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TRIBAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY



D. N. Majumdar

B. Datta Ray

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Contents

FOREWORD	...	I
PREFACE	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION	...	1
Theoretical Problems	....	1
Methodology	....	5
CHAPTER II : ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE COMMUNITIES	...	16
The Khasis	....	17
The Garos	....	32
The Pnars	....	48
CHAPTER III : THE GROWTH PROCESS	...	62
The Backdrop	....	62
Urbanization in Meghalaya	....	70
Growth of Shillong	....	74
Growth of Tura	....	81
Growth of Jowai	....	86
CHAPTER IV : DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTE- RISTIC OF THE SAMPLE	....	95
CHAPTER V : OCCUPATIONS IN THE PRESENT GENERATION	....	107
CHAPTER VI : MOBILITY OF OCCUPATIONS IN THE PRESENT GENERATION	....	135
Occupational Mobility and Social Mobility	....	144

CHAPTER VII : INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY OF OCCUPATIONS	...	165
Shillong	....	172
Tura	...	173
Jowai	...	175
CHAPTER VIII : CONCLUSION	....	184
Appendix I : Proformas	...	192
Appendix II : Categories and Sub- Categories of Occupations	...	195
BIBLIOGRAPHY	....	200
INDEX	...	204

List Of Tables

III. 1	General Statistical Informations about the Towns of Study
IV. 1	Households Covered by the Study
IV.2A(i)	Age Group and Marital Status (Shillong)
IV.2A(ii)	Age Group and Marital Status (Tura)
IV.2A(iii)	Age Group and Marital Status (Jowai)
IV.2B(i)	Age Group and Marital Status expressed as% (Shillong)
IV.2B(ii)	Age Group and Marital Status expressed as % (Tura)
IV.2B(iii)	Age Group and Marital Status expressed as % (Jowai)
IV.2C	Number of Divorced/Widowed Persons shown as%
IV.3a	Size of Family
IV.3b	Type of Family
IV.4a	Ethnic Composition
IV.4b	Religion
V.1	Number of Persons in Different categories of Occupations
V.2	Number and Percentage of Persons in Sub-Categories
V.3a	Age Structure (Shillong)
V.3b	Age Structure (Tura)
V.3c	Age Structure (Jowai)
V.4	Sex of Occupied Persons
V.5a	Educational Levels (Shillong)
V.5b	Educational Levels (Tura)
V.5c	Educational Levels (Jowai)

- V.6a Income (Shillong)
- V.6b Income (Tura)
- V.6c Income (Jowai)
- V.7 Place of Birth
- V.8a Family Size of Occupied Persons (Shillong)
- V.8b Family Size of Occupied Persons (Tura)
- V.8c Family Size of Occupied Persons (Jowai)
- VI. i(a) Occupied Persons who have changed Occupations (Shillong)
- VI.i(b) Occupied Persons who have changed Occupations (Tura)
- VI.i(c) Occupied Persons who have changed Occupations (Jowai)
- VI.2a Age Group of Occupied Persons who have changed Occupations (Shillong)
- VI.2b Age Group of Occupied Persons who have changed Occupations (Tura)
- VI.2c Age Group of Occupied Persons who have changed Occupations (Jowai)
- VI.3a Change of Income due to Change of Occupation (Shillong)
- VI.3b Change of Income due to Change of Occupation (Tura)
- VI.3c Change of Income due to Change of Occupation (Jowai)
- VI.4 Change of Place of Residence
- VI.5a Shift from and to Sub-Categories (Shillong)
- VI.5b Shift from and to Sub-Categories (Tura)
- VI.5c Shift from and to Sub-Categories (Jowai)
- VI.6a Change of Status (Shillong)
- VI.6b Change of Status (Tura)
- VI.6c Change of Status (Jowai)
- VII.1 Frequency of Occupations (Parental Generation)

- VII.2 Frequency of Occupations (Grandparental Generation)
- VII.3 Sex of Occupied Persons (Parental Generation)
- VII.4 Sex of Occupied Persons (Grandparental Generation)
- VII.5 Education and Birth Place (Parental)
- VII.6 Education and Birth Place (Grandparental)

List of Diagrams and Histograms

- Diagram I Mode of Fission in the Khasi Family System
- Diagram II A Pnar Residential Group
- Religion and Ethnic Composition of the Population Covered
- Number of Persons in Different Categories of Occupations
- Sex of Occupied Persons in Different Sub-Categories (Shillong)
- Sex of Occupied Persons in Different Sub-Categories (Tura)
- Sex of Occupied Persons in Different Sub-Categories (Jowai)
- Frequency of Occupations, Parental and Grand Parental Generations (Shillong)
- Frequency of Occupations, Parental and Grand-Parental Generations (Tura)
- Frequency of Occupations, Parental and Grand-Parental Generations (Jowai)

FOREWORD

For over a decade, Professor B. Datta Ray and his associates in North East India Council for Social Science Research have been engaged in the task of organising seminars of various socio-economic and political problems of contemporary relevance in North East India. Publications of the proceedings of these seminars have enriched our understanding of the social reality of this imperfectly known region of India.)

(In the latest publication of the Council, *Tribal Occupational Mobility*, Professor B. Datta-Ray and Dr. D. N. Majumdar have covered a fresh area of enquiry on the basis of field survey on the Khasi, Pnar and the Garo tribes in the urban towns of Shillong, Jowai and Tura in Meghalaya.) So far, the major anthropological and sociological reports on the above three matrilineal tribes have been presented mainly in the rural context in the form of 'ethnographic present'.)

(This field survey report is based on the data collected from 737 households and 4005 persons. Questionnaires were prepared keeping the relationship between dependent and independent variables clearly in view.) Along with data on the present occupation of the persons covered in the survey, information was collected on their past occupations and also on the persons belonging to the first two ascending generations in order to get a clear view of the process of change as the people moved from an agricultural based rural economy to the urban situation.

(An interesting observation of this report is the ethnic variation in occupational structure. Of all the tribal groups covered in this book, the Pnars have so far proved to be

most enterprising in trade and the Garo the least. The Pnars had an old tradition of involvement in trade and commerce which they have adapted to the modern urban situation.)

(The Khasi and the Pnar women take almost equal part in earning a livelihood for the household in the urban setting; among the Garos, however, the males are the main bread earners.) The impact of a big urban centre like Shillong is clearly visible in the diversity of occupations among the Khasi. The Pnars in the relatively isolated township of Jowai have been more tradition bound in spite of their involvement in trade and commerce.

The combined data on the three urban centres indicate a serious gap in imparting appropriate training in skilled jobs among the tribals. In all the three urban centres the scope for absorbing fresh migrants from the rural tribal hinterland in productive occupations is reaching a saturation point.

This book brings into relief the need for properly informed man-power planning with adequate attention on the ethnic socio-cultural factors. I hope this pioneering study will be widely read by scholars, political leaders and administrators interested in the problems of tribal development, particularly in the North East India.

Surajit C. Sinha

Director, Centre for Studies in Social
Sciences, Calcutta

March 29, 1984.

PREFACE

Our aim in this study is primarily to examine the situation of occupations and the nature of mobility of occupations among the Khasis of Shillong, Pnars of Jowai and Garos of Tura, the three urban centres of the state of Meghalaya. Our design to study the occupational mobility in the towns only implies that the multiplicity of occupations is essentially an urban phenomenon and that there can be occupational mobility only when there is multiplicity of occupations. It needs a dynamic expanding economic environment for occupational mobility. We did not attempt to enumerate the number of occupations in each town under our study, because it would have led to the problem of determining whether an occupation is an independent occupation or only a sub-occupation or component of another occupation. This would have brought us to many complexities. So, we considered the occupations in some broad categories, common in all the urban centres in tribal settings.

We have seen that the cultural factors of a tribal group react distinctly in the occupational pattern. An important theoretical proposition which has emerged from our study is that, the urbanization may cause a decline in the cultural influence on the occupational pattern. All the three communities studied by us are matrilineal and these are the only three (or rather two, as the Khasis and the Pnars can be subsumed under one community) communities in North East India showing all the elements of matrilineality in clear form in descent and inheritance, but females in these matrilineal groups have no authority in the larger social activities. Among all the three communities the females occupy

a lower position in the occupational structure—there are more males than females in all the occupations of higher grade.

We have examined the possibility of an attempt to place all the occupations in an hierarchical orders. It involves a good amount of subjective elements. We have seen that no correlation can be drawn between status and mobility within the generation. This study also shown that we cannot say that the larger is the town, higher is the mobility. Rather we found that Shillong, the largest of three towns has the least mobility. Occupational mobility is a function of economic dynamism and technological innovations.

We hope that the present study will help in understanding the multi-dimensional problem of the hill people of North-East India which can be described as a plural society with a distinct flavour of its own. We expect a critical appreciation of our work by the academic world.

Dr. B. Datta Ray

Dr. D. N. Majumdar

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The Indian Council of Social Science Research provided the financial support to undertake the research project, the result of which is this volume. The authors are grateful to the Indian Council of Social Science Research and particularly to its Director Dr. D. D. Narula for the help and active interest in this work.

We shall be failing in our duty if we do not acknowledge the contribution made by Dr. Jayanta Sarkar and Dr. B. B. Goswami in formulating the research scheme on behalf of North-East India Council for Social Science Research. The Research Advisory Body of the North East India Council for Social Science Research consisting of Dr. B. Pakem, Dr. J. Bhattacharjee, Mr. P. Gupta, Dr. B. P. Misra and Mr. M. S. Dutta helped in executing the project. The research team at various stages composed of Mr. Ashis Das Gupta, Mr. Subir Chakravarty, Miss Promilla Myrchiang, Miss Ibarilin Kharsati, Mr. Lakhan Babu Singh, Mr. Anil Kumar Phukan and Mr. Jyotish Bhattacharjee. Dr. P. C. Kar and Dr. P. Passah were of great help to us in our field work at Tura and Jowai respectively.

It is indeed difficult to select only a few out of a vast community of friends and researchers who helped us in our field survey in the three towns of Meghalaya particularly at Shillong. To mention all of them will be a tremendous task.

We express our gratitude to Prof. M. C. Goswami and Prof. P. D. Goswami of Gauhati University and Mr. B. B. Dutta, Mr. S. Sen, Mr. M. L. Kar and Mr. Dipu Mukherjee of Shillong for their help.

We would also like to thank Mr. H. K. Gupta for the secretarial assistance at every stage of this work. Rev. Dr. M. G. Shanon, Principal St. Edmund's College, Shillong always extended his support to us and to the Research Council. We would like to record our gratitude to him for his interest in our work.

Lastly we thank our numerous respondents at Shillong, Jowai and Tura who fully cooperated with our investigation throughout the process of filling up the long and complicated questionnaires.

Dr. B. Datta Ray

Dr. D. N. Majumdar

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Theoretical Problems

Occupation in the simplest terms can be defined as the means through which a person earns his livelihood. Besides this also occupation has been defined in different ways. The common point of all these definitions is that it is an activity and through this activity the person gets something. A fruit seller gets money by selling fruits. A farmer by activities connected with farming gets crops which he can consume directly or can sell, get money and utilize the money to purchase commodities for consumption.

As all our interaction with other individuals is relevant in the particular cultural matrix of which we form a part, so also the nature and variety of occupations is totally determined by the culture. The Andamanese aboriginals had only one occupation (rather two related occupations) amongst them, hunting and gathering. Their material culture was so undeveloped that they knew nothing about farming. They did not even have professional magicians and shamans. The lack of a variety of occupations in a low cultural level implies lack of specialization. Specialization starts at a higher level of culture when some sort of a division of labour comes into existence. (Division of labour in the society causes specialization of skills and such skills are acquired by particular individuals or groups of individuals.) This type of division of labour came into existence among the Aryans after they came to India. But in India it manifested not only as diversification of occupations but also as stratification of occupations, alongwith some other peculiarities like religious sanction, endogamy, untou-

chability, commensality, etc. According to Marx this type of division of labour results in the formation of two classes, one having power over the other. In the present day world we find three classes, upper, middle and lower, and it is impossible to find out a rational nexus between the occupations and the classes, because the rating of an individual into one of the three classes is not based on any rational ground ; so also, the rating of an occupation in the hierarchical scales is not based on any rational consideration. However, many scholars have tried to devise an occupational scale for particular societies (North and Hatt, 1961). These scales are based on some particular aspect of the occupations, like, income, education, training, etc. or on the combination of more than one such aspect. But the rating of an occupation mainly depends upon public opinion. And it is very difficult to judge on what the public opinion about an occupation is based. Moreover, the status of an occupation may also change from time to time. Hughes (1958) calls it group mobility. He has shown how the transfer of dirty work to lesser occupations has caused an upward mobility of the nursing occupation.

Miller and Form (1964) have shown the impact of industrialization and modernization of economy on the occupational structure. They note the following changes :

(i) With industrialization and modernization of economy occupations become more and more specialized and hence require longer period of training, resulting in delay in entering the labour market.

(ii) Modernization of economy involves universalistic norms in hiring practices and so more women enter the labour market at all its levels.

(iii) Due to keen competition in the labour market the age of workers in the labourer force rises (this is also due to the requirement of longer period of training) and also the age of retirement is lowered.

(iv) At the early stage of industrialization workers in

manufacturing and urban services increase. But this takes a different shape with the growth of industrialization. When industrialization comes to its full form the requirement of occupations connected with transport, communication, trade, finance and government goes on increasing.

(The size of an occupational group is also a thing of great importance, because it indicates the trend of the society towards that particular occupation.) An occupation which may be held in high esteem by the society will not certainly attract many persons if the reward from it is meagre.) At the same time an occupation in which the reward is high but not held in high esteem will not attract many people towards it. However, usually occupations which are held in high esteem are highly rewarded.) Form (1968) formulates that changes in the size of an occupational group depends upon the market demand. On the other hand, the dependence and the financial rewards affect how it is evaluated by the society.

(Intra-generational mobility was studied by Miller and Form (1964). Their study of individual career mobility has shown that most of the occupational mobility takes place within the first ten years of work life. They have also found that proprietors and managers move rapidly and in an orderly way while skilled manual workers and clerical workers change jobs in the first part of life.) It is also interesting to note that according to their finding workers in domestic and personal service and semi-skilled and unskilled workers change jobs throughout their work life. Miller and Form's findings may be true for the areas they studied and may not be true for other areas or in other societies where occupations are graded differently and rewarded differently.

(Percy E. Davidson and Dewey H. Anderson (1937) studied occupational mobility in an American community. They found for the period of their study that in the United States there was a tendency towards lack of mobility of

occupations from generation to generation.) Thus they concluded that occupations were becoming hereditary and classlines were hardening.

The Theoretical Background of the Present Study

In the context of ever increasing population, mounting unemployment, spread of education, secularism and modernization how the traditional occupations are surviving, what are the values attached to the different occupations and what is the emergent occupational pattern are crucial questions which need to be examined. These questions acquire the greatest significance in an urban setting in tribal areas where the economy is geared around demand and supply, open and stiff competition and impersonal price mechanism and where non-tribals live side by side with the tribals.

(The Khasis, Garos and Pnars are mainly agriculturists and some of the Khasis, Garos and Pnars of the rural area are still dependent on shifting cultivation.) It is proposed here to study the nature and pattern of occupations and occupational mobility among the Khasis, Garos and Pnars of the urban areas.

This study is expected to help us in understanding the factors, like economic and social values, working behind the trends of occupational mobility of these three tribal groups who are living in close association with other communities since long time. This may also give an opportunity to examine the social interaction, if any, on the occupational sphere existing in these three urban centres, Shillong Tura and Jowai. This may also lead us to find out the process of class formation among the three communities.)

(The Khasis, Garos and Pnars who have migrated to urban areas like Shillong, Tura and Jowai have taken not only white collar jobs but over the last three or four decades, slowly taking other skilled or semi-skilled trades as carpenter, smith, mechanics, welder etc. Petty trade and commerce are other occupations for some of them.)

There is no such previous work on the changing occupational pattern of the tribes of this region. In absence of such work, it would be of immense interest to understand the nature and scope of adjustment the tribals are going through in the economic sphere vis-a-vis the overall social change.

Methodology

(Among different research approaches, the one we selected is the Field Survey approach. This approach derived from questionnaires and polling studies to the highly developed countries, is now widely used in developing countries also. This is so, primarily, because it provides large amounts of quantified data. Our central concern in surveys is to generalize.) We take a random sample of the whole universe of study and from the sample we generalize about the whole universe of study.

The Field Survey approach is different from the Field Experiment approach in the sense that in the latter approach some control groups or blocks are studied along with the ones into which some change has been introduced. Moreover, unlike Field Survey, Field Experiments are conducted at different points of time to assess the variation in the temporal dimension.

The subject matter of our present study guided us to adopt the Field Survey approach. Our aim was to know the pattern of occupational mobility and its bearing on the social mobility in the three communities in the three towns of our study. So the Field Survey approach is better suited for such a purpose. However, in such a study we cannot afford to neglect altogether the diachronic aspect, because mobility implies the time dimension. Proper attention was paid to this aspect by collecting data on the past occupations of an individual and also the occupations of his or her first two ascending generations.

The unit of response in the survey is a person—the

individual's testimony from which we obtain our information. The unit of analysis is the entity toward which these data are related as the statistical basis of analysis. Conceptually, the unit of analysis can be at various levels of abstraction whereas the unit of response is merely the source of information. The sources of information in most Field Surveys are individual people—male heads of households, community leaders, school children, pregnant women, and so forth as the case may be. Yet inferences based on the data gathered from the individuals may apply to larger units of which the individual is only a part. Such inferences are based purely on the principle of induction.

In the present study the unit of response was a household, i.e. a family (nuclear or joint) along with other individuals (kin or non-kin) who stay, work and eat with the members of the family. The largest unit of our analysis will be a community (in this case a scheduled tribe community) inhabiting the town. However, for finer analysis we have broken down the larger unit into smaller units based on age, sex, education, rural or urban background, etc.

The universe of our study, as has already been stated are the three communities, the Khasis, the Garos and the Pnars inhabiting the three towns of our study. In each town our sample comprises the major community only. In Tura and Jowai the Garos and the Pnars respectively are the major communities. In Shillong though Khasis are distinctly the major community, still there is a significant percentage of Pnars settled in the town, so in our Shillong sample we have included the Pnars also. In selecting our sample we omitted those areas of the towns where the predominant population does not belong to the specified communities. Some devices were adopted to improve the internal validity (precision of results) and external validity (generalization of results). Some categories of populations as hotel residents, institutional populations, were left out. At the very beginning, it seemed that we should conduct manageable research of

definable populations for which the specific dimensions of our study objectives can be more effectively gauged. The following is the list of selected areas for each town :

SHILLONG

- | | |
|---|---|
| A. Laitumkhras | |
| 1. Nongrimbah, Northern side of Jowai Road | 7. Lummawri, St. Edmund's Area, Stoney Land |
| 2. Nongrim Road | 8. Southern side of Main Road, St. Anthony's, Ktieh, Iew Shillong |
| 3. Lumsohra, Sweeper Colony | 9. Lumiohlet, Upper Nongthymmai, Main Road East |
| 4. Donbosco, Lachaumiere, Loreto | 10. Pohkseh (South) |
| 5. St. Mary's, Shillong College, Upland, Northern side of Main Road | 11. Pohkseh (North) |
| 6. Nongkynrih | 12. Northern side of Umpling Road |
| B. Mawlai | |
| 1. Nongkwar 'A' | 5. Motsyia |
| 2. Nongkwar 'B' | 6. Nongpdeng 'A' |
| 3. Iewryughep | 7. Mawroh |
| 4. Mawdatbeaki | |
| C. Malki-Nongthymmai | |
| 1. China Pattay | 6. Mayurbhanj Castle |
| 2. Risa Colony | 7. Jelly's Shop |
| 3. Motinagar, Fire Brigade | 8. Lumpyngaad |
| 4. Nongkhyriem (East) | 9. Dum Dum |
| 5. Nongkhyriem | 10. Wahdemhsing |
| D. Laban | |
| 1. Iwdak Bajar | 3. Lumpering (West) |
| 2. Lumsophoh, New Colony Area | 4. Madan Laban |
| E. Jaiaw | |
| 1. Jaiaw Pdeng, Chapel Rd | 6. Jaiaw Lumnyntiew |
| 2. Jaiaw St. Joseph, Lan Sona Lane | 7. Jaiaw Laitdom West |
| 3. Jaiaw Shyiap, Jaiaw Lonsona Lane | 8. Jaiaw Lansning, Jaiaw Pdeng South, Dinam Hall |
| 4. Jaiaw Lumpy Uon | 9. Jaiaw Hospital, Lonsuing North |
| 5. Jaiaw Laitdom East, St. Joseph North | 10. Qualapatty |
| | 11. Lama Villa |

F. Mawkhar

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Umsohsun Proper, Right side of G. S. Rd. to Mahari & Sons | 8. Eastern side of Mawkhar Main Road, from Mylliem Durbar Hall, Appollo XI to the Junction of Jaiaw Shyiap Land & Riatsamthia |
| 2. Western side of Mawkhar Main Road | 9. Burabazar area including Iew Mawlong |
| 3. Riatsamthia East | 10. K. J. P. School area adjacent to Mawkhar Cemetry |
| 4. Riatsamthia West | |
| 5. Wahingdoh West | |
| 6. Wahingdoh East | |
| 7. Minnion Lane, Dorkha Lane | |

TURA

- | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Debasipara | 9. Araithile | 17. Kalazar |
| 2. Akonggiri | 10. New Tura | 18. W. Chandmari |
| 3. Ringregittim | 11. Matchakolgiri | 19. Sampalgiri |
| 4. Forest Compound | 12. Pionapana | 20. Wadanang |
| 5. Upper Babupara | 13. Sosanghat | 21. Cherangiri |
| 6. Nehru Hill | 14. Upp. Chandmari | 22. Rongkon Agal |
| 7. New Hawakhana | 15. Lower Chandmari | 23. Chitoktak |
| 8. Tetengkol | 16. Gittinggiri | 24. Proper Chandmari |

JOWAI

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Lathadlobah | 6. Shillong Raj | 10. Iongpiah |
| 2. Tpeppale | 7. Lumiongkjam | 11. Panaliar |
| 3. Iawmusiang | 8. Mission Compound | 12. Lulong |
| 4. Chutwakhu | 9. Lumkyrwiang | 13. Khimnsuiang |

With these areas we have covered almost the whole of the towns (excluding, of course, the areas exclusively inhabited by communities outside the scope of this study). In this respect we have taken all the areas, except the exceptions as stated above, instead of taking a random sample of them.

Here we discuss the basis on which we framed our questions. In this connection it will be worthwhile to make a distinction between a dependent variable and an independent variable. A dependent variable is a dimension of human behaviour which we try to predict or explain through its relationship with one or more than one independent variable. Conversely an independent variable is a dimension of human behaviour used to explain variation in

the dependent variable. Independent variables, that, causes, are thought to come before other variables in a temporal sequence.

Let us define a person's adoption of a particular occupation in preference to another as the dependent variable. The independent variables acting upon this dependent variable may be, education, economic opportunities, technical training, raising of status, preference for urban living, so on and so forth. A study of occupational mobility naturally has to take into consideration such independent variables. And for this reason we have included the following independent variables in our questionnaires :

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Marital status
4. Education
5. Place of birth
6. Family situation
7. Technical training
8. Previous occupation/occupations
9. Parental and grand parental occupations
10. Income

Copies of the questionnaires are given in Appendix-I

Table-I of the questionnaire was designed to elicit general informations about the households. Here we included some questions about religion, age at marriage, clan, etc. having no direct linkage with the choice or mobility of occupations. This was done with two motives. First, as an operational strategy ; as this was the first schedule to be taken up in each household, and as the people of the three communities studied feel flattered if somebody asks about such intimate personal matters, which in turn was expected to lead the informants to be more interested. Second, at the designing stage it is not possible to know exactly which information will be relevant and which information will not be relevant for the study. For example a

particular clan may be found to associate with a particular occupation only.

Table-II was designed to elicit informations about the present occupations of all the persons who are occupied among the members of the household. It also takes into account the secondary and other occupations, if any.

Table-III was designed to ascertain the intragenerational mobility. It takes into account the independent variables, such as, income, place of work, status, so that the apparent cause of mobility can be ascertained.

Table-IV is same as Table-III. But here informations about the parental generation are included. It was designed to bring out informations about the nature and quantum of mobility in the first ascending generation.

Table-V was designed to record informations about the occupations in the grandparental generations.

Table-II, IV and V together give the nature of intergenerational mobility in the household.

The very design of the interview schedule indicates the fact that it requires the collection of relatively simple facts, but covering the occupational history of the household at the same time. So our field work demanded a judicious use of all the resources available at our hand. Our plan was to get the field work done by three qualified field investigators. With that point in view we appointed three persons, two sociologists and one statistician. They were given special training on field work and they were also given practical training in the field as to how to deal with the informants. One of the investigators, a lady, who herself is a Pnar could do the field work without any difficulty and the entire responsibility for collecting data at Jowai (which happens to be her home town) was entrusted to her. The stumbling block for the other two field workers was lack of the knowledge of the language of the informants, i. e. Khasi and Garo. So, a number of local investigators had to be engaged. This method worked well so far as Tura was concerned, because

our consultant is from Tura and he guided the whole work at Tura and so Tura data could be collected in stipulated time. But the Shillong work lagged behind despite the appointment of a number of local investigators, which also with much coaxing and cajoling. Even the most enlightened section of Shillong were apprehensive of such investigations. This was probably due to some sort of a political tension prevailing at the time of our investigations. In one of the households, all the members of which are highly educated, some members raised so much objection after our investigator had completed collection of data in that household that the filled up interview schedules had to be returned and in its place another household had to be taken up. However, with patience we continued and ultimately we succeeded, though at the end it was found that we had taken much more time than we had at the beginning stipulated.

The local investigators were given full instructions for filling up the interview schedule before they started to collect data. Investigators were advised to consult the Project Director on any problem faced in the field. At the stage of testing the interview schedule in a number of households in Shillong we found that most of the informants were reluctant to reveal their incomes. Sometimes this became the cause of their objecting to the whole investigations. So, we had to devise some broad categories indicative of the economic status of the individual. We know that this is a rough and ready method of estimating the income, still we had to take recourse to this as this was the only way left to us. For clarity in entering the occupations we adopted the occupational categories designed by the North Eastern Regional Office of the Anthropological Survey of India for their survey of the Shillong town. But as those categories did not serve our purpose well as those were not graded even roughly, so we devised our own categories, conforming as far as practicable to the categories devised by the Anthro-

pological Survey of India. The categories of occupations devised by us are given in Appendix-II.

After the field work was finished, we made a thorough check of the interview schedules received from the investigators and any anomalies, inaccuracies or vagueness were rectified as far as practicable. It goes without saying that the field work was very arduous and was found by almost all investigators to involve considerable mental strain. Thus there were possibilities of erring by the local investigators. So a random checking was made in about 5% of the interview schedules. With the above procedure all entries in the interview schedules were finalised before final tabulation.

The basis of our sampling was the list of individuals enumerated by the Election Department of the Government of Meghalaya for the 1977 state assembly elections. These electoral rolls were our sampling frames. As for Tura the electoral rolls were not available for 1977 state assembly elections we based our sampling on previous rolls.

The structure of the electoral rolls are required to be explained here. Let us take that of Shillong. For the whole town lists for different assembly constituencies e.g. Laitumkrah, Laban, Mawlai, Mawkhar, Jaiaw etc. were prepared. Each of these lists was an independent volume and each volume again consisted of several parts for several localities within that assembly constituency. For example, the list for Laitumkrah constituency comprises of separate lists for (i) Nongrimbah, (ii) Northern Jowai Road, (iii) Nongrim Hill, (iv) Don Bosco, (v) Loretto, (vi) Lachaumiere, etc.

Our sampling frames were thus lists of households of dwellings and each dwellings has therefore as many entries as there are voters (i.e. adult persons). While drawing the sample, the first individual among the entries for a dwelling is taken as our respondent. Frames consisting of lists of dwellings have the advantage of being more or less permanent and unaffected by movements of population.

The size of the sample required to achieve a given accuracy depends upon the variability of the material and the extent to which it is possible to eliminate the different components of this variability from the sampling error. Moreover, the computation of the size of the sample, required some advance estimate of population variance. For Tura and Jowai we selected roughly 10% of the households. For Shillong we had to deviate from this norm for the following reasons :

(i) It was extremely difficult to get proper type of investigators,

(ii) If we take a 10% sample of the total number of households of the urban components of the Shillong standard urban area, we would have to handle data on about 2500 households. Even if we take into consideration the households belonging to scheduled tribe population (which is about 42% of the total population of Shillong) then also a 10% sample would have meant handling data on about 1100 households, which would not have been possible with the resources and time at our disposal. So we had to limit to 500 households, which roughly covers 4.5% of the total scheduled tribe population of Shillong and the percentage comes to about 5 if we take into consideration only the Khasi and Pnar population of Shillong. It is also to be mentioned here that out of 500 selected households we had to omit some. For the present study our sample for Shillong is of 481 households.

While for Tura and Jowai we could more or less follow the set pattern, in the case of Shillong there has been slight divergence, principally due to the inability to get adequate response especially from the more outlying areas. This forced the investigators to adopt certain methods, which are not strictly scientific, but at the same time was the best alternative available under the circumstances. The area-wise survey is more or less complete as all the areas were touched, but some areas were necessarily left incomplete

(as either all the households were not available or were non-respondent), or were not touched. This happened in case of Bura Bazar and Pynthorumkhrah. The reason for leaving out Bura Bazar is mainly that the population composition of this particular market place is highly unstable and originally Khasi households in that sense really do not exist. Being mostly a very hybrid composition of various ethnic groups, such a floating population is hardly likely to help in understanding the broad social trend more significantly observed in the more stable sections of the urban centre.

Pynthorumkhrah was left out for the very valid reason that lying on the outskirts of Shillong, as it does, it would be useless to take in the areas as it is definitely more rural than urban, and would stand like a sore spot in a specifically urban study and might not quite possibly shift or pull the basic trend away from a 'significant' deviation. As a result, the omission of these areas have been deliberate one, in the best interest of objectivity. For, social milieu being studied has a quite distinct point of reference, which would like to abstract from semi-rural and shifting labour populace of no skill whatsoever, and who shift from one type of seasonal occupation to another, forming a distinct category of focus of study altogether.

Our sampling design for the whole study is 'systematic random sampling'. Suppose that N units of the population are numbered 1 to N in some order. To select a sample of n units, we take a unit at random from the first k units ($K = N/n$) and every k th unit thereafter. The electoral rolls fortunately, maintains serial numbers of each separate list of households. From the lists we initially selected all the households belonging to the relevant community (i.e. for Tura, Garo; for Jowai, Pnar and for Shillong Khasi and Pnar) from which we selected the required number of households for our sample. Sometimes it was found that the selected household was missing (having emigrated to some other place) or the members of the household with-

held informations. In such case we took up the next serial number in the list.

Our sampling unit was the household, but all the members of the household who were occupied were the units of response. We find that in a systematic sampling design the selection of the first unit determines the whole sample. Although the first entry is done at random, this element of randomness does not convert the sample into a random one. A systematic sample could be equivalent to a fully random sample if the list were arranged wholly at random. We adopted the systematic sampling method for the following reasons :

(i) By systematic sampling it is easier to draw a sample and often easier to execute without mistake. Since the labour of making a proper random selection, which in large scale survey is often very considerable, is avoided. Hence systematic sampling technique has a particular advantage in such large scale surveys.

(ii) Another consideration which prompted us to adopt the systematic sampling is that a systematic sample is spread more evenly over the entire population. In effect, it stratifies the population into n strata, which consists of the first k units, the second k units, and so on. We might therefore expect that systematic samples will be about as precise as the corresponding stratified random sample with one unit per stratum.

The data collected in the above procedure were fed into tables correlating the dependent variable (i.e. occupation) with different independent variables. For tabulation each area of each town was taken up separately and ultimately these figures were put into master tables for each town. Our conclusions are based mainly on percentages. For preliminary analysis we took up each area of each town separately and then compared the areas of each town. We could not find any significant variation, so far as the subject matter of this study is concerned, between different areas of the same town. So, for our final analysis we took the towns as wholes.

