

**ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON POST MARRIAGE
EDUCATION AMONG MAPPILA MUSLIM WOMEN IN
MATRILocal AND PATRILocal FAMILIES OF
MALABAR, KERALA**

*A thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the award of the degree of*

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In

SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND INCLUSIVE POLICY

By

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “**Access to Higher Education: A Comparative Study on Post Marriage Education Among Mappila Muslim Women in Matrilocal and Patrilocal Families of Malabar, Kerala.**” submitted by Shamma P bearing the Reg.No. 17SIHL04 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy in Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy is a record of the bonafied work carried out by her under my supervision and guidance.

This dissertation has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institute for the award of any degree or diploma

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Declaration

I, Shamma P declare that the work embodied in this dissertation titled **Access to Higher Education: A Comparative Study on Post Marriage Education among Mappila Muslim Women in Matrilocal and Patrilocl families of Malabar, Kerala** is the result of research carried out by me under the supervision of Prof. Raja Mohan Rao in the Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy (CSSEIP).

I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this dissertation was earlier submitted for the award of a research degree of any university.

Place: Hyderabad

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To my Mother Shahida and to my Brother Fahad Bin Abdul Majeed For their “unconditional” love. To my Father, Abdul Majeed from whom I learned not to “give up”.

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Abbreviations

UNESCO	-The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Culture Organization
GER	- Gross enrolment Ratio
UNFPA	- United Nations Population Fund
SPSS	- Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SRC	- Socio-Religious communities
SC	- Scheduled caste
ST	- Scheduled Tribes

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Education is the factor which contributes towards empowerment of women thereby upgrades their overall status in society. Education is identified by UNESCO 2012 as “a fundamental human right – one that all individuals are entitled to enjoy whatever the circumstances in which they live – that also brings important benefits to human society as a whole” (UNESCO, 2012). It is a well-accepted fact that Higher Education is the gateway for opportunity and employment of Indian women. An egalitarian perspective education is viewed as an equality of opportunity and individual mobility for all the sections of the society. In Indian context, data reveals that millions of Girls are out of school and progress towards women’s education is not fast enough. Many Indian women face the traditional and socio-cultural barriers to education. So the problem of Muslim women in Higher Education cannot be treated differently from the general position of women in society but only in addition to the focus view of socio-economic development (Dines, 1993).

Higher education system is “the aggregate of systematized knowledge and practical skills that allow theoretical and practical problems to be solved by a given type of training, utilizing and creatively developing the modern achievements of science, technology, and culture” (Rupali Sharma, 2014). So the status of women and their participation and access to Higher education can vary between and within a different cultural group. In a traditional society like India, oppression is conserved and practiced through family and marriage. One of the reasons which could influence less participation of women in higher education is traditional gender norms and practices. General expectation towards girls to become wives and mothers lead the family to have little investment on girl’s education and higher education in particular, “especially if the

financial and opportunity costs are high and gender segregation of the labor market offers little hope for strong economic returns” (Lehrer, 1999). Most of the women may also accept the idea of expected gendered norms and perform less in academics (Claudia Buchmann, 2008).

Different feminist perspectives made a contribution to understanding women’s oppression. Feminists view patriarchy as the root cause of oppression and low status of women. Marxist feminists see women’s oppression through the lens of class and private property. They discuss the treatment of women’s issue in family by imagining women as proletariat and men as bourgeoisie in social reproduction. Radical feminism explains the exploitation of women in the form of patriarchy which works according to the male hierarchical order. It can reflect in the family and kinship in Indian society. By focusing on the relevance of kinship system in understanding educational aspirations and attainment, this study, therefore, used wide frame feminist theoretical view which helps us to view the social exclusion of Muslim women as a consequence of the social construction of gender. The concept of intersectionality focuses on the layered form of oppression based on or the intersection of gender, ethnicity, race, religion, class, sexuality and so on. Muslim women in India, women from a religious minority have different cultural and religious identity and socio-political lives that contribute a dimensional form of oppression. Intersectional feminists claim that “complexities of women’s experiences of oppression are not understandable without simultaneous consideration of the impacts of all different axes” (Crenshaw, 1989).

Women’s Aspirations for higher education can involve goals for future without any obstacles. Post marriage educational achievements in contrast largely influence the

“expectations” by considering the “roles”, “barriers” and “constraints” (Morgan S. L., 1998). This study encompasses action of agreement that women make to continue their post-marriage education. Generally, many characteristics and components of the family, religion, location and such factors are responsible for the differences in the practice of gendered norms. Researches based on kinship system and women explain that certain kinship arrangements such as the matrilineal system favors micro level autonomy of women. This kinship arrangement can be supportive or oppressive to women especially after marriage. Furthermore, in perspective of Islam, there is no fixed age limit for marriage. In spite of the child marriage Act, early marriage or marriage right after 18 years is continued to be practiced by Muslim community. The discussions above revealed a clear gender disparity among Muslims in India. Literature strongly suggests the need to integrate developmental goals to improve Muslim women’s education .

1.1 Higher Education among Muslim women in India

Muslims being the largest religious minority in India is facing limited attainment in higher education and employment participation. There has always been a wide gender gap between two groups in India. In case of Muslim women there is a large difference between two gender groups and the disparity among the different Socio-religious communities (SRC’s) is in a high degree. Although the gross enrolment ratio (GER) in India has made significant progress (2016-17, 24.5) participation rate and disparity across the gender is a major challenge. The disparity among women in different socio-religious (SRCs) groups is evident and Muslim women have the lowest gross enrolment ratio (GER) and Literacy rate in India. The literacy rate stands, according to the 2011 census,

for Muslim women, Hindu women and Christian women to be respectively 50.1 percent, 53.2 percent and 76.2 percent.

Sachar committee findings on Muslim women's education, the state of higher education of Muslim women, in independent India, raises concerns. Statistics with Sachar Panel show that only five percent of women manage to attain higher education. The status of enrolment of Muslims to the country's top medical and engineering colleges is in a sorry state. The route to higher education for Indian Muslim women is hindered by the factors like basic education, transportation, societal and parental pressure and religious issues. In India, freedom and access to education has positively affected the women living only in urban areas among upper class Muslim families (Sachar, 2006). Similarly Muslim women are largely engaged in either self-employment or home based labor and very little Muslim representation in high profile jobs in India. Participation of Muslim girls in educational activities was less than 5 per cent in India (Zoya Hassan, 2004). It was also found that domestic factors such as wrong set of values and attitude of parents towards women's education leads to high level dropout after secondary education among Indian Muslim girls.(Zeb, 2019).

Many studies are pointing various reasons behind the poor educational status of Muslim women but the reasons can differ according to region, Language and culture in Indian context. Generally restricted mobility and various socio economic factors impact the educational status of Muslim women. "The word "Dismal" is frequently used to describe Indian Muslim women's education, in national reports,in surveys by Muslim women's organization, and in scholarship" (Samanta, 2017). A study "Socio-Economic Development of Muslim Women: Impact of Education" observed that the state

government needs to provide extra facility to upgrade the community especially with regard to Muslim women's participation in secondary, higher technical and professional education (Devi, 2014). Muslim girl's progress has been restricted by multiple burdened nature of their life. Social exclusion of Muslim women is an ongoing debate to demand central and state intervention and action for Muslims. Socio-religious exclusion along gender oppression actually represents their multi-dimensional nature of discrimination for Muslim women, "In view of the multi-dimensional nature of group disadvantage for Muslims, particularly spatial patterns observable across India, more careful understanding is needed to develop effective affirmative action policies. While deeply flawed reasoning grounds prevailing current arguments in favor of separate affirmative action for Muslims" (Alam, 2010). One of the important conclusion we draw from all the literature and data, there exist gender differential in educational attainment of women in India. The gender differentials in education endure since "those persons who bear the primary costs of investing in schooling fail to receive the full benefits of their investment. This is particularly true because of the broad social payoffs in educating women" (Elizabeth M. King, 1991). This is especially true in south Asian context.

1.2 Status of Higher education among Mappila Muslim women in Kerala.

Kerala model of development marked its progress with high female literacy rate and female status. Even though the state achieved advancement in development indicators there have been negative trends in the corresponding achievements. Mainly this includes relatively lower higher educational enrolment ratio and low level work participation. The

researchers have been pointing out the apparent paradox as a result of the complex processing of gender. Three levels of complex gendering process in education, employment and access to economic resources are shaping the gendered social structure and subordination status (Scaria, 2015).

Mappilas are Muslim religious group of Kerala who claim to be successors of Arab settlers. Mappila Muslims are majorly concentrated on northern part of Kerala. Historically speaking, Muslim community in Malabar had remained backward in education due to their own disregard for modern secular education. Majority of Sunni sects consider it would threaten or weaken their religion. All over the India such condition prevailed. The anti-British reaction was another cause made them fall behind the rest in education. It was at the time of 19th century that modern education had expanded among Mappila Muslims. Even after that, educating Muslim women remain big challenge for the Mappila community. Effective educational and social movements had brought changes in the community. After the early 20th century, there has been change and liberation that is being experienced by the Muslim women in Malabar.

1.3 Marriage, Marital Residence Patterns and post marriage Education.

There is not enough literature to explain family as an institution per se in the settings and changes that existing within it (Cain, 1982). But it is most agreeable fact that it is intermediate developmental institution with social and economic importance in developing countries. For an Indian woman, marriage is considered the sole purpose of life by being good wife and mother. Society sees remaining single as a taboo. One of the

perceptions on the downside of educating women is the negative consequence on their marriage market. Researchers described it as “either because older and educated girls are less desirable in the marriage market or because of fear of dating relationships and pre-marital sex affecting her chances of marriage and family honor as a whole” (Raj, 2019). Post marriage education was not accepted by society now in the earlier times as it was dependent on support from in-laws and husband. Even for a highly intelligent and an aspirational girl, there are certain barriers which restrict to advance their studies further. “Social norms restricting education for married girls, restrictions from in-laws and husbands against continuing education following marriage, and responsibilities of married life and motherhood complicated continued education of girls, even for highly motivated girls” (Raj, 2019).

In such situation, parents discourage women’s education for their lack of production value to their investment in education because their earnings go to husband’s family. Additionally, parents encourage marriage and rather spend on dowry than on women’s education (Karuna, 2011). In such condition women trying to continue education after marriage is an impotent area of study. Scholars have argued about the various difficulties of parenthood and marriage that can impact women’s overall attainments but there are limited studies on how marriage effects post marriage education.

In spite of what statistics tells about the educational progress of women, majority of women still face multiple barriers. In India, early marriage or Marriage just after crossing the legal age is significantly practiced across the region. It significantly affects their access to Higher education and employment. Large number of study Reports revealed the high cost of early marriage in the developmental perspective. In such condition, a way to

achieve higher level of education is to have post marriage education. Generally it is often expected for women to dropout from education after marriage. After marriage it is a transition change to her new role of mother and wife which often come with high level expectations and responsibilities. Resuming back their studies and access to quality education can be difficult after Marriage. However, few existing discourses and oppressive family structure consider Muslim women more degrading to access higher education. Several cross national studies, analyzed various economic and structural factors which found out the correlation between Muslim population and low female educational attainments (Arusha Cooray, 2011). Mainly Muslims supports traditional or conservative family behaviors that could clash with modern civilized idea over issues related to gender (Davidmcclendon, 2018). In such condition education after marriage is big bold task for Muslim women. In general argument, women's autonomy and freedom is variably associated with Kinship arrangement (Morgan B. B., 1996). Patrilineal and matrilineal are two different kinship systems based on lineage, residence, inheritance and authority among which women's status can vary accordingly. In Matriliney women are central to the system and it differs from the counterpart system of patriliney, "As a general presumption it seems to be true that women in matrilineal societies are not under any intensive and oppressive control" (Mayadevi, 2015). Matrilineal systems are generally considered as the egalitarian kinship system which favors women.

Post marriage residential pattern is mainly determined by the type of kinship system prevailing in the society. Patrilocal system occurs in association with patrilineal society where newly married residence near or in grooms fathers place. At the same time Matrilocal system keeps newly Married couples home near or in women's mother's

house. Kerala society set interesting research context because of its matrilineal inheritance and practice. Interestingly, Mappila Muslim community in Kerala practices both the residential patterns which is the setting of this study. They are considered as the successors of Arab traders. Originated through trade with Arab and Yemen. They follow Patrilocal system and in large number.. Even if they had common characteristic of the origin, Mappila community now divided into heterogeneous community “Originally formed through inter-marriage between maritime Arab traders and local women, the Moplahs are today a heterogeneous community characterized by ethnic, regional and social diversities” (Hafiz Mohamad, 2013). Broadly classified into two endogamous groups. The first group “The higher ranking castes believed to comprise of the descendants of converts from Brahmins and Nayers” (David M. Schneider, 1962). The other group converted from the lower caste group including Fisher man folk. In Kerala, Mappila Muslim Matriliney arguably considered that take on from Nayar community. Second group of It “is not only seen among the Mappila Muslims, but also among such muslims as the Labbais of Tamilnadu, the coastal pocket of Gujarat, the Navayats of Kanara and Islanders of Lakshadweep. All of these groups were not converts from Hindu matrilineal groups. Most of these groups were connected with Arab traders” (Fathima, 2014). And the region mainly it practiced is in coastal area of north Kerala. On those areas it detect it could be the reason of migration among men, there women under the protection of natal house and on their uncle kin protection.

There were other community practiced matrilineal system, but left later but still in north Malabar in the form of matrilocal residence Muslim community persisted the system. Additionally, Kerala had encounter different law and order including Hindu

Marumakkathayam act of 1932 and Family system act 1975 that cause disappearance of the Matriliney among other different communities. "The present day Kerala society is considered as Patrilineal and patriarchal despite its matrilineal heritage. The thinning property rights, increasing dowry, lack of employment opportunities for women, increasing violence against women and children etc. have started raising doubts regarding the acclaimed high status of Kerala women" (Fathima, 2014). Mappila Muslim women from Malabar Kerala is the universe of the study. So, it would be significant to study the access to higher education among Mappila Muslim women from both Patrilocal and Matrilocal families of Malabar. So the context of the study gives insight to their association between access to higher education and post marriage residential pattern.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter deals with description of educational status of Muslim women in Indian society in general and higher educational status in particular. This chapter evaluates matrilineal and patrilineal system of societies and a description of Mappila Muslims in Kerala.

Muslim women are among the educationally deprived and politically depreciated ones in India. Findings of the Report of Muslim Women in India (Kazi, 1999) argues that Indian government has failed to secure even the primary and secondary education to Muslim girls on their right to education. The disadvantage of low level literacy rate among Muslim women in India potentially led to their corresponding decrease in the higher educational enrolment. The report also observes the relative deprivation faced by Muslim women in comparison with other religious groups. Muslim women, both Rural and Urban have high level enrolment in primary level of schooling but the gap began from the secondary and then worsened in higher educational enrolment ratio. When compared with other socio-religious groups, Hindu or Christian women, this trend is all the more an important issue. Societies undermine the occupational role of women, thereby devaluating the women's education. Predefined role of Muslim women as they are not expected to go out, that they should remain at home looking after the family only worsened it. Findings of the study conducted by (Menon, 1980) says that early marriage is one of the reasons which is a hindrance to Muslim women from attaining the higher education as well as occupational status. Restrictions to go out freely in general and especially after the marriage will lead to a difficult situation of termination from educational institutions.

According to (Basant, 2012), Sachar committee report brings together several studies based on the large scale empirical data which shows the clear picture of socio-economic and educational backwardness among Muslims in India. He analyzed the patterns and trends of Muslims education and employment by using National Sample Survey for the year 2009-2010 with the earlier years (1999-2000 and 2004-05). Comparing the most recent data available, he mentions the complex and multidimensional issues faced by the Muslim community. In addition, the issue of insecurity has resulted in discrimination and backwardness in Muslim women. The feelings of insecurity adversely affected the Muslim women, leading to a condition where Muslim women are not fully able to utilise the opportunities.

Satarupa Dutta in a published paper titled 'The Changing Patterns and Lived Experiences of Women Pursuing Higher Education Post-marriage in India' states the challenge and issues faced by women pursuing education post marriage. The study found that across generations there is high level of enthusiasm for education. But micro level family interactions and lack of support was found in old coherent as well as the new generational women for attaining post marriage education. Youth reflected as being revolutionary was struggling against the gendered conditioning. The study observed that certain kind of family structures including nuclear family had better chance for autonomy and post marriage education (Dutta, 2016). Shireen J. Jejeebhoy in 'Convergence and Divergence in Spouses' Perspectives on Women's Autonomy in Rural India' found limited autonomy of women after marriage. Specifically she found that cultural context and region tend to effect perception about women's autonomy (Jejeebhoy, 2002). Jafar. K mentioned in a published article 'Status of Muslim Women in Kerala: A Study of Female Age at

Marriage in Malappuram District' study based on the Mappila Muslim women in Kerala, Post marriage and family significantly affect the options available to women on their education and employment. He analyzed large number of self-reported cases of Muslim women who stated that marriage was their primary reason to discontinue their studies. The larger trend observed that education was merely considered as an additional attraction to find desirable bridegroom (Jafer, 2015).

In *Islam and women*, Malladi Subbamma, noted women's rights activist, feminist and writer provides in depth study of the religious principles and condition of women in Islam. The book, an enquiry into the condition of the women in Muslim society and religion. The Muslim women think that her birth, status all is ordained by God. The Koran has specified her conduct from birth to death. Marriage, divorce, succession are the sectors of her life where discrimination abounds between man and women. There is no place for any followers of that religion to exercise their independent thought nor is there any scope for discussion. So Islam opposes modern ideas and change. All the religious text speaks of compassion, peace, kindness and love but practice is different. Although religion has dominated the lives of women, no religion accords the freedom and equality to women. She has been denied education and enlightenment and confined to home in the name of religion. From the total analysis of Islamic religion, it is said that it treats women as a property of man. The women have been compared to a field and the husband has been described as the owner of the field. Discrimination has been happening without any rights whatsoever with respect to marriage, succession, guardianship, or birth control. Further, women has been brainwashed and exploitation is termed as God's command and described as moral. This imposition of subordination on women is being

put under the category of morality, justice, and law. Women are only intended for housekeeping and reproduction. As there were child marriages, the schooling of the girl nearing the age of maturity was discontinued. What little education the girl obtained was mainly religious. Apart from all that, significance of education contributed to the non-development of their power of learning and discretion. Finally she points out that even Indian Muslim religious leaders are striving their best, in the name of protection and preservation of Muslim culture, to limit the women's activities in the service of the husband and home (Subbamma, 1988.).

According to Sachar committee report, there are various dimensions of relative deprivation of Muslim community including status of education and employment. It is probably among the first high level committee of the Government of India to attempt to draw the multidimensional issue of Muslim minority by using large scale empirical data. It clearly brought out the multiple problems of the community including identity, security and equity. And it's inter-linkage between participation in education and employment. We look at some of its findings on educational status of Muslim in India:

Sachar committee (Sachar, 2006) report pointed that in 2001 literacy rate of Muslim population (59.1%) is lower than National average of (65.1 %). In that scenario remaining 'All Others' categories show high literacy rate of 70.8% but the Muslims are excluded with lower literacy rate. For the Muslims in the urban areas, the gap between the literacy rates is (70.1%). When compared with all the other religious categories, it is 15 percentage and the national average is 11 percentage points. The level of literacy is further down in rural areas (52.7%) for Muslim population and it is noted that the gap between compared categories is also deficient. However compared to the Muslim

population, both the SCs/STs have lower literacy rates in both rural and urban areas. Literacy rate of 64% and 68% among male SCs/STs and Muslim male respectively which is lower when compared to the 'All Others' is 81%. But there is disparity for Muslim women as they have low literacy rate level. In the field of education opportunities after the independence has not led to successful attainment rate among Muslims. It is noted that 25% of the children from the age group of 6 – 14 years are either drop out or never attended school in India. The graduation attainment rate is widening in both Rural and Urban areas since 1970 and the same with primary middle and higher secondary. According to committee's findings, diverse range of issues were raised associated with the education of Muslim women. These issues create dropouts and Low enrolment ratio. Even in this condition, Muslim women have not sacrificed on their aspiration for higher education. The committee found high level of aspiration and enthusiasm for education among Muslim girls across the nation. Committee gathered this important piece of information from the discussion in the different states.

A human capital based theory of post marital residence (Jacobsen, 2007) addressed the gap between previous theories which only explained the patterns and trends of post – marital residence. In such context, this theory analyses the deciding factors of newlywed couple's residential choice and fixed social rules requiring to adopt common preference of patrilocality .The model states three different possible forms of fixed marriage residences ' when human capital investments are made prior to marriage'. The models of the paper are 'Marriage specificity of human capital investments', 'Location specificity of human capital investments' and 'Magnitude of environmental uncertainty'. The marriage specifying of human capital investment would be 'the ability to engage in child-

rearing activities, agriculture, or hunting may only be fully realized in a marriage setting in which each marriage partner is fully able to specialize and employ his or her skills'. The next one location specificity of human capital investments seems to be important in agricultural society in responding to bad weather shocks. It decides where the newly married couple should reside on the basis of any one of them on their Human Capital particular to their location of their family. Environmental uncertainty would lead to not having a fixed pattern due to the variable society's geographical range. It would lead to another condition 'What we have termed environmental uncertainty might also capture other unforeseen features of H's and W's demand for a new familial unit, such as localized demographic changes due to disease or warfare'.

Matrilineal Family Background in South India, article written by U. R. Ehrenfels (Ehrenfels, 1953) explains two major comparative differences of the matrilineal family structure with patrilineal pattern. The diffusion of authority, loyalty and responsibility has one of the major features of a matrilineal system while dominions of these entire centered in one person (father) is the rule of patrilineal family pattern. Interestingly, next comes the protection of Matrilineal system which is not only protected but provides rights in property to 'physiologically' and 'psychologically' weaker section of the family "(daughters, sisters, wives, mothers, as compared to sons, brothers, husbands, fathers and youngest as against elder siblings)". Because of that the security and empowerment of women in matrilineal family has security and social status throughout her life span. Robin Jeffrey in 'The Place of Women' and the "Kerala Model" emphasizes the characteristics of matrilineal system in Kerala. Matriliny system was not the customary practice of all

groups. Systemized through female line, “the controllers and decision makers were men” (Jeffrey, 2005).

Rahiman, Ansiya in an article titled ‘Political Economy of Migration in Muslim Matrilineal families of Kerala’ (Rahiman, 2017) pointed out that the occupational pattern of the Muslim community has played an important role to the continuance of matrilineal households in Kerala. One of occupational pattern is identified in 1970 with Gulf boom. Another factor for this system is “marriage alliances are sought from a considerable geographical limit which helps men in handling the needs of both houses and the needs of wife”. Mappila Muslims like Nairs and Tiyyas followed matriliney (*marumakkathayam*) system of inheritance. Ph.D study of Hafiz Mohamad, N P (Hafiz Mohamad, 2013) ‘Socioeconomic determinants of the continuity of matrilineal family system, this thesis discussed the matrilineal system practiced by Mappila Muslims and all the factors which contribute to the continuation of the system in that area. The researcher described the factors such as gulf migration and religious beliefs of the community but majorly status enjoyed by the female members as a contributing factor to the continuation of the system. The study (Fathima, 2014) which starts with the description of the Kerala Matrilineal legacy found strong association between Kinship system and access to economic resources and finds higher status experienced by women from the matrilineal families with regards to the Macro economic status such as age of marriage, household autonomy, freedom of movement.

Research paper, ‘Matrilineal marriage as an inspiring solution to decrease sex-imbalance and gender inequality in Asia: case study of Laos’ (Schenk-sandbergen, 2014) explains that there is strong disintegration happening all over the world to the system of

matrilineal kinship. The reasons behind it is identified as globalization, and interruption of patriarchy. In this global context, practicing and promotion of matrilineal marriages is an interesting way and is “against the predicted trend in world-wide gender history”. The paper argues for the promotion of matrilocal marriages to decrease “sex imbalances” in Asia. The author pointed out the Chinese government’s initiative to promote matrilineal families to create necessary changes in gender relations. To empower and create girl preference, ‘Care for Girl Campaign’ was initiated in the year 2000. In Vietnam same vision summarized in UNFPA reports to encourage matrilocal living to address the issue of sex imbalance. In this paper Bonate presents (Bonate, 2006) Mozambique matriliney and sacred duties assigned to women which had impact on their status. There were female chiefs and during the nineteenth century the elder uterine sister of the landlord ‘Pia- mwene’ performed certain ceremonial functions for the well being of the land. Bonate has pointed out that after the arrival of Sufi orders in 20th century ‘pia mwene’ role had diminished. “ new prestige and status was achieved by women by receiving sound religious training enjoining them to the position of female khalifa (leader), which at times made them superior to men who were not khalifa”.

Joseph Koyippally Joseph, ‘Mappila’: Identity and semantic narrowing (Joseph, 20013) writes in north Kerala, Malabar that Muslims generally known as Mappila practice Shafi school of Sunni version of Islam. Mappila is the combination of two words ‘*ma*’ and ‘*pillai*’. In Sanskrit which was the source of Malayalam, it could be ‘mother’s son’ or ‘great son’ (*Maha*). There are different opinions regarding the etymology and meaning of the term Mappila. Historically Mappila Muslims were traders from West Asian Diaspora which slowly got mixed with native people. Currently they have entered into all kinds of

occupation and trades. However, “The term also has religious connotations. Those who joined the new marga [path‘] were derisively called marga vasi, even after the arrival of Western Christian missionaries in the sixteenth century. It is also said that Mappila is derived from ‘mahapillai’ [distinguished Pillai] a distinguishing title meant to integrate the west Asian traders into the caste-ordered Hindu society of Kerala”.

In the ‘A Socio Historical Outlook’ (Haneefa, 2012) it was highlighted that only around 14-16% of Malabar Muslims practice ‘marumakkathayam’ (Matrilineal system) system. They are mainly located in Kannur, Thalassery and parts of Kozhikode. There is false notion in the academics and generalization that Malabar Muslims generally follow matrilineal system. (Sebastian, 2013) Made a study on Matrilineal Practices among Koyas of Kozhikode, which also observed the patrilineal kinship occurrence in South Malabar.

(Dube, Kinship and Gender in South and Southeast Asia: Patterns, 1994) In the ‘Kinship and Gender in South and Southeast Asia: Patterns and Contrasts’ identified three principle forms of kinship system in Asia. They are patrilineal, matrilineal and bilateral. It is based on basic differences in the position of male and female children according to their membership of kinship units. In patriliney children take their social identity from father’s lineage. But son is considered as a permanent member and daughters are considered as a temporary member of the system. Daughter’s marriage creates the departure and implies the loose of membership from the natal home. Problems begin with the connection of patrilineal communities and their implication on residence. In patrilineal systems, women leave their natal home and have no right in her natal space. The new circumstances will conditionally depend on the good conduct of women and

factors like “efficiency in household work, amicable relationships, service to elders, husband's pleasure, the gifts that she brings, and perhaps her earnings”., The fact that children of both sexes possess permanent membership and female links in matrilineal system, it gives them social identity in mother's descent group. At the same time, a sister is the perpetuator of the line and augments the lineage or descent group. Writer provides two examples for this Nayers of Kerala and Lakshadweep Muslims. In matriliney, a women and her children can use resources. A man belongs to his wife's group and can use the assets but has no right to pass the resources to children.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Methodology enabled researcher to comprise design of the study, method of data collection, source of data, data analysis technique and analysis.

3.1 Statement of the Problem.

Gender inequality stands as an obstacle to the overall development of women. It's violence against women and a barrier to the achievement of equality, access to resource and development. Gender issues gained attention from all parts of the world. There is a relative disadvantage faced by women in all walks of her life. It starts from the stereotypical upbringing of girls and boys, restricts access to social life, education and employment. They all seriously contribute to the social exclusion of women and lack of educational and employment opportunities and to the human rights violation. In this state, it is important to critically analyze women in different settings especially the micro setting of the family. From a micro level to macro level, family to state, women's status tends to change. According to Dube, "Differences in kinship systems and family structures account for some critical differences among societies in the ways in which gender operates. Many kinds of gender disparities and parities in the societies with which we are concerned are explained at least in part by their kinship systems. This is especially important for South and Southeast Asia, where kinship is a very strong force" (Dube, 1994). Dropout from higher level of education has been a major developmental issue in the modern scenario. Early marriage and marriage just after crossing legal age is widespread practice in India. In this condition, pursuing studies after the marriage is difficult and challenging tasks to women. The present study is attempted to study the educational status of Malabar Muslim women and special emphasis is laid on the

influence of post marital residence patterns and system in determining their socio-cultural, post marriage educational status and challenge and issues in access to education.

3.2 OBJECTIVES

The aim of the study is to understand the post marriage women's accessibility to education in the Matrilocal and Patrilocal families of Malabar, Kerala. The broader objective of the study is to understand association between access to post marital education and post marital residential patterns. The following are the specific objectives to conduct this research.

- To compare the aspirations for higher education and achievements of Muslim women in the matrilineal and patrilineal families of Malabar.
- To assess the access to post marriage education among matrilineal and patrilineal women
- To find out problems in attaining higher education and its relationship with marital residence among matrilineal and patrilineal women.

3.3 HYPOTHESES

Hypotheses were formulated for conducting measurable result and validation to the study.

By using literature and observation the following hypothesis were formulated.

- There is a relationship in the higher educational aspirations and achievements of Matrilineal and Patrilineal Muslim women.

- There is an association between kinship system and post marriage access to higher education.
- Support system of women for post marriage education tends to differ with the kinship system.
- Family support
- Spouse support

3.4 DEFINITION OF CONCEPT

- **Access**

The term access refers to enrolment in higher education. Respondents who have enrolled in any course of higher education are considered to have accessed Higher education while those who have not enrolled in any course are considered dropouts.

- **Matrilocal**

Matrilocality is post marriage residential pattern and related trait of Matriliney. It's a social custom in marriage in which married couples settle in wife's family or near wife's community.

- **Patrilocal**

Different pattern of marriage custom related to Patriliney in which a married couple reside in husband's family or near husband's family.

- **Mappila Muslim women**

Mappila Muslim women in the present study include married Muslim Women who belong to Kannur and Kozhikode districts of Malabar in Northern Kerala.

- **Kinship System**

In the present study, kinship refers to related trait of lineage, inheritance practice and residence in the matrilineal and patrilineal kinship structure.

- **Higher Education**

Higher education means education in university or colleges or education above secondary level.

- **Aspiration**

Anthropologists define aspiration as “Have something to do with [individual] wants, preferences, choices and calculations ... [they] form parts of wider ethical and metaphysical ideas which derive from larger cultural norms. Aspirations are never simply individual (as the language of wants and choices inclines us to think). They are always formed in interaction and in the thick of social life” (Appadurai, 2004). In the current study aspiration means interest of females to pursue further education. The concept of aspiration relates to informed thinking about entry into higher education to attain their career interests which may be general or specific

- **Achievements**

Current academic qualification achieved by Mappila Muslim women.

Support

- **Support**

support network is the structure through which social support is given and received which may have a direct or indirect support on enrolment in higher education. Consist of family and spouse.

3.5 Variables

The analysis of the study is the role of the post marital residence system in determining the social status and access to higher education among Mappila Muslim women of both Matrilocal and Patrilocal system in Kerala. Independent variable of the present study is the post-marital residence types. Socioeconomic status and Access to higher education are the dependent variable of the analysis.

3.6 Research Design

The present study is an attempt to study the access to Higher educational status of Malabar Muslim women with special emphasis on the influence of matrilocal and patrilocal post-marital residence system in determining their socio-cultural, higher educational access. The proposed study is descriptive study.

3.7 Universe of the study

The universe of the study is married Muslim women (age group of 18-30) from the Matrilocal and patrilocal families of Kannur and Kozhikode district. Mappila Muslim households that practice matrilocal system and matrilineage are common even now. In the other districts of Malabar, these households are just sparingly seen.

3.8 Sampling

A multi- stage sampling will be used to select the households. Sample of the current study is divided into different stages. First stage incorporates the selection of the zone and second stage comprised selection of the respondents. In selecting the zone, Malabar

at present consists six districts of the state of Kerala, namely, Kasargode, Kannur, Wayanad, Kozhikode, Malappuram and Palakkad.

Two major Districts, concentration of Muslim population practicing matrilineal (Kannur) and Patrilineal (Kozhikode) systems are identified. Two major Muslim populated cities from both districts were identified. Kannur city and Vadakara were selected to draw the sample of the respondents.

In the next section, simple random sampling procedure was adopted and samples from these two major cities as identified earlier. The sample size of the present study is 80. In this comparative study, 40 samples are drawn from Matrilineal families and 40 are drawn from patrilineal families from Kannur and Kozhikode district respectively.

3.9 Method of data collection

The data collection for the research uses primary and secondary data. Semi structured interview schedule is used for collecting primary data. The secondary data has been collected from the existing literature and related articles from books, journals, periodicals, newspaper reports, websites, and publications of governmental and nongovernmental committees. The primary data were collected through the semi structured interview schedule by using the questionnaire prepared by the researcher. Based on the research objectives an interview schedule was formulated to collect data. Both open ended and closed ended questions were used. The researcher interacted with the respondents and through discussion collected data.

3.10 Analysis and Interpretation

The present study adopted quantitative technique for data analysis. The data was edited, coded and analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and collected with the help of semi structured interview schedule. The grouped data were classified and tabulated for analysis. Cross tabulation was carried out to understand the association and percentage of variables. Chi- square test conducted in the study in order to draw the association and differences between variables. Chi-square test was carried out at the 0.05 significant levels. The data were analyzed and interpreted on the basis of the objectives.

3.11 Chapterisation

Chapter I: Introduction

Chapter II: Review of Literature

Chapter III: Methodology

Chapter IV: Data analysis and interpretation of data

- Profile of the respondents and background characteristics
- Aspirations and Achievements for Higher education.
- Problems and Challenges.

Chapter V: Findings and Conclusion

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

In order to analyze higher educational aspirations, achievements and problems of Muslim women in access to Higher Education, the primary data were collected from the field. This chapter is divided into three sections. In section 1, the researcher discusses the profile of the respondents. Also variables that are age of marriage, Educational level of the respondents, Husband's occupation and Kinship of the respondents. Section 2 discusses the aspirations and Achievements of Mappila Muslims from different Kinship groups. In this section variables were cross tabulated and statistical test was conducted to find out the significance of variables of the sample respondents. In section 3, the discussion was on Muslim women's Exclusion and problems in access to higher education.

The beginning of this analysis chapter introduces the profile of the respondents. Background variables that are age of Marriage, Educational level, Husband's occupation, secured class in 10th and 12th and Kinship of the respondents. In this section, picture of the sample and the nature of sample population is introduced with course of the study. Samples were tabulated using a simple percentage in the beginning of the analysis. In order to analyze access to higher education among Malabar Muslim women, Achievements such as Aspirations for higher education and current level of education were cross tabulated and analyzed. Chi square statistics was conducted on some variables to find out the significance of difference between two kinship groups on Muslim women's access to higher education. Statistical difference at 5% level significance is presented and analyzed. Next part discusses access to post marriage education and problems of the respondents.

4.1 Profile and Background characteristics of the respondents.

4.1.1 Age of Marriage

Age of first marriage is an important statistical component of women's status and their overall productive life. Women's status and autonomy can vary over a life cycle. This pattern is reflected in "low in early childhood; rises during adolescence; drops sharply upon marriage and remains low during the early reproductive years; and rises during the later reproductive years to a high in the older ages when the woman becomes a mother-in-law and grandmother, followed by a small drop at extremely old ages" (Gupta, 1995). Marriage age marks a transition shift by a major focus into family life. Age of first marriage significantly relates to lower participation in the levels of higher education by internalizing different roles and responsibilities. In this study sample belongs to the age group 18-25. The samples are grouped into three different types of age groups under 18, 18 to 20 and 20 to 25.

Table 4.1 Age of Marriage

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Under 18	3	3.8
18-20	48	60.0
20-25	29	36.3
Total	80	100.0

Age of marriage of females

The highest percentage of respondents married at the age of 18-20 and 20-25 years were 60 percent and 36.3 percent respectively. It's seen that out of total respondents 3 Respondents self -reported that they were married before legal age of 18. Reports mention incidence of continuance of teenage marriage among the Malabar Muslims “Until a few decades back, young grandmothers and middle-aged great grandmothers existed in other communities too in all parts of the State. But, following rapid socio-economic changes and intra-community reforms, the practice of early marriage among women in other communities died out gradually. The mean age at which women in the non-Muslim communities marry has increased steadily and rapidly, which is one of the reasons why Kerala has made a great deal of progress in the field of female reproductive health. The current mean age at which urban women in Kerala get married, according to a recent study, is a little over 24 years, while for rural women, it is a little below 24” (K.P.M, 2001).

4.1.2 Educational Qualification of the respondents

According to (Jahan, 2004) Education increases the age of Marriage, work force participation and better socio economic status of women. Table below shows the current educational qualification of Mappila Muslim women,

Table 4.2 Educational Qualification

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Higher secondary	15	18.8 %
Graduation	35	43.8 %
Post graduation	14	17.5 %
Professional/ Technical degree	16	20.0 %
Total	80	100.0 %

Educational qualifications of Mappilla women

It's clear from the above data, 43.8% of the respondents have presently completed graduation and the rest belong to Professional/ Technical degree (20%), higher secondary (18.8%), and Post-Graduation (14%). Study based on Higher Education of Muslim women in Kerala (Haneefa, 2012) writes even though Mappila Muslims lag behind in education, they have better position compared to the rest of the Muslim population in India. From the analysis it may be concluded that in this study majority have completed their Graduation and it was found out that 18.8 % were dropout from their education.

4.1.3 Husband's Occupation of the Respondents

Table 4.3 Husband's Occupation

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Gulf Migrants	52	65.0
Government Jobs	7	8.8
Coolie	15	18.8
Business	6	7.5
Total	80	100.0

Husband's occupation

Of the total number of respondents in the study, the majority of 65% were Gulf Migrants. According to the study over the past decade, gulf boom has helped reduce poverty and ensured universal school enrolment in the region. The effect has positive development in Muslim women's literacy. The men who are working in the Government sector were less in Malabar Muslim community and the proportion is very small at 7percent. The second frequent category was Coolie at 18.8 % and business constituting 7.5 %. From the analysis it can be concluded that Majority of the respondents Husbands are from gulf Migrant category and clearly state the information about preference of employment among Mappila Muslim. According to the various studies most of the migrant men who complete secondary education don't possess higher Education and explains them as a

“young man, unmarried, with education of below secondary school level and with little skills” (Gulati, 1983).

Table 4.4 Secured class in 10th and 12th by the respondents

	2nd class	1st class	Distinction	Total
Secured class in 10th class	12 (15.0)	48 (60.0)	20 (25.0)	80 (100)
Secured class in 12th class	22 (27.5)	33 (41.3)	25 (31.3)	80 (100)

Secured class in 10th and 12th by female students

The above table shows the past academic record of the respondents. The percentage of the respondents who secured distinction and above were 25 percent in 10th class and 31.3 percent in 12th class. Majority of the respondents come under the category of those who secured first class both in 10th and 12th class. The percentage was 60 percent and 41 percent respectively. There are several factors responsible for low higher educational enrolment of Muslim women in education but Sachar committee report reflects that Muslim women have high level desire and motivation for education (Sachar, 2006). From the table it was observed that 15 percent and 27.5 percent were come under the category of below first class. From this analysis it may be concluded that Muslim women has good past academic records and achievements.

4.1.5 Kinship of the Respondents

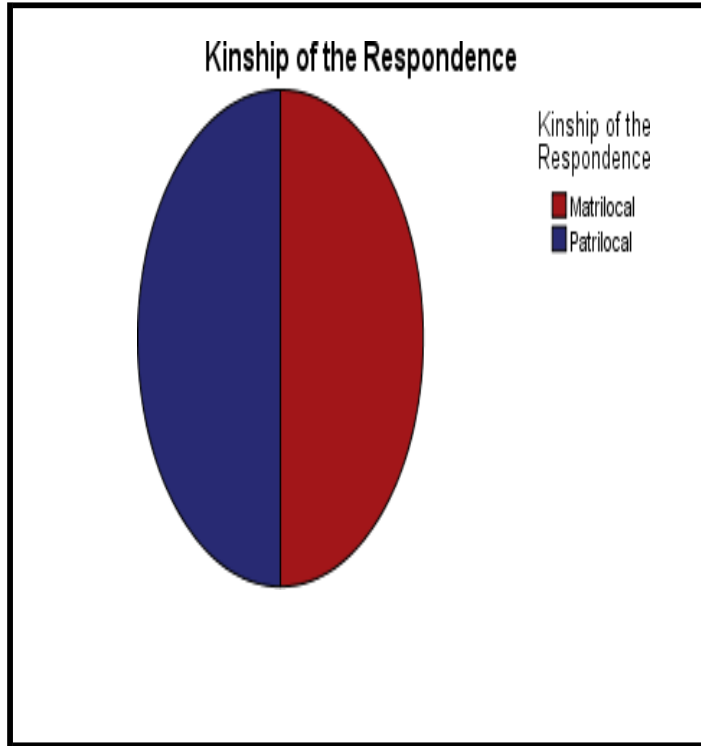


Fig. 4.1 – Matrilocal and Patrilocal Lineage

Post marriage residential pattern is an important variable in the present study. Present study draws equal samples from both the residential patterns of Patrilocal and Matrilocal families of Malabar. Matrilocal families are generally an urban phenomena at the same time patrilocal families exist both in urban and rural areas in Kerala (Fathima, 2014). Out of total sample 50 percent were from matrilocal families and 50 percent from patrilocal families

4.1 ASPIRATIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION.

Women's education in India has an impact on women empowerment both development of the population as well as the improvements of women's lives inside and outside the home (M.Suguna, 2011). Aspiration is the concept mostly use in Education. The construct "level of Aspiration" can be defined "as the aspiration for education is something forte which grabs our desire for achieving a more goal in life. It is just how much we strive for it and how much we desire to learn something new, which involves the development of skills, knowledge, and ability to live, interact within social groups" (Kunjumon, 2019). Aspiration level and achievements are considered to be the product of socio-cultural environment. It is understood that there are factors accountable for women's educational aspirations and Achievements. Inadequate conceptualization and neglecting the motivational side of the problem which further concretizes the issues of women in higher education. Thus "aspiration" and "Achievement" of women in Higher education refers to setting up an ambitious educational and career goal and work towards those goals. It is expected that student with high level aspiration tend to achieve the goal. But the Literature has examined aspiration-expectation gap, the pattern mainly is observed among women and certain ethnic groups, "when one's desired goals do not coincide with the expected outcome due to the disbelief to a successful result. Therefore, it is not only crucial to look at the level of educational aspirations, but it is also essential to ask if one's aspirations are always fulfilled" (Madara, 2011).

4.2.1 ASPIRATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Table 4.5 a cross Tabulation of Aspiration for Higher education and Post Marital Residence Pattern

Kinship of the Respondents					Total
	Graduation	Post graduation	Professional/ Technical degree	PhD	
Matrilocal	4 10.0%	5 12.5%	23 57.5%	8 20.0%	40 100.0%
Patrilocal	8 20.0%	13 32.5%	7 17.5%	12 30.0%	40 100.0%
	12 15.0%	18 22.5%	30 37.5%	20 25.0%	80 100.0%
Total	15.0%	22.5%	37.5%	25.0%	100.0%

The analysis reveals that within kinship system there is a difference in their Aspiration for higher education. Majority of the matrilocal women Aspire to achieve professional/ Technical degree. The proportion of respondents aspiring to have professional/ Technical degree in Matrilocal system were at 57.5% and in Patrilocal System were at 17.5%. Its observed that among patrilocal women 32.5% aspired to achieve Post Graduation level of education and the next most frequent Aspiration was to Achieve Post Doctoral Degree were at 30 percent. From the above cross table analysis it is clear that majority (57.5 percent) of the matrilocal respondents aspiration were to have between matrilineal sample who have chose.

4.2.2 Aspirations of the Respondents

Figure 4.2 Aspirations of Higher education for different kinship systems

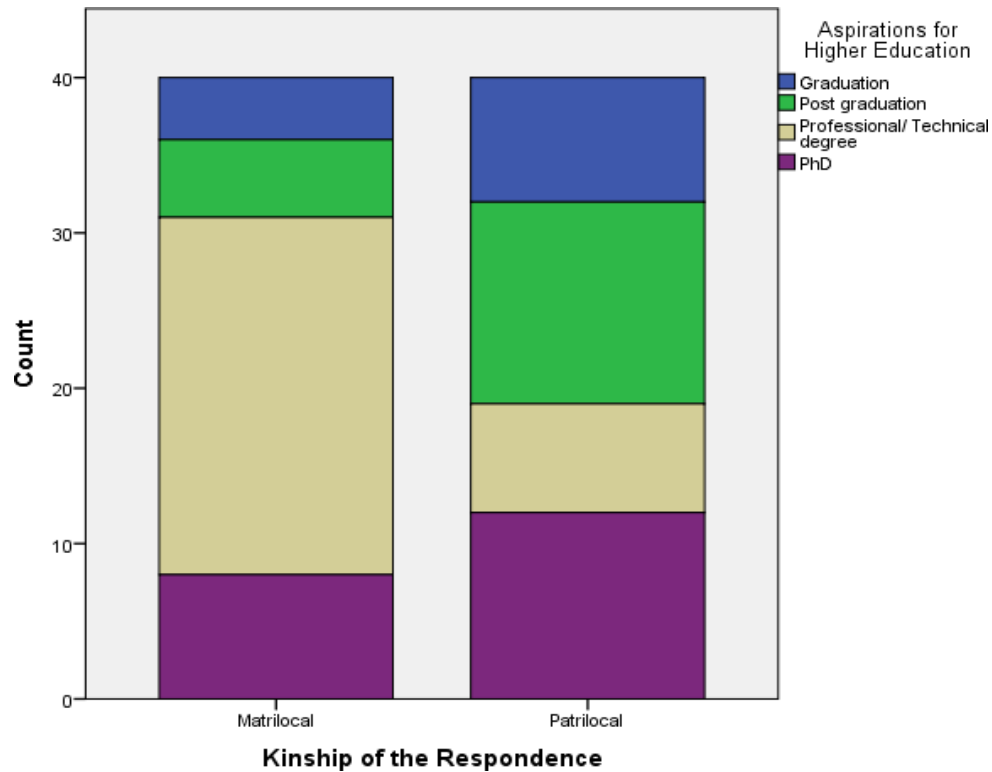


Fig 4.2 – Aspiration of the Respondents

The report (Sachar, 2006) points out that there are diverse issues in associated with the education of Muslim women but still Muslim women have not compromised for their aspiration for higher education. Matrilocal women have conducive family environment to step in to employment and Matriliney is mainly practice in urban areas of Malabar (Fathima, 2014). There is positive correlation between urban residence and women's employment (Panda, 2003). It is observed from the above data that Matrilocal women have the Aspiration to get employed just after their studies.

4.2.3 A Chi-Square analysis of the Aspiration for Higher Education

Table 4.6 Chi-Square analysis of the Aspiration for Higher Education

	Graduation	Post Graduation	Professional/ Technical Education	PhD	P Value
Matrilocal	10%	12.5%	57.5%	20.0	P <0.05
Patrilocal	20.0%	32.5%	17.5%	25.0	
Chi Value	14.22				

Chi-Square analysis of the Aspiration for Higher Education.

The table reveals the fact that Matrilocal sample has aspiration towards taking up professional/ technical courses at the same time Patrilocal women tend to remain largely on traditional field of study. Chi-square tests are carried out to find out observed association between aspirations of the respondents and post marriage residential patterns. Chi-square value found to be significant at a 0.05 significant level. Thus hypothesis that there is a difference in the educational Aspirations of Muslim women from different marital residential pattern is proved.

4.2.4 Educational Achievement of the respondents

The present research study considers current level of education as their major Educational achievement. Statistical calculation of Chi-square has been conducted to find the nature of association between variables.

Table 4.7 A chi-Square analysis of the Completed level of Education

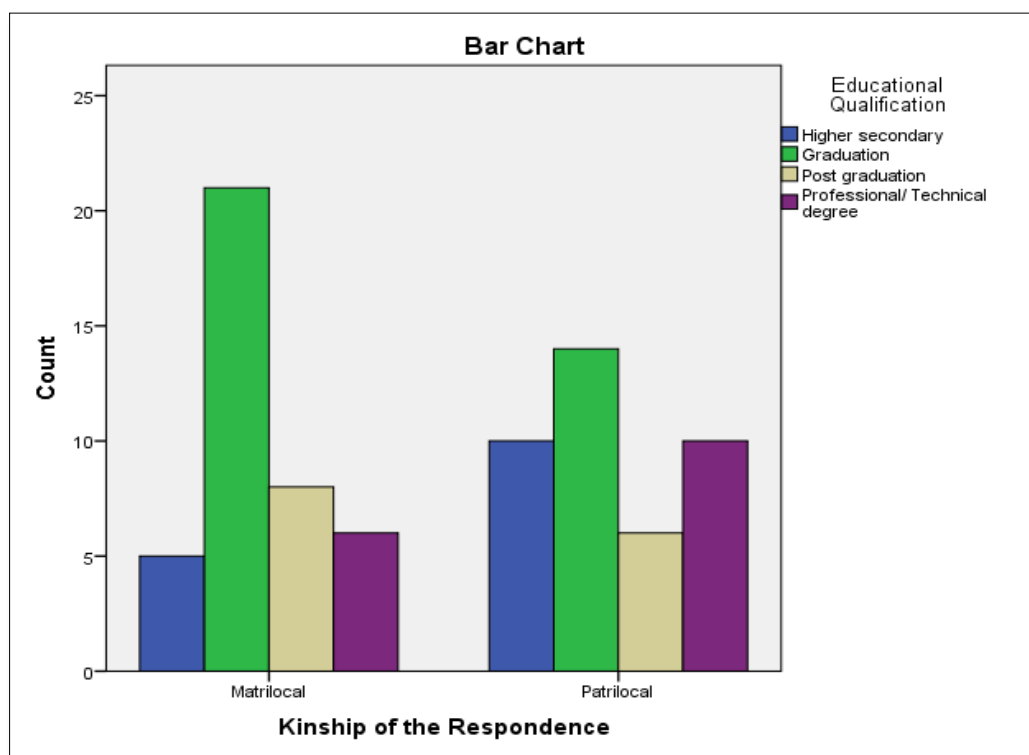
	Higher Secon dary	Gradua tion	Post Graduati on	Professiona l/Technical Education	P Value
Matrilocal	12.5	52.5%	20.0%	15.0	P <0.05
Patrilocal	25.0	35.0	15.0	25.0	
Chi Value	4.352				

A Chi-square analysis of the Completed level of education

From the analysis it is found to be significant at significant level of 0.05. Statistical test of chi- square data found that the test is significant at 0.05 significant levels. Analysis clearly shows that Matrilocal families have more number of students and have Higher number of graduate students and post graduate students. Interestingly, at the same time, Patrilocal women have higher number of respondents with Professional/Technical Education. Which comparatively can reflect in better Job opportunities, qualification than traditional field. In the case of lower level of educational achievement, number of participants with Higher secondary education is higher, 25.0 percent in Patrilocal families and from patrilocal families 12.5 percent. Analysis found out that chi-value 4.352 t is significant At a 0.05 level. There is a statistically significant relationship between Kinship system and Higher educational achievements.

4.2.5 Educational Qualification of different kinship families

Figure 4.3 Education qualification of different kinship families



Educational Qualification of Different Kinship Families

Education is an important development indicator which influences society as well as quality of life of the women. Study found that education increases the life options of women from both Matrilineal and Patrilineal women. According to the study (Fathima, 2014) it shows importance of education in influencing of various micro and macro variables to women and concluded that “life option increases with increase in education level among Muslim women belonging to matrilineal and patrilineal groups”.

4.3 Challenges and support

4.3.1 Current State of Education

Table 4. 8 Current State of Education

Kinship					Total
	Still Studying	Dropout	Completed the Course and Employed	Unemployed	
Matrilocal	4	21	7	8	40
	10.0%	52.5%	17.5%	20.0%	100.0%
Patrilocal	6	26	3	5	40
	15.0%	65.0%	7.5%	12.5%	100.0%
	10	47	10	13	80
	12.5%	58.8%	12.5%	16.2%	100.0%

Table 6 - Current State of Education

This pattern from the cross tabulation suggests that larger portion 58.8% percent of women dropped out from their studies. It is also clear that both the kinship systems have significant proportion of women who dropped out of colleges. The proportion of respondents dropout from their studies matrilocal were 52.5% and patrilocal were 65% percent. As compared to any other developmental indicators, women's education is closely associated with their employment and status. Economic independence through paid job and earning increase control over marriage, economic independence and decision over their reproductive and especially decision towards to avoid early marriages (Cain, 1982)., research find that there is no much proportional difference between different kinship group when it comes to access to higher education. This could be because of marriage plays a key role in their choice.

Muslim women shared their experience of withdrawing their Higher/Professional education after getting a decent Marriage proposal. Similarly parents expressed their anxiety and trouble for finding decent marriage alliance for highly qualified and educated women. Especially the situations of most of the Mappila men who are migrant workers with secondary education don't possess higher education (Gulati, 1983). In the case of access to higher education, one of the major reasons for the backwardness is early marriage. Psychological fear of the parents that "college education would endanger the moral standard of Muslim women" (Begum, 2006). Majority of the Muslim community in Malabar are still under the conservative ideology that treats educated women as an outcaste.

In the above cross tabulation pattern suggests that proportion of 12.5 percent has reported that course completion and employed. It may be noted that Minimum marital age introduce complication and challenge for post marriage studies. In the case share of unemployed women it was 16.2 percent. In Indian context, studies have reported the social, economic and cultural factors correlatively decline educated women's 'missing female labor force' in India (Abraham, 2013). Muslim women's relationship with labor participation and religiosity has been the subject of both debate and scholar's interest (Abdelhadi, 2017). According to (Kamila Klingorova, 2015) confirm the significant effect of gender inequality factor and religiosity, as "religion significantly affects the status of women and the state of gender inequality, since it seeks to regulate the role of women in certain aspects of social and political life in a given society".

4.3.2 **Chi-Square analysis of the current state of Education**

Table 4.9 Chi-Square analysis of the current Level of Education

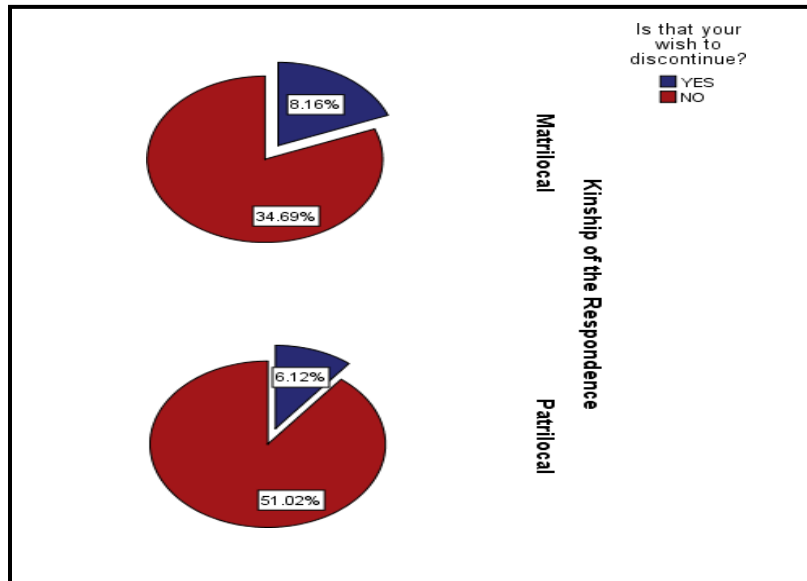
	Graduation	Post Graduation	Professional/ Technical Education	PhD	P Value
Matrilocal	10%	12.5%	57.5%	20.0	P <0.05
Patrilocal	20.0%	32.5%	17.5%	25.0	
Chi Value	14.22				

Chi-Square analysis of the current Level of Education

Chi-square tests are conducted to find out the relationship between residence patterns and the participant's educational achievement. The result is not statistically significant at 0.05 levels. There is a small difference between number of dropouts among both Matrilocal and Patrilocal women. In both the groups more number of respondents were dropouts. At the same time, table shows that matrilocal women have slight advantage in access to education. It is found that there is no significant association between current level of educational attainment between Matrilocal and patrilocal women.

4.3.3 Autonomy over decisions to pursue education

Figure 4.4 Autonomy over decisions to pursue education



Is that your wish to discontinue?

The study revealed that there is a small percentage of the respondents did voluntarily discontinue of their study. The percentages were of 8.16 % from Matrilocal and 6.12 % from Patrilocal families respectively. As shown in the figure more percentage of respondents had to face difficulties to continue their studies. It is seen that 34.69 percent of Matrilocal women discontinued their studies at the same time 51.02 percent patrilocal women had the situation. Hence, to understand what were the difficulties faced by women at that particular stage, it is important to understand the micro level perspective. So researcher conducts further enquiry in that regard and tabulated below

4.3.4 Muslim Women's Reason for Dropout

Table 4.10 Muslim women's Reason for Dropout

					Total
	Early marriage and pregnancy	Traditional and Religious beliefs	Lack of support from the family	Lack of 'working women' role model	
Matrilocal	5 23.8%	6 28.6%	2 9.5%	8 38.1%	21 100.0%
Patrilocal	10 38.5%	8 30.8%	6 23.1%	2 7.7%	26 100.0%
	15 31.9%	14 29.8%	8 17.0%	10 21.3%	47 100.0%

Muslim Women's Reason for Dropout

In case of reasons for the inability to continue their studies, study found that 31.9 percent of women reported that it is due to the early marriage and next majority of 29.8 percent shared their difficulty which is because of the traditional gender norms and religious beliefs. The other group constitutes lack of 'working women' model (21.3%) and lack of support from the family 17.0 percent. This is the broader trend of the state; due to the early marriage and traditional gender norms, Mappila women have high chance of dropping out from their higher studies. Preference to family and marriage over education and employment has a key impact on dropout. Analysis reveals that marriage reduces Mappila Muslim women's options for education and employment. The above cross tabulation shows that women from patrilocal family had more problems because of lack of support from the family as compared with matrilocal women.

In the above cross table analysis, 21.3 percent respondents reported the lack of 'working women' role model as one among the reasons for their discontinuity after marriage.

Women complained that their orientation towards sex biased role and lower rank

representation of occupational pyramid convinced them of their job as housewife and mothers (Hans-Peter Blossfeld, 1991). Even in the modern society differentiation is prominent. The effect of this sex based specialization increases the significance of marriage over investment in education and career.

In India, marriage is identified as the key element that socializes the everyday reality of life as institution of marriage (Jafer, 2015). A number of participants expressed that they were dropout from Graduation after their marriage or engagement and their difficulty to continue their aspired level of education after marriage. For patrilocal women, here, again “classical Patriarchy” system of Male dominance was the prominent reason. In the classical patriarchy “Girls are given away in marriage at a very young age into households headed by their husband’s father. There they are subordinate not only to all the men but also to the more senior women, especially their mothers-in-law, the extent to which this represents a total break with their own kin group, and consequent isolation and hardships, varies in relation to the degree of endogamy in marriage practices” (Kandiyoti, 1988). Under classical Patriarchy women lost claim towards their ‘Father’s patrimony’ and led complete dependence on husband’s and in-laws family. In addition compared to the patrilocal Muslim women, number of matrilocal participants highlighted the issue of prevalence of strict “Islamic patriarchy” in their existing matrilocal system.

4.3.5 Experience of support from the family

Table 4.11 Chi-square Analysis of the Family Support

	Yes	No	
Matrilocal	21 52.5%	19 47.5%	Chi Value 4.17
Patrilocal	12 30.0%	28 70.0%	P Value P<0.05
Total	33 41.2%	47 58.8%	

Chi-square Analysis of the Family Support

There are hardly specific studies related to post marriage education of women and how post marriage effecting their studies. Kind of supportive system arranged for women after marriage and how they balance the student and family roles is also important human rights issue. Women from nuclear family enjoy more independence when it comes to making independent choices at the same time, joint family setup have high expectations from the women (Dutta, 2016). One thing which make post marriage study struggle even worse for women is lack of support from the family. Generally micro-level family rules and interactions have a strong relation with kind of support experience by women in the household. Even though women see Education with a primary importance to gain identity and personal development, lack of support from the broader structure influence women's attitude towards study that can lead to dropping out. From the analysis score find to be significant at the significant level of 0.05. there is statistically significant relationship of family Support system experienced by women for post marriage education and marital residence pattern or the kinship system .

4.3.6 Experience of support from the Spouse

Table 4.12 Chi-square Analysis of the Spouse Support

	Yes	No	
Matrilocal	13 32.5%	27 67.5%	Chi Value .220 P Value P>0.05
Patrilocal	15 37.5%	25 62.5%	
Total	28 35.0%	52 65.0%	

Chi-square Analysis of the Spouse Support

Marriage and family is an essential component in the Indian scenario. Preferably autonomy to choose a single life is a dream for many. Studies have reported that Marriage-life conflict effect the studies because as student life is highly time consuming and there is a need for financial investment (Huinink, 1991). It highlights the importance of support system women need on their post marriage studies. There can be internal family obligations that can hinder women from pursuing post marriage studies. Indian man is found to be mostly supportive but fail to lend support in the presence of family and parents (Dutta, 2016) . The result is not significant. The data indicates that research fails to reject the null hypothesis that husbands support is not related to marital residence patterns.

4.3.7 If “Unemployed”

Figure 4.5 Reasons for Unemployment

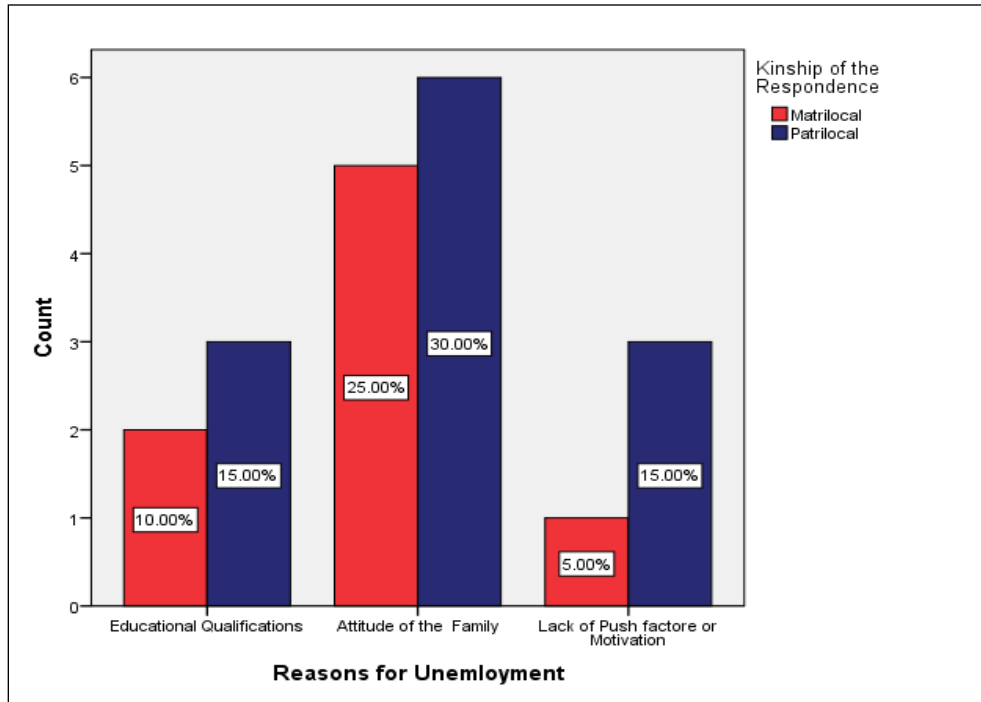


Fig 8 – Reasons for unemployment

Generally, to earn income can be the chief motivation for the work participation. Respondents expressed different views and opinions on being working women. These views mainly are about their eagerness to work and expand to their fuller version.

Aspects of unemployment among respondents suggest about the disadvantage for chances of good employment. The above analysis concluded the reason for unemployment in three broader issues. Interestingly women from both kinship systems explain reason as attitude of the family towards employment that is a major hurdle for them from trying for an employment. It is more important reason than the other reasons and issues.

Firstly patrilocal women generally state the issue of conditioned state of responsibility to be as a wife and mother that had a huge impact on them as well as on the family. The contribution is from the culture and religion for reinforcing this unchangeable traditional gender norm. In their response too, they had to face lack of support for taking up professional oriented courses and job. Disapproval of the husband and family even when they had professional course in hand. For Matrilocal women even though systematic arrangement had support in nature, some other hurdles had to be crossed. Husbands and in-laws had major decision making power. Respondents elaborated that even if she stay away from them, everyday experience of control, very often, disapprove of women taking up job or post marriage education. It can be concluded that Strong Islamic patriarchal order and values are prevalent in the matrilineal families of Malabar.

Secondly, the cases of “educational qualification” are another major factor leading to the educated unemployment. The pattern suggests nature of choice and investment on girls ‘education based on just the qualification to get attractive bridegroom (Jafer, 2015). Besides, investment on male child because of the low socio-economic situation also prevails in India. These factors lead women to take up traditional field of study than professional interest.

Finally why women have a lack of motivation or voluntary unemployment? Marriage being considered universal and important at the same time devaluing the women’s contribution to economic production. Psychological conditioning perhaps is most importantly the difference in how we consider an unemployed man different from an unemployed woman. Samples stated that due to fulfilling expectations in getting married

and conservative Islamic thought against liberal education that are the lack of push factors to find suitable career to women.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Factors effecting Post marriage education of women can be multi-dimensional concept. The present study was an effort to understand access to Higher education among Matrilocal and Patrilocal women of Kerala. Married Mappila women from the Matrilocal and Patrilocal families from kannur and kozhikkod were the universe. The data was collected with the help of semi-structured interview schedule. The current study tried to analyze the data using quantitative data analysis technique and combined different literature to interpret the result of the study. The filled data edited, coded, tabulated using SPSS software. The result was analyzed using cross-tabulation and Chi-square test of significance. To understand the association between independent and dependent variable, study used Chi-square test at the significant level of 0.05. Cross tabulation helped the study to show the percentage distribution with association.

5.1 Profile of the respondents

The sample was categorized into different age group on the basis of their age of marriage. Age groups those are married under 18, 18 to 20 and 20 to 25 years of age. The analysis found that 60 percent of the majority respondents comes under the category of those who got married between the ages of 18 to 20. The second group represented 36.3 percent between the ages of 20-25. The analysis bring out that even though mean age of the state has increased, the issue of child marriage is still existing in the community. Three respondents of the study reported that they had early marriages.

Analysis of the Educational qualification of the respondents show that Majority of the respondents 43.8 percent presently completed Graduation level. The second category professional / technical degree constitute 20 percent and post-graduation 17.5 percent. Those belong the next categories Just completed their Higher secondary education were 18.8 percent. Literature suggests that as compared to the Muslim women from the other state, Muslim women from Kerala are at a better position in education. But still around 20 percent of the respondents were unable to enroll after their higher secondary education and Muslim women who completed their graduation were the same.

The analysis of the husband's occupation shows that Husbands belongs to the category of gulf migrant and was the majority of 65% percent. It's the reflection of general employment trend of the Muslim population. At the same time men who worked in association with government sector were less than 7 percent. The next category of respondents who belong to coolie were 18.8 percent. In case of the last category of Business that were 7.5 percent. Generally Mappila Muslim men don't possess higher education as they prefer skilled labour with secondary level of education.

The analysis of the Past academic record of the respondents showed that 25 percentage in 10th class and 31.3 percent in 12th class were the group that achieved distinction and above. Out of the total respondent's, majority were from the category who scored first class and above. The corresponding percentages were 60 percent in 10th class and 41 percent in 12th class. Respondents those who achieved below first class were 15 percent and 27 percent in 10th and 12th class respectively. Study highlighted good past academic record among Mappila Muslim women. In addition, participants have stated their active participation in curricular and extracurricular activities during their study time.

Finally study has been drawn 50 percent of the sample from matrilocal respondents and 50 percent from the patrilocal respondents equally.

5.2 Aspirations and Achievements for Higher Education

The study found that within different kinship systems the aspiration for higher education tend to be different in the different residential pattern. Among the Matrilocal women majority of 57.5 percent women aspired to have professional/Technical of education. At the same time only 17.5 percent of respondents from patrilocal family want to aspire for professional/Technical education. The study shows that women from patrilocal family tend to prefer traditional field of education. Majority of the respondents (32.5) percent aspired to achieve post-graduation. The cross-tabulation also indicates that 15 percentage from both the kinship systems stated that their aspiration is to just have a graduation degree. Chi-square analysis found to be significant. There was a difference between marital residential pattern and Aspirational level of the respondents. Study significantly supports the hypothesis that there is difference in aspirational level and marital residence pattern.

In the present study analysis revealed that, it is matrilocal women who had high level educational Achievements. The number of graduates and post graduates students (52.5 percent and 20 percent) were the corresponding percentage. The study observes that women from matrilocal families hold the lower level of educational achievement. The percentage of participants who hold Higher Secondary qualification was 12.5 percent from matrilocal families at the same time 25 percent of the respondents from patrilocal families. The analysis shows the different level of educational achievement of women

from Matrilocal and Patrilocal families. Chi-square test analysis shows the significant at the 0.05 level. The hypothesis therefore is significant difference in the educational attainment of women from Matrilocal and Patrilocal Muslim Women. Hence, the hypothesis accepted at the 0.05 significant levels.

5.3 Challenge and support

The gender education gap is one of the development issues in developing countries. Shreds of evidence states that good increase in enrolment in the education system had happened in recent trend. In this section historically marginalized women are 'doubly disadvantaged' being in educationally excluded state. There are broader and specific issues that need to be considered to address this diversified women's exclusion. Social exclusion of women in higher education reflected heterogeneous and social systemic stratification issues in their access. It is different from the different socio-religious group but in general gender gap impact all the women (channa karuna).

Respondents reported the current state of education experienced a large number of dropouts issue in their post Marriage education. More than half the percentage (58.8%) had dropped out from their studies. within the different marital residential group, the patrilocal women had a high percentage of (65 %) and matrilocal women share is 52.5 percent. Next to it were Muslim women who experienced unemployment. The percentage was 16.2 per cent. The highest percentage reported by the matrilocal women 20 per cent and at the same time patrilocal women 12.5 percent. On the other hand, in this study, very few women were found to be a working member of their families. Total 12.5 per cent of respondents took up job among them 17.5 percentage were Matrilocal and 7.5 per

cent were from Patrilocal families. However Matrilocal women had slight advantages in this regard. It was seen that out of the total respondents, 12 per cent of women were still pursuing their education. The data regarding the percentage shows there was difference in both groups. Patrilocal women, constitute 15 percent and only 10 percent was from Matrilocal families. Chi-square test proved that the result is not statistically significant. Thereby not supporting the hypothesis that there is an association between access to higher education and kinship system.

The study further explored the reason behind the highest percentage of post-marriage dropout among Mappila Muslim women. The result indicates that the obligatory condition was behind their discontinuation from education. Figures show that 51.02 percent of the majority of patrilocal women and 34.69 percent of Matrilocal women were involuntarily dropped out due to several reasons. The study also indicates the kind of support system available for access to higher education. Additional to the hardships of responsibility lack of family support can really worsen the struggle of post-marriage education. Chi-square test found to be significant 0.05 significant levels. Current study proved that family support experienced by women for post marriage education had an association with post marriage residential pattern. It was also seen that only 35 percent of the respondents have support from the spouse in regarded to pursuing their post-marriage education. Majority of the respondents around 65 percent state they were experiencing a lack of support from their spouse. Statistical test of Chi-square test found the result is not significant at 0.05 percent. Thereby the hypothesis that spouse support experienced by women for post marriage education had an association with post marriage residential pattern is rejected.

There is a distinctive adjustment that balance Indian women's family life and career or education. In those cases, where the spouse support is present, most of the time it failed to lend support in their micro-environment of the family. Additionally, Women's income is accepted only as a supplementary to the family. Post marriage residential pattern, Matrilocality tend to be more accommodative during the childbirth assistance to their career or education. Respondents too state that nature of family interaction and support were available to them at that period of time. But the problem for them to be reluctant to move out for career or education is mainly because the Families were not accommodative for the women to take up in such situations especially after marriage.

The study data state the participant's multiple reasons for unemployment. Even though respondents state their enthusiasm for education and employment. Next large number of women remained in the state of educational unemployment. The study found mainly three broader reasons to remain unemployed were 'educational qualification', 'attitude of the family' and 'lack of push factor or Lack of motivation'. First major reason for unemployment among participants was attitude of the family. These issues are set in the larger socio. Religious and cultural context. In the participants response too, respondents stated that even if she had a suitable qualification, husband and in laws are against their plan to taking up the job. Data shows 30 percent of the matrilocal women and 25 percent of the patrilocal women were faced with lack of support from the family for taking up an employment. Next highest issue faced by the respondents was their kind of educational qualification. Out of the total respondents, for 15 percent were from patrilocal families and 10 Matrilocal families, gender conditioning and less investment in girl's education are finally causing the education of women as merely an opportunity to attract suitable

marriage alliance. It bears the kind of subject selected at the college. So women end up taking largely traditional field of study than professional oriented courses. Respondents also state that religion is not encouraging the nontraditional field of study where they can develop their own special interest and personality. The next concerned issue was respondent's lack of motivation or lack of push factor. Out of the respondents 15 percent of the patrilocal women have expressed the concern. The nature of family support, educational qualification and reluctance to search job outside are the main potential problem that exists among Women.

5.6 Conclusion

Findings of the study provide insight to the macro level status of women. Situating educational status of women in various socio cultural aspects provides insight to the fact of how intersectional oppression shaped in the process of development. Educated women's well payoff to the society is found by various cross comparison study with regarded to the developmental indicators. It has been well pointed out the fact that higher level of literacy did not upgrade employment and productive life participation among Kerala women. Especially women from different social-religious group, conventional indicatorors can effect gendering process that hindren their accessing to various developmental and soci-economic policy. This study looked into the access to post marriage education, role of Marriage and marital residential pattern of the respondents. It was questioning the quality of gender related achievement in Kerala as well as options available to women in various kinship structures.

The analysis of the study, in grater pattern suggests that Marriage effect the life options available to women. The primary reason for higher educational dropout is found to be marriage and family preference. There is better educational status observe in across generation in both marital residential pattern. Overall matrilocal post marital residential pattern favors women on their micro level family interaction. But the pattern of residence is not sufficient to improve access to higher education after marriage. It is found that strict Islamic patriarchy rules govern the rule in the matrilocal families. In such situation in-laws and Husbands decide the autonomy of women. Broadly high level of enthusiasm and aspiration reported the studies. At the same time there was Marriage related choice effecting the Achievement level and further level post marriage education of the respondents in the study area. Across the post marital residence pattern difficulties regarding post marriage education and lack of adequate support system were the main practical reason for droupout.

It was clear from the analysis that lack of support experienced by women from both the spouse and family for accessing higher education especially after marriage. Experience of social pressure from the community, society and family cause the early marriage of the respondents. Additionally fear of alienation that comes with delaying marriage and higher studies also reported by several sample. They expressed it in the form of ‘lack of role model’ who balance work or education and family life. Further there are several challenges for continuing the post marriage studies such as gendered family expectations, lack of investment from the spouse side and restricted mobility. Traditional and gendered Orientation of women lead less academic propensity to perform better. It was visible from some of the participants show less interest and motivation for taking up their further

studies. Additionally economic investment for women, mostly prefer in the form of dowry than investing to their professional/Technical qualification.

Interestingly several sample from the patrilocal families states that they had permission to further studies from the time of Marriage or Engagement. There after either women lack motivation to studies because of the huge responsibility of family or discouragement or refusal by spouse after the marriage. It can be suggested that there was a slight proportional advantage face by Matrilocal women when it comes to several post marriage period for their better support environment especially for child birth. But the study gave insight to the fact that matrilocal women couldn't use their micro family environment when it comes to accessing higher education. Strict patriarchal rule especially related to gender practice by matrilocal families was the reason for this paradoxical situation. Oppressive practice of patriarchy along with strict Islamic gender rule continue to be treat women with second value carrying through generation. There are in cent turn of cases from in a less proportion that had changed to accommodate modern women in the family relation. In such cases, post marriage education, it was against traditional system need immense support for social acceptability from the family members and spouse. Special context of this study was most of the men are Gulf migrants mostly absent character in the daily life. From the developmental perspective post marriage education is the solution for gender gap in higher education.

It is normative in the Kerala context that with all the additional social-developmental benefit to increase the motivational level of post marriage education among Muslim women than any other Indian state. Respondents self repot give the insight that with ongoing post marital support there is high level enthusiasm for development.

Additionally the fact that past academic record of the most of the respondents found excellent. Strengthening the gender perspective and confidence could help the participants to have decided for their own related to continuation of their study. In the current context mostly decision makers were family members and spouse in regarded with their post marriage education, in many cases they found unsupportive. One of the suggestion draw from the current study that the scope of turning the advantage of micro level autonomy of matrilocal women into access to the macro level options of empowerment and resources. Especially in the area of education, employment and mobility of the Mappila Muslim women.

Traditional gender norm consider primary role of the women as wife and mother restrict their potential agency after marriage. Domestic responsibility is one of the issues which obstacle post marriage higher educational access of women. Here again support from the family setup can help women to come over the issue. But in both the cases women tend to find balance between education and post marriage life. The majority of the respondents state that sometimes find especially difficult because of the huge household responsibility and make worse in motherhood. Even if the supportive environment were available respondents found maternal responsibilities brick post marriage education and employment opportunity can avail to them.

Important findings of the study have to seen with some limitations. First is the empirical findings of this current study couldn't analyze various socio economic status of the respondents. Similarly adequacy of number of sample is the limitation to generalize the study. The present study mostly used quantitative design; limitation concerns not fully explored the qualitative aspect of the issue. Comparative analysis of the study suggest

that the importance of enhancing women's autonomy and self identity. That can only make them to fully aware about the opportunity availed to them. Policy level strategy is “designed to enhance women's autonomy need to expand beyond the provision of education and employment or those promoting delay in age at marriage” (Jejeebhoy, 2002) .

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Personal Profile

- (1) Name of the respondent:
- (2) Age :
- (3) Marital Status:
- (4) Presently Married: 1
- (5) Divorced: 2
- (6) Separated: 3
- (7) Widow: 4
- (8) Husbands occupation:
- (9) Which system are you in?

Matrilocal=1 Patriloc=2

Aspirations and achievements for higher education.

1. What is the current level of education do you have?	
Higher secondary Graduation Post graduation Professional technical degree Others (Specify)_____	

2.What is the highest level of education you would like to attain?	
Post-graduation =1 Doctorate Degree =2 Professional course =3 Others (Specify)_____	

If ‘continuing the studies ’

4. Will you be able to continue your higher education? Yes=1 No =2	
---	--

(5) What are the favorable supporting system you have ?

.....
.....
.....

(6) Any difficulties to continue your studies?

.....
.....
.....

If ‘drop out’

1. Is that your wish to discontinue your studies?	Yes=1 No =2
---	-------------

(2) If ‘no’ can you explain the difficulties you faced on that particular stage?

.....
.....
.....

If ‘completed your studies’

(1) Are you interested to work?

Yes=1 No =2

Yes,

(2) Are you trying to get employed? Give details.

.....

No,

(3) Can you explain the obstacle your facing

.....

.....

.....

If ‘employed ’

(1) How do you feel about your work?

(2) Highly Satisfid =1

(3) Satisfied =2

(4) Dissatisfied=3

(2) What are the favorable supporting systems you have?

.....

.....

.....

Socio-economic Status

(1) Was dowry involved in your marriage?

Yes / No

If yes,

(2) what do you think are reasons for the practice of dowry System?

.....
.....

(3) What did you receive?

(a) Ornaments =1

(b) Cash= 2

(c) Land =3

(d) Any other.....

(4) Who is the custodian of the dowry?

(a) Wife =1

(b) Husband=2

(c) Jointly=3

(d) Others.....

(5) Can you use this for your own welfare without your husband's permission?

Yes=1 No=2

If no,

(6) what do you think are the reasons for not practicing dowry System?

.....
.....
.....

Freedom of movement

(1) Do you have to ask your husband or senior family member for permission to go to the following places?

(a) Local shops =1

(b) Visit a doctor =2

(c) Home of a relative or friend =3

(d) Places outside your locality or village/city = 5

Economic freedom

(1) Are you major decision maker in the family?

(2) Yes=1 No=2

(3) In the Following items?

(4) Spending money for household expenditure =1

(5) Purchasing of major goods =2

(6) Buying a sari or dress and jeweler for yourself =3

(7) Buying gifts for your friends or relatives=4

(8) Having money or bank savings that you alone can Decide how to use =5

(9) Included in decision making how to use husband's income =6

Experience of Violence / Support

(1) What would your husband want you to do ?

(a) Pursue your career and aspirations =1

(b) Discontinue your studies =2

(2) What would your family want you to do?

(a) Pursue your career and aspirations =1

(b) Discontinue your studies =2

(3) Are you afraid to disagree (regarding your education and career) with your husband because he will be angry with you?

Yes=1 No=2

(4) Has your husband ever hit you or beat you?

Yes=1 No=2

(5) Did you experience any kind of violence or humiliation from your husband and family? can you give details

.....

.....
.....

(6) When compared to Patrilocal/ Matrilocal system, what do you think are the disadvantages of your matrilocal/Patrilocal system?

.....
.....
.....



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Osmania University, Hyderabad – 500 007, Telangana State, INDIA

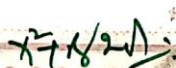


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This is to certify that Prof./Dr./Mr./Ms. Shamma. P. has participated/
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Over View of Status, Trends and Patterns at the Two-Day National Seminar on
“Higher Education in India: Present Status, Prospects and Challenges” organized by the Department of
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Access to Higher Education: A comparative Study on Post Marriage Education among Mappila Muslim women in Matrilocal and Patrilocal families of Malabar, Kerala

by Shamma P

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