CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

A shift in working population from agriculture and allied occupation to industrial and tertiary activities is a widespread phenomenon in almost all the developing countries. Such change in occupational structure, where the working population shift from one to another and from one generation to the other, is taken as occupational mobility. Thus shifting of people from rural areas to urban areas and giving up of the traditional profession and taking up new ones are some of the examples of occupational mobility. According to *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*,¹

Occupational mobility may be discussed by examining both the mobility of the occupations themselves and individual movement from one occupation to another. Mobility may involve changes in locus, function, income, prestige, power, independence, or other occupational attributes.

Occupational mobility is a significant dimension of social mobility. The phenomenon of occupational mobility is intimately associated with industrial urbanism and improved channels of transportation and communication which have accelerated the process

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of migration from rural-urban, movement of people from one occupation to another resulting in vertical changes in the occupational position. Industrial urbanism has changed the demographic composition of different regions of the world, created new conditions of work, encouraged the rise of occupations, professions and job opportunities, divided society into new hierarchical groups and classes initiating new forms of division of labour and thus social differentiation. In the same way, the revolution in the channels of transportation have gradually broken the isolation of rural and tribal communities and has brought them nearer to the cities and the industrial centres of production. As a consequence, the increased rate of migration and changes from lower to higher occupations resulting in new patterns of status and the notions of prestige have also emerged as an inherent factor.

Occupation is one of the common indicators of stratification. Philip (1990:8) states that, “occupation has been recognized as a reliable and most common indicator of social stratification”. He further points out that, “In the various dimensions of social stratification like consumption ranking, social class, power rankings, etc., occupational ranking occupies a key position.” Most studies on stratification have shown that the level of occupation is highly correlated with levels of income, prestige and power. It is commonly observed that some occupation accrue more respect, money and power than others. The fact that occupations appear to be stratified along several dimension have led many scholars to study societal stratification by studying occupations. M. Hahalembor (1980) states that, “occupation is used as an indicator of social class and researchers use different criteria for
ranking occupations. Many researchers classify occupations in terms of the prestige associated with them, others place more emphasis on the economic rewards attached to them.”

Therefore, the occupational structure is considered to be so important in a social system that a job can serve very largely to determine a man’s general social status. Blau and Duncan (1967: vii) while describing the close relationship between occupations and social status state that, “In the absence of hereditary castes or feudal estates, class differences come to rest primarily on occupational positions and the economic advantages and powers associated with them.” Thus individual’s occupation has direct effects on factors like income, possessions, place of residence, associates, leisure, expenditures and in general, the kind of privileges and disadvantages that constitute his daily experiences. Recognition of achievement and dignity of position are sometimes more pecuniary rewards. It is perhaps not so much to say that only in a very exceptional case could an adult man be genuinely self-respecting and enjoy a respectable status in the eyes of others if he did not earn a living in an approved occupational role. It is not only a matter of his own economic support which is involved, but also generally speaking, his occupational status as the primary source of his income and thus class and status.

Occupational mobility in rural areas has been greatly influenced by urbanization. The more the village community is affected by urbanization the greater is the occupational diversification and migration. Sometimes motivation for outward migration is continued by
the stress of the village economy. The attitude changes towards the traditional occupational structure, however, as a result from both external and internal forces. The external forces are land reforms, secularization, industrialization, urban contacts, means of communication, transport and modern education. The internal forces include the village economy, and the nature of castes and class distinctions in the villages. Barber\(^2\) observes that, "there are two sets of forces responsible for bringing about social mobility, outside forces and various internal social structural pressures." The movement of population from rural to urban areas thus makes it almost inevitable that migrants living in urban societies take up to careers different from those of their parents. The diversity of labour in the city provides migrants with an adequate range of choice for those who are qualified and trained to take up jobs, irrespective of their caste affiliation. Ghurey (1961:241) states that, "the unfreedom of occupation in actual operation at the beginning of the 19\(^{th}\) 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." It is observed that as the members of some of the low caste groups receive education and technical skills, they tend to acquire better occupational positions resulting in the shift from low-skilled and manual occupations of their

forefathers to those of higher level occupations in an urban social structure. Thus, education has transferred certain occupations into professions which require special training, a prescribed educational standard and skill. Modern professions are equally the result of education as well as industrialization. During the nineteenth century when most of the present professions were in the process of rise and growth, they did not require so much specialization and training, but these days there is a definite indication that one after the other, different occupations are being transformed into professions demanding skill and standard.

The growth of cities, industries and the modern age of urbanism changed the closed pattern of stratification which was purely caste based. Srinivas (1967: 63) describes, "The forces of modernization opened new channels for occupational mobility. Education facilitated the acceptance of new occupations. The new opportunities, educational, economic, political were in theory caste-free, that is, they were open to all, and no one was banned from having access to them by reason of birth in a particular caste or set or religion."

Thus, it is observed that the modern age of urbanization has changed the closed pattern of stratification which was purely caste based. Norms like personal achievement, equality of opportunities, competition, educational standard, skill, efficiency, initiative, etc., have emerged on the scene. Urban centres, mechanized forms of production, social mobility, stratification and occupational structure are therefore, interrelated terms. All industrial societies in general are characterized
by their phenomena of vertical mobility, their open type of stratification, and their diversification of occupational structure owing to an increased rate of education and specialization. Thus mobility may be understood in the context of the pattern of the stratification and the occupational structure of a particular society.

The study of inter-generational mobility and intra-generational mobility explains the rate of mobility from the parental occupation and the traditional occupations in four generations in general and the rate of mobility or number of occupational changes in the respondents life span, in particular.

The process of migration in general and rural to urban in particular leads to occupational mobility, with the advent of industrialization and changes in the mass media of communication more and more people from rural areas are able to move to urban areas and thus they are able to realize the value of education and achieved occupational positions.

Longchar (1985: 152) states that, “with the onset of modernization, an urban consciousness has developed among the tribals and as a result people from the rural areas emigrate to the towns in search of employment and other occupations.” As a result of migration, individuals aspire for higher educational and occupational opportunities for their children, lay more stress on English medium of education and other professional, technical and commercial types of courses which prepare them to capture higher occupational positions. They can easily
explore the various avenues of occupations existing in the towns and cities. Thus the process of industrialization, migration and increased educational opportunities encourage individuals to specialize in various technical fields, irrespective of one's caste background. Education plays a key role in the occupational structure, as the educational qualifications have become a prerequisite in the attainment of occupational positions of the present day modern occupational structure, finally resulting in the deviation from traditional occupations to secular occupations. The said shift from traditional occupations has become a common phenomenon in modern times.

In dealing with the present situation one cannot ignore the cultural background of the past, because the present society is the result of series of changes that has taken place in the past society as it has been quoted by Khashim Ruivah in the words of the great anthropologist Franz Boaz (Khashim Ruivah, 1993: 2) "Each culture can be understood only as an historical growth determined by the social and geographical environment in which each people is placed and by the way in which it develops the cultural material that comes into possession from the outside or through its own creativeness."

Many scholars and renown anthropologists have conducted research on primitive tribe and its socio-cultural changes in various senses, especially mention may be made of E. B. Tylor (1971); Malinowski (1960); Radcliff Brown (1952). E. B. Tylor (1971) states culture as "Culture or civilization taken in its ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, moral, law,
custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society.”

In the study of primitive society, anthropologists like Tylor, Morgan and Frazer attempted to explain the origin of culture and made simplistic attempt to understand change. They believed that the primitive societies had already experienced dramatic change in the past.

The British social anthropologists seem to have more concern with the social consequences of change, in terms of structural adjustment. American anthropologists, on the other hand, were more concerned with process and agent of changes. While Britishers were primarily concerned with the problem of socio-cultural change due to colonial rule, trade, the Americans were more concerned with the study of change as an outcome of Christianity, formal education, better contact with outside world, and economic development.

Therefore, in considering social change, one of the crucial problem areas in contemporary anthropology is that of socio-cultural change. The study of primitive societies and socio-cultural change has becoming more important or significant in the post first world war and second world war.

For a long time India has maintained the age-old traditional occupational patterns. These occupations have been specific and hierarchical in nature. They were mainly caste bound occupations and were non-competitive in character. One of the major changes that the new system of education introduced was a gradual disassociation of
occupation from caste, while occupations in the traditional caste system were rated in terms of ritual, purity and pollution, they are today rated to some extent in terms of income they produce.

In the 19th century, a significant landmark has been continued in the history of the tribal people of the North-east India, particularly to Naga society. It witnessed the transition from tradition to modernity in all aspects of social life and culture. Prior to the British arrival and Christianity to this region the people remained isolated. The Nagas lived in their isolated lives in their respective villages, which were more or less like village republics. However, it was during the year 1832 the British made their first entry into Naga Hills. According to Sema (1986), the first mass contact of the Nagas with the people living outside was made only during the Second World War.

The entry of the British administration brought along the Christian missionaries into the Naga society, particularly to the Ao society. The British intervened with the traditional political institutions and later they also introduced change in the subsistence activities of the people. The missionaries who came at the same time as the British colonizers, brought change in the indigenous religious beliefs and practices and many other aspects of life of the Ao people like dormitory system and traditional system of agriculture. Thus the impact of British administration and Christianity on the Naga society in general, and Ao society in particular, during this period has a tremendous impact on the socio-economic, religion, occupation, education and cultural field and eradication of some evil practices like head-hunting and superstitious
beliefs. Further, it leads to the gradual decline in indigenous arts, crafts, traditional system of occupation (agriculture), customary law and justice and indigenous industries.

The pace of development has been phenomenal in post independent India, where the goals of planned development have been to transform a backward colonial system into a modern industrial one. The Five Year Plans have undertaken this challenge in their own rights and every region in the country has felt this impact. It is therefore, natural to think that the nature of occupational and professional structure has considerably changed in recent times. Thus, this study is a modest attempt to examine these problems stated in a developing tribal community of North Eastern India.

The aim of this endeavour is to find out the patterns of occupational mobility among the Aos of Nagaland. The Aos belong to a very enterprising tribal community and they are now comparatively one of the most literate groups in Nagaland state. Of late, their contact with the outside world has resulted in a considerable change in their day-to-day life. The occupational diversification and educational advancement among them were the natural consequences of such a contact. Their process of transformation as with other Naga tribes was accelerated by the impact of colonial control, spread of Christianity and growth of education which opened up their mental horizon and changed slowly their economic interests to other activities other than cultivation. Longchar (1985: 152) mentions that, “primary schools have been opened in almost all the villages. Employment opportunities increased
in the government services, contract, supply work etc. and all these brought in money in unprecedented amounts. Educated people entered government services and well-to-do people have given up cultivation in favour of business. Such tertiary activities have brought in easy money to the people and that in turn changed the standard of living of many people.”

In all these processes, the need to earn formal currency and establishment of salaried menial services by colonial services by colonial administration began to slow process of ushering in different forms of occupations which proliferated during post-independent India and much more following the creation of the Nagaland state in 1963. The occupations under focus predominantly are government salaried services and private enterprises of trade, commerce and business.

Of Nagaland and its tribal society, although of late, there are proliferation of published data, all these mainly deal with political history, ethnicity and Christian church activities, in addition to government reports of unemployment, agricultural and rural development activities. Thus, this research effort will be an humble attempt so far as occupational mobility of the Naga tribals.

Review of Literature

As occupational mobility has been widely accepted as the most important part of social mobility and change thereof, many studies have tried to highlight this matter. In this regard, special mention may be made of Form and Miller (1949). Lippedt and Bendix (1952), Frazer (1959), Smelser and Lipset (1964), Goldhamer (1968) and Peil (1972).
Form and Miller (1949), distinguished the three phases of initial, trial and stable work periods from an analysis of 276 American occupational case histories. These periods enable a profile of secure and insecure work patterns to be devised. Their analysis also indicated that secure work patterns were typical of white-collar workers. They suggested that once an individual embarked upon a career at a particular occupational level, the probability was that he remained at that level.

The Oakland Mobility study by Lipset and Bendix (1952) has become something of a classic in the field. They report on the work experiences of 935 people who were the chief wage-earners in their families. They found that changes in job within the same occupation were far more common than the phenomenon of changing the occupation itself. As might be expected, those individuals who did change their occupation or jobs frequently were also more likely to change their occupation more often than the less mobile. The researchers further found a correlation between occupational status and the amount of mobility experienced by an individual.

Smelser and Lipset (1964) have found that the occupational mobility is more prevalent in the urbanized and industrial localities. Most of the occupational movements, according to them, in the urban centres do not contribute to changes in the occupational structure, but it involves a rearrangement of the members of the younger generation within a relatively stable structure. In the least urban and industrialized communities, most of the mobility that occurs is directly involved in the shift of the son's occupational distribution away from that of the
fathers. They also found that more urbanized and industrialized their place of residence, the greater was the similarity in the occupational distributions of fathers and sons.

In India and its North Eastern region, the study of social mobility in general and occupational mobility in particular is a widespread phenomenon. The traditional association of caste and occupation, low pace of industrialization and limited urban growth have always restricted occupational mobility. However, the situation has comparatively changed recently and we find changes taking place in the structure and nature of numerous occupations both in rural and urban areas. Among these, mention may be made of the studies undertaken by Jain (1969), Nijhawan (1969), Kamu and Wiebe (1973), Dubey (1975), Ch. Uma Mohan (1980), Shyam Lal (1981), Sunanda Pande (1986), Dutta (1991), and Mahanta (1992).

Jain (1969) conducted his study in Seohara, a middle-sized town in U.P. In this study, occupational mobility has been found to be the index of social mobility. He found that, social mobility in the town has occurred at a higher rate in the present subject and his father’s generations than in the generations of the subject’s father and grandfathers.

Nijhawan (1969) has drawn his data from a study of the Fourth General Election Consisted Sample of 1593 male voters selected at random from fourteen Indian States except the state of Assam and Jammu and Kashmir and all the Indian territories. The researcher has categorized the occupation reported by the respondents into two groups;
Agricultural and Non-Agricultural. Non-agricultural occupations have been further classified into five occupational classes (e.g., professions, white-collar, business/trade, skilled and semi-skilled), and agricultural occupations into three occupational classes (e.g., owner-cultivator and farmer, tenant-cultivator, and agricultural labourers). The findings of this study shows that there exists a strong and distinct relationship between the occupation of the respondent and that of his father. In other words, sons of certain origins enjoy a clear advantage in moving over to certain occupational classes. Considerably the extent of immobility into specific occupational classes, it has been found that the white-collar occupation is more easily accessible to members of other origins than any other class.

The major points that emerge from the study by Ramu and Wiebi (1973) conducted in the Kolar Gold Fields, an urban and industrial settings in Mysore state, South India, are as follows. The modal levels of educational accomplishment for sons are higher than those of fathers in each Varna category status stability in less among the sons than the fathers. Incidence of upward mobility is more among the fathers than the sons.

In a study on migration and occupational mobility in a village in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh, Mohan (1980) shows that out of the 27 migrants, 23 have experienced upward occupational mobility by switching over from their fathers traditional occupations. The present occupations of these migrants earn them better income and status than their father's and they also offer them better prospects for future.
development. Such prospects are not available to those migrants in their native village if they choose to remain there. Only one migrant had experienced downward mobility, as his study revealed.

Shyam Lal (1981) studied patterns of occupational mobility among the Bhangi caste in Jodhpur city. The findings show that there is evidence of change taking place from traditional to non-traditional occupations among the Bhangis.

Sunanda Pande (1986) studied the impact of factors such as class, education and migration on occupational mobility among different generations of Bhojpuri migrants in twin cities of Hyderabad. Her finding includes that, sons with higher parental class positions in general tend to occupy high occupational positions justifying the parental class influence. As regards the influence of education on occupational mobility, many of them could attain higher education and occupational status irrespective of their low parental education and occupational status. As regards migration and occupational mobility the migrants who were also employed prior to their migration did not prove to be very much mobile as far as occupational positions are concerned.

Dutta (1991) out of a field work conducted in two Upper Assam districts found that, it is quite natural that people with low educational and occupational background experience very little educational and occupational mobility. This becomes evident from the fact that upward mobility is reportedly more among the respondents having occupationally better placed fathers whereas non-mobility is found to
be common among lower occupational categories in rural areas and tea estates.

Mahanta (1992) conducted field work in Mawshbuit village on the outskirt of Shillong urban area. He found that this village experienced various kinds of occupational adaptations, which were not known to tribal people earlier, have found their way in due to increasing urban influences. The researcher further found that changing occupational structure through occupational diversification is required augmentation in the level of skills among the workers.

Of Nagaland and its tribal society, so far any particular review of the work done on occupational mobility have not been tried here. But the main purpose of review of literature done here is to show the traditional cultural life of the Nagas and also the development process of researches done in the Naga tribal society.

Furer-Haimendorf (1939) analyzed the gradual changes of the culture of the Naked Nagas. He gives an interesting account of the early life of the Nagas before they were influenced by the British administrators and missionaries and also describes the developmental process in the Naga society.

Horam (1988) made an analytical studies on the Naga tribes in general and states that one of the most remarkable changes that have taken place among the Naga society was the transitional from old beliefs to new beliefs, animism to Christianity. Beliefs in the old gods and superstitions are slowly passing away but these have been firmly
replaced by Christianity. The advent of Christian missionaries in the Naga society brought about a great change in the outlook of the people. This is because the missionaries were completely against some taboos and beliefs, which were against their religion and also which were considered not good for the people to practice or follow. Therefore, along with the changing condition in the society many taboos and beliefs were set aside and new forms of culture were introduced into their society.

Sema, P. (1992) studied the influence of the British rule on the traditional cultural life of the Nagas. In his analytical studies he found that a drastic change has been taken place in the socio-cultural and economic life of the Naga people by the dawn of the 20th century, with the gradual intensification of the colonial agencies, such as modern education, Christianity and the development of the district, employment avenues also increased significantly. He also found that, with a great input and change that the people who came in contact with the outside world took up government service, business, contract works or some other occupation other than cultivation. He found that, it was only with the coming of the British administration in Naga Hills that people rushed in for employment other than cultivation.

Ruivah (1993), in his ethnographic account on the Tangkhul Nagas, found that the social life of the Tangkhul society has been undergoing a rapid transformation as a result of the introduction of a new way of life mainly due to the impact of Christianity, contact with outside world, formal education and the imposition of a new political
system etc. The most important factor of social change among the Tangkhul began after the occupation of Manipur by the British in the last part of the 19th century. With the advent of Christianity social transformation of the Tangkhul society has taken place in numerous ways, the formal education in the Tangkhul society thus came into existence, the Tangkhul language as a written one for communicating ideas and thoughts have been introduced. Besides the formal education and mass literacy the missionaries introduced various other professional and religious education. He further found that, for imparting formal education many Tangkhul were trained in medical science as doctors, nurses and pharmacists and so on.

Mills (1926), in his monograph on the Ao Nagas, made an effort in investigation on socio-cultural life of the Ao Naga people and put them on record that, the Aos an agriculturalist. He made an elaborate studies on the original form of the Ao's traditional agriculture and the ceremonies connected with it. He stated about the Ao people that whether he a mission teacher, a carpenter or a government servant he farms his fields. He also traced the origin and migration of the tribe which gives the situations prevailing before the changes have taken place in the socio-cultural life of the Ao people.

In the Mokokchung District Gazetteers, Ghosh (1979) recorded that the changes of occupational pattern from the traditional one like shifting cultivation to other modern industrial one like government service, business and contract works is a significant transformation in the occupational culture among the Ao Nagas. He also recorded that,
formerly when there was no urban population, that is before the second world war, the number of people working in government service and business was very negligible. It was due to some factors like increase in number of educated people and migration of the people to the town as a result of modernization that the Ao people entered government services and business other than cultivation.

Imchen (2000) made an analytical study on the Ao Nagas and its socio-cultural and political change and found that, the Christianity especially the missionaries opened the villages to the outside world. He also studied the economic life of the Ao people and pointed out that, economically, the Aos depended on the agricultural products from the known history and thus they become agricultural tribe.

A number of study on traditional cultural life of the Naga tribal society and the developmental process among the Naga society have been done by many researchers. However, it may be pointed out that no study has been done so far among the Nagas in general, and Aos in particular, as occupational mobility is concerned.

Objectives of the Study

In the light of what has been said so far, the present study has the following objectives:

1. To explore the emerging pattern of occupational mobility among the Aos in Mokokchung town.
2. To examine the patterns of inter and intra-generational occupational mobility.
3. To examine the impact of religion on occupational change.
4. To examine the impact of education on occupational change.
5. To find out whether rural to urban migration helped the Aos in improving their position in the overall general Naga society by virtue of their contemporary status in the occupational structure.

Methods of the Study

The present study is based on field work which is conducted in a purposively selected town called Mokokchung. The town is the district headquarters and the district is the home of the Aos. Being the nearest town than others, people from different villages migrate to the town for formal education, employment, business etc. other than cultivation as a result of modernization.

The present study is based partly on primary data and partly on secondary data.

The secondary data have been collected from the various available sources like books, journals, colonial reports, Church and missionary publications and other published books about the Naga society, including government reports and gazetteers and newspaper publications. Other secondary sources of which there are now a fair amount to be augmented by collecting the knowledge and experiences of members of the senior citizen groups, who as repositories of traditional knowledge and practices also are keen observers of the process of change among the Nagas.
The primary data have been drawn through interview schedules and observation. Prior to the actual investigation begins some of the important persons like ward chairman, elders, pastors, women leaders, youth leaders, etc. were contacted in order to get the preliminary necessary information. Before the interview schedules were served to the respondents, preliminary contact was made in order to get acquaintance with the people and informed them about the purpose of the study.

According to the 1991 census, the population of the Mokokchung town is 24,636. Out of this, the Ao population is 85% which is approximately 20,940 (Office of the Mokokchung Town Committee). As the present study is concerned with occupational mobility among the Aos in Mokokchung town, a sample of 600 respondents (one from each household) has been taken which makes 3% of the Ao population in this town.

There are 14 (fourteen) wards in Mokokchung town, namely Sangtemla, Dilong, Alenpang, Arkong, Aongza, Kumlong, Salangtem, Ardang, Kichutip, Tongdentsiyong, Penli, Alongmen and Majakong. According to ward chairman reports, there are approximately 200-500 Ao households in each ward depending on the size of the ward area. For the present study, the sampled respondents were drawn through random sampling method from the 14 (fourteen) wards in the town. From each ward, 40-45 sample households have been selected (one respondent from each household). The sample respondents so drawn from each household, includes all the different categories of
occupations included in the list and thus could attain an equal chance of representation.

Classification of Occupation

To classify occupations and arrange them in terms of their social status, nine categories of occupations prepared by Sunanda Pande (1986: 15-16) sum up with one or more categories together which are suited to the present study has been taken as a guideline in the present study. Thus the eight categories are arranged in the following manner.

1. Professional, semi-professional and administrative-occupations with highly specialized experiences and possessing a degree or professional qualification.
2. Managerial and executive – occupations responsible for initiating or managing.
3. Inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual (higher grade) - occupations that may have some degree of authority over others.
4. Inspectional, supervisory and non-manual (lower grade) – occupations that involves a measure of responsibility.
5. Skilled – occupations that have a special training and responsibility for the work in which the individual is engaged.
6. Semi-skilled and unskilled – occupations that have no special skill or responsibility.
7. Farming – occupation includes different types of farming.
8. Other occupations – occupations that which could not be placed in the above given categories especially businessmen and different NGOs workers.
The data so collected were supplemented with genealogical studies and comparative methods, mainly focus on tracing back to migration from the village, the role of education in their lives and of availing new opportunities for employment other than cultivation.

**Chapterization**

Chapter I - Introduction deals with the Statement of the Problem, review of literature, objectives and methods of the study.

Chapter II deals with the land and people.

Chapter III deals with the Socio-Economic Profile of the Respondents.

Chapter IV deals with the Inter- and Intra-Generational Occupational Mobility of the Respondents.

Chapter V deals with the Influence of Religion on Occupational Mobility.

Chapter VI deals with the Influence of Education on Occupational Mobility.

Chapter VII deals with the Influence of Migration on Occupational Mobility.

Chapter VIII summarizes the Findings of the Thesis and discuss their implications.