

**Gulf Migration and the Educational Mobility of Muslim Women in  
Malappuram District**

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Malappuram District**

*Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Mater of  
Philosophy in Applied Economics of the Jawaharlal Nehru University.*

**Sabira.N**  
M.Phil Programme in Applied Economics  
2004-06


CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES  
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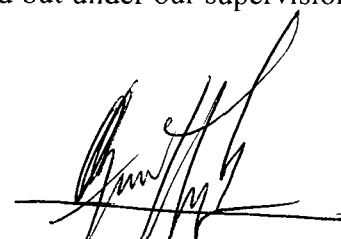
I hereby affirm that the work for this dissertation, **Gulf Migration and the Educational Mobility of Muslim Women in Malappuram District** being submitted as part of the requirements of the M.Phil Programme in Applied Economics of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, was carried out entirely by myself. I also affirm that it was not part of any other programme of study and has not been submitted to any other University for the award of any Degree.


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## ABSTRACT

### **'Gulf Migration and the Educational Mobility of Muslim Women in Malappuram District'**

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International labour migration of Kerala has had several salutary effects on the household concerned. One of the basic improvements has been in the field of education. The present exercise endeavours to examine, on the basis of empirical evidence, the educational development in a migration intensive area of Kerala, the Malappuram district. The upward mobility on the educational front taking place among Muslim women in the study area is found to be highly significant and the most important causal factor for the change has been the going on emigration and its repercussions in the community. The Malappuram seems to call into question the general contention that it is the educational status of the parents that shape the educational fortunes of their children.

The main objectives of the study are, to understand the level and nature of women's educational attainment in the district between 1981 to 2001, to identify how the Gulf migration accelerated the growth of educational infrastructure and to analyse and compare intergenerational educational mobility of the female population coming from migrant and non-migrant households.

The age cohort taken in to analysis is women of 20 years and above. Both secondary data and primary data were used in the study. The analysis of primary data has done through the construction of inter-generational mobility matrices.

The overall analysis shows that at lower educational levels (primary education) the proportion of women has improved quite impressively and also that the proportion of women having school education increased drastically over the period. At the same time the proportion of women at higher education levels lag far behind that of men; the difference is larger if we compare this to state average. Remittances have been found to have acted as the source for migrants to invest in educational sector since all the unaided schools are either owned or supported by migrants. In migrant households women are significantly mobile between generations irrespective of their parents educational status while in non-migrant household the situation is reverse which is contradictory to the common result of educational mobility studies; parents' educational status and daughters educational status are closely related. No correlation is however observed between educational level of parents and the performance of their daughters at the SSLC examination in the case of migrant households. The situation is just reverse in the case of non-migrant households. However it is concluded that in Malappuram, the positive externalities created through the process of emigration to Middle East like, improvement in 'household income', 'general awareness' and consequently better 'family environment' has been acting as the triggering factor for this upward educational mobility of present generation.

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**CHAPTER 1**  
**INTRODUCTION**

# Chapter I

## Introduction

### 1.1 Research Background

#### **Social and economic returns to migration**

Migrants make valuable economic, political, social and cultural contributions to the societies they have left behind. They bring with them various socio-economic returns as well as human capital to their families. The inward income flow in the form of remittance is one of the most important economic impacts of international labour migration. 'Remittance' refers to the part of income earned by the migrants abroad which they send home to support their families and to make investment in desired lines. Remittances thus constitute a personal and private source of income of the migrants and a source of social and economic mobility of their households.

Migration causes significant improvement in the economic status of the people and that lead to an educational renaissance (*Salim, 1999*). Migration influences the mobility of women in several ways. The migrants receive 'social remittances' in terms of newer ideas, beliefs, attitudes and broader cultural understanding that lead to significant transformation in the orthodoxy and rigidity in the communal outlook.

The emigration of male members of the household has important effects on the autonomy and outlook of the women left at home (*Gulati L, 1993*). Women develop self-confidence. They develop better adjustment with their routine works in and outside the house. They get used to increase responsibilities of running the house on their own. They develop the skills of managing their funds and properties. They become efficient in taking care of the health and educational requirements of their children. In short, the social mobility of the women gets enlarged.

#### **Social and economic mobility**

The term, 'social and economic mobility' refers to the level of change an individual attains in the social or economic status in one's lifetime (intra-generational) or the level of change in the social or economic status that an individual's offspring or the subsequent generation attains (inter-generational mobility). The income and educational

attainment of the family are the important explanatory factors of social and economic mobility.

Social mobility has been very slow among the Muslims in India. The women in the Muslim community have been disadvantaged in terms of educational development very much. But the scenario in Kerala is different from that of the country. The literacy level, one of the key indicators of social development, of various social groups is much higher in Kerala than the rest of the country. The literacy rate for Muslims is 89.4 percent in Kerala as against 59.1 percent in the country (*census of India 2001*). The literacy rate for Muslims in Kerala is the second highest one after that of Andaman and Nicobar Islands (89.8 percent). Because of the high literacy rate, Muslims in Kerala are in an advantageous position as compared to Muslims in other regions of India with regard to international migration. The high literacy rate itself could be considered as the effect of international migration on the Muslim community in Kerala. This requires further probe. Since substantial part of migrants from Kerala is Muslims, it is appropriate to examine the effects of migration in the educational upliftment of Muslim community, particularly its women.

### **Socio-economic mobility of Muslim women**

Women are subject to discrimination at home, at educational institutions and in the labour market. They are discriminated in terms of opportunities for educational development, occupational attainment and higher earnings in the labour market (G.C. Gasper, 1995).

Inequalities of women's opportunities and the negation of human rights at all levels of the society, particularly among the Muslims and the rampant discrimination against them in several forms remain an issue for concern. The interpretation of Quranic verses by the Muslim religious leaders and the subsequent enactment of a variety of canons relating to the Islamic dress code for women, restriction of free intermingling of the sexes and the rights of husbands over their wives, have put huddles in the path of socio-economic mobility of Muslim women.

The problems of Muslims in India have attracted the attention of the nation. A Panel committee has been set up by the Central government. The central panel committee was asked to study and submit a report on 'the social, economic and educational status of the

Muslim community in India' to the Prime Minister. The level of achievement of Muslim girls in the SSLC examination, the level of performance of the Muslim girls in higher education and the problems of dowry payments are the main focus of the Panel Committee. Dowry altercations have led to numerous divorces. This is a problem rising over time (*The Hindu, Nov 10 2005*). The problem of dowry has induced many poor parents to save or invest whatever the little money they have in a profitable way. This is how the poor parents prepare themselves to meet the dowry requirements at the time of marriage of their daughters. They take little interest in financing the education of their daughters.

### **Muslim women in Malappuram district**

The plight of Muslim women in Chungathara Panchayat in Malappuram district is described in the study of *Jaya S Anand (2002)*. The level of educational attainment is very low; the level of ignorance is high; the age at marriage is low; there are many early marriages and many cases of early motherhood; the infant mortality rate is very high; the average size of the family is very large; there are six members in the average family in Chungathara Panchayat. Most of the Muslim women are confined to their homes. This is because there are cultural constraints in the Muslim community. Muslim community deeply believes that women are to be housekeepers and not to be breadwinners. Hence women are expected to remain at home, do the household activities and have less social contact with outsiders, especially the members of the opposite sex.

The study by *Salim (1999)* in two villages in Malappuram gives a picture of education in the district. The dropout rate in school education is high among Muslims. It is particularly high among the Muslim girls who belong to economically backward and conservative families. Parents in villages are not much interested even in the education of boys. They are not motivated towards the education of their daughter. However it was found that gulf migration and thereby the significant improvement in their economic status of the people had led to an educational renaissance in the district

### **Magnitude of Labour Migration from Malappuram**

The intensity and incidence of migration has been higher in Malappuram and Thrissur districts as compared to other districts in Kerala (*Nair 1986, Prakash 1998, Zachariah, Mathew and Rajan 1999*). The intensity of migration was 14 persons per 1000 population

in Malappuram district and 15 persons per 1000 population in Thrissur district in 1980 (*Prakash 1998*). Malappuram had the largest number of emigrants (297,000 persons) as compared to Thrissur (161,000 persons) in 1998 (*Zachariah and Rajan, 1999*). The total number of emigrants decreased in Malappuram (272,000 persons) but increased in Thrissur (179,000 persons) in 2003 (*Zachariah and Rajan, 2004*). But still, the total number of emigrants is higher in Malappuram district than Thrissur district. The rate of emigration from Malappuram district is one person per family in nearly fifty percent of the households in the district; whereas it is one person per 5 households in Kerala.

### **Significance of Muslims in the emigrant population**

Many Muslims migrate, particularly to the Middle East, because they have an edge over others in terms of religious affiliation. Muslim emigrants are of relatively younger age group. The educational level is lower among Muslim migrants than among Hindu or Christian migrants. However in respect of work experience and earning status, Muslims are marginally better off (*Nair, 1991*).

Muslims form about 67 percent of the population in Malappuram district. (*Census of India, 2001*). They were in largest number among the emigrants in 1980 (*Nair, 1986*). The total number of emigrants in Kerala during 2003-04 was calculated as 1838478 among whom 44 percent belong to Muslim community. It was 49 percent during 1998-99. About 78 percent of emigrants from Malappuram had education less than Secondary Education at the time of migration in 1998; but it decreased to 17 percent in 2003. The corresponding figures for Thrissur were 53 percent in 1998 and 19 percent in 2004. Thus there was some improvement in the educational level of the emigrants from these districts. The improvement, however, was considerable in the Malappuram district (*Zachariah and Rajan, 2004*).

Thus the community-wise distribution of migrants clearly shows the predominance of Muslims in the emigrant population. The principal places of origin of emigrants from Kerala are the Malappuram and Thrissur districts and that the educationally backward Muslims in these districts serve as the backbone of the emigration phenomenon in this state

## **Flow of remittances**

In regard to the flow of remittances to Kerala, Thrissur district is the largest recipient with Rs.3234 crores and Malappuram district is the second largest one with Rs.2829 crores in 2003-04. In Malappuram, remittances formed around 46 percent of district domestic product. The total remittances coming to Kerala was estimated as Rs.7977 crores in which Muslims received 45 percent during 2003-04. The community wise distribution of remittances shows the amount of remittance per household is highest among Muslims. It is about Rs.24, 000. About 37 percent of Muslims directly benefited from remittances while it was about 11 percent and 16 percent among Hindus and Christians respectively (*Zachariah and Rajan, 2004*).

### **1.2 The rationale of the study**

The labour migrants are the largest from Kerala as compared other states in India. Majority of them go to the Gulf countries. Proportionately Muslims are more among the labour migrants. Muslims are educationally backward. Women's education is very poor in the Muslim community. Muslim community does not attach much importance to the education of girl children because of social and religious orthodoxy of the community. Social mobility is very slow among the Muslim women.

International labour migration has had several salutary effects on the family and the society of the migrants. The most apparent one among them is the improvement in the education of the members of the family and the society. The majority of total Gulf migrants are reported to be Muslims who are historically characterised as educationally backward and caring little about giving education to children particularly to girl children because of social and religious orthodoxy existing in this particular community. And also women of this community used to be highly immobile in all aspects of life unlike Muslims in other districts of Kerala.

Hence international labour migration from Kerala over more than three decades might have brought much change in the social and economic sphere of the Muslim community. Many studies have identified rapid social and economic change in the Muslim community in the recent years (*Salim 1999, Mohammed 2004*). But there is not much discussion of the impact of migration on the educational mobility of the Muslim women in Kerala. Therefore there is need to study the drastic changes that have occurred in the



social and economic life of the Muslim community. It is also of significance to examine the specific influence of migration in causing drastic changes in the Muslim community. The study focuses on an analysis of whether the gulf migration and resultant remittances that have been flowing to Malappuram over the past three decades impacts on women's educational mobility particularly among the Muslim community.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem**

The present study endeavours to examine, on the basis of empirical evidence, the educational mobility of Muslim women in a migration intensive area of Kerala, the Malappuram district. The study focuses to assess the impact of Gulf migration and resultant remittances to Malappuram over the past three decades impacts on women's educational mobility particularly among the Muslim community. It is hypothesised that remittances have been playing a significant role in the educational mobility of women rather than the educational status of parents.

### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

- i) To analyse the level and nature of educational attainment of Muslim women in Malapuram district during 1981 to 2001,
- ii) To identify the effects of Gulf migration on the development of educational infrastructure,
- iii) To identify the effects of Gulf migration on the quality of educational attainment of Muslim girls, and
- iv) To study the educational mobility of the Muslim female population in a comparative framework

### **1.5 Theoretical Background**

A number of channels through which parents influence the educational outcome of their children. It may be their educational status, income level, family background, occupational status etc. Therefore in explaining 'educational mobility', these factors are crucial. Intergenerational educational mobility is defined as the mobility that an individual attained on education over his previous generation. The mobility may be upward or down ward. Upward mobility occurs when the person attains an educational

grade, which is higher than those of his parents. Downward mobility happens when the person attains an educational grade, which is lower than those of his parents. The factors, which determine the educational mobility, are identified as the income, the educational status and the occupational status of parents, the family environment and the like (*Lareau, 1987, Chevalier.A 2003, Alan B. Krueger (2004) Pedro Carneiro and Heckman (2003) Lucinda Platt, 2005*).

The middle class parents conceive of themselves as active partners in education of their children, while working class parents prefer to leave the role of educator to the school (*Lareau 1987*). Entwistle and Alexander (1992 and 1994) find that parents' expectations are more powerful predictors of children's performance, irrespective of their socio-economic status. According to Chevalier 'most people who are well educated and well off are likely to have children who are well educated' (*Arnaud Chevalier 2003*). Pedro Carneiro and Heckman (2003) suggests that current parental income does not explain child educational choices but that family fixed effects such as parental education levels, that contributes to permanent income, have a much more positive role. Mother's schooling appears to have a greater effect on her daughter's education. Similarly, fathers influence their sons more than their daughters (*Arnaud Chevalier 2004*). Later in 2005 he found that that the educational effects remained significant even when household income was included in the analysis. Moreover, when parental education was included they found that permanent income was insignificant while shocks to income at age 16 remained significant (*Arnaud Chevalier 2005*).

On the contrary, Alan B. Krueger (2004) found that financial constraints of parents significantly impact on educational attainment. He established the view that parental wealth and incomes were important determinants of children's lifetime success. However the positive correlation between parental and children's educational attainment is an almost universal finding. Educated parents enroll children in better schools, provide a learner-friendly environment at home and encourage their children to go for post-secondary schooling.

The Malappuram district is one of the most backward districts in the state socially and economically. But it has achieved dramatic growth in the demand and supply-side of education. The rise in income due to remittances led to enhance human capital accumulation and entrepreneurship in the migrants' households. Favourable migrant

shocks led to greater child schooling and increased spending on education in origin households (*Ford 2004*). Malappuram seems to call into question the general contention that it is the educational status of the parents that shape the educational fortunes of their children.

### **1.6 Hypothesis**

- i) The girls' performance in the SSLC Examination is independent of the educational status of parents,
- ii) The girls' enrolment at the tertiary level of education is not influenced by the educational status of parents, and
- iii) The overall educational attainment of the girls is not related to parents' educational level

### **1.7 Limitations of the study**

This study analyses the impact caused by the migration of labour from Kerala to the Gulf countries on the education of the female population in the Muslim community in Kerala. The impact of migration on education is assessed in terms of educational mobility of the Muslim girls. Some of the limitations in the study are as follows:

First of all, the 'educational mobility' is a 'potential mobility'. The respondents, who are reported to be immobile between generations currently, may become mobile under a favourable environmental condition. But this study does not look into the potential effects in the educational mobility. Secondly, the study compares the nature and not the degree of relationship between the parents' education and daughters' education. Finally, the study does not analyse the educational mobility between parents and sons. A discussion on this may enhance the understanding of the gender dimension of educational mobility.

### **1.8 Organisation of the study**

The report of the study is organised into six chapters including the introductory chapter. In the second chapter, the available literature on the impact of labour migration from Kerala to the Gulf is reviewed briefly. The issues relating to the methodology of the

present study are discussed in the same chapter. The analysis of the social and economic characteristics of migration is discussed elaborately in the third chapter. The fourth chapter is focussed on the analysis of the impact of migration on educational development in terms of growth of infrastructure for school education and the education of the Muslim girls. The fifth chapter brings out a discussion on the educational mobility and the quality of educational achievement of Muslim girls. Finally, sixth chapter presents the broad conclusions and their implications.

**CHAPTER 2**  
**THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY**

## Chapter 2

### The Review of Literature and the Methodology

This chapter is organised in two sections. The first section deals with a brief review of studies conducted in Kerala-Middle East Migration. The second section gives the brief description of methodology adopted in the study.

#### 2.1. Impact of Migration: An Overview

The extensive migration from Kerala to the Middle East has attracted the attention of economists and demographers world over during the past three decades. Several studies have gone into 'Kerala-Gulf connection'. The primary concern of all these studies has been the assessment of the magnitude of migration and the remittances and their impact on the home economy (Nayyar, 1994; Issac, 1997; Prakash, 1998, Kannan 2002, Pushpangadan, 2003). Not much literature is available on the social impact of migration. In the following section an attempt is made to look at the impact of migration on Kerala economy and society.

Studies on Kerala migration pointed out both the positive and negative impact of migration. Nair (1986) find the social and psychological stresses faced by migrants families back home were identified as the one of the important negative effects of migration. He also pointed out the positive effects of migration like the attitudinal changes among migrants. They have become more positively inclined than earlier toward the education of children, both boys and girls. But it is also to be noted that the freedom granted to daughters in matters of education, career and marriages is much more limited than that granted to sons.

Gulati (1993) establishes that women back home have acquired mobility compared to their pre migration status. According to her women play a crucial role in the adjustment pattern of the households once the migrant leaves the home. With the passage of time women took on increasing responsibilities for the running of the households on their own, became responsible for the health and education of their children and for the management of their funds and properties. It increases her mobility and confidence level. Her socialization patterns get wider and she generally broadens her worldview by

understanding the working of banks, educational institutions, post offices, and international communication patterns (*Gulati, 1993*).

Prakash in 1998 made a study about the economic impact of migration in which he find that there has been emerging a large number of vocational educational institutions for providing training migrants. He also found that the incidence of migration is higher in Malabar region. The remittance accelerated the economic growth of this region especially in tertiary sector, which ultimately led to a process of urbanization.

Studies by Zachariah, Mathew, Irudaya Rajan (1999) found that the most visible effect of migration is the improvement in the quality of housing. It is to be noted that not much difference was observed in respect of educational expenditure between migrant and non-migrant households even though a large number of migrant households using a significant part of remittance they received for the education of their children. The average number of years of schooling of the members of non-migrant household is found to be higher than that of emigrant households.

Another study done by Pushpangadan (2003) pointed out the role of migration on the growth of service sector especially on telecom sector. In the case of telecommunication demand, the demand came mostly from the large number of 'spouses away households' and from elderly living alone households in the state for keeping in touch with their near and dear ones living within and outside the state. Also the accumulation of durable goods also necessitated the growth of services in informal sector for repair, maintenance and servicing of these goods. In addition the emergence of private institutions in health and education also accelerated the growth of service sector.

Rajan (2003) pointed out that the wives of the Gulf migrants have attained higher social mobility. From being shy and dependent, they have become self-confident and autonomous despite being lonely due to the migration of their husbands.

Zachariah and Rajan (2004) have made an analysis of the social and economic consequences of emigration on Kerala society. They argued that emigration results in high rate of unemployment. They establish emigrants from Kerala have converted Kerala itself into a "Gulf" for many a migrant worker from other states in India and they are willing to work at low wages and poor living condition than natives of Kerala. Consumerism is the another impact of migration. In the study they estimated the average

cost of education of a family was about Rs.6540 per year and 24 percent of cash remittances was used for educational expenses. The remittances through emigration has played an important role in increasing the proportion of Kerala population with high levels of formal education.

To sum up, the literature on migration from Kerala throws light on the impact of migration on the service sector and also people's attitudinal and lifestyle changes. Over the past years, although there has been large number of studies on Kerala migration to Middle East, a very few referred to the social impact of migration. Most of them are related to the pattern, trend, magnitude and economic consequences of migration and remittances. The present study is carried out in a different dimension as it assesses the educational mobility of a migrant intensive community of Kerala.



## **2.2 Methodology**

The data sources and the technique of analysis in the study are discussed in this section.

### **2.2.1. Data sources**

Various data sources -- both secondary and primary data -- are used in this study to achieve the objectives of the study. The secondary data sources are as follows:

- Census data of 1981, 1991 and 2001,
- raw data of the KMS (*Kerala Migration Study*) 1998,
- raw data of SMS (*South East Asian Migration Study*) 2003 and
- data from the DPI (*Directorate of Public Instruction, Kerala*).

The raw data of KMS and SMS were used in order to analyse the characteristics of migrants from Malappuram district. Census data was followed to obtain the trend in the educational development of Malappuram in general and educational attainment of women in particular since 1980. Data from DPI were used to get information on the growth of schools.

To meet the main objective of the study, primary survey was conducted since secondary data gave only the macro level picture of the educational development of women in the district and the migration trends in the district; they did not provide information on inter-generational educational mobility of migrant households and non-migrant households. The methodology adopted for the analysis of data is as follows.

#### **Secondary Data**

For secondary data we primarily relied upon KMS (1998) and SMS (2003) data and Census data.

##### **1. KMS and SMS data**

The migration trends in Kerala were analysed using the raw data of KMS (1998) and SMS (2004). To analyse the characteristics of migrants, they are classified to two categories; survival migrant and mobility migrant<sup>1</sup>. The analysis was done by comparing Malappuram with other four districts, Thrissur, Kozhikode, Ernakulam and

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<sup>1</sup> borrowed and manipulated a simple terminology of survival migrant and mobility migrant from D.G.Papademetriou's paper 'Migration and development'

Thiruvananthapuram. The rationale to select these districts for comparison is the following.

1. Thrissur (THR): This is the highest migration density district next to Malappuram and the largest beneficiary of foreign remittances. The district received Rs.32.34 billion as remittances in 2004<sup>2</sup>. Since the incidence and impact of migration is high in Thrissur district, the analysis would be incomplete if the district were not included in analysing characteristics of Migrants
2. Kozhikode (KKD): Muslims form the second largest community in this district (37 percent) as per 2001 census. There are substantial numbers of migrants also from its Muslim population.
3. Ernakulam (EKM): As per the Kerala Human Development Report Ernakulam occupies the first rank in HDI. Even though the number of emigrants from this district is comparatively low, its high HDI may make the characteristics of migrants of this district unique.
4. Thiruvananthapuram (TVM): The district occupies the third place in terms of the size of the migrant population as per Kerala Migration Study. But the majority of them belongs to the Hindu community and is educationally and socially not much developed. The proportion of Muslims is comparatively low in this district.

### **Definition of Concepts used in the study**

Some of the concepts used in the study are defined in this section.

**i) Survival Migrants:** The term, 'Survival Migrants', refers to the migrants who migrate solely for the survival of themselves and their family. The push factors rather than pull factors have a greater role in survival migration. The push factors are, in this case, poverty and unemployment. The decision to migrate is taken purely by his/her household. He/she is forced to migrate out of necessity at a young age even though not possessing high academic, professional or technical skills. Therefore the migrant becomes immobile from one occupation to another or from one place to another. In such migrations, there is no brain drain in real sense.

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2.Zachariah et al, 2004

**ii) Mobility migrants:** The term, 'mobility migrants' refers to those migrants who migrate with the aim of exploiting the mobility that they have acquired. The pull factors rather than push factors that play a greater role in 'mobility migration'. The pull factors are higher wage opportunities and better social and economic opportunities in the destination place. To exploit this comparative advantage he/she emigrates to developed countries with good academic background and some professional or technical skills. He/she is perfectly mobile within occupations and places. Brain drain, the unfavourable impact of migration does take place in this type of migration.

### **The measurement Indicators used in the study**

In order to understand the nature and characteristics of migrants from Malappuram and to distinguish between survival migration and mobility migration, the analysis includes the following indicators.

- 1) Age at first migration
- 2) Family size
- 3) Marital Status
- 4) Economic Background
- 5) Educational status at the time of first migration
- 6) Occupational status in home country at time of first migration

### **2. Census Data**

The period of analysis was the two decades from 1981 to 2001 since the migration to the Middle East started only by the middle 70s following the oil price hike in 1973 and the serious impacts of migration began to be felt only by the late 1970s. The educational development of women in Malappuram district was examined over these two decades.

The indicators used here are:

- The proportion of female population at the age group of 20 and above at different level of education
- The proportion of female population at secondary
- The proportion of female population at graduation and above
- Average years of schooling

A Comparative analysis is done through both at gender wise and also through comparisons of Malappuram with Kerala taken as a whole.

### **Primary Data**

Secondary data give only the macro level picture of the educational development of women in the district and the migration trends in the district. The objectives of the present study cannot be achieved merely through the analysis of secondary data alone since they do not provide information on inter-generational educational mobility of migrant households and non-migrant households. As the focus of the present study is the analysis of educational mobility of Muslim women and the exploration of the impact of migration on educational mobility, it was found essential to conduct an in-depth field investigation. The Thirurangadi Panchayat was selected for this purpose.

#### **2.2.2. Survey design**

##### **Why Thirurangadi Panchayat?**

The district of Malappuram possesses some unique features unlike the other districts of the state. Malappuram is the only district in Kerala, in which the majority of population is Muslim; it is also the largest district in the state in terms of number of emigrants (*K.C.Zachariah and S.Irudaya Rajan, 1999*). Muslims in Malappuram are considered to be an orthodox sect. Muslim women of this area used to be highly immobile in all aspects of life unlike Muslims in other districts; most of the Gulf migrants in the district are lowly educated if not illiterate. Thirurangadi Panchayat is one of the Panchayat in the district, which represents these typical features of Malappuram in full measure. Most of the Islamic reform movements that took place in Malabar had their origin in this place. A study of the impact of migration on Muslim community in the Malappuram district should therefore naturally be undertaken in the Thirurangadi Panchayat where the majority of population belongs to the Muslim community and where migration is a vigorous and intensive activity.

## **Profile of the Panchayat**

The profile of Panchayat comprised of its topography, history, educational history etc.

### **Topography**

Thirurangadi Panchayat, spreading over 17.73 square kms with population size of 50612 in 2001 in which the SC/ST population comes about 1327, is a special grade Panchayat in the Malappuram district. The sex ratio and the literacy rate of the Panchayat is reported as 1061 and 98.3 percent respectively . The Panchayat is located in the north-western part of Malappuram district, bounded on the east, west and north by the Kadalundi River, which originates from the Western Ghats Mountain and on south by the Thennala gram Panchayat. The Panchayat is situated 28 kilometres away from Calicut International Airport at Karipur. The average annual rainfall of the Panchayat is 291mm and the temperature ranges from 23.35° C to 31.6° C.

The Panchayat has 1769 hectares agricultural land. The major agricultural products in the Panchayat are paddy, coconut and arecanut etc. The Panchayat has been shifting from an agrarian economy to industrial economy even though the industrial sector of Panchayat is still remains incipient. The extensive scale of migration to the Gulf countries has been supplementing the growth of the industrial sector. However the Panchayat reports reveal that the major share of remittances is spent on construction of houses and that this massive migration and the resulting remittance have changed the face of Thirurangadi environmentally and economically (*Panchayat Development Report, 2003*).

### **A brief historical sketch**

In 'Kerala Islamic History', Thirurangadi occupies a dominant position. The Zamorin of Kozhikode had generously supported the spread of Islam in Malabar. During the reign of the Zamorin, the religious scholars from Arabia like Sayyed Shave Jiffery and Sayyed Hassan Jiffery migrated to Kerala for the purpose of spreading Islam. They stayed in Thirurangadi, and made the place their head-quarters. Even today we see the remnants of their *Maqbaras* as historical monuments in this Panchayat. The *Maqbara* of another religious scholar of the same period, of Sayyed Alavi Thangal, also is found here; it is a famous pilgrim centre of Muslims and is known as 'Mamburam Maqam'.

Thirurangadi also occupies a prominent place in the history of the national freedom struggle. This historical place was intimately involved in the Malabar revolts, which took place in various parts of the Ernad and the Valluvanad Taluks as a reaction against the

unfair policies of British and the British supporting landlords. The famous *Khilafat* movement had been also centered around this soil. In short the place was a brain centre of the Malabar rebellion of 1921 (Gangadharan M.K; 1989, Panchayat development Report;1995).

The freedom movements which Thirurangadi witnessed in its own soil were carried out under the leadership of Aali Musliar who had been *Mudris* of Thirurangadi Naduvil Juma Masjid for several years and whose name is written in golden letters in the history of the national freedom struggle. The freedom struggle has also something to do with the educational backwardness of the Muslim community of Malabar since following the *Khilafat* movement, Muslims were asked to boycott the western and the English education. Muslims maintained hostile attitude towards any British actions without consideration of the good intent behind such actions. The orthodox *Ulemas*, (the religious leaders of the community) have played a significant role in strengthening of Muslim's hostility. In fact all the education that the common Muslims used to receive was mainly the Madrassa (Islamic) education.

### **Educational History**

Thirurangadi had been the heartland of all kinds of Islamic reform movements; political, social and religious. In addition to its rich political and cultural tradition, it is also one of the leading Islamic educational centres in Kerala. The Mappila elementary school, which started in 1906, laid the foundation of primary education in the area. Later this school grew into the Thirurangadi government school. The establishment of educational institutions like, Thirurangadi Orphanage (in 1943), the Oriental Arabic high school orphanage (in 1955) and the P.S.M.O college (in 1967) sowed the seeds of educational development of not only this area, but also the whole the district of Malappuram.

### **Present scenario**

At present there are 14 schools in the Panchayat in which two are government schools. At the college level, the Pocker Sahib Memorial Orphanage (P.S.M.O) College, one of the outstanding colleges under Calicut University offers 'under-graduate' and 'post-graduate' courses in various disciplines. A local enquiry, undertaken by the researcher revealed that students from various districts of Kerala have been studying there and that most of them were Muslim. It was interesting to find that in every P.G class, the majority

of the students were girls. In the under-graduate classes, a substantial number of Muslim girls were seen, but their completion rate was extremely low.

Abdul Azeez, the Professor of Economics department of the college opined that the mobility of the Muslim women has increased significantly in recent years due to various reasons. Parents want to delay the date of marriage of their daughters due to financial constraint, sending of daughters to colleges until, the father becomes financially sound is a convenient and comforting proposition. Some parents expect that if their daughters get educated, they would get better marital alliances since the outlook of Muslim youth is fast modernising. There are very few persons who are taking education for reasons other than the marriage proposals of their daughters.

College education for women implies some disadvantages for the family. There are problems in finding suitable marriage alliances for women with college education, since there are not many men with college education in the Muslim community. People in this community are increasingly conscious of the merits and demerits of education for girl children. In general girls are sent to colleges till the completion of their first degree courses, but not farther. There is also one B.Ed training college attached to this college. All these facts indicate that the supply side of the educational sector is getting strong.

### **2.2.3. Sample selection**

Population of the survey comprised Muslim households, which consisted Muslim women in the age group of 18-25 years. A sample 102 households was selected by adopting the stratified sampling. Stratified sampling was preferred since the study aimed at comparing two groups, namely migrant households and non-migrant households. Sample frame was prepared from the voters list provided by the Panchayat office and through the assistance of ward members and local enquiries, conducted for getting the number of migrant and non-migrant households. Samples were selected from the three wards of high migration intensity, Kakkad and Thirurangadi East and Thirurangadi town.

A Migrant household is defined as a household, which has at least one person who has been working in the gulf region at least 15 years and who happens to be parent of the woman selected for interview from that household. The analysis is done on the inter-generational educational mobility trends. A non-migrant household is defined as one from which no member has been a migrant of more than one year. In this area it was

difficult to find a household, which was totally unconnected with the migration phenomenon.

There are 364 households with women of 18-25 age group, 139 migrant households and 117 non-migrant households as defined for the purpose of this study. The sample was selected through simple random sampling, taking 40 percentages from each stratum; 56 from migrant households and 46 from non-migrant households. The information was collected from the women in the age group of 18-25 years as well as their parents.

#### **2.2.4. Questionnaire**

The Questionnaire contained questions on family background, educational level of respondents and their parents, apart from those on other household details. The questionnaire has two parts; a quantitative and a qualitative part. The quantitative part has three sections, the first, which deals with general characteristics of households, the second about the inter-generational educational mobility, and third is about the migration details, exclusively meant for migrant household. The qualitative part covered aspects related to inter-generational changes in outlook and attitudes towards education as well as the underlying reasons.

#### **Classification of educational attainment**

Data were collected on educational status ranging from illiterates to degree holders. It was difficult to elicit information on the stage of education completed, since respondents showed a tendency to report as having passed a stage even in the case of non-completion. So the classification for parents' educational status was done under the following categories: 'literate without school education' (no illiterates were found in the sample), 'lower primary', 'upper primary', 'secondary', 'higher education' and 'graduation'.

In the case of respondents themselves educational classification ranged from the secondary school to post graduation since every respondent reported to have secondary level or passed the upper primary stage. At the level of graduation classification was made into general and professional. In the analysis of intergenerational educational mobility educational classification consists of "below secondary", 'secondary', 'higher secondary' and 'graduation and above' keeping in mind the fact that respondents



reported not exactly whether a course of study was successfully completed, but merely whether the course was undergone.

### 2.2.5. Techniques of Analysis

1. Weighted averages were used to distinguish between survival migrant and mobility migrant giving weight to economic background, educational status and occupational status at the time of migration.
2. The absolute deviation that the respondents have made from the level of educational attainment of their parents is indicated in terms of percentages.
3. Contingency tables are used for tabulation like the one used in many mobility studies (Visaka Varma, 1993). The validity of the hypothesis is tested by the Chi square method, which is widely used in many mobility studies.

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**CHAPTER 3**  
**SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS**

## Chapter 3

### Socio-economic Characteristics of Migrants

#### 3.1.Introduction

This chapter analyses the characteristics of emigrants and their households to get a picture on what type of migrants have been flowing out from Malappuram to the Middle East and also comparing them with other four districts taken in to the analysis.

The review of literature on Kerala migration (*Mathew and Nair 1978, Prakash 1998, Nair 1991*) indisputably proves that Kerala has flourished socially and economically through its extensive scale of migration to other states in India and also to countries outside India, a process which started since independence mainly in search of jobs. In fact the main agents of development are identified as remittances and thereby social and economic network underlying the process. As per the district-wise statistics of gulf migrants in 1980, there were 1533 emigrants per 10000 population for the state as a whole; the proportion was 1533 and 1450 in Thrissur and Malappuram respectively and only 45 and 30 respectively in Wynad and Idukki districts (*Prakash, 1998*). This evidence implies that incidence of migration to the Middle East has been higher in coastal districts and in areas where the Muslim population is substantial (Nair 1991).

For the sake of analysis migrants have been classified in two: 'survival migrant' and 'mobility migrant' as mentioned in second chapter. In Kerala mobility migrants migrate to western countries like US, UK etc. Even though persons who migrate to the Middle East are categorized into two, 'the less educated, unskilled or semiskilled workers' and 'the highly educated white collar workers and professional, technicians and administrators', the vast majority belongs to the former category (Nair 1998).

#### 3.1.1. A Review of KMS of 1998 and SMS of 2003

The Kerala Migration Study (KMS) conducted in 1998 and South Asian Migration Study conducted in 2003 conducted a meticulous work on the social and economic aspects of emigration from Kerala. The SMS of 2003 was a continuation of Kerala Migration Study of 1998 in which about half the total number of sample households (5000 households) were the same as those included in KMS. The questionnaire and the methodology followed in both the studies were similar, but the objectives were slightly different.

In KMS, the main concern had been the assessment of the migration situation in 1998-99. In SMS, the objective was not only the assessment of the situation of 2003-04, but also a review of the changes that had taken place during 1999-2004. The present study has made a revisit to Kerala migrants' households through the raw data of KMS and SMS. For the sake of comparison four districts were taken along with Malappuram district, and all these districts possess some distinct features. The largest recipient of foreign remittance has been identified as the district of Thrissur (South East Migration Survey (SMS) 2004).

Ernakulam district has ranked top in HDI in Kerala (Kerala Human Development Report 2005). The district of Kozhikode where Muslims form the second largest population (2001 census of India) has substantial number of emigrants. Trivandrum, the capital city of the state has substantial number of emigrants but among whom Muslims constitute a minority. So in order to isolate the characteristics of emigrants of Malappuram district, these 4 districts have been included in the analysis since Malappuram district has been identified as the largest in the state in terms of the size of Muslim population and also emigrant population; secondly this district has been characterised as both economically and socially backward. The characteristics of emigrants are examined through a review of KMS and SMS data.

### **The Sample for the Study**

As per Kerala migration survey (KMS) conducted in 1998 and SMS in 2004, the migrants of Kerala have been categorised into 4 types; emigrants (usual residents of a household who had migrated out of Kerala and were living outside India), return emigrants (usual members of a household who had returned to Kerala after living outside India for a year or more or for a lesser period), out-migrants (usual residents of a household who had migrated out of Kerala and were living outside Kerala but within India) and return out-migrants (usual members of a household who had returned to Kerala after living outside Kerala but within India for a year or more or for a lesser period).

In 1998 the proportion of emigrants to the total number emigrants from Kerala was 21 percent (2099 emigrants). This is the sample for analysis here. The number of emigrants in each district was 417 (19.9 percent) in Malappuram, 245 (11.7 percent) in Thrissur,

166 (7.9 percent) in Ernakulam, 191 (9.1 percent) in Kozhikode and 235 (11.2 percent) in Thiruvananthapuram. In 2004, the number of emigrants in the sample is 2694 (26.9 percent of total number of migrants). In the sample the number of emigrants in each district is worked out as 431 (16 percent), 259 (9.6 percent), 184 (6.8 percent), 243 (9 percent) and 240 (8.9 percent) for Malappuram, Thrissur, Ernakulam, Kozhikode and Thiruvananthapuram respectively.

### **Religious Composition of the Sample**

Except in Thiruvananthapuram and Ernakulam, Muslims form the majority of the migrant population. In Malappuram, Muslims account for 86 percent of the total number of emigrants. The proportions of Muslims in Thrissur, Ernakulam, Kozhikode and Thiruvananthapuram are reported to be 51 percent, 16 percent, 60 percent and 15 percent respectively in 2003-04. In Ernakulam 54 percent of the total emigrants were Christians who form the majority while in Thiruvananthapuram, 64 percent of the total emigrants were Hindus. In these two districts Muslims account only 16 percent and 15 percent respectively of the total number of emigrants. In short we may say that Muslim emigrants are proportionately more in the districts of Malappuram, Calicut and Thrissur. The majority of the emigrants were Hindus in Thiruvananthapuram and Christians in Ernakulam districts.

Table 3.1  
Religious Composition of the emigrants

Religion	Malappuram	Thrissur	Ernakulam	Kozhikode	Thiruvananthapuram
Hindu	8.1	24.7	29.9	34.6	64.2
Christian	5.3	24.3	54.3	4.9	20.4
<i>Muslim</i>	86.5	51.0	15.8	60.5	15.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: SMS data 2003<sup>1</sup>

### **The Gender Composition of the Emigrants**

The gender composition of emigrants was favourable to males in all the five districts (table 3.2). In Ernakulam more than one-fourth (30 percent) of emigrants were women and the proportion was lower in the rest of the districts. Malappuram had the lowest female proportion in total number of emigrants, which accounted for 9 percent of total

<sup>1</sup> All tables in this chapter were generated by the researcher based on the Kerala Migration Survey (KMS) of 1998 and South Asian Migration Survey (SMS) of 2003 conducted by the Centre for Development Studies

migrants. The female participation in the emigrants is about 11 percent and 16 percent in Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur districts respectively.

Table 3.2  
Sex composition of the emigrants

Sex	MPM	THR	EKM	KKD	TVM
Male	91.2	84.2	70.1	82.3	89.2
Female	8.8	15.8	29.9	17.7	10.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: 2003 SMS data

### Marital Status of the Emigrants

The proportion of the married was higher among emigrants of Malappuram in which around 46 percent of migrants were married; the next in the order came Kozhikode where 44 percent of the total migrants were married. These two districts possess a common feature: Muslims form a substantial proportion of the general population in both, especially migrant population. It is to be noted that the age at marriage is lower among Muslims of Malappuram (*Jaya S. Anand, 2002*). It is found that men from economically backward families emigrate to Gulf countries raising funds for their emigration from dowry; sometimes a visa to gulf region itself serve as the dowry. Even now they consider jobs in the Gulf countries as their only dependable source of living.

Table 3.3  
Marital status of the emigrants

Marital status	MPM	THR	EKM	KKD	TVM
Unmarried	47.8	47.9	51.1	47.7	60.8
Married	45.7	42.9	39.7	43.6	37.1
Widow / Widower	6.5	9.3	9.2	8.6	1.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: 2003 SMS data

### Female Migrants

As per SMS of 2004 there were 38 female migrants in Malappuram and the corresponding numbers were 41 in Thrissur, 55 in Ernakulam, 43 in Kozhikode and 26 in Thiruvananthapuram. In Malappuram 71 percent of female migrants were Muslims, nearly 16 percent constituted Christians and 13 percent were Hindus. In Thrissur district Christians dominated the female migrant population at 46 percent, next came Muslims with 32 percent and Hindus with 22 percent. In Kozhikode Muslim female migrants had a predominant place with about 54 percent, followed by Hindus with 37 percent; Christian female migrants in this district had comparatively much lower representation.

It is to be noted that in Thiruvananthapuram even a single Muslim female migrant could not be seen. In Thiruvananthapuram, Ernakulam and Thrissur, Christians formed the majority with 69 percent, 65 percent and 46 percent respectively. The proportion of Muslim female migrants in Ernakulam was only 5 percent. To summarise, the Muslim dominated districts like Malappuram and Kozhikode had a higher female migrant representation than the other districts.

Table 3.4  
Female migrants according to religions and districts

Religion	MPM	THR	EKM	KKD	TVM
Hindu	13.2	22.0	29.1	37.2	30.8
Christian	15.8	46.3	65.5	9.3	69.2
Muslim	71.1	31.7	5.5	53.5	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 2003 SMS data

The mean age of female migrants at the time of migration was estimated as 20 years, 21 years, 25 years, 21 years and 27 years in the districts of Malappuram, Thrissur, Ernakulam, Kozhikode and Thiruvananthapuram respectively. In Malappuram, about fifty percent of the female migrants were very young belonging to the age group below 25 years at the time of emigration. More than one fourth of emigrants were within the age group of 20-25 years (34 percent). The average age of female migrants was higher for Ernakulam and Thiruvananthapuram, where largest proportions of emigrants (40 percent and 37.5 percent respectively) were from the age group of 25-30 years.

Table 3.5  
Distribution of female migrants according to Age groups and districts

Age group	MPM	THR	EKM	KKD	TVM
1-20	31.0	24.2	10.0	29.3	4.2
20-25	34.5	36.4	26.0	29.3	29.2
25-30	27.6	30.3	40.0	31.7	37.5
30-35	3.4	6.1	22.0	2.4	16.7
35-40	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	4.2
40-45	3.4	3.0	2.0	2.4	0.0
45-50	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 2003 SMS data

### **3.1.2. Analysis of Trend in Migration in Two Periods :1998 and 2003**

#### **1. Age at first departure**

The age group at first migration is generally 20 – 30 years. The emigrants below 20 years of age are not considered as labour migrants and they are supposed to migrate with their parents or migrated for study purposes. In 1998 the proportion of this age group was higher in Malappuram (7.6 percent) than in Thrissur, Ernakulam and Kozhikode which were not however far behind with 6.9 percent, 6.6 percent and 6.2 percent respectively (table 3.6). The proportion of this age group in migrant population was lowest in Thiruvananthapuram district with 3.4 percent. It is well known that those who migrate with family will have either a higher earning status or possess some reputed work status in the receiving countries.

It is therefore clear that at least 7 percent of emigrants in Malappuram had a well family environment. In 2004 the corresponding proportion increased to 11.3 percent in Malappuram and 10.3 percent in Kozhikode. In the other 3 districts the proportion of this age group decreased. In Malappuram the largest proportion of migrants was in the age group of 20-25 years (37 percent). The proportion of population at this age group in the other districts were calculated as 32 percent in Thrissur, 25 percent in Ernakulam, 32 percent in Kozhikode and 30 percent in Thiruvananthapuram. The largest proportion of migrants going abroad at younger age was from Malappuram.

The average age at migration was lowest in Malappuram (26 years); Kozhikode immediately followed with 27 years. In Ernakulam and Thrissur the average was calculated as 28 years where the largest proportion of migrants were in the age group of 25-30 years. It implies that first migration at a younger age, which is the one of the indicator of survival migrant has been higher in Malappuram and Kozhikode district where the largest proportion of migrants have been Muslims.



Table: 3.6  
Age at First migration

Age group	MPM		THR		EKM		KKD		TVM	
	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003
1-20	7.7	11.8	7.5	7.6	6.8	6.2	6.3	10.5	3.6	3.4
20-25	34.8	38.4	33.5	36.9	19.9	26.0	34.4	33.1	32.4	30.8
25-30	31.2	26.6	33.0	24.0	31.1	35.6	28.0	30.5	28.4	34.2
30-35	14.9	15.1	14.5	16.4	24.2	19.2	19.6	13.0	18.7	16.2
35-40	7.4	5.0	5.7	8.4	9.9	6.2	5.3	6.7	6.2	9.0
40-45	2.9	2.6	3.1	5.3	5.6	5.1	4.2	3.8	7.1	3.4
45-50	0.7	0.5	2.2	0.4	1.2	1.1	2.1	2.5	2.7	2.1
50-55	0.5	0.0	0.4	0.9	1.2	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9

Source: KMS and SMS data

## 2. Occupational status at the time of first emigration

In Malappuram, Kozhikode and Thiruvananthapuram, the major proportion of migrants was coolies who had been engaged in non-agricultural (unskilled) activities. In 1998 their proportion was higher in Thiruvananthapuram district (65 percent). But in 2003 the corresponding proportion considerably declined to 43 percent (table 3.7). In Malappuram during 1998, 49 percent of migrants had been coolies at the time of their first migration and in 2003, the corresponding proportion came down to 47 percent. The proportion of persons who had employment in central government, semi government or private sectors was very low in Malappuram compared to other districts as it was only 3.3 percent in 1998 and 6.3 percent in 2003. In Ernakulam, on the other hand, 41 percent of migrants had been employed in these sectors at the time of their first migration in 1998; in 2003 the proportion was 38 percent. In Thiruvananthapuram district the proportions of the employed at the time of first migration were 7 percent and 12 percent respectively in 1998 and 2003.

In the district of Thrissur, the proportion was calculated at 19 percent and 20 percent respectively in 1998 and 2003. While in Kozhikode the proportions of the employed were lower: 4.7 percent and 5.7 in 1998 and 2003 respectively. The proportions of agricultural labourers were comparatively much higher in Malappuram; 2.9 percent and 1.6 percent respectively in 1998 and 2003, the proportion in the rest of the districts (except Thrissur) being much smaller. Taking the averages of the two periods, the data on occupational status show that the proportion of unskilled workers, one of the indicators of survival migrant, was higher in Thiruvananthapuram where Hindus dominated the migrant

population. Next came Malappuram and Kozhikode respectively where Muslims dominated the migrant population.

Table 3.7  
Occupational status at the time of first emigration

Occupational status	MPM		THR		EKM		KKD		TVM	
	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003
Emp. in central govt.	1.2	0.7	0.8	1.9	3.6	4.5	1.6	0.8	2.1	4.6
Emp. in semi govt.	0.2	1.4	-	5.0	3.4	8.1	0.5	1.2	0.4	0.8
Emp. in Pvt. sector	1.9	4.2	17.9	12.6	34.3	25.7	2.6	3.7	4.3	6.3
Self-Employment.	16.8	12.7	22.9	14.4	14.7	5.4	9.9	10.7	3.8	6.7
Agri. labour	2.9	1.6	5.2	3.1	1.2	.7	1.6	1.2	-	2.9
Coolies in non-Agri sector	49.3	46.9	24.1	23.0	19.3	17.9	44.2	35.0	65.5	43.9
Unpaid family work	-	-	1.1	0.4	-	1.2	0	0.4	0.9	3.3
Household duties	1.7	3.7	2.4	4.6	6.0	3.8	1.6	4.5	1.3	1.7
Job seekers	25.2	27.4	20.6	25.9	14.5	23.9	36.6	33.3	20.4	22.9
Job not required	-	.9	-	0.8	-	-	-	-	-	0.4
Students	0.2	-	2.0	7.4	2.4	7.1	1.0	4.7	1.3	5.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: KMS and SMS data

### 3. Educational Status at the time of first migration

Data for 1998 reveal that in the Malappuram district, characterized as educationally backward, a large proportion of migrants had low educational status. In 1998 one percent of total emigrants were illiterate at the time of their first migration and in 2003 the proportion declined to 0.2 percent (table 3.8). In Thiruvananthapuram the proportions of illiterates were higher as it was 3 percent in 1998 and 0.4 percent in 2004. In all the districts the proportion of emigrants with education of upper primary was larger. As per the survey of 1998 only 5.3 percent of migrants in Malappuram had degree qualification at the time of their first migration and the proportion rose to 15.6 percent in 2003. While in Ernakulam 39 percent of migrants were degree holders at the time of their first migration in 1998, but in 2003 nearly half of the migrants (44 percent) were degree holders. In Thiruvananthapuram it was 7 percent and 34 percent respectively in 1998 and 2003. In Thrissur 11 percent of migrants were degree holders at the time of their first migration in 1998. In 2003 the proportion of graduates in emigrants increased to 35 percent.

Table 3.8  
Educational status at the time of first migration

Educational status	MPM		THR		EKM		KKD		TVM	
	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003
Illiterate	1.0	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.0	3.0	0.4
Literate without school education	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.9	0.4
Below primary	11.0	5.4	2.3	16.4	1.3	32.0	0.0	17.3	3.0	20.9
Primary	22.1	3.7	7.7	2.2	3.2	0.6	12.2	2.7	13.2	2.1
Upper primary	47.4	27.4	48.4	2.2	46.8	1.2	51.3	11.1	45.1	4.3
Secondary	13.3	45.8	30.3	43.5	33.5	21.3	24.3	43.1	27.7	37.4
Graduation	5.3	16.6	10.9	34.9	14.6	44.4	6.9	25.8	7.2	34.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: KMS and SMS data

In Malappuram the proportion of migrants with secondary and above levels of education was only 18 percent in 1998, but in 2003 more than half of the emigrant population were with secondary or post secondary education.

#### 4. Economic background

The economic background of households were assessed by taking the weighted averages of factors like the type of house, type of fuel using, the possession of consumer durable goods and the source of fund they raised for going abroad etc. Accordingly in Malappuram as per the data of 1998, 87 percent of migrants were belonged to economically backward families. But the 2003 data showed that only 27 percent of the migrants were economically backward community (table 3.9).

Table: 3.9  
Determinants of Survival emigrants and Mobility Migrants

Determinants	MPM		THR		EKM		KKD		TVM	
	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003
Age group of 20 - 25	34.8	38.4	33.5	36.9	19.9	26.0	34.4	33.1	32.4	30.8
Family size of 7 and above	45.6	47.8	23.5	21.6	24.7	7.9	36.3	28.4	23.6	14.1
Married	42.0	45.7	43.9	42.9	35.1	39.7	40.5	43.6	41.4	37.1
Low economic background	87	28	65	21	52	5	39	24	66	21
Unskilled labourers	52.2	48.5	30.4	26.5	20.5	19.8	45.8	36.6	66.4	50.1
Migrants with below secondary education	81.5	36.7	58.9	21.7	51.9	34.4	68.8	31.1	65.2	28.1

Source: KMS and SMS data

### 3.1.3. The Proportion of Survival Migrant

The proportion of survival migrants was calculated giving weights to the above-mentioned indicators with preference to economic background, educational status, occupational status, family size, age at migration and marital status respectively. In Malappuram the proportion worked out to be 68 percent in 1998 and in 2003 the proportion was sharply decreased to 37 percent. The proportion of survival migrants has been higher in Malappuram than in any other district. Thiruvananthapuram stood in the second position in the size of survival migrant, 57 percent of migrants had belonged to this category in 1998 but in 2003 it decreased to 32 percent. In Thrissur it was calculated as 49 percent in 1998 and 27 percent in 2003 .In Kozhikode the corresponding proportions were 48 percent and 34 percent.

It has to be noted that over time the proportions of survival migrant have been declining in all district and this declining rate has been higher in Malappuram district, a fact which indicates that the proportion of mobility migrant going abroad has been increasing. As stated above the mobility migrant are basically characterized as well educated and skilled labourers. An interesting observation to be made in this context even though a large number of people have migrated to Middle East from Malappuram, most of them are less educated and unskilled labourers. While in Ernakulam district where the proportions of migrants to the total population is comparatively low, the majority of those who are going abroad are well educated and skilled laboureres or mobility migrants..

Table 3.10  
Proportion of survival migrant

Malappuram		Thrissur		Ernakulam		Kozhikode		Thiruvananthapuram	
1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003	1998	2003
68	37	49	27	41	20	48	34	57	32

Source: KMS and SMS data

To conclude, the educational and social backwardness of Malappuram district has been reflecting in the characteristics of the emigrants from Malappuram. This may be happened through many ways, the network that they created in Gulf countries make possible to go abroad easily. There has been trend that people from a particular locality have the same destination place.

**CHAPTER 4**  
**GROWTH OF EDUCATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND**  
**EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF WOMEN IN MALAPPURAM**  
**DISTRICT**

## **Chapter 4**

### **Growth of Educational infrastructure and Educational Attainment of Women in Malappuram district**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter gives the picture that major proportion of migrants from Malappuram district are less educated, economically backward and of family of large size compared to other district eventhough around half of the gulf migrants from Kerala belongs to Malappuram and the district is the second largest recipient of remittance flowing to Kerala. The educational renaissance both at supply side and demand which has been undergoing in Malappuram since 1980s (Salim 1999) call forth to explore the reasons behind it since the district was considered to be one of the backward district both economically and socially.

Growth of educational infrastructure and the progress of education in the district are analysed in this chapter.

#### **4.1.1 Profile of the District**

##### **Topography**

Malappuram district spreading over 3550 square kms located in the extreme south of Malabar region with Nilgiri hills in the east and Arabian sea in the west, being bounded on the north by Calicut and Waynad and on south by Thrissur and Palakkad. In area Malappuram comes in third position (3550 sq.km) which is 9.13 percent of the total area of the state and in population size it is the largest district of the state with a population size of 36,25,471 in which Muslims constitute 66.8 percent, Hindus with 28.4 percent and Christian comes 4.7 percent of total population as per 2001 census of India.

In the geographical map, the location of Malappuram district is 75 to 77 east longitude and 100 to 120 north latitude. The range of temperature varying from 30 degree celsius to 20 degree celsius. The average annual rainfall is 2281.3 mm. On the basis of physical features the district divided itself in to three natural divisions, low land, midland and highland. The low land bordering sea, the midland in the centre and the high land is on the east and north-eastern extremity.

## **History**

Malappuram literally mean *terraced place over hills* was formed as a district in 1969 by taking the underdeveloped region of erstwhile Palakkad and Kozhikode districts. Earlier more than half of the old Zamorin state was under the present Malappuram district. During that time Kerala flourished mainly through sea trade of cardamom, pepper and cinnamon for which there was huge demand from West Asia, Northern Africa, Europe and also from within India. The same period Hindus in Kerala were not allowed to cross the ocean because of some caste rigidity, which caused the Arab traders to indulge in Kerala sea trade. Gradually they became part of the society through marriage alliances and massive religious conversions were made from lower caste Hindus and later they came to be known as Mappila. Meantime the coastal places of Malappuram district like Thirurangadi, Parappanangadi, Thanoor, Ponnani, and Veliyankode became high Muslim dense area and trade centers.

In national freedom struggle Malappuram has played a dominant role in the form of Malabar revolts, which took place between 1872 and 1921. During the British rule the prevailing tax structure had affected quite unfavourably the lower class Kudiyan. Since the majority of Kudiyan belongs to Mappila community they started to protest against the unjustified and discriminative administrative system. As part of these struggles they did boycott schools, which provide western education and restricted their education up to Madrassa (Mappila Padanangal: Gangadharan). These hostile attitude that they kept against the English education and modern way of life may be the main factor that made Malappuram educationally and socially backward. The available literature shows that economically Malappuram was not much backward, blessed with rich commercial crops of coconut, pepper, areca nut etc. But due to the absence of proper infrastructure facilities these industries did not flourish as expected. Later by the massive scale of migration especially to Middle East and thereby the flowing remittances made a change in the face of Malappuram district quite gradually.

## **Economy**

The District wise distribution of Net Domestic Product and the Per Capita Income of Malappuram shows that the district is economically not much advanced. Among the districts in Kerala, Malappuram ranked 11<sup>th</sup> in terms of Per Capita Income (Rs.473.94) in the year 1971-72. At present the district has fallen in to 14<sup>th</sup> position (Rs.16766) although

it occupies 6<sup>th</sup> rank in terms of district wise distribution of Net Domestic Product. The Net Domestic Product of Malappuram is calculated as Rs.6316 crores (Economic Review 2003). It is also to be noted that remittances are not included in the calculation of Net State Domestic Product, hence they will never reflect in per capita income. As per the Kerala migration Study (1998), Malappuram is the largest recipient of remittance (17 percent of total remittance) flowing to Kerala and it comes around 46 percent of total Net Domestic Product in the district. All this figures lead to the stylised fact that 'one and only productive industry in Malappuram is migration'.

### Demography

Since the study being confined to a particular community of a particular district, it is inevitable to draw out the growth rate and composition of population, sex ratio and literacy level. The rate of growth of population in Malappuram has been much higher than that of the state during 1961 to 2001. For instance the population in the district has been growing at the rate of 34 percent during 1961-71 as against the state growth rate of 26 percent and it has been declining over the period. Between 1991 and 2001 Malappuram registered a considerable decline in population growth. Even though Kerala has been showing the same trend of declining growth rate of population it is faster than Malappuram. This may be because of the predominance of Muslim population among whom birthrate is higher.

Table 4.1  
Population Growth Rate

Year	Malappuram		Kerala	
	Population	Growth rate	Population	Growth rate
1961	1387378	-	16902117	-
1971	1856362	33.8	21347375	26.3
1981	2402701	29.4	25453680	19.2
1991	3096330	28.8	29098518	14.3
2001	3625471	17.1	31841374	9.4

Source: Census data of 1961,1971,1981,1991 and 2001

In Kerala Malappuram is the only district with Muslims as a largest community. . It is the second largest community in Kozhikode, Palakkad, Kannur, Kasargod and Kollam districts. As per 1971 census data Muslims in Malappuram constituted 29.5 percent of Kerala Muslim population and 63.95 percent of the whole population in the district. The 2001 census counted Muslim population in Malappuram as 24,84,576 which comprises 31.4 percent of Kerala Muslim population and 66.83 percent of whole population in the



district. Hence historically Muslims constitute the majority in Malappuram District. The predominance of Muslims is one of the distinct features of this district, which caused this district to be locally known as Mini Pakistan.

### **Density rate and Sex ratio**

Taking Kerala as a whole Malappuram occupies 9.3 percent of total geographic area while it comprises 11.4 percent of state total population. The density rate is calculated as number of people per hectare. In 1971, the density of population was much lower than Kerala. Since 1980 the density of Malappuram has been higher than that of Kerala. Currently the density of population is 998 in Malappuram and 819 in Kerala.

Data from 1971 onwards shows sex ratio has been favourable to female and always higher than the state average. In 1971 it was 1041 as against the state average of 1016. In 2001 it rose to 1066 for Malappuram as against 1058 for Kerala. However the overall analysis of the data reveal that growth rate of female population has been declining in Malappuram than state average. But the growth rate of female population is higher for Kerala as we see it is 1066 for Malappuram.

Table 4.2

Density ratio and Sex ratio

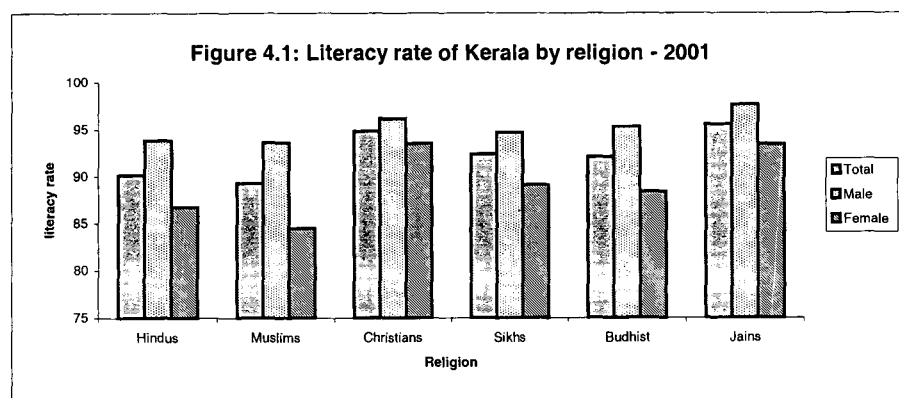
Year	Density Ratio (Number of persons per hectare)		Sex Ratio Number of female population per 1000 males	
	Malappuram	Kerala	Malappuram	Kerala
1971	510	547	1041	1016
1981	661	655	1052	1031
1991	852	749	1052	1036
2001	998	819	1066	1058

Source: Census data of 1961,1971,1981,1991 and 2001

### **Literacy rate**

Literacy rate is one of the key indicators of social development and throws light on the general awareness and standard of living of the society or community concerned. Literacy scenario (as per 2001 census) at national level shows there is no state or union territories, which has Muslim literacy rate of 90 percent or over. Keeping in mind that national average Muslim literacy is at 59.1 percent, Kerala hold second position in Muslim literacy (89.4 percent) next to Andaman and Nicobar Island of 89.8 percent.

This higher literacy rate of Kerala Muslims compared to Muslims in other region of India itself makes a research question and to explore the reason beyond this success.



Source: Census of India 2001

Among the three major religion of Kerala, Hindu, Muslim and Christian, highest literacy is reported among Christians with 94.8% and Hindus comes next with literacy rate of 90.17 percent as per 2001 census. The lowest literacy is reported among Muslims, as it is 89.3 percent. The sex wise break up of literacy rate among the community shows; the gender gap is higher among Muslims than Hindus and Christians. It is 9.16 percent, 7.1percent and 2.62 respectively for Muslims, Hindus and Christian. Even though at national level Kerala Muslims has been performing well in matter of literacy, within Kerala they present comparatively poor achievement in literacy.

Within Kerala Malappuram district has been showing a dramatic increase in literacy rate from 1971 to 1981 and also from 1981 to 1991. Even though the same trend can be seen at state level simultaneously mainly because of the activities of National Literacy Mission, I do assert the influence of gulf migration which prompted people to go for to be literate for various social and psychological reasons which comes the subsequent part of this study. However it was a great achievement in a sense that historically it is known that Muslims in Malappuram were reluctant to accept any developmental activities.

Table 4.3  
Literacy rate

Year	Malappuram			Kerala		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1971	55.32	40.78	47.9	66.62	54.31	60.42
1981	81.45	66.82	73.87	87.73	75.65	81.56
1991	92.08	84.09	87.94	93.62	86.17	89.81
2001	91.46	85.96	88.61	94.23	87.71	90.86

Source: census data of 1971,1981,1991and 2001

The sex wise break of literacy rate reveals that by three decades female literacy rate of Malappuram has more than doubled from 40.78 percent to 85.96 percent. During the same period the male literacy increased from 55.32 percent to 91.46 percent.

#### 4.1.2. Growth of Schools

Education is considered as an investment on human capital since it enhances the earning capability of individuals. In that sense educational institutions, being the supplier of education are treated as economic growth engines. Schools stand at the bottom of the educational ladder next to parents. Malappuram is identified as the district with large number of schools both aided and unaided schools. Malappuram has registered a high growth rate in the number of school over three decades. The total number of schools including high schools, upper primary schools and lower primary schools are estimated were 1376 during 2000-2001 as against 1059 during 1970-71, which registered growth rate of 30 percent during three decades. For Kerala as a whole the number of schools is calculated 12330 in 200-01 and 10814 in 1970-71 registering growth rate of 14 percent.

Table 4.4  
Growth of the number of school

Year	Government schools		Aided		Unaided		Total	
	Number	Growth rate	Number	Growth rate	Number	Growth rate	Number	Growth rate
1970	451		607	-	0	-	1059	
1975	517	14.63	606	-0.16	0	0.00	1123	6.04
1980	523	1.16	743	22.60	3	0.00	1269	13.00
1985	532	1.72	778	4.71	12	300	1322	4.17
1990	535	0.56	776	-0.25	13	8.33	1324	0.15
1995	535	0.00	776	0	19	46.15	1330	0.45
2000	540	0.93	784	1.03	52	173.63	1376	3.45

Source: Educational Statistics since Independence, Directorate of Public Instruction, Government of Kerala

If we look at growth of schools district specific, all other districts except Thiruvananthapuram (12 percent), Palakkad (9 percent) and Thrissur (6 percent) in addition to Malappuram registered negative growth rate during 1970- 2000. Ernakulam registered a negative growth rate of-0.9 percent by three decades; the number of schools in Ernakulam decreased from 1005 in 1970-71 to 995 in 2000-01. The following table shows the decadal growth rate of schools in the districts.

Table.4.5  
Growth of schools district wise

Year	MPM	THR	EKM	KKD	TVM
1970	-	-	-	-	-
1975	6.04	1.1	-10.7	3.1	2.3
1980	13.00	3.0	8.4	-8.2	4.9
1985	4.17	2.3	0.9	2.6	3.8
1990	0.15	0	-0.7	-0.1	-0.2
1995	0.45	0.6	1.2	0.1	0.7
2000	3.45	-0.4	0.8	1.4	0.4

Source: Educational Statistics since Independence, DPI, Government of Kerala

The management wise growth of schools shows that in Malappuram unaided schools registered abnormal increase in during 1980-85 (300 percent) from 3 schools in 1980 to 12 schools in 1985. Up to 1980 the number of unaided school in the district was nil. However by 2000 the number of unaided school in the district reached 52. During 1985-90 there had been not much increase in the number of school (8 percent) compared to previous period. Between 1990 and 1995 the district registered a phenomenal increase in the number of schools (46 percent) and boom to 173 percent during 1995-2000.

For the state as a whole the total number of unaided school is estimated as 500 in 2000 and it was 104 in 1970-71 and the growth of unaided school registered far below to Malappuram as during 1970--75, as it was 8 percent and increased to 18 percent during 1975-80. An unprecedented increase in growth rate of school witnessed during 1980-85 (136 percent). In subsequent years, growth rate of unaided school started to decline. However during 1995-2000 growth rate slightly increased (34 percent) compared to previous period of 17 percent growth rate. As we examine the district wise concentration of unaided school, it is higher in Ernakulam district with 70 schools followed by Thiruvananthapuram (56 schools) and Malappuram comes in third with 52 schools in 2000-01. It is interesting to note that in 1970-71 there were 25 unaided schools in Ernakulam and 12 in Thiruvananthapuram and not even a single unaided school in Malappuram and it was the only district with zero unaided school. Increase in the number of unaided school indicates the fact that increase in the private sector investment in education.

In the case of aided school there were 607 schools in Malappuram district in 1970-71 and by 2000 it increased to 784. A high growth rate was registered during 1975-80 (23 percent) and the same trend was witnessed for the state as a whole. After 1980 the

growth rate aided schools in Malappuram has been showing a declining trend. There are 540 government schools in Malappuram in 2000-01 as against 451 schools in 1970-71. The growth rate of government schools has declining over the years. The highest growth rate is recorded 1970-75 (14 percent) and in subsequent years it has been continuously declining.

Out of the 1376 schools, high schools come 192 (13.9 percent), upper primary school accounts 351 (25 percent) and L.P schools come 833 (60.5 percent).

Table.4.6  
Growth of the number of school: Management-wise

Year	High schools				UP schools				LP schools			
	Govt	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt	Aided	Unaided	Total	Govt	Aided	Unaided	Total
1970	32	30	0	62	74	132	0	206	345	445	0	790
1975	61	29	0	90	98	132	0	230	358	445	0	803
1980	72	57	3	132	97	208	0	305	354	478	0	832
1985	81	73	5	159	108	225	3	336	343	480	4	827
1990	81	73	5	159	109	225	4	338	345	478	4	827
1995	81	73	6	160	109	225	6	340	345	478	7	830
2000	82	80	30	192	112	225	14	351	346	479	8	833

Source: Educational Statistics since Independence, DPI, Government of Kerala

### Growth of Unaided School: A local Enquiry

As we link the impact of migration to educational development the most visible effect is increase in the number of school both aided and unaided, all of which have at least one migrant in their management body. The following table (table 4.7) shows the increase in the number of high school from 1970 onwards by management wise. Keeping in mind that migration to Middle East actively started only in 1971 and at that time the number of government high school in district was 32 and 18 Muslim management schools and 12 other management (both Hindu management and Christian management) schools.

Table .4.7  
Muslim management school

Year	Aided			Unaided			Total
	Muslim management	Other management	Total	Muslim management	Other management	Total	
1970	18	12	30	-	-	-	30
1980	38	19	57	3		3	60
1990	49	24	73	5	1	5	78
2000	54	26	80	27	4	30	110

Source: Field enquiry

There was no unaided school at the beginning of 70s. With the passage of time the number of Muslim management school increased in which the number of both aided and unaided school increased, but the growth of unaided school has been faster than aided school. Even though we can point out the impact of privatisation to this withdrawal of government from investing in service sector, (especially on health and education) the proprietorship of 78 schools including both aided and unaided are in the hands of gulf migrant in which 14 schools are completely owned by the migrants (see table 4.8) and 64 schools have the presence of at least one migrant in their management body. These reveal the fact that rather than the privatisation there exists a strong influence of gulf migration and the resultant remittances.

Another point to resist this argument is that increase in the number of school is independent of privatisation since government enacted the policies of privatisation only at the beginning of 90s, but even prior to that the number of Muslim management school had increased from 18 in 1981 to 54 in 2001 with growth rate of 200 percent. The other management schools including Hindus and Christian management only come 42 while in 1971 it was 20. Increase in the number of school within 3 decades is only 22. In fact remittance, the favourable outcome of migration is acted as the source for migrants to invest in educational sector.

Table 4.8  
Proprietorship of Muslim Management School

Year	Migrants	Supported by migrants	Non migrants	Total
1971	-	-	18	18
1981	7	21	13	41
1991	12	33	9	54
2002-03	14	64	3	81

Source: Field enquiry

### Higher Educational Institutions

The data on higher educational institutions from 1970 onwards shows that the growth of higher educational institution is not as rapid as growth of school. There were only 4 arts and science colleges, 1 professional college at the beginning of 1970s. By 2000 the number of arts and science colleges increased to 12, professional colleges to 3. Apart from these, there were 5 teachers training institutes and 3 polytechnics. Out of the 12 arts and science colleges, 3 are government colleges, 8 are private colleges of which 7 are run by Muslim management.

Besides these there are 7 oriental colleges (Arabic colleges) .And 2 nursing colleges have started quite recently. During 70s and 80 and even at the beginning of 90s it was not imagine sending female child for nursing courses among Muslim community. The researcher herself interviewed the students and revealed that they opt the course aiming job abroad especially in gulf countries.

Table.4.9  
Higher Educational institutions

Year	No. of arts and science colleges			No. of Medical/ engineering colleges			No. of teachers training institute			No. of poly techniques		
	Govt	Pvt	Total	Govt	Pvt	Total	Govt	Pvt	Total	Govt	Pvt	Total
1970	-	4	4	-	1				-			
1980	3	7	7	-			-	1	1			
1990	3	8	10	-	2	-	2	2	4			
2000	3	9	12	-	3	3	2	3	5	2	1	3

Source: [www.ksd.kerala.gov.in/edu.htm](http://www.ksd.kerala.gov.in/edu.htm) , [www.cee-kerala.org](http://www.cee-kerala.org)

To sum up, Malappuram has been showing a rapid improvement in educational front. The analysis phenomenal growth of the number of schools in Malappuram compared to other districts gradually leads to the influence of migration and resultant remittances. This argument getting strengthened if we look at ownership of private schools. For instance, there are 81 Muslim management high schools in Malappuram in which 14 schools are completely owned by migrants and 64 schools are running with the support of migrants. It is to be noted that up to 1980 Malappuram was the only district in Kerala without even a single unaided school. In subsequent years there has been abnormal increase in the number of unaided schools. This finding naturally led to the impacts of migration, because migration actively started since 1973 and its effects reached in to the community since 1980.

#### 4.1.3 Brief Analysis of Educational Attainment of Women

Educational attainment of a person depends on his family background, parents' education, economic status etc at micro level and at macro level the cultural and religious factors are acted as the determinants. In Malabar up to the mid 70s the Orthodox Sunni Mullahs and Ulemas (religious leaders) had not favour the modern secular education and the majority comes illiterate and less educated mass blindly believed and followed these orthodox religious leaders who favoured only Madrassa education. But after mid 70s by

the reform movements of Mujahid and Jamat-E-Islami the situation began to change even though they had started their reform movements since independence. But even these reform movements also restricted within some religious barriers by strengthening the perspective that the appropriate work for women limited to some profession like teachers and doctors and they were asked to wear *hijab* which is not allowed in many diversified professions. Hence the Muslim women further hampered in this respect and their mobility confined to a tiny circle. However the migration which intensively started since 1972 and its repercussions on the society actively started to work out since 1980. The following section examine the educational attainment of women in Malappuram since 1980. The educational development of women in Malappuram district is examined through the census data of 1981,1991 and 2001 .The age cohort taken in to analysis is women of 20 and above years.

### The educational Status of Women

The table (4.10) shows the proportion of female population at different levels of education in Malappuram. It is calculated as 18.4 percent of women are below secondary as per the census of 2001 against the state average of 14.4 percent. In 1991 the corresponding figure was estimated as 11.9 percent in Malappuram and 9.6 percent in Kerala.

Table.4.10

Proportion of women at different educational level: Malappuram

Year / Educational level	Below Primary	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Diplo ma. non tech	Diplo ma. tech	Grads. & above	Total
1981	-	23.2	8.2	2.6	0.3	0.1	0.7	0.6	35.8
1991	11.9	31.1	19.6	5.5	1.1	0.3	0.9	1.3	71.9
2001	18.4	22.4	21.4	10.3	2.7	0.1	0.9	2.6	79.0

Source: Census data of 1981,1991,2001

The data from the table indicates that only up to primary educational level the proportion is higher in Malappuram district and above the primary level the proportion becoming less than state average. This is an indication of low educational status of females in Malappuram district. Around one fourth of female population in Malappuram had only the education up to primary over the past two decades. It was 23.2 percent in 1981, rose to 31.1 percent in 1991, but in 2001 it declined to 22.4 percent. The same trend we see in the case of Kerala. For Kerala it was 22.4 percent, 25.7 percent and 18.4 percent for respective years. If we move in to the higher educational level, the proportion has been



declining. The proportion is very less in non-technical diploma. The proportion of women at graduation and above was 0.6 percent in 1981, 1.3 percent in 1991 and 2.6 percent in 2001.

Table.4.11.

Proportion of women at different educational level: Kerala									
Year / Educational level	Below Primary	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher sec.	Dip. non tech	Dip. tech	Grad. & above	Total
1981	-	22.4	14.7	7.0	1.3	0.19	1.1	1.9	48.79
1991	9.61	25.7	22.4	11.8	3.2	0.38	1.4	3.8	78.63
2001	14.4	18.4	18.9	16.0	6.3	0.30	1.8	6.8	83.2

Source: Census data of 1981,1991,2001

In Malappuram women who got formal education was calculated as 36 percent in 1981, 72 percent in 1991 and 79 percent in 2001(table.4.10). For Kerala the corresponding figures are estimated as 49 percent in 1981, 79 percent in 1991 and 83 percent in 2001(table.4.11). Even though the state level proportion of females who attained formal education has been higher for the last three decades, the rate of growth of the number of women getting formal education has been increasing more than state level.

To examine how far women became mobile from lower educational status (below primary) to higher educational level (graduation and above) over the period we take secondary education as a cut off point. Women are mobile only if the percentage of population below secondary level should be declining over the period and also the percentage of population above matriculation level should increase. The data reveal that in 1981 around 36 percent of population have got school education at least up to primary in which people with primary education is calculated as 31.37 percent. Women with educational status of more than matriculation level were only 1.9 percent. For Kerala, a woman with at least primary educational level was around 49.

From 1981 to 1991 the percentage of population below matriculation had increased from 31.3 percent to 62.6 percent. But in 2001 the proportion was almost same (62.2 percent) and during this period the proportion of women secondary increased to 10.3 percent from 5.5 percent in 1991. During 1981-91 the growth rate of number of women at all educational levels increased unprecedentedly. This indicates that from 1991 onwards the situation got changed and number of women with above matriculation has increased. The data satisfy the condition only from 1991, but partly since on the left hand side (below matriculation level) proportion are remains almost constant but the left hand side the

proportion has been increasing between two periods that percentage below matriculation level has been declining while above matriculation level shows declining trend. But if we compare with figures obtained for Kerala it is not much impressive for Malappuram.

Table.4.12.  
The educational mobility of women

Year	Below secondary		Secondary		Above Secondary	
	Malappuram	Kerala	Malappuram	Kerala	Malappuram	Kerala
1981	31.3	37.2	2.5	7.0	1.9	4.5
1991	62.6	57.8	5.5	11.8	4.4	8.9
2001	62.2	51.8	10.3	16	6.4	15.3

Source: Census data of 1981,1991,2001

Even though the proportion is very low at above secondary level compared to Kerala, the growth rate has been registered substantially higher than Kerala. During 1981-91 the growth rate registered abnormal increase both in Malappuram and Kerala.

Table.4.13  
The growth of educational mobility of women over previous years

Year	Below secondary		Secondary		Above Secondary	
	Malappuram	Kerala	Malappuram	Kerala	Malappuram	Kerala
1981	-	-	-	-	-	-
1991	173.2	101.4	195.5	118.0	222.5	152.0
2001	26.6	7.3	136.2	61.5	85.1	106.2

Source: Census data of 1981,1991,2001

### Proportion of women at secondary education

Only 2.5 percent of women in Malappuram had the secondary level education in 1981 as against 7 percent of state level. By 2000 the proportion of women with secondary increased to 10.3 percent and 16 percent respectively for Malappuram and Kerala. The growth rate of the number of women with secondary education recorded rapid increase during 1981-1991. This abnormal increase in growth rate during 1981 –1991 can be seen at all levels of education.

Table.4.14  
Proportion of women at secondary: Malappuram

Year	Female		Male	
	Percentage	Growth rate	Percentage	Growth rate
1981	2.5	-	5.2	-
1991	5.5	195.5	9.1	134.9
2001	10.3	136.2	12.8	77.9

Source: Census data of 1981,1991,2001

Table.4.15  
Proportion of women at secondary: Kerala

Year	Female		Male	
	Percentage	Growth rate	Percentage	Growth rate
1981	7.0	-	13.3	-
1991	11.8	118.0	14.8	42.9
2001	16.0	61.5	18.3	42.2

Source: Census data of 1981,1991,2001

### Proportion of women at higher education

In the present study higher education refers to graduation above. In 1981 the percentage of female graduates is substantially lower than that of male graduates. And by 1991 this gap widened further. But the growth rate of female graduates shows a rapid increase than the growth rate of male graduates during 1981-91. If we look at this region wise Malappuram lag far behind that of Kerala. In 1981 the proportion of women with graduation and above was estimated as 0.61 percent as against the state level average of 1.9 percent. In 2001 the corresponding proportion was calculated as 2.6 percent for Malappuram and 6.8 percent for Kerala. The growth rate suggest that the number of women getting education of graduation and above has been increasing rapidly than Kerala. The gender wise comparison in Kerala shows the gap has been narrowing down and in coming years the number of female graduates may cross the number of male graduates

Table.4.16.  
Proportion of women at higher education: Malappuram

Year	Female		Male	
	Percentage	Growth rate	Percentage	Growth rate
1981	0.61	-	1.5	-
1991	1.3	192.67	2.5	133.06
2001	2.6	158.88	3.8	89.59

Source: Census data of 1981,1991,2001

Table.4.17.  
Proportion of women at higher education: Kerala

Year	Female		Male	
	Percentage	Growth rate	Percentage	Growth rate
1981	1.9	-	3.2	-
1991	3.8	158.51	5.2	104.05
2001	6.8	115.63	7.1	59.26

Source: Census data of 1981,1991,2001

### Average Years of Schooling

The average years of schooling was calculated by taking the educational level up to higher secondary. The formula used for calculating average years of schooling was

$$(Pn*4 + UPn*7 + Sn*10 + HSn*12)/N$$

*Pn* = number of people in primary educational level

*UPn* = number of people in upper primary educational level

*Sn* = number of people in secondary educational level

*HSn* = number of people in higher secondary educational level

*N* = Total population in that particular year

Here the number of people above higher secondary has incorporated in to higher secondary level to get accurate years of schooling.

So 12 years is the optimum level of schooling. It is shown that the average years of schooling (of women of 20 and above years) in Malappuram is much lower than that of Kerala even though the gender gap is not much wider (table 4.18)

It was calculated as 6.8 years in 2001 as against male education of 6.9 years that implies the average years of education in Malappuram is middle level education or upper primary level. In 1981 it was only 5.5 years for females and 5.8 for males, and in 1991 it gradually increased to 6.1 and 6.3 respectively for female. The state average is calculated as 8 years for females and 7.9 years for males. Form the table it can be seen that the average educational level of females in Kerala increased from upper primary level in 1981(6.4 years) to above upper primary level (8 years) in 2001.

Table.4.18.  
Average years of schooling

Year	Malappuram		Kerala	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1981	5.8	5.5	6.6	6.4
1991	6.3	6.1	7.2	7.0
2001	6.9	6.8	7.9	8.0

Source: Census data of 1981,1991,2001

To conclude, at lower educational levels (primary education) the proportion of women has improved quite impressively and also that the proportion of women having formal education increased drastically over the period. At the same time the proportion of women at higher education levels lag far behind that of men; the difference is larger if we compare this to state average. Women in Malappuram have registered higher rate of growth in the educational attainment than men and also more than the state level even though their proportion is much lower if we compare it to both gender and regional basis.

**CHAPTER 5**  
**EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY OF MUSLIM WOMEN**

## Chapter 5

### Educational mobility of Muslim women

#### 5.1 Introduction

In fact, one of the favourable outcomes of migration is inflow of remittances, in addition to that migration allows transfer of goods ideas, awareness i.e., social remittances. Social remittance exchanges occur when migrants return to live in or visit their communities of origin or when non-migrants visit those in the receiving country; or members of own households, friends and relatives establishes contact with migrants through exchanges of letters, videos, cassettes, e-mails, and telephone calls. In Malappuram, through extensive migration to the Middle East people have acquired income, widened their perspectives on life and its travails and increased their degree of socio-economic, cultural and political mobility. The upward mobility on the educational front taking place among Muslim women in the study area is found to be highly significant and the most important causal factor for the change has been the ongoing emigration and its repercussions in the community.

In this chapter we make an attempt to find whether there is any mobility has taken place between generations and what the factors are which influenced the mobility.

#### 5.1 Household characteristics

Out of the 102 sample households, 56 are migrant households and 46 non-migrant households. The average size of both the types of households was 6 persons. Households with 6-9 members constitute 55.35 percent of the migrant households and 43.47 of the non-migrant households.

Table 5.1  
Size of Households

Members	Migrant households		Non migrant households	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1-5	19	33.9	22	47.8
5-9	31	55.3	20	43.4
10+	6	10.7	4	8.6
Total	56	100	46	100

Source: Primary data

The mean household monthly income of migrant and non-migrant households were Rs.9419 and Rs.5869 respectively, the standard deviation being Rs.3569 and Rs.3532

with a coefficient of variation of 37.8 percent and 60.18 percent respectively, an indication of the higher variability in income ranges among the non-migrant households than among the migrant households.

Table 5.2  
Household Income

Monthly Income	Migrant households		Non migrant households	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Below 2500	-	-	9	19.5
2500-5000	4	7.1	11	23.9
5000-7500	13	23.2	14	30.4
7500-10000	16	28.5	4	8.6
10000+	23	41.1	8	17.3

Source: Primary data

### 5.1.1 Characteristics of Respondent's parents

Among the migrant households from which fathers migrated to the Gulf region, not even a single mother is seen to have migrated. Fathers of 18 respondents are return emigrants who stayed in the gulf region for period not less than 15 years. The destinations are Saudi Arabia (23), U.A.E (14), Kuwait (11), Qatar (2) and Oman (6). Out of the 56 migrants 39 are employed in the private sector and 9 in government services; 8 persons run their own businesses such as supermarkets.

Table 5.3  
Details about Migrants

<i>Sex</i>	Number	Percentage
Male	56	100
Female	-	-
<i>Type of Emigrant</i>		
Emigrant	52	92.8
Return emigrant	4	7.1
<i>Destination Place</i>		
Saudi Arabia	23	41.1
U.A.E	14	25
Kuwait	11	19.6
Oman	6	10.7
Qatar	2	3.5

Source: Primary data

The age structure ranges from 45 years to 60 years, of which 62 percent are in the age group of 50-55 years. More than 60 percent of the migrant fathers (34 persons) had education of below secondary level and four of them had Arabic education of Afzal-



Ulema level, which is equivalent to the bachelor degree. Fifty eight percent of the mothers of respondents were in the age group of 45-50 years. Nearly 83 percent of the mothers had only education below secondary level. None of the mothers was gainfully employed; they were engaged in household chores.

Table 5. 4  
Age structure

Age group	Migrant households				Non migrant households			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
35-40	-	-	8	14.2	-	-	-	-
40-45	6	10.7	10	17.8	3	6.5	14	30.3
45-50	13	23.2	31	55.3	5	10.8	21	45.6
50-55	34	60.7	7	12.5	26	56.5	7	26.9
55-60	3	5.3	-	-	8	17.3	4	8.6
60-65	-	-	-	-	4	8.6	-	-

Source: Primary data

Among non-migrant households, fathers of 10 respondents were employees in government services among whom 8 were degree holders. Twelve of the fathers were engaged in local works (as casual physical workers). Eighteen were engaged in agriculture related sectors and 6 were running own businesses. The age structure ranged from 45 years to 65 years and 57 percent were in the age group of 50-55 years. In educational matters 63 percent have studied only upto less than the secondary level. Among the mothers of respondents 3 were employed under government services 9 were engaged in unskilled works and 35 were engaged in household duties. Forty-six percent were of the age group of 45 years to 50 years; mothers belonged to the age group of 40years to 60 years.

Table 5.5  
Educational Level of Respondents' parents

Educational level	Migrant households				Non migrant households			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Literate without school education	-	-	-	-	2	4.3	2	4.3
Lower primary	16	28.5	21	37.5	12	26.1	17	36.9
Upper primary	18	32.1	25	44.6	15	32.6	17	36.9
Secondary	11	19.6	6	10.7	5	10.8	5	10.8
Higher secondary	7	12.5	4	7.1	4	8.6	2	4.3
Graduation	4	7.1	0	-	8	17.4	3	6.5

Source: Primary data

### 5.1.3. Characteristics of Respondents

It was already stated that respondents were women in the age group of 18 to 25 years. The mean age of a respondent found to be 22 years. Among migrant households, 31 (55 percent) respondents were married and 12 (21 %) had entered into engagement for marriage. The spouses of the 22 respondents who were married and 9 of the would-be spouses were themselves migrants. In non-migrant households, 27 were married and only one was engaged. Of them 14(51.85) were married to migrants. A larger percentage of respondents from migrant households have entered into marriage engagements than respondents from non-migrant households.

Table. 5.6  
Marital Status of respondents

Marital status	Migrant households	Non-migrant households
Married	31	27
Married to migrant	22	14
Engaged	12	1
Engaged to migrant	9	
Unmarried	13	17
Total	56	46

Source: Primary data

Even though 15 respondents from migrant households had joined undergraduate courses, 4 were not able to graduate themselves and 6 respondents were doing their courses at the time of interview. The percentage of respondents who had not completed was higher among migrant households.

Table.5.7  
Educational status of respondents (as per the enrolment)

Educational status	Migrant households	Non-migrant households
Failed	11	16
Secondary	6	6
Higher secondary	19	11
Degree (general)	15	8
Degree(professional)	5	3
Post graduation	-	2
Total	56	46

Source: Primary data

### 5.2.Intergenerational Educational Mobility

The present study takes to in account the father-daughter and mother-daughter versions of the nature of intergenerational shifts, with specific attention on the following relations.

1. Mother- daughter shift in educational status
2. Father – Daughter shift in educational status
3. Educational status of father and SSLC performance of daughter
4. Educational status of mother and SSLC performance of daughter
5. Educational status of father and tertiary education of daughter
6. Educational status of mother and tertiary education of daughter

### 5.2.1.Mother- daughter shifts in educational status

Among migrant households 82 percent, 11 percent and 7 percent of mothers of respondents had the educational attainment of below secondary, secondary and higher secondary and above level respectively; among the respondents the corresponding figures were 19 percent, 11 percent and 70 percent respectively. The proportion of daughters (compared to that of mothers) at the educational level of below secondary has declined considerably and it has increased at the educational level of higher secondary and above significantly. In the table, the intersection of rows and columns in the diagonal shows the immobility of the educational attainment. While twenty-seven percent of the respondents have been perfectly immobile in educational attainment, the rest 73 percent reported movement between the generations and all of them having been upwardly mobile. No elements are observed in the table below the diagonal indicating that downward mobility has not at all been taking place. It should also be noted that there was not even a degree holder among mothers of migrant households.

Table 5.8  
Mother-Daughter shift in educational status (Migrant Household)

Mothers→ Daughters↓	Below Secondary	Secondary	Above Secondary	Total
Below Secondary	11	6	29	46 (82.14)
Secondary	0	0	6	6 (10.71)
Above Secondary	0	0	4	4 (7.14)
Total	11 (19.6)	6 (10.7)	39 (69.6)	56 (100)

Source: Primary data.

\*Figures in parenthesis denotes percentages

In the case of non migrant households, 78 percent, 11 percent and 11 percent of mothers had educational qualifications of below secondary, secondary and higher secondary and above respectively, while 34.7 percent, 13 percent and 52 percent of respondents had the corresponding educational attainment at these levels. As has been in evidence in the case

of migrant households the proportion of respondents of non-migrant households also have increased significantly from below secondary to higher secondary and above category. Forty-six percent of the households have not shown any upward intergenerational mobility, but the rest of the households have.

The comparison of the migrant and the non-migrant households reveals that educational mobility is higher among the migrant households than the non-migrant households. Among the non-migrant households significant upward mobility is taking place among the daughters of the educated mothers.

Table 5.9  
Mother-Daughter shift in educational status (Non-Migrant Household)

Mothers→ Daughters↓	Below secondary	Secondary	Above secondary	Total
Below secondary	16	6	14	36 (78.3)
Secondary	0	0	5	5 (10.8)
Above Secondary	0	0	5	5 (4.3)
Total	16(34.7)	6(13)	24 (52.2)	46 (100)

Source: Primary data

In order to test the relation we have made a chi square test. For the migrant households chi square value is found to be 10.83, which is lower than the table value of 12.59 at 6 degrees of freedom and 95 percent confidence interval. Our hypothesis that educational level of mother and the educational level of daughter are not significantly related is justified in the case of migrant households. But this finding is contradictory to the study done by Mare (1996) and Behrman (1997), which establishes that there is strongest relationship between mothers' and children's education.

For non-migrant households chi square value is calculated as 35.99, which exceeds the table value of 21.02 at 12 degrees of freedom and 95 percent confidence interval. But here our hypothesis that educational level of mother and educational level of daughter are not highly related is not justified. They are indeed related in the case of non-migrant households. All this analysis implies that in migrant households women are significantly mobile between generations irrespective of their mothers' educational status while in non-migrant household the situation is the reverse which is contradictory to the common result of mobility studies; mothers' educational status and daughters educational status are closely related. To explore the agent of mobility of the migrant households we take a look to in the educational shifts from father to daughters since all the educational mobility studies sum up that parents are the most influential factor for children's educational attainment.

### 5.2.2. Father - daughter shift in educational status

In migrant households 60 percent of the father had below secondary, 20 percent secondary and remaining had above secondary education; in the same households the corresponding educational levels of daughters were 20 percent, 10 percent and 70 percent respectively (table 5.10). The percentage of daughter in the educational level of below secondary has declined significantly and of higher secondary and above has increased considerably.

Nearly 38 percent of respondents have been perfectly immobile in the educational attainment and 62 percent reported movement between generations. Immobility is higher for father – daughter educational shifts as compared to mother -daughter shift. The direction of mobility indicates that 95 percent have been upwardly mobile and 5 percent are downwardly mobile, the latter movement being highly insignificant. At 2 degrees of freedom and at 95 percent confidence interval the chi square value is obtained as 6.48, which is lower than the corresponding the table value of 9.48. So, the educational status of father and educational attainment of daughter are not related. Our hypothesis justified in the case of migrant households, as fathers 'and daughters' educational status are not related.

Table.5.10  
Father - daughter shift in educational status (Migrant Households)

Fathers→ Daughters↓	Below Secondary	Secondary	Above Secondary	Total
Below Secondary	8	4	22	34(60.7)
Secondary	3	2	6	11(19.6)
Above Secondary	0	0	11	11(19.6)
Total	11 (19.6)	6 (10.7)	39 (69.6)	56(100)

Source: Primary data

In the case of non migrants households (table 5.11), 35 percent of the respondents were with the educational level of below-secondary, 13 percent were with secondary level of education and 52 percent were with educational level of higher secondary and above as against those of their fathers educational status of 63 percent, 11 percent and 26 percent respectively. Here 61 percent are immobile and no one is downwardly mobile. Testing of hypothesis shows positive correlation between educational status of father and educational status of daughter. Chi square value 24.73 is greater than table value of 9.48 at 4 degrees of freedom and 95 percent level of confidence.

Table.5.11

Father - daughter shift in educational status (Non-Migrant Households)

Fathers→ Daughters↓	Below Secondary	Secondary	Above Secondary	Total
Below Secondary	16	6	7	29 (63)
Secondary	0	0	5	5 (11)
Above Secondary	0	0	12	12 (26)
Total	16 (34.7)	6 (13.1)	24 (52.2)	46 (100)

Source: Primary data

The conclusion emerging from the preceding analysis is that there has been occurring considerable upward educational mobility among Muslim women. In the migrant households parents' educational status have no influence on the educational attainment of their children. Contradictory to this, educational status of parents of non-migrant households are closely related to the educational status of their daughters. The reason for the upward educational mobility is identified as the following; there has been a general trend of upward educational mobility in the present generation due to reasons mentioned by Visaka Varma (1993), namely, the vast changes that have accompanied economic development, the break up of joint family system and the formation of nuclear families, land reforms that forced upper caste families to go for higher education for their material assistance.

In the present study the reasons listed by respondents and parents do not coincide completely with those factors since most of them are not considering education as a passport for any job purpose or material returns. This fact becomes clear when the occupational mobility trends are examined. There are some subjective factors, which influence educational mobility such as prospects for better marriage alliances. Indeed every parent of the respondents admitted that income of the household is the most influential factor and prerequisite to give education to their children. This argument is reinforced by the educational performance of non-migrant households, which show that educated respondents have educated and well-paid parents. This is quite in line with the result that children of parents in higher social classes are more likely to end up in higher social classes themselves (Lucinda Platt, 2005).

In the subsequent sections we disaggregate the educational attainment of respondents to their performance in SSLC and further education.

### 5.2.3. Educational status of father and SSLC performance of daughter

Column-wise comparison indicates the performance of daughters with respect to their fathers' educational status and row-wise comparison indicates educational status of fathers with respect to their daughters' performance at SSLC examination (table 5.12). There were 16 (28.5%) fathers with education of lower secondary level, 18 (32.1%) with upper primary, 11 (19.6%) with secondary, 7 with (12.5 %) and 4 (7.1%) with degree. No relation was found between the educational level of fathers and daughters' performance at SSLC since among the respondents 8 have secured distinction, in which 2 respondents' fathers had only education up to lower primary and 2 had studied only up to the upper primary level; for one respondent, her father was a degree holder.

None of the respondents, whose fathers with higher secondary education had got distinction. At the same time it is to be noted that daughters of fathers with higher secondary and above education have not at all failed in the examinations and that only the daughters of fathers with education of secondary and below secondary failed. This contrast again leads us to recall the studies on educational mobility, which explain the role of family background and characteristics of parents in children's' performance (Schneider and Coleman, 1993). Statistically it is proven that the educational level of father and performance of daughters are independent and not at all related in case of non-migrant household. At 16 degrees of freedom and at 95 percent confidence interval chi square value is 21.46, which is lower than table value of 26.29.

Table 5.12  
Educational status of father and SSLC performance of daughter (Migrant Households)

Educational level Daughters ↓ Fathers →	Failed	Third class	Second class	First class	Distincti on	Total
Lower primary	5	6	0	3	2	16(28.5)
Upper primary	3	5	6	2	2	18(32.1)
Secondary	3	3	1	1	3	11(19.6)
Higher secondary	0	1	3	3	0	7(12.5)
Degree Holders	0	1	0	2	1	4(7.1)
Total	11(19.6)	16(28.5)	10(17.8)	11(19.6)	8(14.2)	56(100)

Source: Primary data

Among the non-migrant households, fathers belonging to the categories of 'literate without school education', 'lower primary', 'upper primary', 'secondary', 'higher secondary' and graduation and above are 4 percent, 26 percent, 33 percent 11 percent, 9 percent and 17 percent respectively (table 5.13). A simple look at the table shows that

there is a strong positive relation between educational status of father and performance of daughter since above the diagonal of 'literate without school education' to 'higher secondary' all the rows and columns are filled up with zero which implies that daughters of father with lower educational levels have been showing poor performance in SSLC examination.

Table.5.13  
Educational status of father and SSLC performance of daughter (Non-Migrant Households)

Daughters ↓ Fathers →	Failed	Third class	Second class	First class	Distinction	Total
Literate without school education	2	0	0	0	0	2 (4.3)
Lower primary	8	4	0	0	0	12 (26.1)
Upper primary	6	7	2	0	0	15 (32.6)
Secondary	0	0	1	4	0	5 (10.8)
Higher secondary	0	0	1	2	1	4 (8.6)
Degree holders	0	0	1	3	4	8 (17.4)
Total	16(34.7)	11(24)	5(10.8)	9(19.5)	5(10.8)	46 (100)

Source: Primary data

The statistics result also support this finding, for which chi square value is calculated as 57.29 which exceeds table value of 31.41 at 20 degrees of freedom and at 95 percent confidence interval. This finding is in line with the conclusion of Alan B.Krueger (2004) who establishes that financial constraints significantly impact on educational attainment. In sample, fathers with lower educational level are financially not sound.

Our hypothesis is that the performance of daughters is greatly influenced by their parents' income rather than their parents' education is thus verified since in sample the educated parents have higher incomes than non-educated parents or less educated parents.

#### 5.2.4. Educational status of Mother and SSLC performance of daughter

Among migrant households 11 respondents were failed candidates at the SSLC examination among whom 6 (54.5%) had mothers with educational level of lower primary and 5 (45.4%) with upper primary (table 5.14). The number of respondents who secured distinction was 8, of whom 4 had mothers with lower primary level of education, 3 whose mothers had upper primary education and one whose mother had secondary level of schooling. Four mothers had educational attainment of higher secondary, but



none of their daughters could achieve marks of 80 percent and above. Eleven respondents had obtained first class among whom 4 respondents' mothers had only educational attainment of below secondary and 5 had educational attainment of upper primary and 2 had studied up to the higher secondary level. There were no graduates among mothers in the migrant households. Out of 56 respondents, 21 (37 %) mothers had educational level of lower primary, 25 (45 %) had upper primary, six (11%) had the secondary and four (7 %) had higher secondary level of education. Like in the case of fathers, the educational levels of mothers of respondents had little influence on their daughters' educational performance.

Among the daughters whose mothers had educational level of lower primary, only six (28 percent) reported as failed in SSLC examination and the rest 15 (71 %) successfully completed their school education in which four (19 %) even secured distinction, another four respondents (19 %) secured first class, three (14%) got second class and only four placed in the third class. In the case of daughters of upper primary mothers, the proportion of failure was 24 percent and the proportion of success was 76 %. Among the daughters' of mothers with secondary education no one failed but three (50%) of them got only third class, two (33%) got second-class and one (16%) got distinction. In the case of daughters of mothers who had studied up to the higher secondary level, no one achieved distinction and no one failed; two secured first class and one second class and only one, third class.

Table 5.14

Educational status of mother and SSLC performance of daughter (Migrant Household)

Daughters ↓ Mothers →	Failed	Third class	Second class	First class	Distinction	Total
Lower primary	6	4	3	4	4	21(37.5)
Upper primary	5	8	4	5	3	25(44.6)
Secondary	0	3	2	0	1	6(10.7)
Higher secondary	0	1	1	2	0	4(7.2)
Total	11(19.6)	16(28.5)	10(17.8)	11(19.6)	8(14.2)	56

Source: Primary data

From the above-mentioned findings no correlation is observed between the mothers, educational status and daughters performance at the SSLC examination. At 12 degrees of freedom and at 95 percent confidence interval the chi square value is obtained as 9.79,

which is lower than the corresponding table value of 21.02. The educational status of mother and performance of daughter is therefore not related.

In the case of non-migrant households, out of 46 mothers, 4 percent were literate without school education, 37 percent had attained school education upto lower primary level, 37 percent had studied upto upper primary level, 11 percent had educational attainments of the secondary level, 4 percent had higher secondary level education and 6 percent were graduates (table 5.15). Regarding the performance of their daughters, 35 percent failed at the SSLC examination 24 percent got third class, 11 percent attained second class, 19 percent got first class and 11 percent secured distinction. The performance of respondents at the SSLC examination when compared with their mothers' educational status shows positive correlation. Mothers who are literate without school education have two daughters and both of them failed, while mothers who are degree holders have three daughters and three of them have got distinction in the SSLC examination.

Table.5.15  
Educational status of mother and SSLC performance of daughter (Non-Migrant Households)

Educational level Daughters ↓ Mothers →	Failed	Third class	Second class	First class	Distincti on	Total
Literate without school education	2	0	0	0	0	2(4.3)
Lower primary	12	2	2	1	0	17(36.9)
Upper primary	2	9	3	3	0	17(36.9)
Secondary	0	0	0	4	1	5(10.8)
Higher secondary	0	0	0	1	1	2(4.3)
Degree holders	0	0	0	0	3	3(6.5)
Total	16(34.7)	11(24)	5(10.8)	9(19.5)	5(10.8)	46(100)

Source: Primary data

Let us briefly examine the reasons for the contradictions observed in the educational attainment of respondents as between households of migrants and non-migrants.

The earning and educational status of parents has to have a strong influence upon the educational mobility of children according to the view that the educated parents provide better environment for their children. The externalities created through migration are, improvement in the economic status and social status of the household concerned and the society at large; the inflow of huge remittances to migrant households has increased their income status. The bye-product of migration, i.e. social remittances has enhanced the attitudes and views of not only the migrants and their households, but also non-migrants.

Migration has made it possible to send children to reputed schools (English medium) even if parents are poorly educated. They have themselves kept update on the world of affairs through television or other modern media sources.

#### **5.2.5. Educational status of father and tertiary education of daughter**

Out of 45 students who passed the SSLC examination, 6 respondents were not able to prosecute higher studies. The major reasons attributed for non-continuance of education during the interview were social pressures and marriages. Out of the balance 39 respondents, 5 joined professional degree courses and 15 went for general bachelor degree (arts/science) and 19 completed their education at the higher secondary education level among whom 12 respondents did not complete course. According to some mothers who justified the lower level of educational attainments of women by pointing out that if women go increasingly for higher levels of education, social pressures would increase upon them; it is therefore prudent on the part of parents to refrain from sending their daughters to education beyond a level. Among those who went for bachelor degree, five did not complete the course since all of them got married before their graduation; four respondents completed their course and 6 were continuing their studies.

The completion rate among girls who joined professional course revealed that they are studying deliberately for purposes other than getting marriage alliances; three completed their courses out of five and two were doing their courses. It implies that the girls are going for professional course have taken education seriously unlike those who join bachelor degree of arts/science courses, the majority of whom hope for good marriage alliances more than they aspire to secure the degree.

In the matter of educational status of their fathers 11 of the fathers had only primary education whose three daughters did not go for higher studies after school education; 4 had higher secondary education; 3 enrolled for bachelor degrees in arts/science and one joined the for professional degree course. Four fathers were degree holders and all of them sent their daughters to higher education; two sent their daughters for professional course; one enrolled his daughter for the bachelor degree in Arts and one sent his daughter for the studies only up to the higher secondary level, though he was himself a degree holder. This last case is typical of intergenerational downward educational mobility.

The chi square value was calculated as 17.32 against the table value of 21.02 at 12 degrees of freedom and 95 percent confidence interval; the relation between educational status of father and daughters going for post secondary school education is statistically not related since the table value is lower than calculated value. This finding coincides with the response obtained from the field survey; since the less educated migrant fathers eagerly want to give better education to their children irrespective of sex not only because of the high income status they attained through foreign earnings, but also the impact of social remittances, the by product of migration have been –playing a significant role in changing their orthodoxy attitude. And quite interestingly one father who was interviewed during survey expressed his contempt of those who stand against the imparting of higher education to women and compared them as ‘frogs in the well’.

Table 5.16

Educational status of father and tertiary education of daughter (Migrant Household)

Educational level Daughters ↓ Fathers →	Not went	Higher Secondary	Degree general	Degree Professional.	Total
Lower primary	3	4	3	1	11(24.4)
Upper primary	1	8	6	0	15(33.3)
Secondary	2	3	1	2	8(17.7)
Higher secondary	0	3	4	0	7(15.5)
Degree holders	0	1	1	2	4(8.8)
Total	6(13.3)	19(42.2)	15(33.3)	5(11.1)	45(100)

Source: Primary data

In the case of non-migrant households, 30 respondents had passed the SSLC examination; out of them 6 could not go for post-secondary school education. The reasons were those mentioned above, but the financial constraint was a major obstacle for non-migrants to send their daughters to further education unlike in the case of non-migrants. Out of the 24 respondents who went for post-secondary school education, 11 studied up to the higher secondary levels, 8 joined the bachelor degree (general) courses and three were enrolled in professional courses and two joined post graduate courses. It may be noted among the migrant households nobody had joined post-graduate courses.

Regarding respondents’ fathers four had education only up to the lower primary level. Three of them did not send their daughters to post secondary school education and the father who sent his daughter to higher education put a stop to her educational career by the higher secondary level. Eight fathers were degree holders and all of them enrolled their daughters in undergraduate courses including professional courses.

Table 5.17  
Educational status of father and tertiary education of daughter (Non Migrant Households)

Educational level Daughters ↓ Fathers →	Not went	Higher Sec	Degree general	Degree. Professional.	Post Graduation.	Total
Lower primary	3	1	0	0	0	4(13.3)
Upper primary	3	6	0	0	0	9(30)
Secondary	0	1	4	0	0	5(16.6)
Higher secondary	0	3	0	1	0	4(13.3)
Degree holders	0	0	4	2	2	8(26.6)
Total	6(20)	11(36.6)	8(26.6)	3(10)	2(6.6)	30(100)

Source: Primary data

Chi square value was found to be 39.08 against the table value of 26.01 at 16 degrees of freedom and 95 percent confidence interval; the relation between fathers' educational status and daughters' educational status was strong in non-migrant households.

### 5.2.6. Educational status of mother and tertiary education of daughter

In migrant household only from the post secondary school level of education did the educational status of the mother affected their daughters' educational attainments it came out from the survey that the poorly educated mothers were scared of social pressures and some were blaming their husbands for supporting the educational careers of their daughters .In their own words, "they (fathers) can tell anything since they are not living here and do not know the trends going on in the marriage market here. They are comparing the girls of here with those of other countries....". Fifteen mothers had only education up to the lower primary level, among whom four did not send their daughters for higher education; only five sent their daughters for graduation.

Table 5.18  
Educational status of mother and tertiary education of daughter (Migrant Household)

Educational level Daughters ↓ Mothers →	Not went	Higher Sec	Degree general	Degree Professional	Total
Lower primary	4	6	5	0	15(33.3)
Upper primary	2	11	4	3	20(44.4)
Secondary	0	1	5	0	6(13.3)
Higher secondary	0	1	1	2	4(8.8)
Total	6(13.3)	19(42.2)	15(33.3)	5(11.1)	45(100)

Source: Primary data

The data show that as the educational status of mothers improves the proportion of daughters going to higher education also increase. It implies the direct relation between the educational status of mothers and educational attainment of their daughters. Statistically the proposition is verified as the chi square value is calculated as 19.57, which is greater than the table value of 16.91 at 9 degrees of freedom and 95 percent confidence interval.

In non-migrant households also the educational status of mothers and higher levels of education of daughters are positively related. The facts emerging from the foregoing analysis are the following, there has taken place considerable educational mobility among Muslim women. In migrant household the educational status of parents and the educational performance of their daughters are not highly related; the daughters of poor educated parents have secured high marks in the SSLC examination. In non-migrant households only the daughters of the highly educated parents have been performing well.

Table 5.19  
Educational status of mother and tertiary education of daughter (Non-Migrant Household)

Educational level Daughters ↓ Mothers →	Not went	Higher Sec	Degree general	Degree Profession al	Post gradua tion.	Total
Lower primary	2	2	1	0	0	5(16.6)
Upper primary	4	8	3	0	0	15(50)
Secondary	0	1	3	0	1	5(16.6)
Higher secondary	0	0	1	0	1	2(6.6)
Degree holders	0	0	0	3	0	3(10)
Total	6(20)	11(36.6)	8(26.6)	3(10)	2(6.6)	30(100)

Source: Primary data

During the survey it was realised that all the respondents who scored high marks in the examination had either tuition facilities or had enrolled themselves in reputed schools or had better family environment. So all the migrant households were able to give educational facilities to their girl children while only the educated and economically better-off parents among the non-migrant parents were able to do so. It was not merely due to boom in their income as a result of remittance but rather the indirect and long-term effects of migration has been playing a crucial role in the attitudinal change of the people. The indirect and long-term effects of migration may be called as 'social remittance'. Social remittances are distinct from remittance as such. Social remittances are the ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving to

sending-country communities (Levitt, 1996). Immigrants have been bringing some values and practices, which transform their lives.

In Malappuram the migration transmitted values and attitudes pertain primarily to those on the mobility of women. When husbands are away from home women have to manage their households, a responsibility which used to do with the hands of husbands before their migration; thus women compelled to become mobile. The media, which influenced the mobility of women, was television through which they came to know the goings-on in the rest of the world, since no poor educated mother seems to read newspapers. As per the Kerala migration study about 55 percent of the migrants in Malappuram possessed television in their home.

Interestingly, the educational status of mother and the educational status of their daughters are found to be mutually dependent in both migrant and non-migrant households. For mothers the consideration of marriage proposal has been acting as a hindrance to send their daughters to higher education. In this regard, even well-educated mothers had not showed a different type of response. Another interesting observation is that, the migrant fathers (irrespective of their educational qualification) are interested in giving higher education to their girl children, unlike non-migrant fathers. All this indicates that even though peoples' attitude have changed significantly, the social rigidity and religious orthodoxy existing in the community has been playing a deleterious, but significant role in promoting the educational mobility of women.

### **Representation of typical women in Malappuram district.**

One of the case studies, which the researcher has undertaken, resembles the revolutionary film '*Padam Onnu Oru Vilaapam*', which was about a girl who earnestly wanted to study but could not achieve her dreams, because of religious orthodoxy and social taboos and rigidities. In the case study, the head of the household was a migrant and he had 5 children. The eldest one was a girl and she was a post-graduate. She got married when she was studying at the plus-two stage; she couldn't manage to live with her husband and his family since in her own words that they were too orthodox and the husband only needed the dowry she brought. She was not ready to bear with those people and got divorced within two weeks after the marriage even in the midst of severe opposition from her own relatives and neighbors because according to them all girls in

the region has been experiencing similar travails all the time and they should bear such travails with fortitude.

During the interview we came across the migrant's wife who had only primary level education and she was not interested in giving education to girl children because still she thinks that this education has spoiled her elder daughter's life. She was in favour of giving education to girls only up to the time of their marriage. She was quite impressed with her second daughter because she is living with her husband and she had got married when she was studying at the plus two stages. According to her it does not matter that whether she is happy or not but she is living with her husband and children which is the ultimate aim of all women's lives in the world.

Further in her childhood days she herself had got only primary education and only that much education was needed for a woman to look after her family. When she was asked about her attitude towards education of male children she told that it is essential to give them higher education and that only then they would get better jobs in Gulf countries. She did not want her male children to be employed in Kerala.

As against his wife's wish the migrant father is interested in giving education to children irrespective of their sex differences. All other members of the family except the migrant's wife favoured the proposition of giving higher education to girl children. At the same time, females in the household complained in general that there exists high degrees of discrimination against girls and sending male children are sent reputed school and huge educational costs.

This is the typical story of the households in Malappuram district. This researcher is of the view of that the reason behind the mothers attitude outlined above her fear of the social taboos that prevailed in the region and that the norms of behavior of women that it cherishes. Interestingly the ongoing generation is in the throes of a struggle for a radical change.



**CHAPTER 6**  
**SUMMARY AND FINDINGS**

## Chapter 6

### Summary and Findings

#### Introduction

Following the oil price hike in OPEC countries in the Middle East in October 1973, and consequent economic growth necessitated the employment large number of labourers in construction and related works. For the additional labour required they turned to more distant, non-Arab countries such as India. Among the various states, which sent emigrants for work in Arab countries, Kerala holds a unique position mainly in terms of its relative share (*Nair 1986, Prakash 1998, Zacharia 2003*).

International labour migration of Kerala has had several salutary effects on the household concerned. One of the basic improvements has been in the field of education. The place of origin of migrants from Kerala is the Malappuram-Thrissur area and the educationally backward Muslims served as the backbone of emigration (*Zachariah and Rajan, 1999*). In Malappuram through extensive scale of migration to the Middle East people have acquired income, widened their perspectives on life and its travails, increased their degree of socio-economic, cultural and political mobility.

The upward mobility on the educational front taking place among Muslim women in the study area is found to be highly significant and the most important causal factor for the change has been the going on emigration and its repercussions in the community. The Malappuram seems to call into question the general contention that it is the educational status of the parents that shape the educational fortunes of their children.

In Malabar up to the mid 70s the Orthodox Sunni Mullahs and Ulemas (the religious leaders) had not favour the modern secular education and the majority comes illiterate and less educated mass blindly believed and followed these orthodox religious leaders who favoured only Madrassa education. But after mid 70s by the reform movements of *Mujahid* and *Jamat-E-Islami* the situation began to change even though they had started their reform movements since independence. But even these reform movements also restricted within some religious barriers by strengthening the perspective that the appropriate work for women limited to some profession like teachers and doctors and they were asked to wear hijab which is not allowed in many diversified professions. Hence the Muslim women further hampered in this respect and their mobility confined to

a tiny circle. However the process of migration which began in a big way since 1975; began to demonstrate its effect quite positively since the late 1970s, particularly in the field of women's education.

The present study endeavors to analyse and compare educational mobility of the female population coming from migrant and non-migrant households and also to understand the level and nature of women's educational attainment in the district between 1981 to 2001.

The study has used both primary and secondary data for the analysis. The secondary data primarily used for analyzing the educational attainment of women in the district since 1980 and also to get information on the growth of educational institutions especially schools. For secondary data we depended on the census data, data from Directorate of Public Instruction and Kerala Migration data, which conducted in two different periods. The characteristics of migrant from Malappuram were examined by comparing them with the migrants of other four districts using the two classes of survival migrant and mobility migrant. Since the secondary data give only the macro level picture of the educational development of women in the district and the migration trends in the district, we relied upon the primary data for analyzing the educational mobility of women. For field study 102 households were selected from three wards of Thirurangadi Panchayat in which 56 were migrant households and 46 were non-migrant households. The age cohort taken in to analysis was women of 20 and above years. Informations on attitudinal changes of parents were obtained through an interview schedule. Contingency table were used for tabulation and Chi Square were applied to find out the nature of relationship between parents and daughter

## **Findings**

1. Migrants of Malappuram found to be less educated and economically backward compared to migrants in other districts. The educational and the social backwardness of the district has been reflecting in the characteristics of Migrants from Malappuram. The proportion of survival migrants has been higher in Malappuram than in any other districts. Although it cannot be argued that it is due to the predominance of Muslim population, since Thiruvananthapuram district comes in second position in terms of proportion of survival migrants where Muslim population is very less. However the Kozhikode comes in third position in terms of survival migrants where more

than half of migrant population belongs to Muslims. While in Ernakulam district where the proportion of migrants to the total population is comparatively low, the majority of those who are going abroad are well-educated and skilled labourers or 'mobility migrants'. This may have happened through the network that the migrants created in gulf countries and so there has been trend that people from a particular locality or particular community migrate to same destination place.

2. There has been phenomenal growth of private schools especially unaided schools in Malappuram. As all other districts registered a negative growth rate since 1970 only Malappuram have recorded a positive rate of growth in terms of number of schools. Up to 1980 there were no unaided school in the district and Malappuram was the only district without an unaided school. In 2000 the total number of unaided schools in the district was counted as 52. It is to be noted that the migration to gulf countries actively started since 1973 and its repercussion actively started in the economy since 1980. The Proprietorship of unaided high schools reveals that 14 schools out of 81 schools were completely owned by migrants and 64 schools were supported by the migrants which means that there was at least one migrant in their management body. There were only three schools with complete absence of migrants. Remittances have been found to have acted as the source for migrants to invest in educational sector since all the unaided schools are either owned or supported by migrants
3. At lower educational levels (primary education) the proportion of women has improved quite impressively and also that the proportion of women having school education increased drastically over the period. At the same time the proportion of women at higher education levels lag far behind that of men; the difference is larger if we compare this to state average
4. It was found that in migrant households, women are significantly mobile between generations irrespective of their parents' educational status while in non-migrant households, parents' education matter their daughters' educational mobility. The similar result obtained in the case of performance of daughter in the SSLC examination. For instance the daughters of poor educated parents in migrant household have secured high marks in the examination. The reasons for

the better performance of migrant children compared to non-migrant children founded out as the respondent who scored high marks in the examination had either tuition facilities, or had enrolled themselves in better schools or had better family environment. So all the migrant were able to provide educational facilities to their girl children while only the economically better-off parents among the non-migrants were able to do so. As we move on to the higher educational attainment of respondents, it was an interesting finding that the less educated migrant fathers eagerly want to give better education to their children irrespective of sex, not only because of high income status that they themselves have attained through foreign earnings, but also because of the impact of 'social remittances', the bye-product of migration. But in no-migrant household the relation between fathers' educational status and daughters' educational attainment was strongly interrelated. However the educational status of mothers in both households are positively related to the educational attainment of their daughters. For them the consideration of marriage prospects has been acting as an hindrance to send their daughters to higher education. In this regard, even well educated mothers had not showed a different response. This indicates that even though peoples' attitudes have changed significantly, the social rigidity and the religious orthodoxy existing in the community has been playing a deleterious role in promoting the mobility of women.

The researcher herself experienced the force of orthodoxy reigning supremacy in the community. During her field survey, she was asked to put on Islamic dress (eg.hijab) to study about Muslim women while she approached the school manager in the Farook English Medium School Kottakkal who is a well-known activist of Muslim educational development.

However in Malappuram, the positive externalities created through the process of emigration to Middle East like, improvement in 'household income', 'general awareness' and consequently better 'family environment' have acted as the triggering factor for upward educational mobility of the present generation.

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## Appendix

<b>GULF MIGRATION AND THE EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN MALAPPURAM DISTRICT</b>
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### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FIELD SURVEY

#### I. Identification

Taluk:	Panchayath:	Ward No:	House No:
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#### II. General characteristics of household

05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15
S.L No.	Name	Age	Sex	Marital status	Relationsh p to the migrant	Educational status	Occupation al status	Place of work	Type of job	Salary/ Income

**Coding:**

Question No: 08

- 1- Male
- 2 - Female

Question No: 09

- 1 – Unmarried
- 2 - Married
- 3 - Widow/Widower
- 4 – Divorced
- 5– Separated

Question No.11

- 1. Illiterate
- 2. Literate without school education
- 3. Primary
- 4. Upper primary
- 5. Lower secondary
- 6. Secondary
- 7. higher secondary (PDC)
- 8. Degree
- 9. Technical
- 10. Post graduation

Question No. 14

- 1. Government
- 2. Private

#### III. Intergenerational Educational Mobility

Table III. (a)

16	17	18	19						
			19.1 School			19.2 College			
			Type (a)	Location (b)	Medium (c)	Type (a)	Location (b)	Medium (c)	
Generation	Age (If not alive age at death)	Highest education attained							
Grand Father									
Grand Mother									
Father									
Mother									

**Coding**

Question No.19

- (a) 1 – Government
- 2 – Private

- (b) 1 – Rural
- 2 – Urban

- (c) 1 - Malayalam
- 2 - English

If no education, reason?

Table III. (b)

Stage (20)	Location (21)	Medium (22)	Type of school (23)	Hosteller/ Day scholar (24)	Year (25)	Whether studies discontinued (26)		Subjects taken from degree onwards (27)	Fathers occupational status at each stage (migrated or not) (28)	Mothers occupational status (29)
						No. of times	Reasons			
Below primary										
Primary										
Upper primary										
Secondary										
Higher secondary										
Degree general										
Degree professional										
Post Graduation										

**Coding:**

Q.No. 24

1 - Hosteller

2 - Day scholar

**IV. Intergenerational Migration Mobility**

Table IV. (a)

Generation (30)	Beginning work status (before migration) (31)	Year of migration (32)	Place of First migration (33)	No. times migrated to gulf countries (34)	Current work status (35)
Grand Father					
Grand Mother					
Father					
Mother					

Table IV. (b)

Occupation (36)	Type of job (37)	Age (38)	Place where worked (39)	Year of joining (40)	Monthly Income (41)

## V. Attitudinal Questions:

- 1.What is the general attitude of your family members towards girl's education?
- 2.Doyou think girls are discriminating against boys in matter of giving education? If yes specify reasons.
- 3.If you are educated who are most interested to get you educated? Why?
- 4.How far Gulf migration has helped you get educated? (Financial, Attitudinal change)
- 5.In your view what stand as the main hindrance for girls to be educated if the problem still exists in the community?
- 6.Do you think that in marriage market demands are mostly for educated women? If no/yes, why?
- 7.How the religious community of your locality looks the female education?
- 8.What about your grand parents attitude getting you educated?
- 9.Gulf migration and the resultant remittance is the major factor for the attitudinal change. What do you think?

