 329 female voters drawn randomly from fourteen Indian states. Nijhawan has selected 1,593 males for the purpose of the paper (Ibid.: 1554). The study is a national level inquiry into occupational mobility.

Nijhawan deserves commendations because of the formulation of an Indian model of occupational classification. After taking due care to group together such occupations which have similar skills and prestige, the following occupational classification has been done:

Non-agricultural occupations

i) professions: administration, executive, technical and managerial occupations

ii) White-collar: clerks, salesman and other related occupations.

iii) Business and trade

iv) Skilled and semi-skilled

v) Unskilled

Agricultural occupations

vi) Owner cultivators and farmers

vii) Tenant- cultivators

viii) Agricultural labourers (Ibid.: 1554).
Within this classification, the study found out that the extent of out-mobility of the sons of fathers from white-collar professional and business occupations is higher than those from skilled and unskilled workers. Among agriculturists, the out-mobility of sons of agricultural labourers is relatively higher than that of the sons of owner or tenant cultivators. The extent of in-mobility into business and owner cultivation is the least. Irrespective of social origins sons find it relatively easier to move into non-agricultural occupations than into agricultural occupations. The overall inference is that the system does not offer equal occupational opportunities to sons of all origins. From these findings it becomes evident that the paper only throws some light on the actual occurring and nature of occupational mobility and does not explain why these mobilities take place, or what social structural elements or transformational processes are responsible for them. However, Nijhawan admits “For a fuller understanding of the phenomenon of occupational mobility and its implications for social, political and economic development, deeper explorations are necessary” (Ibid. :1557).

If Nijhawan attempted an understanding of inter-generational occupational mobility with respect to a macro-level universe, Jain (1969 : 1703 - 1710) attempted a micro-study of inter-generational social mobility with occupation as a main basis of social status. A middle-sized town, Seohara, in North India constitutes the Universe. It comprised of 19,000 population (1961 census), among them 38 per cent were Hindus and 62 per cent were Muslims. Both religious groups were engaged in agriculture or allied occupations. The data was collected for a sample of 236 household heads - whether men or women - which was drawn by the method of systematic sampling from the household
The framework of the inquiry was prepared taking into consideration the position of the subject at the time of the investigation (1962) and the last position of the subject’s father and grand father or father-in-law or grand father-in-law. The data had shown a high rate of movement between the subject’s and his father’s generations than between the subject’s father’s and his grand father’s generations. Religion-wise, the Muslims (the majority population of the town) showed a higher rate of mobility over the three generations than the Hindus (the minority population of the town). The major finding is, "if a town community is divided into majority and minority groups on the basis of a single socio-cultural factor (in this case religion), it is likely that the majority monopolises the channels of social mobility" (Ibid.: 1710). The significance of the paper lies in its plea for planners not to implement homogeneous model of developmental activities. "A uniform plan of urbanisation or development will not be a proper plan since it does not take into consideration the relative benefits and deprivations that might accrue to a majority and minority group in a given area" (Ibid.: 1710). Implicitly, the paper recommends special treatments in planning for the minority group. Apart from its linking micro-level observation to broader policy issues the study is significant from another angle in that it refers to the gender characteristics of the sample; the household heads considered are both men and women.

Another study with micro-level unit of observation is about the occupational mobility patterns in urban India by Phillips (initially published in 1979, and reappeared in 1990: 80-101). Having Indore as the geographical setting, this study too considered the inter-generational occupational mobility. A two-stage sampling was done to identify the
respondents. In the first stage, according to quota sampling, some 40 cases of family units, from each of the 48 wards of Indore city were selected at random. In this manner 1,920 cases of family units were obtained. In the second stage, out of 1,920 cases, using caste and income as control variables, 911 cases were finally selected according to the stratified sampling. On account of three cases of 'no response' or 'do not know' finally 908 cases have been analysed (Ibid. : 81 - 82).

As in the case of Jain (op.cit.) here also occupation is used as an indicator of social status. However, certain refinements were made in the process of measuring mobility by following the suggestion of Blau and Duncan (1967) that the inter-generational occupational mobility should be measured from the point of father's occupation at son's present age. The respondents were asked, "what was your father's occupation, when he was at your age?". For this purpose, questions on both father's present occupation and his occupation at son's present age were considered (Phillips 1979 : 83).

The measurement of social mobility and finding gross mobility rate have been undertaken with the help of sophisticated statistical techniques developed by Yasuda (1964 : 16 - 23). The paper also makes abundant use of concepts. A distinction is first of all made between the pure and forced mobility into which the total amount of mobility can be divided. Pure mobility is caused by inter-change of individuals between different status categories and forced mobility is caused by changes in stratum position and differential change among strata in size of population. The paper focusses on the various dimensions of mobility rate using the three classes of indices : (1) gross mobility rate (ii) pure mobility rate (iii) forced mobility rate. The dichotomic, trichotomic and four-fold divisions of
occupations constitute the three levels of analysis. For the purpose of a hierarchical occupational stratification the conventional four-fold division of upper non-manual, lower non-manual, upper manual and lower manual has been taken (Phillips 1979 : 83 - 84).

In the final analysis Phillips found that the gross mobility rate in the society as a whole was quite high. An analysis according to the various levels of division indicated that the mobility rate would increase with the increase in the number of hierarchical categories. In the city under consideration the high rate of pure mobility was found indicating the ‘internal openness’ of the city. The findings at the level of category-wise analysis of mobility indicated the maximum structural expansion of the lower-manual occupation as a result of high in-flow forced mobility rate. In the over all analysis it was found that no structural change had been taken place in the society (Ibid. : 99 - 100). The paper ends up with a mere description of the pattern of occupational mobility by using some complex statistical formula (Ibid. : 87). Of course, the analysis of why these patterns emerge is beyond the scope of the paper.

In an another essay entitled Modernisation, Caste and Occupational Mobility Phillips (Ibid. : 102 -123) goes for a theoretically more consistent and analytical study of occupational mobility. After a review of several modernisation theories, Smelser’s theory of modernisation has been considered relevant to analyse caste and occupational mobility in India with particular reference to the caste Brahman. The three major categories central to this theory are structural differentiation, integration of the differentiated activities and social disturbances.
At the conceptual level of the discussion on occupational mobility among the castes, a typology of “Entry-type” and “Exit-type” occupations is suggested in place of traditional usage of “caste” and “caste-free” occupations. These are the new concepts. “Exit-type” occupations refer to caste and traditional occupations. From them ‘exit’ is possible but not the ‘entry’. The “Entry-type” refer to the “caste free” occupations which are open to all. Phillips considers these two types of occupations as corresponding to the systems of class and caste which cross-cut the Indian society. These new “dynamic concepts” are used in place of “static concepts” of “caste” or “caste-free”. They not only indicate the direction of mobility but also suggest about the future shape of social stratification of the Indian society. The “Exit-type” occupational structure is unexpandable and bound to decline in course of time. On the contrary the “Entry-type” is flexible because it not only permits “Entry” but also allows “Exit”. The expansion of “Entry-type” occupational structure is due to its functional significance in modern times. During industrialisation and urbanisation there is a proliferation of new occupations and the “Exit-type” occupations like priesthood among the Brahmans have no scope for further development. Hence, among Brahmans, today, there is a shift from priesthood to more functionally significant occupations (Ibid.: 108 - 110).

At the inter-generational level, Phillips finds that Brahmans are trying hard to maintain their superiority in the occupational field. This has been shown through the rate of upward mobility among Brahmans from the blue-collar occupations to the white-collar occupations (Ibid.: 119).
In this essay Phillips' concern is not only with describing what type of occupational mobility is taking place, but he also shows interest in exploring its consequences. He finds that status inconsistencies among the caste Brahmans have resulted from the process of social restructuration in India which involves a change from "the vertical uni-dimensional status system to the multi-dimensional status system. The strain and conflict in interpersonal relations is the consequence" (Ibid. : 119). In this respect the study subscribes to what Sorokin wrote about the consequences of social mobility.

The Brahman's social and occupational mobility has been a theme for many sociological studies in view of their superior prestige and privilege in the traditional hierarchy. The way in which social transformation affecting this has been the theme of the paper entitled _Social Stratification and Trends of Social Mobility in Modern India_ by Chekki (1971). A suburban settlement of Dharwad with 115 Brahman households constituting 79.08 per cent of the total population makes the universe of the study. He tries to understand the nature of social mobility in the context of changing Indian stratification where class cuts across the ritual hierarchy of castes and sub-castes. He maintains that within a sub-caste the class to which a person or family belongs, is determined mainly by the property, occupation, income, power and prestige of the social unit concerned (Ibid. : 368). While understanding occupational mobility he finds that people change their occupations from the traditional to the non-traditional without caste restrictions. Now occupational mobility is more than ever before. One is not bound to follow one's hereditary caste occupation as it was the case a generation ago. Status by achievement rather than status by ascriptions assumes greater importance (Ibid. : 379).
This does not mean that traditionality is non-existent. Especially with regard to the relationship between kinship and modern occupational structure, western findings (Parsons 1967: 190; Turner 1963) have been refuted in the Indian setting. Usually the complex occupational diversity in the modern urban life leads to a situation where economic cooperation with kin is hardly possible. However, in Chekki's universe, "it seems as though the kinship structure is developing in such a way as to give enough scope for the occupational mobility while at the same time maintaining kinship solidarity" (1971: 372).

Chekki's study is relevant here in the sense that while analysing the relationship between Brahmans and their occupational mobility, it links itself with a whole lot of studies that deal with Brahmans and their upward or downward mobility in the context of occupational diversification and recruitment in contemporary India. He provides an alternative possibility of occupational change for the one reported by Prof. M.N. Srinivas (1962) that especially during and after World War II due to various social and economic exigencies, the Brahmans have taken up jobs which involve manual work, some of which are virtually defiling for an orthodox. Even Singer (1966: 59 quoted in Chekki in 1971: 73) records, "the Brahmans and upper castes are actually going into fields of work that have been previously considered highly polluting, for example, the tanning of skins and hides". These are scattered evidences. Alternatively, on the basis of scattered evidences from micro-level studies like that of Chekki it can be held that "there were cases of intra-generation occupational mobility of individuals moving up the social scale in their life career from low income-prestige occupations. Inter-generational mobility among the
Brahmans was mostly within the range of white-collar jobs. The Brahmans who had been the intelligentsia of the traditional Indian social order, form even now an educated community among the Hindus. They prefer to be in the white-collar jobs and normally hesitate to accept blue-collar jobs involving manual work that could pollute and reduce them to lower status. So, by and large, the occupational mobility of the Brahmans tends towards the traditional social hierarchy” (1971: 373). Same kind of result was the outcome of a study of occupational changes among the Dikshits, a priestly class of South India by Goswami and Horab (1970: 98 - 102). In some other context naturally in one of his later writings, Prof. Srinivas reiterated “the fact that high castes had a literary, commercial or military tradition has resulted in their dominating the liberal professions, the higher posts in the government and the army, and the new commerce and industry” (1991: 77). These observations provide a picture of overall upward movement of the Brahmans in the status scale through occupational channels. This may create a complacency among the Brahmans that no policy decision or efforts at directed changes can bring them down from superior positions and non-Brahmans may continue to envy the privileged opportunities of Brahmans. However, the situation is not so everywhere. There are some studies which indicate the downward mobility of the Brahman group as a whole.

In the backdrop of the social transformational processes operative in the post independent Indian society, Krishna (1987: 3) has proposed to study the downward mobility of Brahmans because they “today find themselves odds when applying for jobs or for seats in educational institutions…….. Brahmans, who constituted age-long elite group in the traditional society, have been relegated to the limbo of neglect”. The research
universe is Machilipatnam, a town on the east coast of India. Data collection has been done in several phases. In the initial phase 500 Brahman households of 285 in-migrants and 215 non-migrants have been studied. In the second phase he contacts some 23 non-migrants of an Agraharam village from where out-migration took place. In the third phase 90 priests have been interviewed. He also solicits information from concerned caste associations (Ibid.: 9). His main aim was to study the problem of downward mobility among Brahmans and their efforts at improving their conditions through modern ethnic associations (Ibid.: 7). The status decline or downward mobility of elite classes can be observed throughout the world during wars, depression and ideological differences. It is not peculiar to India only. Usually, downward mobility of an ex-elite category may be normally unplanned and non-deliberative. But in India it is an anticipated consequence of planned change attempted for upward mobility of the lower categories (Ibid.: 3).

About three decades back while reviewing studies on social mobility research in the west and their relevance in India, Ghurye (1963: 381) recognises the implications of legal and administrative restrictions on potential jobs for occupational mobility. As far Krishna’s (1987: 200) conclusions are concerned even in the wake of reservation of jobs for historically disadvantageous classes Brahmans, unable to diversify their occupational pattern, continue to depend on white-collar jobs. In the absence of opportunities for higher education they became the worst sufferers. He argues that the well-intended policy of positive discrimination has turned into a policy of ‘reverse discrimination’ against Brahmans. Thus Brahmans have become the victims of both the intended and unintended consequences of the process of planned social change. To get their grievances redressed
the Brahmans are coming close to form associations by following the example of their non-Brahman brethren (Ibid. : 200).

As regards the weaker sections for whom many kinds of concessions are offered by the government, the general notion is that they are experiencing increasing trends of occupational mobility. Over the years many studies have been undertaken with an interest in knowing the impact of these policies on S.C.s, S.T.s and O.B.C.s. As back as 1968 a comparative study of three scheduled communities in two villages in Midnapur, West Bengal has been reported by Bhowmick. In all the three communities observed, considerable occupational change has been noticed on account of the planned welfare programme. Singh (1970) has examined the trend of occupational mobility among the ten scheduled castes of Jaunpur district in eastern Uttar Pradesh. Some 400 respondents have been selected from those villages which were selected by the government welfare agencies for the extension of welfare programmes. His findings have been generalised as follows.

(1) There is slow spatial mobility from rural areas to urban areas in search of service.

(2) The scheduled castes have shown preference for independent secondary occupations over primary dependent occupations.

(3) The scheduled castes are no longer attracted towards agricultural labour.

(4) The interest in white-collar jobs is becoming slowly apparent.

(5) There was a common belief in the grandfathers' generation and also in the fathers' generation that people with an agricultural occupation were the best of all. This belief is now diminishing ..... (Ibid. : 270).
In the concluding section Singh recognises the significance of both internal and external forces in bringing about mobility in the traditional occupational structure. The external forces include land legislation, secular ideas regarding social matters, industrialisation, urban contact, roads, education, and so on. The internal forces are hard work and faithful observance of duty. All these forces have accelerated the process of mobility among S.C.s. All these years they were deprived of educational, social and economic opportunities. Now, deprivations are lifted up (Ibid. : 271 - 273).

A number of studies have been conducted among the S.C.s and O.B.C. s tracing occupational mobility and recognising the factors favouring or hindering it (Patwardhan 1967 ; Parmar 1978 ; Indukumari 1988 ; Rao 1989 ; Shivaram 1990). Among them Parmar’s study stands out because of methodology, and linking occupational change with socio-historical processes and thereby recognising the regional specification of occupational mobility. While inquiring into occupational change among Mahyavanshis, a scheduled caste of Surat city, Parmar found that traditionally they were known as Dheds and were doing unclean activities and their status was degraded (Ibid. : 229). The occupational change was possible due to certain socio-cultural and historical reasons. One very important factor was their social contacts with the Europeans, the Parsis, and the Muslims. From 1613 A.D. onwards Europeans of various nationalities arrived at Surat initially for business and later established factories. They required the services of cooks, butlers and house servants. Other caste Hindus were not ready to render these services. The Mahyavanshis were essentially a serving caste taking non-vegetarian food, toddy and liquor. They knew how to cook non-vegetarian food. They filled in the gap without there
being any resistance from other groups. They could also join the domestic service of Europeans because even the lower caste *Savarnas* did not like to serve the Europeans as their domestic servants for various socio-religious considerations and restrictions. The introduction of railways and steam-factories in Surat further accelerated job opportunities for them (Ibid. : 236).

What appears very interesting sociologically is the occupational change assuming the character of occupational mobility movement. The Mahyavanshis passed resolution in their caste councils that no caste members should either carry garbage, and must not do any other type of low occupation. Their leaders launched collective efforts to change their caste name from 'Dhed' to 'Mahyavanshis' or name reiterating their Rajput origin (Ibid. : 237).

The overwhelming importance of caste for Indian system of stratification is evident in the appearance of caste in one form or other in the studies on occupational mobility in both rural/urban, and industrial contexts. In a study of six rural communities in Rajasthan the relationship between occupational mobility and class structure has been explored by Sharma (1968). The findings that occupational mobility leads only to changes in class position without any change in one's position in the caste system holds the mirror up to the prevalence of rigidity of Indian social system. The study throws light on certain considerations one must take in studying occupational mobility in the Rajasthani rural context. "The nature of occupational mobility also depends upon the nature of the village, as to whether it was a *jagardari* village or a *zamindari* one, or was situated on the fringe or near an urban centre, or whether it was a dry or a wet village, which affects
the value of land” (Ibid. : 109). It is relevant here to consider some micro-level works on aspects of occupational mobility in rural and urban India.

Many studies about rural India have subscribed to the view that as society becomes more developed, industrialised and occupational structure diversifies people increasingly dissociate themselves from traditional roles (Sharma 1971 ; Sarkar 1973 ; Freeman 1974 ; Deb 1975 ; and Mehra et al. 1985). What are the implications of occupational mobility for the traditional, economic and social organisation of the village society ? Whether the tradition is totally replaced by the modern ? Sharma opines, “no such caste group which performed important function in the village economy has completely ceased to do so. Some members, rather enough members, have been left behind to keep the old system going. Bhangis, Chamars, Nais, Khatis, Lohars, Dhobis all are still meeting their caste obligations on the same old ‘jajmani’ system. The fact that some of their members have moved on to new occupations has not so far affected the basic village structure” (1971 : 176 - 177). The result is that occupational differentiation and mobility can not totally alter the fundamental basis of social differentiation. On the contrary, traditional social differentiation determines the process of occupational choice and mobility (Gist 1954; Sharma 1971 ; and Shivaram 1990). This may be a shock to those who believe that industrialisation, urbanisation and such other processes are weakening the significance of traditional institutions. Since we have not yet gathered enough data to evaluate the strength of caste and individuals’ attachment to caste, it may only be claimed that the traditional caste system has been altered (Deb 1975 : 24 - 25). Now in the wake of legislations, democracy and industrialisation overt caste discrimination seems to have
diminished, but not the caste consciousness or caste allegiance. The problem lies with measuring the impact of industrialisation or democracy on Indian society from western parameters. Since the western countries at the time of industrialisation in the nineteenth century had no close traditional bonds like the caste, the effects of industrialisation in Indian society have to be viewed entirely in a new perspective. This calls for a new kind of research focusing on urban and rural settings and upon the occupational groupings of modernising society (Bailey 1960: 190 - 191 quoted in Deb 1975: 24). The occupational groupings that require to be studied are numerous in number. They are both traditional and modern in character; may be "caste" or "caste-free", "Entry-type" or "Exit-type". The micro-level studies of these occupational groupings will go a long way in deciding the contours of occupational sociology in India.

In the traditional Indian occupational structure side by side agriculture a number of caste-based and craft-based occupational groupings flourished. Following Mohanti (1973: 172) they may be classified into agro-based, need-based, and prestige-economy-based crafts. The first category is related directly to the agricultural economy, for example, carpentry and blacksmithy and they come under 'jajmani' relations. The second category of crafts like weaving, pottery and leather work catering to the essential day to day needs of the people which do not come fully under the 'jajmani' nexus. The third category of crafts, such as the brass and bell metal craft and Gold and Silver smithy, are wealth and prestige based and are beyond the purview of the 'jajmani' system. All these pre-industrial technological groupings are experiencing a situation of pressure in the context of urbanisation and industrialisation. "In certain cases, the magnitude of the problem is so
alarming that the craftsmen are suffocated in the struggle for survival" (Ibid. : 172). However, this is not the experience of all craftsmen at all the time. In British India, as observed by Sharma in his study of the Chamar artisans, "inspite of ruination of craftsmen and the handicraft industry due to industrilisation the specific kind of artisans and industry could survive and grow in the society" (1986 : 137). This is in view of British rulers in India showing interest in turning India into a raw material producing land that made the population to depend on local artisans for various goods and services. Another important factor which added to the above experience refers to the continuous perpetuation of traditional social structures, institutions and relationships.

However considerable change is observable since independence. "The leather workers who were carrying out tanning and shoe-making activities in the village setting found themselves displaced due to changing relations within the village structure and economy (Ibid. : 42 - 43). To alter the situation, independent Government did make certain efforts by providing employment opportunities to artisan groups belonging to S.C.s. At the same time some private companies like Bata have been introduced. Preparing shoes in a large-scale in factory situation provided avenues for mobility for leather workers studied by Sharma. Of course the mobility is not without the consequences. One very important area where change observed is family. Though family network provided opportunities for migration and recruitment, the leather workers in urban centres prefer to stay in nuclear families (Ibid. : 149). Secondly, the work in the factory system of production has enabled their children to go to schools and acquire education to certain levels (Ibid. : 152). Thirdly, the findings of the study have questioned the ritual basis of
untouchability. The usual notion is that the people who do dirtiest and most unclean tasks are untouchables. They are, therefore, ritually impure. With industrialisation, mainly the marketing of leather goods and to the lesser extent even the preparation of leather goods are carried away by caste Hindus. These trends show that more economic than ritual considerations define and redefine the meaning of untouchability in the Indian context (Ibid. : 155). Fourthly, industrialisation has ensured shoe-making the status of a full fledged occupation. It involves the use of machines from the lowest level of technology to the highest level. Together with this, change has taken place in the work organisation also. Earlier a work-man worked with his simple tools either individually or with the help of his family labour and produced goods only for the market. Introduction of capitalism in this area has brought in its wake its own problems of alienation, chaos and conflict resulting in unionism (Ibid. : 160). The overall examination at inter-generational level suggests that the present day shoe-makers are many a times better off than their older generations (Ibid. : 162). The study is important from the viewpoint of the research problem under consideration because it tells us how an occupational category with traditional skills respond to the challenges posed by changing circumstances.

With regard to certain other need-based craft groups like that of potters abandonment of traditional occupation became a more relevant alternative than sticking on to it (Sarkar 1973). Their low socio-economic and educational level made them to be satisfied with such jobs as that of peons and office attendants.

Thus the response of different groups to the challenge of socio-economic transformation varies from group to group and region to region in India. The Kansari
artisan group associated with prestige-economy based crafts studied by Mohanti (1993) are relatively less disturbed by the process of industrialisation. They earn their livelihood primarily through Brass and Bell-metal work. Through this they maintain their age-old metal craft tradition (Ibid. : 1). What is important from the point of the present study is high rate of occupational inheritance among the Kansari. The selection of occupation is governed by the family. The real artisans are less mobile geographically while the traders among them are mobile (Ibid. : 164). The peculiarity of their skill and the cultural need they meet are responsible for the continuation of their traditional occupations even in the midst of scientific and technological innovations.

Certain need-based crafts have been studied from anthropological (Behura : 1978) and liberal feminist and managerial (Parikh et al. 1991) perspectives. The former's concern was to discern the social structure of a peasant potter's caste in Orissa and their tools and techniques. The thrust is with ethnographic description and not with occupational sociological analysis. The latter's aim was to study the occupation of the women weavers, their belonging in the caste and community, their hopes and aspirations and their life and space-where these women are born and will die. The study of the women's occupation at the backdrop of governmental policies for the development of the sector can be considered as an academic contribution in the evaluation of planning for 'desired type of society'. The study also comes out with certain interesting observations about the relationship between occupation and society. Women, who have been studied, have taken the step of actually taking up weaving only recently. Traditionally, weaving and sitting at the loom has been a man's role. The role of women is to prepare the yarn, help in dying
the yarn, and perform all the steps that finally put the yarn on the loom for the weaver to start weaving (Parikh et al. 1991: 8). The situation changed with India opening aspirations beyond caste and occupational boundaries with its new horizons in industrial growth and opportunities. Many young men-weavers have opted to leave their village community to venture into far and near urban settings to enter new occupations and new life-style. Women, on the other hand, who have their moorings at home and their participation in weaving by providing assistance, actually started to sit on the loom. Weaving became a role additional to other traditional roles. Through weaving they would earn a supplementary source of income (Ibid.: 9). While examining their hopes, aspirations and life space it has been observed that these women “have been squarely caught in taking the role of continuity of tradition, preservers of value, stabilizers of the family and at the same time aspiring for a wider horizon for their children...... They hope their children would be bank peons and clerks or they see them as mechanics or drivers of cars of big officers, and some even hope their children would become owners of taxis or shops. For their daughter they hope a marriage with government employer and a life away from weaving and rural setting” (Ibid.: 9-10). This study of a small segment of an occupational group comes out with certain concrete findings about the existential reality pertaining to the occupational and life situation and the mental make up of an average Indian.

The study of craft-based occupational groups is being diversified and as an example we have a full-fledged anthropological study of Viswakarmas (Brouwer 1995) who belong to the sub-castes of black-smiths, carpenters, gold-smiths, sculptors and
copper-smiths. The study explores the reality of day to day life through mythology and ideology as revealed in the oral tradition of the craft-based caste group.

Sociological interest in non-caste based or "Entry-type" occupations is rooted in the problems of economic development in general and development of human resources and skills in particular (Rao 1974: Ivii); the reason being the process of modernisation and economic development gaining momentum in India after Independence. Modernisation in the occupational sphere involves "the continual development of new categories and groups. In the first stage of modernisation the occupational structure might have been relatively uncomplicated and composed mostly of different manual occupations, unskilled and skilled, a small number of 'middle class occupations' such as trade and manufacture and of some of the more traditional professions such as the ecclesiastical (religious), military, legal, and medical one, including a much smaller proportion of population. Later, with continual economic development, each of these categories became divided into many sub-categories. In addition, many new groups and categories - welfare, service, scientific, technological, managerial - emerged and increased" (Eisenstadt 1969: 6-7). The increasing diversity of occupations and the process of professionalisation became the fociuses of studies. Study of doctors (Madan 1971); doctors and nurses (Oommen 1978); and teachers (Shah 1969; Malavika 1970; Ruhela 1969; Hiremath 1983; and Bhoite 1987) reveal the nature of recruitment, role-structure, role-playing and commitment to the new roles of doctors and teachers and career pattern.

The interest in occupations also led scholars to study other professional classes and business entrepreneurs. For example, studies of the culture of entrepreneurs (Nandy 1973;
Spodek 1969), their recruitment and background (Panini 1977, Bandopadhyay et al. 1975; Saberwal 1976), and the structure of the industrial working classes and professionals have been conducted (Gandhi 1978; Sharma 1976; King 1970). While commenting on the implications of these studies for sociology of social stratification and social change Prof. Yogendra Singh (1985: 69) concludes that the major substantive orientation in the analysis remains that of the caste-class nexus.

Studying modern occupations with interest in occupational choice and mobility is found in Dube (1975) and Jorapur (1979). Dube’s work is based on the study of three generations of the members of six professions viz. civil and railway officials, college teachers, medical doctors, engineers, lawyers and university teachers. Apart from dealing with a comparative study of the causes, types and impact of mobility among six professions, the work describes the meaning of different concepts like mobility, social stratification, occupation, and profession. Importantly, these concepts have been reviewed in the light of Indian conditions. While examining the relative immobility within the caste system, the author recognises the fact that “occupational structure was not so much determined by the caste system and the economic functions of caste have often been over emphasised” (Dube 1975: 25). However, the caste still influences the mobility process with education and other variables. On the whole a lot of change has been brought about by upward mobility in recent decades.

Jorapur’s (1979) study of industrial workers and their occupational mobility, though conducted by a student of economics, makes abundant use of occupational sociological concepts and insights. The study deals with various aspects of mobility,
namely, intra-generational, inter-generational and spatial mobility of industrial workers of six private sector factories in the twin cities of Hubli-Dharwad. One of the important findings of the study, also highlighted by Prof. M.N. Srinivas (Ibid. vii) in his foreword to the work “is the tendency for even ‘modern’ occupations to become hereditary”. As Srinivas rightly observed “this fact has not been the subject of serious investigation”.

The brief overview of literature on occupations and occupational mobility in India throws light on the increasing interest of researchers in this field. All of them in one way or the other recognise the transformational processes taking place in the Indian society and the resultant diversification of the Indian occupational structure. On the one hand caste is no more a determining factor in deciding the occupation of an individual. On the other hand together with other factors caste assumes the role of “social capital” and influences the process of occupational choice and mobility. On the whole the studies overviewed stress the role of urbanisation, industrial growth, migration, administrative expansion, educational improvement, agricultural development and improved means of transport and communication as responsible for mobility.

It is also revealed that the relationship between occupation and society is very complex. The data reported from different regions for different groups and categories provide a variegated picture. Though occupations and mobility are ubiquitous, the actual experiences are different for different individuals, groups, categories and regions. Unless and until we get data pertaining to most of the groups and categories, we can not attempt a general theory of occupational mobility in India. However, various groups and categories are still left to be studied. For example, Ghurye (1963 : 373) recognises small
business as one of the channels "that is attempted by many a caste for upliftment just as casual labour or unskilled work happens to be the dump of unfortunes, incompetents and never-do-wells. One feels therefore more than ordinarily interested........ to see how this category of economic activity serves the purposes of inter-generation mobility". The present study of the Udupi Hoteliers is an attempt in this direction.

STUDIES OF UDUPI HOTELS AND HOTELIERS

There is hardly any published systematic study on the Udupi Hotels or Hoteliers. An overall appraisal of the Udupi Hotels in improving the economic conditions of DK district has been done now and again by Dr. K. Shivarama Karanth, a Jnanapeetha Winner, through several of his speeches and general writings. The popularity of Udupi Hotels and their adaptations to changing circumstances have been found their expression even in creative and journalistic writings (see Tejaswi 1994 : 153 ; Daitota 1992 : 6 ; Irani 1991 : 3). However the present researcher would trace only one sociological study of Udupi Hotels undertaken by Madsen (1993), a Swedish sociologist. The main aim of his study was to trace the history of Udupi Hotels and Restaurants in the cities of Madras, Bangalore and Bombay. He has considered the entire issue of migration and development of a new occupational category as a case of ethnicity based non-virulent development. He writes "exposed to the forces of market prompted by changes in law granting untouchables access to public eating places and pressed by the anti-Brahman movement in Madras, the Udupi entrepreneurs succeeded in teaching South Indians to eat outside the confines of the home and the temple. Also, they upgraded the old rest houses enabling the middle classes to stay in cities in a manner befitting their notions of respectability, while at
the same time providing religious facilities within the Hotels in the form of marriage halls, temples etc." (Ibid. 1993 :15). The thrust of Udupi Hoteliers in the cities under consideration on continuing their religious and traditional identity and using it for business led Madsen to conclude that the case shows how modernisation in a generally secular and nonvirulent direction in turn leads to a religious revival.

Another study which throws considerable light on the course and consequences of the growth of Udupi Hotels in general is that of Maiyya (1995 : 47 - 49). The study is not on Udupi Hoteliers per se. It is a literary cultural study of a geographical unit in DK by name 'Kota'. The unit which is also a cluster of 14 villages is the native place of more than 60 per cent Brahman Udupi Hoteliers in Bangalore. In its brief note on hotel business as an important factor in the economic transformation of the region, the study describes the course of innovation and occupational mobility and identifies its consequences. The occupation of a hotelier is the product of "self reliant and determinent mind-set" of out-migrants who moved to such distant places like Bangalore, Bombay, Mysore and Shimoga in the earlier decades of this century. One important consequence of Hoteliering is the improvement in the economic conditions of the Hotelier's natal family and the families of the employees in the Hotels. The second important consequence is educational advancement. Here, Maiyya recognises the role of elder brother's income as a support for education of younger brothers and sisters. Another important phenomenon recognised by him is the role of Hotels in providing lodging and boarding facilities for students seeking higher education in the cities. On the whole Maiyya's comment has got to tell mainly positive consequences of the growth of Udupi Hotels.
As noted above there is no study dealing with the Udupi Hoteliers as such. It is for this reason that the present study is planned. The main objective of the study is to understand the occupational mobility among the Udupi Hoteliers in Goa. Thus the study is an attempt towards understanding of occupational mobility in India.