Case 1: A story of a woman who says that education has given her high status and respect in society.

Nahid (37), smart and active, mother of three school going daughters who lives in a joint family has done B.Pharmacy and works as a regional manager in Hindustan Antibiotics. She draws a handsome salary of Rs 40,000 per month and seems to be very much satisfied with her life. Her Husband, a post graduate in agriculture is working as a grading officer in agriculture department with a monthly income of Rs. 30,000. Nahid’s father who was a graduate, had business of exporting carpets while her mother who had studied up to the 10th class is a housewife.

Nahid opines that a girl should acquire as much education as she can. The main objective of education according to her is to gain knowledge but she says that there are other benefits of education as well. Besides gaining knowledge her formal education has contributed in various ways in her present life; it had helped her in getting a job, a good match, keeps her tuned to the new developments that are unfolding virtually every day, enjoys high status, economic independence and respect in the society. Nahid who herself has not read in co-education, approves co-education. She says, “when you complete schooling you have to study in co-education at the university level. They can’t arrange separate classes for boys and girls, so why not start at the early stage”. She opines that in today’s expensive era it is very important that one should limit the number of children in order to provide them all the opportunities in life. With regard to the decision making she says even the smallest decision is taken jointly with her husband after proper discussion. She exercises control over her earnings, has an independent saving account and owns her own car. Nahid got married at the age of 24 and thinks that the ideal age for marriage of girls is 25. She had an arranged marriage with her consent. Since the families were known to each other so dowry was not an important factor in setting her marriage but she has not received mehr in her marriage. When asked whether she will give dowry in the marriage of her daughters, she replies that education is the best dowry that she will give to her daughters but she says whatever she has ultimately belongs to them.

Nahid who took up the job to make her own identity, says her job demands of and on tours and her husband shows favourable attitude to her work. At her work place she gets a lot of respect and is treated very well by her colleagues. She does not
observe purdha as she says, “It is not necessary that a person wears a burqa. Purdha depends on your behaviour and the way you carry yourself”. She has not received her share in parental property nor does she need it. When asked about domestic violence she says minor disputes are very normal in every household particularly when it is a joint family because joint family imposes certain emotional and physical burdens on the daughter-in-law.

Nahid is of the opinion that working women are active, aware of the daily happenings while as non-working women are lethargic and spend their time in gossips. She accepts that working women cannot give much time to their kids but this period is short lived according to her, because she says, as the kids start going to school then there is no problem. She rarely enjoys any leisure time but takes out time to read newspaper, magazines and on holidays goes for a long drive in her car. She believes that education and economic independence gives women a high status in society. She wanted to be successful in life and she thinks her aim has been fulfilled, and is quite satisfied with her life.

Case 2: Story of a determined woman who did not give up her passion for education even after motherhood.

Shaheen (44, Ph.D) works in Education Department as a District Co-ordinator with a monthly income of Rs. 25,000. Her husband, who is M.com, is a branch manager in bank drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 40,000. Her Father is a retired SSP and mother a retired teacher. Shaheen has three children, elder son studying engineering, another one in 10th class and a daughter in 5th class. Shaheen is of the opinion that there should be no bar to girls’ education; they should acquire as much knowledge as they can. More the knowledge better is the understanding of things and better they can manage their households and other issues because it’s the woman who makes house a home. She has not read in co-education but approves co-education. She says that co-education should be from the very beginning or not at all. e.g., she says, “my son studies in boys school but at tuition centres there is co-education and he says that if he wants to discuss something with his teacher he cannot because he feels shy in the presence of girls. Had he been studying in co-education he would not face this problem”.
Shaheen herself takes the decisions regarding the education of her children because she says that her husband has full confidence on her. Further she says that when it will come to other decisions like their marriage etc. both will decide that. While the matters concerning family budget or other financial matters are looked after entirely by her husband because she says spending money is also a big responsibility and she has kept herself free from that. That is why she gives her salary to her husband out of her own will and whenever she needs the money, whatever the amount may be she easily gets the amount (often more than required) from her husband.

Shaheen lives in a nuclear family and is of the opinion that a couple should decide their number of children according to their income. She got married at the age of 22, had an arranged marriage and has not received mehr from her husband. She says there is no need for the payment of mehr since all her requirements are fulfilled by her husband. About her marriage she says that her husband had seen her in a marriage party and he sent a proposal at her home. Initially she rejected because she was in the final year of graduation and wanted to study further. They insisted and finally she agreed on the condition that she would continue her studies. Shaheen says, “It is often said that life changes after marriage because a woman has to face the discontent of her in-laws in any manner possible. But I found my in-laws and especially my husband very supportive”. Describing her husband as caring and understanding, she says that he would look after each and every need of her and took keen interest in her studies. Recalling those days she says, “I had prepared a timetable and used to follow that strictly. When my children would leave for the school I used to enter my study room and would come out when they were about to come back from their school. Then I used to lock that room so that my children do not mess up my studying material”. She gives the credit of her success to her husband who accompanied her to the libraries outside the state like, Patna, Chandigarh etc. to collect the literature for her thesis. Shaheen completed her Ph.D in four years and her viva was held in 2008. She says, “This way with the help of my husband I managed my home, did my M.A, B.Ed and even Ph.D after motherhood. The passion for gaining knowledge and the support of my husband kept me going”.

While discussing dowry she says that it should not be demanded. She says, “When a bride departs from her natal home she is given some gifts by her parents out
of love and affection which may vary according to the socio-economic conditions of the parents. In my daughter’s marriage I will give what I can afford but that should not become an obligation for others”. When asked about her share in the parental property she says that she does not need that. For purdha, she says, “it is a very good thing and not a hindrance. purdha does not mean that you shouldn’t complete your education and do other good things”. She wears abaya because she feels good in it. In her leisure time Shaheen enjoys reading books related to her subject.

**Case 3: A case depicting how economic independence of a woman resulted in physical violence against her.**

Fatima (46, B.Sc.) working in the government sector with a salary of Rs. 30,000, has a son and a daughter. Her husband (M.A) is also a government employee having a monthly income of Rs. 40,000. Her father was a contractor and mother a housewife. Education according to Fatima gives self-confidence and is used as a tool to face any eventuality in life. She says a woman’s lack of education certainly has an adverse affect on her family, most importantly on her children. Fatima who has not read in coeducation is not in favour of coeducation because she says in the presence of opposite sex attention is diverted and thus the education suffers. She says due to the high cost of living both husband and wife are working nowadays and it is very important to limit the number of children under these conditions. About the decision making she says her husband has the upper hand in that.

Fatima has an arranged marriage with her consent and has not received mehr from her husband. While discussing dowry she says it has become a necessary evil in our society. In her marriage she had brought dowry but for her daughter she wishes to have such family who are against dowry practice otherwise she is bound to follow the trend. According to Fatima girls should get married after completing their education because it is an investment in their future. They may not take up a job but they must be well-equipped and trained to be economically independent and self-reliant. Fatima has not got her share in the parental property because says that she is quite well of and does not require the share. She does not wear a burqa but covers her head with a head-scarf as mostly Muslim women in Kashmir do. She says, “purdha doesn’t have to necessarily be a gown, it can be just something to wear on top that will hide the figure”.
Fatima narrates how woman's boldness is most often mistaken for arrogance and results in domestic violence against her. Fatima recalls that when she got married initially things were normal but slowly and gradually she was ill-treated by her in-laws. They used to put false blames on her and complain to her husband who in turn used to beat her without listening to her. This resulted in family disharmony and constant threats of divorce were given to her. She was even banned to visit her natal house. Then one day she came to know that the problem was because of her control over her earning. She was warned either to leave the job or that she should handover her salary to her husband. However she refused and in the meantime gave birth to her first child. Again she was constantly warned to leave job this time for the sake of her baby but she used to carry her baby to her workplace where she had arranged a maid to look after him as her in-laws were not ready to keep the baby during the day. Her second child was brought up by Fatima’s parents. As her second child started going to school then she brought her home. Meanwhile the torture continued but she never gave up.

Initially she used to speak about her experiences of domestic violence to her parents but latter find it difficult to do so because her parents held themselves guilty for their daughter’s condition. As her children started growing they also understood the agony of their mother. Although she admires her children for being understanding and much mature than their age, but she could feel how depressed and weak they felt at times. In fact whole family was silently suffering psychologically. Then one day when she again became the victim in the hands of her husband, this time the ice was broken, and her children revolted against their father and saved their mother from his clutches. From that day she was never again beaten by her husband. Although there are some minor disputes but not the physical violence. Life is smooth for her at the moment, but the pain and the agony she has gone through haunts her and her children at every moment of seclusion.

Fatima says that the role of a wife is that of a peacemaker, acts of domestic violence perpetrated by men rarely attract community criticism and are instead interpreted as the failure of the wife. Besides separated and divorced women often carry blame within the community therefore, reconciliation is the preferred outcome of any domestic dispute. She says that the women’s increasing economic
independence is viewed as a threat to male dominancy which leads to domestic violence. It stems from cultural bias against women. Fatima’s only wish is that she wants her daughter to be economically independent and married to such man who will respect her.

**Case 4: Which shows that educated and affluent people set the norms for poor.**

Shabnam (48, housewife), who belongs to a middle class family could not study due to the death of her father and was married at the age of 21 to a petty business man whose monthly income is Rs.4000. Shabnam has a son and a daughter. Her son who discontinued his studies after 12th class is working in a private sector while her daughter who is a science graduate is working in a private school. Education according to Shabnam is very important in this modern world and education of women she says is even more important because it can be used as a tool at the time of crisis in terms of widowhood, desertion and also on account of the high cost of living. Besides she says only enlightened women can bring up a generation of enlightened citizens. On the number of children she says, “Poor people like us cannot afford to have too many children in today’s expensive era”. She lives in a nuclear family and the decisions in her family are taken jointly with her husband.

In the initial years of her marriage she has been the victim of domestic violence but at that time she used to live in joint family. When she was asked about her response to the domestic violence she says she used to bore silently all the humiliation because it’s the story of every household, a daughter-in-law never becomes the daughter of her in-laws. She has to face the discontent of her in-laws no matter how much generosity and goodwill she has. Shabnam has maintained a kitchen garden and spends her spare time working in that garden. She does not wear burqa and simply covers her head with the dupatta.

While discussing the age at marriage she opines that the ideal age for marriage of girls is 25. She had an arranged marriage (without her consultation) and has not received mehr from her husband. About her share in the parental property she says that her father did not have much property so she did not demand. Besides her brothers had spent much in her marriage and so she believes it is compensated. In her marriage she was not given dowry as her brothers could not afford it besides at that time she
says there was simplicity at that time but now the time has changed and she seems to be very much worried for her daughter’s marriage. She says the practice and rituals of marriage have changed and the huge amount of money needed in a traditional Kashmiri marriage has turned it into a burden. Shabnam says, “An average person spends Rs. 10 lakh in a marriage; almost a decade rolls by till the money is gathered. Besides dowry, pomp and show and the traditional wazwan (local multi-cuisine feast) has become so expensive and unaffordable for many people”. She holds the so called educated and affluent people mainly responsible for the dowry and ostentatious marriages prevalent in the society. Such people according to her set the norm for those at the lower level of socio-economic pyramid. In order to meet the demands, poor people are forced to take loan and this leads to indebtedness.

Case 5: Illustrates that educated women give equal treatment to their sons and daughters.

Mehmooda (46, B.A, B.Ed) is a teacher and is married to an engineer. Her father who had studied up to 10th class is a retired government employee while her mother is a housewife. Mehmooda has a daughter and a son. Her daughter is doing MBBS and the son is studying engineering. Education according to her is the right of a child and it is the duty of parents to give good education to their children. She believes that both son and daughter are equal and equality should be maintained at every level. She says both of her children are equal and she has never discriminated between them. In fact she says her daughter is more pampered than her son. Whatever demand she puts, it has to be fulfilled. Mehmooda views education as equally important for boys and girls. About the education of women she says “women’s education is not only to earn money, a woman has to be smart; she must have knowledge because she is the key to guide everything at home and it is possible only when she is educated”. Besides she adds that women plays the dual role of caretaker and educator for her children particularly during their early formative years and their personal development is the reflection of the norms and values that a mother instils in her children.

Mehmooda lives in a nuclear family and is of the opinion that small family has become a norm due to the high cost of living. She says that proper upbringing of children is more important than having more children. She got married at the age of
23, and did not received mehr in her marriage. She opines that girls should be married after 25. She had an arranged marriage (with her consent) and for her daughter says that if her daughter selects her husband she would approve under the conditions which are acceptable to her. While discussing dowry she says, “It is viewed as a traditional social practice and people follow it. In my marriage there were some clothes, some household items and some gifts for my in laws but now the times have changed and the higher education of the bride and her earning capacity hardly ever neutralize the dowry demand”. She says paradoxically, modernization has increased the desirability of modern gadgets, and the traditional dowry has been replaced by the modern dowry like, fridge, microwave, LCD, vacuum cleaner, computers etc.

Mehmooda herself takes the decisions on purchases for daily household needs, while decisions on making large household purchases, children’s career and marriage are taken jointly with her husband. She took the job to make her identity, has an independent account and also exercises control over her earning. Her husband shows favourable attitude to her work and also shares the domestic work. Like most of the Muslim women in Kashmir she covers her hair with dupatta and does not wear burqa because she says what is more important is how you behave, how responsibly you conduct yourself rather than just an outward garment. When asked about her share in the parental property she says that almighty has bestowed her everything and she does not need any share. However for her daughter she says that she will definitely give her share in the property. Mehmooda spends her leisure time in gardening. About domestic violence she says, some minor disputes are quite common in every household but the severe cases of domestic violence have become less common with change in the status of women. She says gone are the days when a woman’s roles were confined to the traditional feminine roles as mother and wife. This ideology internalized by girls and women as a matter of fact is being challenged by the modern women. A woman today is much empowered as she aspires for higher education, wants to acquire economic independence, and has the freedom and autonomy in case of marriage. Thus women today are on par with men in almost all respects.
Case 6: Depicts higher education leads to late marriages.

Abida (54, B.A) works in the government sector having monthly income of Rs.25000 per month and her husband (M.Sc.) who is also a government employee draws a salary of Rs.40000 per month. Her father was a businessman and mother a housewife. Abida has a son and a daughter. Her son is an MBA and works in private sector in Delhi while her daughter who is a Ph.D and a lecturer got married last year. Education according to Abida is a basic necessity of life in todays modern world and without education it’s not possible to keep pace with this fast moving world. She is not in favour of co-education because she says that it has both religious and socio-cultural inhibition. Abida lives in a nuclear family and is in favour of limiting the size of family. The decisions of routine household affairs are taken by her while the decisions regarding children’s career and marriage are taken jointly with her husband keeping in consideration the interest of their children.

Abida took up the job to achieve better standard and her husband shows favourable attitude towards her job. She says whenever required her husband helps her in domestic work. She has an independent bank account and also has control over her earning. She does not wear a burqa but covers her head with dupata. According to her, “the purpose of purdah is that a woman should not reveal the contours of her body and if the purpose is fulfilled by simple kurta salwar and dupata then why need burqa”? She got married at the age of 21 and has received mehr from her husband. On the age of marriage for girls she opines that they should get married after graduation and can continue their education after marriage because she believes that high educational qualification is a hurdle for getting a perfect match as highly qualified girls expect suitable groom for them who are less in number and the result is late marriage. She shares her experience of how difficult it was to get a suitable match for her highly qualified daughter. Both Abida and her daughter had arranged marriages but she approves choice marriages. She says, “Women of today have definite ideas about the qualities of the spouse they wish to have and there is no harm if they select their husbands. At least their parents don’t have to face the hardships of matchmaking”.

While discussing dowry she says, when a bride departs from her parental home leaving behind all her sweet memories to join a new family she is given some
gifts by her parents and relatives but now this gift giving has become more complex. People have made it cumbersome practice by exhibiting their wealth. In her daughters marriage she has given dowry in cash as well as kind and higher education and economic independence of a woman according to her does not seems to have influenced the practice of dowry. Abida who has received the share in her parental property is of the opinion that people spend so lavishly on the marriage of daughters, give them huge dowry and on account of these expenditure women often forgo their property rights.

**Case 7: Depicts education as a desirable attribute in developing cordial relations in a family.**

Shazia (36, M.Sc.) is a lecturer with a monthly income of Rs.30,000 per month while her husband is a doctor. Her father is a retired lecturer while her mother was a government employee. Shazia has a seven year old son and a three year old daughter. She emphasizes the value of education as a desirable attribute in resulting change in the status of women in family and society. Education according to her is associated with good manners. It improves our mentality, manners, outlook and we learn to distinguish between right and wrong. She says that it is her education that has helped her developing cordial family relations with her in-laws and more importantly with her husband. Education according to her enables women to perform their varied roles as mother, wife, and daughter-in-law in a better way. Describing her husband as helping she says, “we have different roles, but they are of equal value and they can be exchanged. We both contribute to feed the family so we share the responsibilities with each other. One has to find reasonable solutions that make life easier”.

Shazia got married at the age of 28 and according to her girls should get married between 25-30 years. She met her husband through mutual friends and decided to marry after getting to know each other with the consent of their parents. While discussing the dowry she says, that this practice is so deep rooted in our society that it is very difficult to do away with this. Even if some people say they do not want dowry but in the heart of heart they actually expect gifts from their daughter-in-law. Citing an example she says, “recently an engineer hailing from an affluent family tied the nuptial knot with the daughter of a renown businessman opting for a simple nikah
ceremony because he was against the dowry practice and ostentatious marriages. Now you tell me if he really expected nothing from his in-laws he must have married one of the poor girls whose marriages are withheld due to their inability to pay the dowry. Apparently he showed his disregard for the myriad of evils that have crept into our marriage system but in reality he was contended that his wife will get a good share from her parental property”.

Since shazia lives in a joint family the decisions are taken by the whole family together and the best thing is that she is also consulted in decision-making. She is of the opinion that in order to give better life to our children it is very important to limit the size of our family. Shazia has received mehr in her marriage and she has also got her share in the parental property. She is of the opinion that the most effective method for change in the status of Muslim women is through their education and employment.

**Case 8: Portrays a case of psychological violence.**

Rabiya (34, M.A, B.Ed) is working as a teacher in Education Department and draws a salary of Rs.20,000 per month. Her father is a retired government employee and mother a housewife. Her husband who is also a postgraduate works in the government sector with a monthly income of Rs.30,000. Rabiya has a son and a daughter. The objective of education according to her is to get better understanding of things and it makes an individual less dependent. For girls education she says, “personally I see both boys and girls equal in all respects and education is no exception to it. We must value girl’s education as much as we value those of boys. There are cases, where you find a woman with high reasoning capacity and really she has superior experience of a man, although such cases are rare but they are there”.

Rabiya lives in a joint family and the decisions are taken by her husband and in-laws but the decisions of her children are taken jointly with her husband. About the number of children she says, if we want to give all the facilities to our children then it is very important to limit their number. She got married at the age of 25 and had received mehr from her husband. She had an arranged marriage with her consent. Even though she is against dowry practice even then she had to bring gifts for her in-laws in the form of gold and clothes which according to her has become a deep-rooted
tradition in Kashmir and those who don’t follow it are often looked down upon in the society.

Rabiya who is a victim of psychological violence says, “it is as searing as physical violence. Such cases are usually swept under carpet because they have become so common that they do not shock us anymore”. She says woman in an abusive relationship remains silent about their suffering out of fear for family dishonour. She prefers to talk to her friends and relatives instead of filing complaint against the perpetrators. She says, regardless of a woman’s position in society when it comes to the violence she experiences within the four walls of her home, she is reduced to a victim. She says, “initially I used to revolt and tried to sort out but they used to start it all over again. Once I went to my parents’ home then it took couple of months to solve the matter. Now I usually don’t fight back, not because I am weak but I have to think about the honour of my family”. Rabiya rarely enjoys any leisure time and likes to watch TV when she finds time.

Case 9: Describes how educated women exercise control over their marriage.

Tasleema (41, B.Sc.) and her husband (M.Com), both work in bank. Her father is a businessman and mother a housewife. Education according to her is a key to change and development. It is also insurance or a stand-by investment for future and women’s education according to her is as important as those of men because in today’s world both are equal no one is superior or inferior. Tasleema has two daughters and is of the opinion that two children are enough be that son or daughter. She lives in a joint family and in the decision making her father-in-law has an upper hand while the decisions regarding her children are taken jointly with her husband. She got married at the age of 27 and had received mehr from her husband. An ideal age of marriage for girls according to her is between 25-30 years. Tasleema had love marriage and about her marriage she says: “we were working in the same bank. He liked me, found me polite. So he proposed, our families also agreed and the marriage was formally arranged”. She is against dowry practice and says, “since we were known to each other I told my husband categorically that I will not bring dowry in the marriage except those gifts which a bride has to bring for her in-laws and he agreed. Though an individual cannot change the system, yet I changed myself and hope our society will also change”.

154
About her job she says, “It is nice for me to work because it gives me confidence and it is boring to just be at home”. She further says that today, there are many problems, and therefore women must also work. Her husband shows favourable attitude to her work and she says, “since we both work, then it is important that he helps me at home”. About her earning she says that she has to give a part of salary to her father-in-law and rest she spends herself. She covers her head with a head scarf and is of the opinion that wearing burqa is not necessary. She has got her share in the parental property. While discussing domestic violence she says that a daughter-in-law is always subjected to differential treatment by her in-laws because blood is thicker than water. This is how she is related to her in-laws, even then she sets the ways to make situations cordial and life goes on. Tasleema who rarely gets leisure time likes to watch TV in her spare time.

**Case 10: Illustrates how economic dependence lowers the status of women.**

Kulsum (39, B.A) is a housewife while her husband is an engineer. Her father is a veterinary doctor and her mother worked in the government sector. She has a son and a daughter. According to her objective of education is to gain knowledge and women’s education is even more important because they are the first school for their children. She further says that education is an important factor determining one's prospects of employment which in turn raises the status. In her narrative she explained how her sister-in-law who is employed enjoys lots of privileges while she has to suffer certain disabilities due to her non-working position. Kulsum says, “without job I don’t have any identity, I am economically dependent, I have to spent whole day in boredom doing household chores while my sister-in-law enjoys economic independence, has less domestic responsibilities, visits frequently her parents home and also her husband shares her domestic work while mine does not”.

Kulsum lives in a joint family and is of the opinion that one should limit the number of children because we have to make sure that our children are raised well and in a safe environment. The decisions regarding children’s schooling are taken by her husband while other household decisions are taken jointly by her husband and her brother-in-law. She was married at the age of 26 and ideal age for girls’ marriage according to her is 25 years and above. Kulsum had arranged marriage with her consent and had not received mehr in her marriage. About dowry she says that it is the
fear of maltreatment and social prestige maintenance which forces people to opt for dowry. Parents believe that the dowry secures the future of bride, her prestige and happy married life. Kulsum has not got her share in the parental property. She is a victim of psychological violence and says that such things are likely to be accepted as very normal. In leisure time she enjoys watching TV. According to Kulsum education and economic independence is the only means of overcoming the low social status of women in family and society.

All the cases outlined above highlight that Muslim women in Kashmir are highly motivated towards higher education and employment. The cases reveal significant relation between the education of respondents and their parents. With the influence of considerably better educational background of the parents, awareness is emerging among Muslim women about the importance of higher education. In every case the daughters were found to be more educated than their mothers. Respondents and their husbands education also seems to be related significantly. The cases also reveal that with the increase in education age at marriage also increases which may sometimes lead to late marriages as is depicted by case no.6. Case studies also depict that joint family (case no.1,3,7,8,9,10) norm is prevalent in Kashmir although there are nuclear families (case no.2,4,5,6) also. In joint families the respondents have less say in decision-making however they have greater authority in decisions regarding their children. In most of the nuclear families decisions are taken jointly by husband and wife. More educated women seem to enjoy greater authority in decision making as compared to less educated women. The ideal number of children was found to be 2-3 giving equal preference to son and daughter. This shows that with advancement in education having 2-3 children has become a norm among the Muslim women in Kashmir. Case studies also depict that with the increase in education Muslim women in Kashmir are giving preference to settlement of marriages with their consent (case no.1,2,3,5,8,10) and also self-decided marriages (case no.7 and 9), reveal self-confidence of the respondents. Although respondents seem to be not in favour of dowry practice but they practice it because it has become a social obligation. In addition, respondents are likely to believe that a generous dowry is essential to ensure that the bride is treated well in her new home. Dowry practice was found to be more among the educated and affluent people. Those belonging to the lower economic
levels held educated people responsible for the prevalence of dowry practice as is illustrated by case no. 4.

Most of the cases reveal that women are deprived of their inheritance rights and their right to mehr irrespective of their education. *Purdha* does not mean *burqa* for women in Kashmir, simple head scarf is also seen as *pardha*. Almost all the cases reveal that irrespective of education, women observe *purdha* by covering their head while *burqa* is uncommon. Most of the cases reveal that women are victims of domestic violence and education does not seem to have any influence on it. Both physical (case no.3) and psychological (case no.8,10) violence was found among the respondents. Women in joint families reported more violence as compared to nuclear families.

Thus we find that in all the cases education and employment was seen by women as means of raising their status in family as well as society. All of these case studies have pointed out that the relative old social structures, obsolete customs and practices are being challenged with the advancement in education among Muslim women in Kashmir. These changes have taken the Muslim women out of the protected environment of the past into the modern world of empowerment. The case studies clearly indicate that there is a considerable change in the status of Muslim women in Kashmir and we come to the conclusion that they are changing and attaining empowerment because of education.

The empirical data (chapter no.6,7,8) also clearly reveals that in Kashmir today, women’s education is viewed as a crucial human capital investment and an avenue to salaried employment, independence, decision-making and enhanced social status. These findings are in tune with the findings of the case studies. Thus it can be concluded that case studies justify the empirical data thus supporting the quantitative analysis.