

Intergenerational Social Mobility among Muslim Minority in Kerala State of India: Formal and Religious Education

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Abstract

This study compares social mobility of Muslims in Kerala across two generations with regard to education, occupation and gender. It also tries to find out the relationship of religious education with formal education among younger generation. Data from 231 randomly selected Muslim respondents; 128 males and 103 females, aged 25-40 from twelve election wards of 6 Panchayats in Malappuram district of Kerala state is used for the study. Respondents aged 25 to 40 were selected from the Socio Economic and Caste Census 2011. The results of the study show high upward intergenerational educational mobility and strong occupational reproduction among Muslim community in Kerala. Family background influences the chances of education and occupation of younger generation. Religious education is not found hindering the formal education of the younger generation of Muslims in Kerala.

Introduction

All societies are characterized by some form of inequality and differentiation. Social stratification in sociology denotes the placement of individuals and groups in different layers or strata on the basis of social differences in income, occupation, education and ascribed position. Rates of social stratification also differ from societies to societies. India is one of the most stratified societies. Social, economic and cultural differentiation in India is represented by the institutions of religion, caste, class and tribe. In a closed society it is very difficult for individuals to move upwards or even downward from their class of origin since their movement will be restricted by many factors especially due to their social origin. An example will be the caste system in India and other similar societies practicing the caste like systems and ethnic minorities subjected to social barriers. Individuals from lower socio-economic groups have less access to certain social and educational facilities and jobs. On the other hand, in an open society, individuals are able to ascend and descend along the social mobility ladder. Developed industrial societies which has attained economic and social security to an extent may be cited as an example. But even in these societies inequalities will exist in the name of class. So this is also to say that there may not be a society in the world which has attained complete equality and thus 'openness'. However, social mobility can happen if conditions allow a working class person to move up to middle and upper class.

The Status of Social Mobility Research

Sociologists have realised that there is a gap between theoretical reflection and empirical research which hamper the progress of the discipline and that lack is reflected in the study of social structure and social mobility. This describes two separate analytical issues for sociological theory and empirical research. First, in fact there is no theory which could capture all types of investigation adequately. Second, research projects are not explicitly related to theory; there is a lack of theoretical framework and relevance. It is felt that social mobility studies are too much caught up with technical and statistical perspectives, specifically the associated problems to determine the extent and pattern of mobility and its causes and consequences (Goldthorpe, 1987). There is a “need to unify theoretical discourse on the subject of social structure and, second, the requirement for a widespread implementation of this unified theory in the planning and practice of empirical research as well as the interpretation of its results” (Mach and Wesolowski, 1982).

Below are the results of a case study done to study social mobility in Indian society. This study highlights the role of Indian government’s policy of positive discrimination or affirmative action towards improving the status of backward classes including minority groups in society.

Case Study: Indian Government’s Policy on Social Mobility

The Indian government adopts a policy of positive discrimination or affirmative action termed as reservation towards the ‘backward classes’ of society.

- In accordance to this policy, 15% of government jobs and 15% of students admitted to universities must be reserved for individuals from the scheduled caste or Dalits. These were people who have been disadvantaged because of the long history of discrimination, socially, economically and politically.
- Another group of people given priority were the scheduled tribes or minorities where 7.5% of government jobs and places in educational institutions were reserved for this group.
- Along with the central government, the state governments of India also follow a policy of reservation. Different states have different figures of reservation based on the population composition of each state.
- While most Indians support the policy, tensions have arisen because high caste communities feel discriminated against by the government. Large number of high caste members have to compete for a few places reserved for them. At times, reserved positions remain unmanned because there were few candidates from the lower caste causing further tension between the castes.

Source: S. Sarker, J. Manor, M. Weiner, P. Bardhab, A. Basu & A. Kohli (2001). *The Success of India’s Democracy*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Status of Muslim Minority Education in India

Education of Muslims in India has been a serious topic of research and resolutions for academics and policy makers post-independence. National Policy on Education 1986 mentioned the educational backwardness of minorities in India including Muslims and made strong steps to improve the educational status and gave provision for minorities to start educational institutions under constitutional guarantee. The report on the Social, Economic and Educational status of Muslim Community of India (GOI, 2006) by the committee under the chairmanship of Justice Sachar, discusses the educational backwardness of Muslims elaborately. According to the report, which was submitted in November 2006, one-fourth of Muslim children in the age group of 6-14 years have either never attended school or are drop-outs. For children above the age of 17 years, the educational attainment of Muslims at matriculation is 17%, as against national average at 26%. Only 50% of Muslims who complete middle school are likely to complete secondary education, compared to 62% at national level. The report has also drawn attention to the low levels of educational attainment among Muslim women, Muslims in rural areas as well as in technical and higher education.

A variety of factors such as differentials in endowments across social groups, actual or perceived discrimination, behaviour pattern or attitudes and supply of educational and employment opportunities etc. collectively resulted in the backwardness of Muslims in education and occupation. The sense of insecurity and limited access to good quality schools adversely affected female students more. Muslim's perception of discrimination and 'communalisation' of reading materials leads them to prefer Madrasas over schools. The community is faced with poorer quality or less suitable schools. Muslims show less appreciation for the reward through education. Review of literature mentions that Muslims prefer self-employment as a response to discrimination in the formal labour market. Sachaar calls this phenomenon as 'Minority Enclave Hypotheses' (Basant, 2012).

Muslim community maintained a negative attitude for modern and western education brought by the British government in the pre independent India and they maintained it throughout even after independence. They called English as the 'language of hell' and education provided by the British as the 'passport to hell'. Because of this negative attitude, the entire community lacked opportunity to get any type of education other than religious education when all other section of people received western education and obtained employment opportunities. It took great effort and time to change this attitude towards western education, at least partially. The religious reformers took a cautious and skeptical attitude towards opening the community to western education. At a time they realised the importance of education but did not trust western education (Nazeer, 2011). The activities of the Christian missionaries and the socio-religious policies of the British Government aimed at asserting the superiority of western culture, had antagonised the orthodox sections of the different religious segments of India. Some of the textbooks used in government schools contained hostile or scornful references to Islam and created hatred in the minds of Muslim students. Hence the Muslims shunned the education introduced by the British (Salim, 2000).

Status of Education of Muslim Women

The community severely resisted the co-education during the initial years of their entry into educational institutions because of religious reasons. Seema Kazi(1999) mentions that when Muslim women started entering educational institutions for the first time, there were many unfavourable social mores against it. She quotes, "at the Mohammedan co-educational college of Madras, girls were required to wear their Veils and at Aligarh female teachers sat behind a curtain". Factors such as over emphasis to religious education, seclusion (Purdah System), early marriage and lack of socially defined occupational roles for women all multiplied the social seclusion of the community (Menon, 1979). The patriarchal system in Islam is being reported as much stronger than all other religions and the gender disparities in socio-economic indices are very common. Studies of Seema Kazi(1999), Indu Menon(1979) and others highlight the gender based hurdles that women face in accessing education in India. According to economic theories, the anchoring of women's societal position to marriage and family and their almost unshared role in household tasks, mean they have shorter career than men, which in turn motivate smaller investment in schooling, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Gender difference in education have persisted because of the lower returns to women education relative to that of men in labour market (King and Hill, 1997).

Anita Nuna (2002) has conducted a study to assess the impact of area intensive programme and retention of children, particularly of Muslim girls in primary and upper primary schools. One of her study state was Kerala along with A.P, M.P, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Assam, Bihar and West Bengal. She reports that the area intensive programme in Kerala is implemented through NGOs run by Muslim societies in order to negate the conservative set of mind of people who believe in Purdah System. More over people are interested to send their daughters to schools run by Islamic Societies.

The history of education of Kerala Muslims, especially the women speaks volumes about the tantamount obstacles and how these inhibited their educational progress. Hostility towards west and subsequent withdrawal from western education were the main reasons for the educational backwardness of Kerala Muslims. The prevalence of caste system also played a crucial role in Kerala Muslims' educational backwardness. Since majority of Muslims were converts from lower castes, they were not having access to the educational system. Other reported reasons are lack of effective community leadership, lack of ambition, Muslim clerical dominance, hegemony of religious scholars who were devoid of scientific outlook, lack of education among first generation, superstitions, importance attributed to religious studies rather than modern education etc. Misconception of religion was a stumbling block in the path to educational progress as far as Muslim community of Kerala is concerned (Mohammed, 2007).

Osella and Osella(2007) studied Islamism and social reforms in Kerala. They highlighted the promotion of education by the reformist groups (Mujahids) primarily for understanding the religion itself. According the reformers majority of the Muslims do *Shirk* (deviation from monotheism) because of their ignorance in religion. In order to understand the religion better, the community realised the importance of rational thought and promoted education. From this reformers now the traditionalists (Sunnis) are also giving importance to formal education for confronting the earlier. The authors mentions the starting of schools that taught Islamic subjects along with 'modern' subjects.

Sushma Jaireth (2010) conducted a field study about the madrasah system in Kerala and found that, barring a few 'traditional' types, madrasahs in Kerala have been overtaken by a large and expanding network of reformed madrasahs which incorporates 'modern' subjects and teaching methods of varying degrees. There is a growing emphasis for English and computer education along with Islamic education. Timing of madrasah is not interfering their school timing. It is before the starting of school or after the regular school classes. It's been highlighted that in comparison with madrasahs in Trivandrum district, madrasahs in Malappuram are facilitating students to continue their school education to plus two, B.A and M.A degrees in recognised universities.

From the literature it is understood that a paradigm shift is taking place in the attitude of religious leaders regarding Muslim community accessing education. Those who opposed all other forms of education except religious education and rejected English, have started to include English, Computer Instruction along with 'modern' subjects and methods. They are facilitating their children to get higher education. This change has drastically changed the outlook of Muslims in Kerala, especially in accessing education. This change made Kerala Muslim community to the most well educated Muslim community in the country (Sushma Jaireth, 2010)

The Present Study

This study was planned to understand the discussed issues of inequalities in accessing education and occupation by the Muslim community. Their education- Formal and Religious, Occupation and Gender differentials are dealt in detail in this study. The focus is on the difference in such factors between two generations of Muslim community in Kerala. The study is thus conceptualised into the framework of the 'Intergenerational Social Mobility' research.

Objectives of the Study

1. To find out the extent of Intergenerational Educational Mobility among two generations of respondents.
2. To find out the extent of Intergenerational Occupational Mobility among two generations of respondents.
3. To find out whether there exist any significant association between Gender and levels of Education.
4. To find out whether there is any association between Religious Education and Formal Education of the respondents.

Methodological Review

Intergenerational mobility research has mainly used two methodological approaches. First one is using cross tabulation to represent individual characteristics with that of their parents and computing a mobility matrix, based on which the proportion of people exhibiting upward mobility is calculated.

This method has been used by Driver(1962), Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992,2002),Chen and Dai(1995), Biblarz et al. (1996), Kumar et al. (2002a, 2000b) Behrman et al.(2001)and Beller and Hout (2006).This is basically a descriptive approach without analysing the impact of other variable on such transition. When computed separately across social groups, it provides measures of upward mobility for each group, which then can be compared. Second method is regressing a child's educational and occupational characteristics on those of the parents along with a set of other control variables (Majumder, 2010).

Data Sources and Methodology

Data from 231 randomly selected Muslim respondents; 128 males and 103 females, aged 25-40 from twelve election wards of 6 Panchayats in Malappuram district of Kerala State in India is used for the study. Respondents aged 25 to 40 were selected from the 2011 Socio Economic and Caste Census of Kerala. A total of 2310 respondents were listed from the wards and its 10% is randomly selected for the study. Data was collected through interview method using the social economic and educational survey schedule designed specifically for this study.

Categories of Education

Educational level is categorised into the following categories 1) Illiterate 2) primary 3) Middle 4) Secondary 5) Higher Secondary 6) Graduate 7) Professional Graduate 8) Post Graduate 9) Research. Education here refers to the formal education the respondent and their parents received.

Categories of Occupation

Occupation is categorised into the following categories 0) No Job 1) Manual Labour 2) Semi Skilled Labour 3) Last grade/Equivalent 4) Clerical and Equivalent 5) Business III (Small shops owners, LIC Agents, Commission Agents, Mediators etc.) 6) Business II (Retailers and Traders) 7) School Teachers 8) Business I (Manufacturing and Wholesale) 9) Professionals (Doctor, Engineers, Lawyers, Artists, Architects, Lecturers) 10) Administration (Gazetted Officers, MPs and MLAs).

Religious Education

Religious education is the number of years the respondents studied in religious institutions like madrassah or Dars system.

Techniques of Data Analysis

Outflow mobility table is used to study the intergenerational mobility in education and occupation which is used by Hout (1983). For intergenerational mobility in education, father's education has been taken as the origin for both male and female respondents. But in the case of occupational mobility among Muslim women, mother's occupation has been chosen as origin. Majority of the Muslim women participated in the study are house makers. So if the women are considered with male respondents to the same mobility table of fathers as origin it will significantly affect the total mobility. Jehan (1989) used mothers' origin for studying social mobility among women. Chi square test is used for testing the existence of association of gender with education and occupation. Following are the Null Hypotheses framed to test the association.

Objective 3 – Corresponding Hypothesis

1. There is no significant relationship between gender and levels of respondents' education.

Objective 4 - Corresponding Hypothesis

1. There is no significant relationship between religious education and formal education.

Data Analysis

Objective No.1

To find out the extent of intergenerational educational mobility among two generations of respondents. Mobility from Father to son and mother to daughter is considered.

Table-1: Father*Male Respondent Education outflow Table

	Illiterate	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Graduate	Prof. Graduate	Post Graduate	Research	Total
Illiterate	0	0	11	2	3	1	0	0	0	17
Primary	0	1	14	12	30	15	2	2	1	77
Middle	0	0	0	1	10	3	3	2	0	19
Secondary	0	0	0	1	3	2	1	3	0	10
Higher Secondary	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	4
Graduate	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Prof. Graduate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Post Graduate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Research	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	1	25	16	47	21	8	9	1	128

Outflow Analysis**Upward Mobility**

125/128*100=97.6% of the individuals experienced upward educational mobility from their fathers.

No Mobility

3/128*100=2.3% of the individuals were immobile.

Downward Mobility

None of the respondents experienced downward mobility.

It is worthy to note that almost all respondents in the study (97%) experienced upward educational mobility from their parents. While 3% of the respondents experienced no mobility in education, there is none who experienced downward mobility. This is a reflection of overall development index of Kerala state in the field of education. In origin generation (Father's generation) 86% were educated up to upper primary or below. But in younger generation everyone has education up to secondary and above. The openness of societies is measured in terms of social mobility measurements (Xie, 2010). The more the social mobility the more good the society, as it encourages placement of individuals in social positions according to competence rather than social origin (Hout 1988). In Kerala society even among the minority Muslims the extent of persistence of inequality is comparatively very low as the result of this study shows.

b) Mother*Female Respondent Education Outflow Table

	Illiterate	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Graduate	Professional Graduate	Post Graduation	Total
Illiterate	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	4
Primary	0	0	12	4	29	3	1	1	50
Middle	0	0	0	4	20	4	0	0	28
Secondary	0	0	1	0	6	6	2	1	16
Higher Secondary	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3
Graduate	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Professional Graduate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Post-Graduation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	15	8	57	17	3	3	103

Upward Mobility

100/103*100=97% of the Female individuals experienced upward mobility in education

Immobile

2/103*100=1% of the Female individuals experienced no mobility in education.

In the above out flow table for mother to daughter mobility, almost similar mobility trend is displayed as in the case of father to respondent. 97% of the female respondents experienced upward educational mobility. Majority from mothers’ generation were educated up to secondary level only. But respondents’ generation have good number of highly educated members. But this trend is strong up to graduation level only. There after it weakens. Education is one of the best tools at the disposal of state and public policy for reversing the intergenerational reproduction of inequality and dissociating an individual’s social background from well-being he or she attains. Among the factors of inequality, household socio-economic condition and the level of formal education of the head of the household are among the root causes of inequality reproduction (Social Panorama of Latin America, 2010). While this being the case in other studies, the results of this study shows non persistence of inequality among the group under study.

Objective No.2

To find out the extent of intergenerational occupational mobility among two generations of Respondents.

(From the preliminary analysis of data it is understood that majority of women respondents are not entering into the labour force i.e. both mother and daughter generations. So it is decided to treat separate origin for women and men. I.e. Father*Male respondent and Mother*Female respondents)

b) Father*Male Respondent Occupation

	Manual	Semi - Skilled	Last Grade	Clerical	Businessiii	Business ii	School Teacher	Professional	Total
Manual	16	20	2	18	4	0	1	1	62
Semiskilled	0	12	2	5	2	0	0	0	21
Last Grade	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	4
Clerical	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	5
Businessiii	1	2	2	5	13	0	0	3	26
Businessii	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	4	7
School Teacher	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	17	37	6	29	21	0	6	12	128

Upward Mobility

$46/128*100=57\%$ of the male respondent experienced upward occupational mobility

Immobile

$43/128*100=33.5\%$ of the male respondents experienced no occupational mobility

Downward Mobility

$14/128*100=10\%$ of the male respondents experienced downward occupational mobility

Father*Male Respondent Occupation Outflow Table

Here intergenerational occupational reproduction is very strongly evident. 33% of the male respondents have entered the same category of job that their father did. 57% of the male respondents experienced upward mobility while 10% experienced downward mobility. For 62 unskilled fathers 16 respondents are also doing the same type of job and 20 respondents are doing skilled labour. Skilled job category includes mason, wiring, driving, plumbing etc. so in terms of occupational mobility they moved to the immediate next level. One respondent of unskilled origin landed in professional job, one in teaching profession, four in small business and 18 in clerical job. From 26 Business III origin (i.e. Small scale shops) 13 respondents are doing the same job. Out of three respondents of teacher origin one is doing same profession and two gained upward mobility. So it may concluded that occupational mobility is present in this category though there is an evident and substantial occupational reproduction. It is very interesting to note that educational mobility is unable to transfer itself as occupational mobility. This may be a typical example for persistence of inequality, even when a person is performing in education, his success rate in terms of occupation is quite low.

a) Mother*Female Respondent Occupation

	No job/ Housewives	Manual labour	Semi- Skilled job	Last Grade	Clerical	School Teacher	Professional	Total
No job/ Housewives	79	1	1	1	4	6	2	94
Manual labour	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Semi-Skilled job	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Last Grade	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
School Teacher	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	83	1	1	1	4	9	4	103

Upward Mobility

18/103*100=17.4% of female respondents experienced upward occupational mobility

Immobile

81/103*100=78.6.2% of female respondents experienced no occupational mobility

Downward Mobility

4/103*100=3.8% of female Respondents experienced downward occupational mobility

Mother*Female Respondent Occupational Mobility

Here out of a total of 103 respondents 20 are not doing any job other than household job. In mothers’ generation 94 members were not doing any paid job other than household works. Only 9 out of 103 mothers were doing some job other than household. In daughters’ generation 20 were doing some job. 4 mothers were doing manual labour. But, only one daughter is in manual labour. For 1 last grade mother, the daughter is a school teacher. For a clerical mother, daughter is a professional. For 3 school teacher mothers, 2 daughters became school teachers and one became a professional.

Studies about female work force in Kerala lead to identify the state as the state of paradox (Mazumder and Guruswamy, 2006).Even after attaining high literacy rate and indices of human development, Kerala’s female work force participation is minimal. Among all the districts they mentioned Malappuram has the least female participation. The migration of males to gulf countries may be one reason for this. The money sent by husbands working in gulf countries does not necessitate need for women to enter work force (Income-effect). The above table exactly shows the minimal labour force participation of Muslim women in Malappuram district of Kerala.

Objective No.3

To find out whether there is any significant association between gender and educational levels.

Research Hypothesis: There is a significant relationship between gender and respondents’ education.

Null Hypothesis: There is no significant relationship between gender and respondents’ education

Since no relationship was found after running the analysis up to graduation as per the original categorisation followed in the study, the variable Respondents' Education is made into just two categories; 1. Graduation and below; 2. Post-Graduation and Professionals.

Gender * Education of Respondent by Category

		Education Of Respondent By Category		Total
		Graduation And Below	Post Graduate And Professional	
Gender	Male	110	18	128
	Female	97	6	103
Total		207	24	231

	Value	df	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.160 ^a	1	.051
Continuity Correction ^b	3.322	1	
Likelihood Ratio	4.385	1	
Fisher's Exact Test			
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.142	1	
N of Valid Cases	231		

In the table above, Pearson Chi-Square value is significant, thereby we reject null hypothesis and accept the research hypothesis that there is a significant relationship between respondents' gender and their educational attainment. Number of females who studied above graduation is much less than number of males; i.e., 6 females against 18 males. Thus as popular conception goes, the association between being a female and chances of access to education still hold good in Indian society.

Objective No. 4

To find out whether there is any significant association between religious education and formal education among Muslim respondents.

Research Hypothesis: There is a significant relationship between respondents' religious education and formal education.

Null Hypothesis: There is no significant association between respondents' religious education and formal education.

Madrasah Education * Formal Education of Respondents

		Education Of Respondents							Total	
		Primary	Middle	Secondary	Plus Two	Graduate	Professional	Post Graduate		Research
Madrasah	Below 4 Years	1	27	0	7	2	0	0	0	37
	5 years and Above	0	12	24	97	36	11	12	1	193
Total		1	39	24	104	38	11	12	1	230

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	106.056 ^a	7	.000
Likelihood Ratio	87.798	7	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	54.860	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	230		

(Religious education/Madrasah education is categorised into two: 4 years and below, 5 years and above, one respondent has not attended Madrasah education.)

Religious education and Formal education of respondents are significantly related. From the data table it is clear that those who received less religious education received less formal education also. Respondents who received two years of religious education completed only middle level education. 11 professionally educated respondents received 6 years of religious education, 6 received 7 and 2 received 10 years of religious education respectively. So the result shows that those who have aspiration and opportunity could continue education; both religious as well as formal education. The result resonates the research results of osella and osella(2007) and Sushma et al. in that Kerala Muslims progressed in education through the educational institutions set by religious leaders where opportunities for religious education along with ‘modern’ disciplines were available. The community could give both religious as well as formal education to their children separately without hindering each other. The community has found some ways to educate their younger generation formally along with the obligatory religious education. So a child who passed matriculation has a fair chance of completing as much madrasah education, provided there is an availability of higher madrasah in the locality.

Discussion

The result shows that there is very high intergenerational educational mobility among Muslim community in Kerala. It is in accordance with the existing literatures and the Kerala model of Development. Gender is significantly influencing in the chances for higher education. Very few female respondents received education above graduation as compared to males. This may be because of the obstacles of marriage as mentioned earlier by researchers like Indu Menon (1979). Number of Women in the occupation and labour force outside the household is very meagre. The gulf money effect called by Mazumder and Guruswamy (2006) as ‘income effect’ also may be the reason for the low level of labour participation. Very strong intergenerational occupational reproduction suggested by Azam & Bhatt (2012), Xie (2010) is visible among Fathers’ and sons’ occupational mobility.

One notable result of this study is the relationship between religious education and formal education. It can be observed here that these two types of education are associated and a look at the raw data shows that those who accessed religious education also accessed formal education and they are directly related. This result is an antithesis to popular beliefs and results of most other studies done in the field. Indu Menon(1979) found religious education as an obstacle for formal education. But here there is no sign of religious education hindering formal education. It seems there are historical reasons for such a phenomenon in Kerala state of India. Muslims have always doubted western education and it was through religious education people were gradually attracted to general education in the pre independence era. More over most of the schools are located near normal schools which facilitated the transition of children from religious school to normal school. These two kinds of education were normally given by the same organisations too.

Another factor that may be worthy to study will be the reasons of low labour participation among Muslim women. Policy measures need to be taken to facilitate women entry into work force. There needs a serious, multidimensional approach from the part of policy makers to address the issue of hesitation of women to participate in paid work. Taking clues from the improvement of education that took place by engaging socio-religious leaders, some strategies should be derived with the help and active participation of progressive, reform friendly groups in the community to tap the relatively highly educated and potential women population into the field of employment. So an employment policy which is implemented through the help of progressive religious groups can gradually spread into the relatively conservative groups also and thereby Kerala can set another milestone in the field of women employment for the rest of the country.

Another area of concern is the occupational reproduction across generation. For a just society, intergenerational reproduction of opportunities is not a positive sign. A merit based society is the norm of a just society. So equal opportunity in acquiring necessary skills should be made available for all section of people irrespective of their family origin. Then, based on the acquired skills, employment opportunities should be made available and distributed to all irrespective of their family origin.

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