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# Occupational Mobility in Developing Societies

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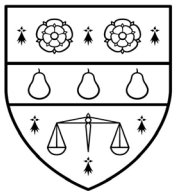


## Occupational mobility

- 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

### 2 Professionals

<b>21</b>	<b>Science and Engineering Professionals</b>
211	Physical and Earth Science Professionals
2111	Physicists and Astronomers
2112	Meteorologists
2113	Chemists
2114	Geologists and Geophysicists

- 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)

Father's class	Respondent's class						Row total
	I+II	III	IVa+b	V+VI	VIIa	IVc+V IIb	
I+II	<b>34.9</b>	10.9	13.9	19.5	11.9	8.8	100
III	30.6	<b>19.1</b>	12.5	15.0	20.1	2.6	100
IVa+b	16.3	20.4	<b>35.9</b>	13.4	11.7	2.2	100
V+VI	18.3	9.5	10.4	<b>37.9</b>	17.0	6.7	100
VIIa	17.3	11.2	10.6	20.5	<b>30.4</b>	10.0	100
IVc+VIIb	10.6	3.3	11.5	10.2	14.0	<b>50.4</b>	100

Source: CGSS2006,  $N = 3138$



## Application in developing countries (China)

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

Father's class	Respondent's class						Row total
	I+II	III	IVa+b	V+VI	VIIa	IVc+V IIb	
I+II	<b>37.4</b>	14.2	13.3	21.5	12.1	1.6	100
III	36.3	<b>22.1</b>	10.0	14.6	17.0	0.0	100
IVa+b	20.0	25.4	<b>26.6</b>	13.9	12.4	1.7	100
V+VI	17.6	11.6	10.8	<b>41.4</b>	17.0	1.6	100
VIIa	20.3	14.1	11.6	21.8	<b>28.6</b>	3.7	100
IVc+VIIb	5.9	9.2	19.2	17.0	27.2	<b>21.6</b>	100

Source: CGSS2006,  $N = 1066$

## Application in developing countries (China)

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

Father's class	Respondent's class						Row total
	I+II	III	IVa+b	V+VI	VIIa	IVc+V IIb	
I+II	<b>31.5</b>	6.3	14.8	16.6	11.7	19.1	100
III	20.6	<b>14.1</b>	17.3	15.6	24.8	7.4	100
IVa+b	7.4	8.5	<b>58.4</b>	12.3	9.9	3.4	100
V+VI	20.1	5.1	9.7	<b>30.2</b>	17.2	17.8	100
VIIa	8.7	2.9	7.8	16.6	<b>34.9</b>	29.2	100
IVc+VIIb	10.8	3.1	11.3	10.0	13.7	<b>51.2</b>	100

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)

Father's class	Respondent's class					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1. Governors	<b>9.8</b>	14.7	28.1	46.9	0.6	100
2. Professionals	8.0	<b>17.9</b>	32.0	38.6	3.5	100
3. Routine non-manual	7.2	11.8	<b>38.2</b>	39.4	3.4	100
4. Manual worker	6.2	8.2	25.6	<b>59.3</b>	0.7	100
5. Agricultural worker	3.3	1.2	25.9	45.9	<b>23.8</b>	100

Source: CGSS2006,  $N = 1066$

## Application in developing countries (China)

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

Father's class	Respondent's class					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1. Governors	<b>4.5</b>	4.8	17.5	26.1	47.2	100
2. Professionals	7.0	<b>20.7</b>	11.8	21.0	39.5	100
3. Routine non-manual	6.5	6.8	<b>34.0</b>	26.6	26.2	100
4. Manual worker	4.6	7.5	14.0	<b>43.3</b>	30.6	100
5. Agricultural worker	1.9	4.2	13.0	15.8	<b>65.0</b>	100

Source: CGSS2006,  $N = 2067$

## Application in developing countries (India)

- Modified EGP schema in India (Vaid, 2007)
  - ❑ 1. The **professional and administrative class** or ‘salarial’. 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)

Father's class	Respondent's class					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1. Salariat	<b>52.5</b>	18.8	8.9	13.9	5.9	100
2. Business	14.9	<b>72.3</b>	3.0	7.9	2.0	100
3. Farmers	10.3	6.6	<b>72.1</b>	7.8	2.9	100
4. Manual workers	14.9	10.3	2.9	<b>64.0</b>	8.0	100
5. Agricultural workers	7.6	7.3	2.9	10.9	<b>71.3</b>	100

Source: Indian National Election Survey 2004,  $N = 11623$

## Application in developing countries (Brazil)

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

Father's class	Respondent's class							Row total
	I+II	III	IVa+b	IVc	V+VI	VIIa	VIIb	
I+II	<b>37.4</b>	18.9	15.2	0.8	11.4	12.6	3.7	100
III	22.9	<b>29.3</b>	11.3	0.4	16.8	17.1	2.2	100
IVa+b	20.2	17.9	<b>27.2</b>	1.2	13.7	16.2	3.6	100
IVc	9.9	10.4	14.8	<b>7.9</b>	16.8	21.8	18.3	100
V+VI	11.2	16.4	9.2	0.1	<b>36.3</b>	23.3	3.4	100
VIIa	11.0	17.1	8.5	0.2	24.0	<b>35.5</b>	3.9	100
VIIb	4.7	6.7	8.4	1.6	18.8	24.8	<b>34.9</b>	100

Source: The Brazilian National Household Survey (1996)



## Application in developing countries (Chile)

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

Father's class	Respondent's class							Row total
	I+II	III	IVa+b	IVc	V+VI	VIIa	VIIb	
I+II	<b>53.3</b>	11.4	18.8	0.5	8.6	7.0	0.5	100
III	37.7	<b>9.3</b>	21.0	0.0	14.8	16.7	0.6	100
IVa+b	21.5	6.5	<b>30.2</b>	4.9	17.8	15.7	3.5	100
IVc	13.3	5.1	21.5	<b>17.1</b>	18.4	17.1	7.6	100
V+VI	15.7	5.7	20.0	2.2	<b>26.8</b>	23.3	6.2	100
VIIa	9.8	8.6	23.1	2.6	22.3	<b>24.7</b>	8.8	100
VIIb	6.3	3.6	17.6	3.8	20.0	22.7	<b>25.9</b>	100

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

## Application in developing countries (Nigeria)

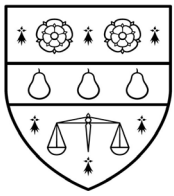
Table 9: Outflow mobility of men in Nigeria (row percentages)

Father's class	Respondent's class						Row total
	I+II	III	IVa+b	V+VI	VIIa	IVc+V IIb	
I+II	<b>28.1</b>	3.3	18.2	0.8	4.1	45.5	100
III	11.1	<b>4.4</b>	31.1	2.2	2.2	48.9	100
IVa+b	9.4	2.3	<b>28.2</b>	2.3	2.8	54.9	100
V+VI	7.1	7.1	14.3	<b>7.1</b>	0.0	64.3	100
VIIa	7.1	2.4	9.5	0.0	<b>9.5</b>	71.4	100
IVc+VIIb	3.8	1.6	4.8	0.1	3.1	<b>86.6</b>	100

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



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**Thank You**

## Appendix: Application in developing countries (China)

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

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

Source: CGSS2006,  $N = 3613$

## Appendix: Application in developing countries (China)

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

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

Source: CGSS2006,  $N = 1223$



## Appendix: Application in developing countries (China)

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

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

Source: CGSS2006,  $N = 2382$

## Appendix: Application in developing countries (India)

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

Father's class	Respondent's class					Row total
	1	2	3	4	5	
1. Salaried	<b>56.7</b>	9.3	12.4	11.3	10.3	100
2. Business	24.1	<b>51.7</b>	5.2	13.8	5.2	100
3. Farmers	5.5	2.1	<b>81.4</b>	6.4	4.6	100
4. Manual workers	12.3	4.5	4.5	<b>69.7</b>	9.0	100
5. Agricultural workers	4.4	3.3	3.8	8.2	<b>80.2</b>	100

Source: Indian NES,  $N = 4909$