

**Changing Trends In Intergenerational - Occupational Mobility
Among Rural And Urban Muslim Women In Maharashtra: A
Comparative Study**

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June 2013



Respectfully dedicated to

My beloved parents

Who brought me up and taught

me eternal values in life

CERTIFICATE

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled “**Changing Trends In Intergenerational- Occupational Mobility Among Rural And Urban Muslim Women In Maharashtra: A Comparative Study**” completed and written by me has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree of other similar title upon me of this or any other University or examining body.

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Research Student

Place: Pune

Date: 28/06/2013

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Changing Trends In Intergenerational - Occupational Mobility Among Rural And Urban Muslim Women In Maharashtra: A Comparative Study**” which is being submitted herewith for the award of the Degree of Vidyavachaspati (Ph.D.) in result of original research work completed by Mr. PATHAN GULAB CHOTE KHAN under my supervision and guidance. To the best of my knowledge and belief the work incorporated in this thesis has not formed the basis for the award of any Degree or similar title of this or any other University or examining body upon him.

(Dr. Sudhanshu Gore)
Research Guide

Place: Pune

Date: 28/07/2013

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CHAPTER I

ROLE OF WOMEN IN INDIAN SOCIETY

1.1 Role of Women in Ancient Times:

The old saying expresses “where women are honoured, there gods live”. This very clearly indicates that Indian Women in the ancient times excelled in various spheres of life and enjoyed every kind of liberty to develop themselves. Of course, one has to remember that every woman did not reach high official position, nor every woman could achieve high respect in society. It only means that women in ancient times were permitted to take education of a variety of arts and crafts. However, the position did not remain the same for long. During Muslim and British rule, her position was eclipsed. “She was deprived of a wide measure of liberty and was confined within the four walls of the house. She was thought more as a possession than a human being. She was reduced to be a plaything of man and an object to gratify his lust, whims and fancies.”(Pruthi, Raj Kumar; Rameshwari Devi and Romila Pruthi (2001).

The historically changing role of women in India -

The women of western world took more than seventy, eighty years demanding treatments as “human equals”. In the similar way the women of India began to

follow the footprints of the western women. Although the key targets remain similar in order to establish equality between men and women in different settings such as public places, work place, home, school yards and they are as follows improvement of health care education, job opportunity etc. Jacques Maritain (London 1944, p.37).

Although women all over the world are trying their level best to become independent, the additional problems which an Indian women needs to challenge is the caste system, un security, burdening of religious customs and traditional role. There was a time when the Indian women accepted the secondary status allotted to them. But in the recent years due to the increasing western influence, independent groups, many organisations the role is slowly changing in its development.

Women in Islam:

There are major religious rifts or drawbacks which cannot be overlooked while studying their consequences on Indian Women. As far as women are concerned both Muslim women and non-Muslim face similar challenges but there are several reasons for which the Muslim women need a separate consideration. One of the major reasons is that the status of Muslim women in India is inferior to Muslim men and moreover their religious face makes them stand alone.

The spiritual aspect:

Clear cut instructions have been provided by the most authentic book i.e. the holly Qurran regarding equality between men and women. Its states that in the sight of God the women is equal to men in terms of her rights and responsibilities (Quraan 74:38) to (Quraan 2:36, 7:20-24) Women is no different from men in terms of religious obligations such as the poor due, daily five times prayers, fasting and pilgrimage. In a few cases woman has liberty over man such as during menstrual periods and forty days after her child birth, she is exempted from the daily prayers.”

Role of women as a wife:

The Quraan explains the purpose of marriage, as a sharing between the two halves of the society. It is based on love and mercy. And besides creating human life, it aims at emotional well being and spiritual harmony and satisfaction.

The Islamic law specifies that women cannot be forced to marry anyone without her consent. An incident is reported by Ibn Abbas, that a girl came to Prophet S.A.W.S and told that her father had forced her to marry without ever asking for her consent. The Prophet replied by giving her two choices that of either accepting it or invalidating it.

Islam has clarified the rules, whereby the spouses have equal rights. Whereas men are a degree above them. Which refers to natural differences, but puts the weaker sex to protection.(woman).

Islam does not allow a man to dominate his wife. But it puts forward the relevance of taking counsel and collective decisions in family matters.

The greatest revelation (Quraan) also accords good treatment to mothers. IT instruct us to be good and kind to our parents :(Quraan17:23)

The Economic Aspect:

“The right of independent ownership” was ordered by Islam to the woman. As per the Islamic law, a woman possesses complete rights over her money, real estate or other properties; irrespective of being single or married.

Thus Islamic law does not consider a woman lesser, just for the reason of her being a female. Moreover she is completed professional selling, buying a mortgaging or her properties.

As per issue of employment is concerned, Islam has naused the status of women as the mother and as a wife. These two roles are the most essentials in shaping features of the children and upcoming generations and as a whole building the nations. Islam allows women to seek employment when necessary but at the same time she needs to keep in mind the nature of work and its

settings. They can play a more vital role in those fields where she is needed the most. Examples they can work as nurses, teachers, doctors etc.

The responsibilities of wife children and nearly relatives have to be shouldered by the man. If the wife is working or gaining income from her work, she does not need to spend it on her family. The role of bread earner in the family has to be played by the husband. She need not transfer her permission to her husband and in case of divorce she can get some fix financial help former ex-husband.

The Political Aspect:

It is evident that women in Islam enjoy equal rights as men in political affairs such as right of elections and voting their opinions and views in public matters. There are instances where women have had serious discussions with Prophet.

The Quraan States that it is not suitable for women to be a leader. However these limitations is due to biological and psychological differences.

The leader is the one who is always at the forefront in process of decision making and planning for the good and well being of his people. Womens health deteriorates physically, due to menstruations and pregnancies. Their body undergoes physical and psychological changes. Thus it is believed that such physical conditions on ultimately affect the decisions taken as a leader.

Conclusion:

- 1) There is no evidence of any cruel treatment of women within the Islamic scriptures and techniques, and there is no scope for reducing or controlling the legal rights of women since they are justified in Islamic law.
- 2) The Islamic history and laws are a justification and indication that the Islamic law makes give top priority to the reputation, legal rights, chastity and exemplary maternal role of Muslim women with an objective of elevating the status in the society.

Role of women in Contemporary India:

Women in India are discriminated on several grounds and crimes against women are on the rise. After the 1970s the women's movement fastened its pace. India faces a very rare and paradoxical situation. Whereby few of them hold key position and enjoy greater privileges. Specially those at the Presidential and Prime Ministerial offices. But on the other hand large sections of women are deprived of privileges and identity.

If we look at house wise in our parliament women representations are less than 10 per cent. The age old religious cultural practices in India are a major cause for the discrimination against women. It was in the 19th Centaury which marked the beginning of the reform movements. It was

after these movements that changes started taking place in the society. These movement mainly address the evil practices like Sati, Child Marriage etc. Other problems like violence, property rights, legal status of the women were major issues addressed by the Indian women's movement.

Where does the problem lie?

The roots of these problems of discriminations against women can be analysed with the help of various ancient periods. During the Vedic period women enjoy equal status. In the 300 BC, the society was dominated by the Brahmins (upper caste) and the emergence of the caste system created social influence in the society. During this period women were burned unnecessarily Wives were supposed to consider their husbands as Gods. woman who ever unable to reproduce were abandoned and widow remarriage was not allowed.

The beginning of changes:

During the colonial period the introduction of English education worked as a vehicle of social change, by bringing about a change in attitude of women Raja Ram Mohan Roy a Social Reformer who opposed the evil practice of Sati. It was stopped by the East India Company in 1829. Providing education to girls through the schools was an initiative takes up

by Mahatma Jyotiba Phule in 1848 at Pune. He was first one to start a girl school. In 1917, with a view to demand women's political right the women's delegations met the Secretary of the state. The constitution gave them the right of equality with men. Women have greatly responded by participating in various movements which address the issues which were not alone the women's issues. Namely land rights, environment conservation etc.

The sex ratio is another indicator which reflects discrimination against Indian Women. As per the static of 1991 senses there were 927 females per 1000 males in India. Whereas this pictures has improved slightly in the year 2001. (www.censusesindia.net)

One major reason for this adverse sex ratio is the parental mentality of not accepting a female child and their unwillingness to give birth to her. Now a day's sex discriminations tests have made possible to know the sex of the foetus. S

Very frequently female foetus are aborted and killed with cruelty.

Health:

Deteriorating health of mother and child lead to high maternal and infant mortality. Several reasons lie behind it, such as early marriages lack of nutritious diet, lack of proper medications during pregnancy etc.

A few statistical data is available regarding the health of women. 80 per cent of women are anaemic, 58 per cent are found to reduce the diet during pregnancy which is supposed to increase supervision by health permission is also an issue. 50 per cent of children under five years of age are malnourished and 70 per cent of them are anaemic. Mothers are not able to take proper care of their children due to poverty and lack of awareness. Many of the ladies suffer from diarrhoea, and only 43 of mother know about ORS. Many a time's women or mothers lose their infants because of awareness. Restrictions on women's mobility are another matter contributing to lesser heart care. Even today many women in most of the states namely M.P, Jamu and Kashmir need to take permission before stepping out of the house.

Women's health needs to be given first priority specially towards reproductive health. Women are more susceptible to communicable diseases such as Tuberculosis. The time the health sector has been privatised the burden has squarely felt on the poor. A major reason behind rural indebtedness is illness. Less than 50 per cent of villages have access to any governmental health facility. In 1989 -1990 the government spending on public health was 1.26 per cent which felt to 1.12 per cent of the GDP in 1995-1996.

Water and Sanitation:

According to statistical analysis 62.3 per cent of Indian Households have access to safe water, out of which 81.4 per cent of the households are urban and 55.5 per cent are rural. This picturises that women are physically burdened and exhausted, since they need to go to distant wells for brining water which is a tough and time consuming job.

Sanitation is a big issue as far as women and girls are concerned. Specially in urban slums the girls living here are badly affected and exposed to harassment. There are no separate toilets for girls and womens in the schools. A brief survey of health conditions shows that 15.2 per cent of rural people had access to toilets by the year 1995.

Education:

Senses conducted in1951, put forth the faith that 25 per cent of the men and 7 per cent of women were literate. 2001 census shows that 54.16 per cent women were now able to read and write. While wide disparities were concerned in national averages.

For example 95 per cent of women in Mizoram are literate. More focus is required on planning educational programmes for girls and women. A government programme named Mahila Samajkalyan aimed at empowering rural women and motivating them to take education. But it has been

distorted recently. Primary education programme focus on enrolling but not on retention of girls in school.

Statistic: The India female has 1.2 years of schooling the India male spends 3.5 years in school. In the middle school more than 50 per cent girls are drop-out. Sibling care is a major reason for girls dropping school suggests that crèches should be attached to the schools so that they can fairly attended classes.

The women movement called upon the government to fulfil its pledge to invest 6 per cent of country's GDP in education. But true picture is that the expenditure on the education was 3.4 per cent of GDP in 1989-90 to 2.8 per cent in 1995-96.

Employment:

Women performing menial works like keeping poultry, collecting fodder are not recorded in census. As per 1991 census Statistics the official workforce includes 22.5 per cent of women and girls. 90% of the total marginal workers are women. Rural women are mainly involved in agricultural work. Apart from this gender discrimination is seen in giving wages. Women are given less wages than men. Since industrial production increased and flourished, more and more women were employed as they served as cheap labour. Women are mainly employed in agarbatti rolling,

bangle making etc. Most of the times women are found to work at lower wages which are not in accordance with their jobs.

Social Status:

Socially women are being harassed as the crimes against women are rising. Domestic violence is another painful problem, due to which most of the women in the households suffer. To add to this prostitution and trafficking are other problems which are on an increase. There are 1,00,000 prostitutes in six metro cities.

According to the NSSO data, households headed by women who are divorced, single or deserted are usually poor and face financial crisis.

Compared to other women, the women living in tribal areas have better status, This can be seen in several areas. Female infanticide is a lowest, they work shoulder to shoulder with the men. This brings out their higher status.

The tribal's mostly dwell in the forest. Due to several modern development projects. These tribal people have to be rehabilitated.

Recently from two to three decades tribal women are participating in public and joining many of the movements.

The women's Movements:

The women's movements in India gain independence through the mixture of thoughts and activism. The declaration of United Nations year of women in 1975 released status of women committee report, which revealed the fact that Indian women were progressing. A majority of Indian women suffer from bad health, illiteracy, where as middle class women in the metros began to protest against sexism and patriarchy.

In 1977 women build their opinions and began to organise themselves into small feminist groups. These initiatives taken by the women in the form of the movement led to reviving associations such as young women such as Christian's Association etc and gained from their experiences.

The Mathura rape case, which was the first national level issue brought the women together. Mathura young girls were allegedly raped by policeman in the police station. Four lawyers in order to protest against this heinous act wrote to the Supreme courts. The national media gained a wide coverage to these protests due to which the government amended several acts and introduced the category of custodial rape in the 1st of crimes.

Increasing incidents of sati during the 19th century shows links between religion, culture and encouraging attitude towards practice of sati. Female infanticide is becoming a major issue to be tackled in the 21st century.

Government introduced many campaigns and population policy against hazardous trials discussed which targeting women in the century.

In the rural Andhra Pradesh Government started literacy campaigning's and after the women lead literacy lesson against liquor, on documentary films "when women unity" the state government also enjoy revenues and after some years unable to stop the attacks. In the Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Orissa and other states also successful anti Liquor.

To protect the forest local people also started chipko movement and Vandana Shiva also built environmentalism care, campaigned against India when joining the world trade organisation.

In 1990s foreign agencies formation nongovernmental organisation,(NGO'S). Majority group of NGO's identified 'delivery' mechanism and produce health care, gender training to women by the government and Panchayat.

In 1995 the united Nations on women head in Beljing to representations the NGOs at national level. Un Formation coordination unit held meetings in the different parts of the country. National alliance women's organisations play active role in the beljing, Conference and plus five meetings in New York.

Legal Status:

India made many laws by British government but after independence some changes taken place in that. In the 25 years government in women's movement amend laws and affect women, dowry system, rape etc. India also started convention which known as discrimination against women (cedaw). State Judiciary produced judgements about women including recent sexual harassment, work place on child custody.

There is no law that present wives from being thrown out of the matrimonial law. Its a tough job for the separated, deserted or divorced women to claim maintenance of themselves and their children.

Political Participation:

In the freedom movement, the Indian women played some role, it did not translate into continued participation in public life during the post independence era. On the other hand many women ushered in a domestic republic in which the drains and aspirations of the mass of the people would be achieved.

81st Amendment bill drafted in 1996, women have presently lobbied, that persons reservation of 1/3rd seats in the lok sabha.

About a million women have entered the Panchayats and local Bodies through the 73rd and 74th amendments to the constitution. Women are holding 1/3rd of the Panchayats are in the process of leaking.

Minority Rights:

On 1986 in the minority committee Shah Bano takes justice from the Supreme courts when her husband give divorce. To protest the women by nationwide Prime Minister Raju Gandhi started protection of rights upon divorce act. There was also law for Muslim women's to ask for their ex-husbands. Because of different laws and provisions Muslim women gone to the courts for these matters.

Many Hindu political parties like BJP and Shiv Sena made fundamentalist changes in the personal law. Mid 1990s Uniform civil code discuss on the personal laws under the concept of Shariat and religion leadership Muslim women have its rights about tripal talaque, oral divorce and marry four wives.

Christan women aware about government personal laws and struggled for equal rights of divorce in the church. In 1994 all Church joined women organisation and this law called the Chritstan marriage and matrimonial causes bill.

Over the three decades all communities and the church reform and government amendment different and relevant laws for the important reasons.

Dalit women organise against caste class and gender on gang rape of dalit women used in upper caste for point assertion of dalit rights.

Role of women in economic development:

In the 3rd world most parts women are not equal then men, less healthy, sexual abuse, less pay for equal labour, in Eastern, Western society women sexual category was lesser. Women also not aware about pre-professional technical education. In the work place, political life women have various obstacles like discrimination hiring and sexual harassment in many nations. Women to have equal rights under the law, she have too much broader of housework, child care, lack of opportunity in entertainment, expression on imagination, Because of all these factors women were unequal for the human capabilities. Today women population increased in industrial, mentors, ministers and Judges etc. achieving their goals and aims like before 65 years.

The integration of women in social political and economic sector was wided and because of that she appointed as administrative part and men not dominance in politics leadership etc. In the economic development when we solve women's problems successfully and proper women for market employment, family balance, feminisation of poverty etc. In the learning society.

Women in learning Society:

In the second half of the 19th century, American educator advert Clarke argued the women brains not suitable for higher education because women used too

much angry for thinking. That's why some years ago women insisted for higher education in many countries.

The male strongest thinker chauvinist not believed in such nonsense theories. 20- 30 per cent under graduate student's women participate extremely low in the education field but recently data the American association of university professor shows 33.8 % women increased in the field. The females students now a day's having greatest problems in the university because of indiscipline and it's known or considered as feminine.

The gender gap narrowing because of science and mathematics and its widening the technology and computer science education.

Women in caste and class divisions:

In the Islam there was no class discrimination like other communities like India but Indian Muslims are divided into on the basis of caste(like biradari or zaat). These all caste divisions in Islam because of many causes overall social and economic conditions example poverty, no land, lowest illiteracy etc.

There was some caste group by foreign desert (Arab, Iran and Central Asian) such as sayed, sheikh, pathan and moughals etc. These all from relatively small minority and saw themselves as a superior on Muslim rulers by there titles Ashraf on noble in (Arabic Shuraffa). Many mulsims polite and religious leaders drawn from these castes and not taking a little or not interest in there

problem of low caste co-religionists, because of that Muslim women have problems in social and economical sectors.

Today in India many majority Muslims converts their low caste due to literacy, poverty, high rate of unemployment and poor living conditions in the state because of wider Hindu society many high caste Muslims face various or difficult problems or discrimination.

The folk women characterised as a level of literacy. Female literacy rate with less than 5 % with young girls in many communities and boys went out daily from home to help family for their need or survival, like bread and butter which not consider gender justice in the families.

In the middle class mobilised women struggled for gender justice in India or modern educated women plays leading role in that. They also set up many organisation and publications and struggles with directions and theoretical focus. In India Muslim women struggles for the gender justice related with the limited Muslim middle class.

Priorities of Indian Muslims community organisations:

In India 90 % of fund of Muslim community like zakat and sadqa go to the madras and mosques. The number of tens or thousands in the middle class small size of liberal Muslim because low levels of literacy etc. Many Muslims

NGOs in India concerned with religious education, social influence, religious awareness and other factors etc. A few Muslims organisations provide education and vocational skills etc few Muslim women organisation focused and practised patriarchal prejudice and entry funds from outside the community like India and international NGOs; it's also charge of agents or anti Islamic forces. Most Muslim organisation in India not solves that issues or problems which related with Muslim women in economic and educational field. All these organisations leaderships are in the hands of males. All India Muslim personal law board taken women's membership but in those women not influence at all and remain silent.

Muslim Women Issue and problem deeply rooted in the society and that's why Muslim organisations are silence. There were many important factors which threats to Muslim faiths and identity because of anti Muslim discrimination, violence against Muslims by Hindu christianist and other agencies of the state etc. These all problems and issues effected on the community and reflected the demands of Muslims organisations. All minority victim and heavily discriminations, causes and issues related with survival demands to communal identify in the Muslim communities. Some cities argue between Muslim communities and organisations leader become wider in the society as well as in the state also. State wanted to maintain their position and restricted communal identity or conflict between in the community. These all conflicts

and arguments between Muslim organisations and their leader made social and economic problems which concerns with Muslim masses (including Muslim women) and harmed because of communal symbolic or religious issues. The leaders of community are more interest to maintain Muslim poverty, illiteracy and backwardness etc for religious sentiments and advantage of the ignorance. *Many Muslim politicians also able to independent stand Muslim women in Hindu, dominated after that themselves answerable to their political parties by Muslim voters.*

Many leaders realised when problems faced from society they loss many Muslim votes to attract the opposition party.

In the large part of India many Muslims organisations became part of identity related issue, anti Muslim and anti Islamic etc by Hindu charvinist India media.

The identity issue creates a Muslim community attention for reforms and developments demands on the states. Hindu rights to garner Hindu support principal also made conflict between Hindu and Muslims.

Both the anti Muslim hindu right and section of Muslim leadership are jointly cmoplisited in relating to economic, political, social and educational issues of Muslim which also include Muslims women. Thus an atmosphere has been

created where by it has become more difficult for Muslim women to fight for gaining equality and justice.

State Policies vis-a-vis Muslims:

In the state many official reports available through suffering of Indian Muslims discrimination and it's reflected on Muslim dominated regions. In the state many programmes give benefit to marginal class or masses. Indian Muslim women face many educational and employment ability factor and state also made some provision for Muslim women.

Muslim women and the post independence women's movement:

The Indian constitution has relationship between state and its citizen through fundamental rights and other rights in the constitutional structure. To identify the secular Indian identity along with religious identity was quite difficult as well as painful for most of the eco deprived Muslim communities. More once being women within a minority community was an additional disadvantage faced by Muslim women.

The women movement which began at the turn of the century is yet to benefit the Muslim women. Both Hindu and Muslim women were subject to practices like peligarmi and lack of education. In order to get access to the eco resources education and employment many Muslim women joined other Indian women's struggle. The state programmes which were mixed political

appertains started with a positive approach to improve the women's socio-economic status, failed living a majority of Muslim women economically and educationally backward. Many of the Muslim organisations like Jamate-Ulmahe Hind, Jamate Islamic put forth very restricted agenda with an aim of pressuring the Sahria. Islamic doctrine and central government schemes the problems of Muslim community.

Personal Law:

In the Hindu Muslim movement contested the personal law example family relation, marriage, custody right and divorce etc. Personal law also define family and marriage relationship between men and women in the state. Personal laws govern by religious laws and in the period of post independence of India civil and communal law are secular. According to the Muslim personal law has not been subjected to any legislative changes. As per these laws and acts come under the preview of Muslim personal and (family) law. Many of the Hindus and Muslim conservative oppose the various legislation on Women in post independence India. The Hindu court been which give right to women and allow to divorce for inter caste marriage and monogamy. A which samplised the opposing patriarchial women legislation. Government passed some out look special marriage act 1952 which give right to marriage act without renouncing their respected different religions both hindu and mulsims. The legislature debates and transformation of womens right and

discuss. Personal laws of communal identity and bandit ground maluiya arrested rituals accept among any and Muslim did that divorce takes place in Ram Rajya and that they were against his daughters share the property intimating a Muslim 1993.

The communal procedure code the world wide section 125 was amendment violated Muslim large. These members agree with these pacts.

The amendment provide to Muslim personal law section 125 payment due to under Muslim law judgement, considerate and requirement of pay maintenance rate state unless it responsible substitute and they give another options.

Some of the legal and psychological threads against Muslim women is that of the verbal divorce. Sayeda saideen hamid of the National Conference of Women (NCW) at the revent seminar on Muslim women in Mumbai. When she demanded to amend personal laws in order to ease the sufferings of Muslim Women. In 1986 a case of 73 year old Muslim women was brought forward named Shah Bano. She was thrown out of her house by her husband. Bano maintenance annouces was given by her husband who used to pay her Rs. 200. Shah Bano's Forman husband accumulated to the Supreme Court and argued that personal law did not obliged ex-husband to provide maintenance order for their former wives. This appeal was dismissed by the Supreme Court.

A debated was generated by the Muslim women's bill it highlighted the discussion between consideration law and principles of sexual equality and religious laws. The Muslim personal law board, intend to set up Islamic quotes with an aim giving justice as the guidelines of Quran. The Hindu right wing showed reluctance towards reforms in the personal laws. Mr. M.A. Kazi expressed his disappointment by saying that the Muslim personal law has been politics and put forth as a petty issue, thus creating anti atmosphere for serious debates.. He also said that certain people considerate themselves as a unpatriotic and shed tears on the state of Muslim women but fail to show any mercy or sympathy towards their women when they become widows and are fight for no support and whey they live a life like that of orphans in the streets of Meerut, Baroda and other places.

The women's movement took a turn towards a more nuanced position form that of ant uniform will court position which mainly combined reforms in the Muslim personal law by bringing in concept of common civil court and gender-justice law. A researcher comments about these debates as firstly. Reclaiming the debate debunk the falls choices. Since independence no favourable legislative measures have been introduced by the Indian governments to bring end to the discrimination impersonal laws. India's commitment to the conventions on the elimination of all forms of discrimination, against to women (CEDAW) which upholds the principle of

equality among men and women in the family. India has also entered the reservation on articles 5a and 16 of CEDAW 132 Articles (162) of the convention of elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. As per the article (162) of the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. As per the article (162) of the constitution on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women the government declared that the principle of compulsory registration of marriages was given completed support by them. In a worst country like India where there are variety of customs, religion and a varied values of literacy. This is not practical. The classes referring to the personal laws rejected by the Indian Governments due to lack of the commitment towards promoting women's right in family as well as society. The reform of Muslim personal law remains a great concern and urgent necessity. Muslim lawyer remarked certain rule of law applied by courts needs a change interpreting with the rule of divine law. Arguments used for personal policy maker not for spiritual motives for Muslims of India to find a solution and to bring law into and for giving justice to whom it is denied. Muslim women's status in Indian society cannot be socially determined by the law. The socio-economic status of Indian Muslim women mandates attention not only because it is a maker of women's progress but also because it is difficult to institute legal autonomy. Phase in the journey of Indian Muslim women through which Indian Hindu women have passed in

the 19th Century and having overcome the measure hurdles, now making progress in the various fields of new socio-economic structure of the society.

Achievements of Muslims in the recent decades:

Against modernisation and material progress of India Muslim women, parents encourage their daughters to complete education with the boy child. Studies conducted in scientific manner bring out the attitudes, preservice, efforts and struggles of those families which help the daughter to overcome their difficulties and those families which accepted those educated moderately modernised young ladies as their daughter in laws. Studies highlight the broader side of India Muslim women in word but also projected inspirational ladies model in the work sector for young generation of time to time not necessarily accept older traditions regarding education and job. New role models and inspirations are available in the recent decades of Muslim social structure.

Educational achievements:

Muslim young ladies have done remarkable work in the higher education and different fields. Language barriers now overcome by Muslim women in recent decades especially in IT Sector, Medical Sector and management Muslim women are enjoying heights of the development. In every stream Muslim women are giving outstanding contribution for community development.

Muslim girls are having now a days a good scope in vernacular medium of education. Muslim girls are making their sensational carriers with Arts, Science & Commerce apart from that they are enjoying the education of engineering, medicine and technology based diplomas and degrees.

After independence:

Modern industries and occupations give valuable benefits and change towards occupational structure. The selection which were in the fields closer to modern occupations definitely replaced the benefits of changing working structure. The Bramhins which were consider as the upper caste edcuatied into a noble professions like teaching. Rajputs, Jat and other warrior classes got entry into army, police and other forces by achieving modern education. Muslim had lesser share in these population but they entered into modern occupation and fields and made significant impact by claiming several awards and medals, attending as chief justice, high court justice and meritorious positions.

Social transformation as compared to economic and political changes is a time consuming process in the institutional forms and directions and multi dimensional activities. It is a process of supportive and continuous smooth process.

The legal structure social institution change in transformation from in old and new patterns in social arrangements. Social changes are totally not happen in

the case of polity or economy in the society. In the sociological research on micro level students want their suitable or right understanding answer about nature of change.

A humble attempt has been made to understand the various aspects of the social change process at a grass root level. To drive some valuable conclusions and practical measures for the larger development and nation building process even today process or development is considered as a change for the social scientist.

Social development is a process of planned institutional changes aimed at bringing about a fit between human needs and aspirations on one hand and social policies and programmes on the other hand. At present situation all citizens of India want to participate in development process to take benefit and improve or secure their future. The solution of human misery involved and distributed income, goods, service and opportunities.

Social problems solutions solve at their level. The human needs are important for basic policy, institution made response to concern people and on the basis of that get structural changes in the society. To facilitate institutional planning (Johnson, 1981:p5-6).

Lack of productive and infrastructure become factor for poverty, underdevelopment in the economic nature, structure, lack of skills and law of

productivity because of traditional technologies service and production. The capital rises because of insufficient capacity. Human Resource development permit the economic growth and distribute income , resources and people give benefits to development process related with decision making and many groups or communities concentration towards development.

According to Rugene pusic analysed these two social economic concepts through energy and structure. The former is introduced mean such resources like employment health and income services etc. Structure defined building institution process and social strutting change and both interact with each other. The energy and structure term introduced level of social and economic development.

Identifying a research Problem:

Through this theoretical discussion with this research we know about importance of family in the earlier period and give encouragement women to take modern education or enter into modern occupation. It is very important to study other factors and emancipation of women to focus the Muslim women.

Through indicators know the advancement or main problem and measures of advancement in the educational level some graduates increase so its sign of progress.

In the family unity modern community intergenerational mobility was very useful and important . Through modernisation process changes in occupation by suddenly process in world anywhere.

By progressive ascendance compared income levels of father and son, applying logic not compared fathers and daughter life.

Advantages of comparing father and daughter:

- 1) It explains whether the daughter is fit for taking up modern occupation, after taking modern education.
- 2) Today's modern occupation demands women to step out of their house and take up jobs. It explains if family allows a girl to take up work outside the home.
- 3) If families are ready to accept the brides who are intended to work outside.
- 4) If shows interest of the girls to take higher and professional education, mental preparedness to work outside the house.

Taking into account all these points intergenerational mobility among Muslim girls, This study would be undertaken.

The main purpose of decision making process to change and development in the mass sharing or mass contribution etc. In the mass contribution for mass

development very popular and division making new concept in the domestic set up.

The social development used to balance the population in age and sex term or encourage and improve the human resources in various sectors or regions.

The relevance development consider with various vales, dimensions like distribution process, competition or competing self, collectively orientation, equality –inequality dimension related and interact with each other or its not fixed. The social groups cannot share or benefit to social economic development and also adopted the special measures arrangements or built up capability for decision and action.

Some of the fears expressed by parents in earlier studies if they were related to background of families, a comparative study of families should be made from the rural and urban background.

Thus present study or work attempts to carry research in this direction.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The objective of the review of relevant research literature is to identify salient theoretical, methodological and practical issues in the field and to assess the body of knowledge generated through social science research that has addressed itself to problems of overall development and social change. Most important of all, such a survey helps to find out areas of research where much attention has not been paid, though in changing times, that seems to be required. These studies are reviewed below in light of the frame of reference of this study. The attempt, far from comprehensive, due to constraints of time is made here to refer to only those researches that have helped us to understand reality in a better way and to analyze more meaningfully what has been observed.

In college and university libraries, one comes across scores of titles on topics like ‘Muslims in India, Muslim women in India, problems of women etc.’ Researchers all over the world do not seem to view the problematic of development studies in the same way as is evident from Bagchi’s observation, (1971: 351) ‘the older and more common approach to underdevelopment in terms of national and racial characteristics has now found a respectable garb in the theory that the ‘initial conditions’ of the underdeveloped countries were not right for sustained economic growth. This fails to recognize dialectical nature of the problem.’ It is quite understandable that, while problems of development are only ‘topics for research’ for European and American scholars, for Third World scholars they are not mere research problems. For them they are problems in real life situations awaiting solutions that may affect lives of millions of their countrymen and also the future of social sciences in academics.

As Third World countries adopted their respective paths and means of development, research scholars came forward to study and derive formulations, and to fit them into, the then existing theories or some others started from analyzing facts and postulate new theorems.

While taking a review of earlier literature published in connection with the topic selected for this research two main divisions had to be taken into account, namely, writings regarding position of Indian Muslims in general and that of Muslim women in India in particular; the other part relates to material on mobility in general, coming down to mobility in India and then narrowing down to intergenerational mobility studies.

These developments in research had some impact on methodological issues as well. As governments and people of various de-colonized nation-states tried new methods to implement their respective development programmes, innovation of new study methods was inevitable. Kaufman and others (1957:156-159) have proposed a 'research interpretation consisting of four activities or roles: (i) identifying practical problems in action programs, (ii) reformulating the problems as research topics or questions, (iii) conducting objective scientific research on identified problems, and (iv) interpreting the results of scientific study for application in action programs.

When one goes through a large heap of literature on Muslims in general or Muslim women in particular, one realizes that it can be broadly classified in three sections – in the first, describing woes and problems of Muslims in India and holding some other agency responsible for that, consequently asking others to do something to alleviate those problems; in the second, searching for causes of conditions of Muslims in traditions, attitudes and practices of Muslims themselves and therefore asking Muslims to adapt to changing situations; and the third section, which comprises of very few works, looking at problems in a broader perspective of universal values such as democracy, secularism, human rights and equality for all.

In this report important arguments supported by scientific observations and impartial view have been included and repetitive, somewhat partial writings have been avoided because their inclusion is not going to add to researcher's knowledge.

In order to understand today's conditions, the recent past must be studied so that roots of today's problems can be located there. In general, historical background of today's Indian scenario can be searched by going back in the British period. The nineteenth century India has gone through a lot of turmoil due to British conquest of India. It was not simply change in a ruler, it was primarily change in the way in which the ruler ruled. The earlier rulers did not bother themselves nor the subjects with foundations, ideology and philosophy of the ruler-ruled relationship; but the British broke that tradition and provided a vision to their subjects regarding how the rulers must rule and what the subjects should expect from the rulers.

As such, advent of the British is taken as the starting point when it comes to modernisation of traditions in India. In 1819 Raja Rammohan Roy presented the first memorandum to the then ruling East India Company asking to stop the practice of 'sati', prevalent among some sections of Hindus, by using power over Hindu priest class. That can be considered as beginning of modernisation of Hindu traditions. Gradually over a few decades, sati incidence reduced to a remarkable level though we are not sure whether it stopped altogether in a short time.

By establishing Brahma Samaj, Raja Rammohan Roy and others ushered a new era in Indian tradition, though it was seen as new era of Hindu tradition alone. The fruits of that movement became apparent by 1840s when Hindu thinkers started movements to overthrow many age-old practices which did not fit into modern way of looking towards the world. Taking 'English' education was one of the early adaptations and rethinking position of women in the society was the other important

modification Hindu social reformers gave importance to. In 1848, Jyotiba Phule, another social reformer started a school for girls in Pune followed by 5 more schools in the next two years. By 1860, one Gopal Joshi of Kalyan (near Mumbai) sent his wife Anandi to the USA for taking a degree in medicine from American university.

Hindu and Muslim traditions were criticised alike by the Christian priests and were questioned by educated followers of respective religions. Hindu thinkers like Raja Rammohan Roy, demanded some changes in the Hindu traditions while very few Muslims were in favour of changes in their respective traditions. The main aspects of debate focussed on position of women and that of the lower castes in Indian society.

The Modernist views on Muslim women were focussed on a few prominent aspects such as the lack of women's education, the practice of *purdah* and their discrimination within Muslim law. Modernists argued for the abolition of traditional gender roles, and a greater public role for Muslim women based on the principle of equal rights which required reform in Muslim law and therefore was taken as Western critique of Islam rather than a wider demand made irrespective of region, religion or other historical attributes. This social reform debate elicited differing responses from Muslims.

The modernist views regarding education for Muslim women were partially upheld but with a few contradictions by Muslim thinkers of nineteenth century India. Syed Ahmed Khan urged Muslims to gain a modern secular education. His Islamic Anglo-Oriental College was later to become Aligarh Muslim University. However, his vision of modern education for Muslims did not include women. According to this great Muslim social reformer, *'There could be no satisfactory education ... for Muhammedan [Muslim] females until a large number of Muhammedan males [had] received a sound education.'*(31) Mohammed Iqbal, the

renowned poet and philosopher, was also quite averse to the idea of female education. European suffragettes in his opinion were ‘superfluous women ... compelled to “conceive” ideas instead of children.’(32) The *ulema*’s (Muslim theologians who interpreted Qura’nic verses and the *Shari’a*) position on women was based on the orthodox Islamic tradition symbolized by the notion of women as *fitna* (potential disorder). Accordingly, women’s social interaction with men had to be regulated, which in effect translated into a control over female sexuality, and female seclusion from public; therefore, the *ulema* also favoured women’s education but only insofar as it centred on religion (i.e. the Qur’an), family values and the moral virtue of women.

The ‘Islamist’ view of women emerged in the early part of the twentieth century. It was based on the argument that Islam conferred a status on women which was superior to that of any other religion. One of its principal proponents, Maulana Abu ala Maududi, in his book *Purdah and the Status of Women in Islam* (1935), was exceedingly critical of what he considered to be the severely detrimental effects of ‘freedom’ on Western women and its irrelevance for all Muslim women. His critique was more of a diatribe against, what he felt, were the intrusive and damaging effects of Westernization, rather than being based on the real-life conditions of Muslim women in India.

The Islamist discourse was premised on a natural ‘Islamic order’ whereby women were inherently inferior to men. The public-private dichotomy was a structural feature of this ‘natural’ sexual hierarchy. Maududi ascribed ‘female inferiority’ to what he claimed was woman’s ‘essential’ nature, i.e. emotional, irrational and overly sensitive. 35 The principle of equality was considered reprehensible by Islamists; similarly, they were strongly opposed to the social intermingling of the sexes, and to any degree of autonomy for women.

Unlike the *ulema* who did not subscribe to any mental or intellectual difference between men and women, Islamists declared women incapable of learning or of producing knowledge. The Islamist order placed women strictly within the home, endorsed *pardah* and idealized domesticity; the only training women were deemed fit for was to facilitate their predestined role as good housewife.

This anti modernization trait of leaders of Muslim community was not restricted to education or gender aspect only; its repercussions in more mundane aspects like economic activities are also visible in ways more than one. Muslims under British rule gradually turned from rich to poor in general and lost a position which was superior in the economic field by way of trading houses, landownership, principalities and money lending business, agriculture etc. By 1947, Muslims in India were not among the wealthiest families with a few exceptional cases. Their share in controlling business was also very low as compared to their status in the early eighteenth century.

In the last century of British rule over undivided India, Muslims, more than 20 percent of the population, were under-represented in the most dynamic sectors of the economy. Very few of the leading moneylenders, bankers, industrialists, and traders were Muslim. In western India, the Muslim role in cotton production and shipping, two sectors that were expanding massively, was negligible. In eastern India, Muslims owned few tea plantations and processing enterprises, which had become major sources of wealth. On the eve of India's independence, Muslims owned only two of the country's 111 jute mills. Even in the Muslim-majority provinces of northern India, they were underrepresented among the owners and managers of major industrial and trading companies. (Talha, 83-88 Ahmad, 4-6; 3-5.)

Opinions differ as to why this process could happen in a period of say 8 – 10 decades of the nineteenth century. The causes sought by some scholars leading to this pattern have been a source of controversy. The factors commonly invoked include conservatism and insularity rooted in Islam, demoralization and self-imposed isolation after the decline of the Mughal Empire (usually taken to have started with the death of Aurangzeb in 1707), and British hiring policies biased against Muslims. (Khalidi, especially p. 14. Toynbee,. 200-03)

Even collectively, such factors, insofar as they mattered at all, fail to explain the observed historical pattern. Muslims played prominent, and in certain respects leading, roles in South Asian trade prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, and for centuries thereafter; they achieved these successes through remarkable creativity and flexibility. Indian Muslims also played major roles in India's trade with Southeast Asia and Central Asia.(Chaudhuri, 78-79, 88-89 , 151-152 and 155-158) Moreover, they played disproportionate roles in the production of textiles, handicrafts, armaments, and luxury goods; and most of India's leading engineers, architects, and physicians emerged from their ranks. (Umar, 15-18; and 27-33). Those successes, which spanned more than a millennium, make it unlikely that religious attitudes themselves account for the underperformance at issue here.

Were the demoralization thesis correct, it would have been evident in the Indian Ocean trade. Yet Muslims continued to be more active than Hindus throughout the eighteenth century. Muslim underperformance relative to Hindus is a phenomenon that dates from the nineteenth century, at least a century after Mughal power started to wane. In any case, there is no plausible mechanism through which an empire's decline can hamper private entrepreneurship for generations on end. As for the alleged British bias, it may have contributed to Muslim underrepresentation in the

government bureaucracy, which is a matter of record. The British certainly devalued Muslim-dominated professionals that symbolized Mughal rule, such as court poets and calligraphers. However, anti-Muslim British hiring policies would not necessarily account for Muslim under-representation in trade and industry. (Aziz, chap.14). Throughout the world, various minorities have excelled in commerce in the face of severe discrimination in government employment.

All such explanations that invoke attitudes based on religion or the machinations of non-Indians neglect two simple economic realities. First, the economic performance of a group depends on the institutions through which its members operate; and second, relative economic performance depends, in addition, on the economic institutions of the chosen reference groups. One cannot understand why Hindus have performed better than Muslims over the past two centuries without examining the differences in the institutions under which the two religious communities have conducted business. Although neither Muslims nor Hindus maintained a uniform set of practices, their capital pooling and inheritance practices tended to differ in ways that mattered increasingly in the course of economic modernization. Moreover, certain differences were accentuated under British rule, reducing Muslim incentives to take advantage of modern economic institutions. New organizational forms introduced by the British were adopted very disproportionately by Hindus.

An alternative theory has been proposed to explain the historical origins of Muslim under-representation in the management of large Indian firms can be found in inability of Muslims at large, to pool capital within large and durable enterprises capable of exploiting the new technologies of the industrial era. These difficulties were among the unintended consequences of Islamic institutions designed to spread wealth, circumvent inheritance regulations, and facilitate the provision of public goods. The Islamic

inheritance system, Islamic partnership rules, and Islamic trusts known as waqfs jointly limited Muslim participation in large and long-lasting enterprises, the hallmarks of a modern economy.

Prior to the arrival of the British, Indians pooled resources for commercial ventures through two institutions: the partnership and the joint-family enterprise. A partnership was formed by two or more individuals, not necessarily relatives, for a specified venture, and at the end of the venture, they split any profits according to a prenegotiated formula. (Mayne, 383-86). A joint-family enterprise pooled the resources of an extended family and exploited them indefinitely as a unit. Resources of the enterprise could be reallocated to new ventures without requiring a new contract. Equally important, the family could gain or lose members without affecting the continuity of its joint enterprise. (Derrett, 28-30 and 355)

If this was the case in the British period as argued here, it is clear that refusing to modern education of those times Muslims had insulated themselves from developing a capacity to join the changing economic systems, lagging behind other sections of Indian society. If the same logic is applied in the present situation, the Muslims have to ask themselves as to why they want to repeat history to their own disadvantage?

Any section of society can make progress if it adapts to changing external conditions and not by fighting against them on the basis of own insistence upon sticking to traditions of a distant past. Those other sections of Indian society which have made progress have not achieved so by demanding any special concessions or by turning their back to the tide, but by quickly adapting to the changing needs according to times. Not only India, many other nations have made spectacular economic development by addressing to changes in a positive manner. Similarly there are ample examples of smaller sections of societies and even countries which have not shown promptness in adapting to changing needs and are consequently leading to

economic crisis, Greece, Spain and Italy to name a few in the last 2 – 3 years.

2.1 Muslim women in pre independence period

Despite pressures of religious orthodoxies, social prejudice and class/gender bias, Muslim women at the start of the twentieth century successfully emerged from the isolation of traditional roles as self-aware individuals, determined to claim a greater role in public affairs. The theme of women's education was taken up by all communities including Muslims. This topic was first raised at the all-male Muslim Educational Congress in 1896 and in subsequent years there were vigorous attempts by Muslim women to lobby for women's education and entry in politics. In 1906, Sheikh Abdullah and his wife Wahid Jahan Begum established a separate school for girls at Aligarh. 'Purdahnashin Madarsa' – a school for girls in seclusion in Calcutta – was established in 1913; and the Begum of Bhopal also founded a girls' school in 1914. Muslim women began entering educational institutions for the first time.

Some colonial authorities sought to create the impression that Muslims were opposed to the idea of Western education and that Muslim women were prevented from being educated. Regional reviews of education, however, refuted such generalizations, pointing to the differing levels of Western education among Muslims, depending upon their socio-economic status. Large disparities existed in levels of Muslim female education, although these levels of participation were not conspicuously lower than among other Indian women.

Devoid of national or visionary leadership, political opportunism of Muslim males who claimed to represent the community combined with the failure of the state programmes to alleviate the socio-economic status of the Muslim women, left them economically and educationally improvised. The situation of women is further compounded with the fact

that there is lack of data on Muslim communities in India on socio-economic conditions, with very few studies on economic profiles [Kazi, S. (1999).].

Khan has stated that there are multiple causes responsible for bad condition of Muslim women particularly in northern and eastern parts India. Reasons are not exclusive and reflect the fused, overlapping and historical character of socio-cultural and economic life patterns of Indian society [Khan, Z. M. (2004).].

Roy looks into the status of Muslim women of North India in historical and sociological perspective. According to her Islam is the controlling vision of the world Muslim community and the Indian Muslims are no exception. Their behaviour patterns are determined by Islamic world-view and value-system [Roy, S. (1979).].

The situation is not good internationally also as according to Keddie in the Middle East, extreme economic necessities only force women to earn, as compared to Japan and Europe where situation is quite different for the women [Keddie, N. R. (2005). 3,].

While the progress of Muslim women's educational status was not ideal at this time, it was rising steadily. This was due to government initiatives as well as attempts within Muslim communities to promote female education. In 1916–26, the percentage of Muslim male and female pupils registered a rise in all regions. Noting this trend, the Memorandum of Progress in Education in British India 1916–26 commented that, 'the percentages for the Mohammedan community were more favourable than the percentages for all communities together, and even figures for Mohammedan girls alone did not fall below the figures for all classes for female pupils. Even at the collegiate and secondary stages, the proportion of Mohammedans has been well maintained'.

2.2 Post Independence

Independence of India cannot be understood without referring to emergence of Pakistan. Without going into political and other controversial issues related to birth of Pakistan as an Islamic nation, it can be safely stated that for those Muslims who did not migrate to Pakistan, initial few years were difficult to acclimatize with changed situation. The British were no doubt secular in treating both Hindu and Muslims in India, because they were outsiders and did not belong to any of these faiths.

Even after this, Muslims remained the largest minority in India as many of them remained in India, and only those areas that were Muslim majority, became Pakistan. The rejection of the two-nation theory by Indian leadership and declaring India to be a secular state also assured the Muslims of their safety and security in the land of their birth. Thus Muslims have a peculiar place in India and their presence is felt in almost all the major events and decisions of the country.

The independent Indian government which was secular but predominantly Hindu dominated and Western oriented, both the issues they perceived as unfriendly to Islamic religious thought if not hostile towards Islam. Moreover, those who did not migrate, constituted lower economic strata, who were already far behind in the process of modernization. Further, leadership went into the hands of clergy because the ruling Indian National Congress party believed that Muslim vote bank was controlled by them. Actually, because of this policy, clergy became stronger and tried to keep reins in their hands for the sake of religious and emotional issues rather than guiding the followers to mundane progressive path.

The condition of Muslims after independence depended on a)constitutional provisions, (b)practical efforts by state (c)response of

Muslim leadership and (d) efforts of citizens on their own. Let us examine in brief what happened on all these fronts.

2.3 Constitutional provisions

The Constitution of India intended to assure Muslims and other Minorities equality of status and opportunities with other citizens to accelerate the process of educational and socio-economic justice. The Constitution of India grants the right to Equality and Right to Freedom of Religion and Protection of Interests of Minorities in regard to educational rights. A number of constitutional provisions exist for protection and promotion of the interests of these minority groups.

a) Article 29 (1) & (2) of the Constitution grant citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script of culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same and no citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

b) Article 30 (1)& (2) grants right to all minorities, whether based on religion or language, to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice and the State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.

c) Article 1[350 A states it shall be the endeavour of every State and every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President of

India may issue such directions to any State as he/she considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities.

2.4 Political aspects of Muslims in India

The politics of Indian Muslims has many shades of interpretation. Political parties want 'vote banks' to support them at the time of elections. Intellectuals are more interested in academic debates and the common family members are more interested in finding out means and ways for making living more comfortable. By definition Muslims are 'minority' religious group in India and as such have become aware of their rights as 'minority'. In order to understand the nature of claims and demands of common Muslim, it is necessary to put in the broader perspective of this 'minority status'.

The question of minorities has been an important issue in the political discourse of India, even before its independence. The influence of western culture and political ideas, like liberty, equality, secularism and democracy, brought a wave of change in the thinking and practices of Indian society. This also effected the political movement for independence. The apprehensions of Muslims about their status as minorities in the future democratic set-up of independent India, was exploited by their leadership and led to the movement for a separate state for them, which ultimately resulted in the partitioning of the country into India and Pakistan.

Even after the partition of India, the problem of minorities did not cease to exist, as a sizeable number of Muslims remained in India. There are also other minorities such as Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Buddhists and Jains, but the Muslims are the major and most visible group among these minorities. Thus their presence has a lot of influence on the society, economy, culture, and politics of India.

2.5 Concept of Minority

The minorities can be defined as the groups that are held together by ties of common descent, language, or religious faith, and feel themselves different from other dominant groups within a political entity. The United Nations Sub-Committee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities defines the word minority as “only those non-dominant groups in a population, which possess and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of the population.”

In the light of the above definitions we can find three basic aspects of any minority status; numerical inferiority, non-dominant status, and stable features of distinctive identity. While the empowerment of a minority, especially of religious, linguistic and cultural minorities, the choice should wholly rest with the minority to adjust and change those identity features partly or wholly for reasons of its modernization and voluntary integration with the national and global mainstream.

Separation, too, often implies that the members of such a minority are excluded from taking a full share in the life of the society because they differ in certain ways from the dominant group- a situation that tends to develop attitudes of discrimination and prejudice towards the minority in question, attitudes that may also be assumed by other groups or minorities in the society. The minority itself is likely to respond with strong attitudes of group loyalty and to develop forms of behaviour that, by design or not, help to segregate its members still further from the rest of the society.

The sociological employment of the word ‘minority’ largely agrees with common usage in denoting a distinct, separate group of people who are different in certain easily recognized aspects from the majority. But the term ‘minority group’ implies rather more; for to a sociologist a social

group of any kind is an aggregate of people with defined aims and rules of behaviour and a sub-culture that publicly mark it off from the rest of the society. It is the use of particular forms of cultural behaviour, used as criteria or emblems that mark off a minority group from other types of groups.

The word minority denotes by implication a part of a larger whole, but a minority group in the sociological sense is not always a numerical minority of the population.

Some sociologists have referred to minority groups of distinctive national and cultural characteristics, while others have given greater emphasis to the subjective elements of national consciousness which might characterize minorities not distinguished from the rest of the population by obvious features of language, dress, habits, or physique. Without some easily recognizable characteristics associated with stereotyped traits, by both the minority and the majority, a minority is likely to be rapidly absorbed and lose its identity. The term minority is usually applied to groups when such absorption is resisted by either the minority itself or the majority of the population.

The issue of minority rights has become important with the rise of nation states. Minorities are expected to conform to the national ethos, which may not reflect their cultural orientation. Further, national policies on language, education and other cultural matters have also may lead to the devaluation and disintegration of minority culture. Under these circumstances special community rights are necessary both for countering the prevailing form of marginalization faced by minorities in the nation-state, and for preserving minority identities.

Another reason for the need of minority rights is the fallacy that democracy can protect the interests of minority groups. In its pure form, where it is defined as one in which everyone has a share, democracy may guarantee the rights of all the constituents of the society. However in the modern times in which representative democracy is in vogue, democracy is increasingly identified with majority rule. This situation requires special consideration for the protection of minorities' rights.

Neera Chandhoke exposes the vulnerability of the minorities in these words: "For majoritarianism is both morally unappealing and politically hazardous because it negated the basic principles of democratic life that each person counts equally". Further, she explains how majoritarianism is politically dangerous and writes: "One, the majority religious, linguistic, or ethnic groups' reveal impatience with the practices and belief systems of the minority groups. Two, these majority groups deny the legitimacy of minority identities, represent them either as subversive or harmful to something that is typed as national, and insist that such groups assimilate into the culture and the identity of majority, most often identified with and represented as the national."

2.5.1 History of Minority Rights

The history of rights for minorities can be traced back to the last decade of the nineteenth century when multinational states in Europe acknowledged the importance of special rights for minorities in addition to universal rights. For the first time, the Australian Constitutional Law of 1867 acknowledged under Article 19, that ethnic minorities have an absolute right to maintain and develop their nationality and their languages.

However, after the First World War, the emergence of multi-ethnic societies in Central and Eastern Europe, gave rise to the idea that law and convention should protect minorities in the polity which led to the

emergence of minority rights as a generalized principle of international jurisprudence.

In the emphasis of the post-Second World War period was shifted from group rights to individual rights, and it is suggested that basic human and democratic rights should prove sufficient to protect minorities. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was thus adopted without any provision on minority rights, despite the fact that the Sub-Commission had recommended this. Article 2 of the Declaration confined itself to stating that, "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

However it was in 1966 that the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights specifically incorporated protections of minorities. The recommendations of the UN Sub-Commission were incorporated in clause 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in the following words, "in those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language."

Article 26 of the Covenant provides that: "the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." After the advent of the British, the concept of democracy, as well as the related aspects of majority and minority groups, started emerging. Thus before independence, the consciousness of Muslims as a

minority developed and Muslims formed their political associations not only because of distinctive religious and cultural identity, but also because of the fear of majority rule in the event of the independence of India.

2.5.2 Perspectives on Minorities Question in India

On the political front there have been three major approaches in dealing with minorities in India. The first approach can be termed as the protectionist approach, which has been carried out by the dominant political party of India, the Congress.

The second approach considered identities based on religion as false identities and believes that the minorities should join the working class, which is in fact very close to them as compared to their economic conditions. The leftist thinkers subscribe to this ideology. According to Achin Vanayak, the secularization of society should precede secularization of polity, so that the people should come out of narrow communal identities and fight for their real emancipation. Thus, this approach completely rejects the identity of minorities and finds a solution to their problems in the larger struggle of the peasants, workers and the poor against the exploiters.

The third approach to the problem of minorities is that of the assimilation approach. This wants the minority groups to subscribe to the mainstream culture, and according to it the mainstream culture is nothing but the culture of the dominant group. In other words, the minorities should adopt the culture and philosophy of the majority group. If not, at least they should desist from all kinds of identities, symbols and rituals that are not to the liking of the majority or against their ideology. The culture of the dominant group is to be identified with the culture of the nation and is to be symbolic to nationalism. Thus this policy of the centrist parties, particularly the Congress party, so far as attending to the emotional issues

that guaranteed the support of the community in terms of electoral benefits, and neglecting their socioeconomic development, has only helped in strengthening the rightist parties in expanding their support base.

It is in this context that the role of National Commission for Minorities (NCM), which has the mandate to provide guidelines for the government policy towards minorities, has to be studied. The Commission was set up not only for the protection and monitoring of the various safeguards provided in the constitution for the minorities, but also to evaluate various programmes for the development of the minorities and also to suggest appropriate measures for their socioeconomic development. It is also the objective of the government to achieve national integration through the NCM by helping the minorities to become equal partners in the process of national development and also to get their legitimate grievances addressed through the Commission.

The National Commission for Minorities has a role to play by focusing on the substantial issues of the minorities. This will help the minorities in raising their standards of living and joining in the national mainstream, and will help the community to become equal partners in the process of nation building, rather than become the tools in the hands of narrow-minded leadership, which always fights for parochial issues.

The Ministry for Minority Affairs, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), and the National Commission for Minorities (NCM) are governmental bodies created to investigate allegations of religious and other forms of discrimination and make recommendations for redress to the relevant local or national government authorities. Although NHRC recommendations do not have the force of law, central and local authorities generally followed them. The NCM and NHRC intervened in several instances of communal tension, the enactment of "ant

conversion" legislation in several states, and incidents of harassment and violence against minorities.

The country established a National Commission for Minority Education Institutions that was empowered to resolve disputes and investigate complaints regarding violations of minority rights, including the right to establish and administer educational institutions.

Local authorities on occasion relied upon certain sections of the 150-year-old Indian Penal Code (IPC), which in general emphasize preserving social harmony rather than individual freedoms, to arrest persons engaged in religious activities. For example, IPC section 153A prohibits "promoting enmity between different groups on grounds of religion, race, place of birth, residence, language, and doing acts prejudicial to maintenance of harmony." IPC section 295A prohibits "deliberate and malicious acts, intended to outrage religious feelings or any class by insulting its religion or religious beliefs."

The country's law has several sections which prohibited hate speech and provided penalties for illustrations, speech, or writings that insult the religion or religious beliefs of any regional group, caste, or community.

2.6 Occupation and Muslim women

2.6.1 Education and Work

Islam secures women's rights in education and work. The Prophet responded positively and instantly to woman asking him to appoint a certain time to teach the Islam regularly. Some women reported the Prophet's traditions (rawiyat al'hadith). The historian Ibn Sa'd (d.835) compiled the biographies of more than 700 women who reported the Prophet's traditions. The male colleagues of these female scholars

accepted and respected them as al-Dhahabi (d. 1347) pointed out in his distinguished work on hadith reporting.

The well-known scholar of Prophet's traditions (hadith) and Muslim history Ibn 'Asakir (d. 1177) had more than 80 women among his teachers. The contemporary Maghribi scholar Abdel-Aziz bin Abdillah has provided a long list of women reporters of hadith in Maghrib only in one of his research papers.

Muslim women also made their contributions in various fields, such as: literature, arts and artistic crafts (e.g. fashion, decorated textiles and rugs, cuisine, perfumes, hair-dress, etc.), and sufism (e.g. famous poet Al-Khansa in early Islam, famous sufi Rabi'a d. 801). As early as the time of the Prophet, they accompanied men in the battlefield, where they treated the wounded, and participated sometimes in fighting the enemy when this became necessary. In Muslim Spain "Andalus", several women were famous as physicians in various specializations, including optometry and surgery.

The prominent commentator on the Quran, historian and jurist: al-Tabari (d. 923), as well as the outstanding jurist of al-Andalus Ibn-Hazm (d. 1064) stated that a women can be a judge if she is qualified for the position, and the Muslim history witnessed many women who were influential and/or occupied leading positions.

The Prophet's wife 'Aysha, expressed her critical views about Caliph Uthman's policies, and made a stand against Caliph Ali. She was know for her wide

20 knowledge in the Prophet's tradition, Islamic Law, poetry and medicine. Women played an important role in Ali's Army and among the rebels against him "*al-Khawarij*" as well.

A woman may not be interested in mining , working in the desert and isolated areas, or standing on scaffoldings in construction. This is a matter of convenience that has to be decided freely by women themselves, and their wishes have to be considered in planning educational programs and offering work opportunities.

A mutual understanding and cooperation between men and women can help outline the responsibilities of each in the family and the society. Arbitrary assumptions that support men's authoritarianism on the grounds of nature or religion are not convincing, and such views reflected often changeable cultural circumstances in given times and places, and could not provide a permanent and general rule based on the Islamic divine sources.

2.6.2 Development of Awareness

The distressing picture of men-woman relations in contemporary Muslim societies, which contradicts the teaching of Islam, is a concrete fact that cannot be denied. However, another positive fact that exists side by side, is that an awareness of the 31 essential and constructive role of women in the society to fulfill their Islamic responsibilities, is increasingly appreciated among Muslim men and women.

The divine guidance in the Quran and Sunna, and many positives in our intellectual and practical heritage, have increasingly inspired and generated new works that advocate the rights of Muslim women in the name of God and His message.

Day after day, Muslim are becoming more and more aware of the due distinction between the permanent teachings of the divine sources of Islam and the accumulated human ideas and practices that were influenced by the cultural and social circumstances in the Muslim societies, in the past and the present. Conceptual and behavioral progress is apparent now in

Muslim societies, which seems more keen to observe the divine teachings and abandon the human deviated customs in man-woman relations in the family and the society. Women's education and work in different fields have developed their personality, self-confidence and initiatives. An awareness of their Islamic rights and responsibilities has inspired many of them to be committed to the Islamic message of justice, peace and prosperity. These concrete developments have provided a support for the Muslim woman, stronger than any philosophical or legal argument. On the other hand, Muslim men have realized the social change and have become more inclined to deal with it. Muslims cannot reactivate their societies, secure a positive role in the contemporary world and get their message heard by all people, while a half of their population is suppressed or neglected. How can Muslims call universally for a divine justice, while they are missing or ignoring it among themselves, their homes and their communities?

Progress can be obviously noticed and hopefully it will continue and accelerate, benefiting Muslims in the first place, and then representing the message of Islam to the whole world appealingly.

2.6.3 Profile of Muslim Women In Various Trade And Commerce Related Activities-

Muslim women are overwhelmingly self-employed (engaged in home-based work) in India. Sewing, embroidery, *zari* work, *chikan* work, readymade garments, *agarbatti* rolling, *beedi* rolling are some of the occupations in which Muslim women workers are concentrated. There is high share of Muslim women workers engaged in self-employment activity like in own account worker in household enterprise 29.1% and employer in household enterprise 0.7% (higher than Hindus). As compared to all other socio religious groups, a much larger proportion of

Muslims (both men and women) work in self-owned proprietary enterprises. This is particularly so in urban areas. Participation of women workers in women-owned proprietary enterprises is significantly higher for Muslims (13.7%).

However, as enterprises of Muslim women are mainly home-based, they are typically engaged in sub contracted work with low levels of earnings. Clustering of Muslim women in home based work raises issues about spatial mobility and other work related constraints for them. Traditional barriers, in many cases, still prevent women from going out of their homes to work, limiting the scope of work women can undertake and they often get into very exploitative subcontracting relationships. Moreover, women with responsibility for household duties (including childcare), find it difficult to work outside their homes or areas of residence [9]. Participation of women Muslim workers in PSUs or with the government is the least among all socio religious groups both in urban and rural area. Muslim women are also significantly engaged in sectors like manufacturing (especially manufacture of tobacco products and manufacture of textiles and textile products like wearing apparel) and wholesale and retail trade as compared to Hindus and other groups. Among urban female workers also, the probability of undertaking regular work is the lowest for the Muslim workers.

As far as the occupation groups are concerned, compared to other socio religious groups Muslim females are engaged as sales workers, production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers .

Azim in her study “Muslim Women : Emerging Identity” points out that the Muslim community, in the name of religion, has developed certain notions about women’s employment, and shows that there is no inherent contradiction between the two. The study identifies education as one of the decisive factors in sensitizing Muslim men and women .

Muslim women are engaged in array of trades and commerce related activities, but they have many problems to face. Being women it is their dual responsibility, to take care of work and also at the same time they are expected to take care of their homes. For instance according to Littrell women artisan have to do daily work like prayer, stockpiling water, child care and other household tasks but if these things are taken care, than they can engage themselves in gainful activities such as trade or craft. Besides the household work, the women who work encounter economic exploitation like low wages. The plight of a Muslim woman can be judged by the case of Amina Huq, a Bengali Muslim *biri* worker, who faces discrimination in wage rates, on virtue of being a woman as discussed by Standing .

Abidi, in the case study based research of Muslim women weavers in a village of Eastern Uttar Pradesh, India draws attention on problems faced by Muslim women weavers in the home-based textile industry. The study concludes that women were engaged in weaving activity for 6 to 8 hours a day and at least 1 to 3 hours in winding process along with doing household chores like child care, animal husbandry, cooking for family, etc. Although women weavers carried out the whole responsibility of textile weaving, they did not get any important place in family like decision-making or power to spend money on their own. Their position in the textile industry is very low and the factors responsible for their backwardness are use of *purdah*, restrictions on outside moments, lack of education, marriage, procreation and capital deficiency among others.

Bhatt discusses the plight of women workers engaged in the embroidery work. She says that the traders are well aware of women's desperation to sell the embroidery work as they have no cushion to wait for a better price as ready cash is of unparalleled value in tough times. Worst still among the problems which women face like those working in the brick-kilns of

Bihar is sexual exploitation. Of course the problems discussed above are not Muslim centric only, but are faced by all the women, but as the present study is on the Muslim women, it is tried to focus on their issues only.

Wilkinson-Weber & Clare in their in depth study of *chikan* embroidery industry in Lucknow notes that Muslim women have very few job opportunities and embroidery work is their only source of income. For Muslim women traders that have female seclusion and sexual segregation practices, market ignorance prevails in this trade.

The work conditions of Muslim women are characterized by low income, poor work conditions, absence of toilet and crèche facilities, lack of social security benefits like health insurance and the absence of bargaining power. In several states home-based industry has virtually collapsed leaving poor Muslim women spiralling downwards to penury. The distinct pattern of Muslim women's employment in home-based work is in part due to discrimination in formal employment. In part, it is due to the vicious cycle of poverty, lack of education and technical skills, leading to low-skilled, low income work, and back again to poverty. Muslim women are unable to bargain for better work conditions because much of the work they do is sub-contracted. This restriction of mobility (based on social and cultural factors) restricts their employment opportunities and wages. They do not have independent access to credit facilities, opportunities for skill up-gradation, or access to markets. There is active discrimination in giving Muslim women credit facilities it was pointed out.

There is increasing ghettoisation of poor Muslims. This leads to the seclusion of home-based female workers, cutting them off from channels of communication and hindering their ability to organize into collectives. Many home-based workers are so low down in the assembly line of production that they operate entirely through middlemen and do not even know who their employer is. Muslim women have minimal participation

in Government micro-finance programmes such as Self Help Groups (SHGs), Watershed Programmes and Panchayati Raj Suwaj notes that Islamist ideologues are fond of citing the example of Khadija, Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) first wife, who was an accomplished businesswoman. She analyses that interest in Khadija and Muhammad's relationship is primarily for how it highlights "complimentary" roles, rather than equality or women business executives. Suwaj further points out the problem of Arab businesswomen in contemporary scenario is that today they would have to travel with *mahram* (male relative chaperone) on business; could not be alone in a room with the head of General Motors—on account of him being a male and a non-Muslim; she would require the consent of a male relative to travel. Ironically, if she were to enter into a commercial disputation with a male businessman, it appears her testimony would be worth only half of the man's in court. The Islamist vision thus curtails the potential of women executives and entrepreneurs according to her. People in Muslim community (especially women) belonging to well endowed households (e.g., large landowners), may not participate in the workforce because there is no compelling economic need to do so. Given the endowments if the work available is not of the kind which a person prefers, s/he may not work. These work preferences are a function of a variety of factors, social, cultural and economic. Moreover, non-availability of employment may result in situations that people (especially women) withdraw from the labour force, which is called "discouraged worker effect". The low aggregate work participation ratios for Muslims are essentially due to much lower participation in economic activity by women in the community.

Further we find that work participation rate for Muslim women is 25% as compared to upper-caste Hindu households, where there may be socio-cultural constraints to women's work. In rural areas, while about 70 percent of the Hindu women participate in the workforce only about 29

per cent of the Muslim women do so. The lower participation of women in rural areas is partly explained by the fact that Muslim households (and hence women) are less likely to be engaged in agriculture. The situations of WPRs for Muslim women in urban areas are even lower (18%), presumably because work opportunities for women within the household are very limited. Such opportunities may be somewhat higher in rural areas with ownership (though limited) of land making participation of Muslim women somewhat higher in these areas.

CONCLUSION

Wrapping up the present study the observation and review of relevant literature and studies conducted on Muslim women suggest that Islam as a philosophy per se is not against its women working or engaging themselves or contributing their worth in trade and commerce related activities. Many prominent Muslim women down the ages have been involved in various occupation and vocation which have allowed them to come out of their homes. Around the world they have had control over wealth, had proprietary control over their businesses, besides they were also employed in professions owned by others. Nevertheless due to the limitation of education and the societal pressures arising out of wrong interpretation of Islamic teachings, Muslim women in many societies have been discouraged to contribute to trade and commerce and allied areas leading to their low work participation rate (WPR). Even those women who out of economic necessities are working faced problems as they had to cater to the dual responsibilities of managing their work as well as managing their homes and other domestic responsibilities.

Additionally, Muslim women, not necessarily due to their religious affiliation but due to the fact that they being women are faced with discrimination vis-à-vis payment of wages, they not been able to connect

with formal channels of communication and marketing, thereby playing in the hands of middlemen who exploit the situation. Muslim women also do not get their due share of recognition for their efforts at societal and governmental level. Nonetheless the study also finds that in societies where Muslim women were able to assert themselves, they have got their proper due like for instances the female entrepreneurs of Moroccan and Turkish origins. Consequently there is a need of proper education in the Muslim society and empowerment efforts aimed at Muslim women so that they are able to excel in various trade and commerce activities and contribute their worth to the fullest. Recommendations on those lines are discussed below.

2.7 Sachar committee – survey, report and reactions.

A High-Level Committee was appointed by the Prime Minister under the chairmanship of Justice Rajindar Sachar, retired Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court, to study the ‘Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India’, on 9th of March 2005. The overall objective of the committee was to collect, collate, analyze data and prepare a report and submit the Report to the Prime Minister, which The Committee submitted in November 2006.

Being a democratic country, it is not a wonder that the report was received by as many critics as by admirers of the herculean task performed by the committee. Keeping aside political criticism, it is a must for any study on muslim women’s education and occupations to take cognizance of the Sachar committee report and academic criticism it invited by virtue of its shortcomings. It is worth noting here that all the criticism considered here is of strictly academic nature and the critics have welfare of Muslims as their top priority. The purpose of criticism is to bring out certain fallacies of logic in the report, some lacunae in collecting data and some confusing

interpretations of the data collected; so as to get a better picture of reality. No criticism aims at Muslims nor at any members of the committee including the chairman.

2.7.1 Sachar committee on educational status of Muslims in India

2.7.1.1 Levels of Literacy

The most commonly used estimate of literacy is available in the Census. Just about 65 % of India's population is literate.⁶ Literacy levels are expectedly higher for males than for females — 75.3% against 53.7%. Literacy is also higher in urban areas (79.9%) than in rural areas (58.7%). This gap of about 20 percentage points between rural and urban areas and across gender has been a persistent feature of Indian society over the last two decades despite the increase in literacy levels during this period.

A general analysis at the state level presents a better picture for Muslims. In as many as 10 out of the 21 selected states literacy rates among Muslims are higher than the state average. These include Jharkhand, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat.

2.7.1.2 Some Correlates of Educational Attainment

A variety of factors contribute to levels of educational attainment and economic status is likely to be an important one. This section analyses the role of economic status and then explores if SRC status affects educational attainment even after we control for economic status and other factors. Using the NSSO 61st Round data one can estimate GARs for poor and non-poor households for each SRC.²² Similar estimates can also be generated for those who are pursuing post-graduate studies. these estimates for persons in the age group 20-30 years; an age cohort in which people are likely to be engaged in higher education. Unemployment rates among graduates for each SRC are also presented. A few interesting patterns emerge: As expected, a much higher proportion of persons from

non-poor households have completed graduation than from poor households; less than 2% of poor persons in the 20-30 age group have completed graduation while more than 8% non-poor have done so. In both poor and non-poor households, GARs are much higher for the Hindu-Gen group than for the other SRCs.

Irrespective of economic status, GARs for the Muslims are somewhat higher than for SCs/STs but lower than for all other SRCs; other minorities and Hindu-OBCs do better than Muslims and SCs/STs but worse than Hindu-Gen. As a consequence, the share of SCs/STs and Muslims among graduates in both poor and non-poor households is much lower than their share in the population. However, among poor households the gap between GARs of Muslims and SCs/STs and those of other SRCs is much lower than among non-poor households.

The unemployment rates among graduates are higher among non-poor households than among poor households. This is consistent with the hypothesis that generally the poor cannot afford to remain unemployed and would typically accept whatever job offer comes their way. Non-poor, on the other hand, may be able to wait for a better job opportunity. In relative terms, while SC/ST graduates in both poor and non-poor households report the lowest unemployment rates, the unemployment rates among the Muslim graduates are the highest (although at times not very different from some of the other SRCs). Except in the case of Hindu-Gen (who have about 5 percentage point advantage over others), the share of persons pursuing post-graduate studies after completing graduation is more or less the same across SRCs for non-poor households. However, the percentage of graduates in poor households pursuing post-graduate studies is significantly lower for Muslims vis-à-vis other SRCs. Interestingly, this share is the highest for Hindu-Gen (29%) followed closely by SCs/STs (28%); the shares for OBCs (23%) and Muslims (16%) are much lower.

Thus, despite lower unemployment rates among graduates among SCs/STs, a larger percentage of SCs/STs in poor households tend to pursue post-graduate education as compared to poor Muslims who report much higher unemployment among graduates. Given relatively low costs of higher education in India, it is often argued that people (even the relatively poor) pursue post-graduate studies to 'postpone' unemployment. It is difficult to evaluate this argument with the available data. However, it is instructive to note incidence of low GARs among poor and non-poor Muslims and very low incidence of post-graduate studies among poor Muslims as compared to other SRCs.

Admittedly, policies of affirmative action need to be fine-tuned to take into account the 'deficits' faced by poor and non-poor Muslims in higher education. Given the role of economic status discussed above, the correlates of GARs need to be analysed further. An exploratory exercise was undertaken to assess if the probabilities of persons completing graduation differ significantly across SRCs after controlling for economic status, age, gender, rural/urban residence and location (state). This analysis based on the NSSO 61st Round data for persons aged 20-30 years, threw up some interesting results.(23)

As expected, the results show that economic status has a very large, positive and significant impact on GARs. Overall, other things being equal, the chances of completing graduation for persons belonging to Hindu-Gen category were significantly higher than for persons of all other SRCs. There were, however, differences across other (excluding Hindu-Gen) SRCs and for males and females in rural and urban areas. The probability of Muslims and SCs/STs completing graduation were similar but lower than for all other SRCs. While these differences were not significant in rural areas, especially for females, Muslims/SCs/STs had significantly lower chances of completing graduation than persons

belonging to OBCs and other minorities in urban areas. This was especially the case for males in urban areas. In other words, after controlling for other factors, as compared to other SRCs, being Muslim and SC/ST reduced the chances of completing graduation, especially in urban areas and for males.

The next relevant issue is whether the above-mentioned gaps are specific to graduate education or are a reflection of gaps that existed in earlier years of education. To explore this issue statistical analyses were undertaken around two more questions: (1) whether the probability of completing graduation differs significantly across SRCs if we consider only those persons who have completed higher secondary education - the minimum qualification for graduate studies; and (2) whether the chances of completing higher secondary education differ significantly across SRCs. From the perspective of the Muslim population two conclusions stand out: While the chances of eligible (those who have completed higher secondary education) Muslims completing graduate studies are still significantly lower than those of eligible Hindu-Gen persons, the gap narrows down. Besides, in many situations the chances of eligible Muslims completing graduate education are not very different from those for eligible OBCs and other minorities. In other words, once the Muslims cross the hurdle of the minimum qualification and are placed in the same situation in terms of location, economic status etc., differences between Muslims and other SRCs narrow down and are often not very different.

The chances of completing higher secondary education are the highest for Hindu-Gen and the lowest for Muslims in both rural and urban areas and for both males and females. Though marginally lower, higher secondary completion possibilities for Muslims are not significantly different from those of SCs and STs. However, the chances of completion for both these SRCs are significantly lower than those of other SRCs viz., Hindu-Gen,

Hindu-OBCs and other minorities. A comparison of the probability estimates for completion of higher secondary and graduation suggests that Muslims are at a much larger disadvantage at the higher secondary level. This presumably results in a much lower size of Muslim population eligible for higher education. The results of the analyses discussed above are still tentative but provide useful insights.

Broadly, these results combined with the analysis of the changes over time undertaken earlier suggests that while both Muslims and SCs/STs continue to have significant disadvantage vis-à-vis other SRCs, the pool of eligible population for higher education seems to be increasing faster for SCs/STs than for Muslims. These trends need to be probed further. Overall, this section reveals that though all the SRCs have been able to improve their status over time, the process has not been convergent. The gap between Muslims and 'All Others' has widened consistently at the all-India level and for all States -especially at the higher education levels. It is interesting to note that SCs/STs have been able to catch up with Muslims. This may be due to the targeting of SCs/STs households in special programmes that establish schools or improve infrastructure and provide incentives for enrolment. Job reservation, too, may have had an indirect effect, by providing the economic means to educate children and simultaneously increase the economic returns to education.

2.8 Some Concluding Observations

Relative deprivation in education of Muslims vis-à-vis other SRCs calls for a significant shift in the policy of the State, along with the creation of effective partnership with private and voluntary sectors. Given the vastness of the population to be served and the limited resources available with policy makers, the emphasis on provisioning of a minimum level of school education by the State seems justified. That does not mean,

however, that the State can withdraw from participation in higher levels of education.

The policy focus should be in those areas of education where private investment is not adequate to cover the weaker section of the population. While investment and effort from private and voluntary sectors could help in promoting convergence of educational levels of Muslims with that of other communities, the task remains essentially that of the State. Muslims have not been able to sufficiently reap the benefits of state intervention and growth in education. We first summarise the key findings so that areas of policy focus can be delineated. With regard to school education, the condition of Muslims is one of grave concern.

The data clearly indicate that while the overall levels of education in India, measured through various indicators, is still below universally acceptable standards, the educational status of the Muslim community in particular is a matter of great concern. Though the all-India literacy levels of Muslims are somewhat satisfactory, disaggregative analysis of state data, by place of residence and by gender, presents a less flattering picture of the status of Muslims. When alternative indicators of educational achievement, more representative of the progress made in education, are considered, a significant disparity between the status of Muslims and that of other SRCs (except SCs/STs) can be noted. For example, both the Mean Years of Schooling (MYS) and attendance levels of Muslims are low in absolute terms and in contrast to all SRCs except in some cases SCs/STs. In fact, in several contexts, SCs/STs are found to have overtaken Muslims. While there is a significant rural-urban differential, it was observed that the gap between Muslims and the other SRCs is generally higher in urban areas than in rural areas.

Similarly, though Muslim women have lower educational attainments than men, the gap with other SRCs is lower for women. Analysis of time trends

indicate that, despite overall improvement in educational status, the rate of progress has been the slowest for Muslims. In other words, while educational attainments of Muslims have improved over the years, it has done so at a more gradual pace than other SRCs, so that the expected convergence has not occurred. Instead, the gap between Muslims and advantaged sections has actually widened since Independence, and particularly since the 1980s. In fact, a steady divergence in the level of achievements has seen traditionally under-privileged SCs/STs catching up and overtaking Muslims in several contexts. The last point is of special importance as at the time of Independence, the socio-economic position of SCs/STs was recognized to be inferior to that of Muslims.

Apparently, Muslims have not been able to reap the benefits of planning and, while progressing through the operation of trickle down or percolation effect, have gradually slipped further and further behind other SRCs. Attainments at the graduation level and in technical education are low for all SRCs. Even at these low levels differences across SRCs exist and Muslims lag behind in both areas. That the share of Muslims is poorest in streams having brightest employment prospects is of special concern. This has serious long-term implications for the economic empowerment of the Community and consequently for economic development of the country.

Differentials in the attainment levels of SRCs become more apparent when lower levels of education are considered. The differences between SRCs become significant when attainments at the matriculation level onwards. One of the key reasons for the low participation of Muslims in higher education is their significantly low achievement level in higher secondary attainment rates. Muslims seem to have significant disadvantages vis-à-vis most SRCs in school completion rates. Once this hurdle is crossed and persons from the Community become eligible for

higher education, the gaps between their achievements and those of other SRCs (with similar eligibility) narrow down considerably. Moreover, the recent trends in enrolments and other educational attainments and Committee's interactions with the Muslim Community are adequate to dispel certain misconceptions and stereotypes with respect to education of Muslims. These need to be highlighted: Muslim parents are not averse to modern or mainstream education and to sending their children to the affordable Government schools. They do not necessarily prefer to send children to Madarsas.

Regular school education that is available to any other child in India is preferred by Muslims also. A section of Muslims also prefer education through the English medium, while some others would like the medium of instruction to be Urdu. The access to government schools for Muslim children is limited. There is also a common belief that Muslim parents feel that education is not important for girls and that it may instill a wrong set of values. Even if girls are enrolled, they are withdrawn at an early age to marry them off. This leads to a higher drop-out rate among Muslim girls.

Our interactions indicate that the problem may lie in non-availability of schools within easy reach for girls at lower levels of education, absence of girl's hostels, absence of female teachers and availability of scholarships as they move up the education ladder. It needs to be emphasized that the worth of mere literacy is low. Unlike literacy, education is a broad process that enables a person to adopt a rational and questioning attitude and facilitate the recognition of new opportunities. Education also involves retention and enhancement of these capabilities over a lifetime and the ability to transmit education to the next generation in order to generate the considerable spillover effects documented by social scientists. Therefore, a person must be enrolled into a system of education and remain there for

a minimum period in order to derive such benefits. The changes in educational patterns across SRCs suggest that SCs and STs have reaped at least some advantages of targeted government and private action supporting their educational progress. This reflects the importance of affirmative action. While the nature of affirmative action that is required needs to be assessed, a sharper focus on school education combined with more opportunities in higher education for Muslims seems desirable. Moreover, skill development initiatives for those who have not completed school education may also be particularly relevant for some section of Muslims given their occupational structure.

2.9 Identity and Gender

Many suggested that gender issues in the Community are also given a Muslim slant. To the exclusion of all other aspects of a Muslim woman's life (income, jobs, education, security and even caloric intake), the rules of marriage, right to divorce and maintenance have become the benchmarks of a gender-just existence. The obsessive focus on select cases of Muslim women passionately discussed in the media results in identifying the Muslim religion as the sole locus of in the Community. Consequently, the civil society and the State locate Muslim women's deprivation not in terms of the 'objective' reality of societal discrimination and faulty development policies, but in the religious-community space. This allows the State to shift the blame to the Community and to absolve itself of neglect.

Women in general are the torchbearers of community identity. So, when community identity is seen to be under siege, it naturally affects women in dramatic ways. Women, sometimes of their own volition, sometimes because of community pressure, adopt visible markers of community identity on their person and in their behaviour. Their lives, morality, and

movement in public spaces are under constant scrutiny and control. A gender-based fear of the 'public', experienced to some degree by all women, is magnified manifold in the case of Muslim women. The lines between 'safe' and 'unsafe spaces' become rigid.

The community and its women withdraw into the safety of familiar orthodoxies, reluctant to participate in the project of modernity, which threatens to blur community boundaries. It was said that for large number of Muslim women in India today, the only 'safe' space (both in terms of physical protection and in terms of protection of identity) is within the boundaries of home and community. Everything beyond the walls of the ghetto is seen as unsafe and hostile — markets, roads, lanes and public transport, schools and hospitals, police stations and government offices.

Interestingly though, in many meetings women participants emphasized that given appropriate opportunities to work and get educated, they would 'manage' all these issues. The 'identity crisis' combined with the apparent lack of commitment on the part of the Government often results in a perverse response even to well intended programmes. The fear of the Community with respect to accessing health programmes of the State is a case in point. The poor rate of success of the polio vaccination drive in Muslim majority areas is one such response arising out of the fear of an alleged plot to reduce the Muslim birth rate.

2.10 Worker Population Ratios and Unemployment Rates in India:

Broadly, WPRs (Worker population ratios/rates) provide an idea of the extent of participation in economic activity by a specific population. As mentioned, ability to find work is a function of assets (both physical and others) and opportunities of work available. Also persons (especially

women) belonging to well endowed households (e.g., large landowners), may not participate in the workforce because there is no compelling economic need to do so. Given the endowments if the work available is not of the kind which a person prefers, s/he may not work. These work preferences are a function of a variety of factors, social, cultural and economic. Moreover, non-availability of employment may result in situations that people (especially women) withdraw from the labour force. This is referred to in social science research as “discouraged worker effect”. Consequently, differences in WPRs reflect the differences in endowments as well as the nature and quantum of employment opportunities. And often these complex links are difficult to untangle. Unemployment rates (URs) reflect persons available for and seeking employment as a proportion of the labour force. In developing countries open unemployment (especially usual status) is typically found to be low. This is partly because a large number of the poor cannot afford to be unemployed and undertake whatever work comes their way. While they may not be “gainfully” employed, they do not report themselves as seeking work during an entire year. Therefore, daily status unemployment rates are preferred over usual status unemployment rates. Given these caveats, in this section we attempt to find out if the Muslim population differs significantly from other SRCs in economic participation and unemployment. Worker population ratios for Muslims are significantly lower than for all other SRCs in rural areas but only marginally lower in urban areas. The low aggregate work participation ratios for Muslims are essentially due to much lower participation in economic activity by women in the community; while they do not differ much for males in different communities. Interestingly, work participation rates for Muslim women is much lower than even that for women belonging to upper-caste Hindu households, where there may be socio-cultural constraints to women’s work. Overall, about 44 per cent of women in the prime age

group of 15-64 years in India participate in the workforce while about 85 per cent of men do so. However, on an average the workforce participation rate among Muslim women is only about 25 per cent.³ In rural areas, while about 70 per cent of the Hindu women participate in the workforce only about 29 per cent of the Muslim women do so. Even the upper caste Hindu women in rural areas have a higher participation rate which stands at 43 per cent. The lower participation of women in rural areas is partly explained by the fact that Muslim households (and hence women) are less likely to be engaged in agriculture. The WPRs for Muslim women in urban areas are even lower (18 percent), presumably because work opportunities for women within the household are very limited. Such opportunities may be somewhat higher in rural areas with ownership (though limited) of land making participation of Muslim women somewhat higher in these areas. One of the reasons for lower participation rates of Muslim women may be higher dependency rates due to relatively higher share of younger population in the community, resulting in women staying at home. We have seen in Chapter 3 that Muslim population is much younger than the total population. While 23 percent of the total population is below 10 years of age (that is, in the age range 0-9 years), 27 percent of the Muslim population falls in this range. Further, in the age group of 10- 14 years, there is an excess of two percentage points for the Muslims. This is a situation of large young-age dependency. However, the share of the elderly is not high both for the general population as well as the Muslim population. Thus, old age dependency is not high. What implication does the “young age dependency” have on the aggregate WPRs? Age specific WPRs show that participation rates are lower for Muslims in almost all the age groups for males and females, both in rural and urban areas. Therefore, “young age dependency” does not seem to be driving lower WPRs among Muslims. The daily status unemployment rates are generally not higher than 11 per

cent. Overall, unemployment rates are slightly higher for all Muslims (taken together), than for all Hindus but there are differences within each group. In general, within the Hindus, URs are lower for high caste Hindus than others especially the SC/ST population. unemployment rates among Muslims (male, female, rural and urban) are lower than SCs/STs but higher than Hindu-UCs. They are also higher than Hindu-OBCs except in urban areas.

2.11 Distribution of Workers by Activity Status

While WPRs provide an indication of the extent of participation of a community in economic activities, the activity status describes the capacity in which workers participate in these activities. For example, a worker may be self employed or an employee. Besides, s/he may work as an employee on salary or on a daily wage and so on. The data permits us to distinguish between the following types of activity statuses of workers: Self-employed in household enterprise as: Own account worker / Employer/Unpaid family worker Regular salaried/wage employee in: Public sector / Private sector Casual wage labour in: Public works / Other types of work While it is difficult to create a gradation of activity-status as the earnings across these categories may vary a great deal, one can safely say that within the selfemployed category, an employer is likely to be better off than the other two categories. Similarly, within employees, jobs providing regular salaries or wages would be preferred over wage based casual work. It is important to assess if Muslim workers are concentrated in specific type of activity statuses.

2.12 Concentration in Self-employment Related Activities

The most striking feature is the relatively high share of Muslim workers engaged in self-employment activity. This is particularly true in urban areas and for women workers. Taken together, the three self-employed categories constituted about 61 per cent of the total Muslim workforce as compared to about 55 per cent of the Hindu workers. In urban areas this share is 57 per cent for Muslims and 43 per cent for Hindus. Among women the share is as high as 73 per cent for Muslims and 60 per cent for Hindus. We shall see later that within self-employment, Muslims are less engaged in agriculture as compared to non-agricultural activity. Within the Muslim community, the reliance on self-employment is higher for OBCs (64 per cent) than for general Muslims (59 per cent) (See Chapter 10). Among the Hindus, while the reliance on self-employment is relatively very low for SCs/STs (43 per cent), it is much higher for OBCs (51 per cent) and Hindu-UCs (55 per cent). Given higher participation in self-employment related activities, availability of credit presumably is more critical for Muslims than for other SRCs. We shall revert to this issue in Chapter 6.

2.13 Low Participation in Salaried Jobs

As employees, Muslims generally work as casual labourers. As is the case of SC/ST workers, the participation of Muslim workers in salaried jobs (both in the public and the private sectors) is quite low. In the aggregate while 25 per cent of Hindu-UC workers are engaged in regular jobs, only about 13 per cent of Muslim workers are engaged in such jobs; the situation of SC/ST workers is no better. In fact, the dominance of casual work in the activity status profile of the SC/ST workers is quite stark with as many as 46 per cent workers in this group engaged in such work. Lack of access to regular jobs, especially in the public sector has been a general concern among the Muslim population. The estimates reported in bear out

this concern. As suggested above, the conditions of Muslims with respect to regular jobs do not seem very different from those of OBC and SC/ST Hindus when one compares the aggregate estimates and those for male and female workers separately. However, distribution by activity status of workers in *urban* areas brings out sharply that participation of Muslims in regular jobs is quite limited as compared to even the traditionally disadvantaged SCs/STs. Only about 27 per cent of the Muslim workers in urban areas are engaged in regular work while the share of such workers among SCs/STs, OBCs and Hindu-UC workers is 40, 36 and 49 per cent respectively (Figure 5.3). Regular workers can be located in smaller unorganized enterprises as well. Regular jobs in large enterprises, however, are more stable and lucrative. These jobs are generally coveted due to social security and other benefits. What proportion of regular workers in different SRCs work in government/ public sector and private/public limited companies? Less than 24 per cent of Muslim regular workers are employed in the public sector or in government jobs. This proportion is much higher for other SRCs; while about 39 per cent of the regular SC/ST workers are engaged in such jobs, the share for Hindu-UC and Hindu-OBC workers is 37 and 30 per cent respectively. The shares of regular jobs in the large private enterprises (private and public limited) shows a similar pattern with Muslims having the lowest share, save Hindu SC/ST workers. These differentials are sharper in urban areas with a relatively much lower proportion of Muslim workers engaged in such jobs. The situation is similar in rural areas but the differentials across SRCs are lower. The shares of male and female regular workers in public and large private sector jobs show similar pattern. Muslim workers have the lowest shares in these coveted jobs. The large participation in government jobs by SC/ST workers stands out. This is probably the effect of the positive discrimination policy of job reservation for these groups.

2.13.1 Employment in the Government and the Public Sector Undertakings

Low share of Muslims in the government/public sector also gets reflected in the data shared with the Committee by various government departments and public sector undertakings (PSUs). This is analyzed in greater detail in Chapter 9. Suffice it to mention here that in most of the departments and PSUs, the share of Muslim workers does not exceed 5 per cent. The data from State departments and state level PSUs shows a somewhat higher representation of Muslims than at the Central level. Detailed information however, reveals that while Muslim, OBC and SC/ST public sector employees have relatively higher concentration in lower level positions as compared to Hindu-UC workers whose participation in higher positions is more (see Chapter 9). Moreover, the data analyzed in Chapter 9 also shows that in none of the all-Indian civil service cadres, the share of Muslims

2.13.2 Distribution of Workers by Enterprise-Type and Location of Work

The last section showed that Muslim workers are concentrated in self-employed activities followed by casual labour and their participation in regular jobs, especially in the public/government sector, is very limited. This section provides information on the type of enterprises in which Muslim workers are concentrated. The 61st Round estimates permit us to define the following broad categories of enterprises: Proprietary (with male/female proprietors) Partnership (with members of the same households/or with others) Government/public sector Public/Private limited company Others While the government/public sector and public/private limited companies constitute the formal sector, the remaining categories constitutes the informal sector. Therefore, these categories give us the informal/formal distinction and also provide better

estimates of government employment. The estimates of regular jobs in the public sector referred to above did not include the casual work that is available in the government sector. In that sense, these estimates of government jobs are more inclusive.

2.13.2 Concentration in Informal Own Account Enterprises

Consistent with the earlier conclusion that Muslims have higher than average reliance on self-employment, the distribution of workers by enterprise type for different SRCs categories (Tables 5.5 and 5.6) show that a significantly larger proportion of Muslim workers are engaged in small proprietary enterprises and their participation in formal sector employment is significantly less than the national average. More specifically, the estimates bring out the following interesting facets of Muslim employment: As compared to all other SRCs, a much larger proportion of Muslims (both men and women) work in self-owned proprietary enterprises. This is particularly so in urban areas. Participation of women workers in women-owned proprietary enterprises are significantly higher for Muslims. This implies that the prevalence of own account enterprises run by women is higher among Muslims than in other SRCs. However, as enterprises of Muslim women are mainly home-based, they are typically engaged in sub contracted work with low levels of earnings⁶. Participation of Muslim workers in PSUs or with the government is the least among all SRCs. For example, among Muslim male workers, less than 6 are engaged in such work as against more than 10 per cent for all male workers and 13 per cent for all-Hindu male workers. Even the shares of OBC and SC/ST workers in such jobs are significantly higher than that for Muslims. Similar situation prevails for women workers and in both urban and rural areas. As compared to other SRCs, the participation of Muslim workers in the informal sector enterprises is much higher. For example, less than 8 per cent of Muslim

workers in urban areas are employed in the formal sector as compared to the national average of 21 per cent. The share of Hindu OBC and SC/ST workers in such jobs in urban areas is as high as 18 and 22 per cent respectively. The same pattern prevails for both male and female workers and in rural areas.

(6. See next sub-section for some estimates. Unni (2006) showed the same patterns using 55th (1999-2000) data. Her analysis also revealed that such women are typically located in poor households.)

2.13.3 Relatively Larger Focus on Home Based Work and Street Vending

The economic vulnerability of Muslim workers engaged in informal activities is highlighted when we look at the distribution of the workforce by location of work. The fact that a larger proportion of Muslim workers work in their own enterprises located in their homes is consistent with the relatively larger reliance of Muslim workers on self-employment, a feature that has been noted earlier. Two additional insights emerge from these data. One, the share of Muslim workers engaged in street vending (especially without any fixed location) is much higher than in other SRCs; more than 12 per cent of Muslim male workers are engaged in street vending as compared to the national average of less than 8 per cent. Two, the percentage of women Muslim workers undertaking work within their own homes is much larger (70 per cent) than for all workers (51 per cent). While the larger engagement in street vending highlights the higher vulnerability of Muslim workers, concentration of Muslim women in home based work raises issues about spatial mobility and other work related constraints that women face even today. Traditional barriers, in many cases, still prevent women from going out of their homes to work. This is particularly true of Muslim women but is also true for Hindu higher caste women. This also limits the scope of work women can

undertake and they often get into very exploitative subcontracting relationships. Moreover, women with responsibility for household duties (including childcare), find it difficult to work outside their homes or areas of residence.

2.13.4 Distribution of Workers by Industry Groups

We have seen so far that Muslim workers have a significantly higher concentration in informal self-employment based economic activity than other SRCs. The next issue that needs to be analyzed is if Muslim workers are concentrated in specific industry groups. Tables 5.9 and 5.10 provide the industrial distribution of workers for each SRCs, separately for male and female workers and for rural and urban areas. A few interesting differences between Muslim and other workers emerge (Figure 5.8): Participation of Muslim workers in agricultural activities is much lower than the workers of all other SRCs; less than 40 per cent of Muslim workers are engaged in agriculture as compared to about 58 per cent for all workers taken together. These differentials are higher among female workers (52 per cent, compared to 74 per cent) than male workers (36 per cent, compared to 50 per cent). Within the Hindu category, a much larger share of OBC and SC/ST workers are engaged in agriculture than the high-caste Hindus. While the share of Muslim workers engaged in agriculture is much lower than for other groups, their participation in manufacturing and trade (especially for males) is much higher than for other SRCs. Besides, their participation in construction work is also high. A more detailed exploration of employment in various industrial (nonagricultural) categories shows that as compared to other SRCs, the participation of Muslim workers is relatively higher in the following manufacturing industries:

(1) Manufacture of tobacco products (especially for Muslim female workers); and

(2) Manufacture of textiles and textile products like wearing apparel (especially for Muslim female workers); 8 In addition, the participation of Muslim male workers is somewhat higher than others in the manufacture of fabricated metal products (except machinery and equipment). Among non-manufacturing industries, land transport and retail trade (especially for males) are activities where a larger proportion of Muslim workers are located than workers of other SRCs. From the perspective of our analysis, two types of industry groups are important:

(1) Where a relatively large proportion of Muslim workers are located; and (2) where Muslim workers constitute a significant proportion of the total workers. Interestingly, three of the manufacturing segments identified above where the participation of Muslim workers is higher than in other SRCs are also the segments, where Muslims constitute a very high share of the segments' workforce. The shares of Muslims in the total workers engaged in the tobacco and textile/garment related industries are quite significant. The other industries where Muslims constitute a significant proportion of the workforce are: sale, repair and maintenance of motor vehicles and some segments of electrical machinery and apparatus manufacturing. Likewise, among the non-manufacturing segments wholesale & commission trade

2.13.5 Economy and Employment: Situating Muslims

In all these segments, the participation of OBC Muslims in the formal sector (including the public sector) is particularly low. Part of this data is discussed in.

Repair of personal and household goods was also an important segment where Muslims (especially for male workers) are concentrated. However, since this category of "manufacturing " is clubbed with one of the categories of "retail trade", it is not possible to get an exact estimate of the

share of Muslim workers engaged in this industry. But the share is likely to be insignificant.

More than 41 per cent of the male workers engaged in the manufacture of tobacco products are Muslims; the share of Muslims in women workers in this sector is about 35 per cent. Similarly, about 30 per cent of the male workers engaged in the manufacture of garments, wearing apparel etc. are Muslim; the corresponding per cent among women workers is 17 per cent. The share of Muslims in the workers engaged in textile industry is more than 21 and 28 per cent respectively for males and females.

Muslims constitute more than 26 per cent of the total workers in the sector.

More than 23 per cent of the male workers in this sector are Muslims. and retail trade has a large proportion of the Muslim workers, with about 22 percent of the male workers in this segment being Muslim .Obviously, given the concentration of Muslim workers in these segments makes the growth of these segments critical to them. Are the industries where Muslims are concentrated or where they have a significant share, growth oriented? It is difficult to answer this question because even within a narrowly defined industry group Muslims may be concentrated in specific niches which may not experience growth processes that are similar to the industry group as a whole. However, we attempt below a preliminary exercise to ascertain the growth orientation of the *manufacturing* industry groups that are important for Muslim workers.

2.13.6 Participation in Growth-Oriented Industries

A key dimension of the industrial distribution of the workforce is whether workers are concentrated in industries which are “declining” or those which are on the “high growth” path. Prima facie, location of a worker in that industry is most desirable where not only employment and output have been growing but there has been growth in productivity as well. In

the same vein, location in industries that have experienced limited or no growth in employment, output and productivity is least desirable. From the perspective of growth prospects of workers in different sectors, an assessment if Muslim workers are located in industries that have seen relatively high growth in recent years would be useful. High growth in output/value added in a sector provides positive growth impulses in the industry as a whole. A simultaneous growth of employment in these sectors ensures that the fruits of output growth percolate to the workers. However, employment at low levels of income in these sectors may not ensure overall wellbeing of the workers; this requires growth with increasing labour productivity or income per worker. In other words, the most desirable outcome is sectoral growth that generates quality employment. Following this broad argument, seven types of groups have been defined reflecting different patterns of growth. These in turn have been clubbed into three categories . usually an industry wherein value added is growing over time is considered to be a dynamic sector. By this criterion, the first four categories of industry groups (A1,A2, B1 & B2) can be considered as growth industries. However, if one gives greater importance to growth of productive employment, the first two industry groups (A1 & A2) can be considered the best in terms of productive employment potential, followed by the third and fourth (B1 & B2) industry groups. The remaining three groups of industries (C1, C2 & C3) with declining value added can be considered the non-growth performing industries. The categorization of sectors according to growth experience can be done both on the basis of the organized sector data as well estimates for the unorganized sector. Since a large part of Muslim workers are located in the informal sector, it makes sense to focus more on the growth based categories generated on the basis of unorganised sector data. Table 5.11 provides growth rates in the 1990s for value added, employment and labour productivity for the industry groups identified

important for the Muslims. The striking feature about these growth rates is that they are not stable and fluctuate a lot. Of the five sectors in Table 5.11, wearing apparel seems to be the only sector which has fared well in terms of growth in value added, employment and labour productivity during the entire period. Auto repair and maintenance is the other segment which has experienced simultaneous growth in value added, employment and productivity in the recent years but it did not do well in the early 1990s. Textiles have also experienced growth in value added and productivity in the late 1990s but employment growth has been negative. Tobacco products experienced growth in employment and value added during the same period but productivity has been on the decline. For electrical machinery, estimates are available only for the second half of the 1990s and the sector seems to be doing well. Overall, therefore, at the macro level, of the manufacturing sectors which are important for Muslims, wearing apparel, autorepair and electrical machinery seem to be segments where policy focus can bring in employment related dividends for the Muslim workers. Interestingly, these are also the sectors that have significant growth prospects in the economy as a whole. However, it needs to be reiterated once again that given the availability of information, we are not in the position to figure out the manufacturing sectors more precisely. And it is possible that even within these segments; Muslim workers may be concentrated in areas which have not experienced the same kind of growth impulses that get reflected in Table 5.11. *A more elaborate exercise to identify sectors where Muslims are concentrated is desirable* .While, policy focus on high growth sectors where Muslim workers are located is desirable, strategies through which Muslim workers can move from low to high growth sectors will also have to be thought of.

2.14 Participation in Security and Defence Related Activities

Participation of Muslims in security related activities is considered to be quite important with respect to the security concerns of the Community (see, Chapter 2). While it is very difficult to assess the participation of Muslims in security activities like the Police, the National Sample Survey provides data for workers engaged in “Public Order and Safety Activities” both at the state and the central government level.¹³ The available estimates show that the share of Muslims in these activities at the Central government level was only about 6 per cent, while that of the Hindu-UCs was 42 percent and both Hindu-SCs/STs and Hindu-OBCs had a share of 23 percent each. At the state level, the share of Muslims was a little higher at 7 per cent while the other categories (in the same order) had shares of 37, 21 and 26 per cent respectively. The NSSO also provides estimates of workers engaged in defense activities (code 75220). The share of Muslims in the defence workers was found to be only 4 percent while that of Hindu-SCs/STs (12 per cent), Hindu-OBCs (23 per cent) and Hindu-UC (52 per cent) was much higher. Additional data made available to the Committee also showed that the participation of Muslims in security related activities (e.g. Police) is much lower than their share in population (see Chapter 9 for details).

2.15 Distribution of Workers by Occupational Status

After identifying industrial sectors where participation of Muslim workers is high, the next step is to find out what work these workers do in these industries. Tables 5.13 and 5.12 provide the distribution of workers for each SRC by broad categories of occupations. A few significant differences stand out (also see Figure 5.9): The participation of Muslim workers in production related activities and transport equipment operation is much higher than in other SRCs. About 34 percent of Muslim (all)

workers are engaged in such occupations, as against 21 per cent for all workers and about 19 per cent for Hindu workers. Importantly, this pattern prevails for both male and female workers and in rural and urban areas. Sales work is the other occupation where the participation of Muslims is higher than other SRCs. More than 16 per cent of Muslim workers were engaged as sales workers, while the national average was only about 10 per cent and for Hindu workers it was about 9 percent. While the participation of Muslim workers was relatively higher in production and sales related occupations, their participation was relatively lower in professional, technical, clerical and to some extent in managerial work. This was particularly the case in urban areas. A more detailed analysis of the occupational profiles of different SRCs shows higher than average participation of Muslim workers in the following non-agricultural occupations (Appendix Table 5.4):

- (1) Merchants and shopkeepers (especially for males and in urban areas);
- (2) Sales persons and shop assistants (especially for males and in urban areas);
- (3) Tailors, dress makers and the like (especially for women in urban areas);
- (4) Transport equipment operators (especially for males and in urban areas);
- (5) Tobacco preparers and tobacco product makers (especially women);
- (6) Spinners, weaver, knitters and dyers (especially for males in urban area: and
- (7) Machinery fitters, assemblers and precision instrument makers (especially for males and in urban areas).

In addition, a relatively larger proportion of male workers in urban areas are engaged in carpentry related occupations and in bricklaying and construction work. Broadly, Muslims seem to be concentrated in their

traditional occupations. Their participation in the professional and managerial cadre is low. This economic division of labour based on SRCs has serious implications for the overall development of the national economy. Therefore, different policies may need to be invoked for different sectors to make workers engaged in them more productive.

2.16 Sachar Committee Report : A Review

2.16.1 Anees Chishti

This survey will start with a very well-studied detailed review by Mr. Anis Chisti – a well known authority on Muslim issues. To summarise his criticism, main points have been noted here.

1] The Committee has observed that identification of Urdu as a Muslim language and its politicisation has complicated matters. A worrying observation is that Muslims do not see education as necessarily translating into formal employment. And, many a time madrasas are the only educational option for Muslims. An important cause for the low level of attainment of Muslims in education is the dearth of facilities for teaching Urdu and other subjects through the medium of Urdu (mother tongue) in lower classes, the Committee points out. (Ref: SCR 2006. p.16), there are similar observations of the committee regarding participation of Muslims in higher and professional education. In making recommendations, the committee makes the following suggestions - Institutionalising evaluation procedures for textbooks, alternate admission criteria in regular universities and autonomous colleges; cost friendly reasonable hostel facilities for minority students as a priority; making teacher training oriented to ideals of pluralism; state-run Urdu medium schools for primary education in mother tongue; ensuring appointment of experts from minority community on interview panels and boards; linking madrasas with higher secondary schools facilitating shift of students who might opt

for a mainstream education system after a few years; recognition of degrees from madrasas for competitive examinations (a recommendation hard to find acceptance in any section of concerned quarters);

Mr. Chisti reacts to this as - Mr. Justice Sachar states (Ref: SCR 2006. p.16), community specific factor for low educational achievement is that Muslims do not see education as necessarily translating into formal employment. It is not clear as to what Mr. Justice Sachar wants to say. Whom is he blaming, the Government or Muslims themselves. i) It is for certain professions, higher education is required. For certain other professions, it is the skill that is required, with elementary education. ii) Some of the professions like Meat Business, Engraving, Tannery, crafts skills overtake education. iii) It should not be forgotten that in no country, everybody is given Governmental jobs. iv) Some persons select and specialize in certain professions. v) Boys of Marwari community, generally do not aspire to get first class first in the class. But their ingenuity lies in their business acumen. vi) In Northern India, Sikh Community has monopolized the transport Industry.

Mr. Justice Sachar's statements are lacking in clarity which is not expected of his position. i) Assuming there is no quality Governmental schools, is it the disadvantage for Muslims or or SCs, OBCs or general category also? ii) If there were special schools for SC & STs and different schools for Muslims, then they can have the grievance. iii) In India everybody is not attending Dehara Doon schools. iv) Not that all the pupils of Doon schools are becoming great persons. v) It should not be forgotten that our former president Dr.A.P.J.Abdul Kalaam was also educated in ordinary school. vi) The author of this article a Triple doctorate, had studied in a Municipal school. viii) Whether he is charging that only the Government schools existing in Muslim neighborhoods are merely centers of Low quality education for the poor and marginalized, or

his comments pertain to Governmental schools in general, is not clear. ix) Is he charging that the Government purposefully, is posting less number of teachers are posted in Governmental schools located in Muslim areas and more number of teachers in non-Muslim areas? Or Less number of teachers are posted in governmental schools, due to resource constraints, as such? In case this is the contention, then it is a common disadvantage. x) The government will always has a resource constraint, and to maintain teacher pupil ratio unlike in top public schools. It seems that if teacher pupil student ratio is high in Governmental schools, then they will drop out, if he can not go to private school is most unfounded and illogical statment. xi) By the same logic, if one does not get seat in Harvard, IIT, are not the students going for RECs and State and University Engineering colleges? xii) This shows the twist in the arguments of Mr.Justice Sachar or lack of analysis which is not expected from a person of his stature.

In the report it is stated “Muslim parents are not averse to mainstream education or to send their children to affordable Government Schools”. (Ref: SCR 2006. p. 85). At one place (Page-16) he mentions that Muslim parents do not want to send their children to Government Schools because of high teacher Pupil ratio. At other place (Page-85), he says that they are not averse to Government schools. Both the statements are contradicting each other. This shows that the report lacks in clarity, or written not seriously but with some ulterior motive.

In response to the charge that school text books are ‘communal’ in content, Mr. Chisti reacts - The following points are relevant in this connection. i) Mathematics is not a communal subject. ii) Hindi and English are not communal subjects. iii) Sciences are not communal subjects. iii) History deals with past, be it in respect of Muslims or Hindus or Buddhists or Sikhs, Christians. Some unsavory incidents happed whether one likes or not and this is a reality. iv) He is alleging the

communal content of the books. Does he refer to any particular period? v) India achieved independence in the year 1947. Was the content text books communal from the beginning or from a particular period? vi) On one hand he is talking of lack of education and on the other hand communal content of the books. vii) That means the pupil himself will decide as to what is communal? Rest of the pupils are not getting spoiled by studying the so called communal subjects and Madarsas are not communal. viii) Even the National song Vandemataram has become communal. ix) Since they do not want to study communal subjects, as per SCR, they study in Madarsas. x) SCR uses the word perverse three language formula. xi) A need has arisen for the authors of SCR to introspect on the statement that Governmental books are communal and Madarsa education is not communal.

Regarding Urdu as language of instruction not being taught at higher levels, Chisti warns that if the Urdu is made medium of instruction till higher levels, at the loss of English, muslim youth will suffer a setback in the global job market.

On the issue of 'proportionate representation' in houses, and in oather spheres of public participation, the committee raises questions like, "what is the relative share of Muslims in public & private sector employment? Does it vary across States and what is the pattern of the variations? Is the share in employment in proportion to their population in various States? If not what are the hurdles? (Ref: SCR 2006 P.3).

To such questions Mr. Chisti responds by quoting court orders on related issues as - Supreme Court (Ref: Indra Sawhney V. Govt. of India AIR 1993, page 490 & para 94A of page 565). clarified that "Adequate representation can not be read as proportional representation". The Court considered 50% divergence or deviation, to be satisfactory. The Full bench of AP High Court (Ref: Full Judgment of AP High Court 2005 WP

No. 13832/ 2005 on 5% reservation to Muslims. Page 147) held “Therefore, in our opinion, the State was not justified in including in the list of Backward Classes, castes or communities whose average of student population per thousand was slightly above, or very near, or just below the State average”. He further clarifies why “Adequate representation can not be read as proportional representation” by quoting, Now the question comes as to why the concept of proportional representation can not be accepted and adopted. Chisti responds to this by quoting a judgment by His Lordship Mr. Justice Kuldip Singh in case no. (AIR 1993 Page 448).

Mr. Chisti brings out one very pertinent point in connection with giving reservation on the basis of ‘caste’ as a unit for consideration rather than ‘religion’. Theoretically, the clerics find it difficult to accept that Muslims in India follow some form of caste like stratification because the scripture does not recognize any differentiation among followers of ‘Islam’ as faith, but in reality, the Sachar committee has noted that Census of 1901 had listed 133 social groups, “wholly or partially Muslim”, in India. Traditionally, they are broadly divided into two major categories – Ashraf - meaning noble and Ajlaf – meaning ‘degraded’ or commoner. The census also noted a third category of castes, namely, Arzal: “It consists of the very lowest castes, such as Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Abdal and Bedia.”

Mr. Chisti further clarifies that of those, 82 groups have been already included in the list of OBCs. As per notification on SC status, it can be given to castes belonging to Hindu religion alone. Therefore, a gross demand on the basis of ‘religion’ is out of question. He expresses astonishment on the suggestion from Sachar committee that ‘reservation should be given on ‘religious’ basis.

On economic participation front, the committee observes, “the low aggregate work participation ratios for Muslims are ‘essentially’ due to the

much lower participation in economic activity by the women of the community. Also, a large number of Muslim women who are engaged in work do so from their homes rather than in offices or factories. Their figure in this regard is 70 per cent compared to the general figure of 51 per cent". In Tamilnadu since 1872 and in Karnataka since 1874, a reservation policy was adopted by principalities in favour of Muslims in state employment, which was discontinued after independence.

Chisti asks, has the committee gone into reasons for that, such as a high share of Muslim workers in self-employment activity, especially in urban areas and in the case of women. Whether this trend is due to compulsion or their non-expectation for jobs in the government and formal sector, or due to their inclination for certain types of works that are done best under a self-employment scheme?

On the economic front, the Committee observes that liberalisation of the economy has resulted in displacement of Muslims from their traditional occupations, thus depriving them of their livelihood.

To this Chisti responds - The remedy for the travails of the Muslim community can be found largely by the community's bolder initiatives in the field of education that would empower them as nothing else would.

The author is one person, who believes that as Muslim brethren and sisters form part and parcel of the society, every body should get their due share. At the same time, no body should undue-share as this creates un-necessary cleavage in the society. Due to Political Expediency, the government and political parties, in the name of doing Social Justice to a particular caste/ community or religious groups, perpetuate injustice among the other communities.

On the front of health issues, Chisti raises very pertinent questions on negative attitude of Muslims towards health services provided by

government, which result into health hazards for the next generation. Opposition to polio vaccination is one such issue. Why does committee blame government for that? Chisti goes a step ahead and asks, “What are the educated Muslims doing?” Similarly, on the question of malnutrition of muslim mothers and infants, instead of making sufficient study, the committee has created a twisted picture in its report by making contradictory obseffvations. “Why Muslims should have advantage in child survival despite their lower levels of female schooling economic status is question that needs further exploration. (P. 38).

Since artisanship is a dominant activity among Muslims, technical training should be provided to even those who may not have completed schooling (P. 65). Certainly this is a good suggestion and in all fairness it deserves consideration.

The provision of education through Urdu medium is precarious in Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. (P. 81). Only SCs/ Sts have a marginally higher drop-out rate than Muslims. (P. 58) When education is free in Governmental schools, then why drop out? Then what is the size of the family in such cases? The details are not furnished.

2.16.2 Education of Muslim Girls

SCR mentions “While the education system appears to have given up on Muslim girls, the girls themselves have not given up on education (P. 19)”. It is not clear as to what the SCR would like to convey. This is a circumventive expression. The Report also mentions, “Perceptions of public security – partly associated with increasing incidence of communal violence – prevent parents from sending daughters to schools- located at a distance where they would use public transport. (P. 20)”. It is wondered as to whether basic logic exists in such type of statements. i) It is seen that

whenever communal riots take place, it will be more where Muslims are concentrated and not where Hindus are in majority be it Hyderabad or any other place. ii) Whenever communal violence erupts, no body sends their children to school, be it male or female, during that period. iii) Once the violence subsides, everybody will send their children again to school. For the so called brief periods, no body will stop their education. Krishnan 2007, Mr.Jutice Dalava Subrahmanyam 2007, stated that It is stated that Girls belonging to Labbis, Qureshis, Dhobis, Hajam/ Nai drop from schools because of social reasons. In any population the male : female will be more or less 1:1. Therefore if majority of the girl students drop from the school due to social reasons, then what naturally the percentage of educated drop outs in Muslims would he higher. In fact the same was the situation among the Hindus be it Brahmins, Khatriyas, Baniyas or Kammas or Reddys. The Girls after attaining womanhood were not pursuing school studies. Later on Renaissance and reformation have come and the attitude has changed among Hindus to a large extent and among Muslims to some extent. Enlightened persons like Mr.Jutice Sachar, should have advocated vociferously in this direction, rather than blaming the Government for everything.

After the perusal of the arguments regarding backwardness of Muslims and government being held responsible for that, Chisti says, “the following points, which are relevant, strike the mind.”

Banks give loans irrespective of the religion. They have certain guidelines and procedure to follow before giving the loans. The persons should have repaying capacity. Sureties are required. As far as Governments are concerned, some times they extend several facilities, which are irrespective of religion. For example Government of Andhra Pradesh has been giving Dwakra loans to women to earn their livelihood with 25 paisa interest. It is irrespective of the religion. The Government form time to

time waives loans in favour of weaver community. This is independent of the religion. In some cases, the Muslims come under the influence of Clergy, refuse to either pay or take interest, because Islam forbids it. Without charging interest, it is not possible for the banks to give loans. If cases are identical, and a Hindu gets a loan without sureties, whereas a Muslim does not get loan without sureties, certainly it should be looked into. Similarly if a Hindu gets loan with sureties whereas Muslim does not get even with sureties certainly this should be looked into.

It is expected that Mr. Sachar collects the data systematically and brings to the notice of the authorities concerned. This can be complained to the Minority commission or other authorities. Moreover, even among the Hindus also, not all the castes/ communities avail loan equally. For example Marwari Community who concentrate on business or Sikh Community who virtually control Transport business, avail more loans than other communities. In general business community avails more loans compared to salaried people. A particular business man of any community say Hindu may avail loan of several hundred crores. That does not mean, all the Hindus are availing loans.

In a conclusion Mr. Sachar, fitting to his stature is expected to collect the data scientifically, analyses the data and draw conclusions rather than making sweeping generalizations regarding loans.

Now the question arises as to who is in a better position. It is an undisputed fact that urban people enjoy more facilities when compared to rural people. On this account Muslims are better placed. It is not clear as to what Mr. Sachar wants to convey regarding urbanization

The author points out that for the Backwardness of the Certain Quarters of Muslims, Obscurantism is responsible for some of the ills, not the Government nor society at large. The suggestions of Mr. Justice Bilal

Nazki, should act as eye opener in that certain studies are required in this direction.

2.16.3 Other scholars on Sachar Committee report -

Dr. Nitish Sengupta (2008), writes about Sachar committee as follows. “The Sachar Committee Report, is disappointing both in the method of analysis and the way it collected the dubious statistics. A fundamental fact that has been ignored in that 95% elite Muslims in India, who largely depend upon jobs, went to Pakistan after partition. Those who stayed back in India were, by and large, the rural community self employed and service providers. A great majority of them, under the influence of powerful mullahs kept away from modern Education and in consequence, modern jobs and professions. Thus the figures for the Muslim percentage in Government jobs practically started from zero base. This point should have been mentioned in the report’s overall analysis. Its omission is a serious statistical error.

Prof. Imtiaz Hussain in Nitish Sengupta (2008), also thrashed the report on the grounds that it ignored the status of Muslims held in all the South India States and others like Gujarat and West Bengal. He pointed out that in all Southern States, than what is Sachar Report has made them to be. He questioned the statistics presented by the Sachar Committee in relation to the Census data which shows that the Muslims are better off in several states. Then again, the Committee conveniently ignored the fact that the social and economic position of a community does not necessarily depend upon the jobs that its members hold in the Government or the organized sector. If that had been the case, I am afraid the position of Parsees, to be extremely backward. The Sachar Committee’s Report completely ignored

that there is a much large number of self-employed people, tradesman and service providers among the Muslims who do not seek Government jobs.

Another area where it has gone completely wrong is in creating the impression that India's entire educational and economic system has gone out of way to exclude Muslims, whereas in actual fact, we have gone out our way to give placement to them. Whenever they merit selection. There are some serious errors, on the statistical front.

Buddadeb Bhattacharjee, Chief Minister of West Bengal, has pointed out that the report ignores the Muslim peasantry who benefited from the State's Land reforms programme. In so far as organized private sector is concerned, one point which has escaped the Committee's attention is that many of our business organizations are dominated by the caste system. Consequently, a company dominated by banias generally looks out for Banias. In that process too Muslims and minorities suffer as much as people belonging to other Hindu castes. This need not necessarily be an anti-Muslim bias.

Clearly, justice Sachar simply chose to ignore available evidence to make out that the Muslim community is not doing better than other communities. He should have taken into account examples like Azim Premji, Chariman of Wipro, the richest Corporate Indian. Habil Khorakiwala of Wockhardi, the Cipla Group, or for that matter, Habib Rahman, Chariman ITC Hotels, Israt Hussain, a top associate of Ratan Tata, and many others. He should also have objectively made a community-wise analysis of the employees of such successful enterprises like Azim Premji's Wipro. Is not merit main criterion for their recruitment? Does this amount to anti-Muslim bias? Or do successful Muslim industrialists reserve jobs for fellow Muslims irrespective of their merit? I also wish the Sachar Committee had taken into account the brass manufacturers and traders of Moradabad, the glass workers of Ferozabad,

the textile operator of Bhiwandi, the carper makers of Kashmir and the Zari workers of Varanasi. Sadly, these people do not find any mention in the Sachar Report which chose to concentrate only on certain levels of Government jobs and worked out the position of Muslims only on that account.

This is not at all. The Committee has not taken into account the overwhelming eminent position occupied by Muslims in Bollywood, including the fact that almost 50% of the top actors and actresses are Muslims, if not more. Does that smack of discrimination?

If the state is either depriving or discriminating Muslims, then only such reports are meaningful. On the other hand, if the community coming under the grip of clergy, is acting against its own interests, then there is no point in blaming any body.

In this context, some relevant passages from the article of **(Mr. M. Hasan Jowher 11 May 2003 14:42:26,0530)**

“Dr Mahathir Mohammed of Malaysia has repeatedly held Muslim obscurantism responsible for halting Muslim progress. Shockingly, he says, automobiles and even electricity were forbidden for some time. No wonder, the industrial revolution passed the community by.

My friend, unless there is a paradigm shift in our understanding and priorities little will change. When issues remain in the secular / social domain most people help. But when they are given religious colour, only the co-religionists [and only of your hue/caste] may help. Our problem is that we do not separate the religious from the secular domain, Huqooq-al-Lah from Huqooq-al-Ibad. And thus not only do we neglect some priority social reform but also lose on world goodwill. Hence my work is not about Islam. It is about Muslim empowerment. With honest introspection and scientific reasoning. The religious part is best left to the Ulema.

While we cultivate our paradise on earth, to the poor left behind we sermonize puritanical religiosity and the promise of the eternal heaven – as if misery on earth is the only route to the bliss of heaven. Collective myopia, mass hypocrisy and insensitivity to suffering are thus legitimized”.

INI Signal, The Muslim demography of India – Sachar Committee Report – (Kamalesh Dasgupta) (January 16, 2007 at 5:15 am)

“It is a necessary attempt to reflect the socio-economic status of Muslim in India. But it doesn't reflect the causes of this backwardness. I think there are some social and political reasons - The influence of Mullah on the Muslim society. Basic educational system is religion based, i.e, Madrasa. Historical reasons- Muslims did not attain any kind of renaissance. The political leader of our country do not have enough courage to take bold decisions for reformation of Muslim society in the name of communalism. The leaders of Muslim society don't want to break age old conservative ideas for their own vested interests.

Where the leaders are silent, the government should and must be come forward. When the reforms are not come from inside, it should be imposed from outside. Certainly there may be some problems in the beginning, but in long run, it is necessary not only for the entire nation - but for Muslim community also”.

It may be relevant to point out here that Obscurantism was present in Hindu Society also. But there was renaissance and reformation.

2.16.4 Abusaleh Shariff in Outlook

There is a need for durable changes, a recognition that deprivation amongst the minorities/Muslims exists due to systemic causes which can

be set right only through broad-based public policy initiatives, not just through special purpose vehicles such as the minority/Muslim-oriented programmes; in fact, it would be best to assist them to strive to access their share within the mainstream line of ministries, departments and programmes. India, through the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendment, has made a strong sociopolitical statement of its arrival as a mature democracy, championing multi-layered decentralised governance, sharing substantial powers and a national pool of resources with the states. Further, the enduring canons of governance and economic development are grounded in the principles of socialism, inclusiveness and secularism and fully conscious of regional imbalance.

2.16.5 Farah Naqvi in The Hindu

An Equal Opportunity Commission that protects only a chosen (albeit highly unequal) few. This contradiction in terms is the considered wisdom of a Group of Ministers (GoM), recently constituted to study the potentially seminal anti-discrimination measure. Only in India, where we excel in bursting forth with good ideas only to rapidly lose the plot, would someone propose an idea as critical as an Equal Opportunity Commission and proceed to kill it at birth with blatant inequality. The GoM's decision that an EOC should exist only for the minorities is bad for Muslims, bad for a secular polity and bad for all other deprived and discriminated groups.

The GoM's logic is worrisome. One, we are told that since the idea of an EOC emerged from the Sachar report, which looked at Muslims, the EOC must logically confine itself to the 'minorities'. This is like saying that if suggestions for vital legal reforms emanate from the experience of violence against Christians in Kandhamal, the legal provisions must be applied only to Christians or to Orissa, not to other groups who may suffer

mass targeted violence. It is both plain silly and blatantly unfair. The other logic is that an EOC covering discrimination against all groups would overlap with the roles of existing commissions — the National Commission for Minorities (NCM), the National Commission for Women, the National Commission for Scheduled Castes, the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, etc. Well, by that logic ‘minorities’ are covered by the NCM and so an EOC should be a non-starter. But if it is a good idea for the minorities because the existing NCM simply does not fulfil the mandate of providing legal redress for widespread, systemic discrimination, then surely it is a good idea for all.

2.16.6 Alka Pande

Talking of employment, the minority representatives pointed out that a large section of Muslim community comprises craftsmen but the government does not provide them any opportunity to excel and promote their crafts. "On the contrary, capitalists and industrialists are taking over various traditional crafts and arts and the artisans and craftsmen are becoming labourers who are working for these industrialists," said Shaista Amber, a woman social activist and the president of All India Muslim Women Personal Law Board.

2.16.7 Muslim Women in India : Seema Kazi

Submitted by kashif on Sun, 10/09/2005 - 23:50.

According to government reports, Muslim women are among the poorest, educationally disenfranchised, economically vulnerable, politically marginalized group in the country. In 1983, the Gopal Singh Committee instituted by the government, declared Muslims as a "backward" community in India. A central feature of this "backwardness" is their

exceedingly poor socio-economic status, particularly of Muslim women. Most Muslim women remain "invisible" workers in the informal economy.

The Muslim share in public employment is less than 3 per cent. Within this picture of marginalization, it is a predictable certainty that the corresponding figures for Muslim women are further skewed towards the bottom. A lack of information on Muslim women contributes to the reinforcement of cultural stereotypes, serving to obfuscate their life experiences and struggles. Consequently, the notion that Muslim women's status in India is attributable to certain intrinsic, immutable "Islamic" features or that their social status derives solely from Muslim laws, is widely prevalent.

On the other hand, the appropriation of Muslim women's issues by a vocal and politically influential male Muslim constituency for political purposes poses a considerable challenge to Muslim women's legal empowerment. This was highlighted during the Shah Bano case and the passage of the Muslim Women's Bill in 1986. In a context where the Shari'a is used to justify women's subordination, it is imperative for Muslim women in India to enter the discourse on the Shari'a with reference to personal law, and challenge their historic marginalization from religious knowledge. Furthermore, it is crucial for Muslims "women and men" to debate among themselves the possible reasons and remedies for their poor status as citizens of India.

Right-wing illiberalism, communal prejudice and intolerance of diversity bodes ill for all Indian women; in the case of Muslim women it heightens physical and economic insecurity, limits possibilities of renegotiating their status with Muslim men and precipitates Muslim militancy.

The acknowledgement of the universality of women's rights by the international community is relevant to the debate on Islam and women's

rights, particularly with reference to women's rights in the family. The formation of forums and associations of Muslim men and women's initiatives in the 1990s is an important step towards facilitating public debate on Muslim women's issues. Muslim women and men must collaborate with individuals and organizations who are committed to the realization of women's human rights. The alliance of Muslim women with the women's movement in India, as well as movements for secularism, democracy and human rights, are crucial for forging a common front against forces opposed to women's self-determination.

KOCHI: Chairman of the National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions (NCMEI) M.S.A. Siddiqui has called for urgent measures to arrest the backward trend found in the area of Muslim girls' education.

Inaugurating a seminar on 'Minority girls education in Kerala' organised jointly by the Committee on Girls Education, NCMEI, and MES College at Marampally here on Wednesday, Mr. Siddiqui said the literacy rate among Muslim women was 50.9 per cent according to the 2001 census. This was lower than the overall female literary rate of 53.67 per cent, he said. "However, the literacy rates of Christian and Sikh women are 76.19 per cent and 63.09 per cent. These figures are considerably higher than the national average. The gender-gap in the literacy rates within the Muslim community is the highest among the three largest minority communities, and it is higher in rural areas," he said and added that the social taboo on education was one of the reasons for the backwardness of Muslim girls. Mr. Siddiqui said taboos also feed on existing social reality, severely undermining the public mobility of girls in general.

2.16.7 Social stereotyping –

"Social stereotyping of the role of women and girls also creates unfavourable ground for girl's education," he said. Mr. Siddiqui said that

awareness had to be generated among the Muslim community about the importance of girls' education. "Parents have to come forward to avail themselves of the beneficial schemes that the government provides for the education of girl child," he said. Mr. Siddiqui said the commission had constituted a committee to promote education among minority girls by generating awareness within the community. It would act as a facilitator that developed a system of networking among various educational institutions and agencies working in this domain", he said.

2.16.8 Right to education for minority girls need attention Share:

by bobbyramakant | February 16, 2011 at 10:12 pm

The delegates attending a zonal seminar unanimously agreed that educational empowerment of Muslim women works as a potential mechanism which is a catalyst that will modernise the Muslim community in India. Most who attended were of the opinion that no society where women are subjugated and not allowed access to education can be called civilised. The denial of education to minority girls too was strongly criticised by educationists who encouraged the society to break traditional and orthodox control over education that denied Muslim women their right to education.

2.16.9 Dr Shabistan Gaffar,

Chairperson, Committee On Girls Education, Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD), Government of India, presided over the function and in a tete-e-tete with CNS stressed that it is very necessary to provide quality education to Muslim women. Saying that women participation is to the fullest must be ensured in minority girl education. She elaborated on the challenges that are faced by minority girls seeking education today where Gaffar felt, "The social tradition and misunderstanding that prevailed within the community regarding

education has prevented many minority girls from being educated. Poverty which is a huge deterrent for many Muslim girls to get access to higher education is also a problem that poses a challenge. Apart from that lack of accessibility to education is a huge set back as a result of poor infrastructure. There is a lack of hostels and senior secondary sections in many blocs and districts situated in the remotest areas of the country. All these issues further way lay efforts to provide education to minority girls."

Nevertheless apprehensions about madrasas following the stereotypes have not been unfounded. In that light would she still feel madarsas are a good platform to further the cause of education within the community?

To which Dr Shabistan Gaffar responds, "Yes that maybe but still I will strongly recommend that madrasas must be seen as a good option for imparting education for the community. There are many Ulemas running these institutions which have a very modern perception and attitude. Through these madrasas they have also helped modernise education they impart to their community keeping in mind the Islamic traditions as well. In my opinion armed with this new vision to help empower and educate the minority girls the madarsas can be very successful for girl education. Then we must not forget that Dr Rajendra Prasad and even former President APJ Kalam got their elementary education from madrasas as well. So why negate their relevance now?"

Lauding the government's step to bring in the Right To Education Act Gaffar says, "The involvement of inter-faith forums will help develop a synergy between the government and minority community to make the RTE useful for Girl Education. Again I feel that establishing madrasas in rural areas will also support reaching primary education to girls there through RTE. Basic education is the lifeline of education and denying that to girls will not be possible any longer. The government has not been able to reach the minority girls living in far flung areas, which calls for an

amendment in the RTE Act so that inclusion of the children of minority community in remote areas can also be covered."

2.17 Bygone purdah: Muslim women today

Mohammed Wajihuddin, TNN Jun 5, 2011, 02.25am IST

MUMBAI: It has become fashionable to write about Muslims, especially their women. And the more you show them as cattle chained to patriarchy and conservatism, the better. But one expects a government-sponsored report to be more objective. A section on women in the Maharashtra State Minorities Commission-sponsored recent report on the socio-economic and educational status of Muslims in Maharashtra is intriguingly against the changing lot of Muslim women. It suffers from several flaws. Although riddled with data and tables, it seems to have lost touch with changing times, blaming the much-maligned Muslim conservatism as a major roadblock in the path of Muslim women's education. Penned by Dr Abdul Shaban, an associate professor at the Centre for Development Studies of Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), the report, commissioned in 2009, was submitted to the minority commission two months ago. Its chapter on the status of women overlooks the changes sweeping across Muslim homes in the state. The report says: "A large section of Muslim women do not get an opportunity to enter the realm of the modern education because religious education is often preferred for them by their families."

2.18 Let us now turn attention to mobility studies

Mobilities research has taken seriously 'the material turn' and 'the spatial turn' in the social sciences. Influenced by social studies of science and technology, in particular actor-network theory and Bruno Latour's (Latour B (1987).) analyses of 'immutable' and 'mutable mobiles', mobilities theorists pay close attention to the infrastructures, technical objects,

prostheses and embodied practices that assist (or disable) mobility (Ashgate, 39–64 Parikka J (2010) Latour B (1993).).

Everything from shoes and bikes, mobile phones and motor vehicles, passports and satellites, software code and embedded sensors, are part of the sociotechnical assemblages or human/material hybrids that perform mobile systems and support specific mobility regimes (Dodge and Kitchin, 2011).

This is not to say that philosophical approaches are unified, as the field is still open to lively debate. While some writers focus on the relation between mobility and immobility, between movement and infrastructural moorings, and between speed and stillness, others critique these dualistic modes of thinking (Bissell, 2007; Bissell and Fuller, 2009 (Savage M (2009) Against epochalism: 217–238.).

The work of Gilles Deleuze has also been influential on thinking about assemblages, flows, circulations, and ‘media ecologies’ which are both social and natural, technical and informational, human and non-human (Fuller, 2005; Parikka, 2010 39–64. and Parikka J (2011).

Along with spatiality and materiality there is also a growing interest in temporalities. Temporalities of slowness, stillness, waiting and pauses, are all part of a wider sensuous geography of movement and dwelling in which human navigation of embodied, kinesthetic and sensory environments are crucial (Dant, 2004; Jensen, 2010; Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Thus mobilities research ranges from the individual body up to the most complex systems.

Building on **Georg Simmel’s** ideas of ‘urban metabolism’ and of mobility, i.e. of how they are legally and illegally crossed by people, by goods and by cultural flows. We can think of various kinds of ‘offshoring’ processes, moreover, as producing ‘states of exception’(Agamben, 1998),

where normal rules governing the mobility of people, capital, or information are suspended (along with certain rights' claims and forms of citizenship) to allow for particular kinds of global financial mobility and interregional commodity flows (Baldacchino, 2010; Sheller, 2009).

Forced migration and statelessness are also crucial dimensions of contemporary global (im)mobilities, whether due to war and occupation, or global warming and climate change (see special issue of *Mobilities* 6(3)). With an emphasis on the relations between mobilities and immobilities, scapes and moorings, movement and stillness (Hannam et al., 2006: 3), the frictions of differential mobilities are at the heart of recent mobilities research.

Differential capacities and potentials for mobility are analyzed via the concept of 'motility', defined as 'the manner in which an individual or group appropriates the field of possibilities relative to movement and uses them' (Kaufmann and Montulet, 2008: 45). A person may have a high degree of motility without actually moving (for example a well-connected professional who works from home), or they may be among the 'mobility pioneers' who live highly spatially distributed lives yet seek sameness everywhere (Kesselring and Vogl, 2008); while another may be involved in much physical displacement, but have low motility in terms of capacities, competencies and choices, especially if that movement is involuntary (for example someone caught in the grips of a human trafficker). Here one can also begin to conceptualize 'mobility capital' (Kaufmann et al., 2004) as the uneven distribution of these capacities and competencies, in relation to the surrounding physical, social and political affordances for movement (with the legal structures regulating who or what can and cannot move being crucial).

Uneven mobility capital is crucial to processes of globalization, effectively being created by particular forms of globalized demobilizations

and remobilizations (in the process of ongoing spatial fixes, temporal fixes and spatiotemporal fixes). Encompassing not only human mobility, but also the mobility of objects, information, images and capital, mobilities research thus includes study of the infrastructures, vehicles and software systems that enable physical travel and mobile communication to take place at many different scales simultaneously.

Systems of transportation and communication have been one important area of research. Sheller and Urry (2000) argued that sociology's view of urban life has failed to consider the overwhelming impact of the automobile in transforming the time-space scapes' of the modern urban/suburban dweller. A number of important studies of automobility (Merriman, 2007; Packer, 2008), historical geographies of road systems and bicycling (Furness, 2010; Merriman, 2009) and ethnomethodological studies of driving and passengering (Dant, 2004; Laurier, 2011; Laurier et al., 2008) have begun to address this lack.

Sociological theories on power, social change and mobility can reveal the potential power of individual business owners at the micro- and meso-level of analysis. Local government efforts to structurally change local town centres to encourage more use of public transport, cycling and walking is difficult when car use is an intrinsic part of urban life. However, a simplification of the urban transport impact on the local economy that does not feature individual businesses as potential change makers, could be unrealistic and risks alienating individual business thereby shaping resistance.

2.19 Empirical findings

In this regard, progress is best demonstrated by the establishment, in an increasingly refined form, of a series of empirical regularities that extend

across a relatively wide range of institutional and cultural contexts. Such progress has been most marked in the study of intergenerational mobility - again as in the case of conceptual and analytical developments - and has indeed occurred in close conjunction with the latter. Of the findings in question, the following could be reckoned most important.

(i) Endogenous mobility regimes - or patterns of relative mobility rates - show a high degree of temporal stability within national societies, often remaining only little changed over many decades (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992; Wong, 1994). Statistical models postulating constant relative rates over such time periods typically misclassify less than 5 per cent of all cases in standard mobility tables. The change that does occur is mostly non-directional in character - i.e. not uniformly towards more or less equal relative rates but where it is directional, it is more often towards more equal relative rates or, that is, towards increased rather than decreased fluidity (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992; Breen, ed.). However, in most national societies such increases in fluidity turn out to be limited to a particular period or birth cohort rather than being continuous.

(ii) Endogenous mobility regimes also show a notable degree of cross-national commonality, at least so far as the overall pattern of relative rates is concerned (Featherman et al., 1975; Grusky and Hauser, 1984; Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992: chs. 4 and 5). Claims of national 'exceptionalism' as regards unusually high (or low) levels of social fluidity or 'openness' are thus called into question. At the same time, though, the significant cross-national differences in endogenous mobility regimes that do exist can be more readily related to nationally-specific institutional or cultural factors or historical circumstances than to more general societal processes, such as industrialisation or modernisation, or to types of political regime (Erikson, 1990; Wong, 1990; Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992; Rijken, 1999).

(iii) As a corollary of (i) and (ii), variation in absolute mobility rates, which is often substantial both over time and cross-nationally, has to be attributed overwhelmingly to structural effects: i.e. to shifts in the distributions of populations over the levels of status or the occupational groups or classes in relation to which mobility is defined.

(iv) In all modern societies the most important factor mediating intergenerational mobility is individuals' educational attainment; other relevant individual characteristics, such as IQ or motivation, appear to operate to a large extent via educational attainment. However, no society has yet become a true 'meritocracy' in the sense that individuals' social origins and destinations are statistically independent once education - or IQ, motivation or other 'merit' variables - are controlled: a 'direct' effect of origins persists. (Marshall et al., 1997; Breen and Goldthorpe (1999, 2001). Moreover, the importance of education in mediating mobility does not steadily increase over time. On the one hand, the association between origins and educational attainment (controlling for the direct effects of educational expansion) weakens, if at all, only slowly (Blossfeld and Shavit eds. 1993); and, on the other hand, several recent national studies indicate that the association between education and destinations is itself now showing a tendency to weaken rather than to strengthen (Breen, ed., forthcoming).

(v) In the associations between origins, education and destinations, a significant interaction effect is regularly present (contrary to the assumption of linear and additive effects in standard path-analytic models). The association between origins and destinations tends to be weaker at higher educational levels than at lower (Hout, 1988; Breen and Jonsson, 2003; Vallet.); or, in an alternative interpretation, the association between educational attainment and destinations tends to be weaker for

individuals of more advantaged origins (Guzzo, 2002; cf. also Ishida et al., 1995).

It must be remembered here that, what is represented here is a set of fairly well established empirical regularities - not the expression of 'iron laws' of social mobility. Though in fact extensive, these regularities can then be expected to have their temporal and spatial limits. However, in the present context, there are two further features of the findings in question that call for emphasis.

First, these findings cannot be regarded as obvious or 'only to be expected', either in their already demonstrated range of applicability or in their actual substance. Second, far from these findings in some way deriving from the lay sociology of the members of the societies to which they relate, they are ones that could not conceivably have been arrived at other than through the specific procedures of sociologists studying social mobility. That is to say, what they are entirely dependent on are developments in techniques of data collection and in concepts and analysis of the kinds that I have previously noted.

Specific authors working in the above areas include the following. Firstly those who describe women's movement into active and visible self-employment (e.g. Bhowmik and Jhabvala, 1996) indicate that it is perceived as highly desirable among these women for them to validate their work by calling it micro-enterprise or a business. The economic activity of women as a special group is the focus of Gautum and Tripathi (2001) in their description of women managing goats. Gulati (1995) notes that women's economic and commercial activity in India is restricted by ongoing expectations that they will still also meet a wide range of family expectations. These difficulties, which women face in different ways, vary depending on whether they live as a daughter in the natal home, or as a wife in the marital home, or (rarely) independently (see Chatterjee, 1993;

Gibbons-Trikha, 2003). Whilst there is some state variation, notably in the far north and east of India where non-Hindu tribes are more predominant, there is considerable bias against women which links up labour-force inactivity with poor health and low education (Dunn, 1993; Swaminathan, 2002; Jejeebhoy and Sathar, 2001). Narasimhan (1999) goes onward to argue in favour of women organising themselves separately from men in order to resist patriarchy.

Deshpande and Deshpande argue that human capital theory explains why the gender pay gap observed in urban India is a vicious circle:

‘Asked why women invest less in their education and training, [economists] turn to the sexual division of labour which ascribes to women the role of housekeeper and to men that of the breadwinner. The sexual division of labour weakens women’s commitment to the labour market but it maximizes the welfare of the household. With their weak commitment, they choose, quite rationally, not to accumulate as much human capital as men do.’ (1993: 223).

However, Deshpande and Deshpande’s own data show that urban women working in the service industries earn as much or more than men of the same educational level if that level is secondary school, and that the gender pay gap falls as education rises (1993). Therefore the bald statements that are sometimes made, as illustrated above, need perhaps to be carefully reconsidered in the light of detailed evidence. Our further research will take up the wage-rate question in detail but so far we are just looking at work participation rates.

Kapadia looked closely at rural labouring and finds that women as well as men often form labour gangs in order to increase their bargaining power *vis a vis* the employers of casual labour (Kapadia 1996, 1997, 1999). Interviews in 1995 by Davuluri Venkateswarlu also show that women join contracting groups to do casual labour, preferring that to domestic labour and unpaid labour (verbatim transcripts provided to the authors). DaCorta

and Venkateswarlu (1999) argue that the feminisation of the rural agricultural labour force is not necessarily good for women but it is a strong trend. The variety of labouring contracts has been described in detail by Breman (2003) with respect to migrant labour and by Rogaly (1997) with respect to field labouring in north India. The bargaining power of the worker is influenced by a whole range of factors which critically affect the wage struck each day. Rogaly is one of the few researchers to have explored this phenomenon although Agarwal (1997) has theorised it with regard to women's work choices. A bargaining approach to the evolution of the gender pay gap might be a rich way of challenging neoclassical theory with a substantive alternative.

The use of statistical evidence to back up these theories has been prominent in the work of Swaminathan (2002), Agarwal (1994), and Srivastava (2003). These authors attribute the terrible overall outcomes experienced

In the interests of bridging the chasm between neoclassical economists and some feminists, our methodological pluralist research aims to mediate between schools of thought such as NHE vs. GAD.

When labour-force involvement is classified into employment, self-employment, unpaid family labour, inactivity, and other, we effectively study the labour-force involvement in a reductionist way at the 'individual' unit of analysis. A Marxist view on this augments both GAD and NHE by studying inter-household farm exploitation (e.g. Athreya *et al.*, 1991; Singh, 1995; Olsen and Mehta, 2005). Byres and other Marxists have argued that resources owned at household level under the current legal system must be taken into account.

For details of one fieldwork site in Andhra Pradesh in 1986-7 and 1995 see Olsen (1996) and the ESRC Data Set Study Number 3927 (see www.data-archive.ac.uk) respectively. There it was found that the labour

relations of merchant castes were particularly strongly gendered, since their womenfolk rarely, if ever, worked for anyone else. Brahmin women, too, rarely worked for pay at all and were rarely seen in the fields. However among the middle and lower castes, and among Muslim people who were 15% of the local population, work for pay was common for both men and women. The detailed study of caste allows occupational patterns to emerge as linked to small scale caste groups, such as Kshatriya (often landlords) and Chetties (merchants) as well as Kummaaris (potters, who are often small farmers as well as potters), Aacharyas (goldsmiths, who again are often doing farming with the menfolk also doing paid employment in banks as valuers), and so on. For a brief review of gendered aspects of caste and labouring see Raghuram (2001).

Jacob (2001: 7) shows that 26% of the urban female domestic workers did 'sewing, tailoring, etc.' (vs. 22% of rural female domestic workers). 13% of urban female domestic workers did 'tutoring of own children' (vs. 5% for rural female domestic workers), and 9% of the urban and 36% of the rural female domestic workers worked in a kitchen garden, did poultry work, or similar. Overall, urban women were more likely to be working purely as housewives than were rural women. This pattern may support Mies's claim that modernisation would imply a growing housewifisation (Mies, 1998, original 1989).

Going back in time, this *Report* shows both participation rates declining (*ibid.*), with men's rates falling from 87% in 1983 to 84% in 1999/2000 (a small decline). Women's rates fell from 44% in 1983 to 39% in 1999/2000 – a larger decline on a smaller base. The meanings of this decline are multiple depending on one's policy perspective. Some of the important meanings of withdrawing women from women's employment rates fall as caste status rises. It is also notable that rural and urban employment rates are very different. In both places however women do plenty of self-

employment. In rural areas this is mostly agricultural whereas in urban areas it is mainly informal-sector and small-scale manufacturing.

The tendency to have a job (including casual work) first falls with education moving from illiteracy toward middle levels, and then rises (results available from the authors). In other words both net and gross patterns showed a U curve. The rapid decline in rates of inactivity among both Hindu and Muslim women as they reach graduate status can be seen in Figure 1. Both Hindu and Muslim women tend to have a typical inverted U of labour-force participation over age-groups (Figure 2). Hindu and Muslim women's rates of labour-force participation are different across a wide spectrum of education levels excepting among graduates. We can test for the differences for other major religions, as done also in the *National Human Development Report*, but we would do this only in the context of detailed evidence about each religious grouping.

The education effects found in the regression indicated only weak support for the human capital theory of labour supply. The rise in labour supply only applied when we compared highly educated women to those in the middle levels of education. Below that there is an apparent perversity. Women of low education levels are more likely to work than those of middle levels. The causal mechanism behind this is a nexus of household-level poverty. We allowed for this in the regression by using a dummy variable for being in a poor household. Poor women are most likely to take casual paid work. Many Indians perceive poor women's employment as being a response to their household income crisis. It is seen as necessary drudgery for them from which housewives have been relieved.

We also find that poor households have a reduced tendency to have a woman working purely within the home (as a domestic worker or housewife), because the women in these households tend to go out for employment. Many of these poor women have a double burden of

domestic and paid work or even a triple burden of domestic, farming and paid work.

Poverty (in this sense) is far more prevalent among the rural scheduled castes and scheduled tribes than in other parts of the population.

We find that people whose work as tenant farmers are less likely to be employed and more likely to be self-employed themselves.

We also find that poor households have a reduced tendency to have a woman working purely within the home (as a domestic worker or housewife), because the women in these households tend to go out for employment. Many of these poor women have a double burden of domestic and paid work or even a triple burden of domestic, farming and paid work.

A third warranted argument is much more controversial. Those households which pull themselves out of poverty are more likely to withdraw the woman (or to have her choose to withdraw herself) from the labour market. Women's withdrawal from employment can be an elegant yet silent testimony to the couple's economic success.

These patterns cut across castes and religious groupings. The irony of the high-status women often being made invisible via social norms only increases the social distance between them and the poor or low-status women. The norms for different groups of women are quite different and so what a woman 'chooses' is couched in her specific context, her economic / political / caste / religion / lineage and locality as well as her marital status and whether she has borne children. Because of this differentiation it is dangerous to generalise.

They argue that deferential and excessively private roles are bad for women. By listing them, we enable readers to consider the pros and cons

of the U curve situation rather systematically. Dependency of most wives on a male breadwinner and his family's property. Low bargaining power of women so that they cannot easily exit, or threaten to exit, a marital home even if there is alcoholism, an affair, or domestic violence (Agarwal, 1997). The woman who has neither job nor self-employment can, at times, be isolated and lose confidence (Srivastava, 2003; Jejeebhoy and Sathar, 2001). Poor educational outcomes of girls (Swaminathan, 2002). Women fall behind in their knowledge of their own profession or occupation. Ultimately in this context women are often seen in a diminutive, degraded, and denigrated light. Their work is seen as 'helping' work even if it would be classified as 'employment' or 'self-employment' if done by a man. Women who are not in relationships are seen as exceptional, threatening, odd and often mentally unstable (documented by Gibbons-Thrika, 2003). Sexual harassment of working women goes hand in hand with the patronisation of non-working women. The earnings of girls and women may be seen as 'pin money', as temporary, as nonessential.

The paper has described a complex situation in which a U curve of women's employment by education levels is caused by a mixture of economic and cultural factors.

The U curve was explored in some detail using statistical evidence. The paper ended with a list of the felt advantages and disadvantages of women working as housewives – the typical scenario at the bottom of the U among middle-educated women. The standard norms for housewives are adapted for poor women, who often have a double or triple burden of work, and for rich women who can employ others to assist them whilst still being the manager of a household. Great heterogeneity among women is therefore noted. One hopes that a diversification of values (especially about men and women doing domestic work) and a serious ethical discussion of the morality of patriarchy can be based on this kind of

overview study. We cited many authors who have engaged in this serious discussion but we also note that the situation appears to be getting worse instead of better in India since its economic liberalisation around 1991.

Virtually not much is known about the social and economic status of Muslim women. Those few which have been undertaken with the result that there is little understanding of the specific factors that keep a large population in poverty and subordination. This gap is most evident in census. Disaggregated community data are collected by census enumerators. They are not accessible to the public, they remain unpublished thus outside the public domain. The National Council of Applied Economic Research's (NCAER) rural survey of 1999 is the significant exception but its scope is limited to the conventional census categories of literacy, educational level work and fertility and so on. The National family Health survey in their sampling of 90000 household extended their enquiry to include data on autonomy, contraception, exposure to media and violence. Similarly women's Research and Action group's study of 15000 Muslim women, eliciting information on their response to Muslim personal law is an important addition to our knowledge. They have really made a contribution to closing the information gap and demystifying widely held assumption about the conservatism and imagined backwardness of the community. Zoya Hasan and Ritu Menon in their book *Unequal Citizen: A study of Muslim Women in India*, carried out a survey in 40 districts spread across 12 states on both Hindu and Muslim women (80% Muslim and 20% Hindu women) for a better understanding and comparative work available to us. But in the micro study of a city like Pune the present study assumes significance as possibly the first of its kind to address and assess the existential, lived reality of Muslim women's lives in all its diversity.

There are two schools of thought regarding the Muslims' backwardness in economic as well as in education. One of them suggests that the Muslims' backwardness is due to discriminatory policies adopted by successive Indian governments while the other is of the opinion that the Muslims themselves are responsible for that as they have kept themselves aloof from modern scientific education and are firmly attached with the madrasa education e.g. religious education (Ahmad, Ausaf ; 1980,231).

According to Asghar Ali Engineer, a prominent Indian Muslim scholar and author of a number of books on Indian Muslims says that both the opinions have some weight. He further maintains that "discrimination against the Indian Muslims is an established fact and Muslims' aloofness from modern and secular education does exist as well but the reason is not on religious ground but due to lack of financial resources" (Engineer, 2006, 16-17).

In this regard some ideas have been floated by Asghar Ali Engineer to improve the educational status of the Muslims, which runs as:

- A crash literacy program to be devised in order to both formal as well as informal instruction could be advanced amongst the backward classes of the Indian society including the Muslims.
- Gradual increase of facility of higher education starting new educational institutions.
- "Provide poly technical school both for male and female in areas where sizeable Muslims are residing."

If above stated suggestions and recommendations to be brought under practice the Muslims' situation in the areas of economics, politics or education could positively be changed. In this regard political will of the Indian government and positive social attitude of the Hindu militant/ extremist groups can play a significant role on the one hand and the

Muslims themselves must do their best for their own uplift on the other hand. Otherwise, the Muslims' fortune could never be altered in existing milieu.

Hence, mobility is proposed as a key concept for a reorientation of social theory that transcends the nation-state framed concept of "society". Urry (2000b).

Not surprisingly, mobility is also a highly contested issue in both social and urban terms. This is obvious, especially if mobility is thought of in terms of power, a context in which the legitimacy of such power is immediately, and significantly, questioned. But one could also ask, in more general terms, how and in which ways mobilities are justified and criticised.

In this essay we sketch a way of dealing with such questions by integrating them into the regimes of justification presented by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot (1991, 2000) and Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello (1999). We find their idea of a plurality of different and mutually contesting regimes of justification mobilised in public disputes convincing, and suggest that they also provide a fruitful framework to discuss the dynamics of public disputes about mobility and urbanity.

Four points to start with: Firstly, mobility is not a universal phenomenon. It is not, so to say, a human condition. As Bauman argues, mobility differentiates the human condition rather than unifying it. Whereas increasing mobility can bring liberation in one social topology, it can create hell in another.

See Bauman (especially 1998 and 2000)

Secondly, mobility is a relational concept. As Virilio puts it, "[s]peed is not a phenomenon, it is the relationship between phenomena". Virilio (1995: 140).

Thirdly, there is not a single type of mobility. Following Virilio (1995) again, we can operate with three kinds of mobility. These are related: firstly, to transportation; secondly, to transmission, that is, to the information and communication networks; and thirdly, to what Virilio calls “transplant”, that is, to internalisation of technology in the human body like in the case of cyborg technologies. But, crucially, in all these three forms, mobility is a paradoxical concept. Taken to their extremes, all three forms of mobility result in *inertia*. Virilio (1994 and 1995).

There is a fourth form of mobility, which has nothing to do with physical movement. In this context Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of “nomadism” is particularly interesting. Nomadism is associated with a particular sort of mobility, which is not linear, that is, directed from a fixed point to another, but which “deviates to a minimum extent”; the opposition between the Nomad and the non-Nomad is not that of the mobile and the immobile. The opposition is between speed and movement. Speed means, above all, a *deviation*, however slowly from fixation and linear movement. It is thus by speed, and not necessarily by physical movement, Deleuze and Guattari’s “nomadic space” is constructed. See Deleuze & Guattari (1987: 371).

And further, we think of mobility in terms of power and justification. Indeed, mobility seems to be the most important factor of power and stratification today. See Bauman (1998 and 2000) in this context. Power is basically about the capacity of action at a distance. As Luc Boltanski suggests, “action at a distance” is the “very attribute which describes in the most concise and striking fashion the intuitive content of the idea of *power*”. Mobility is what makes action at a distance possible.

If mobility is related to power, then, of course, it is also related to justification and critique. Power needs legitimation (justification) and legitimation can be delegitimized by critique. But in what sense is

mobility related to justification and critique? This question is central for our argument. Our point of departure here is that critique is based on justification. Justifications can only be criticised on the basis of other justifications. In order to understand critique we therefore need to understand how we justify. Boltanski & Thévenot (2000: 364). We need to investigate how different forms of critique (on mobility) are grounded

People engaged in public dispute and critique refer to different *regimes* or *worlds of justification*, each with their own criteria of validity and internal consistency. Such regimes of justification make it possible for situated actors to engage in disputes with others on the “common good”. Regimes of justification do not have a normative connotation in the sense of the telos of communicative rationality in Habermas’ understanding. Rather, they establish different registers of grandeur and of denunciation to be employed in disputes. Neither do they imply a search for Boltanski (1999: 67-8). “The dynamics of each regime exhibits the link between the capture of a relevant reality and the outline of some good... the good is a common good, which rests ultimately on the assumption of common humanity” (Wagner 2000: 347-8). See Wagner (2000: 347, 354f). consensus. Consensus is possible only within a given regime of justification – across different regimes only compromise is achievable.

Boltanski and Thévenot register 6 different regimes of justification in their 1991 study. These are the regimes of inspiration, opinion, domesticity, civility, market, and industry. Each regime is based on “a principle of equivalence” “that enables ... *apparently* distant conditions to be brought together”. Likewise, each regime of justification engages a definition of humanity and a set of overarching principles in relation to the “common good”. Hence, the principle of “equivalence is not related to different groups ... but to different situations”. Furthermore, they are not only interested in knowing what is happening *within* a single regime of

justification, but also in situations in which different regimes clash or compromise with one another Boltanski and Thévenot (2000: 365).

1. Mobility as inspiration

The regime of inspiration is characterised by the grandeur of inspiration, spontaneity, feelings, singularity, originality, creativity and movement. What is important here is to avoid routines and habits, to free oneself from the inertia that is inherent in “having knowledge”. Inspiration is about “receiving the mystical alchemy of creativity” in transgressing oneself.

Within this regime of justification, mobility is a tool, with which what is seen as static is criticised. In a lecture in the Aarhus School of Architecture (18th March 1998), Daniel Libeskind pointed out that creativity is about not to know too much. The knowledge one has can block creative thinking. Boltanski & Thévenot (1991: 200-205).

2.19.1 Mobility within the industrial regime

In *the industrial regime*, with its technological objects and scientific methods, grandeur is about efficiency, performance, productivity, predicting, ensuring functionality and giving utilitarian answers to “needs”. Operational objects and professional experts count as “grand”. Unproductive people and dysfunctional objects count as “small”. Here, expert-knowledge, belief in progress, and planning and organization are given pride of place. Boltanski & Thévenot (1991: 252-262).

2.19.2 Mobility in the market regime

In *the market regime*, grandeur is competitiveness, richness, the desire for scarce goods, and a willingness to take risks. Short-term, rather than long-term projects count more within this regime. What is “small” is being a loser, or having a product that does not sell (well). Boltanski & Thévenot (1991: 241-252).

2.19.3 Mobility as opinion

In *the regime of opinion*, the grandeur is in the recognition of others. To be visible, to have publicity, to influence, attract and seduce others are the preferred values. What is undesirable is to be forgotten, hidden and to appear as a blurred image. Being able to *move* in accordance with public opinion is in this regime grand. Within this regime, you “have a standpoint until you take a new one”, as a Danish social democratic prime minister has put it.

2.19.4 Mobility against community – the regime of domesticity

In *the regime of domesticity*, the grandeur is personal trust among the members of a collective, a tradition, a community, a generation, a family or a hierarchy. Good manners, respect and responsibility, family and memory are valuable; egoism is undesirable. Within this regime, freedom and/or mobility do not necessarily lead to happiness. In Castells’ terminology: the “space of places” is defended against the “space of flows”.

2.19.5 The civic regime and mobility

In *the civic world*, the grandeur is common will and equality. Here it does not depend on persons, but on collectivises and representation. The grandeur is to subordinate to the collective will, to have a mandate, to be delegated, to act legally. What is undesirable is fractions, corporatism, and individualism. (ibid. 222-230). J. O. Krag, Boltanski and Thévenot (1991: 206-222). This point draws upon our discussions in the “mobilities group”, Dept of Sociology, Lancaster University. Boltanski and Thévenot (1991: 231-241).

As should be clear by now, different regimes come up with different and conflicting justifications. But there are also possibilities for compromise.

Max Weber noted that the separation of businesses from the household had created a neutral empty space for businesses which became free from ethical constraints. The state's legislative power had then imposed ethical constraints on this void. But now, businesses are liberating themselves from the national state and yet, Bauman points out, there is no equivalent to the nation-state-like legislative power. There is no regime of justice that can impose restrictions on global power. See Bauman (2000: 4).

2.20 A Seventh Regime: The Project Regime

The other route is to ask if a new 7th regime of justification has developed within liquid capitalism, a regime adjusted to mobilities and networks. This is what Boltanski & Chiapello argue in their recent book.

In the 7th regime, the "project regime" (cite par projects, the activity of the mediator that establishes and extends networks is of value in and of itself. The general equivalent is activity (of whatever kind). Activity transcends the distinction between labour and non-labour, wage and non-wage, interested or benevolent, measurable or non-measurable according to productivity. The aim of the activity is to generate projects or to integrate oneself into projects initiated by others. The project is always limited in time. Grandeur is, therefore, living a life of simultaneous and successive projects, the more diverse the better. What counts is always being on the move towards another project, always preparing, always coming up with some new idea.

The project-form is well adjusted to a world of networks precisely because it is a transitory form: "*the succession of projects extends the networks by multiplying the connections and making the links proliferate*". Those who do not have projects or do not explore networks are threatened by exclusion, and exclusion is the same as "death" in a reticular world. Therefore it is important always to develop oneself and one's *employability*.

The new grandeur is being at ease everywhere, while at the same time knowing how to be local. The “connectionist man” knows how to be present and personal in differing contexts. You should be acting in search of the “common good”, that is, in order to engage with others, inspire confidence, be tolerant, respect differences and pass information to others, so that everyone can increase her/his “employability”.

What is needed, therefore, seems to be a concept of critique adequate for liquid capitalism. An imminent critique of liquid capitalism. In face of this, Boltanski and Chiapello focus on the concept of *exploitation*, which is ignored by theorists of the “connectionist” network society.

Interestingly, in their view, exploitation is directly related to mobility. Those “who are exploited in a connectionist world are the immobile, sedentary individuals, who thereby contribute to stabilizing the world in which others move swiftly. They also increase the mobility of their employers to the point of ubiquity by fulfilling the function of „stand-ins who ensure the maintenance of network connections”. What is particularly interesting here is the focus on vertical rather than horizontal inequality: Boltanski & Chiapello do not only speak of “access” to networks, or of inclusion in autopoietic subsystems, but also of exploitation in vertical structures. Guilhot (2000: 362); Cf. Boltanski & Chiapello (1999: 444-51).

Chapter III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PERSPECTIVES AND APPROACHES

3.1 Social Theories of Stratification

The theoretical discussion in this chapter has four threads which at the later part, lead us to build up a hypothesis, design the research project and guide to an appropriate method to unearth reality to verify the assumptions.

Initially, general stratification systems will be studied. Next will be Indian system of stratification system as a particular case. The main thrust will be in locating factors of any system which lead to injustice and inequality in a society via stratification. To what extent this system of differentiation is inevitable? Can any society continue to function without any such division of labour? If at all it is not possible, then how those sections can be protected which have to suffer more remains the question. Coming down to Muslims in India, we would like to focus upon stratification among Muslims in India. How does that system hamper progress of Muslim women? an attempt to find out answers to these questions shall eventually finding out a theory that will help to undertake this study because there are many theories trying to explain those processes..

While considering Muslims in India, the pre partition times need not taken into consideration for the present purpose. Are there any theories which will help to understand the problems of Muslims of the present day? What strategies can be derived from those theories to change the situation? How the problem of progress of Indian Muslims be perceived in comparison with global changes outside India? Study of conditions outside India would help to a great extent to grasp situation in India. Those experiences would throw light upon certain common factors and certain special conditions regarding Muslims in India. In addition to these factors, one needs to consider condition of women in India and among them what is the situation of Muslim women? What is common to all women and what is special to Muslim women? Needs to be studied.

Wider canvas of the whole issue is 'development of nation'. This type of studies is included in 'economic development studies'. Many sections of society are lagging behind in progress whether in India or outside India. Economic growth of a nation cannot be in a balanced manner when there is shortage of funds. Development process is important from the perspective of stratification and mobility because they are intertwined. Mobility encourages development and development process in return accelerates mobility of masses. It is sort of circular process.

A combination of these main threads will reflect in research design, hypothesis and method for reaching at the bottom of the problems under consideration.

Since processes of economic development and social development are difficult to separate out from each other, so are the studies also much combined with each other. Most of the development issues are directly and indirectly related to economic development and as such, all such studies are labelled as 'development economics' studies. The impetus to such studies was given by the third world countries which achieved independence after the Second World War. Political change or rule cannot immediately change economies of those nations. Whatever changes were introduced by new independent governments attracted attention of researchers in the social sciences. It was found that political changes did not automatically help to make changes in economic field. People went back to their traditions and earlier social set up of inequality and injustice. It was realized soon that unless people participated the process of development, effective changes may not take place. How it could be made possible, does not have one single answer,

3.2 Stratification and mobility –

Some individuals and some groups are given more importance and respect than others in any society on the earth; one will find that there

are always sections of society thought to be 'upper and lower' by local people. Less developed societies are less divided, more developed societies are more divided. This process is called as 'stratification'. It is a universal process. It is defined in simple terms by Chris Barker as, "a concept involving classification of people into groups based on shared socio-economic conditions ... a relational set of inequalities with economic, social, political and ideological dimensions." [pp 436] Macionis, J., and Gerber, L define it as, "When differences lead to greater status, power or privilege for some groups over the other it is called Social Stratification. It is a system by which society ranks categories of people in a hierarchy". In short, it can be said that in any given society, groups can be differentiated on the basis of socio-economic traits of the individual members and families. Researchers have reached to a conclusion after analyzing hundreds of societies world over, that there are neither the criteria of differences nor the extent nor any rules which can be called universal. However, following four principles have been identified by some researchers which are found to be common to stratification process irrespective of societies and cultural differences.

Social stratification is based on four basic principles: (1) Social stratification is a trait of society, not simply a reflection of individual differences; (2) Social stratification carries over from generation to

generation; (3) Social stratification is universal but variable; (4) Social stratification involves not just inequality but beliefs as well.^[Macionis, Gerber, John, Linda (2010). pp. 224, 225.]¹

Every society may not be stratified on these bases nor every researcher would agree to this list but there is a broad agreement. Many researchers are of the opinion from earlier stages of human development to later ones; bases of stratification vary to some remarkable extent. For example, while Indian society for centuries believed in castes, Arab societies of middle east gave importance to kinship ties and European feudal societies were composed of ‘nobility-to-peasant’ relations in the medieval period. Such observations lead Sociologist like Max Weber to postulate that status class based on variables such as honour, prestige and religious affiliation is distinguished from social class broadly based on material wealth., broadly organized stratification into three main layers: upper , middle and lower class Is easily observed in more developed Western societies and Each of these classes can be further subdivided into smaller occupational classes . **It is argued** by many researchers that less developed societies are distinguished from modern state-based societies so much that the recent pattern of institutionalized individualization and weakening of the forces of societal differentiation would strongly diminish the role of class in the journey of mankind in social evolution.

3.3 Major Sociological approaches to explain stratification –

3.3.1 Structure- functional approach –

Talcot Parsons never claimed that universal values in and by themselves "satisfied" the functional prerequisites of a society although universal values were not identical with "consensus". Therefore, inequality being posed as 'functional necessity of society' so that stability and social order are regulated is generally criticized as being proponent of 'status quo'. This approach holds true at least in a capitalist economy, because of the fact that the working classes are unlikely to advance socioeconomically as much as middle class and the wealthy tend to hold political power which they use to exploit the proletariat over generations continuously . An enlarged middle-class exhibits a tendency toward higher education and expansion which satisfies the need for an educated workforce in technological and service economies in modern Western societies. This phenomenon as observed by Ralf Dahrendorf weakens the process of class consciousness and class solidarity finally leading to a polar division of society as envisaged by Karl Marx. The outcomes of globalization, such as dependency theory, suggest that such unexpected processes are a result of the changes of quality of workers into the third world.

3.3.2 The Marxian approach –

In Marxist theory, the capitalist mode of production consists of two main economic parts: the substructure and the superstructure. Marx saw classes as defined by people's relationship to the means of production in two basic ways: either they own productive property or labour for others. (Macdonis, Gerber, John, Linda (2010). pp. 233.)

Though generally Marx is believed to talk about two classes only, he has described two other classes, the lumpen proletariat and petite bourgeoisie also. The lumpen proletariat is described as the low life part of the proletariat class which includes prostitutes, beggars, swindlers, etc. who is not employed workers but are victims of exploitation; the petite bourgeoisie is also some small business class that cannot ever accumulate sufficient profit to become part of the bourgeoisie, or even challenge the absolute power of bourgeoisie. These subclasses do not have much influence in Marx's two class system, but it helps us to know that Marx recognized differences within the classes. (Doob, Christopher.)

According to Marvin Harris (Harris, Harris (1967). and Tim Ingold, Ingold, Tim (2006), p. 400.)

In the capitalist system, the ruling class owns the means of production. The working class only have their own labour power ('wage labour') to offer in order to survive which is essentially included as means of production. The bourgeoisie achieve temporary status quo, consciously or

unconsciously, by employing various methods of social control. The ideology of the ruling class is promoted by using political and non-political institutions and the arts and other elements of culture in the course of various aspects of social life. A false consciousness is developed by the bourgeoisie but Marx believed strongly that eventually the capitalist mode would, due to its own internal conflict, Marx believed the capitalist mode would eventually give way, through its own internal conflict, to revolutionary consciousness and lead to development of egalitarian communist society.

As Ingold points out: "The notion of communism, removed from the context of domesticity and harnessed to support a project of social engineering for large-scale, industrialized states with populations of millions, eventually came to mean something quite different from what Morgan had intended: namely, a principle of redistribution that would override all ties of a personal or familial nature, and cancel out their effects. (Ingold, Tim (2006), p. 400.)

3.3.3 Stratification and occupational approach in Indian situation –

Till the middle ages, stratification matched with distribution of occupations; this was probably the situation in all the historical societies; of this the traditional Indian caste system was perhaps the best illustrative example. Every new generation was compelled to follow the family occupation which every caste was allotted by the

society. An individual had no chance of switching over to any other occupation by own choice. Individuals could think of diverging away from family occupation only after industrial revolution in Europe initially and elsewhere later. It was possible due to emergence of new professions because of changing modes of production and distribution. It became actually a need of the changing economy.

Therefore, it can be traced back to the last few decades that inter generational mobility was not only accepted but sort of became a norm especially in modernizing societies of West and East.

3.4 Modernisation of occupations –

The ‘fast changing technology’ of production and distribution of goods is the major difference in traditional and modern occupations. Secondly, providing services has attained status of occupations in modern societies therefore many more service-provider agencies are coming up. The factory mode of production has made large scale migrations inevitable and there is a growing need for mass transportation. Growth of urban centres has introduced changes in life styles in response to the changing needs of city life where families and individuals are compelled to live in absence of any alternative. In modernized societies like the USA, Sweden etc. Individual’s dependence on family and kinship has reduced to almost negligible. Outside agencies are performing quite a few functions of traditional

family. Monetization of economy has made it possible to follow one's own liking in living.

In fact, going to an extreme, the post modernist tinkers do not see a society as a cohesive entity as such; they conceive of postmodernity as an exceedingly complex matrix of discontinuous processes involving ubiquitous, instantaneous, and disjunctive changes; dispersed and overwhelming space; multiple spectacles and discordant voices; contradictory images and messages; and an overall schizophrenic fragmentation of experience (Jameson 1984).

The post modernity perceives extreme cultural incoherence coming in future and as a result expects class hierarchy, gender structure, and complex organizations and similar other modern theoretical discourses about social structures and patterned social processes like social integration, class domination and exploitation etc. to become obsolete. Enlightenment thinkers of the Cartesian tradition of modern epistemology believed that people after grasping the "foundations" of knowledge would be capable of being rational. They, as subjects, could transform the social conditions of their existence by achieving relatively unambiguous understanding of the external world. the philosophic subjects which supported the concepts of representation of public and social coherence in modern philosophy and social theory was falling back according to postmodernists.

3.5 Scope and need for individual attainment –

Occupations, in this extreme view of postmodernists, are but means of earning and survival rather than one's own volition because the modern occupations require individual effort and achievement.

It may be in the form of formal education, skill development or some training leading to expertise. Family background, parents' traits, birth group, regional, racial, religious or any other background related to birth, which is not by choice for an individual, does not restrict or facilitate individual attainment in a particular field of individual choice to a considerable extent. On the one hand it has a disadvantage that economic condition of an individual performs most important role in completion of education etc. And thereby restrict or facilitate achievement indirectly; but on the other hand, advantages are many. Most coveted of all perhaps is that one can enter in the field of one's own liking. Among other advantages can be included variety of choices, possibility of learning many subjects, possibility of learning till any age – age no bar, possibility of changing track at any level from one stream to another one.

This could be possible only because of expanding nature of various fields of activities and occupations.

Modern stratification is losing its 'ascriptive' character and more emphasis is given on an individual's achieved traits and qualities. Of course, birth status has not been totally derecognized but when all other attained

qualities are considered then only birth-group membership will be given importance.

Social class as an axis of interaction amongst strangers on street is a stronger basis than 'belonging' to a certain group in public matters, unless certain markers are exhibited with the purpose of showing separate identity. This phenomenon is more common in big cities and gradually becomes rare in smaller towns and remote rural areas where influence of traditions is still stronger and in favour of stereotyped interactions rather than utilitarian interaction. A simple reason for such a shift is that due to modern market system, apparels, headgear, gadgets like mobile phone, goggles are expressing economic conditions more than any birth group as such. Just looking at a person, one cannot make out to which he/she may be belonging, in terms of caste or creed or even religion and rationality. It is when conversations begin, some indication of 'belonging' to a certain group can be gauged; at the same time, prices of articles do not vary accordingly, entry is not denied automatically or conversation is not cut short because of the revealed identity. Business proposals are definitely accepted /rejected on business merit ground rather than caste or religion.

3.6 Theoretical contribution of Studies of inter generational mobility –

International Sociological Association's 'Research Committee on Social Stratification and Mobility' (RC 28) was founded in 1951 and since the 1970s it has regularly held conventions on a twice-yearly

basis. From its origins, Social mobility research has been significantly influenced by international collaboration and exchanges. a research tradition has been created through RC 28, extending over several generations now, in which a relatively large collectively of sociologists is engaged in conducting research in a set of fairly well defined problems in a sustained manner. “research concerns of social mobility have been too narrowly focused” according to Miller, (1998) but what is overlooked by critics is the fact that sociology’s resources, human and material, are still rather modest and therefore, may well be a great advantage in concentrating these resources on the treatment of a limited number of central problems in any field of research. rather than adopting a ‘spread shot’ approach that could be excessively responsive to transient, non-cognitive influences a sustained, steady effort will definitely help in working out theories systematically from these earlier steps. (cf. Treiman and Ganzeboom, 2000),

The wide range of ideological positions represented within the Committee has always been a possible distraction but the international character of the collective effort of RC 28 has helped to protect the possibility of progress. it was therefore a condition of the Committee’s viability that members should be ready to distinguish between ideological and scientific issues and to find ways of discussing the latter that were acceptable, and profitable, across the ideological

spectrum. As a result, from the early 1970s to the break-up of the Soviet bloc sociologists from this region played a prominent role in its research work. the committee's long-term survival is indicator of the fact of Their success in this regard. Of course, there were a few who were committed to positions that would not allow the problem of ideology to be thus 'neutralised'. RC 28 has in fact remained remarkably free from the influence of the successive waves of intellectual fashion in the field of research - from, say, structuralism Marxism, via radical feminism to post-modernism - that have transcended over much of sociology. the impact of fashion on mobility research has been diffused by The international composition of RC 28. in an international context, what might be represented from any one quarter of researchers as the crisis at a time is always likely to meet with scepticism from others, and bandwagon effects are inhibited automatically. What is in sociological vogue at any one time tends to vary a good deal across national societies or geographical regions and what might be called an 'international style' of sociology has been encouraged by RC 28 which is capable of transcending more local, and passing, enthusiasms; should be taken more positively. social mobility research in the tradition established within RC28 has been characterised by a more serious concern with the actual 'do-ability' of projects than has prevailed in many other areas of sociology. But the criticism of their preoccupation with (primarily quantitative) methods

has typically gone together with Criticism of the narrowness of the interests of mobility researchers as previously noted. It is usually said that methods determine research problems rather than the other way around. But the other side of the argument should not be overlooked: that to set out ambitious, far-reaching programmes for research is easy but unless the means are available for accomplishing them they remain rather pointless.

As Peter Medawar once aptly observed (1958: 2-3): 'If politics is the art of the possible, research is surely the art of the soluble. Both are immensely practical-minded affairs ... The spectacle of a scientist locked in combat with the forces of ignorance is not an inspiring one if, in the outcome, the scientist is routed.' International Sociological Association's 'Research Committee on Social Stratification and Mobility' (RC 28) was founded in 1951 and since the 1970s it has regularly held conventions on a twice-yearly basis. From its origins, Social mobility research has been significantly influenced by international collaboration and exchanges. A research tradition has been created through RC 28, extending over several generations now, in which a relatively large collective of sociologists is engaged in conducting research in a set of fairly well defined problems in a sustained manner. "research concerns of social mobility have been too narrowly focused" according to Miller, (1998) but what is overlooked

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familiar in sociology; it needs to be noted that social mobility researchers' emphasis on methods reflects the fact that, in their tradition, it is performance not programme that matters. If it is argued that their achievements have indeed been limited rather than overarching, it must be remembered that they are still achievements. There are some theorists who believe in a 'tradition' of social mobility research, which can evolve without serious problems of 'incommensurability' because progress is made in small steps as well, perhaps, as through revolutionary 'paradigm shifts'; (Kuhn's approach to the history and philosophy of science, also known as discontinuous versions or 'total overthrow' of the history of science, is disapproved by many who carry an absolute conviction regarding its deleterious effects on sociology.) Early mobility research was far more oriented to socio-political concerns than to theoretical. any attempt was not made to bring empirical findings under the aegis of a theoretical position until the 1960s After Sorokin's somewhat ad hoc efforts at synthesis. Significance of that attempt was that Social mobility became one of the main topics in relation to which the currently dominant form of sociological theory - macro sociological functionalism - was actually applied. a large number of specialist mobility researchers, including Blau and Duncan (1967) and Treiman (1970) took up and developed Suggestive but relatively brief concepts in the works of leading proponents of such theory, Parsons (e.g. 1960 being leading figure

among them. authors concerned with the analysis of industrial and post-industrial societies, such as Kerr and his associates (1960/1973) and Bell (1973, 1980), also joined those researchers. so far as social mobility was concerned, Basic to the functionalist theory were the supposed 'exigencies' of modern social systems and in particular the requirement for human potentialities or 'resources' to be exposed as fully as possible wherever within the social structure they might happen to be located. This requirement was seen as prompting, on the one hand, growing importance of educational qualifications as the basis for selection in employment; and, on the other, progressive expansion and reform of educational institutions in the interests of a greater equality of educational opportunity. In this process, principles of 'ascription' and 'particularism' were superseded by those of 'achievement' and 'universalism'. From mobility perspective, that meant the association between social origins and destinations would steadily weaken. it provided a reasonable basis for understanding the findings of mobility research up to, say, the end of the 1960s when It clearly brought out the basic form that functionalist explanations take and the subsequent research led to a series of propositions that were eminently open to test functionalist theory actually at work. However, specific application of functionalism in the case of social mobility was in fact chiefly undermined by the accumulation of empirical findings that were scarcely consistent with it while In the 1970s it lost its

dominance, largely as a result of shifts in ideology and intellectual fashion. Empirical research indicated that both the dependence of educational attainment on social origins and endogenous mobility regimes in themselves had shown a marked resistance to change. Consequently, it became apparent across societies whose industrialisation or modernisation preceded no universal and consistent tendency towards greater social fluidity was revealed. even in those national cases where an increase in ‘openness’ was demonstrated, often additional evidence showing little increase in the role of education in mediating mobility which points to other causal factors being at work than those that the functionalist theory would expect to be present. “For example, in European nations, individuals originating in farm families or the petty bourgeoisie who were known to have a relatively high propensity for intergenerational immobility, decline in the number resulting in instances of increasing fluidity in the late twentieth century” as shown by Breen and Luijkx.

In recent years, therefore, new theoretical efforts have been made that, in contrast to those of the 1960s, are directed as much towards explaining continuity as change in mobility rates and patterns and in the social processes that underlie them. Boudon’s arguments were initially against a form of ‘variable sociology’ that supposed that causal explanations could be simply cranked out of statistical analysis without need for theory of any

kind. However, his arguments were later directed against functionalist explanations in general while his arguing for new micro-theoretical effort in social mobility research has been of great importance.

See the celebrated debate between Boudon (1976) and Hauser (1976). Such an overestimation of what can be achieved by statistical analysis - most common, it seems, among American sociologists - remains perhaps the main obstacle in the way of further theoretical advance in mobility research.

3.6.1 Mobility studies –

The progress in mobility research can be suitably summarized as –

3.6.2 Improvement in data collection and sources –

The first general treatise on social mobility was published by P. Sorokin in 1927. If one examines the data on which the author was able to draw conclusions were highly heterogeneous and at the same time quantitatively limited. one finds that. They consisted mostly of the assessments by historians of rates and patterns of different forms of mobility in various societies of the past. Sources had been quite fragmentary still they were supplemented by and compared with more contemporary studies of miscellaneous nature. Taking this situation as baseline, it would then seem evident enough that very substantial

progress as regards data has been made, and on two main fronts: coverage and quality.

key developments In the case of coverage, can be listed as follows:

(i) in economically more advanced societies availability, of data on social mobility derived from surveys representative of national populations has shown a considerable growth over time. Glass in Great Britain started in 1947 a survey covering detailed family and employment histories and also a wide range of information relevant to the intergenerational mobility of adult men and women. That is considered as a pioneering study, reported in 1954 (Glass, ed., 1954).

(ii) such nationally-based studies for the collection of data relevant to mobility were frequently replicated over time as ‘general-purpose’ national surveys. now extending over three or four decades, substantial data-sets of ‘repeated cross-sectional’ format have been built up, which provide a sound basis for establishing societal trends in mobility over wide space and a range of time.

(iii) alternative perspectives on mobility trends and theories of the causal processes that underlie mobility rates and patterns have provided the very appropriate kind of data for testing them empirically. data on mobility from retrospective life-history studies and from repeated cross-sectional inquiries was The supplemented by data from prospective ‘panel’ or ‘birth-cohort’ studies.

Advances have been made In the case of data quality also which can be singled out as follows:

(i) Improvements in the coding of occupational and educational data relevant to mobility. for example, occupational data were coded as 'category' In Glass's study, using the very informally constructed Hall-Jones prestige scale which had much low reliability. Now what has become standard is the use of 'index' coding of occupational data to relatively well specified scales or classifications.

(ii) accuracy of information and the overall degree of reliability of data, has been a concern since beginning. Possibilities of error arise in reporting, recalling and recording of interviews. Especially in the cases of respondents' reports on their own, or their parents', occupations in the fairly distant past have been identified as instances where reliability is likely to be lowest, though generally satisfactory results were obtained. Now tests have been developed to improve on such errors. (cf. Hope et al., 1986; Breen and Jonsson, 1997).

(iii) In early studies of this kind comparability was sought, though not very successfully, simply through the collapsing of the coding categories used in different national inquiries to some 'lowest common denominator' by researchers like Lipset and Zetterberg (1956). Main aim was to Improve the comparability of data used in cross-national studies of

mobility. In the recent times to assure quality, original data have been re-coded to widely applicable - and by now widely employed - classifications, notably the CASMIN class schema (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992) and the CASMIN educational classification (König et al.,1988; Brauns and Steinmann, 1999). Or alternatively occupational scales specifically devised for cross-national research have been used by researchers like. Treiman, 1977; Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996)

developments in observational methods encourage progress of this kind because it is often directly dependent upon methods. The maxim that ‘New instruments make new science’ is well-founded (Crump, 2001). This process results into generating new and better data. A real and distinctive challenge is posed by Improvements in techniques of data collection since they will often represent an achievement of corresponding importance.

3.6.3 Improvement in Concepts and Analysis

mobility can be defined, observed and measured in terms of, socioeconomic status or positions identified within an occupational or that within the class structure or alternatively, in a hierarchy of occupational prestige. divisions remain among researchers from the initial stages about the conceptual context within which social mobility should be studied. While the question of mobility research approach has attracted a good deal of attention, it has remained unresolved which is, overall, the most

revealing, (compare e.g. Glass, ed., 1954 and Svalastoga, 1959 with Carlsson, 1958).

There is by now fairly wide agreement on i) that different approaches are more or less appropriate to different problems; and, ii) that the empirical findings that emerge within alternative conceptual contexts differ in their detail rather than in their more salient and consequential features. In other words, “a clear indication is here provided that concepts and their provenance are less crucial in constructing sociological knowledge and that more important are the propositions to which concepts, as applied in research, actually give rise” (cf. Popper, 1976: 21-8 esp.; 1994: ch. 2.).

howsoever the context of mobility may be understood, conceptual progress may properly be found in mobility research if it is associated with the solution of specific analytical problems and those problems which arise while dealing with reality. in the analysis of intergenerational mobility, progress can most readily be seen. more generally, rather than in a complete life-course perspective, mobility is envisaged as transitions between ‘origins’ and ‘destinations’. The main basis for the analysis of mobility was a contingency table in the work of Glass and others of his generation. in those tables individuals’ origins were categorised according to status or class, and then were crossed with their destinations, categorised in the same manner. (such table are now known as the ‘standard mobility tables’) various operations were then performed on counts in the internal and marginal cells of the table for the purpose of

analysis. two major problems arose In such analysis, each of which have achieved genuine advances in ‘ways of thinking’ about social mobility according to the later researchers.

(i) for the purpose of calculation of percentage ‘outflow’ and ‘inflow’ rates of mobility the standard mobility tables provided an appropriate basis. But While trying to bring into the analysis factors in mediating mobility; for example, education, it was not easy to adapt them to requirement. Progress in this respect, was, however, made, chiefly under the leadership of Duncan (Duncan and Hodge, 1963;)

(ii) the resolution of a technical difficulty went together with a fairly radical conceptual reorientation through the adoption of a regression approach. while origin was an independent explanatory variable, Destination became the dependent variable, taken together with education and whatever other intervening variables might be deemed of interest. those latter variables could be placed in some likely temporal sequence in order to ‘decompose’ the gross correlation of origins and destinations in so far as, path-analytic techniques could be used. This technique resulted in a series of direct and indirect effects. In this way, The relationship between origins and destinations was seen as the outcome of a process of ‘status attainment’ than simply being treated in terms of ‘mobility’. This was developed by Duncan and his associates since they worked chiefly on the

basis of a scoring or ranking of occupations technique on a socioeconomic status scale. (Blau and Duncan 1967)

(iii) The standard mobility table served as a basis for efforts to separate out the effects on observed (e.g. percentage) mobility rates of differences between the two marginal distributions of the table (seen as the source of 'structural' mobility). Simultaneously, it also served the purpose of separating the effects on observed mobility rates of the patterns of net association prevailing between origins and destinations (seen as the source of 'exchange' mobility). a new approach via loglinear modelling was introduced by Hauser because earlier efforts in this direction remained unsatisfactory (Hauser et al. 1975; Hauser, 1978). It served a dual purpose, namely, while patterns of origin-destination association within the mobility table could be analysed in a 'margin-insensitive' way, at the same time, old idea of total mobility being made up of structural and exchange components progressively shifted towards the more viable and revealing distinction between absolute and relative mobility rates (Goldthorpe, 1980/1987; Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992).

certain divergent aspects were exhibited by the two developments noted above. The loglinear modelling, remained largely bivariate and made detailed analyses of mobility tables easily possible. Those tables were organized on the basis of class or occupational categories, enabling 'endogenous mobility regimes', to be identified i.e. persisting patterns of association for different origin-destination transitions or,

alternatively, relative rates of varying levels of net transitions. It would be true to say that the other 'status attainment approach' was most readily implemented with continuous variables - such as years of education and status scores, etc. thus facilitating multivariate analysis and making the assumption of linear and additive effects.

However, in recent years successful attempts have been made in integrating these two approaches to combine their strengths. a possibility has been developed of reformulating loglinear models for the grouped data of standard mobility tables as multinomial logistic regression models. Most importantly, They have proved to be very useful for individual-level data, including a range of other variables, whether categorical or continuous, (Logan, 1983; Breen, 1994). Analyses that follow this strategy are in fact now leading to new empirical findings, such as the role of education in mobility processes, which have in turn important theoretical implications. (e.g. Hendrickx and Ganzeboom, 1998; Breen and Goldthorpe, 1999, 2001)

Among those researchers who tried to develop mathematical/statistical models of mobility and applied those models to larger scales of international level or made comparisons over time and spaces of a large magnitude, Wilfredo Pareto was perhaps one who ventured to develop a model which not only explained mobility but attempted to explain the

exchange of power taking place in societies over time and universalize his findings.

3.6.4 Wilfredo Pareto's contribution to mobility theory

The next subsection describes how Pareto develops this insight into a more elaborate, dynamic model of social mobility.

In the social sciences The uniformity discovered by Pareto in income statistics has had its own importance. "Pareto's Law", i.e. distributions that could be well fitted by a Pareto function was obeyed by a large number of phenomena, was discovered later. These include a variety such as the distribution of geographical and linguistic statistics, the populations of towns and cities, the frequency of use of words in the lexicon, number of articles published by sociologists in professional journals, industrial concentration in an area and various others.

Pareto develops his earlier intuition that social inequalities obey a specific, skewed distribution that differ from the normal distribution of biometric traits but are not directly expressed by the universal presence of economic and social inequalities in human societies and well reflected by "physical, moral, and intellectual" differences among individuals. The evolution of Pareto's intuition took up ideas on income inequality and social stratifications into a more general and more dynamic model of the social structure elaborated in his later

major economics textbook *Manual of Political Economy* (Pareto 1909, 1971)

The distribution diagram is now used as a representation of the social hierarchy in general, not only the distribution of income. It assumes the form of a pyramid with a pointed tip being added to it. Using the analogy of the attribution of exam scores from 0 to 20, he explains the more realistic flattened bottom of the pyramid by the fact that there is a minimal level of income under which subsistence is not possible (just like a professor may be reluctant to give scores below 8/20 to avoid failing students). The plain reason was data on the bottom part of the income distribution were usually unavailable in Pareto's days. More important is the fact that there is no comparable limit to high incomes.

Pareto speculates that there may be more diversity in the lower part of the pyramid while the shape of the upper part of the income distribution is strikingly similar across societies. If one postulates that in a society typical of classical antiquity where famines were frequent, there is a minimum income below which individuals cannot survive, then, the distribution will take a form that depicts a high frequency of incomes just above the starvation limit; while for instance, in modern societies the distribution may take a different form where conditions of life for the lower strata have improved and fewer people have incomes near that limit. Pareto interpreted the income distribution as a

representation of the social structure as made clear in the passage of the *Manual* which is worth quoting at length:

The outward form varies little In Pareto's picture of society while on the other hand; the interior portion is, in constant movement. It means while some of the lower individuals are rising to higher levels, others are sinking. Obviously, some elements are eliminated and disappear those who fall to minimum subsistence level. It is also true, that the same phenomenon occurs in the upper regions. Historical Experience everywhere tells us that aristocracies do not last long anywhere. the reasons for that phenomenon may be numerous but we know very little about them, however, there is no doubt about the reality of the phenomenon itself.

We have first a region [A] in which incomes are very low, people cannot subsist; in this region extreme poverty debases and destroys the good elements as well as the bad thus consequently selection operating to a very small extent only. Next comes the region [B] in which selection operates with maximum intensity. Incomes are low enough to dishearten the best elements but not large enough to preserve everyone whether they are or are not well fitted for the struggle of life. This results in considerably high child mortality In this region. It acts as probably a powerful means of selection. From this region come the elements who rise to the higher region and as such it is called as the

crucible in which the future aristocracies (in the etymological sense: = best) are developed. Next come the higher region [C]. Once there, their descendants degenerate; thus this region [C] is maintained only as a result of immigration from the lower region. In this region Incomes are so large that they enable even the incompetent, the ill-adapted, and the weak, defective also to survive. one important reason [for the fact of immigration from the lower region] may well be the non-intervention of selection. The lines [between regions] do not actually exist nor are they sharply defined; they serve only to fix ideas. The boundaries of these regions move gradually from one region to the other. (Pareto 1971: 286-288)

Social stratification researchers of today usually assume that achievement opportunity declines monotonically from the upper strata to the bottom ones; but Pareto makes a different claim that 'opportunity varies non-monotonically along the social scale'. A sociologist today might interpret Pareto's discussion in terms of the more familiar concept of opportunity for achievement. (though still mysterious), with individuals in the middle strata [B] having greater opportunity than *both* the lower [A] and upper strata [C]. if Pareto's claim to the intensity of social selection as a function of position in the social hierarchy is accepted then This prediction follows logically. If a talented individual born in the lowest strata is prevented from

achieving the high social status in spite of his potential, A less talented individual born in a high stratum may be as effectively prevented by the absence of selection from “achieving” the low social status suitable to his limited endowments. if one interprets “opportunity” as possibility to achieve a status according to one’s potential – high or low – given one’s intrinsic qualities, and thus as entailing both upward and downward movements in the social structure, then In both those cases opportunity for achievement is low, (Guo and Stearns 2002).

Whether the traditional assumption that opportunity increases monotonically from lowest to highest stratum or Pareto’s conjecture is valid or not, could be tested If one could measure ideally, opportunity as it varies continuously along a status dimension such as income, or, the degree of opportunity characterizing a particular social group. There are some crude indications that Pareto’s conjecture might be correct though Conceptualizing and measuring opportunity for achievement is itself a huge unresolved issue. (for recent developments see Guo and Stearn 2002). A pattern found is that the dispersion of occupational statuses of sons is greater for sons with fathers in middle status categories and lower for fathers in both high and low occupational categories (Blau and Duncan (1967: 47). The same phenomenon is known for both inter- and intra-generational mobility among wealth categories (Keister 2005). this pattern is explained by

Blau and Duncan (1967) in terms of the social distance among occupational groups: “individuals born to fathers in middle categories are closer to a larger number of different categories than individuals born to fathers in extreme categories -- high as well as low -- whose movements are limited either above or below”. This matches with Pareto’s conjecture of a higher degree of social selection in middle categories as compared to extreme ones. The objection Eckland raises to this observation is that indices of social mobility of the type Blau and Duncan (1967) use do not control for possible differences in the distributions of talents of sons born to different occupational categories. In any case, interpretations in terms of achievement opportunity alone are delicate and require further work. (Eckland 1967).

3.7 Distribution of Power and Circulation of Elites

How Pareto’s thinking on social stratification evolved from roots in income distribution statistics by generalization (or extension) is elaborated in the previous discussion, to general aspects of the social hierarchy. As a successful economist Pareto had contributed to develop the rational model of behaviour that underlies economic theory but he found limitations in it and turned to sociology for reasons having to do with his view of human nature. One consequence of this shift was another extension of Pareto’s model of the social hierarchy to the distribution of political power in

society from a distribution with a relatively stable shape within which individuals are in constant movement due to the result of selection processes. This new extension produced Pareto's part of work with which sociologists are most familiar, namely, the theory of the circulation of elites. Pareto imagines rating the capacity of each individual in all branches of human activity – business, poetry writing, chess playing, seducing powerful men, and thieving – on a scale starting from 0 to 10. Individuals with high scores in any activity are imagined to be members of the elite; those with are low scores as members of the non-elite. As Pareto warns repeatedly, the distinction between elite and non-elite is made for convenience sake only and these categories are not to be taken as real ones. The governmental elite is the subset of the elite comprising individuals who "...directly or indirectly play a notable role in government". [Treatise of Sociology (1917-1919: 2027)7] groups: "As usual, to the rigor one would obtain by considering continuous variations in the scores we must substitute the approximation of discontinuous variation of large classes..."

a type of circulation takes place which conceals the constant movement of individuals and families along the income scale that the stable curve represents the distribution of income contains within it In the same way the composition of the governing class, in particular, is constantly changing along the scale of political power. In such case,

Two types of movement are possible: (1) a continuous movement of elements from the lower, governed class into the elite, or (2) a sudden revolution replacing at once all the major parts of the upper governing elite. Floods: “As a result of the circulation of elites, the governmental elite are in a state of slow and continuous transformation. It flows like a river today’s elite is other than yesterday’s. From time to time one observes sudden and violent perturbations, similar to the inundations of a river. Afterwards the new governmental elite returns to a regime of slow transformation: the river, back within its banks, is flowing again steadily”.

Pareto’s theory of action and of human nature connects Pareto’s morphological schema, dealing with matters of social stratification with Pareto’s psychosocial schema in order to find out “Under what circumstances do sudden transformations of the elite – revolutions – occur?” Pareto uses the concept of *residues* to mean sets of propensities to act in a certain way such as, a propensity to use force, another of a propensity to use ideological means of persuasion etc. according to him, The central mechanism is thus: “Revolutions take place because – either following a slowdown in the circulation of the elite, or for some other cause –, elements of inferior quality accumulate in the superior strata. These elements no longer possess the residues capable of maintaining themselves in power, and they avoid the use of

force. Meanwhile within the inferior strata elements with superior qualities develop, who possess the residues necessary to govern, and who are disposed to use force”.

There are 18 pages of the Treatise devoted to the general theoretical exposition of the circulation of elites which bring out that there are two distinct circumstances that can produce a revolution according to Pareto: “following a slowdown in the circulation of elites, or for some other cause”. Nielsen narrates those circumstances as follows

(1) The absence of effective intergenerational transmission of governing talent is crucial. It results into non transmission of the aptitudes of individuals who have once achieved membership in the governing class to their descendants; in addition, the life of privilege protects the incapable. Consequently, the governing class becomes incapable of staying in power, which Pareto calls as, ‘Slowdown or stoppage in the circulation of elites’. On a light note he says, “human aristocracies were like choice breeds of domestic animals that reproduce a long time with about the same traits, the history of the human race would be entirely different from what we know”. (Nielsen 1972).

(2) the other possibility requires a deeper understanding of the process by which individuals join governing class. Usually, according to Pareto, those who come to power, possess an aptitude to maintain

themselves in power. But sometimes it may happen that individuals or families may be selected according to social criteria *other* than those corresponding to the aptitudes of the elites. The elite will thus become enriched with individuals who have a propensity to use “combinations”– legal and financial manoeuvring and ideological persuasion – rather than force. (Pareto gives an example of countries which have introduced laws of industrial protection. there, owners of protected industries, labour leaders, and politicians allied with them, are those with an aptitude for economic and financial activities, consequently, a large number of them enter the governing elite.) When this proportion becomes too high the elite may no longer be able to maintain its political domination, which, Pareto calls as, ‘Rapid circulation of the elite’. Revolution may be outcome in such situations. (Nielsen 1972).

This is how, one finds, evolution of Pareto’s intellectual journey from his discovery of mysterious uniformities in the shape of the distribution of income across societies. He had observed that societies may differ widely in their economic bases, levels of development and cultures, but patterns are uniform. The next stage was a generalized view of the social composition as represented by a relatively stable distribution of resources within which individuals and families are constantly moving

up and down. finally leading to his even grander conception of the circulation of elites and the succession of aristocracies.

While particularly the distribution of measured and unmeasured abilities and skills in the labour pool and the nature of the labour supply, is likely to become a major focus of research in inequality trends, it is not clear that sociologists are fully aware of the implications. Here we have seen that Social heterogeneity is a central aspect of Pareto's model of social mobility. a conclusion that part of human heterogeneity within a given population has a genetic basis is now well accepted with respect to intelligence and has become mainstream fare in the field of psychology. (Brody 1992; Neisser et al. 1996) the immediate question is 'Are sociologists likewise ready to consider genetic aspects of human heterogeneity?' although new congenial expositions may facilitate acceptance, response of media and intellectuals with respect to publication of Herrnstein (1971) and Herrnstein and Murray (1994) suggest that many are still uncomfortable with these ideas, (Pinker 2002).

3.8 Human Qualities, Obstacles, and Opportunity for Achievement

it needs to be noted that Pareto explicitly rejected the notion that the distribution of income levels is a direct expression of the distribution of human qualities in the given population whether homogenous or heterogeneous As is clear from his work on the distribution of

incomes. He viewed the social hierarchy, and attributed the movement of individuals within it, as a result of the combination of the distribution of human “qualities” relevant to acquiring social resources and status and the disposition of “obstacles” opposing individual movements. Pareto has left rather vague, the nature of the “qualities that permit men to acquire wealth” in his model of income distribution, later, in his model of the circulation of elites, attempts to specify residues. They are propensities of individuals to act in certain ways,. For example, such as using “combinations” versus force in achieving one’s goals. According to him, the principal mechanism of elite replacement is The concentrations of individuals with different kinds of residues in the elite since it is those combinations that strengthen or weaken it.

Pareto’s discussion refers to something close to what contemporary social scientists would refer to as opportunity for achievement. When it comes to issue of economic achievement the social structure is viewed by him as the product of a process of selection of individuals within the social hierarchy itself but with the intensity of selection changing in intensity with respect to levels of the social structure.

That socio-cultural evolution might affect the degree to which social mobility depends on individual skills and abilities is an old idea. Particularly, the importance of cognitive abilities for socio-economic

achievement might depend according to level of industrialization or other specific aspects of national cultures. (Lipset and Zetterberg 2001). Herrnstein (1971) and especially Herrnstein and Murray (1994) make a compelling elaborate description of the growing importance of individual's cognitive abilities in industrial societies in the course of the 20th Century. This is indirectly supported by practices like increasing selectivity of top educational institutions, [Herrnstein (1971) and especially Herrnstein and Murray (1994)]; see also (Juhn, Murphy and Pierce 1993; Murnane, Willett and Levy 1995) Actually, Duncan, Featherman and Duncan had already reached a similar conclusion (1972: 69-105) but opposition to ideas of Herrnstein are being expressed so strongly that the earlier works have gone to background. The idea that human achievement is substantially affected by cognitive ability or, potentially, other aspects of personality also, is not welcomed easily. It evokes negative emotion springing from political, moral, and even spiritual sources. Actually, More than technical deficiency, this stands as the principal obstacle facing sociologists in developing an effective theory of economic inequality. Central role of human heterogeneity may be continued temptation to deny its place due to the philosophically inconvenient reality of a social mobility processes.

3.9 Shellar's contribution to mobility-

The world today is definitely moving differently and in more dynamic, complex and traceable ways than ever before, Over centuries,

herds of people have been moving territorially, within territory and compelling others to move on various pretexts. In the recent decades people are facing new challenges of forced mobility and uneven mobility, opposed by environmental limits and climate change and falling victims to the movement of unpredictable risks.

The recent Mobility research covers a much wider area of human action than it did a few decades ago. Broadly, fields of these studies can be divided into three categories: The first category claims to be of purely academic interest. primary and secondary data are collected, analyzed, interpreted to search for theory and principles. Though not necessarily with intention, Most of the times these studies prove to be bringing out positive effects of such movements only.

the second category look towards these migratory developments critically and bring out the other, unseen side of such processes to the fore. this brand of researchers expose the propagators of those processes by showing how they impact other sections of society adversely and silently, While those processes may help certain sections of society. The third category of researchers tries to evaluate those processes from some philosophical point of view of their choice and then try to compare with wider universalistic values and perspectives like postmodernism.

Thus, while this field of research overlaps to some extent with a few issues like aspects of globalization studies, migration and border studies, cultural geography and history, international tourism studies, transport geography, the anthropology of circulation of human race, and communications research it also differs at the same time in its scope, foci and methodologies from each of these. Though In the sociological literature the term ‘mobility’ is usually equated with the idea of ‘social mobility’, that means, to an individual’s movement categorically up or down the scale of socioeconomic classes; there is also a case for advancing sociological understandings of spatial movement, cultural circulation and informational mediation (topics respectively emphasized in human geography, anthropology and media studies).

The expanding field of mobilities research takes into consideration in the recent times, not only socio-economic-political forces behind mobility but encompasses research on the spatial mobility of nonhumans and objects; the study of the physical means for movement such as infrastructures, vehicles and software systems that enable travel and communication to take place as also issues like the circulation of information, images and capital; that is why such studies are called as transdisciplinary studies denoting wider coverage of issues and topics of interest.

Thus it brings together some of the more purely 'social' concerns of sociology (inequality, power, hierarchies) with the 'spatial' concerns of geography (territory, borders, scale) and the 'cultural' concerns of anthropology and media studies (discourses, representations, schemas), while inflecting each with a relational ontology of the co constitution of subjects, spaces and meanings.

The new mobilities paradigm delineates the context in which both sedentary and nomadic accounts of the Social world operate, and additionally, it questions how that context itself is mobilized, through ongoing socio-technical and cultural practices; It suggests a set of questions, theories, and methodologies rather than limiting itself to a description alone of the contemporary world. mobilities researchers today, in addition to a question of privileging flows, speed, or a cosmopolitan or nomadic subjectivity, study infrastructures of mobility in creating the effects of both movement and stasis and track the power of discourses and practices also. For the success of globalization as a global movement, extensive systems of mobility are of course the *sine qua non*. social processes for opening markets and states to external flows could not take place at a global scale nor be imagined as such without mobility; claims of neo liberalists and globalist would not materialize without it. Critical mobilities research on the other hand interrogates who and what is demobilized and remobilized across various scales; and in which situations mobility or immobility might be

a desirable option, whether it be coerced, or paradoxically interconnected (Adey, 2010).

the speed, intensity and technical channelling of various migratory flows are arguably greater than ever before so a new mobilities research paradigm, then, is not simply an assertion of the novelty of mobility. Research in this ever-expanding field is in fact highly engaged with bringing out what is at stake in debates over differentiated mobility, including debates over processes of globalization, of cosmopolitanism, of post colonialism in the third world and emerging forms of urbanism therein. Furthermore, issues like surveillance and global governance of various kinds are forming a part of mobility research.

mobilities theory was pushed to New directions as a response to several important feminist critiques of nomadic theory, which according to them was embedded in masculine subjectivities, made assumptions about individual freedom of movement and ignored the gendered production of space in movement. Skeggs among them systematically pointed out that the (old) mobility paradigm could be linked to a 'bourgeois masculine subjectivity' in agreement with the feminists, and that describes itself as 'cosmopolitan'; and pointed out that 'mobility and fixity are figured differently depending on national spaces and historical periods' (Skeggs, 2004:48).

Critical mobilities research examines how immobility, pauses and stillness, dwelling, friction, turbulence, etc. as much as speed or flow of migration; and is crucially concerned with textured rhythms which are produced, practiced and represented in relation to the gendered, raced, classed (im)mobilities of particular others. (Ahmed et al., 2003; Cresswell, 2006; Tolia-Kelly, 2010). the new mobilities paradigm differs from theories of globalization in its analysis While acknowledging and engaging with the macro-level political, economic, cultural and environmental aspects of globalization, also. the multiscale, non-human, non-representational, material and affective dimensions of social life are very much part of mobilities studies.

Regarding recent trends in mobilities theory Urry, the strong propagator of this trend, argues that because All systems are dynamic, processual and generate emergent effects and systemic contradictions, especially through positive feedback mechanisms, mobilities theory departs from the traditions of social theory. The social theory focuses on structure *in relation to* (human) agency, its ways are deeply grounded in materiality and as a consequence it branches off into complex systems theory. (Urry, 2008; cf. Dennis and Urry, 2009) The impulses of much contemporary social theory are still quite humanist and therefore, causal processes it offers are under human control but Complexity theory offers recourse to unintentional causal processes, and unlike the old school, implicates

causal mechanisms possibly beyond human control,. At the same time, it must be remembered that mobilities research does not detach itself from its strong interest in human interactions with space around, with objects in vicinity and with others in the arena, including a whole host of intermediaries and hybrid inter-embodiments through whom the interactions take place. These and such other issues are directed toward thinking about what is at stake in specific social arenas and related policy debates such as sustainable transport, climate change and migrant justice movements. All such research activities bring these theoretical perspectives back down to ground, by leveraging them against new issues as well.

Mobilities research in its broadest sense concerns not only physical movement of migrating groups alone, but also takes into consideration potential movement, blocked movement, immobilization as also forms of dwelling and place-making though they are not direct movements as such. (Büscher and Urry, 2009). Recently, Issues of uneven motility and of mobility rights of groups, issues of ethics and justice have become crucial to the expanding field (Bergmann and Sager, 2008; Cresswell, 2006, 2011; Uteng and Cresswell, 2008). It provides thrust upon special attention to subaltern mobilities (and immobilities), as well as recognition of the importance of subtle processes of uprooting, dwelling, ‘homing’ and ‘grounding’ of sections of society (Ahmed et al., 2003; Sheller, 2004b).

New 'mobile methods' are emerging to try to capture some of these complex, dynamic processes, into what André Lemos (2009) calls informational territories. They include, various phenomenological approaches, and among many other fields of research, participant-observation on the move such as walk-alongs (Myers, 2011), drive-alongs (Laurier, 2010), being 'mobile-with' (Bissell, 2009), cyberethnographies and mobile video ethnography (Spinney, 2011) in addition to forms of mapping, visualization, future scenario building, action-research and arts-based urban interventions Adey P (2010) *Aerial Life: Spaces, Mobilities, Affects*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. This book contains compelling historical analysis of the making of air space, aerial bodies, and 'aereality' that brings together non-representational theory, embodiment, affect, and materiality with a sensitivity to warfare and colonial violence.

Büscher M, Urry J and Witchger K (2010) *Mobile Methods*. London and New York: Routledge. This book provides good introduction to recent methodological challenges and emerging mobile methods, which are said to be producing a new realm of the empirical.

Cresswell T and Merriman P (eds) (2011) *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects*. Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate. This book presents an excellent overview of practices like walking, running, dancing, driving and flying; spaces like roads and airports; and subjects like commuters, tourists and refugees, by some of the leading thinkers in the cultural geography of mobilities. Kaplan C (1996) Questions of

Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. This is an early and influential feminist critique of postmodern nomadic theories, which helped to shape new approaches in the subsequent mobilities turn, attended more carefully to power, exclusion, and differential experiences of travel and movement.

Mountz A (2010) Seeking Asylum: Human Smuggling and Bureaucracy at the Border. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. Award-winning study of recent border-practices and the production of the (im) mobilities of refugees and asylum-seekers under new conditions of surveillance, detention camps and states of exception.

Urry J (2007) Mobilities. London: Polity. One of the first definitive guides to the field of mobilities research, by one of its leading theorists, introducing its central tenets, research areas and implications for the social sciences.

3.10 Cristina Iannelli and Lindsay Paterson Scotland study –

Functionalist modernization theory envisages the continuous rapid changes in technology that characterise highly specialised and skilled work forces required by modern capitalist economies. workers' recruitment in factories cannot be based on consideration of individuals' ascriptive factors, such as sex or race but need to be based on an evaluation of individual workers' abilities and skills in order to maintain the efficiency of industries. In this context educational achievements become a very powerful indicator in the choice of good

workers. At the same time, education also becomes an instrument for social mobility. From the individuals' point of view, not alone for the maintenance of status over generations.

This expectation that modern economic developments lead to an equalisation process in society, has been put in doubt by various empirical studies which showed no evidence of happening that conclusively. In other words, the relative advantage of belonging to a middle class family for an individual, compared to a working class family in acquiring higher education and occupational positions has remained constant. Erikson and Goldthorpe's famous study has brought out that relative differences among social classes have not substantially changed over time in nine industrialised countries (among them Great Britain and the US). [*The Constant Flux*, (1992)]

the relation between social origin and occupational destination is ultimately affected by the association between social origin and educational attainment, but for a long time, adequate attention was not paid to that part of research which is seen as a weakness of modernisation theories. It was Blau and Duncan's pioneering work *The American Occupational Structure* in 1967 in the United States which clearly showed that most of the effect of social class of origin on individuals' labour market destinations was decided by educational attainment of individual. They had observed a strong association between father's position and

son's educational attainment existed which in turn affected son's primary occupational destinations.

Blau and Duncan's study inspired many researcher to test their thesis at other places resulting in a series of other studies addressing the same issues. In Great Britain Halsey (1977) concluded after serious studies that "ascriptive forces find ways of expressing themselves as achievement" (p.184). More recently Marshall *et al.* (1997) explored how individual's educational attainment mediates the relationship between social class of origin and social class of destination. They reported similar results to the ones presented by Blau and Duncan. Moreover, They further found that, even when controlling the factor of education, class differences in the chances of gaining higher occupational status did not vary perceptibly. Moreover, they also found, over recent times, class effects have been increasingly mediated by individual's educational attainment. The probable explanation for these observations is that middle class families tend to invest in their children's education more than families of lower class; which is Facilitated by the larger availability of economic and cultural resources, because they are aware that the maintaining of the social advantage of origin by their off springs Indeed depends more and more upon the acquisition of high educational qualifications by them. Another study by (Müller and Shavit 1998: 1) has also corroborated this observation by their cross-country comparative study which

concludes that education is a crucial mediating link between the social background of individuals and their later class destinations; resulting into reinforcing social inequalities and reducing chances of social mobility.

Another attempt of considering two research reports of the same area for the same period of time yield useful results. Payne published in 1987, his study of social mobility In Scotland from the 1980s and simultaneously, analysed similar data from the 1970s. the findings show large amounts of absolute mobility, especially upward mobility, which also benefited non-manual classes there. Another research on education by McPherson and Williams published in 1987, conducted In the same years as Payne, of the same area, found that, over time, the gap between students from middle class and working class families in educational attainment in public examinations was reduced remarkably. Partly, credit for This decline in social inequalities in education has been mainly attributed to the process of reorganisation of the Scottish secondary education system along comprehensive lines, however, the problem lies in the fact that it does not deal with the issue of the equalisation process in education resulting into an equalisation process in the occupational distribution of people from different social classes in Scotland.

Payne uses data from the Social Mobility Survey which refer, latest, to the beginning of the 1970s. Interestingly in his work, upward mobility

of sons (of workers) from manual social classes towards non-manual occupations was found to be mostly independent of the attainment of high levels of education by them. further research has shown the positive effects of the introduction of the comprehensive reorganisation of secondary education system in Scotland started to emerge only in the 1970s and 1980s.

In the reorganization process, the introduction of the Standard Grade, replacing O-grades, was an important modification because it expanded access to a core academic curriculum at age approximately 14-16. Amongst other studies, Gamoran (1996) focused on studying effects of this particular reform. He demonstrated that this reform increased students' educational achievement and the connection between family background of students and their attainment within schools was reduced remarkably. He postulated that increasing access to academic study is beneficial for students from lower social classes as it opened the doors to more advanced studies and increased pressure for access to education even after completing secondary level.

Similarly, in studies of Croxford the proportion of those young people who left school without achieving at least one Scottish Certificate of Education (SCE) O-grade/Standard grade award (at A-C/1-3) has been shown declining over time, this is observed especially in the years after comprehensive reorganisation. This is substantiated by another study

by Tinklin who found that the rates of entry to higher education had increased dramatically as a result of reorganization process. (Tinklin 2000; Croxford 2001).

Thus, it will be realized that the link among social class of origin, educational attainment and class of destination is definitely of central concern to social mobility studies though The above mentioned studies do not go further in investigating individuals' subsequent occupational outcomes in spite of pointing towards an equalisation process in educational outcomes.

3.10.2 A famous scholar : Olsen Mehta

Exploring the mobility issue from another perspective – that of employment and occupations, these researchers postulate that both men's and women's labour force involvements are explored here with a view to a balanced, nuanced and in-depth analysis of the differences that emerge between groups of people. [AA] obviously, These differences have several meanings. Firstly, they clearly indicate that causal tendencies are operating simultaneously on quite big homogeneous groups of people. This homogeneity arises due to cultural background, demographic conditions, and include economic poverty as Shared features of the groups. Secondly, such homogenous groups may demonstrate that a majority of people of similar type will make a similar explicit choice, e.g. one group avoids paid work and tends to do domestic work instead. This

interpretation of domestic work sounds rather structuralist. But in the labour market, the career break often has negative effects on a person's lifetime chances. such "choices" actually may be disempowering or sub-optimal for an individual but that is due to social norms constraining and putting Constraints on one's choice as shown by Folbre (1994). For example, Fraser (1994) argues that "women are exploited through the capitalist system in particular". even in Marxist theorisations of the reserve army of labour it was normally not allowed though They performed socially necessary labour. (see also Folbre, 1982; Custers, 2000). Thirdly, the differences amongst various groups suggest that policy made with one image of 'women's needs' only, may go wrong if applied to all women. further nuances are suggested by Extending a gender analysis to allow for *men's needs*.

For example, in India, questions like, Do employed women get a lower wage than men for subjective reasons? are employers expecting to pay a breadwinner's wage to each man? Will need to be answered. One paper cannot answer all these questions but we do succeed in describing the overall situation in terms of employment outcomes in some detail.

Tendency to get employed is strong among all degree level graduates, not excluding Muslim women also. A U-curve of employment probabilities exists over education levels. It is decisively stronger

among Muslim women than among non-Muslim women. a wide range of factors can be responsible for that including a sense that a woman's education is a sure way to gain social status and not merely wages in future; or the fear that a woman's role as protector of the honour of her family could be damaged if she is being seen in public; or may be a sense among household members – especially if the household is urban and middle-income – that they can afford one woman to stay at home most of the time.

In those parts of the country which have implicit cultural values associated with Sanskritisation, Brahmanical gender norms, and/or the habit of observing *pardah*, A higher status is generally attributed to the role of housewife (Chakravarti, 1993; George, 2002; Poitevin and Rairkar, 1993).

The primary prediction of human capital theory is that the wages reflect the rewards earned by human capital in productive enterprises. It has the following three components: First there is the potential worker's subjective understanding of what he would earn if he worked for pay; secondly, there is the act of gaining more education at schools or more training in firms and the third is the reward system firms encourage to increase productivity.

This theory relates to reality only approximately and roughly. Firstly, Agarwal, observes in his research, that it is a complex and cooperative

household which can have one or several bargaining and decision-making processes going on and not a *person alone* who reckons on earnings he could make, (1997). Secondly, Fevre has brought out the importance of *habitus* component in which status gains, family enculturation, emulation of role models, and avoidance of stress all play a part while making socially embedded decisions regarding investments in education and training; they are not merely individual rational choices. (using Welsh data, Fevre 1999). Thirdly, Kingdon, (1999 in Papola, ed., 1999) has shown that the rewards firms give to education differ substantially according to countries, regions, sectors, and even by the sex of worker.

While Deshpande and Deshpande blame gender-based discrimination being universal and enduring to explain the gender pay gap observed in urban India with a comment, “That women are overcrowded in low-paid, dead-end, insecure and in short, ‘bad’ jobs is easily verified . . . (1993: 223). However, among others Kingdon (1999) insists on detailed evidence for such charges since the situation of women’s employment varies from place to place and from job to job.

These vagaries of human capital theory leave it wounded but not dead meaning it provides with useful insights to interpret reality but is not sufficiently developed into a theory with broader application. The theory brings out that there is an opportunity cost of avoiding labour-

force participation. Simply put, If the individual's returns from paid work are low, his/her opportunity cost of not working will be also low. They will then tend toward being labour-market inactive. If one possesses a degree, the opportunity cost will be high since their workplace productivity is likely to be expected (by employers) to be high. From human capital theory, one would expect a tendency for upward move in the labour force participation rate as we move from lower to higher education levels.

It must be remembered that Human capital theory is part of a wide-ranging neoclassical theory of labour supply and demand. The main argument here is being that supply and demand cause the wage to reward workers according to marginal productivity. (as argued by Skoufias, 1992, for instance) Deshpande and Deshpande, showed in 1998, that Huge gender pay gaps existed in 1994, ranging from 43% among illiterate and lower primary workers to 23% among graduates, averaging at 20% overall (all figures are for urban India; the source cited is an NSS report dated 1997.)

To a neoclassical economist, market imperfections such as stereotypes, rigid segmentation by gender and cultural taboos on one sex doing certain operations can be introduced as explanatory factors but they act as preferences of individuals; as such, they are not part of the scope of economic science; and they cannot be treated in economic models.

Workers' utility-maximizing decision at household level is thought to be the result of an optimal distribution of the efforts toward paid and unpaid work, and leisure According to NHE. Detailed research by Skoufias has uncovered patterns in India which are consistent with this theory. First important of his observations is that women's labour time is seasonally spread quite differently from men's in India; his conclusions are based on detailed study of seasonal movements in wages and work-time (spent working on farms, either paid or unpaid). Certain farming tasks are taboo for women in most parts of rural India, notably ploughing the land, but in recent years women have taken on much more of the agricultural work than in the past. This generalisation is also supported by earlier data but in recent days feminisation of agricultural labour has occurred while rural men have inclined to take most of the new non-agricultural jobs in rural areas (DaCorta and Venkateswarlu, 1999; Harriss-White, 2003).

We can use political-economy institutionalism as hinted at by Ott (1997) and as spelt out in detail by Toye (2003), Hodgson (2004), and Harriss-White (2003) and avoid the whole neoclassical theoretical framework. Institutionalism here refers to an assumption that social norms are in a state of constant change as on the one hand, they interact with rules and on the other hand, with personal interpretations that either reproduce those rules or change them; the basic

understanding being that Institutions are never simply given. This is a new way to do pluralist economics and Veblen is one of the famous originators of today's institutionalism. For example, there are institutionalised norms In the case of India's labour markets, which help to define about the terms of employment. They decide what people expect from "piecework" "group contracts" "daily casual labour" (also called *coolie* labour), "exchange labour" and salaried work. Since these norms are ever-changing, they are always renegotiable and institutions are also potentially capable of differentiating even within one community.

There are three main types of Institutionalists who are studying the Indian labour market empirically. First, who focus research on gender differentiation is known as the women-in-development specialists, there are Second type who conducts studies of discrimination against women and its causes. The Third type are those who have been examining the formation of labour gangs, neighbourhood work groups, trade unions, (organized labour) and bonded labour relationships, migrant labour (unorganized) and different types of work contracts. "All these three groups are pluralist; it is primarily economists who isolate their arguments away from the details of competing theories" (Olsen, 2006). Our methodological pluralist research aims to mediate

between schools of thought such as neoclassical economists and some feminists, in order to bridge the gap between them.

at the 'individual' unit of analysis we effectively study the labour-force involvement. When labour-force involvement is classified into employment, self-employment, unpaid family labour, inactivity, and other, in a reductionist way.

Economic poverty at Household level is measured by the NSS by getting item-wise recall of monthly expenditure. It was then adjusted for the household size, giving a per capita indicator. For the purposes of the simple regressions here those people living in households with less than half of the median monthly expenditure were deemed to be poor. Byres and other Marxists have argued that resources owned at household level under the current legal system must be taken into account. A Marxist view on this augments both GAD and NHE by studying inter-household farm exploitation (e.g. Athreya *et al.*, 1991; Singh, 1995; Olsen and Mehta, 2005).

Culture and local social norms interact intricately leading to five main aspects of housewifery roles which are often perceived to be positively valued in rural and urban India (predominantly in most places, if not by all). These include (1) the process of 'Sanskritisation' of displaying upward caste mobility by invoking and demonstrating honourable role model for women, e.g. as the provider of refreshments at functions, the

peace maker of the household, and the beautiful object of admiration (Chakravarty, 1993; Dube, 1988). (2) Raghuram, (2001) has demonstrated that women engaged in professional occupations can successfully continue with their housewifery roles by employing other women to do much of the household nitty-gritty daily work and avoid the problem of double burden. (3) Non-employed Women can take care of such domestic matters without involving their employed men folk. Men's long working hours out of house support the full domestic responsibilities falling upon mothers' and wives' shoulders at home. The exclusion of men from the role of housewife, and from all records of extra-domestic work in NSS 55th round, demonstrates a growing gender role demarcation in India. It is widely interpreted as more dignified for men to be uninvolved with domestic matters.

(4) For the male household head Women are seen as the helpmeet and unpaid worker who do own farming work. This sexist and andocentric approach is a patriarchal value of farming households implicitly held very widely in society. (For comparative evidence in which French farm accountants are considered as 'just wives', see Delphy and Leonard, 1992).

(5) Many women along with people prefer to remain submissive and deferential toward men in general and toward elders in particular. Acting deferential is considered to be appropriate to keep the women

in secured relationships which protect the women in a patronising way. These women insist that they have a large and valued ‘private life’ (e.g. women observing purdah who sit with other such women in a household courtyard chatting). However they are effectively then barred from engaging in public life.

3.10.3 Theory of space – Odis Johnson

The growing interest in the relationship between one’s context and opportunity has increased the need to explain social mobility according to “place,” within the social sciences, and the sociology of education in particular. By the term “place,” I mean ecological units in which populations are distinguished by social, cultural, and economic characteristics since they are organized in accordance with economic and social forces.

If social mobility is to be explained through a primary neighbourhood educational institution, a lot of synthesis, coherence, recognition, and utility is required in explaining an ecological system of differentiation many elements of which have been presented fundamental to urban sociologists, criminologists, and economists. Thus, task in this project is to (1) assess the development of a theory of “place” within the field of sociology of education; (2) describe the distributive mechanisms that shape up and economically stratify various social associations that constitute ecological units to form endogenous capital called

“proximity capital” and (3) consequently, within those units, elaborate the conditions that facilitate an individual’s success or failure in converting that proximity capital into desired social mobility.

The earlier functional theories placed more emphasis on the contribution of school outputs to the occupational structure of society and less emphasis on the contribution of social inputs, such as neighbourhood resources, to school-based systems of early student differentiation. For example, while Sorokin had argued that the occupational structure’s need for skilled labour provided a sort of mandate for educational institutions to test, sort out, and selectively allocate individuals into occupations according to their respective abilities (1959); Parsons stressed importance of educational achievement (1959). Clark (1960) and others doubted the efficacy of schools in accomplishing this goal, what looks clear is that the social unrest of the 1960s questioned of association between societal inputs represented by ascriptive characteristics and schooling outputs. Though Collins’s explicit criticism of ‘technical-function’ theory highlighted its inability to explain persistent differences within educational performance according to class of origin or ethnicity (1977), Bowles and Gintis had already advanced a more functional yet neo-Marxist understanding of schooling based on the socializing influence of work, families, and schools on children more than other factors. (1976).

Capitalists socialized their employees in such a way that workers' dedication to a life of labour is ensured, and in doing so profit generation is guaranteed and the maintenance of the stratified social class structure in the interests of the elite is also guaranteed. In their turn, Workers subconsciously socialized youth through child rearing practices and school education to meet the demands of the occupational structure for appropriately trained workers. Thus, ultimately, Mobility through schooling was reserved mostly for the children of the elite; limited opportunity existed for the less fortunate, resulting in social reproduction for everyone. The potential creation of a niche for the consideration of place is more apparent in the neo-Weberian perspective since it acknowledges status groups and their ability to represent social characteristics without consideration of class, thus, avoiding a preoccupation with the individual and purely economic precursors of mobility. The sources giving rise to status groups, according to Weber are multiple and include differences in life situations extending from geographic origin also.

While Functional theory appropriately identified the family as a source of variation in society's distributive processes, it failed in considering fully how and why families were organized and consequently how the sorting function of families is preceded by ecological processes. All such factors, it must be remembered make unmistakable contributions

to the end result. Many researchers have noted that The enactment of place-based social policies such as redlining and the construction programs of public housing, or suburban development projects along with the exercise of residential preferences increased the more homogenous grouping of families based on social class (Goetz, 2003; Massey & Denton, 1993; Venkatesh, 2000; Wilson, 1987); consequently, strengthening the efficiency of the processes of differentiation within schools. Karabel and Halsey (1977) hold the view that functional and conflict theories considered *how* and *why* educational systems function, cultural theories examine the content of those systems or *what* is being taught. Most importantly, however, this field has progressed in (i) defining the agents that accentuate the advancement of individuals in education, departing from the functionalists' identification of ability, (ii) noting the importance of ascription in advancement, and finally (iii) exploring the conduit of capital.

Bourdieu argued in his account of social mobility through schooling that educational institutions are highly entrusted with the intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge that partially reflects society's greatest cultural products or 'high culture.' (1977a). the cultural capital concept is truly one of the most influential theories in cultural studies of Bourdieu (1977b). According to Bourdieu,

schools only transmit culture, not the instruments for its appropriation, thus rendering those born into economically advantaged families receive the instruments needed to appropriate the knowledge transmitted in schools, through rearing. Unfortunately those lacking capital and the cultivation of the requisite cultural tools are forced to depend on schools to cultivate these dispositions. (1977a). Bourdieu's thinking thus exhibits great potential and utility in bringing out distinctions among areas according to the concentration of predispositions toward learning and academic achievement levels among school children.

Bourdieu (1977a) maintains "the educational system reproduces all the more perfectly the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among classes in that the culture which it transmits is closer to dominant culture" (p. 493). Schools simply transmit dominant cultural knowledge irrespective of their ecological type. Performance differentiation occurs mostly according to the distribution of student predispositions that may or may not allow them to learn. Bourdieu's theorized process of differentiation within schools consequently becomes one of the more inefficient processes described within educational theory. Its contention is that schools transmit only dominant culture although the populations they serve have already been sorted out according to their ability to appropriate such

transmissions quite decisively, in some instances, at the neighbourhood level. Mobility as a mechanism reflecting interactions between institutions of power and individuals, as well as between individuals within institutions, have been illustrated aptly by MacLeod and Willis. This latter illustration is fundamental to an understanding of place, and of processes dependent on the association of individuals inhabiting certain social class attributes.

MacLeod (1987) (p. 15). Ogbu (1987) hypothesized that youth acquire the cultural curriculum that accompanies minority group dispositions and via schooling toward affiliation, then those dispositions often conflict with the behaviour pattern that is expected of them by individuals of other community.

While traditional ecological models emphasize the “relations of individuals affected by the selective, distributive and accommodative forces of the environment” (McKenzie, 1925, p. 64), Ogbu’s rendition of ecology relies on populations’ historical social “place” within processes of marginalization, not so much their physical place in the social environment. Social capital theory was introduced by Loury (1977) and Bourdieu (1985) and defined in educational theory most notably by Coleman (1988).

These theorists define social capital in terms of the human capital including relationship norms, and possible mobility one acquires from

interacting with others who possesses greater human and/or social capital. The “capital” in this case exists within the social ties between individuals and groups that enable the transfer of social resources. Many researchers have identified several important features of the social capital theory that was produced during this time, such as, the strength of the tie Granovetter [1978, 1983]; the intergenerational closure such ties produce (Coleman, 1987); factors that enable social mobility, as also the type of activity that ties enable (Portes & Landolt, 1996). Coleman (1988) suggested, although not specifically, that variability in social capital arises from differences in the context of the beneficiary. From this, it would not be unreasonable to expect that to some degree one’s immediate context populates the individuals with which ties are established, and through them, ties are generated with others located beyond the close context. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that as networks extend beyond the immediate context of the beneficiary, it is quite obvious that their composition is influenced heavily by that immediate context. Granovetter In another application suggested that individuals in lower income strata have fewer weak ties and rely more heavily on their stronger ties with family, friends, and neighbours. Thus, having weak ties in addition to the strong ones help an individual to connect to more heterogeneous and a larger network of resources and opportunities for their advancement. (1983).

For example, Arum (2000) declares: Educational practices are more a reflection of a school's institutional community (e.g., state regulatory agencies, professional associations, training organizations, and market competition) than of a school's neighbourhood demographic community. Neo-institutional educational research, therefore, offers an explicit challenge to traditional ecological educational research, which has conceptualized schools as being embedded primarily in localized community settings. Schools are organizations, and as such their communities are by definition largely institutional in character." (Arum, 2000, p. 396)

Researchers like Lee, Croninger, & Smith suggested that higher-income groups are more likely to take advantage of school choice, than lower-income and minority groups. It can be done using policies to obtain educational environments of advantage (1996). The true significance of such findings is that institutional effects may mediate neighbourhood influences as much as they might inspire them.

A few neighbourhood studies in education have already examined this possibility. Mateu-Gelabert & Lune have explored the bi-directional flow of violence between neighbourhoods and schools (2003); Bayoh, Irwin, & Haab have studied the influence of educational policies and school reputations on the residential choices of parents, and by extension, the composition of neighbourhoods (2006); while (Brunner

& Sonstelie, 2003; Kane, Staiger, & Reigg, 2006; Nechyba, 2000) have examined school influence on the price of housing in the neighbourhood.

The importance of institutions and the importance of a school's demographic community, its larger social milieu, and built environment might marginalize the investigation of these important relationships if conceptual limits are imposed on them; it should be avoided. The most and easily apparent of these capitals is the economic that serves as a marker of individual's socioeconomic status. Individual's Income and family wealth continues to motivate the formation of associations of various types, from marriage to organizational affiliation. Consequently, cultural capital, often binds relationships between individuals who might share certain cultural tastes as has already been discussed. For example, popularity, style, and command of certain cultural practices, often provide young generation with a means of encouraging some to establish peer groups while dissuading others. (Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman, 1988) have brought out that social capital, is itself a tie between individuals who together enable a transfer of opportunity or some resource necessary to the creation of human capital. Human capital being the last of these capitals is the investment in the cultivation of a person's skill, generally through education (Schultz, 1960, 1961).

Economic, cultural, social, and human capitals, then, are desirous and inspire one to build potentially mutually beneficial associations. In relation to the association, the demonstration of a person's human capital invites others to be mentored or taught or to join efforts to complete a task of mutual interest. Such associations are not necessarily always entered into with a perfect understanding of their social returns or consequences to all participants. 'Beneficial' here is ventured with the awareness of this reality. Carter has noted that cultural capital of Non dominant, may help young adolescents to identify the social preferences within their peer group, but it does little to help them academically (2003). Portes & Landolt observe that social capital may, Likewise, provide the resources necessary for success as well as for potentially self-defeating behaviour Subsequently, These capitals supply the initial inclination among individuals that brings about the associations that form places. (1996).

Inasmuch as individuals are motivated by the prospects of accumulating social capital in entering association, market forces need to be Considered first, because it is the capital which may put constrains on their choice and ability to achieve access to the most exclusive, affluent, and rewarding associations. Market forces consist of a more explicit appraisal of the quality of associations and produce a purely economic standard for sorting them; thus constituting another

mechanism through which individuals are distributed into associations. This distributive mechanism rewards economic capital by economic capital, meaning, those that have the most capital gain access to the associations of greatest value. The less advantaged, are relegated to membership in associations of a lesser value; for example, being discouraged by the markets' high valuation of good neighbourhoods and good schools,

3.10.4 Capital of the Associations: Endogenous Capital and Ecology

In our theoretical model, individuals have been sorted into associations of social class, and in turn, as a whole compose a social class distribution of associations. There are quite a few qualities of this distribution of associations that are important to note At this point.

First, because individuals come to these associations with differing amounts of capital, the distribution of capital among these associations is primarily unequal. In this case, the stratified social composition has given rise to stratified structures of association since it is supported by the organization of equally stratified individuals. Consequently, as associations reflect the capital of its constituent members, lead to materialization of the inequitable distribution of capital across them.

Second, the capital of the association is endogenous in the sense that its ability to support social mobility is defined contextually. The traditional conceptualizations of social class that assume one's socioeconomic status

is an exogenous individual-level attribute, Unlike that, endogenous capital recognizes that the economic returns to individual capital depend, partly at least, on the social class of the associations in which an individual is situated. The benefits accruing to middle-class families residing in affluent communities, we find that, are greater than those accruing to families of comparable income but living among the less advantaged. This capital can be considered as a ‘capital of the associations’ or for short, ‘proximity capital’. It possesses properties that are specific to places. Amongst the formulation of theories of endogenous capital which are useful in illustrating the role played by capital in enabling status attainment for individuals and communities. Economists Lundberg and Startz, for example, term the spatial situation of capital as ‘community social capital’ and clearly define it as “the average stock of human capital” that one generation may transmit to the next, (2000). In contrast, that being ecological nature, community social capital refers to the prevailing ‘norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness’ arising from relationships among individuals (p. 19). Hawley postulates that ‘Associations are ecological in function in that they carry out the general aims of human sustenance and competition’. (1986).

Other investigations of male peer culture by (MacLeod, 1987; Willis, 1977) describe that the competition for resources may seemingly instigate rivalries between adolescent groups. These associations are also ecological in nature, because they impose themselves on the associating members as

an external fact once structures for sustenance and competition are created, (Park, 1925). Surprisingly, writing over a century ago in (1899), W. E. B. DuBois said it first, observing that the environment had an “immense effect”—perhaps of the greatest magnitude—on the thought, life, work, crime, wealth, and pauperism of the inhabitants. (p. 44). In sum, structures arise in accordance with their capital, once associations are established. Subsequently, social processes ensue, and individual dispositions and behaviour follow.

It looks that the framework suggested here for assessing why certain sections lag behind others, how far the social surrounding of a person affects his/her educational attainment and thereby further chances of mobility in life. At practical level, this should provide a guide for data collection and analysis of the data collected.

3.10.5 Sabiha’s expert opinion on womens occupation

Muslim women of the Indian subcontinent, at the beginning of the emancipation era were struggling for access to modern education and campaigning against purdah system as the main points. Muslim community throughout India were debating considerably around these issues in the late 19th and first half of the 20th century. The efforts for reform by Muslim men on behalf of their women were characterized by the remarkable progress made by other communities in India, and were inspired by the basic changes taking place in other Muslim

countries of the Middle East. Nevertheless, the religious restrictions hampered any emergence of national sentiments among Muslim women in addition to social restraints, educational backwardness and economic limitations. The period between 1911 and 1924 witnessed the revocation of the partition of Bengal (in 1905) - a blow to those leaders who had seen eastern Bengal as a strong source of Muslim administrative jobs and political influence, the spread of Khilafat movement, refusal of the British government for approving the plan of some Muslim leaders for a separate university in Aligarh, the non-cooperation and Swadeshi movements led by Mahatma Gandhiji was a time of churning for Muslims in India because in all these political efforts women had a role to play as it was the case for other communities in India.

The Ahmadiyah movement, on the one hand, was primarily concerned with the social teachings of Islam with regard to progress of modern society while the overall Muslim outlook had been radically changed due to educational influence of the Aligarh university movement. Both had an effect on the process of gradual emancipation of Muslim women (Ghadially 1996).

3.10.6 Umbrin and Malik: Expert opinion

The Muslims, since the very inception of Islam, were firmly attached to the religious education. While the modern scientific education and higher

education has not been very popular in Islamic world. So was the case with Indian Muslims. However, it would be worthwhile to note here that other religious groups in India were fully aware of the benefits of the modern scientific education and they wholeheartedly accepted it and were achieving its fruits in the form of getting government jobs and developing their own business on modern lines. But the Indian Muslims did nothing in this respect (Khalidi, 1995, 68).

Aijaz-ud-din Ahmed, a known Indian Muslim scholar has discussed the Indian Muslims were facing in education and in culture. He maintains that low level of literacy and dismally high dropout rate at the primary and secondary level with little interest in technical and professional education has reduced them to the poor status in the society.

There are two schools of thought regarding the Muslims' backwardness in economic as well as in education. One of them suggests that the Muslims' backwardness is due to discriminatory policies adopted by successive Indian governments while the other is of the opinion that the Muslims themselves are responsible for that as they have kept themselves aloof from modern scientific education and are firmly attached with the madrassa education e.g. religious education (Ahmad, Ausaf ; 1980,231).

According to Asghar Ali Engineer, a prominent Indian Muslim scholar and author of a number of books on Indian Muslims says that both the opinions have some weight. He further maintains that "discrimination

against the Indian Muslims is an established fact and Muslims' aloofness from modern and secular education does exist as well but the reason is not on religious ground but due to lack of financial resources" (Engineer, 2006, 16-17).

3.11 Mobility amongst Muslim women in India -

Our survey proves that with the influence of considerably better educational background of the parents and other family members, awareness is emerging among Muslim women about the importance of higher education in different fields.

Attitudinal change is significant and encouraging, but with reference to empowerment we can say that they are in transitory stage.

In spite of pathetic socioeconomic conditions of Muslims, as documented in the *Sachar Committee Report*, we find that Muslim women are aware of the changes and the demands of the time, and that they want to cope up with the progress and development achieved by their counterparts in other religious groups. They aspire to achieve equal status and empowerment by utilizing the opportunities of education and employment made available to them. They are struggling to overcome a number of socio-economic, cultural and religious constraints hampering their march towards progress and development.

However viewing from an optimistic angle we can say that though Muslim women have remained backward in most of the areas of life and are slow

in availing the benefits of the ongoing development process, in recent years there have been some signs of change. Indian Muslim women today, it seems, are standing on the cross roads and they have to find the much coveted status guaranteed by the society under the name of equality of opportunity. However this is not an easy task.

The present study is an attempt to find solutions to the problems posed. Against the popular belief among Muslims and others, that Muslim women is discouraged to participate in the mainstream and that they are reluctant to change, our study attempts to examine this belief and also assess the degree and direction of changes that have taken place in the role and status of Muslim women. The assumption is that Muslim women are aware of the rapid changes taking place all over the globe including India, and that they also aspire to participate in the process of development at large and acquire empowerment by availing the opportunities of education and employment thrown open by the fast changing society. They are aware that they have to fight at two fronts; first within the framework of Muslim society and also with the masculine domination at large.

The Muslim woman would be considered to be changing and achieving empowerment:

1. If she aspires for higher education.
2. If she has the freedom to decide attainment of higher education.
3. If she wants to acquire economic independence.
4. If she has the freedom to choose economic activity of her choice.

5. If she has the freedom and autonomy in case of marriage, observance of *Purdah*, management of income, decisions in family matters like education, employment, marriage of children and property matters etc.

3.12 Relation of the adopted variables with Change and

Empowerment:

Education, Employment and Status in family play decisive role in enabling women to achieve empowerment. Now, let us briefly discuss the linkages among Education, Employment and Status of women in the family and, and as to how they lead to the change and empowerment of women. Education helps in skill development, resourcefulness and employment which in turn facilitate empowerment. Empowerment means assigning power which means control over material assets, intellectual resources and ideology. Empowerment of women also means women's ability to understand, articulate and seek solutions for one's own problems. This includes the right to take decision, independence to do what they like, have control over their income, increased importance in the family and community, and ability to articulate their issues publicly. Empowerment also means individuals acquiring the power to think and act freely, exercise choice and to fulfil their potential as full and equal members of the society In the light of the above we can say that education and the acquiring of various skills helps in getting employment and economic independence to women. Also status of women in the family improves. With economic independence women develop a sense of self-

worth, belief in their ability to think and act freely and gather courage to challenge the existing social and economic order and demand their rights to have control over their income and right to have their say in the decision making about their own and major family matters and thereby attain equal status and empowerment in the family and society.

3.12.1 Education, Change and Empowerment:

With reference to the first hypotheses mentioned above and the analyses of data with reference to the indicators of change and empowerment adopted by us, the following conclusions can be drawn:

Mobility and change of status depends on the opportunity and access to education. Socioeconomic background, status of the family and the attitude of parents affects educational opportunity. Thus parents no more consider the role of women as 'housewives' and 'mothers'. Instead their aim is empowerment of women in the field of education. Our conclusion in this regard gets added support in view of the fact that around 68% respondents are granted freedom by their parents to decide about the stream of education and higher education to their daughters.

As already stated , we come to the conclusion that there is a positive change in the attitude of not only respondents but their parents also, and that realization of the necessity of being employed , proper utilization of talent , and growing sense of responsibility of not only improving the economic condition of family but contributing in economic growth and

development of the society, reflect the maturity attained by the respondents . We can further conclude that with changing attitude, and enjoying the freedom of taking up employment, they are on the way of achieving empowerment.

3.12.2 Emerging Trends:

Based on the above findings we may submit that the data convincingly supports our hypotheses. A careful and critical perusal of the findings based on hypotheses and the indicators of change and empowerment adopted for the present study lead us to conclude that

- Socio-economic profile of the sample population indicates that there is considerable change in the position of Muslim women.
- With the influence of considerably better educational background of the parents and other family members, awareness is emerging among Muslim women about the importance of higher education in different fields. They have clearly understood the magnitude of changes in social and economic order all over the globe and they are confident enough to meet the challenges. Attitudinal change is significant and encouraging, but with reference to empowerment we can say that they are in transitory stage.
- Muslim women are aware of the importance and inevitability of education as a tool of change and development, and those they aspire for higher education and seek freedom to decide in the

matters of education, personality development, career development, and economic independence with the aim of raising their status and achieving empowerment.

- With reference to employment also there is a positive change. Muslim women are inclined towards employment because they have realized that through economic independence only they can achieve economic freedom and empowerment. In the process of achieving these aims they are getting support from their parents.
- Muslim women have realized that Islam does not stop them from working outside home and that the practice of *Purdah* is not a hindrance in personality development and raising the economic status of women.
- Muslim women want freedom in case of choice of their life partner. They want to claim back the right of their consent in marriage which is guaranteed by Islam but denied to them in practice.
- In case of status in the family they are far from being meek and submissive and do not want to reconcile to their fate and male domination. They want total freedom in case of routine household affairs. They want to have their say and equal participation in decision making in important family matters like education, employment and marriage of their children. However, their progress in the direction of achieving equal status and

empowerment in the family is slow and therefore, we can say that in this regard they are in a transitory stage. It is heartening to see that several encouraging changes are taking place in the attitude and status of Muslim women. They want to achieve higher education, be employed and have better status in family. Thus they would like to be empowered. However the fact remains that the rate of change is slow because of a number of constraints and problems faced by them which hinder them from achieving empowerment. The prominent factors are illiteracy, economic backwardness, ignorance about various schemes of financial assistance and upliftment meant for women and weaker sections of the society.

3.13 Change and development perspectives

In newly independent and de-colonized countries after World War II, the problems of economic growth were tackled as the top priority, though there were many other problems entailed partly by a legacy of their traditions and partly accentuated by the foreign rule for a long time. Liberation from foreign rule was more significant politically than in economic terms for most of the countries.

The decolonized countries had poverty, unemployment and backwardness in social spheres as the starting point of their independence and the people in those countries expected betterment of life in the shortest possible time

and with minimum public efforts, otherwise independence had no meaning for masses where expectations from political system and the state were constantly rising.

Broadly speaking, two models of development based on alternative political ideology had been available for those countries to choose from. One that of communism-socialism and the other more routinely known as 'capitalist growth'. A few of the independent countries embraced the path of communism/socialism; the rest searched for solutions in capitalist economic framework.

The communist/socialist path required that social transformation should be the starting point for economic development while capitalist thinkers and ideologues depicted a reverse and therefore an easy as well as a rosy looking path. While left- wing theorists (including Soviet and Mao) took a socialist system to be the environment in which a development plan was to be located, most other theorists were not explicit about the kind of system they had in mind when they either proposed or opposed specific plans for development of the underdeveloped economics. (Bagchi; 1995:101) The latter wanted the economy of a nation to grow so that necessary social changes could follow automatically.

One overarching approach that seems to stand apart relates to the 'capabilities approach' proposed by Amartya Sen.

Sen has criticized the conventional view of economic development ‘as expansion of commodity supplies or GNP growth (Gandhi; 2000: 167) and argued the case for its characterization as expansion of human capabilities, namely the measure of freedom people enjoy in choosing the kinds of lives they lead - and lives that may be deemed worthy in an objective sense’(Banerjee: 2000: 36); a few other thinkers also held a similar expectation from development process. For some the realization of individual potential has to be placed at the centre of things, and for others dignity, liberty and satisfaction at the workplace count for quite as much as material affluence does. Some writers in a more classical tradition have emphasized importance of expanding the range of choices open to individuals (Bell; 1995:01).

3.15 Development Economics: Three Tendencies

Development economics, carved out as a ‘sub discipline’ to focus on the economic problems of newly independent colonies, originated during, and after World War II. The conjuncture was marked by theoretical and political developments. The first tendency is labeled as the ‘unholy alliance’ by Hirschman, between the neo-liberal and neo-Marxist paradigms, both discouraging from different standpoints, an active state pursuing independent national development strategies. (Hirschman; 1982)

The early writings in development economics share in common a distrust of the proposition that matters can be left to the market. Even Bauer being

extremely opposed to this has never advocated pure *laissez faire*. (Bell; 1995:15)

The second tendency of post-war development economics refers to its own ‘neoclassical synthesis’, which derives from the neoclassical synthesis of Keynesian theory itself which has meant a substantial revision of its original agenda. The problematic of development is now shifting to one of ‘right prices’ and ‘efficiency of resource use’. This theory lends no immediate support to the contention that intervention will invariably make matters worse.” (Ibid: 16)

The third and final tendency relates to the rising importance of normative and empirical approaches to specific dimensions of underdevelopment in isolation such as poverty, income distribution, minimum needs, famine, health and so forth. It has grown out of genuine policy concerns about the failure of ‘trickle-down effects’ of economic growth in poor countries and the need for more direct attacks on poverty and squalor specifically in their rural areas. The conceptual richness of discussions is reflected in ‘minimum needs’ and ‘capabilities’ (a la Amartya Sen) approaches. Yet there is a tendency to view them as issues ‘in themselves’, in isolation from the general economic theory and therefore from the context of systemic forces operating on underdevelopment. (Roy; 2000: 55).

3.16 Understanding Change : Methodological Issues

Studying social development and changes gives rise to two interrelated questions. First, what constitutes 'change' in such an economy and whether it is measurable in terms of conventional, commodity-centric categories of prices and quantities? Second, if conventional categories and measures fail to capture anything except superficial change, what is the appropriate alternative measurement? (Sen ; 1966)

G. Omkarnath has suggested that development analysis can be meaningful if it addresses itself to commodities and capabilities together and not as dichotomous categories, and the elements of an approach for understanding the formation of capabilities in a developing economy need to be explored (Omkarnath: 1997).

The problem at hand is to delineate a framework that permits us to the process of economic development directly in relation to people, the opportunities available to them and changes therein. This, of course, means going beyond commodities to evaluate the content of development, and try to grasp the underlying social relations of production.

Sen's characterization of economic changes, has a direct bearing on at least two major approaches that occupy prominent place in the development sociology. Development as 'modernization' and as 'dependency' process. Modernization theorists tend to interpret the ways

in which so-called 'traditional' social structures become incorporated into larger scale political and economic systems, and in so doing gradually acquire 'modernism'. Such a study requires documenting the processes by which societies become more differentiated institutionally, achieve new modes of structural integration and transfer technical, social and cultural items from the more 'modern' to the more 'traditional' sector and to diagnose the social-cultural factors that facilitate or impede this process.

In contrast, 'dependency theorists visualize the effects of national dependence in terms of the setting up of vertically-organized patterns of dependency between metropolitan centres and various regional and local satellites.'"(Long; 1977:185)

While thinking of changes in rural sector of decolonized countries, two approaches have dominated the research orientations: 'Improvement' approach and 'transformation' approach. The improvement approach aims to bolster up existing patterns of economic sector through reform measures, while the transformation approach seeks to bring about structural change through making radical break with existing systems and structures of domination.

Improvement policies rest fundamentally on a modernization view of change, that stresses the importance of the diffusion of modern technology, skills and resources to the 'traditional' sector, which for various reasons has lacked both motivation and opportunities to develop

economically. This strategy, it is hoped, will lead to the emergence of 'progressive' group who use improved techniques and produce for the market, and who eventually, through a 'demonstration effect', will encourage others to follow them. This policy is in contrast with the transformation approach, which tends to draw its inspiration from a more radical tradition of social research that emphasizes the need for a break with existing systems of peasant production and eliminating neo-colonial patterns of exploitation. (Long; 1977:183)

3.17 Actor oriented approach

The main contribution of this approach is that it focuses on variations in responses by different social groups and categories to broadly similar external circumstances; and it examines how local economies get integrated with wider nexuses. This approach enables one to appreciate how the opportunity structure is in fact manipulated by particular household in accordance with its needs and in order to develop new economic and social strategies. "This leads to ... an account of how particular categories of peasants attempt to legitimate their decisions and courses of action through an appeal to values and ideologies. It emphasizes the need to view the significance of development and change from the actors' or recipients' perspectives, i. e. from 'below' rather than 'above'." (Long; 1977:186-188)

3.17.1 A conceptual framework:

Citizen participation in this context is defined as the process whereby citizens that is people with only the power of their numbers are able to actively exercise influence over significant decisions at different levels regarding societal goals, allocation of resources and therefore on the community's quality of life. (Hooyman; 1981:111-13).

The main objective of the participatory approach is long-term sustenance. It should not only bring about lasting changes in the economic indicators of development but also in the social structure and mind-set of the people in terms of greater self-reliance, reducing dependency and greater commitment to equity (gender, class, and caste), perception of greater degree of control over the immediate environment, etc.

Another proposal that attracted attention of researchers forwarded by Edward Fagan (1964: 8-32) is what may be referred to as 'an interactional or field-theory approach'. The principal assumptions of this approach are that 'social phenomena result from the dynamic interaction of the interests and wishes of individuals and that social structure is in a continuous process of emergence'. The focus of such an approach is upon the field of interaction itself rather than upon the elements in interaction, and the future states of social relationships are never regarded as fixed or static. An alternate approach, best advocated by T. Parsons, (1951) would be to regard units of social life, e.g., groups, organizations, and communities, as

social systems, each struggling toward equilibrium or balance. The latter was the dominant theoretical approach in sociology until 1950s. It was, however, shown that a 'social systems' approach failed to account for the most pervasive aspect of social life in modern society, that being a condition of accelerated social change. The field theory approach emphasizes change, and for that reason seems more appropriate for use in conceptualization, in contrast to the systems approach. (Fagan; 1964: 133-139) It is a developmental rather than a deterministic model of social reality.

The discussions and views expressed above are keeping larger scale in view. In order to undertake an empirical scale research work, it is necessary to keep certain concrete objectives in mind. For this purpose, the following objectives have been considered to be useful and also to be within the reach of the researcher.

3.17.2 The Objectives of Study:

1. To attempt mapping changing trends in Intergenerational Occupational Mobility among Muslim women in Maharashtra.
2. To analyse the causes underlying educational and occupational patterns among Muslim women in the study area.
3. To compare trends in intergenerational occupational mobility among rural and Urban Muslim women.

4. To suggest a few suitable educational and occupational patterns on the bases of empirical observations to strengthen their social status and to facilitate their participation in the process of development and national integration.

One of the broader aims of this study is to bring out success stories of Muslim women who have achieved some occupational position in the present day economic system in spite of difficulties and obstacles on the way to success. This broader aim leads us to present a hypothesis as given below -

3.17.3 Hypothesis:

Keeping the discussion on Muslim women as the central theme, the following hypotheses will be tested in this work:-

1. Muslim families' and specially women's outlook towards education, occupations and a few other related aspects is undergoing changes in the recent times.
2. Though changes as mentioned above are taking place all over the state, definite rural and urban differences can be observed, bringing out the gap between rural and urban social settings.
3. Muslim women of recent generation are taking non-traditional; occupation oriented education, though with varying degree in rural and urban social setting.

4. Muslim women are entering such occupations which are
 - (a) Different than those of their earlier generation in the family.
 - (b) Non-traditional
 - (c) Giving them opportunity to take part in modern economic activities based on individual achievement and
 - (d) Exposing them to non-traditional socio-economic settings with which they are trying to adapt themselves.

These hypotheses are actually broad statements related with each other, in order to be able to verify them the following propositions have been considered for empirical testing –

- 1] Parent's educational background shows its impact on child's educational achievement but not very strongly.
- 2] Parent's economic condition has strong impact on child's educational achievement.
- 3] Muslim parent's attitude towards girls' education has a strong impact on girl child's education.
- 4] Muslim girls are prepared to take modern, job oriented education and complete till high levels.

5] Muslim young ladies are prepared to take jobs outside home and ready to face the difficulties resulting from those jobs and occupations.

6] Muslim young men and families are ready to accept educated Muslim young ladies as brides and even allow them to work outside homes.

7] Rural and urban settings have definite differences in providing educational and occupational facilities, which affects prospects of Muslim women in those two different settings in receiving higher education and getting better paid modern jobs and occupations.

8] Rural and urban settings affect aspirations of younger generation.

3.17.4 METHODOLOGY

3.17.4.1 The Comparative Method

For testing any hypothesis, what is required is either to create or locate empirical situations in which development process is underway. A study of such situations in economically backward region needs to fulfil the following conditions:

“Factors of development can be broadly labelled as ‘structures of innovation’ being introduced and ‘forces’ being applied on the existing and introduced structures. Such an induced process of change may be called a continuous change. It refers to the qualitative changes in the basic

relationships in the economy and in the living and working conditions of people. Of the outcome of such changes, the economic results are easy to observe and comprehend, being quantitative in nature; and each of the indicators though self-explanatory and powerful enough, does not seem to add up to a consistent account of their net impact on people's lives, as well as in terms of opportunities, constraints and choices it created. Nor does one get a clue as to the transmission mechanisms and the role of the state in shaping people's 'potentials and abilities' themselves."

"The nature and direction of change in the system are opaque even as one moves away from aggregative, commodity-centric trends to the more disaggregated and qualitative information based on surveys. Continuous change is also a two-way process. While the systemic forces operating on the system, such as accumulation, commercialization and the role of the state affect the lives of people in complex ways, the resulting changes in the opportunities, choices and behaviour of people also condition and shape the overall path and pattern of accumulation. Continuous change forces us to redefine the basic categories of analysis, especially when the object is to study development as a process of expanding capabilities of people." (A. Sen p21-22)

One need not advocate for comparative method, which for Emile Durkheim, "is Sociology itself." (1982:57) As far as possible, there should be comparable similarities in the background of selected units of

observation, their aims and objectives, main projects in hand etc. that is the starting point of their respective developmental activities, though they may be stressing different ideologies and / or may be following different strategies at implementation level. Comparability of units of study, of course, cannot be 'proved' as Boas, one of the critics of comparative method expects. (Boas; [rep] 1940:275) This proposed comparative study would enable us to find out impact of factors that are common to all of them and those, which are not.

3.17.5 Research design for a comparative study

Goode and Hatt (1981:74-78) have explained very succinctly a research design suitable for such comparative studies, which combines two principles of logic. The first is '*method of agreement*' which emphasizes co-existence of causal factor and a result; the other is '*method of difference*' that stresses two situations: one showing presence of causal factor and the other showing absence of it ensuing difference of result in each case. If in a research design one could compare situations keeping with these two principles of logic, a relationship between certain factors in the functioning of a project or an NGO and its resulting outcomes can be convincingly demonstrated as connected in the cause-effect relationship.

3.17.6 The Techniques of Data Collection:

Two locations of Muslim population were needed to make a comparative study possible. One urban, sufficiently modernized city area and the other much underdeveloped area, not strictly rural in census terms, but still definitely lacking most of the urban facilities and physical proximity to any big city. It was also necessary that in those selected areas, the researcher should get an easy access to contact people for collecting information.

After selecting suitable locations, it was necessary to generate a tool for collecting necessary information. Some basic information was to be collected from secondary sources but the most important data were to be collected from those Muslim women who had taken up education and jobs outside home. For this purpose 'guided interview' was thought to be the best technique. After preparing an interview guide, it was necessary to locate proper respondents. The interview guide was prepared to collect detailed information from each individual respondent. That, in a way, comes much close to 'case study' method but the information required was not to the details which can be called as a study of the whole case. It has served the purpose of supplying detailed information in chronological order so as to understand the processes underneath the end results that are more apparent than real for a casual observer.

3.17.7 Sampling –

It is not possible to implement any copybook sampling technique for such a survey of a few hundred unlisted individuals from a city of thousands or for that matter to locate a few hundred respondents from a wider area spread over a few hundred square kilometres. It is a very difficult task to find working Muslim women in rural areas of Maharashtra because they are numerically very few. Considering these difficulties, for this study, snowball sampling method was inevitable. From a population of thousands of Muslims in city, it was not possible easily to select a sample. From the rural area it was further difficult because in one single village one would not find so many prospective respondents. In fact, it was only after paying visit to any village that one could find out number of prospective respondent and therefore had to go to the next village to complete the required number.

It needs to be mentioned here that the villagers of all the village settings were quite enthusiastic about this study and cooperated in providing information. In fact, in many cases, much more information was supplied by some active participants. Actually, our experience during field visits to so many villages for data collection in different seasons was so much enriching that the information supplied by them was remarkable as also immensely useful. Interviewing many individuals at different times helped to crosscheck the reliability of data. It is worth mentioning that

most of the times villagers expressed their views and shared relevant information with sufficient consistency without which such a task of comparing would not have been within reach of a single researcher.

Chapter - IV

FIELD WORK REPORT AND OBSERVATIONS

4.1 How respondents were identified –

The task seemed to be challenging and difficult one as a number of problems such as the identification of the respondents, approach to them, their response were initially discouraging. However the problem was solved gradually by changing approach of introduction to respondents.

In Pune city, certain areas are with high concentration of Muslim community. Out of them Mominpura, a few lanes of Pune cantonment, Kondhwa, and Ghorpadi peth were targeted for this research. In the first round the task of visiting houses and finding out prospective respondents was completed. A few contacts which were already established by researcher proved to be useful for this purpose. Once a beginning was made, one by one respondents could be added to the list. Most of the ladies contacted responded positively and supplied the required information.

In the villages around researcher's native place Purjal in the Hingoli district, some 500 km. from Pune city, a few working women could be identified. It was through them that a few more working women in other adjoining villages could be contacted. As the first round of search, nearly 200 working women were contacted, mostly verbally through messengers. Well experienced researchers in sociology must be quite aware that rural networks are not only strong, they reach quite long distances. A word from a known person works faster and surer than even official letters and testimonials of unknown people.

In the first contact, general idea of an interview for research was given. Then an appointment was taken and on that fixed date and time, the researcher visited a particular respondent. Most of the interviews were conducted at homes, in the presence of other family members, who at times helped the respondents to remember certain past events. This happened mostly in villages and that is essentially life in Indian rural families. no secrets, transparency! But with all this, responses of the respondents were their own. No prompting, nor forced answers, no corrections once the respondent gives a response. Ultimately, 150, the required number of cases, were found to be useful for the research. A few more responses were either incomplete, were not correct or sure in details and in a few cases the respondents discontinued after a particular question which they did not want to answer (mostly related to income). But with all such problems and difficulties, it was really an enriching experience.

The villages from where respondents were contacted include Jawla bazaar, Purjal, Hatta, suburban habitats of Aundha (Nagnath), Shiradshapur, Kurunda and Basmathnagar. In somewhat bigger towns such as Aundha and Basmathnagar, many Muslims stay in compact neighbourhoods almost cut off from the main township for daily purpose. Only contact for many families outside their respective habitat is when they want to travel outside. These residences are as good as rural residences in practical terms.

During the field work remarkable observations were made. As far as the urban respondents were concerned, they were found to be confident, courageous and bold enough to respond the questions of the interviewer whereas interesting facts came to light in case of the rural respondent women. The educated women in rural areas were not sometimes ready to respond us, when requested and convinced, they

accompanied a member of the in laws while being interviewed. They did not feel free while conversing. At some places the in laws didn't allow her to respond the interview in their absence.

4.2 A pilot study in city –

With a view to get suggestions from the respondents about questions included in the interview guide a pilot study was conducted in the suburban areas of Pune city. Initially 10 women residing at different places were contacted individually. Each woman was supplied an interview guide comprising several questions on personal information, general information and professional / occupational information and experience. They were asked to give their opinion on the questions given in the interview guide as to what questions are to be incorporated and what to be deleted. The response was overwhelming. The women opined that questions regarding their political and social status, their freedom and independence, their approval of the bridegroom before their marriages must be included in the list. They also suggested questions enquiring their post marriage status in their families, their advice in the important family affairs should not find place in the list.

The similar process in the rural areas was carried out. Though we concentrated on working women, but in the rural background, highly educated Muslim women folk could hardly be traced, consequently, we had to rely on ladies engaged in farm work, petty clerk, seamstresses, nurses and women busy in household industries. Here also the responses were quiet identical to what we came across in the urban areas with a mere difference in the attitude of the respondent women. Here the women, initially, were found shy, hesitant and reluctant to respond the situation of being interviewed, partly because of their ignorance and partly because of the fear and anxiety of being exposed

to such a situation. When taken into confidence, they tried to be responsive with some valuable suggestions. The respondent stressed inclusion of the questions pertaining to their health and hygiene particularly during pre and post delivery period.

4.3 Finalization of Questionnaire

The pilot study conducted on urban and rural women proved to be a landmark step in the process of finalization of the interview guide. The questions suggested by the women were taken together, a careful analysis was done keeping in view their usefulness, validity and reliability. later these questions were put before the experts for discussion. after a great deal of discussion, debate and careful observations certain questions based on the women's economic contribution to their families, their share in the total family income were found worth to be included with the common consent. such questions were enlisted with the prior approval of the research guide. the number of questions now raised to 42 from 35. After addition of these questions, once again the interview guide was critically analysed and finalised in the light of experts' views.

4.4 When survey in city was conducted

The survey in the city and in the rural surroundings was conducted on different dates as per the schedule prepared before hand for the purpose. The women in the city were contacted between 01.07.2011 and 08.09.2011 usually either early in the morning or in the evening hours so that they may be found at their homes to feel free to respond the queries in a familiar atmosphere. It took almost 70 days to complete

the process which started from 01.07.2011 and concluded on 08.09.2011 the interviewer obtained the information by reaching to the doorstep of the respondents.

Experience at the time of noting down interview responses

It was a novel experience for the researcher to undertake such a task of interviewing stranger women in the society as he had never come across such a situation earlier before. Certain doubts such as whether the women would readily respond? Whether their parents, husbands, in laws and other members in family would allow them to speak? had captured the mind before the process was actually started but diminished as the activity proceeded. The Muslim women in Pune city, when briefed about the study and objectives of the undertaken survey, did not shy away the answers. Their parents, husbands, in-laws and other members of the family too extended their wholehearted cooperation. They not only allowed them to speak out freely but also cooperated them when they needed support. The literate ladies were very quick in written responses and those who felt difficulty in writing were found unexpectedly outspoken in their oral responses to the questions of the interviewer. They all did not hesitate to face the queries with an exception of one or two. Questions were asked to them one after another and they could keep pace with them. They showed tremendous ability to grasp the questions and in three or four cases were found very enthusiastic to share their opinions in the study of the matter pertaining to them and their social counterparts. They were found to have complete freedom to share their views. Their family members cheered them when they gave adequate answers.

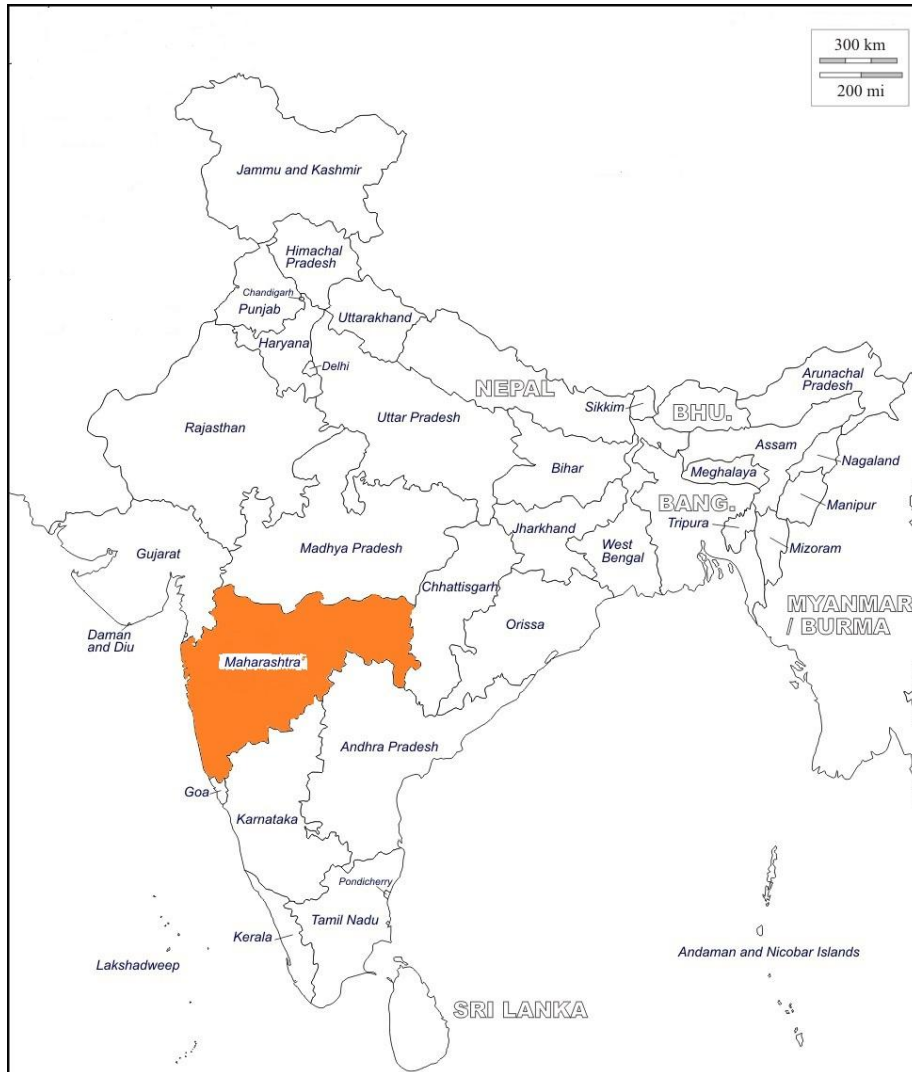
4.5 Survey in villages.

The experiences of the study in the village areas were quite different from those of the city. Initially the women were found somewhat puzzled to respond to the situation. After having been briefed on the nature and the motto of the study they somehow could prepare themselves to answer the questions. They lacked the clear understanding of the questions and in most of the cases could not justify them. The presence of the husbands and in-laws, as it was observed, proved to be a hindrance to them though there was no opposition recorded by any of such relative in giving the information. Two women were quick in response and they gave adequate answers while five to six women took time to express themselves in front of the in-laws when confronted with the questions related to their post-marriage life.

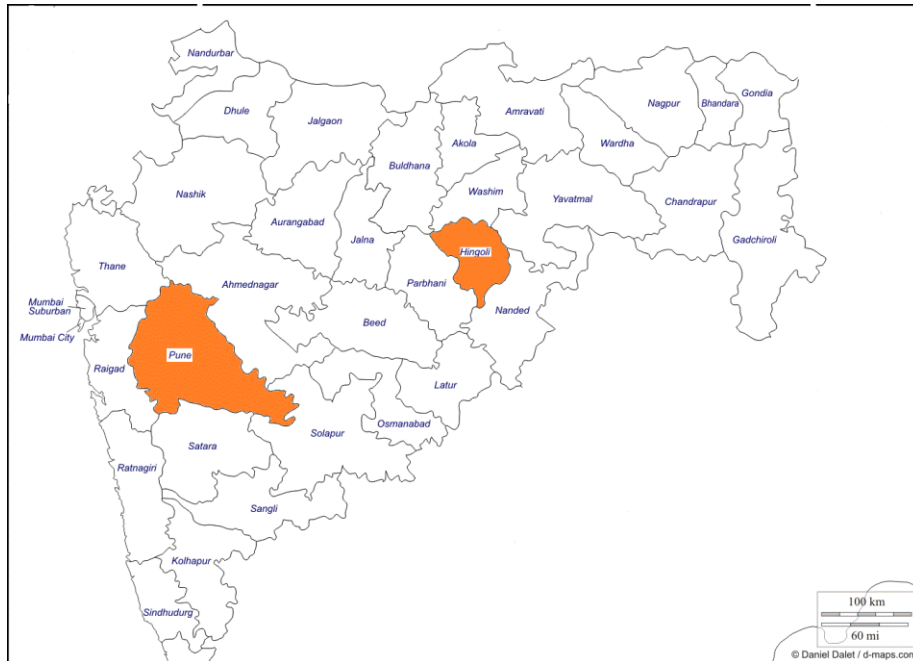
4.6 Respondents express: education system or job system.

Like the responses of the women of urban and rural areas, their expectations also differed considerably. The cities are undergoing revolutionary changes in almost every walk of life owing to the great advancement in science and information technology. The needs and requirements of the people also changed, machines took the place of people, workers at work place. Education aims at fulfilling human requirements hence bound to undergo the changes. The urban Muslim women appeared to have well familiarity with this fact. They are hopeful of changes in the educational system which would create new opportunities and new hope for future generation. They are of the firm opinion that the future generation would survive comfortably only when they are imparted quality education that's why they are sincerely educating their children and are not ready to compromise with it. They are optimistic that these changes in educational system would lead to a better working system for the coming generations.

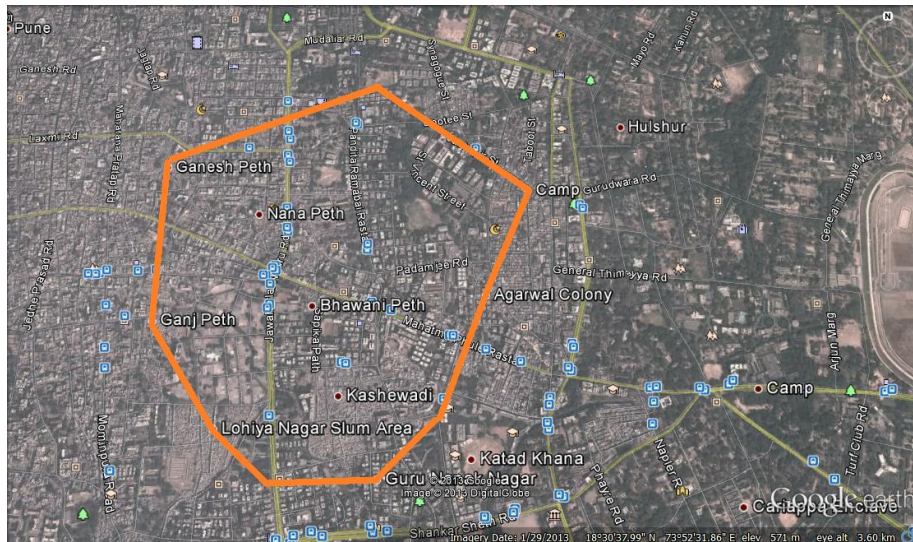
4.1 Map India –



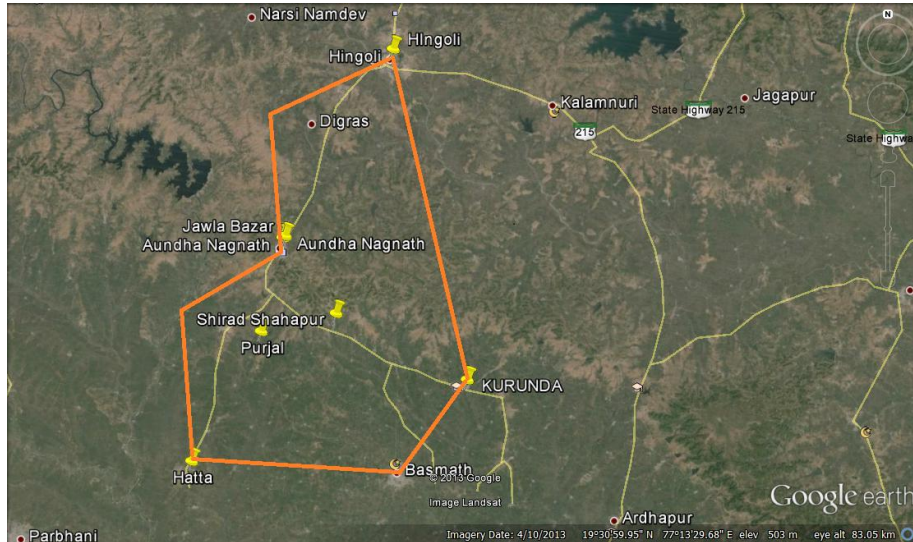
4.2 Maharashtra –



4.3 Pune city – area of survey in the city.



4.4 Hingoli district – villages where survey was conducted



4.8 Why working women.

The working women are generally well educated, considered to have a wide range of experience of social contacts and reasonable efficiency of tackling the situation as compared to traditional domestic housewives. Despite various discouraging survey reports regarding the status of Muslim women in Indian society, the researcher, on the contrary, is optimistic of their bright future due to their increasing interest in getting education, their sincere passion in modern technology. It is a tragic fact that our domestic women could not update their knowledge and experience in the result, could not show much material progress. The Muslim women who could have access to some education in the past could stand by themselves and have glorious dreams for their wards. They have now become sources of economical and moral support for their progeny at one hand and sources of inspiration for their social counterparts on the other, this

sort of self sufficiency, self reliance and self dependence is hardly visible among the women engaged in domestic affairs only. They neither have a clear vision of life and its challenges nor possess the sense of true upliftment of their families due to the helplessness they have developed out of ignorance and lack of wider social interactions.

Chapter V

SIMPLE FREQUENCY TABLES OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS IN THE INTERVIEW GUIDE.

In this chapter data collected as responses from the respondents are presented. Wherever required data collected from other sources are also presented.

These are tables in the sequence of questions asked to the respondents. These supply the basic information regarding various aspects of respondents' life history in connection with the topic of research.

Tables – Simple frequency as per questions

Q. No. B 1- Educational qualifications

This table shows certain trends clearly. In urban section the minimum qualification is graduation. Nobody in this sample is less than that. PG in common courses are 50, professional graduates are 35, professional PG are 37. As against this In rural section SSC and HSC put together make 64. Only graduates are 33 and PG are 21. Professional qualifications are held by 25 respondents only. This brings out the wide gap between educational opportunities in urban and rural areas.

Table No. 5.1 : Educational qualifications of respondents

Education – frequency							
Highest level	Urban	Rural	Grand Total	Highest level	Urban	Rural	Grand Total
4 th standard		1	1	HSC		27	27
5 th standard		1	1	LLB	11		11
7 th standard		4	4	LLM	19		19
8 th standard		5	5	M.Com.	10		10
9 th standard		5	5	M.Sc.	18	3	21
999 (No Response)	2	1	3	M.Sc. BED		3	3
BA	4	17	21	MA	22	8	30
BA D.Ed.		5	5	MABED		6	6
BABED		1	1	MALLB	1		1
BCA	2		2	MBA	2		2
BCOM	3	2	5	MBBS	10		10
BCS	2		2	MCA	11		11
BDS	6	1	7	MCM	1		1
BE	2		2	MCS	1		1
BEIT	1		1	MDS	2		2
BHMS	5		5	ME	2		2
BSC	4	14	18	ME , M.B.A.	1		1
BSC BED		1	1	MEBED		1	1
BUMS	6		6	MER	1		1
D.Ed.		7	7	SSC		37	37
DHMS	1		1				
				Grand Total	150	150	300

Q. No. A -2 – Respondents’ marital status – Married / Unmarried

Table No. 5.2 : Married / Unmarried frequency

Row Labels	Urban	Rural	Grand Total
M	72	90	162
U	78	60	138
Total	150	150	300

In this sample proportion of married and unmarried respondents is approximately same in urban sample but differs a lot in rural area. When this info is matched with age, education etc. Those differences become significant.

Table No. 5.3 : Educational Qualification and marital status together (Married / Unmarried)

Q. No. B 1. Educational qualifications

A 2. marital status [Married – M / Unmarried – U]

Education X M/U							
	U M	U Um	Urban Total	R M	R Um	Rural Total	Grand Total
	1	2		1	2		
4				1		1	1
5					1	1	1
7				4		4	4
8				2	3	5	5
9				3	2	5	5
999	2		2	1		1	3
BA	1	3	4	8	9	17	21
BA D.Ed.				4	1	5	5
BABED				1		1	1
BCA	2		2				2
BCM					1	1	1
BCOM		3	3		1	1	4
BCS	1	1	2				2
BDS	3	3	6		1	1	7
BE	1	1	2				2
BEIT		1	1				1
BHMS	4	1	5				5
BSC	1	3	4	8	6	14	18
BSC BED				1		1	1
BUMS	2	4	6				6
D.Ed.				3	1	4	4
D.Ed.				1	2	3	3
DHMS	1		1				1

Cont...

Education X M/U							
	U M	U Um	Urban Total	R M	R Um	Rural Total	Grand Total
HSC				12	15	27	27
LLB	6	5	11				11
LLM	8	11	19				19
M.Com.	7	3	10				10
M.Sc.	10	8	18		3	3	21
M.Sc. BED				2	1	3	3
MA	10	12	22	4	4	8	30
MABED				6		6	6
MALLB	1		1				1
MBA		2	2				2
MBBS	6	4	10				10
MCA	4	7	11				11
MCM		1	1				1
MCS		1	1				1
MDS		2	2				2
ME	1	1	2				2
ME , M.B.A.	1		1				1
MEBED					1	1	1
MER		1	1				1
SSC				29	8	37	37
Grand Total	72	78	150	90	60	150	300

In this table one can quickly realize that spread of respondents in all qualification levels and categories is more or less same in urban area. Burt in rural area the case is different. In most of the educational categories, married respondents outnumber the unmarried ones. Let us examine whether this has closer relation with age.

Table No. 5.4 : Agewise distribution of respondents

Q.No. B 2 – Age: Years

Age Years	U Total	R Total	Grand Total
17		1	1
18		5	5
19		7	7
20		6	6
21		3	3
22		8	8
23	8	9	17
24	23	17	40
25	4	6	10
26	17	13	30
27	13	10	23
28	10	11	21
29	15	11	26
30	17	10	27
31	3	3	6
32	7	5	12
33	7	4	11
34	2	4	6
35	2	3	5
36	1	3	4
37	5	1	6
39	1		1
40		3	3
42	2	1	3
43		1	1
44	1		1
45	3	1	4
51	1		1
53	1		1
999 (NR)	7	4	11
Grand Total	150	150	300

This table brings out bias of age tilted towards lower age groups in rural areas. The number of respondents above 30 yrs is almost the same in rural (33) and urban (36). But in rural area the lowest age of working woman is 17. There are 30 below 23 yrs which is the lowest age in urban sample. 87 in rural and 107 in urban are in the age group 23 to 30.

Q.No. A 2 Marital Status [Married – M / Unmarried – U]

Q.No. B 2. Age: Years

In this table, rural urban differences towards marriage seem very clear. The lowest age of marriage in rural is 19 while in urban it is 23. More remarkable is the fact that above 30 years there is not a single case of unmarried in rural while in urban even till the age of 45 cases of unmarried are found, though only two after 33 years. This indicates that in rural areas, in spite of education, marriages are settled at lower age and usually marriage is inevitable for girls. In urban, marriages are set at higher age and a girl can remain unmarried if she thinks so.

Table No. 5.5: Age and marital status together

Age X M/U							
Age	U		U Total	R		R Total	Grand Total
Years	M	Um		M	Um		
17					1	1	1
18					5	5	5
19				1	6	7	7
20				3	3	6	6
21				1	2	3	3
22				2	6	8	8
23	2	6	8	2	7	9	17
24	7	16	23	12	5	17	40
25		4	4	4	2	6	10
26	8	9	17	4	9	13	30
27	2	11	13	5	5	10	23
28	3	7	10	8	3	11	21
29	6	9	15	9	2	11	26
30	10	7	17	6	4	10	27
31	1	2	3	3		3	6
32	6	1	7	5		5	12
33	5	2	7	4		4	11
34	2		2	4		4	6
35	2		2	3		3	5
36	1		1	3		3	4
37	4	1	5	1		1	6
39	1		1				1
40				3		3	3
42	2		2	1		1	3
43				1		1	1
44	1		1				1
45	2	1	3	1		1	4
51	1		1				1
53	1		1				1
999	5	2	7	4		4	11
Grand Total	72	78	150	90	60	150	300

Q. No. B 6 – Preferred qualifications of husband in case of Unmarried respondent

Table No. 5.6: Preferred qualifications of husband in case of Unmarried respondent

Qualification	Urban	Rural	Grand Total
12 PASS		6	6
888 (Not Applicable)	73	89	162
Any degree		11	11
B.A.		3	3
BE	2		2
DHMS		1	1
DOCTOR	1	1	2
Equal to me	10		10
Govt employee	9	4	13
Graduate	2		2
INDUSTRY JOB	1		1
illiterate		1	1
MA	4		4
MA B.Ed	3	7	10
MBA	11	3	14
MBBS	5	2	7
MCA	1		1
MCOM	1	2	3
MD	1		1
MDS	1		1
MEIT	1		1
MSc		1	1
MSc., Ph.D.	1		1
No condition	1		1
No One Gets Good Qualification And Culture	1		1
PG	17	2	19
PG in same field	1		1
PG in medicine	1		1
Ph. D.	1		1
Self Employed		2	2
Teacher	1	15	16
Grand Total	150	150	300

In this table attitudes of new generation towards marriage are expressed. A clear indication towards more openness of thinking and expression is seen among urban girls and a sort of narrow range of exposure to expanding job market reflects in the responses of rural girls. Teacher is the most preferred bridegroom in rural girls (15/60). Next choice is any graduate, 11.

Many qualifications which are of recent origin even in cities, one cannot expect rural girls to opt for; such as MD, MCA, MEIT etc. More than that, certain trends in urban girls are deviation from the stereotype image of Muslim girls as depicted in literature and studies of Muslim girls, such as – 10 girls saying ‘equal to me’, 1 saying ‘no condition’ and 1 expressing in bitter words “no one gets good qualification and culture (in one man)”. While in all 33 prefer some or the other PG level, only half of them are specific about field and the remaining half says ‘PG’ just as rural girls say ‘any graduate.’

**Q. No. B 7 – In case of unmarried respondent - How would you prefer your marriage to be settled?
Arranged / proposed / any other [A / P / O]**

Table No. 5.7: Unmarried respondents’ preference for mode of marriage.

	Rural			Rural Total	Urban			Urban total	Grand Total		
	A	P	888		A	P	O	888	999		
Grand Total	58	2	90	150	66	11	3	68	2	150	300

Here also rural-urban differences are clear. While 97 % rural girls prefer arranged marriage, in urban setting 84% prefer it. More important is the fact that in urban area, three have given preference for ‘other’ type of marriage, without mentioning what that means. Probably it means ‘court marriage’. It is a very remarkable deviation from traditionality though only 1% of total sample at this juncture.

**Q. No. B 8 – In case of married respondent - How was your marriage settled?
Arranged / proposed / any other [A / P /O]**

Table No. 5. 8 : Mode of marriage in case of married respondents.

Mode of marriage	Rural	Urban	Grand Total
Arranged	89	54	143
Proposed	1	13	14
any other		3	3
888 (Not applicable)	60	80	140
Grand Total	150	150	300

This table also shows rural-urban difference. Proportion of proposed marriages in urban sample is nearly 20% ; further, already 3 cases of ‘other’ mode of marriage have been implemented in urban area. Thus, in urban area total 22.85% marriages are settled in non-traditional mode.

Q. No. B 6 X Q. No. B 7

Table No. 5.9: Preferred Qualification of husband and preference for mode of marriage

Preferred Qualification	Rural		Not appl.	Rural Total	Urban				No resp.	Urban Total	Grand Total
	A	P	888		A	P	O	888	999		
			89	89	1			68	2	73	162
12 PASS	6			6							6
Any degree	11			11		2					11
B.A.	3			3							3
BE					1	1				2	2
DHMS	1			1							1
Doctor	1			1	1					1	2
Equal to me					9		1			10	10
Govt. employee	4			4	8	1				9	13
Graduate					2					2	2
Illiterate			1	1							1
INDUSTRY JOB					1					1	1
M.COM.	2			2	1					1	3
M.Sc.	1			1							1
M.Sc., Ph.D.					1					1	1
MA					4					4	4
MA,B.ed.	6	1		7	2	1				3	10
MBA	3			3	11					11	14
MBBS	1	1		2	1	4				5	7
MCA						1				1	1
MD							1			1	1
MDS					1					1	1
MEIT					1					1	1
No condition					1					1	1
No good qualification And culture					1					1	1
PG	2			2	17					17	19
PG in same field							1			1	1
PG in medicine						1				1	1
Ph.D.					1					1	1
Self Employed	2			2							2
Teacher	15			15	1					1	16
Grand Total	58	2	90	150	66	11	3	68	2	150	300

In this table we come to know who prefers proposed marriage. In rural, Ma. B.Ed and MBBS one each have given that preference. In urban area all the eleven cases showing that preference, expect highly qualified husband. The three cases who preferred 'other' mode of marriage, are also expecting highly qualified husband. This should be taken as influence of modern education on preference for mode of marriage.

Q.No. B 9 – Where did you complete your education? Which level? Rural respondents –

Table No. 5.10 A: Rural respondents

Level passed	Prim	seco	H sec	grad	PG	PROF
Rural	132	121	83	40	08	01
Urban	16	20	16	36	29	017

Q.No. B 9 – Where did you complete your education? Which level? Urban respondents –

Table No. 5.10 B : Urban respondents

Level passed	Prim	seco	H sec	grad	PG	PROF
Rural	62	52	27	05	03	02
Urban	87	97	122	140	111	52

Response to this question brings out many realities.

A - (i) Even in urban area there are many cases who have completed their various levels of education from rural area. (ii) In rural there are many cases who have completed their various levels of education

from urban area. (iii) But the proportion of those urban cases who completed education from rural area is much less than rural cases who completed education from urban area.

B – Another important trend which throws light upon differences in educational facilities in rural and urban areas. In both the rural and urban cases, as one goes from primary to higher levels of educational achievements, number in rural areas goes on decreasing and goes on increasing in urban area. This means, more facilities education of higher are available in urban area.

Table No. 5.11 : Inspiration for taking education

Q.No. B 10 – Who inspired for taking education?

**a) Father b) Mother c) Brother d) Sister e) Teacher
f) Any Other**

Who inspired?	father	mother	brother	sister	teacher	total
Urban	80	68	33	28	23	232
Rural	133	41	26	01	08	209

This table shows differences in rural and urban areas regarding influence of socialising agents on developing attitude of individuals. (i) In both the cases father is the most inspiring person. Sister and teachers are the least inspiring persons. (ii) The rural and urban difference in each case is also noteworthy. Specially sister and teacher as inspiring persons are much less important in rural area as compared to urban area even for girls. (iii) influence of father and mother in taking education is much less in urban area as compared to rural area. (iv) total responses show that there is multiple influence in both urban and rural cases.

Table No. 5.12: Inspiration for choosing occupation

Q.No. B 11 – Who did inspire for taking this occupation?

Who inspired?	father	mother	brother	Sister	teachers	total
Urban	65	64	44	24	13	210
Rural	59	70	55	06	14	204

This table shows somewhat different picture of influences on decisions regarding choice of occupation. (i) In urban area, father and mother carry equal and maximum weightage. In rural area mother carries more importance than father and brother who have almost equal influence. (ii) sister carries more importance in urban area as compared in rural area, showing importance of male members of families. (iii) surprisingly, teachers carry more weightage in both areas when it comes to choice of occupations for young girls as compared with that on education. (iv) totals show multiple influence in this case also.

Table No. 5.13: Oppose for occupation

Q.No. B 12 – Who did oppose your choice of occupation?

Who opposed?	father	Mother	brother	sister	Teacher	others	total
Urban	34	24	19	18	06	07	108
Rural	11	29	33	24	04	10	111

This table shows choice of occupation was not easy for respondents. As there was support, there was opposing influence also by family members and others as well. (i) in urban area opposition from father is in much higher proportion than in rural area. Other members of family

have lesser influence in that order from mother to sister. (ii) in rural area opposition from brothers is maximum and almost three times that of father. That of sister is also higher as compared to that in urban area. This is somewhat surprising that more opposition from the same generation than from the upper generation. This is very important finding. Usually it is believed that upper generation opposes girls of family taking occupations outside home but here we find brothers and sisters opposing. Probably this opposition may be for a particular occupation rather than for taking occupation as such. (iii) teacher and others have influence in both areas almost in the same proportion.

Table No. 5.14 : Source of information regarding occupation

Q.No. B 13 – Mention the Source of information regarding occupation ?

Source of info	friend	Family	Newspaper	TV	Teacher	other	total
Urban	32	35	46	05	18	00	136
Rural	11	78	49	01	04	01	144

This table once again brings out difference in availability of required resources for going ahead in life. (i) In rural area family is the biggest source of information and newspapers are the next in line. The remaining agencies have negligible influence. (ii) in urban area newspapers have maximum importance. Family and friends have almost the same importance. Next are teachers. (iii) In both the cases, television, which is supposed to be very influential especially on young minds, does not carry much influence when it comes to supplying information regarding occupations. (iv) in both the cases there are a

few who are not giving credit to anyone about how they made a choice of occupation. This shows perhaps beginning of independence of individuals. It is seen more in urban than in rural area.

Table No. 5.15: Oppose of Husband's occupation

Q.No. B 17 – Did anyone oppose your husband's choice of present occupation? if yes?

	Rural	Urban	Total
Yes	41	40	81
No	39	6	45
(NA) 888	60	82	142
(NR) 999	10	22	32
Grand Total	150	150	300

If yes

Husband's	Rural	Urban
Father	9	7
Mother	14	8
Brother	14	12
Sister	4	18
Teacher	0	3
grand father	2	
mama (maternal Uncle)		1
no one		1
Uncle	1	1
Total	44	51

In this table apparently similar opposition is shown in both the areas but proportions differ. (i) in rural area 41 say yes out of 90 cases (45.5%); while in urban area 40 say yes out of 72 cases (55.5%). (ii) Surprisingly, in urban area sisters oppose maximum, next opposition

coming from brothers. Father and mother are not in large proportion. (iii) in rural area mothers and brothers are biggest number of opposers. Sisters are much less as compared with that in rural area. (iv) fathers in both the cases have moderate opposition.

There is some discrepancy in number of 'yes' responses and total number of opposers in both rural and urban cases. This might be due to not registering 'yes' but noting down who opposed.

Table No. 5.16: Husband's source of information about his occupation

Q.No. B 18 – Mention his source of information about his occupation?

	Rural	Urban
Friends	90	70
Family	19	12
Newspaper	32	22
TV	23	23
Teacher	0	5
Others	2	7
Total	166	139

This table shows that in case of choice of occupation by respective husbands of respondents

(i) friends are having maximum influence. It is not only maximum but outnumbers all other influences put together. (ii) rural-urban differences are apparent strongly. Friends, family and newspapers have more influence in rural area than in urban. Teachers have no influence in rural areas while in urban area they have some say. Likewise, others have no place in rural setting when it comes to provide useful information. In urban area this factor is reported be more than the teachers. (iii) in rural area, multiple influence is found to be working

while in urban area there are a few who are not influenced by other than themselves.

This table can be compared with that of table (Q. B 13) showing similar frequency table in case of respondents that is ‘girls’.

	Men		Women	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	urban
Friends	90	70	11	32
Family	19	12	78	35
Newspaper	32	22	49	46
Tv	23	23	01	05
Teacher	0	5	04	18
Others	2	7	01	00
Total	166	139	144	136

This comparison brings out how ‘boys’ and ‘girls’ in both rural and urban areas are influenced by different agencies of socialization. (i) Television has more influence in urban area for boys than in rural while newspapers have much more importance for women both in rural and urban areas. (ii) similarly, friends have more importance for boys and family has stronger influence on women.

Table No. 5.17: Advantages of women working outside home

Q.No. B 19 A – Advantages of women working outside home.

- a) Family earning improves**
- b) Social status of family improves**
- c) Better future of children**
- d) Better care of old and sick**
- e) Better understanding between husband and wife**
- f) Any other**

Advantages	A	b	c	d	e	F	total
urban	33	112	53	38	65	03	304
rural	47	63	33	16	61	00	220

This table brings out perception of respondents regarding advantages of women working outside home. (i) first of all it is important to note that multiple advantages are being seen by these respondents. More so in urban area than in rural area. (ii) rural-urban differences are apparent in almost every factor except ‘e’ where there is almost agreement between rural and urban respondents. (iii) While for factor ‘a’ urban responses are less than rural area, for ‘b’ they are overwhelmingly high and for the remaining ‘c, d, e and f’ they are higher than in rural area. ‘a’ is regarding earning while the remaining factors are regarding women’s role in family.

This table clearly shows that women see working outside home actually helping them in performing their domestic role better. This is perhaps not in agreement with common belief that working women pay less attention to family duties.

Table No. 5.18: Disadvantages of women working outside home

Q.No. 19 B – Disadvantages of women working outside home

- a) Is an obstacle to peaceful family life**
- b) Results into inadequate attention to children and family**
- c) Makes women less feminine**
- d) Leads to divorce**
- e) Any other**

Disadvantages	a	B	c	d	e	total
Urban	31	102	49	55	02	239
Rural	36	95	38	22	00	191

This table shows that (i) though multiple disadvantages are being seen by respondents, total responses are much less when it comes to disadvantages as compared with advantages. This can be interpreted as a general positive opinion about women working outside home. (ii) the biggest disadvantage women see in working outside home is ‘b’ which

expresses opinion somewhat opposite to what has been expressed in response to Q. No. 19 A above. May be they are different respondents.

(iii) not many in rural area think that factors 'a, c and d' are results of women working outside home. However, from urban area, more number of respondent think that factors 'a, c and d' are worth taking into account. Especially factor 'd' – is it a fear or observation is difficult to guess.

Both these tables read together, create an impression that respondents are quite aware of both the sides of women working outside home.

Table No. 5.19: Avenues of employment more suitable for women

Q.No. B 20 – In your opinion which avenues of employment are more suitable for women?

**a) Clerical b) teaching c) nursing d) medicine
e) engineering f) IT g) self employment**

	Rural M	Rural Um	Total rural	Urban M	Urban Um	Total urban	total
A	47	40	87	41	30	71	158
B	66	48	114	35	47	82	196
C	19	17	36	08	14	22	58
D	31	22	53	38	50	88	141
E	08	13	21	23	36	59	80
F	02	01	03	06	02	08	11
G	44	40	84	61	72	133	217
Doctor	1	0	1				1
Lawyer	1	0	1				1
Tailor	2	0	2				2
Teaching				1		01	1
Playgroup				2		02	2
Grand Total			402			466	868

This table shows how respondents see various avenues of employment from women's perspectives. (i) Most striking fact is that in this case

also there are multiple choices by respondents. Another important aspect of these responses is that very few have suggested any avenue other than given by researcher. (ii) all the choices given here are dependent on modern education. Still self employment has been given maximum preference by urban respondents and third by rural respondents. (iii) out of the remaining, teaching has been given highest preference by rural and nearly equal to the first ranking medicine by urban respondents. IT is the last choice even in city area. Nursing is the second last recommended of this list, which is not surprising. Muslim women are very much careful to male contact and exposure to stranger males which is a requirement of that avenue. (iv) not only rural-urban differences are visible, differences between married and unmarried women are also quite visible.

Table No. 5.20: It is OK if a woman works

Q.No. B 21 – ‘Yes’ to “is it OK if a woman works in a, b, c ?”

a) all women establishment only b) all men establishment only c) a mixed workforce

Q21	Rural	Urban	Total
A	53	33	86
B	15	23	38
C	113	110	223
Total	181	166	347

This table shows permissible sex combination for co-workers. (i) multiple choices means there is no insistence for a particular type of workforce to work with. (ii) Not surprisingly, only a few opt for ‘b’, though it is actually difficult to explain because it is against traditional way of thinking. In this case rural-urban difference is expressed in an expected way that is urban women permitting ‘b’ type in a larger

proportion than rural women. (iii) choice 'a' is also expressed by much smaller proportion from both rural and urban women. Here rural women (29.2%) are in higher proportion than urban (19.8%) women in saying OK for 'a', indicating traditional influence. (iii) choice for 'c' in almost equal number and proportion from both rural and urban is overwhelmingly higher than the two remaining options. This is a definite indicator of changing trend in women's mentality in both rural and urban areas.

Table No. 5.21: Employment helps improvement in

Q.No. B 22 – Are you of the opinion that the employment of women is a step towards their Betterment in

- (a) economic condition** **Yes / No.**
- (b) Social status outside family** **Yes / No.**
- (c) Status in family** **Yes / No**
- (d) Other**

Opinion	A	B	C	d	Total
Urban	132	115	98	00	345
Rural	147	95	130	00	372

This table shows attitude of respondents towards employment of women. Rural and urban responses do show differences. (i) while the economic angle gets maximum preference in both areas, social status outside family is given more importance in urban area and that within the family is given more importance in rural area. (ii) multiple responses show clear understanding of the query. Respondents could not think of any additional benefit of employment than given by the researcher.

Table No. 5.22: Rural respondents saying ‘yes’ to superiority theory

Q.No. B 23 – “Yes” to belief in theory of natural superiority of men over women.

	Rural	Urban
Yes	107	83

It is somewhat shocking to find that so many women still believe in this theory.

In order to find out their family background – specially education of parents and other relatives – tables can be obtained as follows -

Q. No. B 23 - Do you believe in the theory of natural superiority of man over woman? Yes/No

Frequency of Rural respondents saying ‘yes’ to superiority theory whose relatives are educated up to the level Indicated

Edu. Level	Father	Mother	brother	sister	husband	f/l	m/l	b/l	s/l
Illiterate	15	26	01	03	02	22	24	05	06
Primary	19	21	05	13	06	10	16	05	10
Secondary	25	22	39	29	24	10	11	14	23
H. secondary	13	26	21	20	11	17	06	20	06
Graduation	28	05	22	27	16	06	05	09	12
PG / Prof	06	04	15	05	13	04	00	12	08
No Response	01	03	04	10	35	38	45	42	42

This table shows that educational background of parents does not have much impact on thinking regarding man-woman comparison. Respondents who have expressed their belief in this traditional theory are daughters of parents who are even graduates and professionals. Brothers, sisters and husband also carrying same belief shows deep rooted belief in this generation also.

Table No. 5.23: Urban respondents saying ‘yes’ to superiority theory.

Q. no. B 23 – Do you believe in the theory of natural superiority of man over woman? Yes / No

Frequency of Urban respondents saying ‘yes’ to superiority theory whose relatives are educated up to the level Indicated

	f	M	b	s	H	f/l	m/l	b/l	s/l
Illiterate	02	02	00	00	00	00	01	00	00
Primary	01	09	00	01	00	01	07	01	00
Secondary	06	09	08	11	00	03	10	04	06
H. secondary	05	19	27	11	00	21	10	01	09
Graduation	39	26	21	37	11	16	13	20	17
PG / Prof	30	18	26	17	34	04	02	18	13
No Response	00	00	01	06	38	38	40	39	38

Though the number is less in urban case, the same observation as in case of rural is applicable in this case also.

However, it is worth noting that 43 cases from rural and 67 cases from urban area do not believe in this traditional theory of superiority of men over women. This is a very important change in the trend of thinking of new generation. Especially in Muslims because indirectly scriptures support this theory and to opine against scriptures requires courage.

Table No. 5.24: Equal treatment in the matters of employment as brother in Urban

Q. No. B 24 – Are you receiving equal treatment in your parent’s family as compared to your brother in the matter of employment? Yes / No

Frequency of Urban respondents saying ‘yes’ whose relatives are educated up to the level Indicated.

URBAN – 112

	F	m	B1	B2	B3	S1	S2	S3
Illiterate	01	01	00	00	00	00	00	00
Primary	00	08	00	01	01	01	04	00
Secondary	05	09	08	10	10	08	05	01
H. secondary	14	36	32	15	03	15	18	01
Graduation	51	42	24	43	05	56	18	04
PG / Prof	40	16	47	24	03	28	15	02
NR	01	00	01	19	100	04	52	103

Table No. 5.25: Equal treatment in the matters of employment as brother in Rural

Q.No. B 24 – Are you receiving equal treatment in your parent’s family as compared to your brother in the matter of employment? Yes / No

Frequency of Rural respondents saying ‘yes’ whose relatives are educated up to the level Indicated.

RURAL – 114

	F	M	B1	B2	B3	S1	S2	S3
Illiterate	12	27	02	00	00	04	00	00
Primary	22	19	06	02	00	10	00	00
Secondary	22	22	38	09	01	29	06	03
H. secondary	11	31	24	11	04	21	13	03
Graduation	37	08	25	11	03	31	07	01
PG / Prof	09	04	15	08	00	09	09	01
NR	01	03	04	73	106	10	79	106

This is another indicator related with traditional mentality of respondents. Unequal treatment to girls and boys of family was the traditional norm. Going away from that norm means more inclined towards modernization. It is important to note that both urban and rural areas show almost equal number. Education of parents does not seem to be an important factor in treating children equally. At the same time it should not be overlooked that this equality of treatment is in the matters of employment alone.

Table No. 5.26: Help from husband in household work

Q.No. B 25 – Which of the household works does your husband help you in?

- a) Cooking b) Looking after children**
- c) House hold work like sweeping, washing dishes/clothes, maintenance of electrical and electronic gadgets, other minor repairs**
- d) Shopping e) Any other**

HELPS IN	A	b	c	d	e	Total
Urban	38	71	84	69	01	263
Rural	22	51	66	63	00	202

This table shows the extent to which working women in the sample get help from their husbands and the areas of work. (i) ‘a’ Cooking, seems to be least popular amongst husbands in both rural and urban areas; ‘b’ looking after children comes next. These two activities are traditionally sort of reserved for women. (chool ani mool); but still there is rural-urban difference visible here also. in rural areas help from husband in these fields is much less as compared with that in urban area. (iii) ‘c’ being area of work not necessarily traditional, still participation of husbands is more in urban than in rural area, in this

type of work. (iii) in shopping, however, husbands in both rural and urban areas help women in almost the same proportion. Here also urban husbands seem to be more cooperative than husbands from rural area. (iv) Totals show that women get help for more than one task. It is interesting to note that no woman has mentioned any other help being extended from husband. (v) one important point needs to be taken into consideration here; the wide gap between rural and urban figures is not necessarily because of mentality of men, it may be simply a reality that rural women live in joint families in a larger proportion than in urban and therefore other family members might be helping her in daily household work.

Table No. 5.27: “Yes” to husband giving sufficient attention in family matters

Q.No. B 26 – Do you think that your husband gives sufficient Attention in the family matters? Yes / No

	Rural	Urban	Total
Yes	122	105	227
No	10	13	23
(NR) 999	18	32	50
Total	150	150	300

This table shows that women’s opinion is taken into consideration in family matters. Surprisingly, in urban areas proportion is less than in rural areas. High number of ‘no response’ in urban area is also somewhat inexplicable.

Table No. 5.28: Respondent's opinion considered in non-family matters

Q. No. B 27 – In which activities your husband considers your Opinion in the non-family matters?

- a) Friends b) business c) Health problems
d) Tours and Travelling e) Politics f) Investment**

	Rural	Urban
A	77	46
B	35	47
C	79	70
D	40	62
E	11	18
F	70	86
Total	312	329

This table shows areas of activities in which husbands of respondents give attention to what is her opinion. (i) multiple responses show a good sign of modernisation process in husband-wife relations. (ii) in the matters related with friends and health, rural men gives importance to wife's opinion in larger number than urban husbands. (ii) In all other matters urban husbands give more importance to their wives' opinion than rural. (iii) the totals tell us that in general husbands from urban area pay attention to wife's opinion in larger number than in rural area. Again, this can be due to joint family prevalent in rural area.

Table No. 5. 29: ‘Yes’ to equal status with men in different matters

- Q. No. 28 – Do you think that women should be given equal Status with men in the matters of?**
- a) Education : Yes\ No
 - b) Employment : Yes\ No
 - c) Marriage : Yes\ No
 - d) Household decisions at husband’s place : Yes/ No
 - e) Mixing up with men at work place : Yes/ No

Equal status	A	B	c	d	e	Total
Urban	136	134	71	79	98	518
Rural	135	117	100	81	78	511

This table shows ‘yes’ response to the issue of equal status to women with men in certain areas of social activity. (i) multiple responses show that respondents have thought of various issues related to equality of men and women. (ii) in case of education, both urban and rural respondents are in (ii) in case of education, both urban and rural respondents are in almost equal number.

Table No. 5.30: Approximate total monthly income of the family

Q. No. B 29 – total income of family –

Income in rupees	Rural	Urban	Total	No. of Respondents earning in slab
Less than 5000	26		26	46
5001 – 10000	21		21	20
10001 – 15000	12		12	37
15001 – 20000	5	2	7	86
20001 – 30000	23	15	38	95
30001 – 50000	35	19	54	10
More than 50001	25	110	135	00
999 (no response)	3	4	7	6
Total	150	150	300	300

This table shows income levels of families from which respondents have been included in the sample. Since this is not a representative

sample of either urban or rural area as such, it should not be mistaken for rural urban differences etc. connection between income levels and other aspects of lives of respondents is the important relationship to be studied here. That relationship may work as indicator for larger reality.

The last column gives us an idea of the share of respondent in total earning of family. (i) Note that in the lowest slab of income, 26 families probably depend on respondent's income alone. (ii) in the highest slab not a single respondent is earning but a lot of families fall in that slab. It means that in high earning families' more than one member are earning.

Table No. 5.31: Occupation of respondents

Q. No. C 30 – Occupation of respondents

	Urban	Rural	Total
Occupations of Respondents			
(alphabetically arranged)			
Advocate	30		30
Beautician	30	1	31
Clerk		24	24
Dentist	2		2
Doctor	25	1	26
Doctoress shoppe		1	1
Family business	1		1
Farm Laborer		31	31
KG Teacher		1	1
Manager		5	5
Nurse		28	28
Primary Teacher		30	30
Professor	17	1	18
SOFTWARE ENG	29		29
Tailor		24	24
Teacher	12		12
Grand Total	150	150	300

This table shows distribution of occupations of the respondents. If broadly occupations are considered as traditional or non-modern on the one hand and modern or non-traditional (which require prolonged and specialized formal education) on the other hand, a clear cut division is seen between rural and urban settings even in this randomly selected small sample.

In the rural sample, farm labours and tailors are almost equal number and 20 % each of this sample. Both of these are traditional roles performed by women all over the world. Clerk, nursing and primary teacher are the roles which, though do not require highly specialized training, are nevertheless a deviation from the traditional mentality of 'woman not to go out of home'. In this sense, even in the rural areas, changing pattern of education is definitely seen and Muslim women are taking up occupations which allow them to expose to strangers.

Urban area, no doubt, shows a wider shift from traditional, both in terms of areas of education and areas of occupations. Law practitioners and software engineers are almost 20 % each, next coming medical practitioners 17%. 'Beautician' is a new avenue in which a good number of women are entering. It is difficult to say that the occupation is new or modern as also it goes well with the traditional thinking that 'a woman should not expose herself to stranger men'. In that sense, those urban Muslim women have kept themselves closer to traditionality. College teachers and school teachers put together form nearly 20% of this sample which is again a sign of modernization of training and occupations of women.

Table No. 5.32: Occupations / professions of the family members

Q. No. C 31 – Occupations / professions of the family members of Respondents:

**F: Father, M : Mother, Br1 : Brother 1
Br2 : Brother 2, Br3 : Brother 3, S1 : Sister 1
S2 : Sister 2, S3 : Sister 3, H : Husband**

Rural

	F	M	Br 1	Br 2	Br 3	S 1	S 2	S 3	H
1	13	14	06	00	00	05	01	00	07
2	42	03	03	03	01	10	01	00	20
3	26	08	44	01	01	27	02	01	19
4	34	19	50	18	00	25	02	00	26
5	29	91	34	12	00	65	10	01	17
NR	06	15	13	116	148	18	134	148	61

Urban

	F	M	Br1	Br2	Br3	S1	S2	S3	H
1	03	01	01	03	00	11	01	00	04
2	82	31	17	07	01	12	07	00	06
3	41	32	56	14	00	32	05	00	22
4	17	18	55	27	01	34	04	01	18
5	04	64	19	22	01	49	09	00	23
NR	03	04	02	77	147	12	124	149	13

These tables throw light upon various ways in which main relatives in the respondent's families are occupied. It is to be noted here that (i) the category 'other' means retired or unemployed. We find more fathers in that category in rural areas than in urban. mothers and sisters also are in larger number in rural areas in the category others (ii) Brothers in both rural and urban areas are engaged in good number either as self employed or in private employment. (iii) husbands of respondents are mostly in private employment or self employment in both rural and urban areas as against government employment. More husbands are reporting in 'other' category in urban area is somewhat unexpected.

Table No. 5. 33: “YES” to present occupation -- Urban

Q.No. C 32 – Are your parents / relatives in favour of your occupation Yes/No

Relation	Professionals	Salaried /Employee Govt.	Employee Private	Self Employed small/big	Other	NR	Total
Father	02	75	38	15	04	03	137
Mother	01	25	31	16	60	04	137
Bro. 1	01	15	51	51	17	02	137
Bro. 2	03	07	12	24	21	70	137
Sis. 1	11	12	30	30	42	12	137
Sis. 2	00	06	05	04	08	114	137
Husband	03	06	22	16	20	70	
F / L	--	26	19	12	04	76	
M / L	--	11	04	13	33	75	
Br / L	04	08	09	23	19	74	
Sis / L	--	05	12	19	26	82	

Table No. 5.34: “YES” to present occupation -- Rural

Relation	Professionals	Salaried /Employee Govt.	Employee Private	Self Employed small/big	Other	NR	Total
Father	04	31	22	19	18	04	98
Mother	05	01	08	14	59	11	98
Bro. 1	02	02	35	32	17	10	98
Bro. 2	---	03	01	12	09	73	98
Sis. 1	03	08	27	22	29	09	98
Sis. 2	01	01	02	02	03	89	98
Husband	02	15	16	09	17	39	98
F / L	01	07	16	17	08	49	98
M / L	00	02	06	11	27	52	98
Br / L	01	08	12	14	14	49	98
Sis / L	--	01	05	05	39	48	98

These two tables do not bring out any peculiar connection between occupations of parents. It is found that parents from all occupations support their daughters in choosing occupations for themselves. That itself is a good sign. (i) At the same time, rural urban difference is quite visible. Urban parents are generally known to be more permissive towards their children’s behaviour and decisions.

Table No. 5.35: Aim of parents in allowing respondents to take up an occupation

Q. No. C 33 – What was the aim of your parents in allowing you to Take up an occupation?

- a) **Helps in getting a good proposal for marriage**
- b) **Helps in personality development**
- c) **Helps in achieving economic independence**
- d) **Any Other**

	Rural	Urban	Total
A	68	101	169
B	41	56	97
C	90	92	182
Total	199	249	448

This table shows why parents allowed their daughter to take education. (i) Multiple means it was a thoughtful decision on the part of parents with more than one aim in their minds. (ii) In both rural and urban areas personality development is the least sought aim of education, while theoretically that is the main aim of education. But on that account urban parents see that advantage in a larger number than rural parents. (iii) In rural area, girl's economic independence is the main cause for giving her education, while in urban area it is second important reason. (iv) in urban area most important cause seems to be getting a good proposal for marriage. (v) Considering all figures in the table it seems clearly that in urban parents traditional aim is more important while the rural parents see education of girls as a means of their economic independence which is a non-traditional outlook. (iv) why any of the respondents have not added anything in the column of 'any other' is difficult to explain.

Table No. 5.36: Suitable Educational branches for women

Q. No. C 34 – In your opinion which academic branches are more Suitable for women’s occupation?

**a) Arts b) Science c) Commerce d) Home Science
e) Medicine / Pharmacy / Nursing f) Engineering
g) Computer / IT h) Any other**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total
Urban	55	55	35	86	109	33	77	00	450
Rural	92	64	23	68	65	17	21	00	350
Total	147	119	58	154	174	50	98	00	800

This table is very useful to understand current trends about choice of educational streams from the perspective of Muslim girls for Muslim girls. On the one hand this is a reflection of how Muslim girls look towards education system and on the other hand how Muslim girls think of capability of other Muslim girls. It brings out certain facts like (i) Multiple selection shows that almost every respondent has opted for more than two streams. This means that they have faith in capacity of Muslim girls. It also means that they think of different advantages of various streams. But here also urban respondents seem to be more expressive than rural ones. (ii) Arts side seems to be very popular in rural areas, Home science and science seem to be next along with M/P/N. But this can be interpreted as not much is known about other streams in rural areas. (iii) Very few votes for commerce, C/IT and least for engineering can be interpreted in many ways. (iv) In urban area M/P/N put together seem to be maximum popular. Not only that it is the first choice but the votes that stream has won are much ahead of any other. (v) Home Science is second choice in C/IT is third with not a wide gap in votes for them. Next lower is the choice for Arts and Science with equal votes. (vi) the last choice of commerce and

engineering having almost equal votes are very low as compared with M/P/N.

SUMMARY

In this chapter data are presented which are of statistical nature but as initially mentioned, they do not 'represent' as such any sector of population, region wise or occupation wise or gender wise. These data reveal the processes taking place in rural and urban areas of Maharashtra. They represent what Muslim parents and their children are doing and what are their aims and objectives in doing so. They tell us about the processes through which young boys and girls are encouraged or discouraged by members of family, which are the outside agencies influencing young minds when it comes to taking education and taking up employment outside home.

In popular writings as well as in most of the writings till the turn of the century, Muslim families have been pictured as units of male domination, bound by traditional and religious customs very strongly, not much prepared to accept modern ways of looking towards world and trying to keep to themselves in cocoon. The political and religious Muslim leaders create an atmosphere in the media as if the Muslim community wants all the advantages of society at large without making any efforts on their part.

But here in this study we have received responses showing willingness to accept the reality that modern education is a must for economic uplift through modern employment opportunities. Women also should be educated so that they can perform their traditional duties in a better way and also accept the challenges of modern world. Women should be prepared for going out of home and face whatever difficulties are

there in order to improve their economic earnings so that ultimately they can lead a life of amenities, comforts and happiness.

Most of the responses show a definite gap between thinking, perspectives and opportunities in rural area and urban area. But it has not hampered the spirits in rural areas, nor has it obliterated their vision of progress and prosperity. A careful observation of these data tell us that many of urban respondents have taken education in rural areas at earlier stages of life and then probably their parents shifted to urban area or after marriage they shifted to urban area. But at the same time we find many respondents are residing in rural area even after graduating or taking higher education in cities. This may be a beginning of rural and urban sectors realising that many of their problems are similar.

Being an exploratory study, we would like to make definitive statements based upon this small sample but nevertheless this study brings out 'changing patterns' among Muslims in general and Muslim women in particular. Changes in perspectives and attitudes of two generations.

The remaining data are presented in the next chapter because they are more or less of more qualitative nature than those which have been included in this chapter.

Chapter VI

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter an attempt is made to verify the extent to which collected data help us to accept or reject the propositions put forth for empirical testing so that ultimately hypotheses could be accepted or rejected completely or partially.

For this purpose responses to specific questions asked in the interview are examined together so that connection between factors studied can be understood and interpreted. The following questions are grouped together for verifying specific propositions :-

Starting with the frequency table of occupations of respondents, let us see what does it reveal.

Hypothesis 1 – a – education related

Proposition no. 1 – A-1 X B5

Table No. 6.1: Education level of respondents and father

In this table we find **that educational achievements of respondents are having some impact of father's educational achievement but not completely dependent on it.** (i) even in urban areas we find that illiterate fathers have daughters who have completed post graduate studies. But most of the fathers in urban area are graduates and above. (ii) in rural areas almost 50% fathers are less than secondary completed and the rest are above it. Graduates and above are only 62 that is 42%.

Table No. 6.2: Education level of respondents and Mother

In this table we find **that educational achievements of respondents are having some impact of mother's educational achievement but not completely dependent on it.** (i) even in urban areas we find that illiterate mothers have daughters who have completed post graduate studies. But 94 of the mothers in urban area are graduates and above. (ii) in rural areas almost 88% mothers are less than secondary completed and the rest are above it. Graduates and above are only 16 that is 12%.

Only conclusion that can be drawn from these two tables is that if parents are not much educated, chances of daughters are also not very good for higher education. At the same time it can be said that if daughters decide to take higher education and work hard for it, parents' education does not hinder their progress.

Table No. 6.3: Education level of respondents and Brother

This table shows that parents of daughters included in this study encourage their sons also. (i) in urban area the lowest educational level of brother is secondary pass and there are 96 (65%) graduates and above. (ii) in rural areas there are 61 (40%) below secondary level. Only 55 (35%) are graduate or professionals. It may be due to age factor also. Important fact is that brothers and sisters are given equal opportunity.

Table No. 6.4: Education level of respondents and Sister

This table shows that respondent is not the only daughter in the family and that other daughters are given opportunity for taking education. (i)

in urban area the lowest sister has completed primary and the most frequent category is post graduation which is nearly 48%. (ii) in rural areas 88 (58%) sisters are graduate or less and 52 are above it.

What can be concluded from these tables is that parents irrespective of their educational drawbacks are encouraging their children – both boys and girls to go ahead in education. This is true for urban and rural areas alike.

Hypothesis 1 – a, proposition 1 can be accepted on the basis of these tables.

Hypo 1 – a Proposition 2 – B 29 X A 1. B10, B15.

In the first statement of the Hypothesis no. 1, it is stated that economic conditions of parents shows greater impact on children's education. The following tables bring out this fact.

Here we find information regarding family income of unmarried respondents and their educational achievement .

Table No. 6.5: Unmarried respondent's family income - Rural

In this table one finds that (i) 10 upto HSC, only 2 graduates, 1 post graduate, 1 dental degree holder two education degree holders in the lowest income category. (ii) in the second lowest income category there are only 4 and they are upto SSC only. (iii) in the next two higher categories none is above HSC. (iv) The next two higher categories have good numbers of degree and post graduates.

Unmarried Family income									
Resp.'s Edu. level	Rural								Rural Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	999	
5			1						1
8	1	2							3
9		1	1						2
BA	2				2	3	1	1	9
BA D.Ed.							1		1
BCM					1				1
BCOM						1			1
BCS									
BDS	1								1
BE									
BEIT									
BHMS									
BSC			1		1	2	2		6
BUMS									
B.Ed.	1								1
D.Ed.	1					1			2
HSC	4		1	1	2	1	5	1	15
LLB									
LLM									
M.Com.									
M.Sc.						2	1		3
M.Sc. BED							1		1
MA	1					3			4
MBA									
MBBS									
MCA									
MCM									
MCS									
MDS									
ME									
MEBED						1			1
MER									
SSC	5	1	1				1		8
Total	16	4	5	1	6	14	12	2	60

Table No. 6.6: Unmarried respondent's family income - Urban

Income category	Urban				Urban Total	Grand Total
	5	6	7	999		
Resp.'s edu. level						1
						3
5						2
8		1	2		3	12
9						1
BA						1
BA D.Ed.			3		3	4
BCM		1			1	1
BCOM		1	2		3	4
BCS	1				1	1
BDS			1		1	1
BE		1			1	1
BEIT			2	1	3	9
BHMS			4		4	4
BSC						1
BUMS						2
D.Ed.						15
D.Ed.	1		4		5	5
HSC	2	2	7		11	11
LLB	1	1	1		3	3
LLM	1	1	5	1	8	11
M.Com.						1
M.Sc.	2	1	9		12	16
M.Sc. BED			2		2	2
MA			4		4	4
MBA	1	4	2		7	7
MBBS	1				1	1
MCA			1		1	1
MCM	1		1		2	2
MCS			1		1	1
MDS						1
ME	1				1	1
MEBED						8
MER						
SSC						
Total	12	13	51	2	78	138

In case of urban respondents all the unmarried respondents fall in the upper three categories only. Only three cases are below HSC. The rest are well educated and highly qualified.

Compare this with earlier tables where relationship between parents' education and respondents' education was studied.

Table No. 6.7 : Inspiration for Education

Q. No. B 10 (respondents) and B 15 (respondents' husband) –

Who inspired for taking education?

	Men		Women	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Father	90	70	133	80
Mother	59	35	41	68
Brother	18	31	26	33
sister	10	19	01	28
teacher	0	3	08	23
other	2	8	00	00
Total	179	166	209	232

This table shows that (i) father is the most inspiring figure for both young men and women; more so in rural areas than in urban area. (ii) mother is the next inspiring figure which is but natural at very young age when it is required very strongly. (iii) brother is much influencing than sister. However, for urban girls, teacher is also an important figure. In urban setting others also provide some inspiration.

Hypothesis 1 – a, proposition 2 can be accepted on the basis of these tables.

Table No. 6.8: Aim of education for occupation

Aim of parents Resp.'s occupation	Rural				Urban			
	a	b	c	Any other	a	b	c	Any other
4								
5	1	1	1					
7	3	1	3					
8	3	3	3					
9	3	2	4					
999			1			1	2	
BA	7	2	11		2	2	4	
BADEd.	1	3	2					
BABED			1					
BCA					2			
BCM	1		1					
BCOM	1		1		2	2	1	
BCS					2		1	
BDS		1			4		3	
BE					1	1	1	
BET					1	1		
BHMS					3	2	2	
BSC	5	1	11		2	2	2	
BSCBED			1					
BUMS					3	1	4	
DEd.	1	2	1					
DEd.	1	1	2					
DHMS					1			
HSC	12	9	13					
LLB					5	8	4	
LLM					10	16	12	
MCom.					8	5	6	
MSc.	1	1	1		15	2	15	
MSc.BED	1		1					
MA	6	2	5		18	7	18	
MABED	4	1	6					
MALLB					1	1		
MBA					2		2	
MBBS					7	2	4	
MCA					7	2	6	
MCM							1	

MCS					1		1	
MDS					1	1		
ME					1		2	
ME, M.B.A.					1		1	
MEBED			1					
MER					1		1	
SSC	17	11	20					
Total	68	41	90		101	56	93	

Hypothesis 1 – a, proposition 3 can be accepted on the basis of this table.

Table No. 6.9: Suitable avenues for working women

	Rural	Urban
A	87	71
B	114	82
C	36	22
D	53	88
E	21	59
F	3	8
G	84	133
doctor	1	
lawyer	1	
play group		1
tailor	2	
teaching		2

This table tells us about choice of avenues from the perspective of Muslim women who have already entered the economic world outside home. They have seen and heard about atmosphere at different work places. Their opinions carry a lot of weightage for girls in their acquaintance. They are the agents of change in their small family and relatives' environment. The real change starts at such real people. We find in this table that in rural areas teaching, clerical and self-

employment are the most popular while in urban area self-employment, medicine and teaching are the most popular fields for employment. Surprisingly, IT is not seen as a proper field for girls by both rural and urban respondents.

Table No. 6.10: Suitable branches for women's education

Q.No. 34 suitable education

	Art	Sci.	Com	H.S.C.	M/P/N	Eng	C/IT	O
urban	55	55	35	86	109	33	77	00
rural	92	64	23	68	65	17	21	00

Responses to this question on the one hand reveal what is on the minds of Muslim women about the utility of education and at the same time this question also serves as a 'cross checking' of what has been expressed in response to Q. No. 20 earlier. If education is seen as a tool to get employment, responses to these questions should be consistent to a good measure. Let us see to what extent this expectation is fulfilled. In this table, rural women give preference to Arts side which is useful for entering the field of teaching and clerical which were given maximum preference in the earlier table. The stream of science, home science and medical related education are equally preferred and more than commerce or engineering and IT. Commerce does not seem to be seen leading to clerical line. In urban women medical related education seems to be highly popular and the next lower is Home science. Computer and IT are voted for in much larger number than rural women. Here some discrepancy is observed if compared with earlier responses. For employment IT is not seen as a good choice but for taking education, it is seen as a much preferable field. One probable reason is to be seen in high preference given for self-employment. Computer and related education might be seen as a useful asset to start self-employment.

Table No. 6.11: Encouragement for education and occupation

	Rural	Urban	Total
Yes	135	116	251
No	13	33	46
999	2	1	3
Total	150	150	300

A positive response to the question “would you help other female members of family?” tells that in spite of difficulties and obstacles faced by these women, they want to encourage others to take education and challenge of modern occupations. A 21% no response from urban women is difficult to explain. Being said this, suggestions made by the respondents for empowerment of women are worth studying. Rural women are not behind in making these suggestions. In fact, only 85 from rural have refrained themselves from making suggestions as compared to 92 from urban areas.

Table No. 6.12: Retained original suggestions.**Q.No. C 42 – Give your suggestions for empowerment of women**

We have retained original suggestions. Wording may look similar but they are expressions of the respondents.

	Rural	Urban	Total
999	85	92	177
change in occupation		2	2
change in the education pattern is important	1	1	2
education Easily be given at home		1	1
education	32		32
education brings a person from darkness to light makes life and also life after death wonderful		1	1
education is base of all change	2	1	3
education is base of all development		1	1
education is the key of all kind development	1		1

education is tool for social change		4	4
employment make a women secure life	2		2
empowerment of women related with modern education	2		2
for change women status that education		1	1
improve the levels of education to become the less traditional		1	1
improve the quality of education		1	1
modern education and social change	8	1	9
modern education and social change is development	1		1
modern education and social change its one coin two sides	2		2
modern education is base of social change	1		1
modern education is key empowerment of women	1		1
social change through modern education		4	4
social change		4	4
social change and development process depend on education		1	1
social change is way of life and western way of life		1	1
social environment		1	1
structural change is important for women's empowerment		2	2
enhance of education		2	2
to give her equal opportunity in professional and family life		1	1
to improve the women education		2	2
To enhance the rate of education, stop child marriage.3-change the mind sets of parents by ngo		1	1
to teach the girl IS the important		1	1
want to change the system for the better world		1	1
we want social change and development		1	1
we want to cut the cultural barriers		2	2
we want to change our outdated mentality		1	1
we want to change the mindset of Indian society		1	1
we want to change the mentality among the mass regarding women education		1	1
women education		3	3
women education and empowerment of women is important	1		1
women education and social change	2	2	4
women education is necessary for all kind of development	1	3	4
women education is important for changing social structure		1	1
women empowerment for change		2	2
women empowerment	2		2
women is very important for development		1	1
women should be given maximum education till any level which she would like to reach		1	1

women should be a respectful part of society	1		1
women should be independent and should work sincerely and honestly		1	1
women should give fifty percent	1		1
work for social change		2	2
working women		1	1
yes every women want stay on over leg and do some work business or jobs and some many for family	2		2
Grand Total	150	150	300

Having studied all these tables and considered together create a picture of perspective and attitudes of Muslim women who are working outside home. They definitely create a picture of women who are aware of what is going on outside home, they know which tools will help them to overcome poverty and secondary position in the family. Education and employment are not only means to physical comforts but they are a ladder to climb up in social hierarchy. From the responses these young ladies have given to queries related to family life and relation with brothers and husbands, they are definitely breaking the image of a shy, housebound, slave-like person dancing on the tune of father or husband. This changing trend we wanted to bring to the notice of the world and we think these responses have strengthened our hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1 – a, proposition 4 may be accepted on the basis of these tables.

Hypothesis 1 – b occupation related

Table No. 6.13: Frequency distribution of occupations of Respondents

Q. No. C 30 – Frequency distribution of occupations of Respondents

	Urban	Rural	Total
Occupations of Respondents (alphabetically arranged)	No. of respondents	No. of respondents	
ADVOCATE	30		30
Beautician	30	1	31
Clerk		24	24
Dentist	2		2
Doctor	25	1	26
Dress shoppe		1	1
Family business	1		1
Farm Laborer		31	31
KG Teacher		1	1
Manager		5	5
Nurse		28	28
Primary Teacher		30	30
Professor	17	1	18
SOFTWARE ENG	29		29
Tailor		24	24
Teacher	12		12
Grand Total	150	150	300

This table shows distribution of occupations of the respondents. If broadly occupations are considered as traditional or non-modern on the one hand and modern or non-traditional (which require prolonged and specialized formal education) on the other hand, a clear cut division is seen between rural and urban settings even in this randomly selected small sample.

In the rural sample, farm labours and tailors are almost equal number and 20 % each of this sample. Both of these are traditional roles performed by women all over the world. Clerky, nursing and primary teacher are the roles which, though do not require highly specialized training, are nevertheless a deviation from the traditional mentality of 'woman not to go out of home'. In this sense, even in the rural areas, changing pattern of education is definitely seen and muslim women are taking up occupations which allow them to expose to strangers.

Urban area, no doubt, shows a wider shift from traditional, both in terms of areas of education and areas of occupations. Law practitioners and software engineers are almost 20 % each, next coming medical practitioners 17%. 'Beautician' is a new avenue in which a good number of women are entering. It is difficult to say that the occupation is new or modern as also it goes well with the traditional thinking that 'a woman should not expose herself to stranger men'. In that sense, those urban muslim women have kept themselves closer to traditionality. College teachers and school teachers put together form nearly 20% of this sample which is again a sign of modernization of training and occupations of women.

Before going further, let us try to find out the differences in educational qualifications of parents and the occupations of daughters included in this sample. Educational qualifications are a close indicator of occupational possibility.

Table No. 6.14: Father's education level and occupation of Respondent

Father's occupation	U						U Total	R						R Total	Total
Occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6		
ADVOCATE				1	18	11	30								30
Beautician				1	14	15	30			1					1
Clerk								1			7	16			24
Dantist						2	2								2
Doctor			2	7	12	4	25					1			1
Dress shoppe									1						1
Family business					1		1								1
Farm worker								9	15	5		2			31
KG Teacher												1			1
Manager								1	4						5
Nurse								3	3	2	2	14	4		28
Primary Teacher								2	1	5	3	12	7		30
Professor			1		3	13	17						1		1
SOFTWARE ENG		2	3	2	19	3	29								29
Tailor								3	3	12	2	3			24
Teacher	2		3	5		1	12								12
Total	2	2	9	16	70	50	150	20	27	26	14	50	12	150	300

This table shows the highest education levels of respective fathers of respondents.

In the urban, we find that fathers of 'advocates' are all graduates and above. In that case, we cannot say that daughters have gone ahead of fathers to a recognizable extent. But in medicine, parents start from higher secondary level; in case of professors, most of the parents belong to professional category; in software engineering stream, women are coming from families wherein fathers have completed as low as only secondary school level. Surprisingly, the beauticians are coming from families where fathers have achieved post graduation and

professional degrees. In a way this shows that girls are allowed to take education of their choice and are allowed to choose their own occupation, that freedom has been given to them, which in itself is a sign of modernity of thinking.

In the rural sample, the only doctor is coming from a post graduate father. On the other hand, fathers of farm workers, as expected, are coming from low educated families. 24 out of 31 fathers have completed till primary level only. Only two are coming from families where father is a graduate, this throws light on the plight of rural educated people in general. Majority of clerks are coming from families where fathers are graduates; same being true for primary teachers and nursing. In tailoring we find daughters of maximum secondary level fathers in a big proportion.

Thus, this table brings out how Muslim younger generation is taking occupations which may not have close connection with their parents' education. Daughters of less educated parents are entering occupations which are non-traditional this definitely shows a shift from tradition-bound mentality.

The next table shows educational attainments of mothers of respondents –

Table No. 6.15: Occupation of respondent and Educational level of Mother

Mother's occupation	U						U Total	R						R Total	Grand Total
Resp.'s occupation	1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6		
Advocate		2	2	11	10	5	30								30
Beautician			1	9	14	6	30			1				1	31
clerk								1		7	15		1	24	24
Dantis						2	2								2
Dr		2	6	11	5	1	25				1			1	26
dress shoppy														1	1
family business					1		1								1
farm worker								19	10		2			31	31
KG Teacher									1					1	1
maneger								3	2					5	5
nurse								5	1	3	11	5	3	28	28
primary Teacher								3	4	4	13	5	1	30	30
Professor		1			13	3	17					1		1	18
SOFTWARE ENG	3	3	1	11	5	6	29								29
tailor								4	8	8	2			24	24
Teacher		7	3		1	1	12								12
Grand Total	3	15	14	44	50	24	150	36	26	24	45	11	5	150	300

As seen in this table, mothers are having somewhat less education as compared with fathers, as is the unwritten norm of the land. In urban, mothers of advocates are mostly undergraduates; the same is true for beauticians; software engineers' mothers are even illiterate. What a shift! While most of the teachers' mothers are just secondary passed, most of the professors' mothers are graduates and even post graduates. Only one fourth of Doctors' mothers are graduates and above. This definitely is remarkable. In general we can say that shift from mother's education to daughter's education is wider than that between father and daughter.

In rural, what catches eyes is the fact that the farm workers' mothers are majority primary passed and illiterate; a similar case one finds with mothers of clerks, primary teachers, tailors and nurses that majority of mothers of respondents of these categories are less than higher secondary passed and even illiterate. In short, a shift from mother's education is higher than that compared with fathers and also from urban mothers.

Such improvement in education in the next generation is not restricted to respondents alone, data about brothers and sisters of respondents are also available. Those data also show that children of this generation are reaching much higher levels of education as compared with their respective parents. See the table below –

Table No. 6.16: Occupation of respondent and Educational level of Brother

Brother's occupation	U					R						Grand Total
Resp.'s occupation	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6	
Advocate	2	10	4	14								30
Beautician	1	15	3	11					1			31
clerk								3	1	9	11	24
Dentist			2									2
Dr	1	3	8	13					1			26
dress shoppe									1			1
family business				1								1
farm worker						1	8	17	3	1	1	31
KG Teacher									1			1
manager								5				5
nurse								7	8	2	11	28
primary Teacher						1		9	7	11	1	30
Professor		7	3	7					1			18
SOFTWARE ENG	6	7	8	8								29
tailor								9	6	5	2	24
Teacher	1		7	3								12
Grand Total	11	42	36	60		2	9	50	30	28	27	300

In case of urban, not a single brother of any of the respondents is having less than secondary level education. Even at that level, there are only 7% of the total 150 cases. Out of the rest, 96 that means nearly 65% are graduates and above. In rural, only two brothers are illiterates, while only 9 have done till primary. May be they are younger brothers of respondents. 55% have completed higher secondary level and as good as 37% graduates and above. On the one hand this brings out the fact that boys and girls even in rural areas are being encouraged for good education, at the same time, a cognizable gap between achievements of rural and urban contemporaries tells about the situation at rural areas.

Not only brothers but sisters of the respondents are also a cognizable number and information about them throws light upon the fact that girls are being encouraged in families – urban and rural alike, and that they are showing not only interest in schooling but are achieving high targets also. See the table below for information on sisters of respondents –

Table No. 6.17: Occupation of respondent and Educational level of Sister

In case of urban, not a single sister of any of the respondents is having less than secondary level education. Even at that level, there are only 2% of the total 150 cases. Out of the rest, 71 that means nearly 49% are graduates. In rural, only 5 sisters are illiterates, while 17 have done till primary. May be they are younger sisters of respondents. 9% have completed higher secondary level and as good as 14% are graduates. On the one hand this brings out the fact that boys and girls even in rural areas are being encouraged for good education, at the same time,

Sister's occupation	U				U Total	R					R Total	Grand Total
Resp.'s occupations	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5		
ADVOCATE		4	3	15	30							30
Beautician	1	1	4	15	30				1		1	31
clerk								2	7	12	24	24
Dentist				2	2							2
Doctor		2	2	10	25					1	1	26
dress shoppe								1			1	1
family business				1	1							1
farm worker						3	12	12	3	1	31	31
KG Teacher									1		1	1
manager								4	1		5	5
nurse							2	3	6	13	28	28
primary Teacher						1	1	7	3	10	30	30
Professor			3	9	17						1	18
SOFTWARE ENG	2	4	6	10	29							29
tailor						1	2	10	4	2	24	24
Teacher		1		8	12							12
Grand Total	3	13	19	71	150	5	17	40	26	41	150	300

a cognizable gap between achievements of rural and urban contemporaries tells about the situation at rural areas.

All these four tables considered together definitely indicate that both in rural and urban areas parents are encouraging Muslim girls to take secular education without differentiating between boys and girls. Proportion may be less in rural areas than in urban areas.

Table No. 6.18: Inspiration for Occupation

Q. B 11 and Q. no. B 16 – Who did inspire for taking this occupation?

	Men		Women	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
father	90	70	59	65
mother	53	25	70	64
brother	13	27	55	44
sister	18	21	06	24
teacher	1	6	14	13
other	1	9	00	00
grand fa	2	00	00	00
himself	00	1	00	00
teacher	00	1	00	00
WIFE	00	1	00	00
Total	179	160	204	210

This joint table brings out many interesting facts. (i) for rural men father provides maximum inspiration while for women in urban area that is true. (ii) rural and urban women receive inspiration maximum from mothers while men do not receive that much from mothers. (iii) brother provides a lot of inspiration to women in both rural and urban areas. Men do not seem to get that much inspiration from brothers. (iv) sisters seem to be more dear to urban women than to rural women but almost to the same extent to urban men also. (v) teachers seem to be providing a lot inspiration to rural and urban women as compared to men.

These are very important findings in the sense **that all members of family participate in making a decision regarding one member's occupation.** This is definitely worth taking note because for a long time it is believed that Muslim men dominate their family members as if they were slaves.

Table No. 6.19: Respondent and her husband information for occupation

Q. B 13 and B 18 – Source of information regarding occupation ?

	Men		Women	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	urban
friends	90	70	11	32
family	19	12	78	35
newspaper	32	22	49	46
tv	23	23	01	05
teacher	0	5	04	18
others	2	7	01	00
Total	166	139	144	136

As a source of information regarding many issues, usually parents serve the purpose best but in modern world, there are many sources outside home for information. The question is whether parents allow to give importance to those sources and whether children have an access to those sources. This joint table shows that (i) in case of rural and urban men friends form the largest source. (ii) family is the reliable source for rural women in large number and even for urban women as compared to men. (iii) newspapers serve that purpose on second rank in both the cases that is men and women. Television does not serve that purpose to a large extent for women but men seem to be using that as a source. (iv) teachers are a source for men and women in urban area than women.

What is important here is that younger generation seeks information regarding occupations to be taken from sources other than family and at the same time, parents allow those agencies to

influence decisions of the younger generation. This freedom is something which is sign of modernisation in thinking and attitude.

Table No. 6.20: Oppose for occupation from both setup

Q. No. B 12 and B 17 – did anyone oppose you and your husband’s choice of present occupation?

	Men			Women	
	Rural	Urban		Rural	Urban
father	9	7	F	11	34
Mother	14	8	M	29	24
brother	14	12	B	33	19
sister	4	18	s	24	18
teacher	0	3	T	04	06
grand father	2				
mama (maternal Uncle)		1			
no one		1			
Uncle	1	1			
			Others	10	07
Total	44	51		111	108

This table needs to be interpreted carefully. Apparently, there is opposition to selection of occupation by respondents but whether it is for taking up a job or for a particular stream of work is not clear. However, it is interesting to note who opposes women to take up a job. It can be seen that (i) in case of men it is not father but mother, brother and sister who pose biggest opposition. (ii) in case of women, all members of family seem to be opposing in different numbers. In case of rural women mother, brother and sister pose opposition rather than father.

It also shows something usually not considered in research and surveys. It is not always outside factor which may form hurdle for women in taking a job outside home, the internal opposition is also

there though it may not be apparent. At least women have started expressing this now.

This information has very significant point to be noted. **The image of a typical Muslim man overriding wishes of members of his family and treating them as his slaves is not the ground reality.**

Table No. 6.21: working women advantages

Q. B 19 A – Advantages of women working outside home.

Advantages	a	b	C	D	e	o	total
urban	33	112	53	38	65	03	304
rural	47	63	33	16	61	00	220

This table clearly shows that women see working outside home actually helping them in performing their domestic role better. This is perhaps not in agreement with common belief that working women pay less attention to family duties.

Table No. 6.22: working women disadvantages

Q. 19 B – Disadvantages of women working outside home

Disadvantages	A	B	c	d	o	total
urban	31	102	49	55	02	239
rural	36	95	38	22	00	191

This table shows that (i) This can be interpreted as a general positive opinion about women working outside home. (ii) the biggest disadvantage women see in working outside home is ‘b’ which expresses opinion somewhat opposite to what has been expressed in response to Q. No. 19 A (c+d) above. May be they are different

respondents. (iii) urban women seem to fear 'divorce' as a result of taking job outside home.

Both these tables read together, create an impression that respondents are quite aware of both the sides of women working outside home. They must be calculating risks and benefits before taking up a job.

Analysis of all these tables leads us to conclude that 'Muslim women are not shy of taking up a job or entering a profession outside home. They make their choices after due discussion with other members of family. They are aware of probable advantages and disadvantages of doing so. They are supported by their family members and to some extent opposed also. But they come out and start working overcoming difficulties. This is the changing trend. It is going away from traditional 'hearth and birth' role of Muslim woman.

Hypothesis 1 – b can be accepted after considering these facts.

Education and occupation are not activities isolated from other cultural aspects of life. Whether a girl should be given education and should be allowed to participate in non-domestic activities depends upon how is compared with men in different roles. Husband-wife, brother-sister are equivalent roles in a family. If women are treated equal in these roles then only their equality with men outside family can be claimed. The following tables will help us to realize the extent to which women in this sample experience equality at various stages of life and with respect to various roles.

Table No. 6.23 : Respondent’s mode of marriage

Q. no. B 7 – Unmarried respondents’ preference for mode of marriage
– Arranged /Proposed

	Rural			Rural Total	Urban			Urban Total	Grand Total		
	A	P	888		A	P	O	888	999		
Total	58	2	90	150	66	11	3	68	2	150	300

Q. no. B 23 – “yes” to belief in theory of natural superiority of men over women.

RURAL – 107. Urban – 83.

It is somewhat shocking to find that so many women still believe in this theory.

It is worth noting that 43 cases from rural and 67 cases from urban area do not believe in this traditional theory of superiority of men over women. This is a very important change in the trend of thinking of new generation. Especially in Muslims because indirectly scriptures support this theory and to opine against scriptures requires courage.

Q. no. B 24 – equal treatment in the matters of employment as brother
–

URBAN – 112; RURAL – 114

This is another indicator related with traditional mentality of respondents. Unequal treatment to girls and boys of family was the traditional norm. Going away from that norm means more inclined towards modernization. It is important to note that both urban and rural areas show almost equal number. Education of parents does not seem to be an important factor in treating children equally. At the same time

it should not be overlooked that this equality of treatment is in the matters of employment alone.

Table No. 6.24 : Help from husband

Q.No. B 25 – help from husband in household work

	a	b	c	d	o	Total
Urban	38	71	84	69	01	263
Rural	22	51	66	63	00	202

This table shows the extent to which working women in the sample get help from their husbands and the areas of work. (i) ‘a’ Cooking, seems to be least popular amongst husbands in both rural and urban areas; ‘b’ looking after children comes next. These two activities are traditionally sort of reserved for women . (chool ani mool); but still there is rural-urban difference visible here also. in rural areas help from husband in these fields is much less as compared with that in urban area. (ii) ‘c’ being area of work not necessarily traditional, still participation of husbands is more in urban than in rural area, in this type of work. (iii) in shopping, however, husbands in both rural and urban areas help women in almost the same proportion. Here also urban husbands seem to be more cooperative than husbands from rural area. (iv) Totals show that women get help for more than one task. It is interesting to note that no woman has mentioned any other help being extended from husband. (v) one important point needs to be taken into consideration here; the wide gap between rural and urban figures is not necessarily because of mentality of men, it may be simply a reality that rural women live in joint families in a larger proportion than in urban and therefore other family members might be helping her in daily household work.

Table No. 6.25 : husband giving sufficient attention in family matters

Q.No. B 26 – “yes” to husband giving sufficient attention in family matters.

	Rural	Urban	Total
yes	122	105	227
no	10	13	23
(NR) 999	18	32	50
Total	150	150	300

This table shows that women’s opinion is taken into consideration in family matters. Surprisingly, in urban areas proportion is less than in rural areas. High number of ‘no response’ in urban area is also somewhat inexplicable.

Table No. 6.26 : importance of respondents opinion

Q.No. B 27 – respondent’s opinion considered in non-family matters

	Rural	Urban
a	77	46
b	35	47
c	79	70
d	40	62
e	11	18
f	70	86
Total	312	329

This table shows areas of activities in which husbands of respondents give attention to what is her opinion. (i) multiple responses show a good sign of modernisation process in husband-wife relations. (ii) in

the matters related with friends and health, rural men gives importance to wife's opinion in larger number than urban husbands. (ii) In all other matters urban husbands give more importance to their wives' opinion than rural. (iii) the totals tell us that in general husbands from urban area pay attention to wife's opinion in larger number than in rural area. Again, this can be due to joint family prevalent in rural area.

Table No. 6.27 : Equal status with men in different matters

Q.No. 28 – 'yes' to equal status with men in different matters

Equal status	a	b	c	d	E	Total
Urban	136	134	71	79	98	518
Rural	135	117	100	81	78	511

This table shows 'yes' response to the issue of equal status to women with men in certain areas of social activity. (i) multiple responses show that respondents have thought of various issues related to equality of men and women. (ii) in case of education, both urban and rural respondents are in (ii) in case of education, both urban and rural respondents are in almost equal number.

Hypothesis 1 – c can be accepted after considering these facts.

Table no. 6.27 X 1- f/l, m/l

This table shows occupational categories of husbands of respondents. Many interesting and unexpected facts are coming out. (i) first of all, there are only 17 cases in rural and as good as 23 cases in urban area showing 'other' category of husband's occupation. It means they are either retired or unemployed. Looking at the age group, possibility of retirement is out of question. It means they must be unemployed. It is surprising to find more numbers in urban area than in rural. (ii) husbands in professional category are less in urban area than in rural

(for this sample). Worth noting is the fact that, urban husbands being in good earning professions like advocates and software engineer, have also allowed wife to work outside home.

Numbers in employed categories put together is 43% in rural while it is 29% in urban areas. Self employed in rural 29% while in urban they are 25%. In private employment urban figures show 25% while in rural it is 21%. In other words, irrespective of husband's occupation category, wife is allowed to work. This is the most important factor.

Table No. 6.28 : Respondent's occupation and Father in law's occupation

Father in law's occupation						Rural Total						Urban Total	
	Rural						Urban						
Resp.'s occupation	2	3	4	5	999		2	3	4	5	888	999	
1					1	1							
4							1						1
999					2	2	1		1		1		3
ADVOCATE							4	7	3	2	10	4	30
Beautician					1	1	3	7	3	1	12	4	30
clerk		3	7		14	24							
Dantis											2		2
Dr					1	1	6	3	2	1	12	1	25
dress shopy			1			1							
family business							1						1
farm worker		3	7	7	14	31							
KG Teacher					1	1							
maneger		4		1		5							
nurse	3	2	4	1	18	28							
primary Teacher	7	6	4	1	12	30							
Professor		1				1	1				14	2	17
SOFTWARE ENG							9		3		14	3	29
tailor	2	2	10	3	7	24							
Teacher							2	2	3	1		4	12
Grand Total	12	21	33	13	71	150	28	19	15	5	65	18	150

In this sample, not a single father in law in both areas is in professional category. (i) in urban area there are 19 respondents who can be counted as professionals. In rural there are only 2. (ii) in urban area government employees are in large number and they have accepted daughters in law who are professional like advocate, doctor etc. in rural areas government employees are not many but they have accepted nurses and teachers as daughters in law. (iii) there are more self employed persons in rural areas than in urban area. They have also accepted daughters in law who are working outside home.

In Short, older generation from all walks of life has no objection to daughters in law working outside home. Respondents are not the only daughters in law for these old men and women. There is another table showing how sisters in laws of respondents that means another daughter in law in the house are also working in different fields of employment.

Table No. 6.29 : Respondent's occupation and Mother in law's occupation

This table allows us to find out whether women of the upper generations took up jobs outside home; if yes, which category? To what extent? Answers to all such queries are there to examine in this table above. We find that (i) there are no mother in law in the category professional. In urban also there is only one, she is an advocate. (ii) no. Of employed women is limited 11 in rural and 19 in urban areas. Self employed are also less as compared with men of the same generation. In short, it can be summarised that though working of Muslim women

Mother in law's occupation	Rural						Rural Total	Urban							Urban Total
Resp.'s occupation		2	3	4	5	999		1	2	3	4	5	888	999	
1						1	1								
4												1			1
999						2	2					2	1		3
Advocate								1	2	1	3	9	10	4	30
Beautician						1	1		5	1	5	4	12	3	30
Clerk					9	15	24								
Dantis													2		2
Dr						1	1		6	2	3	2	12		25
dress shopy					1		1								
family business										1					1
farm worker			3	1	13	14	31								
KG Teacher						1	1								
Maneger					5		5								
Nurse		1		5	3	19	28								
primary Teacher		3	3	4	6	14	30								
Professor		1					1					1	14	2	17
SOFTWARE ENG											3	8	14	4	29
Tailor				1	17	6	24								
Teacher									1			7		4	12
Grand Total		5	6	11	54	74	150	1	14	5	14	34	65	17	150

is not new, in the new generation its extent has increased in the terms of fields, educational requirements, earning levels etc. this is the changing trend.

Table No. 6.30 : Respondent's occupation and Brother in law's occupation

Brother in law's occupation							Rural Total							Urban Total	
	Rural							Urban							
Resp.'s occupation	1	2	3	4	5	999		1	2	3	4	5	888	999	
1						1	1								
4											1				1
999						2	2			1	1		1		3
Advocate								4	3	1	3	5	10	4	30
Beautician						1	1		2	2	4	7	12	3	30
clerk		2	3	2	2	15	24								
Dantis													2		2
Dr						1	1		1	2	7	3	12		25
dress shopy				1			1								
family business											1				1
farm worker	1		3	8	5	14	31								
KG Teacher						1	1								
maneger			3	1		1	5								
nurse		3	1	4	2	18	28								
primary Teacher	2	2	5	2	6	13	30								
Professor				1			1		1				14	2	17
SOFTWARE ENG										3	6	2	14	4	29
tailor	3	1		4	7	9	24								
Teacher									2	1	3	3		3	12
Grand Total	6	8	15	23	22	76	150	4	9	10	26	20	65	16	150

Table No. 6.31: Respondent's occupation and Sister in law's occupation

Sister in law's occupation	Rural						Rural Total	Urban						Urban Total
Resp.'s occupation		2	3	4	5	999		2	3	4	5	888	999	
1						1	1							
4											1			1
999						2	2		1		1	1		3
ADVOCATE								1	2	4	7	10	6	30
Beautician						1	1	2		3	9	12	4	30
Clerk			1		8	15	24							
Dantis												2		2
Dr						1	1		4	5	4	12		25
dress shopy					1		1							
family business										1				1
farm worker			1		16	14	31							
KG Teacher						1	1							
maneger					5		5							
nurse				1	9	18	28							
primary Teacher		3	3	3	9	12	30							
Professor				1			1		1			14	2	17
SOFTWARE ENG									4	7	1	14	3	29
tailor					17	7	24							
Teacher								2	1	2	5		2	12
Grand Total		3	5	5	65	72	150	5	13	22	28	65	17	150

Sisters in law of the respondents are also found to be involved in Economic activities outside home. More so in urban as compared with rural. From a different perspective it means that respondents are not the only women employed, other female family members are also working.

Hypothesis 2 – proposition 6 becomes acceptable after considering these facts.

Almost all the tables presented here bring out the fact that rural – urban difference are there to a good extent. Actually, there will be differences from city to city and from one region to another region, then what is the significance of the rural-urban difference being noted here?

The significance of such a difference is multifold. [1] Rural communities are observed to be more traditional minded. Their behaviour, life activity choices, world perspective and social attitudes are mostly shaped up by traditions which are governed by religion and custom; moreover, they are reluctant to break away from that lifestyle. [2] Urban centres are recognized world over as propagators of socio-economic changes in any and every society.

On this backdrop, rural-urban differences do not simply remain regional differences. It is an indicator of tradition versus modernity. If the direction of observed differences is from traditional to modernity, it is a welcome change. Purpose of such a survey is to find out and ascertain that this is the case in reality. The scale on which such changes may occur might be limited in the beginning, but still are worth taking cognizance of.

Thru out these data collection an attempt has been to find out whether Muslim women are coming out of their traditional cocoon or not. And an overview of all the tables is enough to declare that “yes, Muslim women are shedding their traditional and customary restrictions and are trying to take up challenges of the new economic order.”

Hypothesis 3 – proposition 7 becomes acceptable after considering these facts.

4-a – This is the most important aspect of this research project. To compare the occupations of one generation to their next generation. Father – children, mother – children. How much is continued and how much is discontinuity ?

The tables given below are divided into two parts each. One is rural and the other one is urban. The first column of respondents' occupations is common to both the parts, in fact, for all the eight tables it is common.

Table No. 6.32 : Respondent's occupation and Father's occupation Rural

Father's							
Occupation category	Rural						Rural Total
Resp.'s occu.	1	2	3	4	5	999	
1						1	1
4							
999		1				1	2
Advocate							
Beautician				1			1
clerk	1	11	10	2			24
Dantis							
Dr			1				1
dress shopy				1			1
family business							
farm worker	4	3	3	6	15		31
KG Teacher		1					1
maneger			2		3		5
nurse	2	14	1	6	4	1	28
primary Teacher	3	4	9	7	4	3	30
Professor		1					1
Software Eng							
tailor	3	7		11	3		24
Teacher							
Grand Total	13	42	26	34	29	6	150

This table brings out very clearly that father's occupations and respondents' occupations differ a lot from each other in rural areas. While 13 fathers are professionals, their daughters are engaged in activities from farm worker to tailoring. While 42 fathers are government employees, daughters are engaged in fields like farm labourer to professor. More variety of occupations is shown by daughters of self employed fathers and those employed in private firms.

**Table No. 6.33 : Respondent's occupation and Father's occupation
Urban**

Urban						Urban Total
1	2	3	4	5	999	
				1		1
	2	1				3
	16	9	4	1		30
	17	12	1			30
		2				2
3	18	4				25
	1					1
	12	3	2			17
	12	10	7			29
	4		3	2	3	12
3	82	41	17	4	3	150

In case of urban fathers, they are engaged in large proportion in the government jobs while their daughters are engaged in 8 types employment fields. Next to that is private employment field in which fathers are engaged. Their daughters are showing 7 fields of working.

Table No. 6.34 : Respondent's occupation and Mother's occupation - Rural

Mother's							
Occupation category	Rural						Rural Total
Resp.'s occupation	1	2	3	4	5	999	
1						1	1
4							
999					1	1	2
ADVOCATE							
Beautician						1	1
clerk			2	4	17	1	24
Dantis							
Dr		1					1
dress shopy						1	1
family business							
farm worker				9	21	1	31
KG Teacher				1			1
maneger					5		5
nurse		1	6	5	13	3	28
primary Teacher		1		12	13	4	30
Professor					1		1
SOFTWARE ENG							
tailor				3	18	3	24
Teacher							
Grand Total		3	8	34	91	15	150

Only 45 Mothers In the rural areas are gainfully employed. Of them only 11 are really employed and the rest 33 are self employed. Their daughters are engaged in 6 different types of fields ranging from farm workers to teachers.

Table No. 6.35 : Respondent's occupation and Mother's occupation - Urban

Urban						Urban Total
1	2	3	4	5	999	
		1				1
	1	1		1		3
	3	5	5	17		30
	3	11	6	10		30
			1	1		2
	14	4		7		25
	1					1
	2	6	5	4		17
1	6	3	1	18		29
	1	1		6	4	12
1	31	32	18	64	4	150

Urban mothers are in larger number when it comes to gainful activities. 82 to be exact. Most of them are engaged in employment as such and the remaining are self employed. Their daughters are engaged in 8 types of working fields.

Table No. 6.36 : Respondent's occupation and Brother's occupation - Rural

Brother's occupation	Rural						Rural Total
Resp.'s occupation	1	2	3	4	5	999	
1						1	1
4							
999			1			1	2
ADVOCATE							
Beautician				1			1
clerk	1	1	9	9	4		24
Dantis							
Dr					1		1
dress shopy				1			1
family business							
farm worker	1		9	10	9	2	31
KG Teacher							1
maneger				4	1		5
nurse	1	2	13	8	1	3	28
primary Teacher	1		10	7	10	2	30
Professor			1				1
SOFTWARE ENG							
tailor	2		1	10	7	4	24
Teacher							
Grand Total	6	3	44	50	34	13	150

**Table No. 6.37: Respondent's occupation and Brother's occupation
- Urban**

Urban						Urban Total
1	2	3	4	5	999	
					1	1
		1	2			3
1	2	13	9	5		30
	7	5	12	6		30
	1			1		2
	1	10	13	1		25
			1			1
	2	5	6	4		17
	2	17	8	2		29
	2	5	4		1	12
1	17	56	55	19	2	150

Table No. 6.38 : Respondent's occupation and Sister's occupation - Rural

Sister's							
Occupation categories	Rural						Rural Total
Resp.'s occupations	1	2	3	4	5	999	
1	1						1
4							
999					1	1	2
ADVOCATE							
Beautician				1			1
clerk		2	9	5	7	1	24
Dantis							
Dr		1					1
dress shopy					1		1
family business							
farm worker			5	9	15	2	31
KG Teacher					1		1
maneger					5		5
nurse	3	3	7	4	7	4	28
primary Teacher	1	4	3	3	13	6	30
Professor				1			1
SOFTWARE ENG							
tailor			3	2	15	4	24
Teacher							
Grand Total	5	10	27	25	65	18	150

**Table No. 6.39 : Respondent's occupation and Sister's occupation
– Urban**

Urban						Urban Total
1	2	3	4	5	999	
				1		1
		2		1		3
7	3	7	4	9		30
2	2	8	4	10	4	30
		1		1		2
	1	4	11	8	1	25
		1				1
	1	3	3	9	1	17
1	1	6	8	9	4	29
1	4		4	1	2	12
11	12	32	34	49	12	150

Table No. 6.40 : Respondent's occupation and Husband's occupation – Rural

Husband's occupation	Rural						Rural Total
Row Labels	1	2	3	4	5	999	
1						1	1
4							
999		1				1	2
ADVOCATE							
Beautician						1	1
clerk	1	2	3	3	1	14	24
Dantis							
Dr						1	1
dress shopy				1			1
family business							
farm worker		1	10	3	3	14	31
KG Teacher						1	1
maneger				5			5
nurse		1	1	4	6	16	28
primary Teacher	1	12	2	3	3	9	30
Professor					1		1
SOFTWARE ENG							
tailor	5	3	3	7	3	3	24
Teacher							
Grand Total	7	20	19	26	17	61	150

Table No. 6.41 : Respondent's occupation and Husban'd occupation – Urban

Urban							Urban Total
1	2	3	4	5	888	999	
		1					1
		1	1		1		3
1	1	3	3	8	10	4	30
		3	6	6	12	3	30
					2		2
	1	1	4	7	12		25
		1					1
	1				13	3	17
1		10		1	14	3	29
2	3	2	4	1			12
4	6	22	18	23	64	13	150

Table No. 6.42 : Respondent's occupation and Father in law's occupation – Rural

Father in law's occupation	Rural						Rural Total
Resp.'s occupation	1	2	3	4	5	999	
1						1	1
4							
999						2	2
ADVOCATE							
Beautician						1	1
clerk			3	7		14	24
Dantis							
Dr						1	1
dress shopy				1			1
family business							
farm worker			3	7	7	14	31
KG Teacher						1	1
maneger			4		1		5
nurse		3	2	4	1	18	28
primary Teacher	3	4	6	4	1	12	30
Professor			1				1
SOFTWARE ENG							
tailor		2	2	10	3	7	24
Teacher							
Grand Total	3	9	21	33	13	71	150

Table No. 6.43 : Respondent's occupation and Father in law's occupation – Urban

Urban						Urban Total
2	3	4	5	888	999	
1						1
1		1		1		3
4	7	3	2	10	4	30
3	7	3	1	12	4	30
				2		2
6	3	2	1	12	1	25
1						1
1				14	2	17
9		3		14	3	29
2	2	3	1		4	12
28	19	15	5	65	18	150

Table No. 6.44 : Respondent's occupation and Mother in law's occupation – Rural

Mother in law's occupation	Rural						Rural Total
Resp.'s occupation	1	2	3	4	5	999	
1						1	1
4							
999						2	2
ADVOCATE							
Beautician						1	1
clerk					9	15	24
Dantis							
Dr						1	1
dress shopy					1		1
family business							
farm worker			3	1	13	14	31
KG Teacher						1	1
maneger					5		5
nurse		1		5	3	19	28
primary Teacher	3		3	4	6	14	30
Professor		1					1
SOFTWARE ENG							
tailor				1	17	6	24
Teacher							
Grand Total	3	2	6	11	54	74	150

Table No. 6.45 : Respondent's occupation and Mother in law's occupation – Urban

Urban							Urban Total
0	2	3	4	5	888	999	
				1			1
				2	1		3
1	2	1	3	9	10	4	30
	5	1	5	4	12	3	30
					2		2
	6	2	3	2	12		25
		1					1
				1	14	2	17
			3	8	14	4	29
	1			7		4	12
1	14	5	14	34	65	17	150

All these tables bring out very clearly that parents' occupations and children's occupations in rural and urban areas are different. In other words in this small sample of 300 cases directly regarding girls and indirectly regarding boys the data collected reveal that younger generation is no more in the traditional occupations.

Hypothesis 4-a becomes acceptable after considering these facts.

For hypothesis 4-b – Muslim women are entering such occupations which are

(b) non-traditional

Apart from the table of occupations of respondents (no. C 30) which is already presented, the following tables and information is relevant in this connection.

Table No. 6.46 : Avenues suitable for women

Q. no. B 20 – Avenues of employment more suitable for women

	Rural M	Rural Um	Total rural	Urban M	Urban Um	Total urban	total
A	47	40	87	41	30	71	158
B	66	48	114	35	47	82	196
C	19	17	36	08	14	22	58
D	31	22	53	38	50	88	141
E	08	13	21	23	36	59	80
F	02	01	03	06	02	08	11
G	44	40	84	61	72	133	217
Doctor	1	0	1				1
Lawyer	1	0	1				1
Tailor	2	0	2				2
Teaching				1		01	1
Playgroup				2		02	2
Grand	Total		402			466	868

This table shows that (i) married and unmarried women have different opinions regarding what would be more suitable employment for women. (ii) rural and urban differences are visible clearly and (iii) there are differences of opinions among rural unmarried and urban unmarried women as also among urban married and rural married women. It must be taken into account that a few suggestions are also there, which are modern occupations. This is a very clear indication of preference for non-traditional occupations.

Q. no. C 32 – This question is regarding whether parents supported the respondents to enter into this particular occupation. In case of urban

women an overwhelming majority (137 - 91 %) has given consent. Rural women are not that lucky only 98 that means 66% were given consent by parents. At the same time this in itself is a good sign. One of the probable reasons for saying 'no' might be because the occupations are non-traditional.

These two questions bring out directly and clearly that our hypothesis 4 – B is acceptable with sufficient support of the data collected.

Table No. 6.47 : Encouragement from respondent

Q.No. C 40 – will you encourage ?

	Rural	Urban	Total
1	135	116	251
2	13	33	46
999	2	1	3
Total	150	150	300

This simple looking question and responses recorded are very important. (i) in rural areas jobs are less paid and require hard work still satisfaction level is high as compared with urban responses. (ii) non-satisfaction with jobs is much higher in urban area. Respondents have not avoided responding, which they could have easily done.

Table No. 6.48 : Satisfaction rating

Q. no. C 41 – rating of satisfaction

Rating in stars	Rural	Urban	Grand Total
2	1	00	1
3	5	7	12
4	34	34	68
5	49	53	102
6	46	50	96
7	00	3	3
999	15	3	18
Grand Total	150	150	300

It is a good sign that not a single respondent gives one star rating, though 15 (10%) in rural and only 3 (1%) in urban area have abstained from responding. (i) in rural area no one gives 7 stars but in urban area at least 3 seem to be very much satisfied with their jobs. (ii) 5 star and 6 star rating has been given by very close numbers by rural and urban respondents.

If these two tables are studied together, **a bit of confusion occurs**. While satisfaction level of urban respondents is higher than rural ones, they are not prepared to encourage and help other girls to take up education and a job. Rural girls are indicating lower levels of satisfaction but still are ready to encourage others for taking up education and jobs.

In our studies so far, this type of contradictory observations have not been recorded or attempted to be explained and therefore require further deep probing with the help of some psychological tool.

Table No. 6.49 : Suitable avenues for woman

Q. no. B 21 – ‘yes’ to “is it OK if a woman works in a, b, c ?”

	Rural	Urban	Total
a	53	33	86
b	15	23	38
c	113	110	223
total	181	166	347

This table shows from different angle that Muslim women are prepared to take up the challenge of working outside home. **There is overwhelming preference for a mixed gender workplace which is going away from the stereotyped claims by religious leaders that, “outside home Muslim women do not feel safe”. This is a very important finding of this small survey.**

Table No. 6.50 : Trouble at workplace

Q. no. C 37 – any trouble initially at work place?

	Rural	Urban
yes	3	12
No	77	74
888 Not applicable	65	64
999 no response	5	
Total	150	150

As per responses, only 3 from and 12 from urban area rural have reported that they faced some problems at work place. It is in a way good sign that total number is very low. This supports the response to Q. No. 21 mentioned above.

Table No. 6.51 : Step for changing the treatment

Q. no. C 39 – Did you take any step to change the treatment you were receiving ?

	Rural	Urban	Total
yes	8	12	20
Not applicable	98	18	116
999	44	120	164
Total	150	150	300

did you take any steps to change the treatment you received?

This table needs to be studied in the light of the earlier table. (i) the number of rural respondents who “yes, I have taken some step to change the treatment I was receiving” here looks to be eight while in earlier response it was only 3. The only possible explanation can be that those 5 who did not respond in the earlier table, might actually have faced some problems and therefore might have taken some steps also. Only thing is that they did not register earlier. (ii) it is important to note that none of those who faced problems remained quiet. It is interesting to note what steps they have taken. They are noted below –

Table No. 6.52 : Causes of change in treatment

Q. no. C 39 – causes of change in treatment.	Rural	Urban	Grand Total
1		1	1
888	97	18	115
999	45	120	165
After discussion	1		1
Because of my boldness		1	1
Complain was forwarded to boss		2	2
After some experience I adjusted		1	1
Financial help was given to me		1	1
Gave me respect afterwards	1		1
Little bit of patience	1		1
I did good work and did not wait for order	2		2
My sincere work	1	2	3
positive change		2	2
Self dependence (my)		1	1
the whole family is educated no problem		1	1
they respect me	1		1
well company with me	1		1
Total cases of 'problem resolved'	8	11	19
Grand Total	150	150	300

This is an eye opener for those who think women are shy in public places and any treatment given to them will be tolerated by them. Specially in rural areas it is worth noting.

Hypothesis 4 – c – proposition 5 becomes acceptable after considering these facts.

Table No. 6.53 : Row Labels**Q.No. B 6 – Preferred qualifications of husband in case of Unmarried respondent**

Row Labels	Urban	Rural	Grand Total
12 PASS		6	6
888 (Not Applicable)	73	89	162
Any degree		11	11
B.A.		3	3
BE	2		2
DHMS		1	1
DOCTOR	1	1	2
Equal to me	10		10
Govt employee	9	4	13
Graduate	2		2
INDUSTRY JOB	1		1
illiterate		1	1
MA	4		4
MA B.Ed	3	7	10
MBA	11	3	14
MBBS	5	2	7
MCA	1		1
MCOM	1	2	3
MD	1		1
MDS	1		1
MEIT	1		1
MSc		1	1
MSc., Ph.D.	1		1
No condition	1		1
No ONE GETS GOOD Qualification AND CULTURE	1		1
PG	17	2	19
PG in same field	1		1
PG in medicine	1		1
Ph. D.	1		1
SELF EMPLOYED		2	2
Teacher	1	15	16
Grand Total	150	150	300

In this table attitudes of new generation towards marriage are expressed. A clear indication towards more openness of thinking and expression is seen among urban girls and a sort of narrow range of exposure to expanding job market reflects in the responses of rural girls. Teacher is the most preferred bridegroom in rural girls (15/60). Next choice is any graduate, 11.

Table No. 6.54 : Suitable education for women

Q. 34 suitable edu?

	Art	Sci.	Com	H.S.C.	M/P/N	Eng	C/IT	O
urban	55	55	35	86	109	33	77	00
rural	92	64	23	68	65	17	21	00

Analysis of this table is already presented. It is important to note that other choices are not given by respondents.

After reading both the tables together, it becomes clear that due to differences in rural and urban settings, not only opportunities vary but the aspirations of young generation themselves differ.

Hypothesis 4 – d – proposition 8 becomes acceptable after considering these facts.

Thus, this small sample has brought out certain grass roots level realities to foreground. Muslim women are definitely changing and not slowly or in a limited fashion.

Conclusion –

It seems from the responses and their analysis that our broad hypothesis “Muslim women are coming out of their shell and are putting in a lot of efforts to educate themselves and to enter into job market outside homes. In this journey towards emancipation they are supported by not only their parents but parents-in-law also. In the whole process at micro level, indirectly, these women have become torch bearers for their sisters and generations to come on the path of modernisation and awakening”.

LLM					11	8		19									19
MA	1		1	2	3	14	1	22			1	1	6			8	30
MABED													2	4		6	6
MALLB						1		1									1
MBA					1	1		2									2
MBBS				3	5	2		10									10
MCA		1	2	1	6	1		11									11
MCM			1					1									1
MCS					1			1									1
MDS					1	1		2									2
MEBED													1			1	1
MER		1						1									1
SSC									9	16	9		2	1		37	37
M.Com.			1	1	5	3		10									10
M.Sc.	1			3	8	6		18					3			3	21
D.Ed.										1	2	1				4	4
BA D.Ed.										1		1	1	2		5	5
D.Ed.										1		1	1			3	3
ME					1	1		2									2
ME , M.B.A.					1			1									1
M.Sc. BED													3			3	3
Total	2	2	9	16	70	50	1	150	20	27	26	14	50	12	1	150	300

Table No. 6.2: Education level of respondents and Mother

Respondent's education	U						U Total	R						R Total	Grand Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6			999
4								1							1	1
5								1							1	1
7								1	2	1					4	4
8								4		1					5	5
9								3	1	1					5	5
999						2	2		1						1	3
BA				2	1	1	4	1	2	7	6		1		17	21
BABED												1			1	1
BCA				1	1		2									2
BCM											1				1	1
BCOM				1	1	1	3				1				1	4
BCS			1	1			2									2
BDS			1	3	1	1	6				1				1	7
BE					2		2									2
BEIT						1	1									1
BHMS			1	4			5									5
BSC		1		1	2		4			1	9	2	2		14	18
BSC BED											1				1	1
BUMS			2	2	2		6									6
DHMS		1					1									1
HSC								6	5	6	7	2	1		27	27
LLB		1		4	4	2	11									11
LLM		1	2	6	7	3	19									19
MA		4	2		14	2	22			3	5				8	30

MABED											3	3			6	6
MALLB				1			1									1
MBA					1	1	2									2
MBBS		1	3	2	3	1	10									10
MCA	2	1		5	1	2	11									11
MCM		1					1									1
MCS						1	1									1
MDS				1		1	2									2
MEBED											1				1	1
MER	1						1									1
SSC								18	12	2	1	1		3	37	37
M.Com.		1	1	3	3	2	10									10
M.Sc.		3	1	6	5	3	18				2		1		3	21
D.Ed.									3	1					4	4
BA D.Ed.								1			2	2			5	5
D.Ed.										1	2				3	3
ME				1	1		2									2
ME , M.B.A.					1		1									1
M.Sc. BED											3				3	3
Total	3	15	14	44	50	24	150	36	26	24	45	11	5	3	150	300

Table No. 6.3: Education level of respondents and Brother

Brother's edu. level	U					U Total	R							R Total	Grand Total
Resp's education	3	4	5	6	999		1	2	3	4	5	6	999		
4										1				1	1
5								1						1	1
7								1	2	1				4	4
8								1	3	1				5	5
9								1	3	1				5	5
999			1		1	2			1					1	3
BA		2		2		4	1		4	2	6	3	1	17	21
BABED										1				1	1
BCA			1	1		2									2
BCM												1		1	1
BCOM		2	1			3						1		1	4
BCS		1		1		2									2
BDS			3	3		6				1				1	7
BE	1	1				2									2
BEIT		1				1									1
BHMS			1	4		5									5
BSC			1	3		4			1	2	2	8	1	14	18
BSC BED											1			1	1
BUMS	1	1	2	2		6									6
DHMS			1			1									1
HSC									8	8	5	6		27	27
LLB	2	3	1	5		11									11
LLM		8	2	9		19									19
MA	1	10	4	7		22					3	5		8	30

MABED								2	3	1				6	6
MALLB			1			1									1
MBA			1	1		2									2
MBBS		2	2	6		10									10
MCA	3	2	4	2		11									11
MCM			1			1									1
MCS		1				1									1
MDS			1	1		2									2
MEBED								1						1	1
MER			1			1									1
SSC							1	5	21	6	3		1	37	37
M.Com.	1	3	3	3		10									10
M.Sc.	2	5	4	7		18				1	2			3	21
D.Ed.								1	1	1	1			4	4
BA D.Ed.									2	2			1	5	5
D.Ed.										3				3	3
ME				2		2									2
ME , M.B.A.				1		1									1
M.Sc. BED								3						3	3
Grand Total	11	42	36	60	1	150	2	9	50	30	28	27	4	150	300

MA			2	14	6		22			1	2	5			8	30
MABED											1	2	3		6	6
MALLB		1					1									1
MBA			1	1			2									2
MBBS		1		2	4	3	10									10
MCA	1	1	1	5	2	1	11									11
MCM						1	1									1
MCS		1					1									1
MDS				1		1	2									2
MEBED											1				1	1
MER			1				1									1
SSC								4	3	23	3		1	3	37	37
M.Com.	1	1		5	3		10									10
M.Sc.		1	5	7	3	2	18					2	1		3	21
D.Ed.											1	1		2	4	4
BA D.Ed.										1		2	1	1	5	5
D.Ed.										1	1	1			3	3
ME		1			1		2									2
ME , M.B.A.				1			1									1
M.Sc. BED									1	1		1			3	3
Grand Total	3	13	19	71	35	9	150	5	17	40	26	41	11	10	150	300

Table no. 29 X 1- f/l, m/l

Husband's occupation category	Rural					Um 60	Rural Total	Urban					Um 78	999	Urban Total	
Rrsp.'s occupation	1	2	3	4	5	999		1	2	3	4	5	888	999		
1						1	1									
4										1					1	
999		1				1	2			1	1		1		3	
Advocate								1	1	3	3	8	10	4	30	
Beautician						1	1			3	6	6	12	3	30	
clerk	1	2		3	3	1	14	24								
Dantis													2		2	
Dr						1	1		1	1	4	7	12		25	
dress shopy				1			1									
family business										1					1	
farm worker		1	10	3	3	14	31									
KG Teacher						1	1									
maneger				5			5									
nurse		1	1	4	6	16	28									
primary Teacher	1	12	2	3	3	9	30									
Professor					1		1		1				13	3	17	
SOFTWARE ENG									1		10		1	14	3	29
tailor	5	3	3	7	3	3	24									
Teacher									2	3	2	4	1		12	
Total	7	20	19	26	17	61	150	4	6	22	18	23	64	13	150	

Table No. 30 : Respondent's occupation and Father in law's occupation

Father in law's occupation						Rural Total						Urban Total	
Resp.'s occupation	2	3	4	5	999		2	3	4	5	888	999	
1					1	1							
4							1						1
999					2	2	1		1		1		3
ADVOCATE							4	7	3	2	10	4	30
Beautician					1	1	3	7	3	1	12	4	30
clerk		3	7		14	24							
Dantis											2		2
Dr					1	1	6	3	2	1	12	1	25
dress shopy			1			1							
family business							1						1
farm worker		3	7	7	14	31							
KG Teacher					1	1							
maneger		4		1		5							
nurse	3	2	4	1	18	28							
primary Teacher	7	6	4	1	12	30							
Professor		1				1	1				14	2	17
SOFTWARE ENG							9		3		14	3	29
tailor	2	2	10	3	7	24							
Teacher							2	2	3	1		4	12
Grand Total	12	21	33	13	71	150	28	19	15	5	65	18	150

Father's							
Occupation category	Rural						Rural Total
Resp.'s occu.	1	2	3	4	5	999	
1						1	1
4							
999		1				1	2
Advocate							
Beautician				1			1
clerk	1	11	10	2			24
Dantis							
Dr			1				1
dress shopy				1			1
family business							
farm worker	4	3	3	6	15		31
KG Teacher		1					1
maneger			2		3		5
nurse	2	14	1	6	4	1	28
primary Teacher	3	4	9	7	4	3	30
Professor		1					1
SOFTWARE ENG							
tailor	3	7		11	3		24
Teacher							
Grand Total	13	42	26	34	29	6	150

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