CHAPTER IV

INTER AND INTRA-GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Introduction

This chapter mainly deals with the inter and intra-generational occupational mobility among the Aos in Mokokchung Town. Analyses will be done at two different levels: (i) It will examine the extent to which the Aos have moved away from their parental occupations and it will study at four levels i.e., (Grandfathers, fathers, respondents and their children). (ii) It will examine by measuring changes in the status of an individual respondent in his lifetime. This may occur in two different directions, both horizontally and vertically.

Hall (1969:265-266) states that, “Mobility is an important consideration in the nature of social systems as a whole, as in comparisons of caste and open class systems, and an important consideration for the analysis of occupation. The analysis of mobility in empirical research is increasingly and almost exclusively based on data about occupations. Mobility is usually approached from a number of dimensions. One such dimension is the time phase of mobility. Here inter-generational mobility can be distinguished from intra-generational mobility though the two forms can exist simultaneously for individuals and collectivities. A second dimension of mobility involves its direction. Three separate but often related directional axes can be identified. The most commonly analyzed is vertical mobility, movement up or down within the stratification system. A second axis is a change in social
function that does not involve a change in status, or horizontal mobility. The third axis is spatial mobility, change in the location of the occupation, while each of the axes is analytically distinct, they are frequently related in reality. Each also plays an important role in inter-generational and intra-generational mobility."

Thus social mobility has a number of dimensions, the time phase of mobility which includes both inter-generational and intra-generational mobility. Another dimension refers to its direction which includes vertical, horizontal and spatial directions of mobility. By horizontal mobility deals the transition of an individual from one social group to another situated on the same level. In other words, the transition of an individual from one citizenship to another, from one family to another, from one department to another in the same occupational status. By vertical mobility deals with the relations involved in a transition of an individual from one social stratum to another. There are two types of vertical mobility, upward and downward. Inter-generational trends form an important part in the process of the going up and coming down of individuals in various occupations.

Dutta (1991: 2) describes that, "Mobility as a social phenomenon is the result of multiple factors. Changes in the system of transportation and communication due to the basic requirements of industrial development and growth, increasing rate of population and above all, industrialization along with urbanization – all these result in either vertical or horizontal or spatial mobility in modern society."
Dunkerley (1975: 27-28) describes vertical and horizontal mobility as "vertical mobility is as the name implies movement (upward or downward) through a status or prestige system. The most obvious kind of vertical mobility occurs when there is a change in social rank. Obviously this kind of mobility can be both upward and downward. Vertical mobility also refers to the situation where an individual is promoted or demoted within the occupation he is pursuing. Third, vertical mobility occurs even when the individual does not change either his occupation or his level within an occupation. More status may accrue to an individual merely because of seniority in a particular occupational position, seniority which arises from length of time in a particular position. This involves a change of status. Horizontal mobility occurs when there is a change in occupation or job within an occupation that does not entail a change in status. As with vertical mobility there are specific kinds of horizontal mobility. In the first place there may simply be a change of job, but within the same occupation. A manager may move from production to sales or a doctor from hospital work to general practice. In these cases mobility takes place, but there is the possibility that no change in status is involved."

As the present study has to trace out the inter-generational occupational mobility, it will attempt if the occupational position of an individual is influenced by that of his father, particularly in Indian society where occupational positions are sometimes inherited through ascription. Sarkar (1984: 1) states that, "Caste system in India is generally related to the occupational pattern of different population groups. A caste or a group of allied castes generally consider some of the callings as this
hereditary occupations and there is a common notion that these occupations are sanctioned by the Hindu scriptures and to give up one in pursuit of another is considered not proper. But if we look back to the ancient India we find that in the Vedic period such restrictions were not existing.” The said approach will help in understanding the pattern of mobility as to whether the individuals have moved horizontally, vertically (up and down) from their parents’ occupations and the traditional caste occupations. Ghurye (1961: 241) describes that, “the unfreedom of occupation in actual operation at the beginning of the 19th century was accompanied by a staunch belief that almost everyone of the large number of caste had an occupation which was its own, its traditional and hence the hereditary occupation of its members, to abandon which in search of another was at least, not proper, if not actually sinful.” The present study deals with the Aos occupational mobility, where Aos are caste free occupations. Sarkar (1984) also states regarding the caste bound and caste free occupations as “by caste bound occupation, an occupation in which a group of people are engaged considering it as occupation sanctioned by the Hindu scriptures. On the other hand, with the caste free occupations no such notion is attached.” Since occupation is the most important single criterion of status, a single status stale consisting of eight occupational positions is used to compare the status in the four generations under consideration.

Intra-generational mobility deals with the changes in the status of an individual respondent in his life time. An individual’s status is equated with that of his father in order to trace changes in achieved status throughout his active life. Since it was difficult to get intra-generational
occupational changes among grandfathers and fathers. Only the last occupational positions have been compared with those of the respondents occupational positions as ascertained at the time of interview. Ao society is an expanding one, there are increased status opportunities for all or independent of changes in the overall occupational structure of the community. But for the present study, for an individual what more important to him is what is getting on for him, as compared with his father. It is less important to him that his higher status is due to a general increase in the proportion of white collar jobs in the community. Eight categories included in the classification of occupations may be divided into manual and non-manual occupation.

Information regarding each change during an individual working life were asked. The main occupations held at certain specified periods of life were collected and arranged into status categories. From this, it could be possible to about the extent to which children occupied the same status categories as their fathers. The study of social mobility should begin at the birth of an individual, at which their status could be equated with that of their father and then follow the successive changes in the achieved status of those individuals throughout their lives. The mobility rate should be measured as an association between the final status categories of the respondent and his father.

Dunkerley (1975: 46) suggests that "Occupational status is obviously important to the membership of any occupation. Not only does it comprise a reward, it also presents a goal for the individual. This is consistent with the strong societal norm of achievement. We have already
seen that occupational status is a powerful motivator when it comes to individual career mobility, it has obvious effects on individual aspirations and the general motivation to work.” Occupational mobility of inter and intra-generational in general can be traced by tracing the interdependence between one’s social background, the father’s education and occupation on the one hand and one’s own training and early experience that prepare him for his subsequent career, that is his education and first job, on the other. Dunkerley (1975: 44-45) while describing about occupational status and prestige further states that, “the individual income and the level of educational attainment are the two individual characteristics that co-related with the status afforded an occupation. This is not surprising since both of them are contributors to occupational status in that educational attainment is often the main criterion for admission to an occupation, and of course income, for the majority of the population, is derived from their occupation any way.” Hall (1969: 269) also states that “Inter-generational and intra-generational mobility are interrelated. If a person moves up or down from his social origins, he is exhibiting both kinds of mobility. An important distinction, necessary here, is the idea of the first job. An individual, through education for example, may achieve a relatively high level first job, after which he exhibits little upward movement. This would be an example of inter-generational mobility without intra-generational mobility. The son of an army officer who achieves the same rank in his own life time would exhibit intra-generational mobility without the inter-generational form. In most cases, the inter-relatedness of the two forms exists.” Thus a man’s career is adversely affected by his father’s education and occupation, though, not entirely. A man’s social origin exerts a great deal of influence
on his occupational career, however, his own training and early work experience exert a more pronounced influence of his success chances. In regard to inter-generational mobility, Blau and Duncan (1967: 402) states that, "in as much as social origins, education, and career origins are not independent, however, their influence on ultimate occupational achievements is not cumulative."

In the present study, while studying inter-generational occupational mobility, the transmission of occupational status should be observed. Owing to industrialization and urbanization, the present day society is not rigid with regard to the transmission of occupational status. It should be observed whether the transmission of occupational status is equal in all occupational groups or whether it fluctuates from group to group. It will also observe whether transmission of occupations from fathers to children have been increasing or decreasing during the last few generations. With the spread of education, modernization and acute unemployment problem, such values have been totally changed. A modernization is a process of change, from the traditional to certain desired types of technology and associated forms of social structure have been coming up. Within the same society, there may be groups in which the inheritance of occupation is less while within other groups it increases. Sorokin (1959:139-160) while discussing the general principles of the vertical dimension of mobility points out that, in the field of vertical social mobility, there seems to be no definite, perpetual trend towards either an increase or a decrease of intensive and generality of mobility.
Table 8: Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility in Four Generations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Grandfather</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional &amp; Administrative</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial &amp; Executive</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>7.67</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>16.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspt. Sup. (Higher Grade)</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>22.67</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>18.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspt. Sup. (Lower Grade)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>16.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Semi &amp; Unskilled</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>92.17</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>18.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Occupations</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>15.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 8, it is shown that out of 600 respondents, none of the grandfathers were engaged in professional and administrative, managerial and executive, inspectional, supervisory, non-manual higher and skilled type of occupations. There were 9 (1.50%) of the grandfathers engaged in inspectional, supervisory, non-manual lower type of jobs as teacher, clerk and police. There were 3 (0.50%) of them engaged in semi and unskilled type of job was security guards and carpentry. The majority of the grandfathers 553 (92.17%) were engaged in farming. During that time agriculture was the main source of livelihood. There were 35 (5.83%) of the grandfathers engaged in other types of occupations as pastor, missionary and gaonbura.

At the second generation level, out of the 600 respondents fathers, there were 3 (0.50%) of them engaged in professional, and highly administrative type of occupations as doctor and officer-in-charge of the
various offices. There were 46 (7.67%) of the fathers engaged in managerial and executive type of occupations, as Sub-Divisional Officer, Section Officer, Head Assistant etc. There were 136 (22.67%) of them engaged in inspectional, supervisory, and other non-manual higher type of occupation as Inspector, Cashier, Supervisor, Accountant and graduate teacher. There were 98 (16.33%) of them engaged in similar type of lower grade occupations as, Store keeper, police constable, typist, etc. There were 53 (8.83%) of the fathers engaged in skilled type of works, engaged in certain technical jobs as electrician, mechanic, operator, fitter, driver, etc. There were 60 (10.00%) of them engaged in semi and unskilled type of works as, labour, attendant, cooks, carpenter, sweeper, security guards, chowkidar, peon, etc. There were 112 (15.33%) of them engaged in farming. Some of them 92 (15.33%) were engaged in other type of occupation as pastor, gaonbura, village guard, contractor etc.

After comparing the occupations between grandfathers and fathers of the first two generations, next attempt will be made to compare the fathers occupational affiliations with those of the respondents in order to measure the rate of occupational mobility at the second and third generation levels.

From the data incorporated in Table 8, it is shown that, there were 10 (1.67%) of the respondents as against 3 (0.50%) of the fathers engaged in various professional type of occupation as engineers, lawyers, doctors, lecturer, and directors of various institutions and offices. In the second category of occupations, there were 98 (16.33%) of the respondents against only 46 (7.67%) of the fathers, working in
managerial or executive position. In the third category of occupation there were only 112 (18.67%) of the respondents found engaged in as against 136 (22.67%). In the fourth category of occupation also there were only 87 (14.5%) of the respondents found engaged as against 98 (16.33%) of the fathers. In the fifth category of the classification, there were 93 (15.5%) of the respondents as against 53 (8.83%) of the fathers, working in skilled jobs. In the sixth and seventh type of occupations there was lesser percentage found engaged in as against the fathers. Finally, there were 104 (17.33%) of the respondents as against 92 (15.33%) of the fathers who were engaged in various types of business, church worker, social worker etc.

Since the present study is mainly concerned with occupational mobility among the Aos, only the employed children were included. Out of 600 respondents, there were only 124 of the children got employed, the other children are still school going children and unemployed one.

From Table 8, it is clearly shown that, out of 124 working children, there were 17 (13.70%) of them engaged in professional and administrative type of occupation. There were 8 (6.45%) of them engaged in managerial and executive type of occupation. there were 27 (21.77%) of the sons engaged in inspectional, supervisory, non-manual higher grade type of occupation. There were 11 (8.87%) of them engaged in a comparatively lower type of occupation. There were 12 (9.67%) of the sons engaged in skilled type of occupation. 11 (8.87%) of them engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupation. There were 6 (4.83%) of the sons engaged in different kinds of farming besides cultivation.
There were 32 (25.80%) of the sons engaged in different kinds of other occupations as NGOs worker, private teacher, contractor etc.

After analyzing the occupational mobility of four generations, next attempt will be made to determine the direction of mobility in four generations basing on the two types of mobility, horizontal and vertical movement. To study the movement from parental occupations, the occupational background of the grandfathers will be treated as the point of reference for the fathers occupational movement. Similarly, the movement in the case of the respondents children movement from the respondent's occupational background.

From the data of the first generation level, it is shown that there were 556 (92.67%) of the grandfathers engaged in manual occupations including their traditional occupation (agriculture), out of these, only 3 (0.50%) of them were engaged as carpentry and security guard. There were 35 (5.83%) of them engaged in other occupations as pastor, missionary and gaonbura. Some of them 9 (1.50%) have taken up non-manual type of occupations as teacher, police constable and clerk.

From the second generation level, 225 (37.50%) of the fathers were engaged in manual occupations as skilled, semi and unskilled and farming. There were 283 (47.17%) of the fathers engaged in non-manual occupations as doctors, lawyers, teachers, inspector, manager, etc. There were 92 (15.33%) of the fathers engaged in various types of business and work as pastor, missionary and gaonbura.
From the third generation level, it is seen that there were 189 (31.5%) of the respondents engaged in manual occupations. There were 307 (51.17%) of them engaged in non-manual occupations and 104 (17.33%) of the respondents engaged in other types of occupations as businessmen, private school and college teacher, social worker etc.

In the case of children, there were 63 (50.80%) of them engaged in non-manual occupations as doctor, engineer, lawyer, inspector, subdivisional officer, supervisor, teacher etc. There were 29 (23.38%) of the sons engaged in manual type of occupations and 32 (25.80%) of them engaged in different types of other occupations as social worker, church workers, contractor and businessmen.

For the purpose of the analysis of horizontal and vertical occupational mobility, all the 600 respondents who have moved into occupations on a par with farming into other skilled occupations will be treated as horizontal mobility from their parental occupations. Those who have moved into non-manual types of occupations will be treated as vertical mobility in the upward direction. And all those who have moved into semi and unskilled occupations which are lower to skilled (considered as parental occupations) will be treated as vertically downward direction.
Table 9: Horizontal and Vertical Mobility Among the Four Generations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Placement</th>
<th>Grandfather's Occupation</th>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Respondent's Occupation</th>
<th>Children's Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>92.17</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>27.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical (Upward)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7.33</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>62.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Downward)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 9, it is shown that, there were 553 (92.17%) of the grandfathers engaged in farming. There were 44 (7.33%) of them who had moved into non-manual and other types of occupations. There were 3 (0.5%) of the grandfathers engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupations.

At the second generation level, among the fathers, 165 (27.5%) have moved in the horizontal direction, 375 (62.50%) have moved vertically in the upward direction from their parental occupations and only 60 (10.00%) of them have taken up the lower type of occupations.

At the third generation level, among the respondents, 133 (22.17%) have moved in the horizontal direction, 411 (65.50%) have moved vertically in the upward direction and 56 (9.33%) of them have moved in the downward direction.

Finally, at the fourth generation level, that is among the children, there were 18 (14.51%) have moved in the horizontal direction, 95 (76.61%) have moved vertically in the upward direction and 11 (8.87%) of them have moved vertically in the downward direction.
For the purpose of the analysis of intra-generational occupational mobility among the respondents, first the total number of changes (up to the present position) in the occupational positions of the respondents during their period of employment will be taken into consideration. Respondents who did not experience any occupational change (cases of first job) will also be taken into account.

Table 10: Intra-Generational Occupational Changes within Each Occupational Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No change (1st job)</th>
<th>One change (2nd job)</th>
<th>Two changes (3rd job)</th>
<th>Three changes (4th job)</th>
<th>More than three changes (4th, 5th)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prof. &amp; Admin.</td>
<td>2 (0.33)</td>
<td>2 (0.33)</td>
<td>3 (0.50)</td>
<td>3 (0.50)</td>
<td>10 (1.67)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial &amp; Executive</td>
<td>44 (7.33)</td>
<td>21 (3.50)</td>
<td>16 (2.67)</td>
<td>5 (0.83)</td>
<td>12 (2)</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insp. Sup. (Higher)</td>
<td>46 (7.67)</td>
<td>34 (5.67)</td>
<td>23 (3.83)</td>
<td>9 (1.50)</td>
<td>112 (18.67)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insp. Sup. (Lower)</td>
<td>72 (12)</td>
<td>13 (2.17)</td>
<td>2 (0.33)</td>
<td></td>
<td>87 (14.50)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>31 (5.17)</td>
<td>15 (2.50)</td>
<td>37 (6.17)</td>
<td>9 (1.50)</td>
<td>1 (0.17)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi Unskilled</td>
<td>25 (4.17)</td>
<td>19 (3.17)</td>
<td>12 (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>56 (9.33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>33 (5.50)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>40 (6.67)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Occupations</td>
<td>52 (8.67)</td>
<td>34 (5.67)</td>
<td>18 (3)</td>
<td>26 (4.33)</td>
<td>16 (2.67)</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>305 (50.83)</td>
<td>138 (23)</td>
<td>115 (19.17)</td>
<td>26 (4.33)</td>
<td>16 (2.67)</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 10, it is shown that, there were 305 (50.83%) of the respondents who have not so far changed their occupational positions, 138 (23%) of them have experience only one change in their occupational position. There were 115 (19.17%) of them changed two positions. There were 26 (4.33%) of them have experienced three
positions and there were 16 (2.67%) of the respondents have so far changed more than three occupational positions.

It is shown in the table that, there were 10 (1.67%) of the respondents engaged in professional and administrative type of occupations, 2 (0.33%) of them have not changed their occupational positions (first job), again 2 (0.33%) of them have changed one occupational position. There were 3 (0.50%) of the respondents who have experienced three positions and 3 (0.50%) of them have experienced more than three changes in their occupational positions.

Among the respondents 98 (16.33%) engaged in managerial and executive type of occupations, 44 (7.33%) have not changed their occupational positions, 21 (3.5%) have experienced one change, 16 (2.67%) have experienced two changes. 5 (0.83%) have changed three positions and 12 (2%) of them have changed more than three positions.

Among the respondents 112 (18.67%) engaged in inspectional, supervisory and non-manual higher grade jobs, 46 (7.67%) have not changed their occupational position so far, 34 (5.67%) of them have changed one position, 23 (3.83%) have changed two positions and 9 (1.50%) have experienced three changes.

Among 87 (14.50%) respondents engaged in lower type of inspectional and supervisory non-manual occupations, 72 (12%) of them have not changed their occupational positions, 13 (2.17%) of them have changed one position and 2 (0.33%) have changed two positions.
Among the respondents 93 (15.50%) engaged in skilled occupations, 31 (5.17%) have not changed their occupational position. 15 (2.50%) have changed one occupational position, 37 (6.17%) have experienced two changes, 9 (1.50%) have changed three positions and 1 (0.17%) have changed more than three positions.

Among 56 (9.33%) of the respondents engaged in semi and unskilled type of occupation, 25 (4.17%) of them have not changed their positions, 19 (3.17%) of them have experienced one change and 12 (2%) of the respondents have experienced two occupational changes.

Among the respondents 40 (6.67%) engaged in farming, 33 (5.50%) of them have not changed their occupational position and only 7 (1.17%) have experienced two changes in their occupational positions.

Finally, from the 104 (17.33%) of the respondents engaged in other types of occupations, 52 (8.67%) of them have not changed their positions, 34 (5.67%) of them have changed one position and 18 (3%) of them have changed two positions.

Next attempt will be made to observe the direction of mobility among 295 respondents who have experienced at least one change in their lifetime. To study whether the respondents could move horizontally, or vertically (in an upward or downward direction) a division prepared by Sunanda for the study of “Trends of Occupational Mobility Among Migrants” (1986: 59) has been used. The process of mobility has been studied in four different directions, (i) manual to manual, (ii) non-manual to non-manual to study horizontal mobility, (iii) manual to non-manual
(upward), and (iv) non-manual to manual (downward) to study vertical mobility.

Table 11: Direction of Intra-Generational Occupational Mobility Among 295 Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horizontal</th>
<th>Vertical</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manual-Manual</td>
<td>Non-Manual - Non-Manual</td>
<td>234 (79.32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 (20.67)</td>
<td>173 (58.64)</td>
<td>39 (13.22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 11, it is shown that, there were 61 (20.67%) respondents out of 295 have moved in a horizontal direction from their previous occupations to that of their present occupational positions. The movement in these cases is from manual to manual types of occupations, they are skilled, semi and unskilled and farming types of occupations. There were 173 (58.64%) of the respondents who have experienced a horizontal shift from non-manual to non-manual types of occupations namely, professional and administrative, managerial and executive, inspectional, supervisory and non-manual (both higher and lower grade) and other types of occupations. There were 39 (13.22%) respondents who have experienced a shift from manual to non-manual types of occupations in upward direction and 22 (7.45%) of them have experienced downward mobility, that they have moved from non-manual types of occupations to that of manual types.

Conclusion

Thus the following analysis has been emerged from the tabulated data of the inter- and intra-generational occupational mobility among the Aos.
From Table 8, regarding the inter-generational occupational mobility in four generations, majority 553 (92.17%) of the grandfathers were engaged in agriculture (traditional occupation). It is seen that fathers have slowly moved into category 1, 2, 3 and 5 type of occupations which were totally absent or very less percentage in the grandfathers generation. A gradual increase in the percentage of mobility can also be observed from the respondents and children generation with respect to non-manual occupations.

When viewed the rate of shift from manual to non-manual occupations in all the four generations, it is seen that there were 556 (92.67%) of the grandfathers engaged in manual occupations (farming, skilled, semi and unskilled) and only 44 (7.33%) of them were engaged in non-manual occupations (professional and administrative, managerial and executive, inspectional, supervisory and non-manual both higher and lower grade and other occupations). There were 225 (37.50%) of the fathers engaged in manual occupations and 375 (62.50%) of them were engaged in non-manual and other types of occupations. There were 189 (31.50%) of the respondents engaged in manual occupations, and 411 (68.50%) of them were engaged in non-manual and other occupations. In case of children, there were 29 (23.38%) of them engaged in manual occupations and 95 (76.61%) of the children were engaged in non-manual and other types of occupations.

From table 9, with regard to the horizontal and vertical mobility among the four generations, it may be observed that, the rate of upward mobility is high from one generation to another generation. In case of
grandfather, the rate of upward mobility is 44 (7.33%) and in case of father, the rate of upward mobility increased to 375 (62.50%) compared to grandfather generation. The increased of percentage has been noticed from the respondents generation which is 411 (68.50%) and the more percentage has been increased in children generation which is 95 (76.61%).

From Table 10, regarding the intra-generational occupational changes within each occupational category, it may be observed that the percentage of those who did not experience any occupational change is higher 305 (50.83%) than the respondents who have experienced one to three changes and even more 295 (49.17%).

From Table 11, with reference to the direction of intra-generational occupational mobility among the 295 mobile respondents, it is generally observed that there is more of a horizontal intra-generational mobility among the mobile respondents. Many of them 234 (79.32%) have moved to occupations that are on a par with their previous occupations.

In reference to intra-generational occupational mobility among the Aos, it is clearly seen from the analyzed data that the majority of grandfathers and fathers were engaged in agriculture. Since the two generations under consideration mostly born in rural areas and belong to rural agriculture-based societies, they had therefore naturally taken up agriculture as the major source of livelihood. Due to lack of education and exposure to urban societies they continued with the agriculture only which is treated as traditional occupations in the modern society. When observe clearly it is seen that there was a gradual but slow mobility from
traditional occupations to those of modern and secular occupations. The
mobility rate has been also found to be gradually increasing from one
generation to another generation when viewed from the four generation's
occupations.

Due to rapid urbanization and improved channels of transportation
and communication, people are migrating to the towns, deviating from
their parental occupations. It may be observed that, from the second
generation (father generation) they experienced a major shift from the
rural traditional occupation (shifting cultivation) to that of the modern
industrial one such as government services, contract works, business, etc.
According to the Ao people such deviation has been found due to the low
productivity in the old traditional pattern of agriculture. It is observed
that the rate of shifting varies from occupation to occupation and from
one group to another within the same occupational group. The people
who are more qualified are mobile than the less qualified groups. Those
who are engaged in unskilled labour are more mobile than who are
engaged in skilled labour. It is also noticed among the Aos that
occupations like business and farming and high professional groups are
likely to be more stable than a group of skilled, semi and unskilled
labourer. The rate of shifting is also likely to be more among young
people who have recently entered an occupation who are still in the
process of finding a suitable occupation than the older people who are
already settled.

Among the different occupational categories, the hereditary
transmission of occupation still exists in the Ao society and it is
considered as quite natural. Owing to modernization and urbanization, the present day society is not rigid with regard to the transmission of occupational status. The children, those who enter their father's occupations are likely to observe majority in the children of the professionals and successful businessmen. It may be observed that the transmission of occupations from fathers to children have been decreasing during the last few generations. The greater part of the population shifts from occupation to occupation gradually. Majority of the population shifts to other occupations than their parents' occupation only very less percentage enters their fathers' occupations. It has been noticed that the inheritance of occupation is less among the Aos. Such values have been totally changed, with the spread of education, modernization and acute unemployment problem in the society.

When viewing the rate of shift from manual to non-manual occupations in all the four generations, it is seen that the percentage of non-manual and other types of occupations are comparatively higher when compared to other manual jobs included in the categories. The data therefore shows that there is a marked degree of increase in the rate of shift from traditional to that of modern occupations.

In reference to the horizontal and vertical mobility among the four generations, it may be observed that the rate of upward mobility is high among the Aos. Thus it may be observed that in all the four generations, majority of them left their parental occupations and have moved vertically to higher level of occupations other than parental traditional occupations. Changes in the system of transportation and communication
due to the basic requirements of industrial development and growth, increasing rate of population along with urbanization all these result in either vertical or horizontal or spatial mobility in modern society.

Regarding the intra-generational occupational changes within each occupational category among the Aos, it may be observed that the percentage of those who did not experience any occupational change is comparatively higher 305 (50.83%) than the respondents who have experienced one to three changes and even more 295 (49.17%).

It may be also observed that the respondents engaged in professional and administrative type of occupation have been proved to be less mobile, as this category of occupation is the topmost group and most of the people at this stage got retired. Next category is farming, most of the respondents engaged in this category as dairy farmer, poultry farmer, vegetable farmer etc. Among the Aos, those who are engaged in managerial and executive, inspectional, supervisory and non-manual both higher and lower grade and other occupations the mobility rate is comparatively high, because these people has always to struggle for higher occupational positions with a corresponding increase in the salary.

Age is another factor that influences the mobility rate among the Aos, as most of the respondents are still young enough to reach a final position in their occupational career. Many of them still in the first job and others have only one or two positions in general. Thus the occupational status of the respondents in general have shown a general tendency, towards mobility.
With reference to the direction of intra-generational occupational mobility among the 295 respondents, it is generally observed that, majority 234 (79.32%) have moved to occupations that are on par with their previous occupations.