CHAPTER - ONE

INTRODUCTION
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Social stratification is universal and found in all societies. It indicates the social layers of the society. Social mobility explains the changes in the layers. Though stratification and mobility analytically different, they are related to each other. Social mobility is directly related to the system of social stratification. It is like change in the family, community, polity, economy, structure and leadership, a process that directly reflects the direction which the structural change taking place in the society. The goals of Indian nation being the establishment of a democratic and socialist society, mobility in the system of social stratification assumes importance. There are several studies in India which throw light on this aspect of social mobility, moreover offering important contextual, insights for the study of social mobility.

Social mobility as a process has become more active in recent times. It has resulted from sets of endogenous and exogenous factors that have loosened the summation of status principles which the traditional and caste stratification represented. The congruence of ritual status, economic status and power status as in the traditional caste stratification is withering away under the impact of social legislation, education, democratization, industrialization and urbanization. These process have created many alternative resources for supplementing one's social status and have broken the exclusiveness of the traditional principles of social
status determination as consequence of increased social mobility (Singh Yogendra, 1997:161).

In the modern era of industrial urbanism, the feudal pattern of stratification has been considerably modified and the norms of personal achievements, equality of opportunity, democratic values and individuality have emerged as the new bases of social order. The criteria for these new values are competition, educational standard, personal skill, etc. In every society whether feudal with a traditional, rural agricultural base or industrial with a scientific rational outlook, urban centers and mechanized forms of production, social mobility, stratification and occupational structure are interrelated with each other (Dubey, S.M, 1975:8).

In every society, people and groups find themselves confined by status margins. Those persons and groups occupying higher status positions always have an interest in keeping up their status. The study of social mobility involves consideration of the strategies which individuals and groups use, and are in turn used by them. Inkelex Alex, (1997:429) argues that there is no society known which does not make some distinction between individuals by ranking some scale or value.

The individual in any society may be placed on a hierarchy of value expressing the prestige or respect with which each person is held. Those sharing more or less comparable standing will then form a prestige group or stratum. In some societies these arrangements are formal and explicit. They may be religiously sanctioned, as in the caste system in
India, or even enforced by law. Similarly, individuals may be placed on large scale of possessions, separately for political power, land and money, those having similar shares of power or wealth can be grouped and considered as forming a stratum, or class, in the hierarchy or possession (Wankhede, G.G, 1999:113).

Present day urban life has offered more means to mobility and suggests to those who seek it a greater likelihood of success that the highly structured and closely controlled traditional village setting. Mobility occurs in all settings. Some low status groups have been victims of technological displacement with the result that their economic, political and social statuses have declined. They drift either into the status of rural landless labourers or into unskilled urban employment, both of which are overpopulated and underpaid. The result is underemployment, unemployment, poverty and lack of opportunity for improvement. It is seen that some occupations have been created and with them opportunities for enhancement of economic and social status thus allowing certain mobility. Capitalist societies are open-class and therefore one can expect a high degree of social mobility.

In a closed society or immobile society, it is very difficult or virtually impossible for individuals to move upwards or even downward from their class of origin. In these societies, members hardly move and remain forever in the social class in which he or she was born. In the caste society in India and other similar societies practicing the caste system and ethnic minorities subjected to social barriers or created social barriers. Individuals from lower socio-economic groups have less access
to certain social and educational facilities and jobs. In an open society, individuals are able to ascend and descend along the social mobility ladder. Societies can be said to be open or mobile and closed or immobile depending on the extent that the individual is able to move along the social ladder.

In the open system the norms prescribed and encourage mobility. There are independent principles of ranking like status, class and power. In an open system individuals are assigned to different positions in the social structure on the basis of their merit or achievement. Open systems mobility is generally characterized with occupational diversity, a flexible hierarchy, differentiated social structure and rapidity of change. In such systems the hold of ascription based corporate groups like caste, kinship or extended family etc declines. The dominant values in such a system emphasize on equality and freedom of the individual and on change and innovation. According to liberal theory the movement within a system should result from a person's achievement and should not be based on ascribed characteristics such as sex, race, region of birth, and parent's class position. An individual class or status of social origin and social mobility occurs when the class or status positions differ from those of origin.

Social mobility would be high where individuals have equal opportunity to achieve new statuses and low where there are inequalities of opportunity and processes of status ascription. Social mobility is the transition of an individual or social object or value, anything that has been created or modified by human activity from one social position to
another. However, social mobility can only happen if conditions allow a working class person to move up to middle and upper class.

Havighurst, (1961:105-120) suggests that social mobility may be facilitated by the use of technology to replace semi-skilled and unskilled employees, with the use of modern technology, there will be a demand for technical and highly skilled workers and this would mean better paid positions, a move from labour intensive, unskilled jobs to jobs which requiring technical training, move into industries that require highly technical trained and well-paid workers for ensuring high productivity. This in turn encourages people to spend on services provided by professional people. This increases the mobility of such professions, providing free land and incentive to start business for the disadvantaged groups and this creates owners of wealth, providing free and easy access to education that is based on achievement rather than of birth.

Aspiration and application for middle and upper status jobs based on achievement rather than on birth and allowing upward mobility to lower classes, thus increasing their living standard. This in turn enables them to provide better education and health for their children, increase future upward mobility. There are some argue about the importance of social mobility and its relationship with inequality and economic growth. On the one hand, high levels of inequality might be thought to constrain the potential for movement within the social hierarchy, leading to a double-bind of high inequality and low mobility. On the other, high levels of inequality and mobility might be thought to be good, suggesting that sufficient incentives are built into the social structure to allow the
economy to make the best use of its resources, allocating talented labour
to high value jobs. To the extent that it is available, the substantiation
appears to favour the former argument, with those countries with higher
levels of mobility also having lower inequality. There are also some facts
of causal linkages between inequality and low levels of mobility, (Alex
Nunn, Steve Johnson, Surya Monro, Tim Bickerstaffe and Sarah Kelsey,

The study of social mobility can be differentiated into two distinct
traditions: a sociological tradition and an economic tradition. The
sociological tradition is based on an understanding of the structure of
society defined by an occupational hierarchy, while the economic
tradition tends to focus on income groups. Both of these approaches have
significant merits for the study of social mobility.

The importance of the concept of social mobility as a measure of
social fairness has increased, being seen as a measure of equality of
opportunity in a world where outcomes are not equal. Social mobility,
therefore, is closely associated with related concepts such as inequality,
social exclusion and inclusion, class and social stratification where
mobility refers to movement between different and unequal social
groups, or classes and between exclusion and inclusion.

The social mobility refers to the variation in the social origin of the
members of a given social stratum. It also refers to the ways in which the
opportunities available to a given generation of men are distributed
among them, according to their various characteristics. There is a
distinction between social and occupational mobility. Occupational mobility is only a part of social mobility (Sivarm, P, 1990:2).

The Concept of Social Mobility:

The term social mobility is one of the most frequently used words in the sociological vocabulary (Theodore Caplow, 1954:112). Thereafter it would be therefore, to examine the concept and theory upon which the study carries. For the sociologist the concept of social mobility in its fullest sense means the passage of person from one social class to another. It is the process of changing perspectives, behaviour, social relationships and self identification, (Abbot, J, 1966:153-161). There are many approaches towards social mobility and it analyzes the movement of individuals who possesses a position to a certain rank to either higher or lower in the social system.

As inequality increased, social mobility emerged as an alternative and partially compensating measure of social fairness. The concept also appeared to capture something of the social changes which resulted from changes to the industrial structure of the economy, which was partially driven by pressures of globalisation.

Mobility is an important consideration in the nature of social systems as a whole, as in the comparison of class, caste and occupation (Hall, R.H, 1969:31). It is usually approached from a number of dimensions. These are, Firstly the time phase mobility, here intergenerational mobility can be distinguished from intra-generational
mobility even though two forms can exist simultaneously for individuals and collectives. The second dimension involves direction; three separate but often related directional axis can be identified.

The most commonly analyzed is vertical mobility, that is 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 which plays an important role in inter-generational and intra-generational mobility.

The term vertical social mobility refers to the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society-position which by general consent have been given specific hierarchical values. When we study social mobility we analyses the movement of individuals from one positions to another in the existing social system. According to the direction of movement there are two types of vertical social mobility, upwards and downwards. Upward mobility refers to the attainment of higher position and downward mobility indicates the loss of one's own status in the social system.

Social mobility is a much wider term and includes within it the upward or downward changes in the economic, political or occupational status of either the individual or the whole group. Modern industrial society offers greater opportunities for economic and political fluctuations through free competition and specialisation of education.
Social mobility can be thought of in absolute and relative terms. The former refers to processes of adjustment in the income or occupational structure of the economy. The latter, sometimes called social fluidity is associated with an individual’s opportunities for progression within the social hierarchy. Social mobility can also be thought of as intra-generational (chances for social progression within an individual’s own lifetime) and inter-generational (a comparison of achieved social position with that of one’s parents).

Social mobility can be defined as the movement of individual, families and groups from one social position to another (Goldhamer, Herbet, 1957:13). Pitrim, Sorokin, (1959:133) defines mobility as, any transitions of an individual or social object or value, anything that has been created or modified by human activity, from one social position to another.

According to Bendix and Lipset, (1959:1-2) the term social mobility refers to ‘the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society positions which general consent have been given specific hierarchical values. When we study social mobility, we analyse the movement of individuals from positions possessing a certain rank to positions either higher or lower in the social system’. Lipset, S.M and Bendix, R, (1967:1-8) give two reasons for existing social mobility in every society firstly, changes in demands for performance and secondly, changes in supplies of talent.
According to Barber, Bernard, (1957:74) mobility refers to ‘movement, either upward or downward, between higher and lower social classes or more precisely, movement between one relatively full time, functionally significant social role and another that is evaluated as either higher or lower’. This movement is to be conceived as a process occurring over time, with individuals (and their family units) moving from one role and social class position to another, because of what they have done or what has happened to them in various kinds of social interaction, such as in their family or in their work organisation, or during war or socio-economic expansion in their society.

Abrahamson, E.T, (1976:203) defined social mobility as ‘a change in social space and the evaluation of individual’s or group’s ranking in the stratification hierarchy’.

Social mobility is usually defined as, ‘the movement or opportunities for movement between different social classes or occupational groups’ (Aldridge, 2003:189-193). An ‘open’ or ‘fluid’ society is one where individuals are able to move freely, as a result of factors such as aptitude, intelligence, ability and effort, up the social scale, regardless of their social position in childhood (Heath and Payne, 1999). As such, the extent to which social mobility is possible is often used as one proxy measure of societal fairness.

Blanden, (2005:4) put it ‘The level of intergenerational mobility in society is seen by many as a measure of the extent of equality of economic opportunity or life chances. It captures the extent to which a
person's circumstances during childhood are reflected in their success in later life, or, on the flip-side, the extent to which individuals can make it by virtue of their own talents, motivation and luck.

Miller, (2005) argues, chances for social mobility are one aspect of the concept of equality of opportunity, which itself is, in turn, one of the four foundational principles of social justice, alongside equal citizenship rights, a guaranteed set of minimum social rights and fair distribution of additional social rights that are outside of citizenship. The definition of social mobility as put in a Dictionary of Sociology, (2005) 'The movement, usually of individuals but sometimes of whole groups – between different positions within the system of social stratification in any society. It is conventional to distinguish upward and downward mobility (i.e., movement up or down a hierarchy of privilege), and intergenerational from intra-generational or career mobility (the former referring to mobility between a family of origin and one's own class or status position, the latter to the mobility experienced during an individual career, such as respondent's first job compared to his or her present job). Other distinctions most notably that between structural and non-structural mobility are more contentious.'

Mobility between social groups and classes can also be thought of in generational terms. It is, therefore, useful to distinguish at the outset between intra-generational mobility and inter-generational mobility. Intra-generational mobility refers to the movement of individuals between different social classes during their lifetime and, in principle, can be measured between any two points during their life. However,
studies of social mobility tend to show that there are strong relationships between the social positions of parents and those that their children subsequently occupy. As such inter-generational social mobility is also an important concern and refers to the difference between the social positions of individuals at a particular point in their adult life (destination) with that of their parents (Breen and Rottman, 1995).

It is useful to differentiate between ‘absolute’ and ‘relative’ social mobility (Payne and Roberts, 2002:6-4). Absolute social mobility usually refers to the proportions of individuals from one social group moving to another. Absolute mobility is, thus, a useful means of capturing large-scale social changes such as shifts in the industrial and occupational structure which resulted in the large-scale movement of large parts of the population (especially men) from manual occupations in heavy industry to administrative occupations in the service sectors.

Relative mobility refers to the likelihood of movement between different social classes. Relative mobility is present with or without changes in absolute mobility and might be juxtaposed with it to offer an analysis of the potential for individual mobility between social groups relative to broader social and economic changes affecting those groups (Goldthorpe, 1987).

Social mobility in India:

Social mobility is the degree to which, in a given society, an individual's, families, or groups, social status can change throughout the
course of their life through a system of social hierarchy. Subsequently, it is also the degree to which that individuals or groups descendants move up and down the class system. The degree to which an individual can move through their system can be based on attributes and achievements or factors beyond their control.

In India it has seen a boom in employment, communication, distribution of goods, centralized administration, and urban living. This urbanization provides an escape from the ties of memberships in rural based communities. Factors that would predetermine an individual’s status are not as effective in urban areas. According to Harold Gould, (1988:14) the criteria for determining occupations in India are a person’s skill and quality of performance rather than place of birth. The status of any given role is based on its economic rewards and mobility. Studies have also shown that technological advances have both displaced certain groups as well as offered the chance for upward mobility. Some groups find themselves displaced by developing technology because their economic and social statuses have declined. In other cases, individuals are finding new occupation with the opportunity for upward mobility. Most advances, however, appear to coincide with the opportunity for enhancement of social status.

The increase in inequality lowered overall mobility, which was low to begin with, even further and that caste networks will continue to smooth consumption in rural India for the foreseeable future. Increased mobility is the hallmark of a developing economy. Although individuals might be tied to the land they are born on and the occupations that they
inherit from their parents in a traditional economy, the emergence of the market allows individuals to seek out jobs and locations that are best suited to their talents and abilities.

Among developing countries, India stands out for its remarkably low levels of occupational and geographic mobility. In Hindu society, under the caste system, only with rare exceptions could individuals leave the caste into which they were born, regardless of wealth or merit. But even in such a society, there have been individuals born in a lower caste, who succeeded in entering the top.

A numeral of studies has analyzed social mobility through both single and multiple approaches. The single approach emphasizes the criterion of occupation for determining social status, whereas the multiple approach includes more than one criterion for determining social status. In the Indian context, the studies on social mobility with occupational index and status are a recent phenomenon. These studies developed a trend of studying mobility relating to caste, class, community, stratification, rural-urban background and social background factors.

Kaivan Munshi and Rosenzweig (2003:3-13) study shows that how caste-based labour market networks have locked entire groups of individuals into narrow occupational categories for generations. India lags behind other countries with similar size and levels of economic development in terms of geographical mobility as well. Low rates of migration are not the only indicators of immobility in India. The basic
marriage rule in Hindu society is that no individual is permitted to marry outside the sub-caste or jati. Social mobility will be severely restricted by this rule because individuals are forced to match within a very narrow pool. The prevalence of out-marriage has begun to increase in recent decades, but the trend has been slow even in the city.

Mobility in India so low is due to low rural-urban migration. Opportunities in the rural areas expanded with the increase in agricultural productivity that accompanied the Green Revolution, and so the push out of the rural areas that drives migration in other economies may have been absent. However the growth rates, inclusive of the non-agricultural sector, have been high by any standard and male migration and inter-marriage continue to be low, at least in rural areas. Similarly the individuals continue to marry within their jatis simply because they have a strong preference for partners with the same background and characteristics. However, this cannot explain why out-marriage has not increased despite the increase in within-jati inequality that is below. What matters for changes in mobility is not even (exogenous) changes in inequality in the general population, but rather inequality within the jati (Kaivan Munshi and Mark Rosenzweig, 2005).

There has scarcely been any society whose strata were absolutely closed, or in which vertical social mobility in its three forms, economic, political and occupational, was not present. The strata of primitive tribes have been penetrable follows from the fact that within many of them there is no hereditary high position, their leaders often have been elected, their structures have been far from being quite rigid, and the personal
qualities of an individual have played a decisive role in social ascent or descent.

The nearest approach to an absolutely rigid society, without any vertical social mobility, is the so-called caste-society. Its most conspicuous type exists in India. Indeed, vertical social mobility is very weak and it has not been absolutely absent. Historical records show that in the past, when the caste-system had already been developed, it did happen that members of the highest Brahmin caste, or the king and his family, were overthrow.

There is an opportunity for mobility within the traditional status hierarchy has been increased in recent decades. They have emerged from the impact of urbanization and westernization but are not self-regulating of the traditional social organization in which they are based. In India industrial employment, communication, efficient distribution of goods and services and effective administration has made urban living a more reachable choice to more people. The fact that the caste system in India is integrated with the religion makes it even more difficult to modernize the thinking of the average person. Change on this scope is often viewed as an attack on sacred beliefs, the most difficult type of conflicts to resolve.

City life affords a measure of independence from the ties and constraints of membership in rural based social groups by granting a degree of individual ambiguity and mobility quite unattainable in rural communities. Caste, religion, ritual, tradition and the social controls implicit therein are not as rigid or pervasive in the city. People are
increasingly able to seek status and other rewards on an individual or small family basis largely independent of caste or the other larger social entities of which they are also a part. To a great extent urban Indians can achieve status as a result of behaviors and attributes rather than simply as a result of birth.

Traditional status or caste status does not disappear in cities. It remains important in the most private contexts, the family and neighborhood. Some neighborhoods essentially reproduce the village setting in personnel as well as social structure, others do not. Tradition and ascription are important in the city in those relationships upon which the day to day functioning and future composition of the family depends of which the epitome is marriage. In India a very large proportion of city dwellers are in close touch with their native villages. In the city primary relationships occupy a diminishing proportion of most people’s time, attention and energies.

In India much of the individuals’ interaction takes place on the basis of particular or even fragmented roles. Individual can often behave in a way dependable with the requirements of the situation without reference to his group membership. Individual is even able to pass if that is his desire by learning the superficial symbols of the status such as that of white collar worker, student, middle class householder or professional. In these statuses skill in handling the language, in pursuing the occupation or success in acquiring money or an appropriate life style may be socially recognized and rewarded irrespective of caste and family.
In spite of the fact that the caste-society in India is apparently the most conspicuous example of the most impenetrable and rigidly stratified body, nevertheless, even within it, the weak and slow currents of vertical mobility have been constantly present. In the case with the Indian society, it is clear that in all other social bodies vertical social mobility to some degree is present.

**Factors influencing social mobility:**

Social mobility is a complex and multi-faceted concept. Exploration of the range of factors influencing social mobility reveals some important themes, but the complex relationship between these means that it is inappropriate to make firm judgments about the relative importance of one or the other of them. In reality, they work in overlapping ways and in different combinations for different individuals. The factors involved are:

Social capital – There are some evidence that traditional working class social capital has declined, which may have weakened its assumed negative effects on social mobility, while other ‘negative’ forms of social capital have emerged such as cultures of worklessness, anti-social behaviour and drug abuse. A lack of positive role models, peer pressure, poverty of ambition and risk aversion may serve as barriers to social mobility. By contrast middle-class families tend to have access to a wider range of social networks that are more advantageous from the point of view of enabling upward mobility and protection against downward mobility.
Cultural capital – It can also help middle-class families to confer social advantages on their children, increasing their potential to move upwards and protecting them from downward movement in the social hierarchy.

Early years influences – This is seen as key to influencing later life chances. Convincing evidence shows that early experiences such as the quality of the home environment, family structure, pre-school care and relationships with caring adults produce a pattern of development in later life that is hard to reverse even through schooling.

Education – Education appears to be one of the most important factors influencing social mobility. However, there is considerable evidence that the introduction and expansion of universal education system in the West have not led to increasing levels of relative social mobility. This is due to a range of factors including the ability of middle-class families to take advantage of educational opportunities.

Employment and labour market experiences – In recent decades have seen the emergence of important labour market trends with implications for social mobility. First, substantial levels of worklessness and long-term economic inactivity have emerged in some areas and/or among specific population groups. Second, research has identified the emergence of a prominent ‘low-pay or no-pay’ cycle for some groups. There is also evidence that specific groups face particular disadvantages in the labour market and those women who take career breaks often have difficulty re-entering the labour market in the same position and
therefore, frequently experience downward social mobility after having children.

Health and wellbeing- Ill-health resulting from social and environmental factors identified with lower socio-economic status, and caring responsibilities can lead to declining socio-economic status.

Area based influences- Localized environmental problems appear to combine with socio-economic disadvantage to produce negative area-based influences on potential for social mobility. For example, inequalities in access to private transport combined with poorer quality provision in some important public services in deprived areas may mean that lower socio-economic classes are unable to exercise effective choices over access to these services.

Industrialization- Industrialization is an important factor that influences social mobility. Industrialization plays a dominant part in bringing social and economic changes that determines the individual and group mobility. Due to the industrial development there is change in occupation, individual attitude, beliefs, and traditions and thus it leads to an importance influencing factor of social mobility.

Urbanization –Urbanization and social mobility are directly related to each other. Urbanization has accelerated the pace and degree of mobility. Through urbanization people from rural area moves forward for seeking new jobs. Urban centers are providing more and varied opportunities for those who strive of social mobility.
Political institutions- political institutions are also play an important factor of influencing social mobility. Political institutions, government, political parties and other political organisations are influences social mobility. The present democratic societies opened the door to climb the ladder from low social stratum to social mobility through political institutions.

Theories of social mobility:

There are some theories of social mobility which help us to understand the concept more clearly.

Pitrim, Sorokin, (1959:113) has explained social mobility from the functionalist perspective. He used the term social mobility to explain the dynamics of occupational change in the given social structure. The change takes place within horizontal and vertical direction; the former signifying a change in function and the latter explains the change in rank. According to him horizontal mobility is that which may take place without any noticeable or remarkable change of the social position of an individual and vertical mobility is that which refers in the stratification scheme. Upward mobility refers to the attainment of higher position and downward mobility indicates the reduction of one’s own status in the social system. He claims that either the individuals of a lower stratum may infiltrate into an existing higher one or creation of a new group is a common phenomenon, but sometimes, the climbing or sinking of a whole group also take place.
He highlighted the general principles of vertical mobility. There are two forms of social stratification, closed and open. Closed stratification system is characterized by absence of social mobility. Open stratification permits mobility of individuals and groups. In between these two theoretical forms there are many other types of stratification. In any society we do not find completely closed or completely open system of social stratification.

a) There is hardly any society which is absolutely closed or in which vertical mobility in its three forms -economic, political and occupational -was not present. The nearest theory to a completely closed or rigid society, without any vertical mobility, is in caste based Indian society.

b) There is no society in which vertical mobility is absolutely free and easy. The movement from one social position to another has had no resistance. In this way all societies have been stratified in one or other ways.

c) The intensiveness of vertical social mobility varies from society to society and time to time. For example, vertical mobility is faster today in India than it was in earlier times.

d) Because of economic fluctuation, the degree of vertical mobility changes in the same society at different time.
e) In vertical mobility there is no definite trend towards either an increase or decrease of the intensiveness and generality of mobility. Sorokin explains the different channels of Social Mobility, such as religion, educational, political and economic institutions, professional organizations, family and marriage.

Dumont, L, (1988:146) begins with describing theory of caste, that the conviction that caste has something to teach us about ourselves. It imparts fundamental social principle that is hierarchy. He says that, in modern society, people have adopted their own thoughts contrary to it, but it is not without value for understanding the nature and conditions of realisation of the moral and political egalitarianism to which people are attached. He further, notes that it is essential to understand the ideology of the caste system.

According to Dumont, (1988) hierarchy is a ladder of command in which the lower rungs are encompassed in the higher ones in regular succession. He defines hierarchy as the principle by which the elements of a whole are ranked in relation to the whole, it is understood that in the majority of societies it is religion which provides the view of the whole, and that ranking will be religious in nature. Dumont says that traditional ideology places the highest moral value on the idea of society. Modern ideology places the highest moral value on the idea of the individual.

Dumont, (1988) argues that, the principle of hierarchy in the caste system is the opposition of the pure and the impure. He begins by
recalling the three important features of caste system. These features are separation, interdependence, and hierarchy. Separation is related to marriage. Interdependence means each group has in theory a profession from which its members can depart only within certain limits. Hierarchy ranks the groups as relatively superior or inferior to one another.

Further, Dumont, (1988) explicitly states that the fundamental opposition of pure and impure is not the cause of all the distinctions of caste, but rather it is their form. This opposition underlies hierarchy, which is the superiority of the pure to the impure, underlies separation because the pure and impure must be kept separate, and underlies the division of labour because pure and impure occupations must likewise be kept separate.

According to Dumont, (1988) ‘varnas’ are divided on the basis of their occupations. In the varna system there has been conceptual relationship between Brahman and Kshatriya. It was started at an early date and still exists. It is a matter of an absolute distinction between priesthood and royalty. Dumont says that, in theory, power is ultimately subordinate to priesthood, whereas in fact priesthood submits to power. Status and power, and consequently spiritual authority and temporal authority, are absolutely distinguished.

Dumont has tried to indicate the main features of the relationship between the caste system and the classical theory of the varnas. In the first place this movement is quite comprehensible, in view of the homology between the two systems. In the second place, the Varnas have
the advantage of providing a model which is universal throughout India. Dumont says that hierarchy and status ranking usually compel recognition, but it is seen only from the outside and leaves a residue which is not reducible to the clear and supposedly basic notions of power and wealth.

According Lipset and Zetterberg, (1966) stratification involves rating and ranking of individuals and mobility permits either movement from one stratum to another or from one occupation to another from one class to another or changes in the power and authority of group and individuals. They have suggested dimensions of Mobility for understanding the social mobility. Lipset and Zetterberg says that Max Weber has indicated the importance of multidimensional approach to understand stratification along with many dimensions and they also note that recently Parson has suggested that one way of defining stratification is to regard it as ‘the ranking of units in a social system in accordance with the standards of common value system’. The types of ranking suggested by them are:

a) Occupational Rankings: Occupation is one of the important indicators of analysing stratification and mobility. Right from the time of Plato, it has been the most common indicator of stratification. Lipset and Zetterberg argue that observers of social life have found that occupational class is one major factor which differentiates people’s beliefs, values, norms, customs and occasionally some of their emotional feelings. They further note that occupations are differently honoured and studies show a remarkable agreement as to how they rank in esteem.
b) Consumption Ranking: Consumption Ranking is also another dimension of social mobility. According to Lipset and Zetterberg the ranking of consumer status is difficult. Yet it is common that life styles differ from one individual to another and some are considered more stylish than others. Those whose life style carries approximately the same prestige might be said to constitute a consumption class. Change in consumption class may not be concomitant with changes along other stratification dimensions. Further they argue that at the same occupational income level, men will vary in the extent to which they are oriented toward acting out the behaviour pattern common to different social classes. According to Lipset and Zetterberg, total income is inadequate, though it obviously sets the ultimate limit for a person's consumption class. It is the way income is spent rather than the total amount that determines a man's consumption class. The best operational index to consumption class is, therefore, not total incomes but annual of income spent on prestigious or cultural pursuits. A comparison of these two groups in terms of their consumption pattern or styles of life is thought to be of particular importance in forecasting future political behaviour as well as crucial for an understanding of the factors related to other types of mobility in different societies.

c) Power Ranking: According to Lipset and Zetterberg (1966) certain role-relationships are also authority or power relationships, that is, they involve subordination on one part and super ordination on the other. The extent to which a person's role-relationship affords the means to impose his version of order upon the social system might be said to
constitute a power class. It is common that power classes may be, in part at least independent of other classes. Power can be a channel for social mobility.

The most possible of using information about improvements in power status is to analyse its effects on economic and occupational position and political orientation, occupational consumption and social status, there is less consensus about the logic of power, and less admittance that power might be desirable. The complexity of this problem is of such a magnitude that one cannot anticipate more than fragmental findings on individual changes of power class position. The relative power position of various groups however may change over time. It is a fact that individuals change in their power.

In every society where industry exerts all its compelling forces, a man’s occupation becomes all at once an efficient indicator of his status and prestige because occupational placements in industrial system are always a matter of achievement, success and ability. Such occupational change creates changed images of status and prestige of status in the minds of the individuals and consequently such status mobility becomes very real phenomenon of crucial sociological significance. Status changes are bound to change the entire scheme of social stratification with all its ramifications and implications of such changes upon the social structure. That is why social mobility is considered to be the dynamic aspect of social stratification, (Kumar, Suresh, 1986:4-5).
Merton, R.K, (1957:234) reference group theory is an important tool used in the study of caste mobility. This theory aims to systematize the determinants and consequences of those processes of evaluation and self-appraisal in which the individual takes the values or standards of other individuals and groups as frame reference. Reference groups are many and any of the groups of which one is a member can become points of reference for shaping one's attitudes, evaluations and behaviour. In complex societies, where individuals come into contact with numerous groups they need not be confined to the values and standards of any particular individual or group, but may adopt the values and standards of different groups and individuals for guiding their behaviour in different sectors of life.

Merton's concept of anticipatory socialization illustrates the consequences of conforming to the norms of groups other than one's own. This concept operates only in situations where vertical mobility exists. Anticipatory socialization may be functional for the group. It is because conformity to the norms of the group one wants to join means defection from the norms of the group of which one is actually a member. Conformity offers rewards to individuals and helps to sustain the structure of authority in the group and in larger social systems.

**Fishing Community:**

In the present societies, traditional structure, values and means of transport and communication are changing at a large scale. The industrial revolution which took place in the middle of 18\textsuperscript{th} century in the west, and
it had effect on its socio-economic structure of the country. Several changes were brought to India by the British. They brought with them the western values of life and humanistic attitudes like liberty, equality and liberal education. All these values had important effects on the break-up of the traditional social structure of Indian society.

Fishing is one of the oldest means of subsistence of mankind. Many nations now compete to exploit the virgin areas of the oceans with modern fishing fleets. But, in spite of modern technology and increasing innovations in the fishing industry, it remains, by and large, in its traditional form even today, (Pramanik, S.K, 1993:1).

In India, the term community has been widely used in reference to villages, tribes, peasants, religion, etc. The usage of the term community in India, Desai, (1969:610) says: ‘The word community has, for the past many decades, denoted religious or caste groups or in some instances, economic groups not necessarily living in one locality; but with the inauguration of the community Development Programme in this country it is intended to apply the concept of the village community as whole, cutting across caste, religious and economic differences’.

Fishermen constitute a community only by virtue of their common occupation and all that the common occupation entails. It is, in other words, an occupational community. All the studies of fishermen that have been conducted so far, either in India or abroad, have treated fishermen as a community (Pramanik, S.K, 1993:5).
Although from a distance the ‘fishing community’ may be seen like a single group of like-minded people, it actually consists of many communities based on gear type, fishery, geography and values.

According to Magnuson-Stevens Act, (2007) ‘fishing community as a community which is substantially dependent on or substantially engaged in the harvest or processing of fishery resources to meet the social and economic needs, and includes fishing vessel owners, operators and crew and processors that are based in such community’.

National Marine Fisheries Service has stated that ‘a fishing community is a social or economic group whose members reside at a specific location’. A ‘community of interest’ is made up of people who share similar interest e.g., people who are concerned about making the fishing industry safer.

Mention of the fishery resource plenitude and the fishing communities are found in the early poems of the 1st- 4th Century AD called the Sangam Age (Pillai & Ludden, 1997), and the writings of Pliny, a geographer and famous Roman traveller of the 1st century AD. In later centuries (7th and 8th AD) the Arab traders found their way to the northern part of Kerala by following the teeming shoals of oil sardines which migrate down the west coast of India hugging close to the in-shore waters. Friar Orrick who sailed down the southwest coast of India in 1320 observed that: “there are fishes in those seas that come swimming, in such abundance that for a great distance into the seas nothing can be seen but the back of fishes, which casting themselves on the shore, do
suffer men for the space of three daies (days) to come and take on many of them as they please" (quoted in Day, 1865).

At different periods in the history of the last millennium, the carriers of the so-called Aryan tradition, the Arabs and the Portuguese, came to have considerable influence on the socio-religious aspects of the coastal fishing communities of Kerala who were damned as "impure" and "untouchable" within the strictly Brahmanic terms of Indian culture. Given the multi-religious cosmopolitanism of this coast, Kerala is the only maritime state in India (there are nine in all), where the Muslim, Hindu and Christian marine fishing communities all have a significant presence. The Muslim fishing communities dominate the northern coastal region, the Hindus are concentrated in the central region and the Christian are in majority in the south (Kurian, John, 1985).

These communities are also marked by separate maritime traditions and fishing technologies both of which have been influenced by the trade and cultural influences with which the particular community has been associated (Ray, 1993). Equally, perhaps more importantly, factors pertaining to the physical oceanography and the marine resource configuration of the waters in which they fish have been overriding factors in shaping traditions and technologies. A famous treatise of the 12th century called Valavisu Puranam (An Epic on Fishing) contains several references to the method of fishing in vogue and to the arts and sciences related to fishing.
There are numerous references about the fishing in the ancient religious epics of the Hindus such as the Puranas, the Sastras, the Smritis and the Ramayanas. In Kautilya’s Arthasastra, written between 321 and 300 B.C. references to the fishing industry, fish processing and fish eating are found. The references to the fishery legislation inscribed in Ashoka’s Pillar Edit V, date back to 246 B.C. (Hora, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1953:93-112).

Hunter, (1875) in his A Statistical Account of Bengal, describes the fishing castes, their numbers and economic condition. Gupta,(1970:10) report on the fisheries of Bengal refers to the fishing castes. Hutton, (1931) also mentions about them. References to sea fishing are also available from the Gazetteers (Webster, 1911, Malley, O, 1908, 1914) of the coastal districts of Bengal. Hornell, James (1922, 1924:173-198) mentions sea fishing and discusses fishing methods and fishing gear in the Ganges.

Punekar, (1959:14) gives a detailed account of the socio-cultural life of ‘The Son Kolis of Bombay’-a fishing community of Bombay coast. She focuses light on how the fishermen of Bombay retain their traditional culture in spite of the impact of urbanization on them. It is principally a community study based on a detailed observation of the culture content of the life of the community studied. The study, rich in empirical content, does not appear to have any explicit theoretical orientation.

Klausen, (1968:32) in his Kerala Fishermen and the Indo-Norwegian Pilot Project, makes a detailed analysis of the effects of techno-economic aid on the fishermen of Kerala belonging to two different religious sects but living in two neighboring coastal villages. Unlike Punekar, Klausen clearly spells out his theoretical orientation and presents a theoretical framework that is based on Homan’s exchange theory. Klausen, in his study, sees social behaviours of fishermen as a continuous process of choice.

Besides, Suryanarayana’s (1977) Marine Fisherfolk of North-East Coastal Andhra Pradesh is an important monograph on the major aspects of the fisher folk culture. Small Fishermen in Tamil Nadu by Selvaraj, (1975) is another valuable monograph on fisher folk culture.

Mathur, (1978) gives a detailed analysis of sea fishing activity of the Mappila fisher folk of Kerala and their profound knowledge of the marine environment and cosmology. He also describes how the economy of the fishermen is interwoven with the socio-cultural milieu. Mathur’s study seeks to test a set of specific hypotheses correlating fishing as an occupation and development of a fishing caste even among ‘casteless’ Muslims, fishing as a hazardous endeavor and development of rituals and beliefs to cover the risk of uncertainty and the like.

Raychaudhuri, (1980:3) in an intensive field investigation of a transient fishermen community assembled during winter at Jambu Island in the Bay of Bengal within 10 Kilometers from shore, examines the social background of these fishermen, their knowledge of the topography and marine environment, trade and economic network, conflict and cooperation among them. Like Mathur, Raychaudhuri also sets before himself the task of testing a set of hypotheses. He seeks to explore the correlation, if any, between marine fishing as a difficult technological task and the development of a cultural inventory of rational technological
knowledge, great risk of uncertainty of catch and the development of supernatural beliefs, and so forth.

Firth’s, (1966:4) study of the economics of the Malayan fishing industry is regarded as pioneering work in this field. Later, he elaborated his ideas in the book Malay Fishermen, their Peasant Economy. He made a detailed study of the sociology of fishing and the economic organization of the fisher folk as a constituent of the peasant economy. Firth’s study of Malay fishermen is a longitudinal study of fishing community and the changes taking place in its social life.

Historically, the fisher folk have been a downtrodden and neglected group in society (Abraham, 1985:247-252; Plateau, 1984:88). Modern ideologies of the 1970s of most of the developing countries in Asia have focused almost exclusively on large-scale industrial fisheries using modern technology for fishing (Bailey, et. al., 1986:1269-1275; Panayotou, 1982:228; Jentoft and McCay, 1995:227-246). The early success of these programs in increasing the catch and income of the first few to acquire the new technology gave added impetus to these programs; but these early success could not be duplicated. The resultant over-fishing not only implied a fall in fish harvest but also led to a skewed distribution of the benefits and costs in the fish economy (Kurien and Achari, 1989:222). In these circumstances it has become difficult to maintain the modernisation bias of the development programs. While there is need to continue Government assistance to small-scale fisherfolk, the conventional measures may not be the most appropriate modes of intervention.
Traditionally fishing community were more or less homogeneous caste groups. They were at a low position educationally as well as occupationally, but recent socio-political changes have enabled them to pursue education to the extend they wish. There were also governmental efforts to uplift them. It will help them to have new choice and opportunities in the occupational field. As the traditional barriers to social mobility have been eliminated there is a scope for them to enter all walks of life (Leela Viswanath, 1993:251).

**Fishing community in Kerala:**

Kerala is one of India’s nine maritime states, and it is also the largest fish-producing state in the country. It contributes more than 30% of India’s total marine fish production and over 36% of marine exports. Kerala enjoys a long and unbroken coastline that extends for 590 KM; nine of its 14 districts have the Arabian Sea as their western border.

According to recent figures, more than 1.5 million people depend on fisheries for their livelihood. Official figures state that there are around 150,000 active fishermen along the Kerala coast, working both in the conventional artisanal sector as well as in the mechanised sector.

Historians say that this customary knowledge system goes back to early historical times in south India, indicated in the rich Sangam literary texts that belong to the period between the 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD. According to scholars the southern region known generally as ‘Tamilakam’ which included almost the entire region of south of
Deccan. The people who have settled on the coasts, known as ‘Neithal’, were described as Meenavar or Paravar in Sangam literature. The Sangam texts refer to a variety of fishing operations and also mention fish like ‘Ayala’ (salmon) and sraku (shark), which still popular in the region. They speak of ‘marakkalam’ a wooden vessel that floats on the water. Those who operated the marakkalams later came to be known as Marakkars, a seafaring community in the south.

Traditional Hindu fisherfolk are divided into 12 sub-castes on the southwestern coast, prominent among them being the Mokayas, Mukkuvas, Valers, Nulayars, Arayas and Mokaveeras. For administrative purposes, the groups were clubbed into one the Dheevarars through a 1961 government order giving them other backward classes (OBC) status because of their social and educational backwardness. These communities were ruled and controlled by the sthanis (seniors) or kadakkoties (sea-courts) of the respective area, which obtained theetturams, or decrees, from the local rulers; they had de facto control over the social and economic life of the people. These systems were in force till the end of the colonial administration that had accepted the kadakkoties, (sea-courts) as a legitimate quasi-judicial authority in matters related to seafaring activities.

Though these communities keep their separate identities and have separate deities, in recent years there have been visible communal consolidation among them as a result of the spread of communal and identity politics along the coastal belt. Sociologists point out that in many places the mother goddess, ‘Kurumba Bhagavathy’, has been replaced by
new deities like Vettekkorumakan, indicating a shift from a matrilineal to a patrilineal society.

The present demographic patterns among fishing communities in the south of India have remained unchanged for years: Muslims and Christians have been part of coastal society since the advent of these religions in the region. The demographic strength of both these communities is almost equal, with 27% of the population being backward caste Hindus, 30% Muslims, and 37% Catholic Christians, mainly Latin Catholics who are confined to southern parts of Kerala. Many Hindu temples owned by the Mokayas had established customs like special avakasams or rights for Muslim families. For example, a Mokaya temple in Vatakara observed a tradition in which Muslim families in the vicinity made ceremonial offerings of betel leaves and areca nuts at the annual festival.

**Fishing community in Kasaragod:**

Kasaragod lies in the northern tip of the state of Kerala. The total area of Kasaragod is 1992 sq. km. According to the census of 2001, the total population of Kasaragod is 1203342 out of which comprises 587763 the male population and 615579 are female. The density of population is 604 per square KM (District Census Handbook, 1988).

The total populace of fisher folk residing in the state of Kerala is an estimated 10.85 lakhs. Among these the number of fishermen who have taken up marine fishing as their occupation is believed to be about
2.2 lakhs. They and their families have taken up domicile in the coastal areas of the state and built up hamlets of hutments in these regions.

The traditional sea-fishing communities (Dheevara) of Kasaragod, living for ages on the shores of the Arabian Sea, reflect in miniature the lifestyle and material culture of the fisher folk of the entire North Kerala. Fishing community which found in Kasaragod was educationally, economically and politically backward. They belong to weaker section of the society. The present study is concentrated among them in Kasaragod district.

Reviews of Literature:

Review of literature pertaining to the topic has been analyzed here.

After Independence, a few studies have been conducted in rural areas on occupational deviation. Deviation from caste occupation is on the increase, but general correlation between caste and occupation continues to exist, in the sense that the upper castes are moving into occupations of high rank, while the lower castes are moving into lower level occupations providing a wider variety of essential services to the society, (Sivram.P.1990:4).

Davis Kingley, (1951:4) writes that, only half of the male workers were engaged in their traditional occupation. 1921 Census of India reveals that Madigas (an untouchable caste, tanning as, their traditional occupation) have deviated from their traditional callings in coastal
Andhra and Rayalaseema region of erstwhile Madras State. According to this, only 1.9 per cent as tanners and knackers, while 62.1 per cent were already employed in agriculture. Similarly, the 1931 Census of India for the regions of united province and Oudh in Uttar Pradesh show that only 5.1 per cent of the Chamars carried on their occupation as tanners and knackers, at the same time 82.4 per cent were engaged in their traditional occupation.

Mayer, A.C, (1960) in his research of 202 households near Indore of Madhya Pradesh found that on an average 44 percent of the male workers were employed outside their -caste occupation.

Eswar Reddy, (1970) in his study of village in Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh inferred that, castes in the village were acquiring new modes of livelihood patterns. He found, that of the 36 households belonging to thirteen different castes in the village, change of occupation has taken place within twelve households (33 per cent) belonging to eight different castes.

Kantowsky’s (1970:2-3) investigation in a village near Banaras reveals that 40 per cent of 338 men were capable of carrying their traditional occupation, and the rest deviated from their traditional occupation.

Baum, G.A, (1978:2-3) in his study on occupational changes, 784 rural households at random distances from Hyderabad city, his data shows that out of households, (20.3 percent) had changed their traditional
occupations to other activities. Similar findings were also noticed by Beals, A.R, (1955) in Tamil Nadu and Bettielle, A, (1965) in Mysore.

There are also some extremely useful studies conducted on inter-generational occupational mobility in India. They clearly reveal the increasing trends of occupational deviation from the caste occupations and from the parent’s occupation over the generation (Sivaram, P, 1990:5).

Lakshmanna, C, (1971) in his study of coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema region of Andhra Pradesh, found that the respondents’ occupational deviation from the grandfather occupation’ was slightly more marked than from their father’s occupation. His data shows that 246 respondents (25 per cent), out of 986 were not following the occupation of their grandfathers. Only 21.3 per cent among the respondents uniformly spread over all caste groups did not follow the occupations of their father.

Ambastha and Jaiswal, (1972:202-207) in their investigation of an East Bihar village, observed a considerable percentage of occupational deviation over the generation. They found that from the first to fourth generations the number of occupational deviations from caste occupations increased considerably. The percentage of families, following caste occupation was reduced from 77 per cent (first generation) to only 37 per cent.
Sharma, K.L, (1974:33-43) in his research in six villages of Rajasthan showed that, people of upper castes are shifting to non-caste occupations and discarded traditional callings, more than the other groups. 46 per cent from among the male workers of the upper castes are engaged in non-caste occupations. Further the lower castes have abandoned their own traditional occupations and have moved into cultivation to agricultural labour.

Lakshmannan, C. (1973) in his study of caste dynamics in rural Andhra found that the greatest deviation from father’s occupation was among Brahmans and fairly large percentages of them were drifting towards technical and non-technical services. Further, he pointed out that castes which follow the traditional occupations are relatively less mobile and artisan castes are steadfastly sticking to their traditional specialized occupations.

Kapadia, (1965:161-192) in his study of rural society in Gujarat revealed that, 18 per cent of potters deviated to carpentry; 10 per cent of cobblers shifted to tailoring and other nontraditional occupations; less than 25 per cent of cobblers have become goat-breeders and nearly 63 per cent are farmers; further he pointed out that, Machi (fisherman caste) boys have started to pickup tailoring and Machi women have begun to sell vegetables.

Bose, N.K, (1968) in his investigation of a village in the district of Hoogly, West- Bengal, found that, people who earned their living by way
of weaving did not mainly belong to the weaver’s caste but some of them were widows belonging to Brahmin caste.

Corwn, L.A, (1975:159-69) investigation at Mahisdal, a small rural urban setting in Bengal reveals a mixed picture regarding the practice of caste occupations, though a small number of people belonging to different castes, stuck to their traditional occupations. Others have moved into the occupations of other castes. In his household survey he found that, the blacksmith was engaged in the manufacture of brass utensils joined by men of washer men and Mahisyas (cultivators), the only full-time weaver became a Brahmin, while men of weaver caste were working as agricultural labourers. Further he noticed that, the most, but not all barbers were of this phenomenon, is that, these shifts have occurred within certain lower castes.

In the study of a village in Uttar Pradesh, Hitchcock, (1959:10-17) writes that though the higher caste Rajputs did not like the occupational change, they could do nothing about the lower castes, abandoning their traditional ‘defiling’ castes.

Srivastav, S, (1973:1) investigation on Raigars (cobbthers) in Kundapur village near Jaipur city shows that, 93.8 per cent of the main earners were engaged in occupations other than their caste occupations. The view that scheduled castes still continue to dominate in their traditional occupation is also supported by Abbasayulu, Y.B, (1979) found the evidence of intergenerational occupational mobility among scheduled castes.
Gist, H.P, (1955:129-38) found that a large proportion of the head of households (418) and their sons (177) had broken away from the parental occupations, whether they were members of high or low castes. However, according to Gist, the caste system is a dynamic force. In his view, there are many castes which are occupationally oriented in the sense that the majority of the individuals still following a particular vocation. He gives the Reddy and Gowda castes, who are still engaging in agricultural organizations, whereas the Mudaliar and Naidu caste’s people are engaging in urban trading activities.

Chekki Dan, A, (1971: 367-380) in his study of urban Brahmins of Gokul, found that only in the case of 5 per cent households heads and his sons were engaged in the same economic activity. In the case of 90 per cent of households the occupation of the head of the household’s sheltered from their children.

Sovani and Pradhan Kusum, (1956:23-36) in the study of in Poona University found that next to the sons of owners of factories and large shops, sons of skilled workers have the highest rate of father’s occupation.

Dhenkey, (1959) in his investigation of Hubli Town in Kamataka noticed that the proportion of sons with same occupational status as their fathers was the highest (59 per cent) among the highly skilled and supervisory manual workers and was followed by skilled workers (52.3 per cent).
Sankar Jayanth, (1973) in his research, 56 Kumbar families (Potters) in Mysore city came out with a different finding. He observed increasing trends of inter-generational occupational mobility among craftsmen.

Patwardhan, Sunanda, (1967:141-142) in her research on the problem of social mobility of untouchable castes in Pune city revealed a wide variation in the deviation, rejection or retention of traditional occupation by her study samples. Her study shows that Mahars, who have no specialized skills, show the maximum degree of change from traditional to non traditional occupations.

Parmar, (1978:145-151) in the study of occupational change among Mahayavanshis (a schedule caste in Surat city) indicates that the trend of change is from intensive manual labour. He found majority of them were engaged in such economic activities which required some work experience or education or sometimes both.

Beck, Scott, H, (1986:115-31) in his investigation, on working retirees shows the prevalence and patterns of occupational mobility where 33 per cent of men are working during their retirement. Pre and post retirement job as well as the impact that institutional constraint on employment in later life may have the chances of occupational mobility.

Mahra, Savita and Sharma, (1985:85-93) in their examination in rural Haryana lead to a conclusion that regional advancement promotes
simultaneous change in the structural components of society, which is the development of the region.

Gilbert, G. Nigel, (1986:370-91) study over one year among the employed adults, who responded to the Labour Force Survey, and whose occupations contribute disproportionately to short-term mobility, reveals short-period mobility among occupational classes provides an insight into the divisions and dynamics of the class structure.

Pearson, David and Thorns, David, C, (1985:208-224) in their analysis of marriage records from Wellington and two Christchurch localities between 1970 and 1982, lead to several tentative conclusions regarding both the overall rate of mobility over time and the distance travelled by the more mobile individuals.

Hodge, Robert, N. Kraus, Vered Cheng, Man-Tsum and Treiman, Donald, J, (1986:297-322) examination of the impact of inter-generation occupational mobility of income, hypothesized that the relevant variables will be found in the nature and extent of the personal and organizational network influences to assist offspring in landing relatively well-paying posts as long as sons remain in occupational pursuits similar or related to their own.

Kumar Awadesh, in his research observed, society in India, constituting hierarchically ranked corporate groups is known for its rigidity. Any social mobility generally resulted in the fission of a caste and formulation of a new sub-caste. For individuals the rules of
endogamy inheritance of caste identity prohibit prospects of moving up. However under certain conditions, social mobility has been possible. They are:

1. Under conditions of acute deprivation, the members of a lower caste adopt an indigenous religion or started a new religious movement and have consequently been accorded higher caste status.
2. Individuals could gain prestige through renunciation, and negation.
3. Through usurpation of political power, a leader could improve the position of his caste or rise or lower the rank of a caste as a reward or punishment.
4. The migration to or acquisition of cultivable land by a low caste which eventually permitted these castes to raise their status.
5. Certain low caste groups like the Jatavs, the Mahars have improved their position through political mobilization.

Wankhede, G.G, (1999) in his study focused on the specific question of the inter-link, ages between social context and occupational mobility using education as the intervening variable. As the study undertaken on the base of primary data on 150 scheduled castes' educated men, tried to find the intra generational as well as intergenerational mobility. It is found from the study that the present job have provided them occupational mobility and reached to social mobility. The study highlights the social context of education, further the education acts as an instrument to social and occupational mobility and leads to change in the socio-economic status of an individual or group. This study has tried to know one important determinant of occupational mobility.
i.e., social background. Most of the respondents’ fathers were illiterate or educated to up to a very low level. But at the same time, the siblings of the respondents were shown greater degree of social mobility in terms of occupation of their origin. The study found contrary to the common belief that the elite in the scheduled caste had good social background; but social background of the respondents was found very poor.

Sivaram, P, (1990) studied occupational mobility among the selected backward castes, (Chakli, Devanga, Kumari, Mangalali, Padmasale) in guddopah district of Andra Pradesh. In this empirical research the main areas of the study focused on to find out the trends of occupational mobility, the changes in occupational structure, inter-generational related caste occupations and the effect of migration on their social position. From the study it is found that there is deviation from caste occupations from first generation, second generation, and third generation. The study showed that even the “lower” caste people have achieved upward mobility. And also it is found that present generation retained the traditional occupations either as subsidiary or primary activity and further it is an indication that tradition and modernity are compatible.

As education plays a predominant role as well as a determinant of occupational mobility: the study shows that the educational attainment has continued to rise from first generation to third generation along with the other factors such as urbanization influences the degree of educational mobility. Along with other factors the researcher has found
from the study that income and intelligence play a crucial role in determining the nature of migration that in turn leads to mobility.

Pramanik, S.K, (1993) in his study ‘the community life of fishermen in Hara and Sultanpur villages in Best Bengal’ tried to explore the life of two communities and compared them. The author gathered data by using sample survey and observation method. In this study the researcher gives different facets of the life and culture of fishing community of Best Bengal, especially the life style of the fishermen, the attitude, the rituals, beliefs, ceremonies, recreation and economic activities. It is clear from the study that there is a movement from their traditional caste occupation to white-collar job and adopted urban life. The study also shows that due to the influence of urbanization there is a breakdown of traditional family system in to nuclear system. At the same time, there is not much improvement in the status of women in the community and they have never enjoyed the economic freedom.

James, Silverberg, (1968:114) ‘Social mobility in the caste system in India: an interdisciplinary symposium’. This volume exhibits the increasingly sophisticated and well-substantiated concepts being developed by historians, sociologists, and anthropologists to account for the dynamics of the Indian caste system. Today, and possibly in historical times as well, we see that social mobility occurs with reference to two types of stratification system, one resembling the social class system of the urban West, the other characteristic of the Indian village. We learn that we must not only distinguish the mobility of individuals, who make out economically from what might be termed the total ritual mobility of a
local endogamous group, but also ‘must determine the felt locus of each caste and specify to which of the several possible relevant hierarchies and audiences—local, regional, sectarian, civilizational or nationalsits behavior is referred to by itself and others’.

Damle, Y.B, (1968) connects mobility and reference group theory, giving examples of mobility directed toward such civilizational models as the kingly, the Brahmanic, and the Western. Rowe, discussing a caste whose traditional work was salt-making, shows its response to changing economic opportunities and differing political and ideological pressures. This case study provides an excellent example of the multifaceted nature of mobility. Some individuals move away from the village and take their place in the urban type system, while others remain part of the rural endogamous group and seek mobility in the local hierarchy by claiming association with a regionally recognized kingly model. Assessing evidence from medieval India, the historian Stein suggests that some low caste mobility was a concomitant of bhakti sectarianism—a religious movement where some teachers held that caste was irrelevant, because divine grace came to any loving devotee. Stein’s evidence does not derive from legal and social texts, which tend to accept and reaffirm low caste disabilities, but from medieval South India’s vast number of stone and metal inscriptions. The essay thus reveals a much broadened historical perspective in South Indian research and points to important implications for its social history. In an untouchable group as it moves from quasi slavery to lifelong indenture ship and more recently to temporary indenture ship in relation to a dominant landowning group, Harper sees economic change combined with as yet abortive attempts to
shift ritual status. His analysis reveals clearly the peculiar bind in which these untouchables find themselves. Even though the cast to their group as a ritual entity is continued caste defilement; some individuals still remain unwilling to sacrifice what they have least of, namely prestige. And unfortunately the relation between prestige and ritual defilement is an elaborate marriage that can be financed only by entering an indenture ship relation and accepting its demeaning requirements.

Goran Djurfeldt, Venkatesh Athreya; N. Jayakumar, Staffan Lindberg, A Rajagopal, R, Vidyasagar, (2008) ‘Agrarian change and social mobility in Tamil Nadu’. This is a study of social mobility over 25 years in six villages in the former Tiruchirapalli district in Tamil Nadu. The two most important external drivers are local industrialisation and social policy in a broad sense. It is shown that the overall effect seems to be a centripetal tendency in agrarian structure, with a movement towards a strengthened position for family farming and for the underdogs in the old agrarian society to leave agriculture altogether, seeking improved life chances in the non-agrarian economy, both inside the villages and in the wider economy.

Praveena Kodoth,(2004) ‘Gender property rights and responsibility for farming in Kerala’. This paper critically examines the claim that women in Kerala have substantial property rights arising out of agrarian and social reform and the practice of matrilineal. It argues that land reform strengthened the patriarchal conjugal framework of property relations in the state, compromising women’s independent right to property. While agriculture is no longer considered a viable occupation in
the state, greater male occupational mobility has shifted the balance of responsibility for farming and family property increasingly to women. However, this work is being under-reported; it is not necessarily visible and comes at the cost of paid employment. For some, social mobility has afforded greater leisure but, along with declining inheritance rights, has led to the rising economic insecurity and vulnerability of women.

Ana Guillemin Fernandez, (2006) ‘Alternative measures of intergenerational social mobility in Argentina’. This study analyzes the existence and extent of intergenerational social mobility in Argentina, that is, whether parents’ economic status is transmitted to their children or how much of that status is transmitted. For this it estimates three different measures: i). social mobility index (SMI), which measures the importance of family background in determining the education of teenagers, assuming that a smaller schooling gap should imply better future opportunities for young people and that equality of opportunity is a good indicator of social mobility. ii). Siblings correlation index, based on the correlation of schooling outcomes among siblings, on the assumption that those children who by their late teens have fallen behind in terms of schooling will have the worst socioeconomic outcomes later in life and iii). family background immobility index, based on the idea that if schooling has great impact on income and if it is strongly affected by family background, intergenerational correlations in incomes across families will be high and intergenerational social mobility, as measured by intergenerational relative income changes. All three measures presented show a mobile society. SMI and family background immobility index indicate no major changes between 1996 and 2002 on a national
basis while siblings correlation suggest a slight progressive increase in intergenerational social mobility.

Goeff Payne, Rudy Roberts, (2002). 'Opening and closing gates: recent development in Male social mobility in Britain', in this volume sociological understanding of social mobility in Britain has depended heavily on the 1972 Nuffield Mobility Study. In the virtual absence of more recent data, analysis has drawn on this single study with its reliance on cohorts of males as the indicator of changes in mobility. One of the central conclusions has been that relative mobility rates, the key marker of class inequalities, remain unchanged. A new analysis of data from recent British Election Surveys shows that these conclusions should not be empirically generalised to the last quarter of a century, and that British society has experienced both periods of greater openness and closure. Several conceptual reservations follow once the limitations of the Nuffield tradition have been identified. In particular, a case is made for closer attention to labour market processes and rates of absolute mobility.

Radhakrishnan, P, (2003) 'Vanniyars and social mobility' Indian society has undergone tremendous changes, especially since the 1950s. But the beneficiaries of these changes have been mostly from the traditionally well-entrenched upper castes. This is only to be expected considering that India's unwashed millions still live in its half a million villages. The last few years has seen the political awakening of the Vanniyars Social mobility of individuals, families, and groups from one position to another is characteristic of industrial societies where movement from status to status can be achieved by means that are in the
control of individuals. Such individual mobility is still a distant dream in India. Vanniyars are the lowest caste in the Varna, made history of sorts with their mobility within the caste system. Vanniyar, settled mostly in the northern districts of Tamil Nadu, and in Pondicherry, is a generic name for a large number of castes.

The Vanniyars were thus grossly under-represented in education and employment during 1970s and even a decade later. But in understanding their social mobility, two factors are important. One, for a caste which till recently was at the bottom of the hierarchy with very low economic status, even a small presence in education and employment is highly creditable. Two, to a numerically large group, what is a trickle in percentage terms is a torrent in number terms. The large numerical presence has a cascading effect on the caste as a whole. The Vanniyars' inclusion about a decade ago in the Most Backward Classes category with separate reservation is expected to have improved substantially their presence in education and employment. This might have accelerated their social mobility as well. The Vanniyars' economic status has certainly improved over the years, with sizeable sections now owning land.

Jonathan, Sly, (2004) ‘Castes, untouchability and social success in India’ This research work is based more on a qualitative approach of social mobility and is composed of some fifty interviews with Dalits from poor background who have attained high positions of responsibility in universities (as researchers or lecturers in the humanities and social sciences), in the private sector (as graduates of prestigious institutes such as the IIT and IIM) and in the Indian civil services. The most original
result of this research is that it would seem that, unlike the results of American and European studies on the experience of social mobility in western countries, the way that identity adapts to a new social status does not seem to be a real problem. On the contrary, an analysis of the narrative processes of these people's life trajectories reveals that the radical change of social status takes place without any deep sense of transformation or adjustment of identity.

Many of the people who grew up in slums, in mud huts, and are familiar with poverty, hunger, humiliation, discrimination, and caste-based racism found to have total denial of all human values. And the same people, through their own efforts and success at school, are now in positions that offer them great social prestige as well as the material comfort that their parents have never dreamt of.

Most of the people who were encountered construct the narrative of their success on their Dalit identity and affirm that it is their Dalit identity that constructs their experience of upward mobility. This brief issue raised by the experience of upward mobility in India enables to grasp how, despite a radical change in professional status, caste identity continues to structure the way people situate themselves in the social space. Whereas social mobility generally implies a strong process of individuation, of loss or confusion of belonging, this does not seem to be the case with the Dalits who experience this kind of mobility.

The distinction discussed in the introduction between a social status defined by caste and social status defined by profession can be
found in the way that Dalits experience their success. It would in fact seem that the reason for which caste identity is considered as structuring is that, despite their success, people continue to consider upwardly mobile Dalits as untouchables. The weight of this stigmatised identity often means that they prefer investing their efforts at social recognition within a caste group with which they share an experience of discrimination rather than towards a peer group with which they share certain class attributes, but who are always tempted to define them by their caste identity.

Rajiv Sethiy, and Rohini Somanathan, (2010) 'Group Identity and Social Mobility in India', the study speaks the period following political independence witnessed a systematic expansion of local public goods and a compression of basic educational outcomes. One of the puzzling patterns within this overall picture of greater social equality is the asymmetry in the gains made by different social groups. The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes were equally disadvantaged in the pre-independence period and there was much more overt discrimination against the castes. Yet the castes experienced greater mobility on average than the tribes. We document these changes and explain them using a model in which individuals have social identities which determine the nature of competition for public goods from the state.

The study argues that many of the observed empirical patterns can be explained by the relative geographical isolation of the tribes and the co-habitation of the castes with politically active groups. Wage and skill inequalities across social groups in many parts of the world narrowed
during twentieth century. This was a result of both changes in labour markets accompanying modernization processes and redistributive policies that accompanied the spread of democracy.

Rajiv Sethy and Rohini Somanathanz, (2010) 'Caste Hierarchies and Social Mobility in India'. Since the 1950s and expansion in public education and affirmative action programs have combined to reduce group inequalities in India. One of the puzzling patterns within this overall picture of greater social equality in India is the asymmetry in the gains made by the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Both groups were equally disadvantaged in the pre-independence period and there was much more overt discrimination against the castes than the tribes. Yet, many of the formerly untouchable Castes have performed better than the tribes in terms of educational levels, jobs and political representation. It documents these changes and explains them using a model in which individuals have both geographical and social identities and social groups compete for public goods from the state. This study argues that many of the observed empirical patterns can be explained by the relative geographical isolation of the tribes and the co-habitation of the castes with politically active groups.

Catherine R. Chittleborough, (2009) 'Monitoring Inequities in Self-Rated Health over the Life Course in Population Surveillance Systems'. Objectives of this study are investigating the effect of social mobility and to assess the use of socioeconomic indicators in monitoring health inequities over time, they examined the association of self-rated health with socioeconomic position over the life course. The distribution
of social mobility variables and early-life SEP (Socio Economic Position) variables approximately one quarter of respondents experienced upward mobility in family financial situation, and one fifth experienced upward mobility in housing tenure. Social mobility was not significantly different between men and women. Overall, 8.2% of respondents experienced upward mobility, and 2.4% experienced downward mobility in both family financial situation and housing tenure. In the age-adjusted model, the proportion of respondents reporting excellent or very good health was significantly lower among respondents who experienced upward (51.0%) or downward (53.5%) social mobility in family financial situation than among those who experienced high family financial situation during both childhood and adulthood (61.7%). Respondents who experienced disadvantage during both childhood and adulthood in either family financial situation (41.8%) or housing tenure (33.8%) were also less likely to report excellent or very good health.

Other factors associated with excellent or very good health. After adjustment for other significant covariates in the multivariate model, upward social mobility in family financial situation and low family financial situation or housing tenure during both childhood and adulthood remained significantly associated with a lower prevalence of excellent or very good health, compared with high SEP during both childhood and adulthood. Downward mobility in family financial situation or housing tenure was not significantly associated with lower self rated in the multivariate model.
The study superimposed the social mobility variable from the cross-sectional Health Monitor survey. This illustrated the increased detail that could be obtained if such social mobility variables were available over time in the surveillance data. These data suggest that an advantaged family financial experience during childhood partially protected against the effect of low SEP in adult life. Experiencing a disadvantaged family financial situation during childhood, irrespective of family financial situation during adulthood, was associated with a lower prevalence of excellent or very good health. A relatively advantaged SEP, measured by housing tenure during either childhood or adulthood, appeared to be beneficial for self-rated health, in contrast with a relatively disadvantaged housing tenure experience across both childhood and adulthood.

Nancy Luke, Kaivan Munshi (2007), ‘Women as agents of change: Female income and mobility in India’. Economic globalization will give many women in developing countries access to steady and relatively remunerative employment for the first time, potentially shifting bargaining power within their households and changing the choices that are made for their children. This paper exploits a unique setting of group women in tea plantations in South India where women are employed in permanent wage labor and where incomes do not vary by caste to anticipate the impact of globalization on mobility across social groups in the future.

The main result of the paper is that a relative increase in female income weakens the family's ties to the ancestral community and the
traditional economy, but these mobility enhancing effects are obtained for certain historically disadvantaged castes alone. Although the paper provides a context-specific explanation for why the women from these castes emerge as agents of change, the first general implication of the analysis is that the incentive and the ability of women to use their earnings to influence household decisions depends importantly on their social background. The second implication is that historically disadvantaged groups may, in fact, be especially responsive to new opportunities precisely because they have fewer ties to the traditional economy to hold them back.

Mike, Savage and Muriel, Egerton, (1997)‘Social mobility, individual ability and their inheritance of class inequality’. This study examines the intergenerational social mobility of young adults in Britain, from a secondary analysis of the National Child Development Study. It show that by examining the relationship between social class background and the tested ability of boys and girls, it is possible to advance our understanding of some of the key processes that help facilitate the reproduction of class inequality. In particular, it emphasizes that the advantages of the service class over other class rests not just upon their ability to impart appropriate cultural capital to their children, but also on other secondary factors, notably material resources. We show how boys born in advantaged social positions have more resources than girls in maintaining their class advantages, and we indicate some patterns of closure within the service class.
Arpita Banerjee, Saraswati Raju, (2009), ‘Gendered Mobility: Women Migrants and Work in Urban India’. It explains that migration is emerging as a livelihood option and urban locations undoubtedly provide more, if not better work opportunities. However, gendered constructs operate in how women and men are differentially placed in availing these opportunities. Although stereotypical constructions of women’s place within the domain of household responsibilities continue to encode migrant women’s employment pattern in urban areas, the younger women seem to have moved away from these constructs, assisted further by educational attainment beyond a certain threshold. That said, childcare and care for the aged do keep women away from either joining or continuing in the formal labour market. The hypothetical intersection between marriage and lowered chances of joining the workforce are borne by this study: unmarried women engaged in regular salaried jobs were almost twice the number of married women whereas marriage was not a constraining factor for men. This can also be due to the higher educational attainments amongst unmarried women: 83% of the unmarried women were literate as against 49% of married women.

A further break-up of data related to unmarried women who were in regular salaried jobs shows that more than 50% of them were educated up to the higher secondary and above level. Moreover, nearly all the unmarried women were full time workers (96%) as compared to married women (88%). Most of these salaried jobs, however, remained at the lower ends of the job spectrum and in traditional fields. However, educational levels and workforce participation was ambivalently posited when seen in combination with caste status. Even as highly educated
women were least likely to withdraw from the labour market as a result of their migration to urban locations, relatively more women from the high castes with similar educational levels were opting out of the workforce. It can thus be conjectured that both high castes and the highly educated categories were diverse and career paths did not follow a straitjacket caste/education nexus, as we traditionally understand it.

Also, women migrants younger or older are not undifferentiated categories and their work pathways vary not only by age and education, but also by the fact of whether or not they had previous work experiences. It mattered perhaps not so much in terms of moving to better work options as much as shifting to available work avenues. That is, the labour market asymmetries in terms of caste/class and paucity of enabling opportunities continue to operate. Even as the nature of work changes in the urban milieu, there is not much in terms of upward mobility particularly for the lower castes and poor migrants, both men and women.

Nandu Ram, (1995) ‘Beyond Ambedkar: Essays on Dalits in India’. It accepts the preposition beyond purely in the temporal sense and attempts briefly to analyse some of his ideas and theories in the context of the present day society in India. Such an attempt has been felt necessary because a lot of changes have occurred, since his death, in every walk of life of people including even Dalits in the country. Some of these changes have definitely followed the paths visualised by him. This book examines why some and not other types of changes have followed the paths suggested by him. More precisely, changes in the areas of
education and social integration; social stratification and mobility; atrocities, protest movements and socio-political consciousness for social identity, etc. have been examined in the case of the most deprived community like scheduled castes or Dalits whose social change and mobility are sponsored through the Policy of Protective Discrimination or Reservation.

Dubey, S.M, (1975) studied three generations of the members of the six Professions, namely, civil and Railway, college teachers, Medical Doctors, Engineers, Lawyers and University Teachers. Through this study, it is found new horizons of changes that are taking place in Indian society especially the nature, causes and consequence of mobility among the professional elite group of the society.

This study reveals that, mobility raises the standard of living, reduces the narrowness of mind and dogmatism and motivates men to aspire for higher positions. The study points out that with the rise of professions, the power and privileges enjoyed by the traditional elite class are disappearing gradually but the same privileges are enjoyed by modern elites. It also shows the influence of education to attain higher occupation. The enquiry also made towards the caste and its influence on mobility. It reveals that the position of lower caste has not much improved and upper caste is still very much dominant in the society.

At the same time that caste has not created much hindrance in occupational mobility. Another aspect of the study is that different factors such as education, urbanisation and migration have also
influenced the social mobility. It explains the contribution of education in accelerating the process of mobility. The study shows the reduction of illiteracy, educational attainment of different generations, an educational attainment of professionals and inter-generational educational mobility. It also reveals that the educational attainment of fathers paved the way for the upward mobility of sons.

Venkatesh Salagrama, (2006) analyses the livelihoods of marine fishing communities in the Indian coastal state of Orissa using the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). It investigates the relationships between livelihoods and coastal poverty and seeks to develop simple qualitative indicators to monitor the changes in these relationships over time.

The key trends affecting the livelihoods of the poor in the coastal fishing communities in Orissa range across the whole spectrum of assets i.e. the natural, physical, social, human and financial and contribute to changes in terms of availability as well as access to the assets for the poorer stakeholders. Thus, the overall decline in availability of fish from the coastal waters is also accompanied by a declining access of the poor to the fish resources as a result of changes in fishing technology and in market supply chains.

The shift in fishing methods from subsistence-based artisanal activities to sophisticated modern technologies has rendered redundant the traditional skills, knowledge and manual labour abilities of the poor, while also increasing risks and leading to a dependence upon external
sources of credit. As fish are sold directly to the traders at the point of landing, fishermen no longer depend on the women to sell them, so the women find themselves marginalized. Apart from the factors having a direct bearing upon fisheries based livelihoods, there have also been changes affecting the quality of life generally, which contribute to, or arise out of, changes in the livelihood patterns and span across the social, political, cultural and economic spheres of life. Social capital which is the glue that held together the traditional fishing communities and provided some sort of social security to the vulnerable groups (the aged, widows), has become much weakened.

The food insecurity is growing in the fishing villages and, coupled with the weakening of the welfare state policies, leading to increasing deprivation. Apart from the various trends, this paper examines the impact of seasonality and shocks upon the fisheries-based livelihoods and the importance and the influence of various policies, institutions and processes in addressing the fishers’ need to cope with their vulnerability context in a meaningful manner. It summarizes the various factors having an impact upon the livelihoods of the fishers and develops them into simple indicators relevant in assessing the changing patterns of poverty in fishing communities of Orissa. The indicators could range from a household’s seasonal dependence on credit for consumption purposes to more straightforward ones like having a single woman as the head of the household. Simple indicators like residence in a thatched hut or lack of access to secure toilets can also determine the extent of poverty. The indicators necessarily transcend sectoral and disciplinary boundaries and aim to provide a holistic and integrated picture of poverty. On the other
hand, poverty is an outcome of a wide range of factors, so deciding the extent of poverty based upon any single indicator can be misleading.

At the simplest level, the poorest can be categorized as people whose livelihoods reflect the widest number of negative indicators. There are many intermediate levels between the poorest and the wealthy, which can be captured by the relative proportion of different indicators in each case. At the same time, each indicator is multidimensional and subsumes differences in depth and severity, and all indicators do not carry equal weight, so mere counting of the numbers of indicators is not sufficient by itself to obtain a clear picture. There is a need for more work to ensure that each indicator is combined with other key variables to develop composite indices of poverty and deprivation.

Tietze, U, (2004) examines what role traditional caste occupation plays with regard to present occupational and economic status and various aspects of social interaction and attitudes. This is done by comparing those who are fisher folk by caste with those who are fisherfolk by occupation only to show the process of occupational mobility and problems related to occupational mobility in the case of small-scale marine fisheries. Next we shall analyse the influence of economic status on various aspects of life, such as standard of living and education of children. An answer to these questions is in fact vital to developmental activities which are based on the assumption that a higher economic status in terms of ownership of fishing technology leads to improvement of the living conditions of the target group. We shall also analyses to what extent economic stratification has taken place and
whether economic status has become a major criterion of social stratification in the traditional communities of artisanal marine fisherfolk.

Peter Reeves, Bob Pokrant, and John McGuire, (1997) in their study, 'The right to the sea: the struggle of artisanal fishers in Kerala since 1980' analyses that fishers as groups have traditionally had little by way of political organisation. This is in part because fishers are scattered along the coast of Kerala has 250 or more fishing villages along its 590 km coastline. In part also it is because the nature of their occupation takes them out to sea in small groups or even individually most days of the year so that socialisation has been difficult. What this Kerala story tells therefore is a story of 25 to 30 years of unprecedented organisation among fishers as a result of their efforts to overcome their disadvantages and as a result of support from groups such as the clergy. That support has not been without its problems because it has, at times, tied the fishers' movements into the broader agenda of the Church and its allies although the radicalisation of elements of the clergy have negated that effect to a considerable extent. Further it can also be seen as a record of struggle against wealthier and stronger boat owners and financial interests; against unresponsive governments and politicians with vested interests prepared to work against them; against brutal police forces - which stands in line with the struggles of India's poorest peasants and dalits against oppression, exploitation and attempts to take away even the small basis of livelihood that they have to bolster, in the name of development and reform to serve capitalist interests.
Dev, B.J, and Dilip, K. Lahiri, (1984) in their book, ‘Cosmogony of Caste and Social Mobility in Assam’ enlarges the frontier of our knowledge of the hitherto unknown socio-political life of the people of Assam which stands out as a glaring example of a socially more progressive society than that found in other parts of India. The traditional Hindu social order had placed different caste groups in the ascending scale of reverence and descending degree of contempt. But this iniquitous social stratification entrenched in the caste system did not flourish in Assam, where the traditional heritage with its horizontal divisions underwent characteristic adaptability and became linked up with humanistic trends. It is in Assam that a more egalitarian and liberal Hindu way of life appeared in its true manifestation and became a force of social change and progress. The process of secularisation had democratised caste relations in a spectacular way and this trend became evident in Assam much earlier than elsewhere in India. The Brahmins, elsewhere considered as perpetuators of caste rigidity, have been broad-minded in Assam and even today are held in esteem. Today Assam is the only State in India which has been officially declared to be free from the evils of untouchability.

Besides it has been singularly free from any case of atrocities on the Harijans in the recent past. In addition, a social tension arising out of the issue of conversion is conspicuous by its absence. The concept of pollution and ritualistic purity found no anchorage in the Assamese Society. This pioneering study on the development of caste in Assam throws new light on hitherto unexplored processes of vertical social mobility against the background of entrenched and the ascendant castes.
The politicisation of the castes provided the motive force in ensuring the rapid interaction of the caste groups with the modernizing trends.

Anjali, Kurane, (1999) the studies show the possible relationship between the concept of ethnic identity and social mobility. The researcher took sample from the Budhist community of Pune who got converted from ‘Mahars’. It also enquired whether conversion in to a new religion contributed towards social mobility by lessening the oppressions experienced in the earlier caste i.e. Mahars. The study investigated in to the consequences of social mobility and their (Budhists) perception of themselves and the status in the society. The investigation also focused on newly established ethnic identity of the Mahars gained self respect, honour, status that leads to upward social mobility. The study also tried to examine the cumulative impact of number of dependent and independent variables such as new ethnic identity, education, occupation, income, behavioural social distances, and level of political participation, urbanisation and industrialisation.

The study reveals that the rate of literacy has been increasing very fast among the Budhist and their educational ambitions are high and they achieved upward educational and occupational mobility. It shows very clearly that Buddhists, irrespective of their education, occupation, income and age maintain their identity strongly through cultural symbols and holding, we feeling and sense of belonging. The study shows strength and positive attitude towards education. They consider education as a key to change and achieve social mobility. They had also shown a positive approach towards woman’s education. The study also shows
occupational mobility and reveals that no one continues his traditional job.

Kumar, Suresh, (1986) conducted research in the village of Khamaria, Katelbod, Somni and Kureta in the region of Chhattisgarh. The study tried to find out the changes of economy as well as the changes in the villages due to the march of industrialization. Along with this it also investigates the significance of occupational changes and geographical mobility. It was found from the study for the standpoint of career mobility in the life time of the individuals, that the rate of occupational mobility was much higher after the industrialization. The study reveals that industrialization has exerted a great 'pull' and it was responsible for bringing about occupational mobility in a large measures in the complex life of Chattisgarh village. It is found that ascription oriented values have lost their importance in the village and the emerging system of social differentiation, based on new pattern has became more mobile, more open and more complex. The rate of occupational mobility has gone considerably high. The study signifies that the criteria of general ranking of status of an individual determined the occupation. Income as criteria stands second and caste occupies sixth place in the hierarchical order. The study findings show that the conception of class has a significant place within the evolving status system in the villages.

Satish Saberwal, (1976) conducted the study in a small industrial town of Modelpur, Punjab. The study focused mainly the men of three castes namely Ramgarhias, Ad Dharmis and Balmikis. The study tried to find out the difference between the patterns of social mobility,
characteristics of each caste, and the relation of caste position in the traditional caste hierarchy. The study also tried to find out the pattern of individual mobility of these three castes. The study finds various facets of mobility in Modelpur. The physical mobility shows that they are socially mobile also. Most of Balmikis were born locally; a large minority of Ad Dharmis came from outside reflecting, in part, their movement from rural to urban areas; likewise for even more Ramgarhias. Only a few Balmikis have travelled out of Punjab, a minority of Ad Dharmis and a large majority of Ad dharmis and a large majority of Ramgarhias have also done so, the latter includes a minority that has lived outside the sub continent as well. The occupational mobility among the three castes is; the fathers of most Balmikis had followed their traditional occupation, those of a large minority of Ad Dharmis had moved in to a new one: and those of Ramgarhias a majority had shifted similarly. A majority of Balmikis and Ad Dharmis and all the Ramgarhias have entered non-traditional occupations.

Rajendra Pandey, (1982) in his book, ‘Social Inequality: Features, Forms and Functions’ describes the concept of social mobility, its sources patterns and consequences. The fundamental characteristics of systems of social stratification in the degree of openness or closure that they prescribe, prefer, or permit. The basic issue involved in the stratification is dependent up on the opportunity to move from one position to another in society. The core of social mobility is the extent of movement in social status or position by individuals of diverse social origins. The analysis of social mobility assumes the hierarchy of social status that the society is arranged in a series of layers- and that there are
criteria which may be used to indicate the status level or position in the hierarchy of an individual or a group. A social stratification of the same height and profile may have a different inner structure caused by the difference in the intensiveness and generality of the (horizontal and) vertical mobility. Theoretically, there may be stratified society in which vertically social mobility is nil. Such a type of stratification may be styled as absolutely closed, rigid, impenetrable, or immobile. The opposite theoretical type of the inner structure of the stratification of the same height and profile is that in which the vertical mobility is very intensive and general. Such types of social stratification may be styled, as open, plastic, penetrable, or mobile. The second source of variation is the dimension of time. This refers to generational; change which is of two types; intergenerational and intra-generatotional mobility. In time dimension, one may be concerned with the amount of time that it takes for persons to move from one set of position to another. Another dimension of mobility system varies the context or institution in which mobility occurs. The most important institutions of this kind have been; army, church, school, political, economic and professional organisations. Another dimension concerns the mechanism of mobility; persons obtain positions on stratum of stratification by ascription, achievement, maturation, and validation. Another aspect is the unit of mobility; whether mobility is of individuals or of collectives such as facilities, groups or whole societies.

Soran Singh, (1987) in his study draws an empirical profile of new dimensions of social change among scheduled castes with special reference to district Junpur in Uttar Pradesh. The study mainly aimed to
assess the changes that have taken place in the life of the scheduled castes as a result of the socio-political changes in India. The study includes the social background of the scheduled castes, the occupational mobility of the three generations, economic, educational condition and political participation and political affiliation and the new dimensions of social change among scheduled caste. The study focused on whether vertical social mobility has taken place among the scheduled caste and as a positive index of development whether a particular group or section of population is engaged in primary, secondary or tertiary occupation, indicating occupational mobility. In the third generation people are losing their attraction for agricultural labour and traditional occupations but slowly many drift towards government services for white collar job. It is found that there is a slow spatial mobility from rural areas to urban areas in search of services and there is an intergenerational mobility in occupation among scheduled castes. This study reveals that the present change of attitude is on account of frequent contact with the urban people and sustained interest of the government agencies. Further the rapid growth of means of transport and communication also influenced and aspiration for better career for children. This aspiration is quite high and points to an urge of social climbing.

Peter, Saunders, (1990) in his study explains the different positions in society ranked and rewarded differently. In Britain there is unequal society and inequalities of wealth are considerably high. There are mainly five main social classes in contemporary British society. They are the capitalist, salaried section of middle class; lower middle class, working class and small underclass. The study tries to understand the
trends in social mobility. The system of stratification based on social class tends to be more open than those based on status. People's position in modern class societies is not determined at birth. There is movement between class positions. This movement may be intra-generational mobility or inter-generational mobility.

Sarkar, J, (1984) states that the changes in the occupational pattern from caste bound to caste free largely depend on the nature and extent of economic pressure a caste is sustaining. Members of a caste are virtually encouraged or discouraged to pursue or not to continue their caste bound occupation depends on its profitable economic or non-profitable economic return. While a non-profitable economic return urges a caste to shift from its caste bound occupation to the choice of taking to a new occupation which is mainly guided by the factors like social values, social status etc. The categorisation of a particular occupation as degraded, as a caste bound or caste free leave ample scope for certain sections of people to continue their calling without facing much competition. Such values together with the age old traction of non-encroachment in others occupations facilitate the process of monopolisation of caste free occupations by a particular community in Mysore city. The occupational mobility among Kumbars (potters) found that the change in traditional calling has raised maximum in the present generations.

Satyavrat, Pande, (1977) in this explorative study reveals the status, power and career mobility among 300 civil servants, doctors and engineers in the Uttar Pradesh government service. The study reveals that
these groups came from a more or less homogeneous socio-economic background. Barring some exceptions, the sample was largely one of the middle aged males of above 30 years; only among doctors and among the civil servants, there were few female respondents. All the respondents were well educated; ie, they had one or more university degrees. There was no logically significant relationship between the high education of the respondent and relatively low education of their fathers. The majority of the respondents came from urban background and was born in joint families. The majority of the respondents’ fathers came from service occupation, followed by those whose occupations were business and agriculture. Only a minority of the respondents’ fathers were professionals. The overwhelming majority was comprised of the upper caste Hindu respondents. A comparison of the respondents’ assessment of their status with that of their fathers’ reveals an unmistakable trend towards upward inter-generational social mobility. The overall picture thus emerging from the analysis is one of higher social status of the civil servants-vis-à-vis the engineers and doctors; their self perceptions of their status also corroborates it. As for the upward intra-career mobility (as aspect of the vertical social mobility) as currently prevailing amongst the three careers in the organisation of the UP government services, it was found that in terms of the number of higher posts, grew fewer with the top becoming sharply pointed except in the case of IAS, which are not so-sharply pointed.

Lucinda, Platt, (2005) study examines the intergenerational social mobility of different ethnic groups in Britain between 1971 and 1999. The small body of previous research on intergenerational mobility and
ethnicity in Britain has not distinguished between pre-migration and post-migration social class, and thus has been unable to relate findings directly to studies of intergenerational social mobility or to accounts of the changing class composition of different ethnic groups within Britain. This study, instead, focuses on social mobility between generations as it is experienced by different groups in the same country, over the same period of time and over the same age range. Using data from the Office for National Statistics (ONS) Longitudinal Study, this study describes the different patterns of class mobility experienced by a single cohort of children aged 8-15 in 1971 from each of three ethnic groups: white non-migrants, Indians and Caribbean’s. It finds that the impact of class origin varies with ethnicity. However, the impact of ethnicity is less salient in determining outcomes for women than it is for men.

Colin, Bell, (1968) study brings a detailed findings of intensive research on 120 middle class families. The geographical distribution of the members of the extended family was wider, and contact between them was less frequent than among the middle class families sampled by previous authors. In these seemingly adverse conditions the middle class extended family was nevertheless a functioning social entity. The relationship between the head of a household and his father or father-in-law was found to be frequently of great importance. It is by means of this link that the elder middle class generation channels financial aid to the next generation. This aid enhances the living standard of the recipients. It is an aspect of social mobility overlooked by studies concentrating upon occupational mobility.
Julia Brannen and Ann Nilsen, (2006) this shows drawing upon biographical-narrative research involving case studies of British families in which four generations were alive at the same time. This study examines change and continuity among fathers and sons, focusing in detail upon one family. The study also examines the scheduling of fatherhood in the life course of three generations; the ways in which they talked about ‘fathering’ and fatherhood when their children were young; and the transmission of fathering within families. The particular case, a family of low-skilled men, demonstrates how structural changes and cultural resources combine in the negotiation of a model of ‘hands-on fathering’ in the current father generation. The study draws out some theoretical aspects of the analysis; in particular, how structural and cultural changes and gender intersect differently for different social classes. The theoretical insights depend upon a biographical approach which emphasized the changing context and the ways in which each generation acted upon that context.

The review of the literature shows the different aspects of social mobility which took place among various sections of the society. The literature depicts various factors of social mobility and its influence on the different segment of the communities. The main factors that influence mobility reveals from the literature are education, economical betterment, migration, modernization, industrialization and urbanizations. The studies that are carried out in India are mainly focused on different facets of life, socio-economic and cultural aspects of fishing communities across the coastal villages.
Some studies reveal that educational attainment has continued to rise from the first generation to third generation that leads to occupational mobility. Income and intelligence are also play an important role in determining the nature of mobility. At the same time some literature shows that industrialization helped in bringing occupational mobility.

**Importance of the study:**

There are number of studies conducted in India and abroad about the fishing community. Most of the studies are community studies, covering various facets of community life, though the same facet of community life has not attracted the attention of all the researchers to the same degree. Some have given greater attention to the economics of fishing, while others have concentrated on the technology of fishing. Still others have made the rituals and beliefs of fishermen their main concern. In almost all of these studies, the method of observation depended up on, either singly or in conjunction with some other methods.

And most of the researchers have viewed the fishermen not as a community that can be isolated but as a part of the peasant society and the wider market system. While some of the studies have sought to portray the social life of fishermen as existent at a point of time, others have tried to unfold the pace, degree and direction of the changes taking place in their social life over a time span.

The study of social mobility among various communities is an important area among the research scholars. Some of the studies reveal
that social mobility has occurred due to a number of forces. The important factors that leads to mobility are educational attainment, employment opportunity, economic prosperity, backward class movement, adoption of universal franchise, opportunity in the political power, migration, caste association, changes in the structure and culture, influence through the process of Sanskritisation, Westernization and Urbanization.

There are number of studies conducted on social mobility among various backward communities and also among fishing communities in India. They have investigated only a few aspects of such fishing communities. None of the studies focused to provide a comprehensive aspect of the degree of social mobility which is taking place among the fishing community in North Malabar region of coastal district of Kasaragod in Kerala. In order to fill the gap and understand the trends of social mobility among fishing community, a case study is absolutely needed and attains significance.

**Objectives of the study:**

The study has been carried out to investigate the trends of social mobility that are taking place among fishing community in Kasaragod, a coastal district of Kerala state and specifically the present study has been undertaken for the following purposes. They are:

1. To understand about the fishing community in Kasaragod coastal district.
2. To study the socio-demographic profile of fishing community in the study area.
3. To know the socio-economic and cultural aspects of fishing community.
4. To study the trends of social mobility among traditional fishing community.
5. To understand the problems related to fishing occupation faced by fishing community.

Location of the study:

The present study is concerned about the traditional marine fishing community of Malabar Coast of Kerala state. It covers the coastal areas of Kasaragod District. Kasaragod is the northern most district of Kerala state.

Coverage of the study:

The present study covers 16 fishing villages in Kasaragod District of Malabar coast. There are 6864 fishermen families living in these coastal villages' out of 10528 fishing people, 7514 are men and 3014 are female who are engaged in marine fishing.(source, Department of Fisheries, Kerala Fishermen Welfare Board).
Hypothesis of the study:

In order to give a definite direction to the study, and to determine what observations are to be made, it needs to formulate the hypothesis. The hypothesis is as:

Social mobility has taken place among fishing community due to various factors such as, education, migration and modern occupational opportunities.

METHODOLOGY:

Universe of the study:

Kerala with a total terrestrial area of 38000 square kilometers has a coastal line of 590 kilometers. Kerala holds the major share of exports in this sector from India. More than a million people belonging to the fishing communities live in 222 fishing villages in the State. About 2 Lakh people depend on supplementary professions like processing and marketing of fish for their survival. (Draft fisheries Policy of Kerala).

According to the 2001 census the estimated population of the Kerala state is 31839000 and Marine Fishermen Population (estimated) is 846088. The total fishing families in coastal area of Kasaragod is 6864. However, due to lack of sufficient time and material it is not possible to cover all the fishing families for interview; so that the researcher has
decided to take samples from the universe. It reveals that the selection of the fishing villages in the district is required for selecting respondents to be interviewed to collect information.

**Selection of Respondents:**

The coastal area of Kerala state has spreaded in different districts. The present study is limited to Kasaragod district of North Malabar. The fishermen families scattered in different fishing villages are selected as respondents for interviewing. A sampling frame has been prepared consisting of fishermen family from all the villages of Kasaragod district.

Respondents are sampled out with the help of proportionate stratified sampling. This sampling involves drawing a sampling from each village in proportion to the fishermen’s share in the total population.

The proportionate sampling gives proper representation to each stratum (coastal village) whose statistical efficiency is generally high. This method gives a self-weighing sample the population mean can be estimated simply by calculation of sample mean.
Sampling:

The sampling frame has been prepared using proportionate stratified sampling method. The researcher was drawn 300 (4.37 percent of total) sample households for this study.

Table No. 1.1. Sampling size:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL. No</th>
<th>Name of the fishing villages</th>
<th>No of Fishermen family</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thrikaripur</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Valiyaparambu</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Padannakadapuram</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kadangod</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Thaikadapuram</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>8.52</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Poonjavi</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Hosedurge</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ajanur</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>5.94</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Pallikkare</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>4.76</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kottikulam</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>5.87</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kishzhur</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>6.99</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kasaba</td>
<td>1220</td>
<td>17.77</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kavugoli</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Koipadi</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>8.21</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Shiriya</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Bengaramanjieswara</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>7.13</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>6864</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.37</strong></td>
<td><strong>300</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tools of data collection:

The search for answer to research questions is done through data collection. The primary and secondary source of data is collected. The primary source of data is collected through interviewing, personal discussion and observation. Under the method of interviewing, interview schedule has been used as a tool of data collection.

The interview schedule has been prepared by keeping in mind the main objectives of the research. The topic included in the schedule are family background, education, occupation, preference of the occupation, method of crafts used, problems of fishing occupation, socio-economic and cultural aspect, housing, health, marriage and migration.

Three hundred samples of household are interviewed with the help of interview schedule. The investigator has familiarized with the village residents and sought help from one member to build rapport with the respondents to explore information from them. The data gathered through interview at the respective residence of the respondents.

Interview Schedule:

The structured interview schedule was prepared through the development of pilot study. The interview schedule had both open and closed ended questions. The variable which are included in the questionnaires are education, inter-generational educational, intra-generational education, family, occupation, occupational preference,
crafts for fishing operation owned and used, problem of fishing occupation, income, expenditure, housing, health, marriage religion, perception of the community, reservation policy, migration and political participation.

Apart from using interview schedule, visits were conducted to interview some respondents to assess and to know in detail the extent of the mobility among the members of the community. The discussions with the community leaders were also made to collect key information about community.

The secondary sources of data collection has been done through census reports, statistical abstracts of the state government departments, annual reports, published articles, magazines and through national and international publications.

Pre-test:

After finalizing the interview schedule a pre-test was carried out to know the consistency and correctness of the data in few coastal villages of study area. After this, changes were made in the outline of the schedule and verification was made for the final interview.
Analysis and Interpretation of Data:

The completed interview schedules are coded; master sheet and table are prepared. Interpretations and findings are drawn on the basis of information collected and logical conclusions drawn.

Limitation of the study:

1. The investigator realized the problem of reliable data which is needed to be gathered as many respondents are unenthusiastic to give information about their families over generation.
2. Secondly, it is felt that they are not disclosing some factors like possession and the exact income which they receive.
3. Another short coming which is faced by the researcher is that the respondents are not disclosing certain matters which they think are of no benefit to them.

Body of the thesis:

The first chapter deals with meaning, concept, definition of social mobility, types of social mobility, theories of social mobility, fishing community, reviews of literature, objectives of the study, importance of the study, location of the study, coverage of the study, hypothesis of the study, universe of the study, selection of respondents, tools of data collection, limitations of the study and the body of the thesis.
The second chapter includes demographic profile such as district profile, physical aspects such as climate, temperature, rainfall hill ranges, flora and fauna, sea, rivers, crops, industries, educational institutions, transport, ecology and mineral resources and population. It also covers age, marital status, educational level, domicile period, living region, distance from home to town, preference of occupation, traditional and non-traditional occupation, family structure, size of the family and educational status of household of the respondents.

The third chapter consists of socio-economic, cultural aspects of fishing community. It includes fisher population in India, their education, occupation, religion, fisheries’ co-operatives, crafts, and other silent features. It also highlights fishing community in Kerala, fishing community in Kasaragod, oral tradition of the origin of community, the root of Mukkuva (fisher folks) community. The socio-economic aspects include such as family background, occupation of the family members, income of the family, family expenditure, indebtedness of the family, savings, types of housing, education, dropouts, health condition, religious life, taboos, marriage, festivals and fairs, and their participation.

The fourth chapter covers social mobility among fishing community, measurement of social mobility, inter-generational social mobility. This chapter also includes methods and crafts used for fishing, material possession, types of dwelling, intra-generational mobility, education, educational across the generations, intra-generational education, education as an instrument for social mobility, reasons for educating children, preference of children’s education by their parents,
The fifth chapter comprises of problems of fishing occupation such as problems related to marketing, related to storage, related to mechanized trawling, less catch due to reduction of fish resources, lack of availability of operational requirement, occupational risk and lack of safety guards and tourism and other development activities.

And the sixth chapter deals with summary of findings and conclusions of the study.