# Stratified Mobility: Trends and Patterns in India

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Mobility has been the focus of policy and academic debates. The mobility concerns in the Indian context are interesting as the caste system has stratified people into categories based on ascribed identities. The classcastes interaction provides the lens to understand the mobility patterns in India. This paper attempts to understand the current mobility patterns within the caste-class framework. The study uses nationally available NSS 68th-round data to describe and establish patterns of social mobility in India. This study focuses on occupational and education mobility to understand the interaction between them within the framework of caste- class. The paper finds that there is hereditary bias in occupational patterns. The paper also shows that despite higher educational mobility among the lower castes, the labour market patterns have not changed in correspondence to the educational patterns.

*Keywords:* Intergenerational mobility, Caste, Social Class, Education, Labour Market

The core concern of policymakers and social scientists for a long time has been inclusive growth and mobility. It was initially within the ambit of the welfare state, which had the component of a socialistic development model such as affirmative action and policy support measures like supplier diversity. Even outside the formal rational-legal state policy framework, the informal and contentious politics revolved around the idea of mobility, particularly for the marginalised sections. Mobility can be intergenerational or intragenerational. Intergenerational mobility is further differentiated based on the causal factors of exchange, circular or reciprocated and structural or unreciprocated (Sobel; Hout & Duncan, 1985; Blau, 1992). Various studies on social mobility have dealt in depth with the empirical investigation and contribution to methodological advances using statistical tools and techniques. Pioneering sociologists like Karl Marx and Max Weber used a historical approach and traced society's structure under different societies. Sorokin's monograph was one of the pioneering studies on the West's mobility patterns (Ivesion; Krishna & Sen, 2019, p. 240). On the other hand, studies specific to the Indian context focused on the traditional status, values and morality that dominated the social hierarchy. Mobility is seen through the lens of caste, class or geography or the intersection of these factors. One of the earliest studies used the occupational mobility matrix to argue that the differential mobility patterns across castes are due to differential access to education (Driver, 1962). Driver (1962) noted that there is stagnation in the lower classes while there is a greater scope of mobility in the upper strata.

In the Indian context, mobility patterns within the broader framework of caste become significant as the social identity of caste encompasses the framework of class and mobility (Jodkha & Prakash, 2016; Srinivas, 2016). Beteille (1965), through fieldwork in Sripruram village in Tamil Nadu, studied the avenues and changing patterns of mobility with changing political and economic contexts (Beteille, 1965, p.98). In the context of changes in the structure of the economy, post-1991 reforms, the analysis of caste, class and mobility becomes a centre of the debate (Sundaram, 2007). Further, other changes like the emergence of the middle class, the emergence of the business class or the self-employed class especially among the lower castes creates a need to re-evaluate the occupational and mobility patterns in the current contexts (Jordand, 2000; Prasad, Babu & Kapoor, 2010) Different parameters of mobility are used to study the mobility patterns of a society. Vakulabharanam (2010) used the Gini index of inequality; the method of decomposition used by Yitzhaki (1994). Another approach to studying mobility and inequality is using the singleparameter entropy family of indices like log mean deviation (Shorrocks & Wan, 2005) and using log-linear regression analysis to study the factors of mobility (Kumar, Heath & Heath 2002B, Vaid, 2012). In these papers, a brief non-technical summary using the education-based or occupational mobility matrix of the mobility patterns is presented to provide a broad outline. The rest of the article is presented as follows; Section 2 gives the research questions; Section 3 provides the operational classification of the class scheme; section 4 describes data and methodology; section 5 presents the findings and analysis of the data.

# **Research Questions**

Occupational opportunities are one of the crucial means of social mobility. The fluidity of occupational opportunities determines the mobility patterns in society, anyone in any caste or gender should be able to reach the destined class without any social discrimination. It was generally assumed that over time the gross upward mobility in terms of absolute numbers would increase with the increase in opportunities. Structural changes like economic liberalisation were assumed to ensure upward mobility for diverse sections. The industrial and free market forces were assumed to unlock the meritocratic principle and provide opportunities to broader sections of society (Singh, 1991). However, the aspirational captivity of the individual in Indian society is a product of the structural location of the individual. The rigid system of social stratification offers a complex intersection of economic possibilities within the contours of socially accepted occupational opportunities (Jogdand, 2000). In this light, the review of existing empirical studies at the national level shows that there are high levels of intergenerational stability in India (Kumar, Heath & Heath, 2002). In this light, the current study evaluates the mobility patterns of education and occupation across castes and classes. The current paper attempts to address the following questions.

- (1) Is there a resemblance of caste-class interconnection in intergenerational occupational and educational distribution?
- (2) What are the mobility patterns in India? Is there a differential pattern in terms of education and occupation? In other words, are there any labour market rigidities that create the gap between educational and occupational mobility?

The occupational opportunities are related to an individual's educational level. With access to education so diverse, the expectation was that education would positively impact class destinations beyond the ambit of caste or any other social origins (Heath. 2003).

## Defining Class in the Indian Context: Caste- Class Interconnection

Class as a sociological concept is as old as a discipline. Pioneering sociologists Karl Marx and Max Weber have studied and theorised the concept of class. While studies in Western and European contexts had a clear link between class and occupation, Indian Society was seen mainly as caste-based initially. Only later studies understood Indian society through the lens of class (Jodhka & Prakash, 2016). Later the interaction of caste and class became a point of academic focus (Srinivas, 2016; Vaid, 2012). Stratification and class divisions in industrial and urban were defined and became the subject matter of study (Sharma, 1994). However, the empirical application of class as a sociological category in the academic analysis is limited. The framework of Kumar et al (2002) is adopted for defining class and analysis of social mobility. Thus, a fourfold class scheme is used for simplicity and convenience, though it is understood that social reality is deeper and more complex. The four classes are defined as follows:

*Salariat*: All regular salaried employees based on principal activity status (PS). It is understood that they are provided with job security and adequate social safety nets. This class's lifestyle and life chances are generally considered better than others. Thus, the salariat class is placed in a higher-class hierarchy. Some studies have identified this class as an old middle class based on education (Jodhka & Prakash, 2010).

*Bourgeoise*: Own accounts and large businesses based on principal activity status (PS) are considered bourgeois. They are a large and petty capitalist class who are the wealth creators in the economy. The paper excludes farm-based enterprises, those that are engaged in agriculture and allied sectors as per National Industrial Classification (NIC-2008). The idea was to have a more pointed and specific analysis of the business class, which employs entrepreneurial capital rather than land-based capital.

*Manual Class*: All casual wage labourers, skilled and unskilled are categorised as a manual class. The class primarily capitalises the physical labour and generally lacks highly valued market endowments. It is also based on the principal activity status (PS).

*Agriculturalist*: While the earlier class was based on principal activity status (PS), this class is based on the land cultivated data. This class is based primarily on land capital and agricultural labour. This unified classification as an agricultural class has its limitations. However, as the data on agriculture class in NSS 68th round is based on households and not individuals and any further classification based on land ownership will not show the mobility as the land size would be identical across generations (Father and Son being under the same household).

The justification for such a classification is primarily due to data limitations in NSS and the redundancy of such a classification in the mobility matrix. The mobility patterns have to be interpreted with agriculture as a category and the proportion of those who move out to agriculture. Overall, the limitations of the classification scheme are that the sub-divisions within each class have not been taken in the analysis. Another limitation of the class scheme is the universalisation of urban and rural

societies. Another concern which is common in such studies is to *hierarchize* the class structure. The justification for using such a class scheme with such concerns is that large- scale data sets provide nationally representative patterns. Nevertheless, the importance and the need for in-depth ethnographic studies to understand mobility patterns in Indian society cannot be dismissed.

## **Data and Methods**

The NSS data on employment-unemployment 68th round is very suitable for studying social mobility patterns across caste groups and sub-classes within castes. The data provides a nationally representative sample with data on wide particulars. At the individual level, data particulars include current principal activity status and demographic particulars like caste, gender, educational level, age and current status of educational attendance. Apart from the individual level data, NSS also provides the data at the household level, like the composition of household members, size of household, land cultivated by the household and social group of the household. The intergenerational data within households was collated with individual and household data. The variable relation to head is defined by nine categories in NSS data as follows; self, spouse of the head, married child, spouse of a married child, unmarried child, grandchild, ccombined category of father and father-in-law, combined category of brother, brother-in-law and other relatives and last category includes non-relatives residing in the household. The data of only male members were considered. The justification for the non-inclusion of women is that there was a lack of adequate data on women members due to their non- economic engagements which are not captured in the employment data. Further, the fact that Indian society has many women who have migrated to their patrilocal residence could create difficulties in mapping the intergenerational continuity within the household. For instance, parents' children's relationships get complicated as most mothers and married daughters are likely to be placed in different households and thus breaking the continuity of intergenerational analysis.

Further, as there are three generations of members within a household, it was pertinent to map the intergenerational relationship through three cohorts, which were later combined to provide the mobility matrix. Three cohorts of generations were identified by variable relation to the head. The first generation of the first cohort is defined as the category of father and father-in-law, and the subsequent generation is defined by the combination of self and spouse of self. This definition captures the diverse family set-up in Indian society, including the joint and nuclear families residing under one roof and having a shared kitchen. It is justified that the inclusion of fatherin-law in the NSS household member classification is based on his relation to the head because some of the households are female-headed households, including a father-in-law at the head seems a reasonable choice to study the father-son mobility patterns. The second cohort is defined by the pair of self/ spouse and married/ unmarried children to the head of the household. The third cohort is defined by the pair of married/ unmarried children and grandchildren of the head of the household. A note of caution is placed that there is an exclusion error of brother of the head, as the NSS data clubs count brothers with 'other relatives who are not a defined category. However, as the head of the household is covered, it is believed that it may not affect the outcome of the analysis. Among the members of the household included, those currently in attendance of education are excluded from the study of occupational mobility. Further, those households that do not have any pairs of intergenerational relationships are dropped from the analysis. The unweighted sample is aggregated based on the class/caste of the first- and second-generation members across different cohorts. The sample sizes for the three cohorts are 2761, 91945 and 5814 respectively. They represent household-level data and comprise nearly twice the number of individuals in respective cohorts.

# **Results and Discussion**

Is there a resemblance of caste-class interconnection in intergenerational occupational and educational distribution? The first part of the paper attempts to study the caste-class patterns of Indian society in terms of occupational as well as educational profiles of individuals. Table 1 shows the occupational distribution of class across the category of caste. There are certain things noteworthy in the occupational distribution across generations. Firstly, the analysis shows a stratified pattern of occupational distribution akin to caste distribution. There is a higher proportion among the general castes that are engaged in salaried and business occupations (16.1 and 19 per cent respective) while a higher proportion among the lower castes is engaged in the agriculture sector (for instance 30.5 per cent of STs, 22.6 per cent of OBCs) (Table 1). Similarly, the row percentages also exhibit the caste orientation among the class dimensions. Salaried employment, which is supposed to be a diverse class due to constitutional and state endeavours, is found to exhibit the stratified patterns of caste orientation. The salaried class is prepossessed by the general and OBC categories with 37 and 34 per cent respectively. This shows a lower representation of the lower castes in higher-class positions. The business class is similar with SCs constituting only 11 per cent and STs constituting 7 per cent of the total business class. OBCs, due to some of their traditional association with business as an occupation has made them the highest constituent among the business class (Table 2).

Thus, the vertical and horizontal components of the castes and classes exhibit the stratified patterns of occupational distribution. The economic systems align with the traditional patterns of Hindu social order, showing the caste-class overlap (Kumar, 2014). The constitutional mandate of affirmative action has likely allowed SC/ST to be part of the salariat class (Srinivas, 2016, Kumar, 2007). On the other hand, the business class lacking affirmative action has the lowest participation of the marginalised sections.

While comparative pictures of occupational patterns show the stratified patterns, now the focus of analysis is shifted to the study of one of the lower caste groups. The intergenerational pattern of lower castes is significant to the study so as to understand the initial location of the individuals to study the mobility and consider the base effect. Table 3 shows the distribution of occupational class among the different generations of the SC population. The study reaffirms that agriculture is not only the dominant choice of occupation among the current population of lower castes, but it is a phenomenon across generations. The temporal dimension of the data shows that the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture is increasing against the overall trend. One possible explanation could be that the land held by people has become marketable, and hence the market rigidities are decreasing, allowing the lower castes to cultivate the land (Beteille, 2012, 1972). Thus, in recent years, the

lower castes SC can acquire land and enter the agricultural sector as owners. This could be contrary to the larger trend of society, where the share of agricultural employment is decreasing due to issues of rural distress and ecological stress (Jodhka, 2018; Shiva, 1991). Such a situation in the long run could affect the incomes and status of SCs.

Occupational class\ Category	ST	SC	OBC	General	All Categories
Salariat	13.8	12.7	11.8	16.1	13.6
Business	9.3	12.3	17.1	19	15.9
Manual	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.5
Agriculturalist	30.5	17.7	22.6	19.4	21.9
Total (N)	31208	35714	92264	74613	233799

**Table 1:** Class composition by caste (In Column Percentages)<sup>1</sup>

		1			0
Occupational	ST	SC	OBC	General	Total (N)
class					
Salariat	13.5	14.2	$34 \cdot 4$	37.9	31770
Business	7.8	11.8	42.3	38.1	37237
Manual	21.6	21.9	31.5	2 5	1151
Agriculturalist	18.6	12.4	40.7	28.3	$5\ 1\ 1\ 1\ 1$

Table 2: Caste-wise class composition (In Row Percentages)<sup>2</sup>

Further, Table 4 shows that the diagonal cell is the highest across the different classes. This indicates the strong hereditary bias in Indian society. In other words, most of the second generations follow their primary generations' occupations. Secondly, among the son's class, most of their preceding generation comes from the agricultural class. Thus, apart from hereditary bias, the second most important class of fathers' generations is agriculture for any given class of sons. The third interesting thing is that the hereditary factor changes across the class. While the highest hereditary factor is with the agricultural class with nearly 75 per cent of sons following the same occupation as that of their fathers i.e., agriculture, the second is that of the businesses community with nearly 50 per cent of sons in business who hail from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Classes as defined by the framework used by Sanjay Kumar et al (2002). Only those males who are not currently in attendance of education are considered. The column percentages show the proportion of a class within the caste to the overall persons from that particular social category in the labour market, for example among overall STs in the labour market how many are salaried.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Row percentages are the proportion of a caste-class among the overall class, for example percentage of ST- the salaried class within the overallsalaried class.

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families that run business. The figure is lowest for the salariat class with just nearly 25 per cent coming from salariat fathers (Table 4). Occupational mobility cannot be complete without understanding the underlying factors that could cause changes in the occupational structure. One of the most important factors is the educational attainments of the individuals that affect occupational mobility. Thus, now we turn the educational patterns across generations.

Occupational Class	Fathers'	Sons'	
Salariat	2989 (18.91)	1329 (25.37)	
Bourgeoise	3513 (22.22)	1162 (22.18)	
Manual	206 (1.3)	71 (1.36)	
Agriculturalist	4290 (27.13)	2677 (51.1)	
Total (N)	10998	5239	

Table 3: Class composition among SC across cohorts<sup>3</sup>

Table 4: Distribution of Father's Occupational Class given Sons' Class among SC

Salariat	Business	Manual	Agriculturalist
323	73	7	248
182	499	8	320
8	4	18	2 7
221	188	1 7	1988
1201	1055	60	2583
	3 2 3 1 8 2 8 2 2 1	Salariat         Business           3 2 3         7 3           1 8 2         4 9 9           8         4           2 2 1         1 8 8	323     73     7       182     499     8       8     4     18       221     188     17

Table 5 shows the distribution of educational levels across generations. It can be seen that the proportion of the illiterate population has decreased over generations. While this is already a well-accounted fact, what is surprising is that at the level of higher education there is only a marginal increase. Thus, educational levels have unevenly increased at school and diploma levels while the trend in higher education is ambiguous. One of the possibilities could be that the concerned data captures only those who have qualified/ passed the said category and excludes those in current attendance. Since the younger generation is relatively young, there is a possibility that they could be in current attendance of education at the time of the survey.

<sup>4</sup>Refer to Table 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Refer to Table 1. Figures in parentheses are percentages

	Education of fathers	Education of Sons		
No education	25825(25.01)	13780 (13.35)		
Literate without formal schooling	361(0.35)	166 (0.16)		
1				
Literate without formal schooling	45(0.04)	24 (0.02)		
2				
Literate without formal schooling	274(0.27)	207 (0.2)		
3				
Below Primary	11098(10.75)	21528 (20.85)		
P r i m a r y	13389(12.96)	16480 (15.96)		
Middle	17087(16.55)	17566 (17.01)		
Secondary	14552(14.09)	13642 (13.21)		
Higher Secondary	8313(8.05)	10512 (10.18)		
Diploma/ Certificate course	1220(1.18)	1410 (1.37)		
Graduate	8461(8.19)	6321 (6.12)		
Postgraduate and above	2646(2.56)	1615 (1.56)		
Total	1,03,271	1,03,271		

Table 5: Educational level distribution across generations<sup>5</sup>

#### **Intergenerational Mobility**

What are the mobility patterns in India? Is there a differential pattern in terms of education and occupation? In other words, are there any labour market rigidities that create the gap between educational and occupational mobility? This part addresses the second question of the mobility patterns in India in terms of education and occupation and whether there is any divergence among them due to any labour market rigidities. As Kumar et al (2002) point out, the Indian economy was going through a differential pattern of structural change compared to the western countries. While other countries mostly witnessed the linear trajectory of change from agriculture-focused to Industry-led growth, the Indian economy leap-frogged directly to the third stage of transition, moving from an agricultural-based to a service sector-led economy. This has implications for class compositions and mobility patterns across different social groups. There were changes in size, nature and composition of class structure based on changes in narratives and usage of new technology-based and new demos in the service-based economy (Subrahmanya, 2015, Subramanian & Mohan, 2016). Table 3 and Table 4 show the proportion of the primary generation's class for a given class of sons in terms of occupation and educational status. For instance, the table reads as what are the occupational profiles

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Figures in parentheses are percentages

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of the fathers' generation given the salariat class of sons' (second generations). The fact that the class structure is different for the inter-generations implies that there must be a mobility factor, either upward or downward. By ranking and mapping the occupational structure of primary and secondary generations, one could get a picture of mobility. Creating the inter-generational pairs of households and comparing the occupations of fathers and sons and educational status, the mobility matrix across caste was constructed.

The following points of the mobility matrix obtained need attention. Firstly, the overall trend of downward mobility across caste groups is relatively low with only 10.5 per cent of father-son pairs while there is 35.7 per cent in the stable matrix (Table 6). It shows that though the class structure of Indian society is undergoing a change, there are rigidities in the market as there is a higher proportion of people in a stable bracket. Around 53.8 per cent of inter- generational pairs show upward mobility which is generally seen as a positive trend considering the social and economic justice dimension. However, the caste-wise mobility patterns show stratified patterns of mobility. SCs, for instance, have the highest proportion of the stable population (43.2 per cent) among the other social categories, while the forward caste has the least proportion of a stable population (31.5 per cent) (Table 6). Row percentages even show a clear picture of mobility. For instance, among those with upward occupational mobility, only 15.4 per cent and 13.5 per cent of the total upwardly mobile proportion is of STs and SCs respectively. This interpretation of data is despite the fact that lower castes have a lower base effect, as the previous generation had lower class strata. Thus, despite the fact that the upper castes already have a relatively higher proportion of the population in the upper classes shows that class is still dynamic among the general castes while lower castes despite being in lower-class occupations have more stagnation in terms of mobility.

On the other hand, the upward mobility among SCs is the lowest compared to other castes with only 47.4 per cent while all social categories have over 50 per cent of those caste pairs have upward mobility trends (Table 6). This is harmonious with the fact that lower castes in general are not able to use the opportunities of occupational choices with changes in the economy due to a lack of networks, low human capital, skill or material resources (Harriss-White & Basile, 2014). The lower endowment barrier at the entry level has implications for their mobility and welfare. Overall the results are in line with the existing studies that state that the caste advantage provides a class advantage to adapt to the changing structure of the economy and thus the higher castes can capitalise on the new opportunities created by the changes in the structure of the economy (Harriss-White & Basile, 2014).

Another insight of the analysis is that among lower castes cohort-wise variations were noticed. The first cohort of earliest generational pairs shows a more significant proportion of SCs salariat class among the sons. Quantitatively it shows that for every salariat father there were 12.8 salariat sons on average in the first cohort of individuals among SCs. Thus, the first cohort data of SCs shows that many of them were first-generation salariat, entering middle-class destinations for the first time. The cohort period roughly translates to the post-liberalisation phase, when the second generation of the first cohort would be in their 20s while entering the labour market, which reaffirms that the mobility factor in India is a recent phenomenon reflected in the temporality of the mobility factor.

Now the intergenerational mobility patterns of educational levels are studied. Table 7 captures the intergenerational educational mobility matrix across caste categories. The upward educational mobility is the highest among all the categories with 43.18 per cent of intergenerational pairs having higher education than their preceding generations. The downward trend of 35.25 per cent is also a significant proportion. The caste-wise educational mobility index shows an interesting point of discussion. Among all the social categories, upward educational mobility is highest among the SCs with 47.99 per cent of SC sons getting a better education than their predecessors. The contrary is seen in the general category where upward and downward mobility are nearly the same proportion (38 and 40 per cent respectively) (Table 7). Looking at the row percentages shows that among the upwardly mobile educational individuals, STs and SCs correspond only 12.6 per cent and 17.1 per cent respectively while it is 41 and 29.5 per cent for OBCs and general category respectively. Though it could be because most of the SC are first-generation learners attaining higher levels of education than their preceding generations. The table shows that the change in educational structure is different among different castes which have implications for socio-economic status in society.

	ST	SC	OBC	General	All Categories
Stable	4531 (32.5)	6641(43.2)	14869(37.3)	9864 (31.5)	35905 (35.7)
Downward	1146 (8.2)	1455 (9.5)	3991 (10)	3946 (12.6)	10538 (10.5)
Upward	8275 (59.3)	7284 (47.4)	20999 (52.7)	17519 (55.9)	54077 (53.8)
Total (N)	13952	15380	39859	31329	100520

**Table 6:** Mobility Matrix by Caste (In Column Percentages)

**Table 7:** Educational Mobility Matrix across Caste

 (In Column Percentages)

Educational mobility	ST	SC	OBC	General	All Categories
Stable	3014 (21.1)	3565 (22.5	5) 8903 (21.71	.) 6792 (21.11)	22274
					(21.57)
Downward	5661(39.63)	4659(29.4	7) 13855(33.79	9) 12231(38.01)	) 36406
					(35.25)
Upward	5610 (39.28)	7586 (47.9	9)18248 (44.5	51)13157 (40.88	)44601
					(43.18)
Total (N)	14,285	15,810	41,006	32,180	1,03,281

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While the general assumption is that higher and better education should result in higher occupational mobility, the empirical analysis provides mixed results. The analysis mentioned earlier shows that there are divergences in mobility patterns across educational and occupational levels. While the educationally mobile population accounts for 78 per cent, the occupational mobile population accounts for 63 per cent (Table 6 and Table 7). Thus, it can be concluded that the scope of educational mobility patterns across occupation and education are divergent. The occupational downward mobility among occupations is 10.5 per cent while the corresponding figure for education is 35 per cent (Table 6 and Table 7). This hints at the possibility of stickiness or rigidities in the labour market that is not just based on educational or skill levels. Though a statistical analysis can only decipher the causal connections, a preliminary non-technical empirical perspective shows that while education levels across generations could change more frequently, the occupational classes across generations tend toward stability.

Further, the caste-wise mobility patterns show some interesting points. While among the categories, the SCs have the highest upward educational mobility with 47.99 per cent, the occupational upward mobility among them is the lowest among other castes with 47.4 per cent (Table 6 and Table 7). This shows that while SC sons have higher education, they have not gained corresponding mobility in the occupational scheme. This hints at the possibility of labour market discrimination despite having higher educational levels than their predecessor generations. Though the base effect cannot be neglected, the scope of discrimination in the labour market is a factor that could distort the occupational outcomes among the SCs, which is in line with the existing literature (Thorat & Attewell, 2010; Deshpande, 2011; Prakash, 2016).

# Conclusion

While investigating the mobility patterns in Indian society, the following patterns could unravel the social trends. Firstly, the study also reaffirms that there is a significant overlap of caste class as the previous studies in the field have elaborated. The skewed patterns of representation were visible relative to the caste as lower castes occupied only a few top-class positions. Also, within the SCs as a category, they are disproportionately represented in the lower-class categories. Further, there are two factors that are reaffirmed, which should become a standard part of any other analysis. The hereditary bias and agricultural bias in the Indian occupational patterns. Secondly, as the existing literature notes, a considerable degree of stability dominates Indian society, and this trend is very widely seen among the lower castes despite their lower base effect. Further, the upward mobility of the lower castes has been a recent phenomenon. There is an alarming trend of widening the gap between educational and occupational mobility matrices, reflecting the labour market's stickiness and subsequent class structure. Despite getting educational attainments, entry into the labour market is sticky. The policy implies that labour market reforms are more likely to correct the skewed market than educational or skilling-related measures.

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