

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Social mobility is the offshoot of the structural dynamics and changes in society. For example, industrialization and changes in occupational structure, city size, migration and political structure are known factors that hinder or promote social mobility. The succeeding discussions deal with a cross-cultural comparison of the nature of social mobility in various settings.

Hope (1982), analyzed the mobility data of England, Sweden and France and found an empirical evidence to Lipset and Zetterberg's (1960) thesis that vertical mobility is constant across societies and that the mobility patterns in Western industrialized societies are determined by the occupational structure.

Robinson (1984) examined the structural changes in the organization of production and class mobility among six capitalist countries. He found out that advanced industrial capitalist settings had higher rates of class inheritance than Third-World capitalist settings as indicated by over half of the men in the former who inherited their fathers' class as compared to one-third to two-fifths or over in the latter. Using a log-linear analysis, the author discovered that apart from structural differences between these societies, they shared a common mobility regime - a considerable rigidity of class boundaries.

An account of social mobility in a mid-nineteenth century French city by Amizande and Hodson (1982) discussed industrial production, class relations and working-class consciousness. One of their central findings concerns the over-all rigidity of class boundaries in Toulouse, France. In 1830 and 1873, there was almost no long-range upward class mobility from the working class into the petty bourgeoisie coupled with more downward mobility in both years. Upward structural mobility, which tends to foster the belief that one's society is a land of increasing opportunity was absent, while circulations mobility, fostering individual competition, was very limited. The authors believe that both patterns together with the downward mobility, may have played a role in the spread of early socialist ideologies during this period in France.

A study conducted by Evers (1963) in Thailand involved sixty-four (64) out of 980 civil servants in the upper Thai civil service who entered

into these jobs before 1932 and after the 1932 revolution. The data suggest that social mobility declined after 1932 despite continuing urbanization and bureaucratization. The paradoxical situation of 1932 revolution is that of continued urbanization and an expanding bureaucracy that produced a relative decline in the rate of social mobility (into the bureaucratic upper class) and a more rigid system of stratification.

This author explained this as partly due to the formation, consolidation and gradual closing of the bureaucratic elite which has grown in size and developed a class characteristic. The growing size, the monopoly of certain status symbols, the development of a distinctive subculture and the concentration of economic and political power are indicators that the bureaucratic elite is developing into a social class.

Social mobility is found to be associated with migration. For instance, in a town of South Italy. Lopreato (1960) found out that social stratification is significantly affected by the emigration of some residents abroad. This phenomenon created a middle class of upwardly mobile group who have experienced a radical change in wealth possessions and general styles of life within the last decade prior to the conduct of this study.

A number of literature pointed out that certain structural changes also affect the horizontal mobility (career mobility) of individuals. For instance, the phenomenal gains in employment and occupational status among the American Blacks in the 1960s up to 1973 was assumed to have created class cleavages within the Black population that did not exist prior to 1960. Michael Hout (1984) verified this claim and his results supported it. His findings include the following: 1) class effects on intergenerational mobility between 1962 - 1973 were significant for Blacks and that such class effects is similar with the Whites; 2) class difference in intergenerational mobility increased during this period; 3) upward mobility in this period was greater among the most advantaged socio-economic backgrounds. Institutional factors are also relevant in this change. Public sector employment provided more high and middle status occupations for Blacks than did the private sector. This is due to selective recruitment of the public sector of Blacks from middle class and skilled manual backgrounds than the private sector.

A more specific analysis on career mobility is done by Snipp (1985). He found out that self-employed professionals like lawyers and physicians tend to be immobile than wage and salary workers. In contrast, proprietors, constructions and other craft workers, and laborers were likely to be in life-long careers because mobility is highest in these occupations.

Studying the relationship between the industrial sector and career mobility, Jacobs (1983) found out that the industrial sector is shown to have a minimal impact on career mobility, rather it is significantly the kind of job that inhibits career mobility.

Institutional factors, like family and education, are also found to have significant relationship with social mobility. Thorndike's (1934) study, predicting vocational success of children and occupational status of parents, revealed that when the analysis of initiatory career pattern was restricted to high school graduates (with the exclusion of the economically privileged college population), there was little or no influence of parental status upon occupational success. Indeed, despite the many instances in which occupational functions are directly inherited, and the numerous circumstances which enable parents to facilitate the placement of their children in advantageous positions, the principal mechanism for the inheritance of occupational level appears to be the educational system.

Form and Miller (1945) and Rogoff (1953) have been known for their important contributions in the study of occupational mobility. Form and Miller found out that there is a strong tendency for children of the white-collar workers to inherit their father's occupational level or climb above it. Likewise, the trend for children of manual workers is to inherit their father's occupational level or fall below it.

Rogoff on the other hand found out that in America, the chances of sons holding the same occupation as their fathers' were about the same in 1910 and 1940, with the average mobility rate of twenty percent (20%) less than expected. The most likely job for any given son was the job held by his father especially among professionals, proprietors, salesmen and clerks. It appears clear from these findings that parents' occupation significantly affects the occupational status of their children. The findings also affirm the family's explicit function of preparing the children for upward mobility. Often, this means that the goals of achievement are set with reference to parents' own history. The child is expected not only to surpass his parents occupationally but also to accomplish this in those areas where his parents have been frustrated.

Studies on women's intergenerational mobility is seldom since men are usually considered as the status holders in the family. Literature on social mobility always focused on the father-son comparisons. However, Rosenfeld (1978) conducted a study on women's inter-generational mobility in America using the mother's occupation as the origin state. She found out that both the father's and mother's occupations significantly affected the daughter's occupation.

Social mobility has been found to be associated with complex institutional factors like education, family background and occupational attainment. The study of Angela Lane (1981) shows the relationship among son's occupational prestige, son's education, and father's occupational prestige in six metropolitan centers. She discovered that the correlations between city size and the slopes for the effect of education and father's occupational prestige are negative - which means that the smaller the city, the more education or status origin contributes to eventual occupational achievement, whereas the larger the city, the less the respective impact.

Bruce Eckland (1965) disclosed that graduation from college was the dominant factor that accounts for occupational mobility rather than class origin or academic ability.

Empirical observations and researches indicate that the various ethnic and racial groups do not have equal social and economic chances of moving up. Duncan and Blau (1967) supported this using an empirical data of over 20,000 American samples of men between the ages 20 and 64 generated by the "Current Population Survey" (CPS) of the U.S. Bureau of the Census in 1962. Some of their major findings are the following: Negroes do not have the same occupational opportunities as Whites; Negroes have lower education than Whites suggesting that they were of the less advantageous social origin; better educated Negroes experience more prejudice than the less educated ones; there is a close relationship between educational attainment and occupational achievement; and education is the most important determinant of occupational status.

A number of studies confirmed the relationship between psychological factors and social mobility. For example, Dowan and Addelson (1959) investigated the occupational aspirations of 1,000 high school boys and discovered that those whose aspirations were upward tended to come from warm, permissive families that encouraged the development of achievement and autonomy and realistic attitudes towards parents and self. The boys with higher aspirations were more likely to share leisure time activities with parents than boys with low aspirations. On the other hand, social mobility would also have some significant psychological effects/influences upon the individual. Focusing on the relationship of social mobility and mental illness, Simpson (1970), for instance, examined the effects of occupational and educational mobility in two Latin American countries and the United States. He compared the effects of mobility in two cultural contexts: ascriptive society and achievement-oriented society, and hypothesized that upward and downward mobility would have a different impact on "normlessness" and

"powerlessness" in these settings. Simpson postulated that mobile persons in Costa Rica and Mexico will experience more normlessness (anomia) than non-mobile persons from his class of origin and his class of destination, but in the United States, where mobility is said to be commonly expected, the socially mobile person will experience no more normlessness than non-mobile persons in his class of origin or class of destination. Powerlessness was expected as a function of occupational level and downward occupational and educational mobility.

The evidence found by Simpson point out that educational and occupational mobility produces intense normlessness in the more ascriptive societies but not in the United States; that downward educational mobility produces and intense sense of powerlessness in all three countries; that there are large differences between the United States and the Latin American countries in terms of both normlessness and powerlessness; and a negative relationship between normlessness and occupational level appears in the United States but not in Latin America.

Social mobility is also found to be related to political behavior. Two interesting studies on the effects of upward mobility to political orientations were done by Thompson (1971) and Lopreato (1965). Lopreato's study in Italy examined the European aspect of the relevance of "status discrepancies" as an explanation of political orientation among the upwardly mobile. He concluded that the early political socialization among the upwardly mobile individuals influence their political behavior. He theorized that the "ultra conservatism" among upwardly mobile Americans is due largely to their "emulation" of higher status and the "less conservative" attitude of the European counterparts is due largely to their experience of social rejection (status discrepancy) with their new social destination.

Thompson re-examined the assumptions of Lopreato in the American setting. His findings contradicted the earlier study because based on the literature on party choice and social mobility, the election returns of 1948 to 1966 indicate a lower level tendency for upwardly mobile Americans to support a conservative political party than the middle class stables.

Social mobility provides one of the major points of articulations between stratification and demography — being an integral part of all systems of stratification. Stevens (1981) confirmed the weak relationship between total mobility and fertility. However, when total mobility is divided into factors propelling individuals from certain social origin classes towards a particular destination (mean mobility) and factors related to individual's own endeavors (e.g. motivation, skill or luck - relative mobility), the result

suggests that fertility behavior is consistently related negatively to mean mobility and positively related to relative mobility.

Bean and Swicegood (1979) used unintended and intended births as fertility variables. They found out that the upwardly mobile have higher average of unintended childbearing than the downwardly mobile. The result supports the notion that higher relative economic status is associated with a rise in fertility and lower relative economic status with a decline.

In the Philippines, one of the best literature available for the study of social mobility was done by Bacol (1971) in the 1970s. She found out that college education increased an individual's chances of getting a middle or upper class occupation, although a few people with limited education can still make best in business or farming. Her study also indicated the presence of upward and downward mobility among various classes despite the trend of most children following the social class of parents. Sons who are downwardly mobile constitute over a third of the cases. The chance of a son of the lowest category reaching either middle or upper level is only five percent (5%) or one out of twenty (Bacol, 1971). Rogoff and Bacol's studies have similar findings despite the differences in cultural setting and the time the researches were done. For example, both studies indicated that children usually acquire the social standing of parents.

In a three-generation study using a 1952 sampling frame in Dumaguete area, Donald Voth (1969) found out that non-manual and farm groups had more mobility than manual workers. In separate regression analyses for different age groups, he noted that the father's occupation and education have more influence on the occupation of younger than the older groups. Voth further pointed out that migration is related to occupational mobility. What is notable in Bacol and Voth's studies is the influence of education in one's social ascent. In fact, almost all literature in social mobility pointed out the same observation. In systems perspective, this phenomenon is explained by an inter systemic social dynamics where one institutional system supports another. Viewed in this contest, the family, being the initial socialization agent that prepares the individual for future adult roles, has to be supported by another institution so as to make the individual capable of future tasks.

Carroll's (1965) study on Filipino entrepreneurs concerning generational mobility examined the class background of the entrepreneur samples located in the upper income groups. His findings suggested that his sample group had fathers and grandfathers in the lower income groups. Despite the over-representation of the upper groups, 21% had fathers in the lowest income group and 42% in the middle income group. A trend of decreasing mobility was also noted because those who founded their

business in 1945, only 9% had fathers in the upper group, while 57% of these who started in 1950-1960 had fathers in the upper group.

In the Philippines, particularly comparing the Muslims and Christians, Hunt (1974, 194-218) revealed that the traditional lines of endeavor with agriculture were shared among Moros and Christians. Christians were predominant in governmental and professional work and the Chinese held a commanding position in business. The Moro upper class was beginning to enter business and the professions and had retained control of fairly large landholdings. Economic competition was most apparent between Chinese and Christians in the business field and between Moros and Christians in agriculture.

Moros and Christians share the top elective and appointive offices and political alliances cross ethnic lines. In the lower echelons, they have less participation due to lack of training, or if they do, their number is limited due to lack of qualifications.

Social mobility and migration is also one of the scholarly concerns not only in the Philippines but also abroad. In the Maranao society, the study of Lacar and Lacar (1989) focused on the economic mobility and ambiguity of ethnic identity among Maranao migrant children in Luzon and the Visayas. The authors noted the economic progress among the respondents and the concomitant socio-cultural cost of such progress especially in the "cultural dislocation" and the lack of appreciation among migrant's children of their cultural roots.

Social institutions could serve as either effectors or affected units in the process of social change. Elsewhere in this study it was mentioned that the Maranao society is considered clannish, traditional and family-centered. Women are supposed to function according to their traditional roles. However, Lacar's (1991) study among Muslim women disclosed that the traditional prescriptions of their roles are now slowly being replaced by rational and objective knowledge of role definitions.

In summary, all of the studies mentioned above enhance the understanding of social mobility in various settings. However, in relation to the scope, emphasis and methodology of this research, some of the aforementioned works have relevance while others are only partially relevant to this study. For instance, this research does not deal with structural conditions of social mobility as studied by Evers in Thailand, Kerchoff et al. or Hope in America nor does it focus on cross-cultural comparisons of social mobility like the comparative studies of Robinson, McRoberts and Selbee, Hunt or Blau and Duncan.

Furthermore, the works of Stevens, Bean and Swicegood focusing on fertility variables to social mobility and those of Lopreato, Thompson, Simpson dealing on psychological factors of social mobility are beyond the scope and emphasis of this research.

The focus of this study was on the educational and occupational mobility among Maranao fathers and children. These respondents were chosen from among the employed professionals and non-professional Maranaos in Iligan City. The studies of Voth and Bacol are very much related here although there were differences especially in the sampling frames and focus. For example, Voth studied the occupational mobility of men in a three-generation sample groups in Dumaguete area. Melinda Bacol focused on the occupational mobility of fathers and sons in the Philippines using a different sampling frame. In this study, an educational and occupational mobility comparison was done using the Maranao children samples and their fathers.

By implication, especially the control for education in the process of occupational attainment, the works of Valera (1983), Eckland (1965) and Lacar's (1991) study on Maranao women were also very relevant literature, although the sampling groups, variables included, focus, and their theoretical assumptions were different from this research.

Lastly, the work of Rosenfeld on women's inter-generational mobility was a different one because the mobility trend is between mother and daughter. This study traced the mobility pattern between father and children of Maranao families, a departure from the traditional father-son mobility comparison.