



Dichotomic ambivalence of left-out parents: A cross-case narrative on high range families

Jasmine George¹ and Jose Antony²

Abstract

The dichotomic ambivalence of the parents left out in the empty nests of the high range families who have toiled their soil to rear their beloved children who have flown to other developed countries in search of their higher occupational and educational aspiration is very alarming. They can't block the progressive way of their children and at the same time can't leave their heritage as farmers. This article scans the consequences and conflicts in the form of dichotomies and ambivalent experiences arising from adult children's migration from rural areas, specifically the on agrarian parents living in the high ranges of Idukki district, Kerala. Much of the existing literature concentrates on the psychological and behavioral aspects of children left behind by migrant parents, and the cultural shocks of the migrated children but the complexities faced by the older generation left out in the empty nests remain underexplored. In this research paper, the authors are trying to analyse the dichotomies and ambivalent experiences through the subthemes emerged from the qualitative research among five families. Through cross-case analysis, two major perspectives emerged: the anxieties and ambivalences of the agricultural generation when confronting changes in family dynamics brought by their children's migration, and the younger generation's perception of agrarian and traditional practices

1. Jasmine George, Research Scholar, Dept. of Social Work, SSUS Kalady. Jasminegeorge7@gmail.com, Ph. 8281857953
2. Prof. Jose Antony, Head, Dept. of Social Work, SSUS Kalady

when they return home. The study's findings emphasize the need for social work intervention strategies grounded in family social work practice to enhance the functioning and cohesion of rural families through addressing dichotomic ambivalence of left out parents.

Key Words: *Dichotomic ambivalence, left out parents, rural family, and family social work intervention*

Introduction

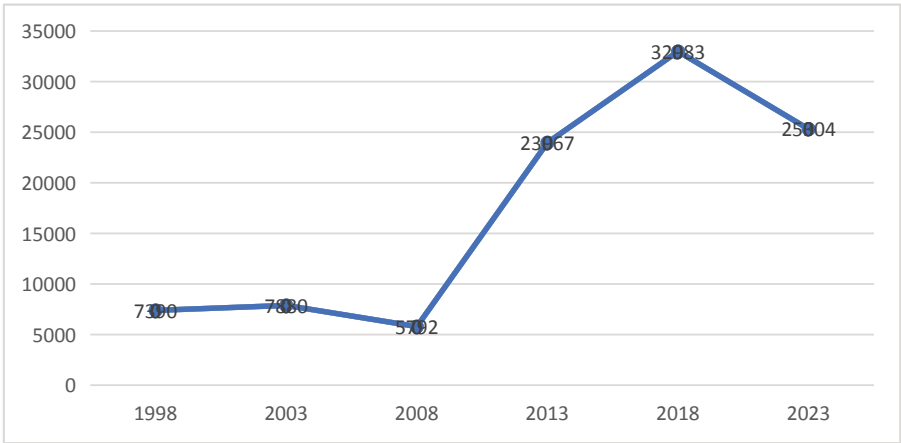
Idukki the largest district in Kerala, well known for its wide forests, spices gardens, high ranges, and low density population. The district has diversity in demography, culture, ecology and agriculture with 96 percent of land having the characteristics of rugged highland regions, slop areas and valleys (Mohanty, 1986). The population in Idukki formed through the process of migration at different times from Kerala's midland and labors from Tamil Nadu. The Patta Proclamation Act granted land ownership to farmers, permitting them to buy and sell land for agriculture. Additionally, the introduction of the Grow More Food scheme in 1949, due to severe food shortages, increased migration to the high ranges from Travancore and Cochi (Thomas, 2011). Also, people came to Idukki in association with the construction of dams and hydroelectric projects. The farmers initially cultivated various food and cash crops such as tea, coffee, cardamom, paddy, coconut, areca nut, banana, tapioca, and rubber.

Families residing in the high ranges of Idukki are deeply rooted in an agricultural lifestyle, which shapes their daily routines and social structure. The harsh environmental realities and limited facilities foster a strong sense of community life where families rely on one another for support in developing emotional bonds with nature and people compared to urbanized families. Despite the rural isolation and environmental threats, these families maintain a resilient and self-sufficient life (King et al., 2023). The simplicity of their surroundings and shared experiences developed a culture of hard work, mutual aid, and deep respect for nature, culture, and religions.

The twenty-first century witnessed a shift in migration, which was also reflected in the Idukki district. The younger generation started to move from agricultural lifestyles to modernized or urbanized cities, seeking better

opportunities and a better quality of life (Knodel et al, 2010). This migration process was facilitated by the availability of bank loans and the leasing of agricultural land. The parents often prompted their children to build professional careers due to the growing unpredictability of agriculture, aggravated by climate change and market fluctuations (Borda et al, 2023). Consequently, a generation that believed in modernity was began to develop from a rural agricultural background. Kerala Migration Survey (2023) found that, in the Idukki district, 82.5 percent of households had one emigrant. In 2023, 6946 students from Idukki went abroad for study purposes. Figure 1 explains the trends of abroad migration in Idukki from 1998 to 2023.

Figure 1 Trends in migration- Idukki district 1998-2023



(Source: Kerala Migration Survey-2023)

Dichotomic ambivalence

In this context, dichotomic ambivalence captures the internal conflicts and challenges experienced by adult-migrated children and their left-behind parents as they struggle to accept and acknowledge each other’s cultural differences. As members of the younger generation return to their native villages after starting their families abroad, they frequently face conflicts that are deeply rooted in generational differences, changing aspirations, and the contrast between rural life and urban or international environments (Lee et al, 2005).

Conflicts manifest in various ways, including differing expectations about family roles, lifestyle choices, and cultural practices. Younger generations adapted to urban conveniences and speedy lifestyles find it difficult to readjust to a slower, more traditional rural lifestyle (Ying et al,1999). They have tensions with older family members who hold more conservative values and continue to prioritize agricultural work and community living.

Simultaneously, parents from an agricultural background often struggle to understand and adapt to their children's new thoughts and lifestyles. They have different values, modernized thoughts, independent decisions, privacies, and priorities developed after exposure to international environments. The generation gap often develops emotional distance and alienation in parents as they fail to reconcile these differences (Scharp& Hall, 2017). Eventually, there is a chance to strain the relationship once it appears as serene. The current study is an explorative attempt to provide a deep understanding of how migration influences family dynamics, especially the families that arise when traditional agricultural lifestyle meets modern views.

Rationale and theoretical framework

The existing literature has slightly explored the status of left-behind children in rural areas under the backdrop of parental migration, shedding light on their psychological, social, and educational challenges. However, there is a noticeable scarcity of studies addressing rural families' status and family dynamics, mainly focusing on middle-aged or elderly parents when their adult children migrate to urban areas or abroad. Knodel et al. (2010), in their study titled "How Left Behind are Rural Parents of Migrant Children? Evidence from Thailand," probe into the unnoticed consequences of adult-child migration on elderly parents in rural settings. While migration can offer material benefits, such as financial transfers, it also introduces significant challenges to family dynamics and the well-being of parents. The study highlights the "dark side" of migration, where the absence of adult children can strain traditional familial support systems, particularly as parents age and face chronic illnesses or weakness that demand long-term personal care. This shift not only affects the quality of life for the elderly but also disrupts the fabric of rural family life, underscoring the need for greater attention to the social and emotional costs of migration.

The researcher adopted a comprehensive theoretical framework for the study by integrating Bourdieu's Theory of Social Capital, and Family System Theory. Bourdieu developed the concepts of cultural and social capital as part of social reproduction theory (Arthur, 2016). Social capital means the resources that individuals and groups acquire through social networks, connections and relationships (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital refers to non-economic resources, including education, intellect, dressing style, mode of speech, and physical appearance. Bourdieu's concepts are effectively applicable to understanding how migration affects the social dynamic of a rural family and also how the family or community receives the new forms of capital, which have the potential to create disparities and conflicts (Bourdieu, 1986). Family system theory is also applied to understand how modernity affects rural families based on the concept that, the family operates as an interdependent system and a change in one member affects the equilibrium of the entire system (Johnson & Ray, 2016) which sheds light on the implications of rural family social work to reconcile the disparities among generations.

The process

The researcher conducted a case study involving five families from the high ranges of the Idukki district, all of whom have a rural agricultural background, with their children settled abroad. To gather comprehensive data, parents and children were interviewed. Telephonic interview was conducted with the children settled in abroad having minimum five years of life experience. The cross-case analysis was administered to identify the differences and similarities in each case (Khan & Vanwynsberghe, 2008) and develop themes based on the experiences and perspectives between the two generations. This method of analysis permitted the researcher to develop major themes and sub-themes highlighting the complexities and conflicts inherent in agro-migration disparities. The themes and sub themes were supported with verbatim.

The trends emerged

The cross-case analysis revealed two major themes. One is the perspective of the older agricultural generation on western ideas, and the other is the perspective of the new generation toward agrarian life. Both perspectives

influence rural family dynamics. The older agrarian generation often views the new generation with mixed feelings of pride in their achievements and a sense of loss regarding traditional values and lifestyles. Meanwhile, the new generation seeks to bridge this gap by embracing their heritage while adapting to modern demands, leading to tensions when old ways clash with new realities (Fuligni et al., 1999).

The experiences and perspectives of the agrarian parents

Parents described their experiences and intense change within the household after their children went abroad. They all shared that the first visit of their children was a reality check where they were confused and challenged to accept the newly culturally assimilated identities of children. From their perspectives, the emerged subthemes are (1) generational gap (2) value conflicts (3) agriculture dependency (4) confusion regarding land use and (5) different apprehensions.

Generation gap

The parents unanimously shared their ambiguous experiences and the conflicts they have faced while receiving or accepting their children. Parents are deeply involved in agricultural practices, which shape their thoughts and views. They find it very difficult to understand children's aspirations and the changes. One of the mothers described that,

The first time, I was confused about getting involved with my son. His style of speaking and way of life changed a lot. There were situations of arguments. Then I understood that there was no point in having unnecessary confrontation. (Mother, Family-2)

I was scared to see his spending nature. I even think six or seven times before spending money. But he is buying things unnecessarily, which frightens me (father, Family-3)

Sometimes, I feel proud of my daughter because she could achieve a good position in her life and career, but at the same time, I feel a sense of loss in her traditional character (mother, family-5).

The parents of children who have migrated abroad find themselves in an

ambiguous situation when dealing with their children's transformed attitudes and identities. On one hand, they take pride in their children's achievements and the new opportunities that migration has afforded them. However, this pride is combined with a sense of loss as they realize that the familiar traits and identities of their children have significantly changed, creating a disconnection from the identity they once knew. The parental response to this situation varies, displaying in two distinct ways. The first response is confrontation, where parents attempt to correct or challenge their children's new attitudes through arguments driven by a desire to restore the connection to the old, familiar identity. This often leads to conflicts as the parents struggle to reconcile the changes. The second response is silence, where parents acknowledge their limitations in education and awareness. In this case, they refrain from confrontation, perhaps out of an understanding that their children's new identity is beyond their control or comprehension. This silence reflects an internal struggle as the parents come to terms with the inevitable changes in their family dynamics.

Value conflicts

All parents expressed concern about their children's changing views and approaches to important social systems, particularly marriage and religion. They recalled how their children, when living in the village, were heartfelt believers who actively participated in religious practices. However, since migrating abroad, the children have become hesitant or even resistant to engage in these religious traditions, distressing for the parents who hold these practices in high regard.

When I call to go to church, he comes to calm me, but he no longer attends when he's abroad.(family-3)

Now, she is not as interested in spiritual life as she used to be (Family-5).

Additionally, the parents underlined differing attitudes toward marriage. For them, marriage is not a significant event but an expensive event that reflects their cultural values. However, having achieved economic freedom, their children now desire more personal freedom, including the freedom to choose their own lives independently. Concepts like living together without marriage or delaying marriage altogether have left the parents confused and concerned,

as these ideas challenge their long-held beliefs and the social norms they are adapted to.

My son is not ready for marriage; he is 36 and does not yet have a plan to get married. Sometimes I felt so confused about he get alone after our death. (Mother. Family-4)

He says that having children after marriage is a considerable expense. (Family-3)

The contradictory factor is that parents become more religious, especially mothers, praying to God to change their children's attitude toward believing in God and getting married.

Agriculture dependency

The parents expressed deep concern about how integral agricultural life is to their daily routines and overall well-being. For them, walking among their plants and tending to crops have become not just tasks but essential relaxation techniques that provide a sense of peace and fulfillment. Agriculture is so deeply rooted in their lives that many find it unimaginable to live without it. This strong attachment to their agricultural lifestyle has led many parents to refuse their children's invitations to visit them abroad, even for short periods, as they fear the disturbance of their routines and the disconnection from their land.

My children provide enough for my daily expenses, but I take pride in earning money through agriculture. I value hard work, and while they suggested hiring laborers for this task, I prefer to do it myself. (Family-1)

My daughter has invited me to visit her country for three months many times, but I have refused the call because I want to take care of my farm animals and vegetables. (mother, Family-5).

Even though the parents are deeply connected to agricultural practices, they do not want their children to return to their native place to take over the land and farms. Because they know the hardships and challenges that come with agricultural life, uncertain yields, physical labor, and financial instability, and they do not wish for their children to suffer the same struggles. This dichotomy reveals a complex emotional landscape where the parents' love for agriculture is coupled with a desire to protect their children from the difficulties that they have underwent.

Confusion regarding land use

In the high ranges, most families own vast acres of land dedicated to cultivation and farming practices. However, the parents have expressed significant anxiety about the future of these lands. They are fully aware that their children, who have migrated abroad, show little interest in agricultural activities or in managing farming operations, even with the help of laborers. This lack of interest from the next generation leaves the parents confused and worried about what to do with such large tracts of land in the future. The uncertainty about whether the land will be left idle, sold, or repurposed creates a sense of unease as the parents struggle with the potential loss of a way of life that has defined their existence for generations. This dilemma emphasizes the extensive challenges agricultural communities face in the context of migration and changing economic goals.

I know these agricultural practices will persist until our death. I'm unsure what to do with the land; it remains unsold or wasted. (Family-1)

I am planning to lease the land because I am getting old. (Family-5)

In the high ranges, there has been a noticeable shift in farming practices. Farmers increasingly opt to lease their land for fixed periods due to the next generation's lack of interest or availability to manage it.

Different apprehensions

Parents often experience a range of anxieties and apprehensions about their lives, particularly regarding their children. They are deeply concerned with how society perceives their family and strive to present their children as reflections of their values and upbringing. This concern often manifests in constant reminders to their children, once they are at home, about how to dress, behave, and speak, especially in front of elders or within the community.

I was concerned about how my daughter dressed and behaved in front of others, so I frequently reminded her that she could sometimes come across as irritable. (family-5)

Parents often struggle with anxieties about their old age, particularly concerning who will care for them as they grow older. Despite these concerns, many are reluctant to live with their children abroad due to inhibitions about

adapting to a new culture. They may also hesitate to encourage their children to return to their native place, as they genuinely wish their children to have a better life with more opportunities and a higher quality of living. This internal conflict between their desire for care and their hopes for their children's future often adds to their uncertainty and concern about the years ahead.

The experiences and perspectives of the new generation

Youngsters often share their experiences and challenges when returning to their native place. None of them expressed that their family atmosphere or parents posed significant challenges. Instead, the difficulties they encounter are more related to the broader environment. Many struggle with the local community's attitudes, conflicts with local expectations, particularly disagreements over adherence to family values, expectations, and traditions (Gim, 2001). There is also a shift in identity as they reconcile their experiences abroad with their native culture. Additionally, lenient laws and policies are becoming a source of frustration. These challenges highlight the complexities of reintegration into their homeland after exposure to different cultures and lifestyles. The developed subthemes are, (1) cultural adjustment, (2) conflict with local expectations, (3) comparison effect and (4) disinterest in investing in agricultural practices.

Cultural adjustment

Young people's experiences highlight the cultural dissonance they face after living abroad and then returning to their native rural place. When they immerse themselves in a different culture, particularly Western culture, they often appreciate the freedom, politeness, and order that can be more prevalent in those societies. Upon returning home, they find their native culture rigid and disordered by comparison. One significant area where this contrast is felt is daily life practices, such as driving. According to them, driving is a stressful experience in native place, marked by a lack of concern for others on the road, aggressive driving behavior, and frequent violations of traffic rules. They are adapted to the more structured and considerate driving culture abroad. This driving behavior can be seen as a metaphor for broader societal issues, where the rush to get ahead and disregard for others reflects a more profound cultural

mentality that contrasts with the more community-oriented, polite, and rule-abiding behavior they have grown familiarized to in the West.

I feel so embarrassed while seeing the behavior of people on the road while driving and the impatience they express in maintaining a queue or waiting for their turn. (Family-1)

Here, all social systems are more complicated. We have to follow unnecessary procedures to get things done. Also, the people are not all friendly or support each other. (Family-3)

This adjustment process is challenging, as it involves merging the values and habits they have acquired abroad with those they encounter upon returning home.

Conflict with local expectations

Every respondent highlighted the contrast between the cultural norms they have adapted to in a Western context and the expectations they face at home, which lead to significant personal and social conflicts. A common theme among those returning is the invasion of personal space by relatives, neighbors, and acquaintances. In rural culture, it is common for people to ask probing questions about personal matters like marriage, finances, and other aspects of private life. This level of intrusion, which might be considered normal or even caring within the native culture, can feel invasive and uncomfortable for someone familiarized to Western societies' more private and individualistic norms.

Marriage is often an important point of these tensions. In many agricultural societies, marriage has strong expectations, including the right age to marry, the criteria for choosing a spouse, such as religion, caste, financial status, and horoscope, and the social obligations tied to these decisions. These expectations often leave little room for individual choice, personal feelings, or considerations like sexual orientation and gender identity. For those who have lived in environments where these aspects of identity are respected, and individual choice is vital, the pressure to conform to local expectations overwhelms them.

Now I am 27, so everyone is thinking that I came to my native place to get married. This is the question I faced everywhere, which made me feel so irritated. (Family- 4)

I have to answer all questions related to my personal life, even those from unknown people. After that, I feel conflicted about why I am obligated to answer this kind of question! (Family-5)

This clash of values between the collectivist, tradition-bound mentality of the native culture and the individualistic, freedom-oriented mindset developed abroad creates deep internal conflicts. It strains relationships with family and the broader community, as returning individuals feel misunderstood or judged for not adhering to local norms.

Comparison effect

A common sub-theme for citizens returning from living overseas is the tendency to compare every aspect of life at home with what they have experienced abroad. This comparison often leads to discomfort or even disillusionment as they navigate the realities of their native environment. One of the most visible areas of comparison is infrastructure. When they return home, they find the infrastructure lacking, whether it's poorly maintained roads, unreliable public services, or inadequate healthcare facilities. The perception of money and its value also shifts. In many Western countries, there is often a clear and consistent relationship between cost and quality, along with transparent pricing and consumer protections. When returning home, individuals feel that they are not getting the same value for their money, whether in terms of goods, services, or overall living standards.

Every time I have the comparison tendency with the abroad facilities make my mind conflicted create a kind of emptiness. (Family-4)

Every time I compare the facilities abroad, my mind becomes conflicted, and I feel a kind of emptiness. (Family-5)

These comparisons create a sense of discomfort and even alienation. A haunting sense of dissatisfaction dominates the familiarity of the home as the person is caught between two worlds.

Disinterest in investing in agricultural practices

In the context of agriculture, the reluctance of young couples to invest in or continue agricultural practices is a significant issue, particularly for those settled

abroad. One of the primary reasons young couples cite is their unfamiliarity with the processes and techniques required to make agriculture profitable. They argue that modern farming requires understanding advanced techniques, sustainable practices, and navigating agricultural markets, which can be challenging for those without prior experience. This knowledge gap creates a significant barrier to entry, discouraging young people from considering agriculture as a serious option. Climate change is another major factor contributing to the unwillingness to engage in agriculture. Unpredictable weather patterns, changing rainfall cycles, and extreme temperatures make farming increasingly unreliable. Environmental unpredictability adds a financial risk many young couples are unwilling to take.

My parents are engaged in agriculture, but I fear investing in agriculture because I never saw anything they earned rather than their hard work and sweat. (Family-2)

I know my parents are a bit confused when thinking about the future of land and farming, but I am personally not interested in managing it. (Family-5)

In brief, the decision to avoid investing in or continuing agricultural practices is influenced by a complex interaction of factors, including knowledge gaps, environmental challenges, and economic uncertainties.

Discussions

The generational conflict between the agrarian and new generations highlights the deep-seated tensions that arise when tradition meets modernity. The two generations experience these conflicts differently, with the older agricultural generation often feeling the impact more severely. The left behind parents is deeply rooted in tradition, with values and practices passed down through generations. These include a strong connection to the land, adherence to cultural norms, and a reliance on traditional social structures. However, as modernity encroaches and changes societal values, this generation faces a profound ambivalence. They are caught between the desire to preserve their way of life and the realization that the world around them is rapidly changing. This ambivalence manifest in various forms of internal and external conflict. They also confront uncertainties and concerns about their future, agricultural

land, and traditional lifestyles. The second United Nations Organization (UNO) World Assembly on Ageing views the migration of children, particularly to urban areas, as detrimental to families, resulting in elderly parents losing crucial economic, social, and psychological support and personal care (UNO, 2002). Both academic literature and theoretical arguments picture migration as a positive strategy that provides economic benefits for both those who leave the family and 'left behind' members. This strategy highlights families' ability to change and adapt to new circumstances (Cai, 2003). However, it is essential to provide social work intervention to rural agricultural families so that they can embrace the change in their family dynamics that occurred through migration and free themselves from internal conflicts and ambivalences.

The dichotomic ambivalence experienced by parents of migrated adult children is deeply complex, reflecting in various ways. On the one hand, these parents take great pride in their children's achievements and earning potential, viewing their success as a reflection of their own sacrifices. However, this pride is tempered by a profound sense of loss as they witness the erosion of traditional values and beliefs once central to their lives. Their attachment to the land and agriculture, which has defined their existence, contrasts sharply with their reluctance to involve their children in farming as they anticipate the uncertain future of their land. Additionally, while they worry about the challenges of aging, they resist the idea of reuniting with their children abroad or returning to their native place. These conflicting emotions and concerns remain unspoken, quietly preserved in their minds.

In contrast, the new generation, often better educated and more exposed to global perspectives, these conflicts more open-mindedly and flexibly. The differences between tradition and modernity are less threatening because they have the tools and mindset to steer these changes. Their exposure to diverse cultures, ideas, and technologies allows them to recognize and accept these differences more readily, and they only have the status of short-term visitors in their native place.

Social work implications with rural agrarian families

The left-out parents require social work intervention to reconcile these differences. Social workers can play a crucial role in helping this generation navigate the challenges of modernity by providing support, facilitating

communication between generations, and helping them find ways to adapt without losing their identity. The concept of “the teachability of the family” is well-known in family social work. The family social worker can empower rural families and communities by providing education and training to adapt to the changes in their socio-economic environment in ways that maintain family relationships and support exchanges.

Rural communities are uniquely resilient because of close-knit connections and strong support systems among families. From a strength-based perspective, social workers can harness these inherent strengths to facilitate community-based interventions that address the challenges posed by modernity and adult-child migration. By establishing community centers as hubs where social workers can engage with the agricultural community to address the conflicts arising from the tension between traditional values and modern influences through discussions and brainstorming sessions. Moreover, by introducing the concept of social farming (Hudcova, 2022) they can empower these communities to use agriculture not only as a means of livelihood but also as a tool for overcoming the emotional and social challenges brought about by migration.

Conclusion

Social work is crucial in addressing “Dichotomic ambivalence of left-out parents” by providing holistic support to individuals, families, and communities. By focusing on mediation, education and training, community intervention, capacity building, cultural preservation, advocacy, research, and mental health, social workers can help bridge the gap between generations and promote healthy family functioning. Rural communities possess inherent strengths and resilience that can be harnessed to empower families, especially in the face of challenges posed by adult children’s migration. Their traditional livelihood practices, particularly agriculture, can serve as a powerful tool to alleviate the stress of internal conflicts and ambivalences brought about by the cultural shifts of the younger generation. By leveraging these practices, families can find a sense of stability and purpose, enabling them to accept and integrate Westernized ideas to a certain extent. This integrated approach ensures that both the traditional agricultural practices and the modern aspirations of the younger generation are respected and harmonized for a better rural family functioning.

References

- Arthur, C. (2016). *Minority Initiatives and the Engagement Experiences of Black Male College Students*. <https://core.ac.uk/download/147835827.pdf>
- Borda, Á., Sárvári, B., & Balogh, J.(2023). Generation Change in Agriculture: A Systematic Review of the Literature. *Economies*, 11(129). <https://doi.org/10.3390/economies11050129>
- Bourdieu, P. (1986), 'The Forms of Capital', in Richardson, John G., ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Greenwood.
- Cai, Q. (2003). Migrant remittances and family ties: a case study in China. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 9(6), 471–83.
- Fuligni, A., Tseng, V., & Lam, M. (1999). Attitudes toward family obligations among American adolescents from Asian, Latin American and European backgrounds. *Child Development*, 70, 1030–1044.
- Gim Chung, R. H. (2001). Gender, ethnicity, and acculturation in intergenerational conflict of Asian American college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 7, 376–386.
- Hudcova, F. (2022). Social Work in Social Farming in the Concept of Empowerment. *European Countryside*, 14(3), 497-510. DOI:10.2478/euco-2022-0025
- Johnson, B. & Wendel, R. (2016). Family system theory. In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Family Studies*, DOI:10.1002/9781119085621.wbefs130
- Khan, s. & Vanwynsberghe, R. (2008). Cultivating the Under-Mined: Cross-Case Analysis as Knowledge Mobilization. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung*, 9(1)
- Lee R., Su, J.& Yoshida E. (2005). Coping with intergenerational family conflict among Asian American college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. 2(52), 389–399.
- Mohanty, P.K. (1986). *District Hand Book of Kerala*, Kerala Gazetteers Department.

Scharp, K. & Hall, E. (2017). *Family marginalization, alienation, and estrangement: questioning the non-voluntary status of family relationships*, *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 41(1), 28-45, doi. org/10.1080/23808985.2017.1285680

Thomas, R., P. (2011). *Manual of Forest Laws in Kerala*, Law Books

Ying Y., Coombs, M,& Lee, P.(1999). Family intergenerational relationship of Asian American adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*. 5(4), 350–363.