Occupational Mobility in Developing Societies

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Occupational mobility

- Background: why occupation
- Measuring occupation -> class schemas
- Application in developing countries
  - China
  - India
  - Chile and Brazil
  - Nigeria
- Conclusions
Background: why occupation?

- Occupation – an excellent indicator of people’s ‘life chances’.
  - Current income and material prosperity
  - Long-term economic security
  - Promotion chances
  - Psychological and social outcomes

- Occupational position – a powerful summary of one’s position in the stratification system

- Information collection – representative national surveys vs. linked censuses or tax records
Measuring occupations – building blocks

- Country-specific occupational classifications
- International Labour Office: International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO)
- ISCO has recently been updated to take into account developments of work in the world:
  - ISCO-58
  - ISCO-68
  - ISCO-88
  - ISCO-08

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>21</th>
<th>Science and Engineering Professionals</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>Physical and Earth Science Professionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2111</td>
<td>Physicists and Astronomers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2112</td>
<td>Meteorologists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2113</td>
<td>Chemists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2114</td>
<td>Geologists and Geophysicists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- ISCO-08 has 10 major groups, 43 sub-major groups, 130 minor groups, and 436 unit groups
- Challenge of ‘equivalence of meaning’ in different social contexts – informal sectors, institutional barriers, organisation of farming, etc.
Measuring occupations -> Class Schemas

- Aggregation of occupations
  - Hierarchical scales
    - Registrar-General scale (THC Stevenson, 1928)
    - Armstrong scale (Armstrong, 1972)
    - Hodge scale (Hodge, 1964)
    - Socio-economic index (Duncan, 1961)
    - Cambridge scale (Steward, Prandy and Blackburn, 1980)
  - Categorical class schemas
    - Wright’s class schema (Wright, 1997)
    - EGP class scale (Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero 1979)
Measuring occupations -> Class Schemas

- EGP schema (11-category version)
  - I  Higher-grade professionals, administrators and officials
  - II Lower-grade professionals, administrators and officials
  - IIIa Routine non-manual employees, higher grade
  - IIIb Routine non-manual employees, lower grade
  - IVa Small proprietors with employees
  - IVb Small proprietors without employees
  - IVc Farmers and smallholders
  - V  Lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers
  - VI  Skilled manual workers
  - VIIa Semi- and unskilled manual workers not in agriculture
  - VIIb Agricultural and other workers in primary production
Measuring occupations -> Class Schemas

- Advantages of EGP schema
  - It considers additional non-hierarchical elements, e.g. employment status
  - It distinguishes mechanisms that generate or inhibit movement between classes, such as inheritance, sector and affinity.
  - It does not assume fixed social distances or ‘intervals’ between classes.
  - By using broader categories, the EGP schema has a hierarchical element. e.g. Class I and Class II come above Class III. At the other end, Classes V and VI come above Classes VIIa and VIIb. This hierarchy reflects the general desirability of the occupations involved.

- These advantages of EGP make it one of the most useful schemas for analysing mobility in western societies. However, it may conceal important social cleavages in developing countries.
### Application in developing countries (China)

Table 1: Outflow mobility of men in China (row percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s class</th>
<th>I+II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IVa+b</th>
<th>V+VI</th>
<th>VIIa</th>
<th>IVc+V Iib</th>
<th>Row total</th>
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<td>I+II</td>
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<td>III</td>
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<td>19.1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>IVa+b</td>
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<td>20.4</td>
<td>35.9</td>
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<td>11.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>V+VI</td>
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<td>9.5</td>
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<td>37.9</td>
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<td>6.7</td>
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<td>17.3</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>30.4</td>
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Source: CGSS2006, $N = 3138$
## Application in developing countries (China)

Table 2: Outflow mobility of men from urban *hukou* origin in China (row percentages)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s class</th>
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<th>V+VI</th>
<th>VIIa</th>
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Source: CGSS2006, *N = 1066*
## Application in developing countries (China)

Table 3: Outflow mobility of men from rural *hukou* origin in China (row percentages)

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<th>Father’s class</th>
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<th>IVa+b</th>
<th>V+VI</th>
<th>VIIa</th>
<th>IVc+V Iib</th>
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<td>IVa+b</td>
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</table>

Source: CGSS2006, *N = 2067*
Application in developing countries (China)

- Compare with a Chinese class schema (5-category version)

  1. Governors, employers and managers,
  2. Professionals and professional assistants,
  3. Self-employed and routine non-manual employees,
  4. Non-agricultural manual workers and
  5. Agricultural manual workers
# Application in developing countries (China)

Table 4: Outflow mobility of men from *urban hukou* origin in China (row percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s class</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Row total</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Governors</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>46.9</td>
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<td>2. Professionals</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Manual worker</td>
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<td>25.6</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Agricultural worker</td>
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Source: CGSS2006, \( N = 1066 \)
Application in developing countries (China)

Table 5: Outflow mobility of men from rural hukou origin in China (row percentages)

<table>
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<th>Father’s class</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<td>2. Professionals</td>
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<td>21.0</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Routine non-manual</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Manual worker</td>
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<td>7.5</td>
<td>14.0</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Agricultural worker</td>
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<td>4.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CGSS2006, N = 2067
Application in developing countries (India)

- Modified EGP schema in India (Vaid, 2007)

  1. The **professional and administrative class** or ‘salariat’. This includes higher professionals and managers, lower professionals, managers and supervisors together with clerical and sales workers and peons

  2. The **business class**, comprising both businesses with employees and petty businesses without employees

  3. The **farmer class**, including large farm owners (with more than 5 acres of land), small farmers (with less than 5 acres) who work their own land, together with large tenant farmers

  4. The **manual class**, comprising skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers (not in agriculture) together with routine non-manual service workers such as waiters, washer men, barbers and ayahs

  5. **Lower agriculturists** comprising agricultural labourers, non-cultivators and small tenant farmers (farming 0-5 acres of land)
## Application in developing countries (India)

Table 6: Outflow mobility of men in India (row percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s class</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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</thead>
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<td>3. Farmers</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td>4. Manual workers</td>
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<td>5. Agricultural workers</td>
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Source: Indian National Election Survey 2004, $N = 11623$
## Application in developing countries (Brazil)

### Table 7: Outflow mobility of men in Brazil (row percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s class</th>
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<th>IVa+b</th>
<th>IVc</th>
<th>V+VI</th>
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<th>VIIb</th>
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</table>

Source: The Brazilian National Household Survey (1996)
Application in developing countries (Chile)

Table 8: Outflow mobility of men in Chile (row percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s class</th>
<th>I+II</th>
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<th>IVa+b</th>
<th>IVc</th>
<th>V+VI</th>
<th>VIIa</th>
<th>VIIb</th>
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<td>25.9</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Chilean Mobility Survey 2001, $N = 3002$
Application in developing countries

- Reflection on the use of EGP in Latin America (Torche, 2014)
  - The distinction between self-employed farmers (IVc) and farm workers (VIIb) is assumed to be less meaningful
  - Hidden cleavage between formal and informal sectors
  - The self-employed class with or without employees (IVa+b) may have combined rather heterogeneous groups, without detecting consequential social cleavages between them
  - Heterogeneity within the salariat
Application in developing countries (Africa)

- There is a scarcity of research on occupational mobility in Africa.
  - Lack of representative and reliable data
  - Mainly focus on education and income

- Raw data from a 1971 Nigerian survey (Ganzeboom et al, 1989)
  - A small sample size (N=1271)
  - The quality of the data was dubious, with a large number of missing values on the occupation variables
Table 9: Outflow mobility of men in Nigeria (row percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s class</th>
<th>I+II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IVa+b</th>
<th>V+VI</th>
<th>VIIa</th>
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<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ganzeboom et al (1989), \(N = 1286\)
Conclusions

1. Occupations provide a flexible and powerful basis for studying mobility in both developed and developing societies.

2. How one measures occupations needs to reflect the specificities of the particular country – off-the-peg schemas may hide as much as they reveal.

3. Particularly, the non-occupational elements in the stratification process such as institutional barriers, formal/informal sectors, play important roles in occupational mobility among developing countries.

4. These observations mean that it is far from straightforward to determine whether one society is more open or fluid than another, even if we use apparently standardize measuring instruments.
Thank You
## Appendix: Application in developing countries (China)

Table A1: Outflow mobility of women in China (row percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s class</th>
<th>I+II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IVa+b</th>
<th>V+VI</th>
<th>VIIa</th>
<th>IVc+V</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I+II</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVa+b</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V+VI</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIIa</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVc+VIIb</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CGSS2006, $N = 3613$
### Appendix: Application in developing countries (China)

Table A2: Outflow mobility of women from *urban hukou* origin in China (row percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s class</th>
<th>I+II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IVa+b</th>
<th>V+VI</th>
<th>VIIa</th>
<th>IVc+V IIb</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I+II</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVa+b</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td><strong>36.4</strong></td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V+VI</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td><strong>26.4</strong></td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIIa</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td><strong>24.7</strong></td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVc+V IIb</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td><strong>18.4</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CGSS2006, \(N = 1223\)
## Appendix: Application in developing countries (China)

Table A3: Outflow mobility of women from rural hukou origin in China (row percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s class</th>
<th>I+II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IVa+b</th>
<th>V+VI</th>
<th>VIIa</th>
<th>IVc+V IIb</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I+II</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVa+b</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V+VI</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIIa</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVc+V IIb</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CGSS2006, $N = 2382$
## Appendix: Application in developing countries (India)

Table A4: Outflow mobility of women in India (row percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s class</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Row total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Salariat</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Business</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Farmers</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>81.4</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Manual workers</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Agricultural workers</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Indian NES, $N = 4909$