



CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME VII

KERALA



PART VI D
VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS
ALLEPPEY DISTRICT

M. K. DEVASSY, B. A., B. L.

OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE

Superintendent of Census Operations, Kerala

and

the Union Territory of Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands

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The Superintendent of Census Operations
Kerala

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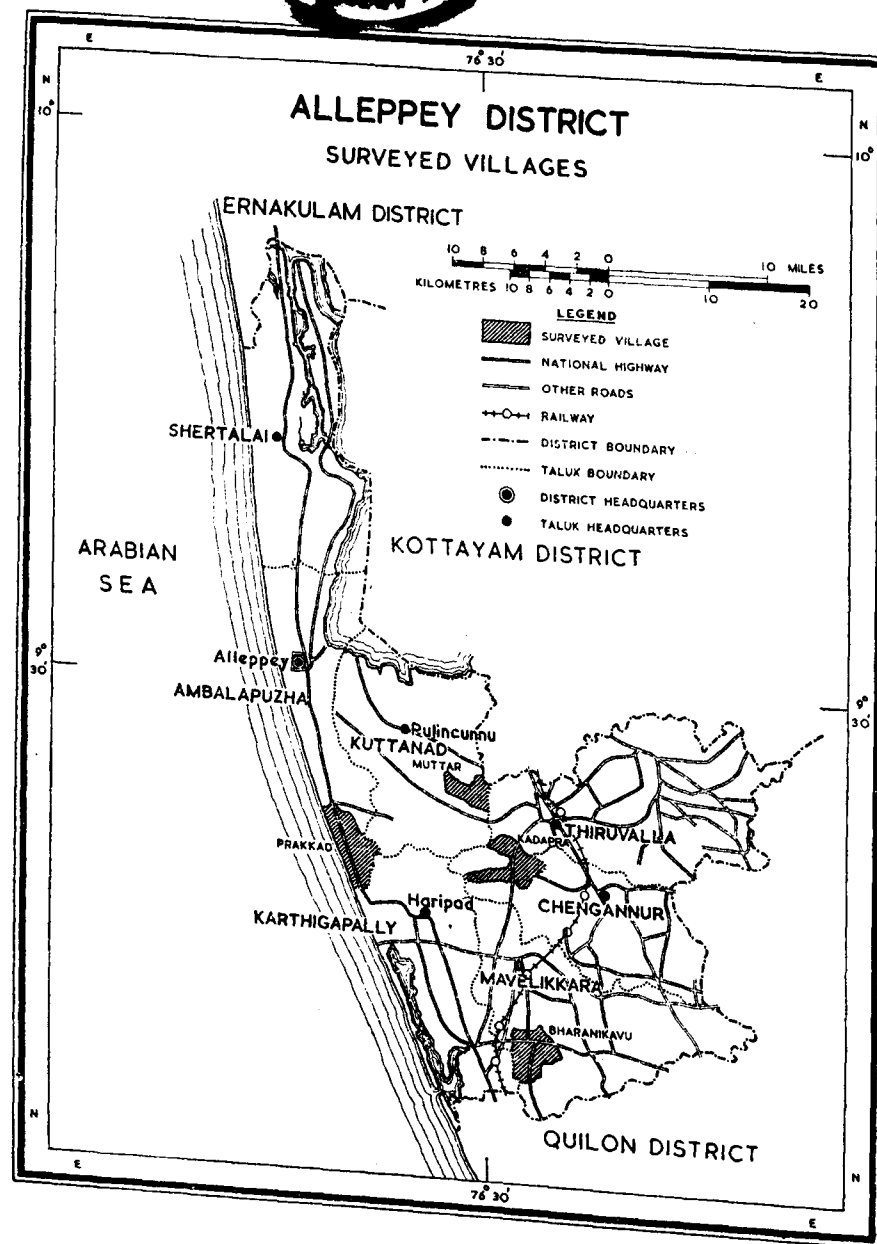
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FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions'. In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralisation on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows:—

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e. g. fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500—700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern

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communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress, ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, moveable and immoveable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census Operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

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This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve: to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for these monographs have been printed as Appendix B to the monograph on Prakkad.

A. MITRA,
Registrar General, India

New Delhi,
July 30, 1964

PREFACE

This part of the Census Report is devoted to the monographs on four centres selected from the Alleppey district out of a total of thirty-five in the whole of Kerala taken up for village surveys. These centres have been selected having regard to paddy cultivation in Bharanikavu, Sugar-cane cultivation in Kadapra, the concentration of Velan community in Muttar and 'kari' land cultivation in Prakkad.

2. The scope and objects of the village surveys have been set forth in detail in the foreword given supra by Shri Asok Mitra, Registrar General and ex-Officio Census Commissioner for India. Monographs or reports dealing separately with the social, cultural, economic or demographic aspects of community life in India are available to a degree of profusion. But those giving an integrated picture of the different aspects are rare, if not totally absent. The scope of such integrated monographs is so wide that one often finds it difficult either to prescribe its limits or to exhaust it, all the more so in the absence of well-trodden paths. Nevertheless, the rich heritage left by illustrious writers in each of these fields has been of invaluable help in the conduct of the surveys as well as the drafting of the monographs. It is hoped that these monographs will be viewed in the background of the unavoidable limitations of a pioneer attempt at an integrated survey of the manifold aspects of our community life. It is not also ventured to claim that these monographs represent an exhaustive pattern. Apart from the restrictions on time and space, the number of centres and communities selected for study, which is by no means small, has also contributed to the limited contents of the monographs. Essentials, however, have not been sacrificed.

3. A Kerala village is unique in that it presents a continuous expanse of isolated houses covering the entire village unlike the villages in most other parts of India which have clusters of houses concentrated in a limited number of centres. Any survey of a Kerala village which does not cover all the houses has, therefore, either to be confined to a portion of the village or to households selected on a random sample covering the entire village. The latter is not conducive to the study of a particular community with a dominant occupation which will normally be concentrated in a portion of the village rather than be scattered throughout the village to suit a random sample. The selection of a particular centre for intensive survey in the various villages or areas covered by the monographs has, therefore, been preferred to a random selection of households covering the entire village. At the same time, as much data as could be had without a house-to-house survey in those portions of the village or locality lying outside the area taken up for intensive survey have been collected and utilised to give a general picture of the village or locality as a whole.

4. Even where a centre has been selected for the study of a particular community other important communities in that area have not been left out in the survey. Thus, all important communities in the surveyed area have been studied and included in the monographs. Where, however, a community has been already dealt with in one monograph and the same community happens to be found in other centres covered by the survey a detailed description of that community in more than one centre has been avoided unless there are differences in customs or manners or any aspect deserves mention to supplement the first account. Communities with insignificant population in a centre are normally left out in the monograph on that centre and dealt with in centres where they occur in larger numbers. The customs and manners of certain communities vary from place to place. The descriptions of the customs and manners of communities in each monograph are not, therefore, intended to be construed as applicable to that community in other areas.

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5. In addition to the general account of the flora and fauna, detailed descriptions and illustrations of a few selected items of flora have also been given in the monographs on Bharanikavu and Kadapra. The intention in giving the detailed descriptions of some items alone in the monographs is that all the important items of flora in Kerala would be covered in the monographs of all the thirty-five centres taken together. Repetition of an item selected for detailed description in one centre is, therefore, strictly avoided in another centre. This might result in preferring a less important item of flora to a more important one in some centres, the latter having been dealt with in another centre where it is more appropriate.

6. In accordance with the standards set up by the third International Conference of Labour Statisticians the expenditure on food items has been expressed as that of an adult male. Although the Lusk scale of coefficients has been adopted in some of the previous family budget studies in the State for conversion of persons of different ages and sexes into an adult equivalent, this scale has not been considered fully representative of Indian conditions. As such, Lusk scale as adapted to Indian conditions by Dr. Aykroyd has been applied for purposes of determining the adult equivalents. This scale is

Male of 12 and above	= 1
Female of 12 and above	= 0.9
Child under 12	= 0.5

In all the family budget studies covered by the monographs in this publication the above scale has been adopted.

7. In the last chapter of the monographs an attempt has been made to assess the extent of progress as well as the drawbacks noticed in the respective centres covered by the surveys. This chapter has also been devoted to make a few suggestions considered suitable to secure better progress. These suggestions are far from being meant to be exhaustive.

8. The field survey was conducted in two instalments in each of the centres. In the first round of visits the main schedule was exhausted. The second round was utilised mainly for the survey of consanguineous marriages and incidentally for the collection of a few supplementary items of information. The entire collection of data, their tabulation and the preparation of notes were done by my young and energetic colleagues Sarvashri K. N. Radhakrishnan Nair and C. Daniel, Economic Investigators of this Department. But for the valuable contribution made by them these monographs would not have taken shape. While the monograph on Bharanikavu alone was written by me, the monographs on the remaining three centres were drafted by my colleague Shri M. Joseph, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations (Surveys). I am happy to acknowledge the brilliant contribution made by him.

9. Let me take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to the Government of Kerala for the unstinted co-operation and help extended to me in the conduct of the village surveys especially to Shri Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, now Governor of Andhra Pradesh and Shri A. G. Menon, I. A. S., who were the Chief Minister and the Chief Secretary respectively during the period of the basic surveys and Shri R. Sankar, Chief Minister, Shri K. P. K. Menon, I. A. S., ex-Chief Secretary and Shri N. M. Patnaik, I. A. S., the present Chief Secretary to Government who were in charge of the Census portfolio during the subsequent investigations for these monographs. In addition to the data collected in the course of the field investigation several items of information were secured from the various departments of the State Government. I acknowledge with gratitude the co-operation and help rendered by the Heads of Departments and the District Collectors and their subordinates.

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10. These monographs have been in no small measure enriched by the various photographs given in them. The entire work of photography for this and similar sets of monographs with very few exceptions was done by the Department of Public Relations of the Kerala Government free of cost, the conveyance and a few films alone being provided by the Census Department. I am deeply grateful to Shri V. R. Narayanan Nair, Ex-Director of Public Relations for the enthusiastic co-operation and goodwill extended by him in implementing the above programme through his photographers Sarvashri T. M. Joseph and K. V. Ravindranathan Nair and particularly the latter who had done the bulk of the work. The photographs of Scenes from a Nair Wedding (Pls. 15 to 19) were taken by Shri K. M. Krishnankutty Nair of the Public Relations Department. All the drawings, sketches, maps and charts, which are equally valuable as the photographs, have been done by Sarvashri K. Krishna Pillai and S. Krishna Pillai, Draftsmen of my office. The painting of *Garcinia cambogia* was done by the former. The photographs given in plates Nos. 4, 61, 62, 63, 74, 76, 77, 96, 97, 98 and 101 are by courtesy of the Department of Public Relations, Kerala. The negatives of the photographs relating to Scenes from a Jacobite Syrian Christian Wedding (Pls. 45 to 50) were supplied by Shri C. M. Jacob, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations (Retired) on my request. I am grateful to the above.

11. The books lent to me by the Legislature Library and the University Library of Kerala, the Trivandrum Public Library, the Museum Library, Trivandrum and the Library of the St. Joseph's Monastery, Trivandrum have been of immense use in writing these monographs. I am extremely grateful to the authorities of these libraries.

12. The half-tone blocks of plates Nos. 2, 3, 5 to 9, 20, 23, 30 to 36, 39, 40, 51 to 60, 64 to 73, 75, 78, 82, 83, 90 to 92, 94, 95, 99 and 100 and the line blocks at pages 7, 8, 57, 58 and 204 were made at the Malayala Rajyam Process Studio, Quilon. All the remaining blocks were made at the Printer's Blocks, Trivandrum. Both the above process studios have bestowed great care in securing the production of these blocks promptly and efficiently. The printing of a profusely illustrated book of this type with a large number of inset tables is an arduous task requiring a good deal of experience and diligence. The City Press, Trivandrum under the able guidance of Shri J. E. Fernandez has executed the work quite efficiently.

13. In the course of this survey the heads of the households of the surveyed areas have been approached more than once to collect the data. Their patience has been tired by our trying to get at minute details of information. Yet, they have been highly co-operative and indulgent. The goodwill with which they have furnished the necessary data has helped us a good deal in making the surveys useful. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to them.

14. Above all, I am deeply indebted to Shri Asok Mitra, Registrar General and ex-Officio Census Commissioner for India, for the valuable guidance and encouragement I have received from him in connection with the village surveys and the preparation of the monographs. The suggestions given in the conduct of the surveys by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty (Handicrafts and Social Studies) have also been of great help to me.

15. The statements made and the conclusions drawn in these monographs are author's own and do not necessarily represent the views of the Government.

M. K. DEVASSY

Trivandrum,
November 1, 1965

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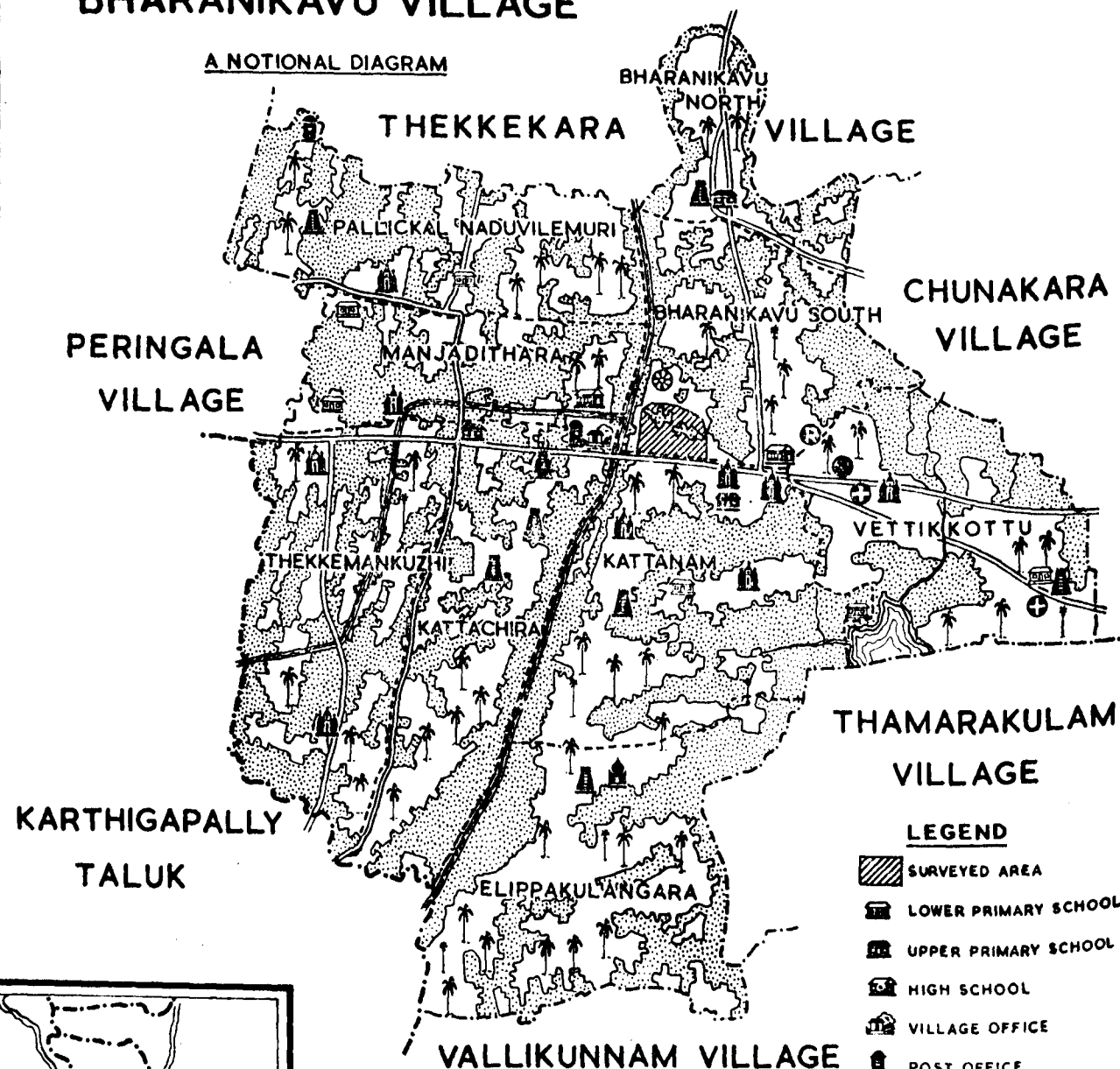
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BHARANIKAVU

BHARANIKAVU VILLAGE

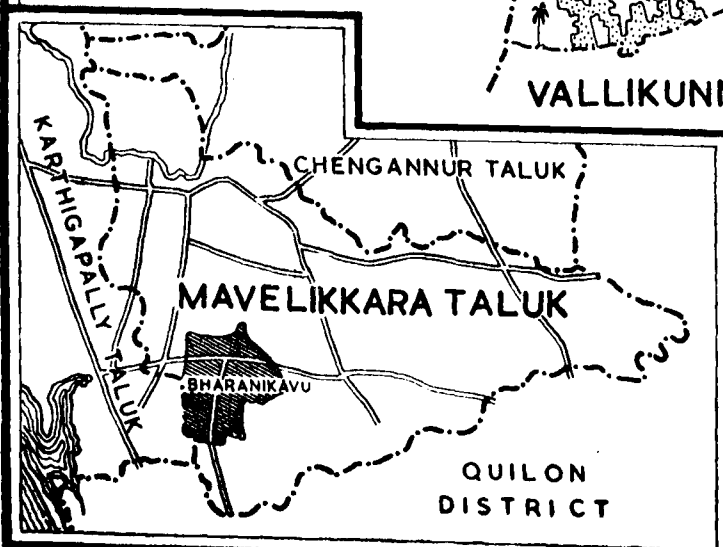
A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM



LEGEND

- SURVEYED AREA
- LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOL
- UPPER PRIMARY SCHOOL
- HIGH SCHOOL
- VILLAGE OFFICE
- POST OFFICE
- TEMPLE
- CHURCH
- MOSQUE
- HOSPITAL
- VETERINARY HOSPITAL
- N.E.S. BLOCK
- REST HOUSE
- COCOANUT CULTIVATION
- ARECA-NUT TREE
- PADDY FIELD

- ROAD
- CANAL
- TALUK BOUNDARY
- VILLAGE BOUNDARY
- KARA BOUNDARY



BHARANIKAVU*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Proceeding to the north from Trivandrum along the national highway the 69th mile marks the Kayamkulam municipal town which was once the capital of the erstwhile principality of Kayamkulam. This historic principality of Kayamkulam, after fighting several heroic battles with Travancore during the regime of Maharaja Marthanda Varma, had finally to surrender in the first half of the 18th century A. D. From Kayamkulam a good motorable road, partly laid with cement concrete and partly tarred, goes to the east up to Punalur where it joins the Quilon-Shencottah road. About 2 miles from Kayamkulam along this road takes one to Bharanikavu, the village under survey. It is situated in the Mavelikkara taluk of the Alleppey district and is bounded on the north by Thekkekara village, on the east by Chunakara and Thamarakulam villages, on the south by Vallikunnam village and on the west by the Kayamkulam and Peringala villages. The Kayamkulam railway station is just 2 miles from the village.

The Surveyed Area

2. The area taken for intensive survey in this village is located on the northern side of the Kayamkulam-Punalur road, adjoining the Village Office and bounded by narrow lanes on the west and east, a foot-path on the north and the Kayamkulam-Punalur road on the south. This locality which is about 135 acres¹ in extent and inhabited by 113 households is called Pallikkal. Besides representing a cross section of the population of the village, it is also important as a principal centre of paddy cultivation. These features have

weighed in favour of its selection for the survey.

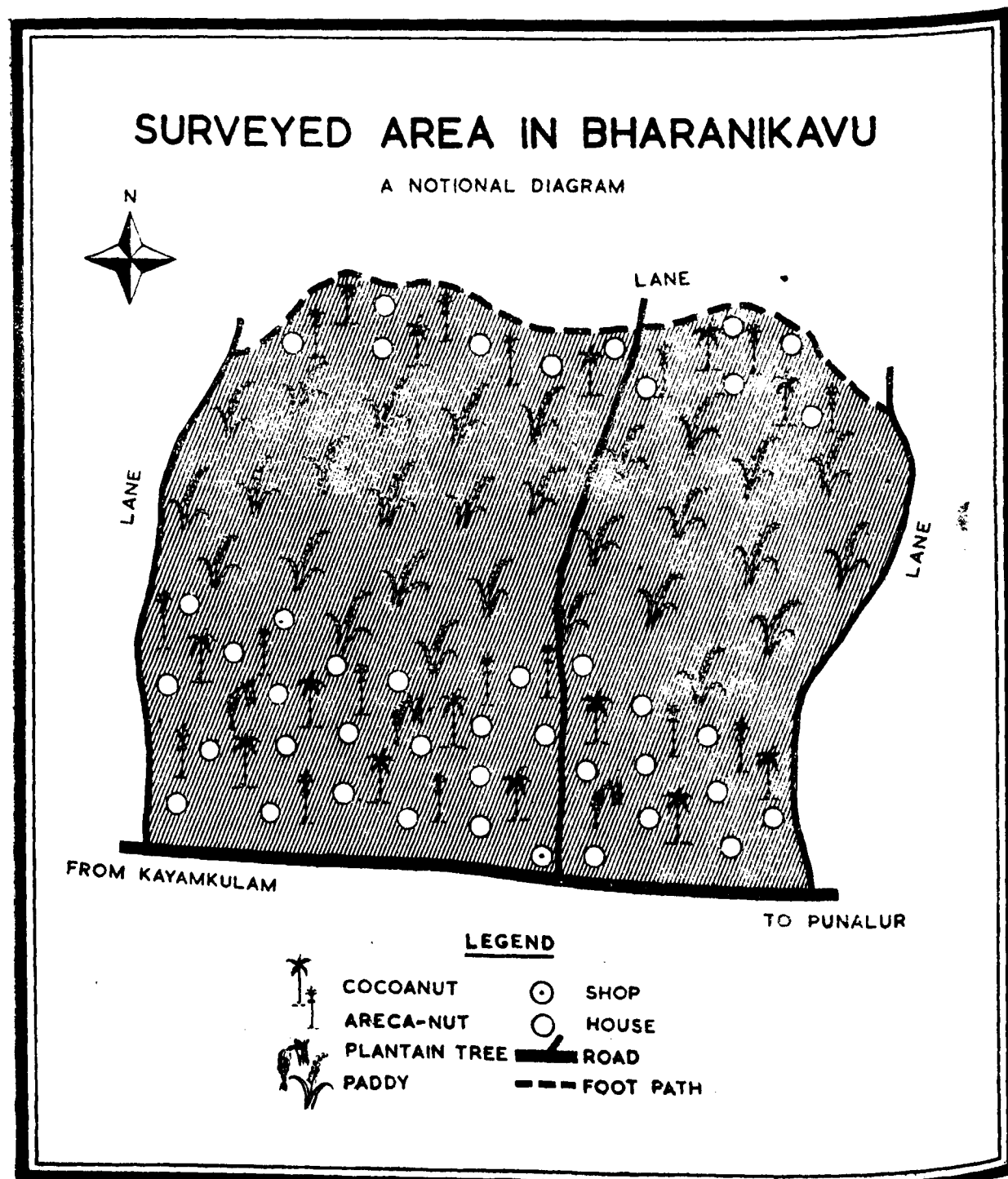
Origin of the Name

3. The present Bharanikavu village was known by the name 'Pallikkal' in olden days. The tradition goes that the name Pallikkal was derived from the word 'Palli', a term denoting a place of worship for Buddhists. We are told in Keralolpathy that a band of Buddha monks (Buddhist or Jain missionaries) came to Malabar and by their persuasion were able to convert many people including the King himself and it was only through the efforts of six Paradesa Brahmin apostles that the missionaries were defeated by arguments and driven out of the land, Hinduism was re-established and Hindu Gods were re-instated in the Buddhist temples.² The reliability of Keralolpathy for historical purposes has not been uniformly accepted by writers on the history of Kerala. But, several monuments are found in different parts of Travancore testifying both to the prevalence of Buddhism and Jainism in old days. The Buddhist relics are found generally in central Travancore, mainly in the taluks of Mavelikkara, Kunnathur, Karunagapally and Ambalapuzha. An image of Buddha seen on the roadside between Mavelikkara and Kandiyoor and another stone figure in the canal near Karumadi called by the canoe-men as 'Karumadikuttan' are considered to be the more important images of Buddha, though there is some doubt cast about 'Karumadikuttan' as to whether it is the image of Buddha or Vardhamana

* The basic survey in this village was conducted between 18th March 1961 and 4th April 1961.

(1) 54.63 hectares

(2) Travancore State Manual, 1906, Vol. II, page 224



Mahavira. In the premises of the Bharanikavu temple in this village also an image of Buddha in granite is enshrined. This is an indication of the fact that Bharanikavu along with its neighbouring villages of the Mavelikkara taluk would have been a place of Buddha worship at some time in its history. Srimulavasom coastal town believed to have been situated somewhere between Kayamkulam and Alleppey was one of the chief centres of Buddhist life and culture.¹ One of the meanings of the word 'Palli' given by Rev. H. Gundert is 'a place of worship for Buddhists'.² The word 'Palli' has been associated with most of the places where Buddha's images have been discovered. Thus, the locality where Buddha's image was found in Bharanikavu is still called Pallikkal. The Buddha image at Karunagapally was discovered in a tank known as Pallikkal-kulam. The image of Buddha at Kiliroor is known as Pallivanavar and the place where the Nilamperoor temple is situated is called Perinjathu Pallikkal. It would therefore, seem that there is some foundation for the tradition that this village was called Pallikkal because of the Buddhist worshippers in the place. The village was renamed Bharanikavu only during the intercensal period 1911—21. It is probable that there was no longer any charm for the name Pallikkal as the influence of Buddhism had declined and the village was renamed after the Bharanikavu temple which was growing in its popularity. At Bharanikavu, Karumadi, Kiliroor and Nilamperoor where Buddha's images have been discovered either within temples or very near them, the deity now worshipped is Bhagavathi. This points out to the probability that Bhagavathi worship attained popularity in the areas where Buddhism declined in Kerala.

Physical Features

4. Except for the eastern part the village is of a flat level dominated by sandy loams.

A little less than half the extent of the entire village consists of paddy fields. A network of canals constitutes a striking feature of the village. These canals, five in number, pierce the village in all directions. One of them cuts through the entire length of the village from north to south. It goes under two names, Vazhuthanacad-Mundakapadam in the northern sector and Kattachira in the southern sector. Another canal, which is equally long, starts from the centre of the above canal and is known as Idiyakadavu canal and Thazhayil Thodu in the central and south-western sectors respectively. It passes through the centre of the village to the west, takes a turn to the south and pierces the south-western corner of the village. The other important canals are Muriyakkal, Thekkemankuzhi-Poovathur and Pallikkal, but they are not as long as the canals mentioned above. Unfortunately none of these canals is perennial. Fed purely by rain-water, all of them become dry in summer. Nonetheless they serve as drainage channels for the second crop of paddy. In the north-western part of the village is situated a tank, a little more than one acre in extent, known as Perunkuzhy which is mainly used for bathing purpose. Some portions of the eastern part of the village are slightly more elevated than the rest of the area and laterite. The Punalur-Kayamkulam road running almost through the centre of the village splits it into two halves. Territorially the village is divided into nine divisions known as 'Karas'. They are Pallikkal-Naduvilemuri, Manjadithara, Thekkemankuzhi, Kattachira, Bharanikavu North, Bharanikavu South, Kattanam, Elippakulangara and Vettikkottu.

The Soil

5. The soil of the village is mostly sandy except in the eastern part of the village where the soil in areas other than wet lands is laterite. The wet lands in

(1) Travancore State Manual, 1940, Vol. II, Page 3

(2) A Malayalam and English Dictionary by Rev. H. Gundert, page 593

BHARANIKAVU

the eastern portion though sandy have a little more of clay in them than in the western portion. The PH value of the soil of the village is generally normal, the nitrogen content varies from medium to low and phosphorus and potash contents

from low to medium. The results of the analysis of two soil samples from the wet plots of Bharanikavu done in the Agricultural College, Vellayani are given below :—

Table I
RESULTS OF SOIL ANALYSIS

	Type of soil	Organic carbon	Availability of phosphorus	Availability of potash	PH value	Total soluble salt
Sample I	Sandy loam	Medium 0.60	High 64.00	Low 80.00	Normal 5.10	Normal 0.10
Sample II	do.	Medium 0.56	Medium 36.00	Low 52.00	Normal 5.30	Normal 0.30

6. The sandy soil being generally deficient in the major plant foods (N, P, K) and lime, their prime requirement is organic matter. They are highly porous and have a very low capacity for retaining water and added fertilisers. However, it is found from experience in cultivation that wherein good manuring is done the soil of this area has proved highly fertile and rewarding.

The Flora

7. Cöcoanut, areca-nut, jack, mango, papaya and plantain are the popular flora of the area. Glyricidia and screw-pine are found in plenty as hedge plants along the boundaries of compounds and borders of paddy fields. Paddy of which two crops are raised is the most important seasonal crop in the village. During the interval between the second crop in one year and the first crop in the succeeding year an additional crop of sesame is also raised.

Paddy (Common rice plant—*Oryza sativa*—Linn)

8. Paddy, or the common rice plant, is perhaps the most popular plant in Kerala being the yielder of the staple food of the land. It is an annual plant, tall and unbranched with long and rather rough lanceolate leaves which are many. But sometimes the branching may occur from the

nodes higher up. The panicles are terminal; rachis is common, partial, angular and hispid. It belongs to the family *Gramina* and could be classified as a semi-aquatic grass. The root system is fibrous and generally consists of two whorls, one a primary set of roots developed from the radicle of the embryo and the other which springs from the first knot of the plumule situated higher and almost at the surface. The root requires considerable aeration for proper development. The root system is deep and wide-spread. The stem is hollow and cylindrical. The plant grows rapidly as the flowering time approaches. After it, the growth is checked. The upper internodes are considerably and successively longer than those below. The flowers are simple, pedicelled; the calyx glume, two-valved, one-flowered, the larger valve ending in a long hispid coloured awn. The inflorescence is a loose panicle or a compound spike. It is terminal and bears a number of spikelets and articulates to slender branches of panicles. The plant is extensively cultivated in almost all the countries of the east under the equator having a summer temperature of at least 70°, humidity and heat being indispensable conditions for its growth. India, Japan, China, Philippines, Ceylon, Siam, both



Pl. 1

PADDY

PADDY

shores of the Red Sea, Egypt, Madagascar, Burma, coasts of Western Africa and America, Italy, Spain and Germany are some of the countries in which this plant thrives. The most fertile soil for paddy is land periodically inundated in the neighbourhood of large rivers where the plant can receive much fertilising matter from the overflow of rivers. Yet this is not sufficient for the perfect maturity and well-being of the plant, for it requires rain also, the showers falling on the plant being absolutely requisite to ensure the full development of the flowers and seeds. There is a type of paddy which could be sown in the hills on dry and elevated lands and left entirely to depend upon only rain. This paddy is called *modun* in Malabar and is of great value. It is a striking contrast to another type of paddy which flourishes even in high floods known as *kuttatan*. Doctors assert that the produce of different crops have different effects when medicinally prescribed. Rice is light, wholesome and very easy of digestion, but cannot be baked into bread. Unbaked, it can be kept for any length of time. It contains 85% starch. There are about 150 varieties of paddy. The following are the improved varieties of paddy strains. Their yield and duration of crop in days are also given along with them.

Table II
IMPROVED VARIETIES OF PADDY

Name of variety	Duration (in days)	Average per acre yield (in lb.)
1	2	3
PTB 1 (Aryan)	145	3,000
PTB 2 (Ponnaryan)	135	2,500
PTB 4 (Vellari)	140	3,000
PTB 5 (Velutharikayama)	145	3,000
PTB 7 (Parambuvattan)	120	2,500
PTB 8 (Thavalakannan red)	130	2,500
PTB 9 (Thavalakannan white)	130	2,500
PTB 10 (Thekkan cheera)	90-100	2,500
PTB 12 (Chitteni—S. Malabar)	125	2,500

Name of variety	Duration (in days)	Average per acre yield (in lb.)
1	2	3
PTB 15 (Kavaunginpoothala) & 19	PTB 15 165 PTB 19 155	3,000 3,000
PTB 18 (Eravapandi)	130	2,500
PTB 20 (Chitteni—N. Malabar)	125	2,500
PTB 21 (Thekkan)	125	2,500
PTB 22 (Veluthavattan)	120	2,000
PTB 23 (Cheriyar Aryan)	110	2,000
PTB 24 (Chuvannavattan)	115	2,000
PTB 25 (Thonnooran)	120	2,000
PTB 26 (Chenkayama)	125	2,500
PTB 27 (Kodyan)	130	3,500
PTB 28 (Kottannadan)	120	1,000
PTB 29 (Karuthamodan)	110	600
PTB 30 (Chuvannamodan)	110	600
PTB 31 (Elappapoochamban)	110	2,000
PTB 32 (Aruvakkari)	125	2,000
PTB 33 (Arikirai)	130	2,500
Cochin 1	145	
MO 1	110	
MO 2	100	
UR 19	145	

The Fauna

9. Domestic animals in the area are the same as are usually found in the coastal areas of Kerala like cows, oxen, goats, poultry, ducks etc. The types of birds and animals other than domestic animals consist of the mongoose, hedge-hogs, rats and mice, bats like flying fox, the short-nosed fruit bats and vampires, porcupines, the common striped squirrel etc. Among the birds are the Indian house crow, the Maypie robin, the bulbul, the fly-catcher, the king-crow, the owl, the horse-sparrow, the Indian skylark, the honey sucker, the wood-pecker, the king-fisher, the kite, pigeon, snipe, parrot and dove etc. The snakes are few in the area, the soil being sandy. Frogs are available in plenty in this village due to the extensive area of wet lands. Now that frog-catching and export of tinned frogs are popular, this village could be deemed to contribute its share to the industry and the dollar earning promoted by it.

BHARANIKAVU

Climate and Rainfall

10. The rainfall recordings at Kayam-

kulam centre for the last 10 years from 1951 are given in the following table.

Table III

RAINFALL.

Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1951	I 2	...	3	7	6	27	22	10	12	11	14	2	116
	II 31.7	...	68.6	192.8	85.9	777.7	326.9	91.9	343.9	132.6	147.3	18.0	2217.3
1952	I 2	3	...	4	13	28	22	19	5	15	6	5	122
	II 69.9	66.0	...	146.1	240.0	422.4	185.4	174.0	45.7	295.9	100.3	58.4	1804.1
1953	I 5	2	3	6	3	13	26	15	14	24	9	1	121
	II 69.9	17.8	33.0	121.9	80.0	295.9	720.1	125.7	232.4	406.4	137.2	20.3	2260.6
1954	I 3	...	6	10	14	25	23	24	16	15	1	6	143
	II 22.9	...	91.4	392.4	266.7	486.4	482.6	312.4	141.0	313.7	20.3	100.3	2630.1
1955	I ...	...	3	13	21	12	21	17	24	24	15	2	152
	II ...	...	30.7	128.5	223.3	486.4	331.7	142.2	419.1	391.2	203.2	27.9	2384.2
1956	I ...	...	1	7	16	25	15	8	13	17	12	...	114
	II ...	...	7.6	81.3	302.3	641.3	226.1	157.5	143.5	406.4	107.9	...	2073.9
1957	I ...	...	3	6	11	26	22	16	5	15	8	3	115
	II ...	...	25.1	75.7	311.9	698.5	505.2	246.4	25.4	284.5	189.2	68.6	2430.5
1958	I ...	2	4	8	14	22	12	19	5	11	15	1	113
	II ...	10.2	38.0	101.6	306.1	796.6	209.6	284.5	26.7	175.3	173.9	2.5	2125.0
1959	I ...	1	2	13	16	21	23	17	13	8	7	2	123
	II ...	63.5	28.2	203.3	518.7	876.3	566.6	354.3	194.8	138.1	67.3	38.1	3049.2
1960	I ...	1	...	10	20	16	21	11	20	9	N. A.	...	108
	II ...	30.8	2.1	178.5	653.0	256.5	621.6	251.6	407.9	112.9	N. A.	...	2514.9
1904 to 1950	(i) 1.5	1.5	3.0	6.7	12.3	22.9	21.6	16.8	13.1	14.2	10.4	3.7	127.7
1950 (2)	25.7	25.1	51.3	120.7	294.1	604.5	477.3	312.4	244.6	312.2	208.8	58.9	2735.6
1960 (i)	0.8	0.9	3.1	11.1	20.8	20.3	20.9	14.9	18.7	11.6	15.7	1.5	140.3
	(ii) 11.0	11.7	52.3	214.6	581.0	450.9	692.0	328.6	391.8	246.7	372.0	25.9	3378.5

During the above period the maximum rainfall has been recorded in the month of June in eight years, May in one year and July in one year. The minimum rainfall has been noted in the months of January in one year, February in one year, March in four years, September in one year and December in three years. The months of January, February, March and December are comparatively drier than other months. The maximum rainfall recorded during the

decade has been 876.3 mm. in the month of June 1959 while the minimum has been 2.1 mm. recorded in the month of March 1960.

11. The village has generally an equable climate. The monsoonal months from June to September and from October to November are cool both during day and night. The period covered by the second half of September and the first half of October is somewhat warm during day

- I. No. of rainy days
- N. A. Not available
- (2) Mean monthly total rainfall in millimetres
- (ii) Average rainfall for State in millimetres

- II. Total rainfall in millimetres
- (1) Mean No. of rainy days
- (i) Average No. of rainy days in the State

COMMUNICATIONS

and sultry during night. The months of December, January and a part of February have cool and pleasant nights and comfortable days. From the second half of February up to May the climate is highly warm, the months of March and April being generally the warmest. If the days are warm and sweating, the nights are sultry during the period. This is the worst season in the year. The beginning of the monsoon is marked by heavy thunders, lightnings and fast-blowing wind. The second part of August and the first part of September form the best season in the year with sufficient sunshine and yet cool weather.

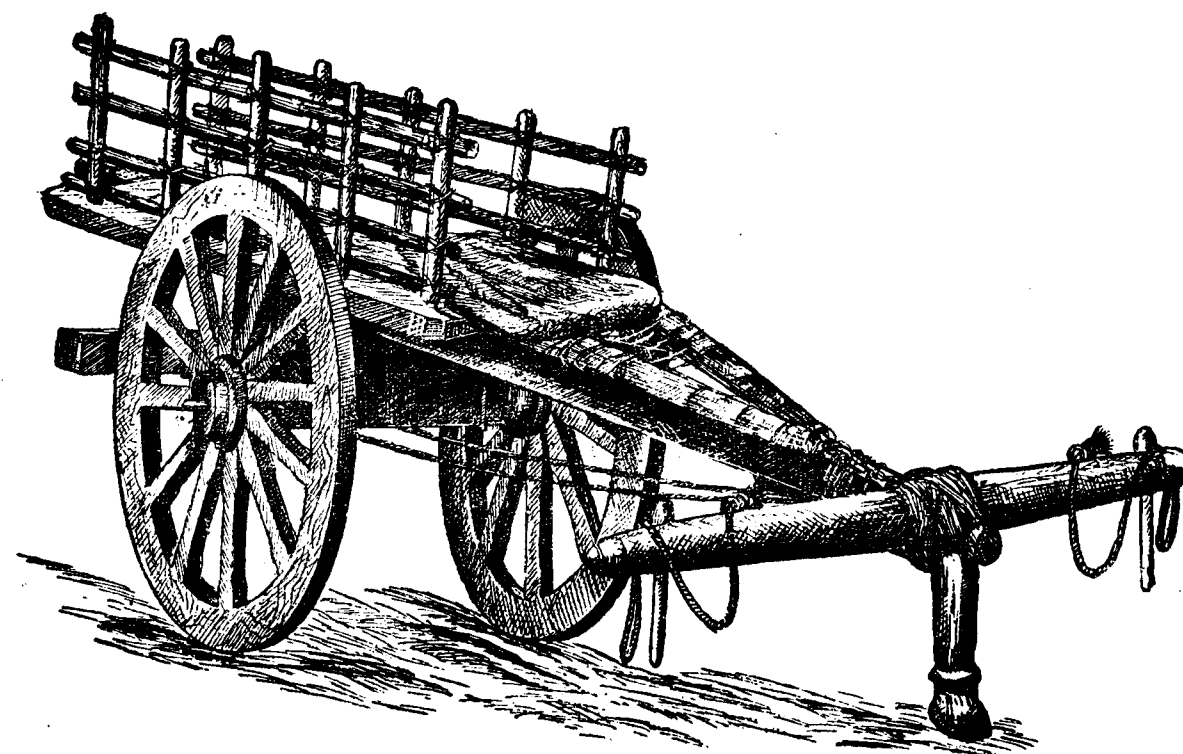
Communications

12. As mentioned above the Kayamkulam-Punalur road which is the main channel of communication by road runs across the village. It connects the village

with the three important roads of the State viz., the National Highway, the M. C. Road and the Quilon-Shencottah Road. This road is also connected with Mavelikkara, Thazhava, Oachira etc., by motorable roads. A network of by-lanes supplements the above roads. The Kayamkulam Railway Station in the Quilon-Ernakulam railway line is situated about two miles west of this village. There are five Post Offices, one each being located at Kattachira, Bharanikavu Vadakku, Bharanikavu Thekku, Olakettiyambalam and Pallikkal. The only Telegraph Office in the village is at Pallikkal.

Means of Transport

13. The means of transport in the village consist of motor transport and train both for medium and long distances, and cycles for short journeys. Bullock-carts and handcarts are used for transport

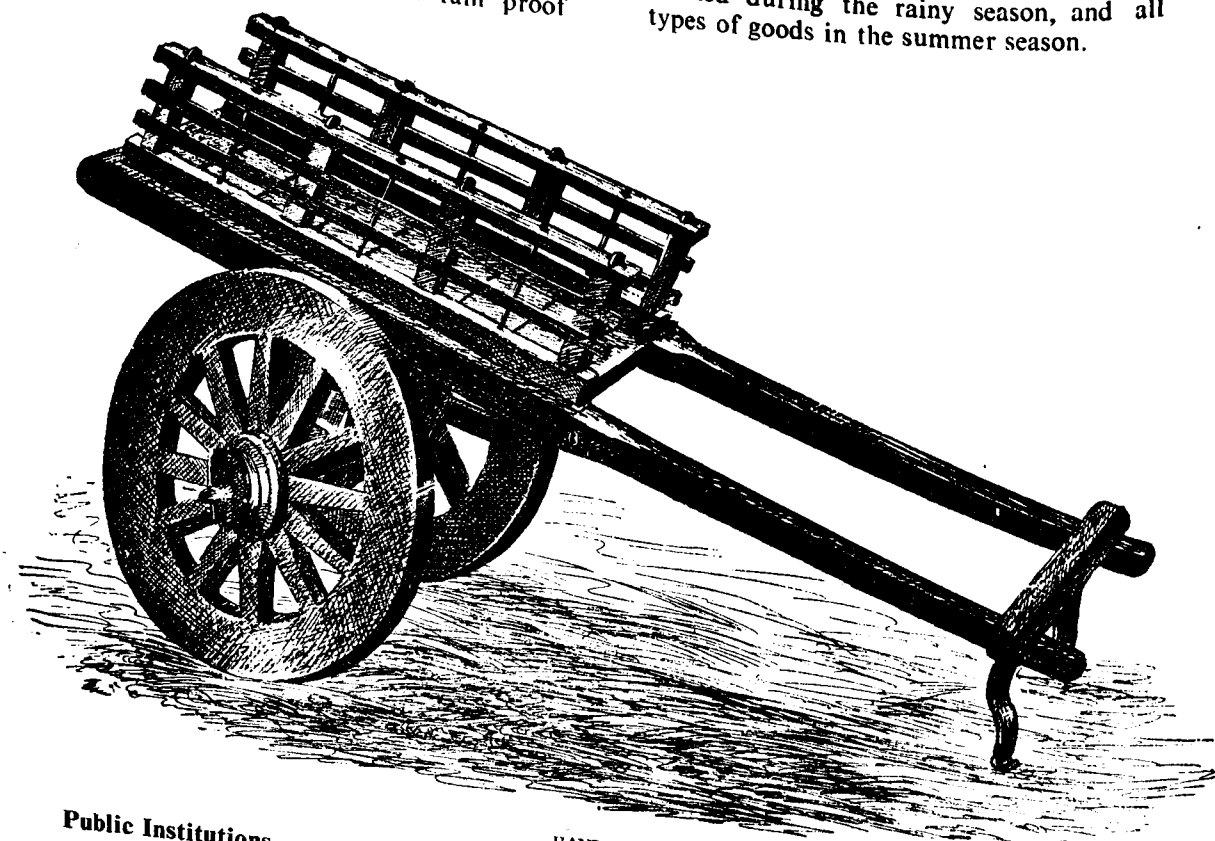


BULLOCK-CART

BHARANIKAVU

of goods for short distances. Both the bullock-carts and handcarts have radial spokes fixed between the hub and the felly for their wheels. The bullock-carts are with or without a top covering. A bullock-cart which has got a rain proof

top covering is used to carry goods which cannot stand rain. In the open type of bullock-carts as well as handcarts goods which can be carried even during rain are carried during the rainy season, and all types of goods in the summer season.



HANDCART

Public Institutions

14. The oldest educational institution in the village is the C. M. S. High School, Kattanam. This was started as a Primary School in 1892. In those days it was known as the Grammar School. Teaching of English was started there from the very beginning. In 1922 the school was converted into an upper Primary School and in 1949 upgraded into a High School. This institution is under the corporate management of the Church of South India. There is one more High School within the village known as the Pope Pius XI High School.

This School was started as a High School in 1934. The Pallikkal Government Upper Primary School was originally started in 1072 M. E. (1897 A. D.) as the Pakuthy School by local people and then surrendered to Government in 1092 M. E. (1917 A.D.) The Marthoma Upper Primary School is also one of the old institutions of the village. Started about 50 years back as an Upper Primary School it has been upgraded into a Primary School recently. In addition to the above there are six Lower Primary and one Upper Primary Schools within the village all of which are of

recent origin. Other important village institutions are the Village Office, the Panchayat Office, the N. E. S. Block Office, the Sub-Registrar's Office, the Veterinary Hospital, the Health Assistant's Office, the Sevanam Hospital, the St. Thomas' Hospital etc. The Sevanam Hospital is run by the Bharat Sevak Samaj. This was started in 1953. The staff include one doctor, one compounder, one midwife and two nurses in this. 42 beds have been provided in this hospital. All types of cases are attended here. No fee is charged for minor cases. Attached to this hospital there are a Family Planning Clinic and a Maternity and Child Health Centre. The St. Thomas' Mission Hospital belongs to the Marthoma Church. This was started in 1948. There are in this 2 male doctors, 1 lady doctor, 14 nurses and 2 compounders. The hospital has 60 beds. Free treatment is extended to the poor here. There is also an X-ray plant attached to this hospital.

Places of Public Worship

15. There are 2 Marthoma churches, 2 churches of the Church of South India, 3 Jacobite churches, 2 Roman Catholic churches, 8 temples and 1 mosque in the village. Among the churches the St. Stephen's Church at Kattanam, the Marthoma Church, Kattanam, and among temples the Bharanikavu temple and Vettikkottu temple are the more important ones. It is believed that the Vettikkottu Nagaraja temple was originally constructed by Parasurama. There is, however, no historical evidence for this. The serpent-god of this temple is held in great veneration. It is said that the famous serpent temple at Mannarsala came into existence through a female of the Vettikkottu Illam who was married to Mannarsala and given a stone idol of a serpent as dowry.

16. The local tradition goes that when the Khandava forest in which the serpent-king Thakshakan was residing was consumed by god Agni under the protection of the roof of arrows created

by Arjun, the people of this locality saved Thakshakan by offering an abode to him here and isolating the locality from the approaching fire of the 'Khandava' forest by digging a canal as wide as a lake and thereafter the serpent-king was pleased with them. The origin of the name 'Vettikkottu' for this temple as well as the locality in which it is situated is said to be from 'Vettikotta', 'vetti' meaning dug and 'kotta' meaning fort. Thus 'Vettikotta' meant a fort that was dug. The lake that goes by the name 'Vettikkottu Puncha' situated to the east of this village which is now cultivated with *Puncha* crops (*kayal* land cultivation of paddy) is pointed out as testifying to the above tradition. This is one of the few temples in which serpent worship exists in Kerala now. Sunday is the chief day of worship in this temple.

17. The Bharanikavu Bhadrakali temple is another ancient Hindu temple of the village. The tradition about the deity of this temple is that the deity was brought from Cranganore a long time back. The facing of the main sanctuary of the temple towards the north is relied upon in support of this tradition. The timber for the construction of the *Srikovil* (sanctum sanctorum) of the temple is said to have been sawn out of a jack tree without felling it till the various parts required for the construction were taken from it. The 'Meenabharani' is an important festival in the temple in which people from nearby villages also participate in large numbers. The stone image of Buddha installed in the temple premises, a little to the north of the temple, and protected by a thatched shed closely resembles the Buddha image at Mavelikkara. "Measuring about 2' in height, the image very elegantly executed shows the Buddha in the usual meditating posture with a gentle smile on its lips. The *Ushnisha* and the *Jwala* on the head and the upper cloth passing over the left shoulder and lying flat on the chest are

BHARANIKAVU

conspicuous features of the image. The soles of the feet are turned upwards and the hands rest in the lap in the characteristic Dhyanamudra."¹ Offerings of tender coconuts, flowers etc., are made to this image by the local Hindus for the fulfilment of desired objects like the recovery of lost goods. The affairs of the Bharanikavu temple are managed by an elected committee of 16 members.

Markets

18. There are three private markets and one public market in the village. The public market is known as 'Koikal Chantha'. It is situated close to the surveyed area. It is larger than the private markets. There are thatched sheds for marketing the goods. The whole area covered by the market which comes to about 50 cents is enclosed by compound walls on all sides. These markets have no compound walls though they have thatched sheds. The private markets are located at Mampukulam, Meppallil and Olakettiyambalam. All the above markets meet daily. The important commodities marketed are fish, tapioca, meat, vegetable, coconut etc. There are petty retail traders around these markets who are engaged in the sale of stationery articles and other allied goods required in that area.

Health and Sanitation

19. As already mentioned above, the hospitals in the village are run by the Bharat Sevak Samaj and the Marthoma Church. These hospitals maintain a high standard and are meeting the requirements of the people for the present. There are also a few private Ayurvedic *Vidyasalas* in the village. While the village is provided with electric light, there is no protected water supply. But chlorination of water is done by the Public Health Department. During the rainy season the canals which pass through the village and the Perunkuzhi

tank which is more than an acre in extent are used for public bathing purposes. There are also a few public wells providing drinking water. During the summer the canals will dry up. The Perunkuzhi tank, however, does not go dry in the summer and hence the public depend upon this tank for bathing purposes wherever they have no facilities of their own. There is a Health Assistant in the village attending to the prevention of smallpox, cholera etc. The birth and death register of the village shows that during 1962 there were 199 deaths of which 9 were due to heart failure, 6 due to tuberculosis and 184 due to old age, accidents, maternity and other causes. The period from January to May 1963 records 106 deaths the causes being heart failure in 12, tuberculosis in 4, cancer in 2 and other diseases in 88 cases. The markets as well as roads are swept under the auspices of the Panchayat. A midwife has been appointed by the Panchayat who is in charge of the child welfare centre and also assists in maternity cases. Chicken-pox is an annual feature in the village, though there are no fatal cases. There is no public burial ground for Hindus in the village. They either cremate or bury the dead in their own house-compounds. The Christians and Muslims bury the dead in cemeteries attached to the churches and mosques respectively.

Residential Pattern

20. Unlike the villages on the east coast and most other parts of India where the residential pattern of villages consists of a cluster of houses situated in a small and compact area surrounded by extensive tracts of arable land, this village, like the rest of the villages in Kerala, presents a continuous expanse of isolated houses, each house within its own compound. In most parts of Kerala the compounds are protected by compound walls or fencing. The compound walls are done either in mud or



Pl. 2

THE ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH, KATTANAM

Page 9



Pl. 3

THE BHARANIKAVU BHADRAKALI TEMPLE

Page 9

() Buddhism in Kerala, by P. C. Alexander, page 71

RESIDENTIAL PATTERN

in stone and the fencing either with bamboo thorns or plaited cadjan leaves. In this village mud is available only in the eastern part where laterite soil is found. Here some compounds are found protected by mud walls and a few by stone walls. But in the other parts of the village mud walls are not found for the simple reason that the sandy soil is not capable of being used for mud walls. Most of the compounds here have their boundaries planted with hedge plants like screw-pine or glyricidia. They well serve the purpose of a fence. The villagers, however, do not take care to afford better protection either by fencing

with thorns or cadjan leaves. The former is hardly available in the area. The latter is available, but not used for this purpose. One of the reasons why they are satisfied with screw-pine or glyricidia hedge plant is that the screw-pine yields some income by the sale of its leaves for the manufacture of mats and glyricidia can be used as an excellent green manure. There is hardly any communal clustering in the village except at Elippakulangara where there is some concentration of Muslims. Most of the compounds being large, there are a number of hutment dwellers (*Kudikidappukars*) in the village.



Pl. 4 THE STONE IMAGE OF BUDDHA
(In the premises of the Bharanikavu Bhadrakali Temple)

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Area, Houses and Population

21. During the last Census this village was part of Quilon district. The area of the village is 5,660.00 acres. By the formation of Alleppey district the Mavelikkara taluk was transferred from Quilon to Alleppey and the village came under the district. The population of the village according to 1961 Census is 26,702 with 4,727 households, while the corresponding figures for 1951 Census were 23,255 and 3,992 respectively. There is an increase of 14.82 per cent in the population and 18.41 per cent in the number of households during the last decade. The density of population of the village is 3,019 persons per square mile against 2,630 persons per square

mile in 1951. Compared to the density of population of the State, the Alleppey district and the Mavelikkara taluk which come to 1,127, 2,558 and 2,436 persons per square mile respectively, the density of population of this village is much higher. The rate of increase in population works out to 1.48 per cent per annum. 51.00 per cent of the present population are females against 50.62 per cent in 1951.

22. The population of the surveyed area consists of 617 persons with 52.03 per cent females. The number of households comes to 113. The density of population of the surveyed area works out to 2,134 persons per square mile. This difference is due to the larger extent of paddy fields situated in the surveyed area.

Table IV

AREA, HOUSES AND POPULATION

Area in		Density per sq. mile	Total No. of households	Persons	Males	Females
Acres	Hectares					
135	54.63	2,134	113	617	296	321

23. Out of the 113 households of the surveyed area 5.30 per cent have 10 members or more. 21.23 per cent have 7 to 9 members, 54.0 per cent 4 to 6 members, 18.58 per cent 2 or 3 members and 0.89 per

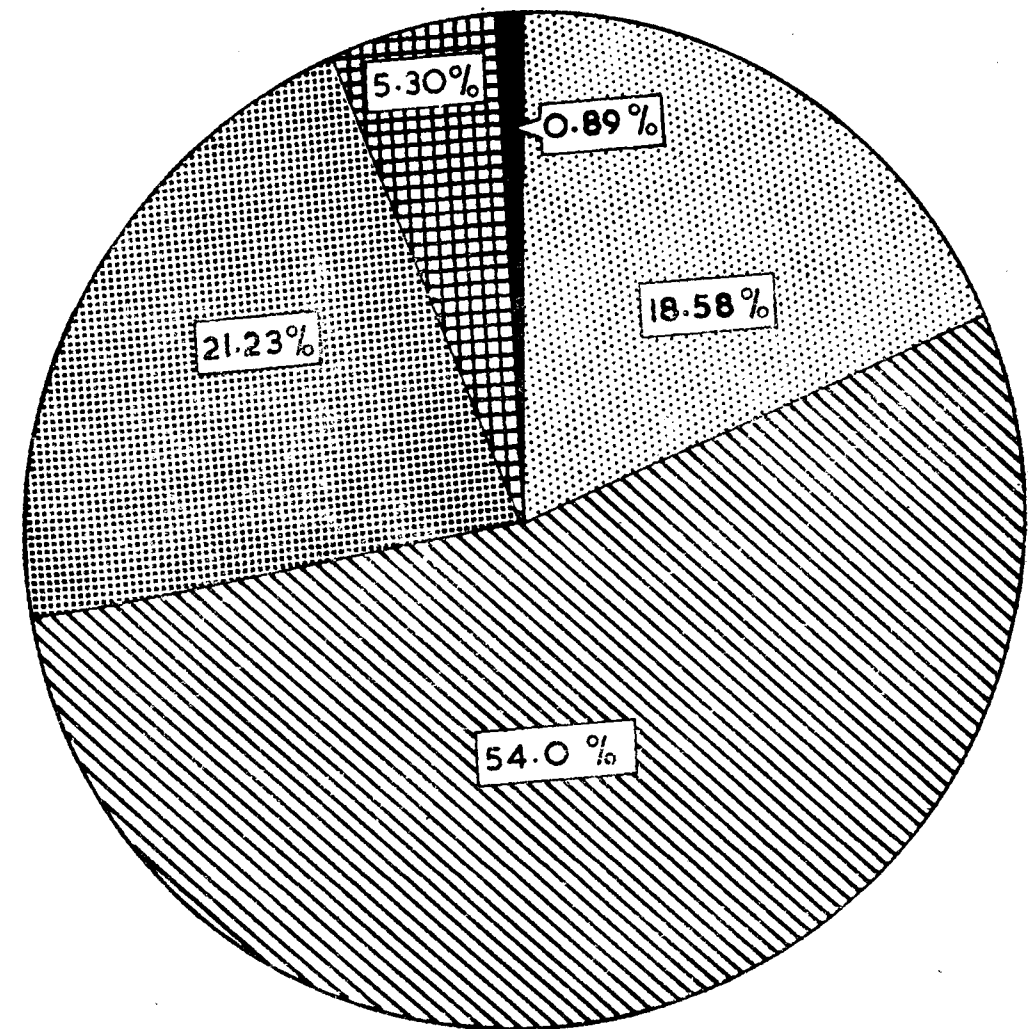
cent one member each. The average size of a household is 5.46 persons. For the whole village the average size of a household is 5.67 persons.

Table V

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

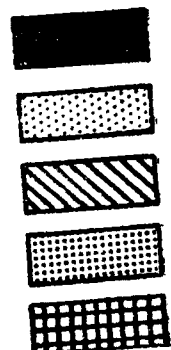
Total No. of households	Single member households	Two or three members	Four to six members	Seven to nine members	Ten members and over
113	1	21	61	24	6

A chart showing the size and composition of households is given on the following page.



INDEX

SINGLE MEMBER HOUSEHOLD
2 OR 3 MEMBERS
4 — 6 MEMBERS
7 — 9 MEMBERS
10 MEMBERS AND OVER



Ethnic Composition

24. While Hindus and Christians are the predominant communities of the village there are also Muslims here. The Hindus consist of Nairs, Ezhuvas, Pulayas, Parayas Thandans, Asaris, etc. Of these, Nairs form the more important section. The Christians consist of Marthomites, Jacobites, Catholics and members of the Church of South India of whom the first two sections are much larger than the other two. The following table gives the number of households and people by sex in each community within the surveyed area.

Table VI
RELIGIONS, COMMUNITIES, CASTES
OR SUB-CASTES

Community	No. of house- holds	Persons	Males	Females
Hindus				
Nairs	54	277	138	139
Ezhuvas	20	128	65	63
Pulayas	7	35	19	16
Parayas	3	15	7	8
Asaris	4	28	12	16
Thandans	5	24	9	15
Total	93	507	250	257
Christians				
Jacobites	11	67	29	38
Marthomites	4	17	8	9
Catholics	4	19	7	12
Members of the Church of South India	1	7	2	5
Total	20	110	46	64

The chart on next page illustrates the above.

Description of Communities

25. Of the various communities in the village it is proposed to give an account of only one community here viz., the Nairs, as the rest of the communities have already been described in other monographs of this series.

Nairs**Origin**

26. "The term 'Nayar' is believed to be derived from the Sanskrit word *Nayaka*,

a leader, and is, therefore, allied to the Dravidian term Naicker or Naidu. The most generally accepted theory is that the Nairs are Dravidians and belong to the same race and family as the bulk of the present inhabitants of Southern India, and that they issued at a very early period, long before the Aryan immigration from the eastern Tamil districts, crossed the intervening range of ghats and gradually spread themselves as far south as Trivandrum." Some consider it to be more correct to say that the term 'Nairs' is derived from 'Nagas' (snakes or snake-worshipping Nagas or Scythians) from the worship of the Nagas or snakes which has been the characteristic cult of the community. Edgar Thurston observes about the origin of Nairs as follows:- "According to the Brahmin tradition the Nair caste is the result of union between the Nambudiris with Deva, Ghandharva and Rakshasa women introduced by Parasurama; and this tradition embodies the undoubted fact that the caste by its practice of hypergamy has had a very large infusion of Aryan blood. In origin the Nairs were probably a race of Dravidian immigrants, who were amongst the first invaders of Malabar, and as conquerors assumed the position of the governing and land-owning class. The large admixture of Aryan blood combined with the physical peculiarities of the country would go far to explain the very marked difference between the Nair of the present day and what may be considered the corresponding Dravidian races in the rest of the Presidency" (Madras Presidency).² Relying on the writing of St. Francis Xavier in 1542-1544 referring to men whom he calls 'Badages' who are said to have been collectors of royal taxes, L. Moore, in his 'Malabar Law and Customs' says, "I believe, however, that the Jesuit rightly called them Nairs, for, I find that Father Organtino, writing in 1568 speaks of these 'Badages' as people from Narasinga



Pl. 5 A JACOBITE SYRIAN CHRISTIAN Page 14



Pl. 6 A JACOBITE SYRIAN CHRISTIAN FAMILY Page 14

(1) Travancore State Manual, 1906, by V. Nagam Aiya, Vol. II, page 347
(2) Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. V, page 284

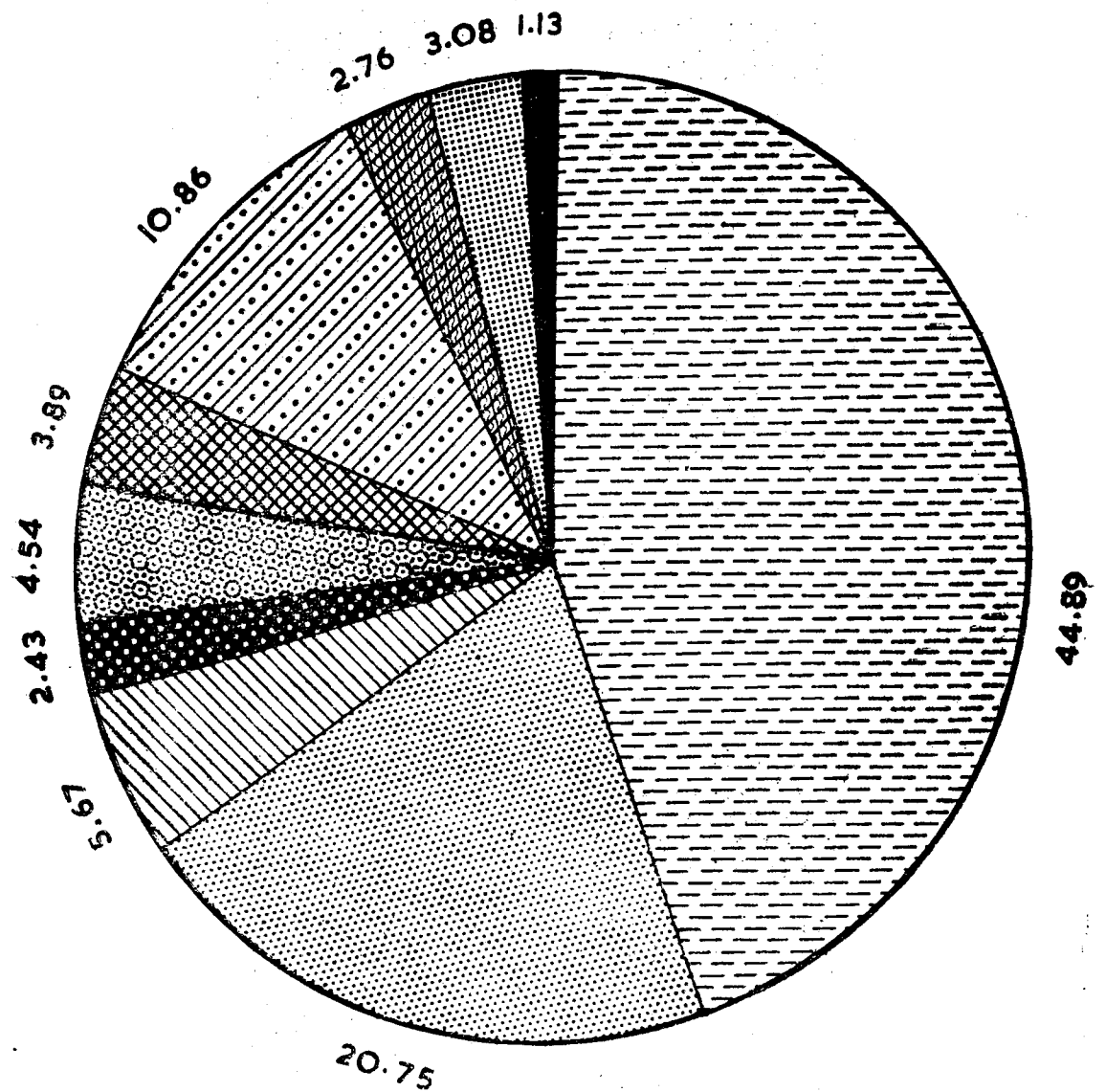


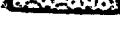
Pl. 7 A NAIR LADY IN MODERN COSTUME Page 23



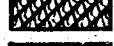
Pl. 8 A NAIR MALE Page 23

ETHNIC COMPOSITION (PERCENTAGES)



 NAIRS
 EZHUVAS
 PULAYAS
 PARAYAS
 ASARIS

INDEX

 THANDANS
 JACOBITES
 MARTHOMITES
 CATHOLICS
 CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA

(a Kingdom north of Madura, lying close to Bishnaghur).¹ Bishnaghur is, of course, Vijayanagar, and the Kingdom of Narasinga was the name frequently given by the Portuguese to Vijayanagar. Almost every page of Mr. Sewell's interesting book on Vijayanagar bears testimony to the close connection between the Vijayanagar and the West Coast.²

27. On the basis of literary evidence, Mr. Kanakasabha Pillai has attributed a Mongolian origin to the whole of the Dravidian race of Tamils amongst whom he includes the Nairs.³ Ferguson led by the striking similarity of the Malayali and Canarese architecture to that of the Newars of Nepal, combined with the prevalence of polyandry amongst the latter suggests a connection between the Nairs and the Newars.⁴ Those who find that Naga worship is common among Nairs and Scythians also rely upon the matriarchal system of inheritance among the Scythians and Nairs to reinforce their theory of the Scythian origin of Nairs. Though polyandry existed among Nairs it was mostly restricted to a woman marrying brothers. It is not also accepted that the system was universally prevalent. Anyhow, the custom of polyandry was not peculiar to the Newars of Nepal. Nor was the matriarchal system of inheritance peculiar to the Scythians. For, polyandry was prevalent in many communities at one stage of their evolution and the matriarchal system of inheritance, likewise, was obtaining in several parts of the world which had not emerged from primitive social obscurity. Most of the Australian tribes of the present day preserve it in its pure form. Tibet is said to maintain a system which is only one stage in advance of it. The Lycians mentioned by Herodotus

follow practically the same system. The generality of opinion, however, appears to be that the Nairs belong to the Dravidian race, with, no doubt, an admixture of Aryan blood; but the date of their arrival in Malabar cannot be accurately determined.⁵ According to the 'Kerala Mahatmyam' the Nairs are the descendants of the union of junior members of the Nambudiri families with Deva, Gandharva and Rakshasa women brought in by Parasurama from extraterrestrial regions. The 'Keralotpathy' regards them as the descendants of Sudras who accompanied the Brahmin immigrants from outside Kerala. It is superfluous to state that the authenticity of these two books has been seriously questioned by historians.

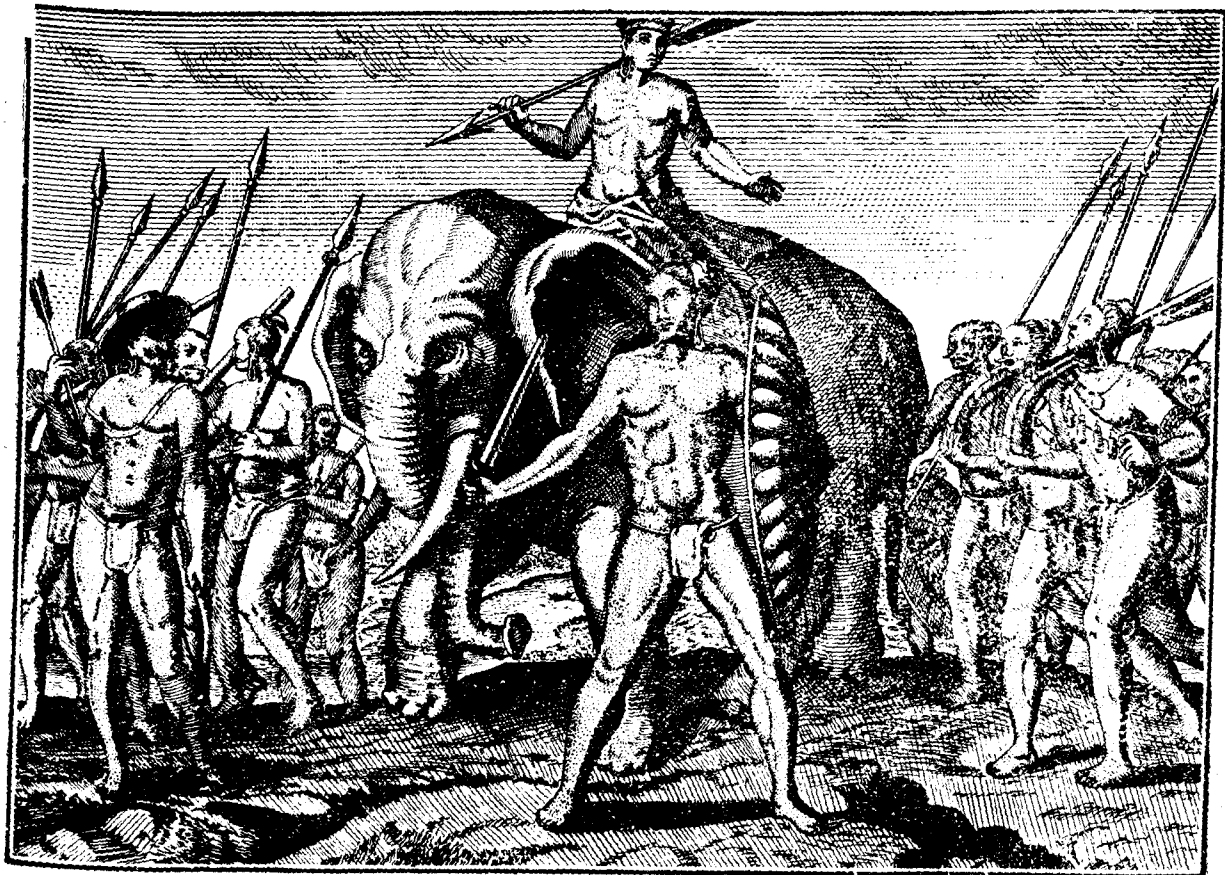
Their brief description

28. Of Nairs, Duarte Barbosa says, "In these kingdoms of Malabar there is another sect of people called Nairs, who are the gentry and have no other duty than to carry on war, and they continually carry their arms with them, which are swords, bows, arrows, bucklers and lances. They all live with the Kings, and some of them with other lords, relations of the King, and lords of the country, and with the salaried governors; and with one another. And no one can be a Nair if he is not of good lineage. They are very smart men, and much taken up with their nobility. They do not associate with any peasant, and neither eat nor drink except in the houses of other Nairs. These people accompany their lords day and night; little is given them for eating and sleeping, and for serving and doing their duty."⁶ Francois Pyrard observes about them, "As for the Nairs, they are all nobles, and meddle with neither handicraft nor trade, nor any

THEIR BRIEF DESCRIPTION

other exercise but that of arms, which they always carry; and in these they do exercise themselves continually from the time they can wield them, and when out of their houses are never without them. They are all lords of the country and live upon their revenues and upon the pensions which the king gives them. They are the most handsome men, of the best figure and proportion I have ever seen. In complexion they are tawny, in height slim and tall; the best soldiers in the world; hardy and courageous, exceedingly adroit in the use of arms, with such dexterous suppleness of limb that they can bend in all possible postures and can

parry and avoid with subtlety all blows aimed at them, and at the same time make lunges at their antagonists. Yet they never go to sea and are of competency only on land."¹ The Nairs of old used to receive their military training from the very infancy for which purpose they were sent to 'kalaris' (gymnasia) where 'Panikkars' gave them the training. Their sinews and joints were so stretched and anointed with the 'oyle sesamus' that they become very light and nimble and could wind and twine their bodies as if they had no bones. They used to cast themselves backwards and forwards, high and low, to the astonishment of the



THE NAIR WARRIORS OF ANCIENT TIMES

(1) Coleridge's Xavier quoted by L. Moore
(2) Glossary to the Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission, page 2, and Day's Land of the Perumals, page 44
(3) The Tamils 1800 Years Ago—V. Kanakasabha Pillai
(4) Indian and Eastern Architecture, by Ferguson, page 271
(5) The Cochin Tribes and Castes, by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Vol. II, page 3
(6) A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, by Duarte Barbosa, page 124

(1) The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil, Vol. I, page 380

beholders and their delight in their weapon was so great that they persuaded themselves that no nation could handle it with such skill and dexterity. Such trained young men became the guards of some kings or lords and so faithful and obedient were they that they had no hesitation to die for them when required. They were the greatest and worst enemies of the Portuguese and did a great deal of mischief to them by sea. Wherever they went, they carried their arms both by day and night. "They went into battle almost naked, threw javelin with equal address backward and forward, and drew the bow with such skill that their second shaft often split the first. Their extraordinary agility made them the terror of every combat in forest or jungle. On the smallest provocation they prepared themselves for death, and having done so, one would hold his ground against a hundred...." ¹ Describing the military dress and weapons of the Nairs of ancient time Abbe Dubois says, "The military dress of the Nair is a pair of short drawers and his peculiar weapon is an instrument with a thin but very broad blade hooked towards the edge like a bill-hook or gardener's knife, and about the length of a Roman sword. The hooked instrument, the inseparable companion of the Nair whenever he quits his dwelling on business, pleasure or for war, has no scabbard, and is usually grasped by the right hand and as an ornamental appendage during the time of peace and used for destruction in war. When the Nair employs his 'musquet' or his bow, the weapon already described is fixed in an instant by means of a catch in the waist belt, with the flat part of the blade diagonally across his back; and it can be disengaged as quickly whenever he drops his 'musquet' in the wood or slings it across his shoulders for the purpose of rushing to close encounter with this terrible instrument." ² The

Nairs whom the king received in his service were never dismissed however old they may be. They received their pay and rations and the king granted favours to whosoever had served him well. The king was bound to support the mother and family of any soldier who died in war. He also treated at his own expense any soldier who was wounded in any battle. "Deterioration had, however, set in even before the time of Hyder's invasion of Malabar....Tippu completed the work started by Hyder. He devastated the country with fire and sword carrying away an immense number of prisoners, both men and women, and converting to Islam whoever he could lay hold of. The few Nairs who escaped him fled to Travancore. Tippu's regime in Malabar had completely broken the backbone of the Nair military organisation and the British on their attaining supremacy put forth their best endeavour to keep the Nairs down." ³ This deterioration had been steadily going on that even as early as 1858 Captain Druery while describing the Nairs of his generation has drawn pointed attention to their striking contrast with the Nair warriors of ancient times.

29. The Nairs are Hindus by religion and rank next to Brahmins and Kshatriyas. One of the special features about them is that they worship serpents. A 'sarpa-kavu' (serpent grove) or an abode of snakes was considered to be an indispensable adjunct to every Nair house in the past. Ward and Conner estimated the numbr of 'kavus' in Travancore as 15,000 nearly 150 years ago and their number must have certainly increased by this time especially when the Hindu population moved to the interior and reclaimed the forests for the purpose of living and cultivation. Minor divinities such as 'Nagathans', 'Nagarajas', 'Yakshis', 'Gandharvas' and 'Sasthas' also find a place in these 'kavus'. The Nairs are proverbially

noted for their cleanliness. They are so fastidious about their bath that most of them bathe both in the morning and evening, as far as possible by plunging in a river or tank, and some even bathe thrice a day and after their bath they make marks on their body with holy ashes. As Linschoten observes, "When they are once touched by any Polayans or by any other nation except Nayros, they must (before they eat or converse with the Nayros) wash and clean their bodies with great ceremonies and superstitions. For this purpose in every place where they dwell, they have a pit or well digged wherein they hold water, which standeth openly in the say, where every man passeth by, wherein every morning when they rise they wash themselves." According to Francois Pyrard, when the Nairs go about the towns and come across the villains they cry *po, po* i.e., that they should get out of the way; otherwise, if they should chance to touch them, they would resent it and would strike them. ¹ Mandelslo later says, "They (Nairs) always go with sword and buckler wherewith they make a noise in the street as they go and perpetually cry out *po, po*, that people should make way for them". Varthema's account is the converse; he says that "the common folk always go crying out with a loud voice, and this they do in order that they may not meet the 'Naeri' or the Brahmins"; for "if a Nayar should, for want of this precaution, come across a low caste man he might instantly kill him". With the passage of time, however, this signal of *po, po*, has ceased to be sounded by the Nairs for the simple reason that untouchability and unapproachability are no more allowed in society. The ordinary Nair believes, apart from his religious faith, in a number of superstitions and omens. These are so numerous that to list them will take too long a space.

Subdivisions among Nairs

30. There were as many as 116 subdivisions among Nairs referred to in the

Travancore Census Report of 1901. The more important among them are,

- (1) Kiriyaathil Nairs, believed to have been the descendants of the early Brahmins in their union with the Deva, Gandharva and Rakshasa women brought into Kerala by Parasurama, whose primary duty was to serve the Brahmins,
- (2) Illathu Nairs, the attendants and retainers of the Nambudiris,
- (3) Swaroopathil Nairs, those who render services to Kshatriyas,
- (4) Akathu and Purathu Charna Nairs, (inside and outside retainers respectively),
- (5) Menoki and Pattola Menons, accountants in temples and aristocratic families,
- (6) Marars, drummers and musicians in temples and also those who render services to Brahmins and Kshatriyas in their ceremonies,
- (7) Padamangalam Nairs, those who escort the processions in temples,
- (8) Pallichan Nairs, palanquin bearers of Brahmins and Kshatriyas,
- (9) Vattekad Nairs, oil-pressers in temples,
- (10) Chempukotti Nairs, workers in copper in temples and Brahmin houses,
- (11) Odathu Nairs, tile and thatch makers for temples and Brahmin houses,
- (12) Edacheri Nairs, makers and sellers of dairy produces,
- (13) Anduran Nairs, manufacturers of earthenwares for use in temples and
- (14) Attikurusi Nairs, priests who officiate in funeral ceremonies for all the above sub-castes. ²

It is said that the Odathu, Chempukotti, Anduran, Pallichan and Vattekad Nairs have to be treated as an intermediate class of Sudras because there is neither inter-dining nor inter-marriage between the members of these subdivisions and the high caste Sudras. Under the head of low caste

(1) Graul Reise nach Ost Indien (quoted in the Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, page 5)
 (2) People of India by Abbe J. Dubois, quoted by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Vol. II, page 5
 (3) History of Kerala by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Vol. III, page 341

(1) The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil. Vol. I, page 383
 (2) The Cochin Tribes and Castes by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Vol. II, pages 15-18

Sudras were included four sub-castes viz, Tharakans, Velukkathalavans, Veluthedans and Chaliyans.¹ "Interdining was not permitted among the members of some of the sub-castes, but of late there has been considerable advancement in that direction. Even inter-marriages are now common and meet with the full approval of society. The fusion of sub-castes advocated by the late Mr. C. Krishna Pillai and his colleagues with the support of organisations like the Keralaya Nair Samajam and the Nair Service Society is now an accomplished fact."²

There are a few popular titles among Nairs which are explained below.

Kartha This means 'doer' and is said to have been a title held by the old rulers of Madura. Those who have been conferred with the title by the Maharaja belong to the Illom subdivision.

Kaimal According to the tradition, the Kaimals were the fighting masters of Cochin and Malabar and were in charge of royal treasure.

Kurup Some of this title-holders were military instructors or captains of the army in charge of gymnasia ('kalaris').

Panikkar The holders of this title belong to the same category as 'Kurups' in so far as they were in charge of gymnasia or 'kalaris'.

Nair This title is generally conferred in Malabar by kings on feudal chiefs. But, in Cochin or Travancore it was mostly assumed by the Sudras who had not received other titles.

Menon This symbolises the position of an accountant but also implies superior position.

Asan The term 'Asan' means teacher.

Achan This is a title generally given to old Nair chiefs as Mangattachan, Paliath-achan etc.

Mannadiar According to L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, this is a title of certain aristo-

cratic families in the Chittur taluk near Palghat. The word is derived from 'Mun' meaning earth, and 'Nediyavar', earners. There is, however, difference of opinion as to whether Mannadiars are Nairs or not. I am obliged to Shri N. Sankara Mannadiar, my Research Assistant for the following note on this:—

31. "The Mannadiars have been often referred to by ethnologists and sociologists as a subdivision of Nair community. Viewing from the point of social status this classification may be justifiable. But there is much variation in the customs and manners of these two communities and it may be safer to classify the Mannadiars as a separate community. While Nairs followed the 'marumakkathayam' system of inheritance in the past, Mannadiars followed inheritance through the male line with the sole exception of a few families in and around Chittur taluk like Champathu, Vadasseri, Chondath, Ankarath etc. They are found chiefly in Chittur, Palghat, Ottapalam and Perinthalmanna taluks of Palghat district. According to Dr. Gundert, Mannadiar is a title of Sudra (Vaisya?) landlords etc., from Cholan settled in and about Palghat. Many still retain 'makkathayam', whilst others are intermixed with Nairs.³ William Logan agrees with Dr. Gundert. He says that Mannadiars came to Kerala from the east coast at a later date than the great body of Nairs and only some of them having mixed with the Nairs have adopted the distinctive Nair system of inheritance.⁴ In the book 'Kongappada' written about the festival of the Bhagavathi temple at Chittur, Shri P. R. Menon says that twelve families of Vellalas from Katayur, Changupilla Palayam, Kangayam, Karur and Pazhayakotta (places in Tamilnad) were deputed by the King to study the conditions in Kerala. One of these families settled in Chittur and later they came to be known by the family name Champathu. Vadasseri family came into existence when Champathu family was

partitioned. These families and a few others (they are negligible in number) have mixed with Nairs and have adopted the Nair system of inheritance and now they form some of the aristocratic families among Nairs.

32. "As stated earlier, the bulk of the community follow 'makkathayam'. They are known as Tharakans. Mannadiar was a title used to be awarded to the eldest member of each family by the ruling head. The title holders were entitled to certain privileges. When the practice of awarding the title became a story of the past, even the younger members began to use the surname 'Mannadiar'. The word 'Tharakan' can literally mean a broker or the holder of a document of a Raja. ('Tharaku': Common letter or document of a Raja. Gundert's Dictionary) Mr. T. K. Gopala Panikkar says that 'they are said to be so called because they were the recipients of 'Tharaku' or writ of social privilege issued to them by the ruling head, the Zamorin of Calicut'.¹ According to Shri L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer the word Mannatiar is derived from 'man', earth and 'netiyavar', earners.² The conjunction of these words should normally make 'Mannetiyyar' and not 'Mannatiyar'. Moreover, the original term was 'Mannati' which seems to be a corrupt form of the Tamil word 'Manrati' meaning one who pleads the cause of another and the addition of 'ar' as an honorific seems to be a later development. The Tamil word 'Manram' means a place of judgement or discussion and 'ati' means the first. So 'Manrati' can also mean the first man or headman of the place of judgement. There are 'Manratiars' and 'Mannadiars' in Tamilnad.

33. "The tradition goes that the king of Chola country wanted to marry a girl of this community and they were not willing for this alliance, as the king was a member

of a lower caste. In order to avoid the danger of the king's displeasure, they fled to the neighbouring country and met the ruler who received them with pleasure and awarded them certain privileges. The facts that they came from the Chola country and they enjoyed certain privileges in Kerala are undisputed. Stray cases of using Tamilian names for the members can still be noticed. The custom of dressing the bridegroom like a Tamilian has changed only within living memory. Even now the 'tali' is tied around the neck of the bride with yellow thread. Just before the marriage ceremony, there is a custom of announcing the auspicious hour by the astrologer (Kaniyan). The language used on this occasion is a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam and there is also reference in it about Chozhamandala Perumal (Chola King). All these indicate their eastern origin. The possibility is that these people might have settled in Kerala during the reign of the Chola Kings."

Personal Adornments

Dress

34. Marco Polo in the 13th century observed about the people of Malabar, "Now in all this province of Malabar there is not a tailor, for the people go naked at every season. The air is always so temperate that they wear only a piece of cloth around the middle."³ In 1442 Abdul Razak speaking about the costume of the people of Calicut says that "they have a body nearly naked; they bear only bandages round the middle called 'lankoutah' which descend from the naval to above the knee. This costume is common from king to the beggar."

35. Describing the costume of Nairs, Francois Pyrard says that the Nairs go "covered only from the waist down with a large cloth of fine silk or cotton, very white, which reaches to the knees, and is then passed between the thighs; the feet are bare,

(1) Malabar and its folk by T. K. Gopala Panikkar, page 231

(2) The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, page 20

(3) Quoted in the History of Kerala by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Vol. II, page 197

(1) The Cochin Tribes and Castes by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Vol. II, page 131

(2) Travancore State Manual, 1940 by T. K. Velu Pillai, page 858

(3) A Malayalam and English Dictionary by Rev. H. Gundert, page 720

(4) Malabar by William Logan, Vol. I, page 136

and so is the head, only they let their hair grow without ever cutting it and this distinguishes them from the vulgar herd They carry always a shield in one hand and a sword in the other or else a javelin, or muskets match-locks or pikes. Their women are dressed in the same style, without other accessories....." (1) The above description mainly dealing with the costumes of the common people of the community substantially agrees with those given by several other writers like Varthema, Ralph Fitch, Linschoten and Caesar Fredrick. In a description given by Della Vella mention is also made of the simple clothing of the men and women of this community but he says that 'the better sort are wont to wear two, either all blue or white striped with azure or azure and some other colour, a dark blue being most esteemed amongst them'. This refers to the piece of cloth hanging down from the girdle to the knees. Nieuhoff, however, says that a large piece of calico was wrapped round their middle by the men which reached down to their knees and was drawn through between their thighs and tied together behind their buttocks. By the close of the 19th century when William Logan wrote his 'Malabar' certain symptoms of progress in the costumes are visible though even then the type of costumes was very much behind that of the present day. "The national dress of the Nayers", observes William Logan, "is extremely scanty. The women clothe themselves in a single white cloth of fine texture reaching from the waist to the knees, and occasionally, while abroad, they throw over the shoulders and bosom another similar cloth. But, by custom the Nair women go uncovered from the waist; upper garments indicate lower caste, or sometimes by a strange reversal of western notions, immodesty. The men wear a white cloth in like fashion, and another cloth is also occasionally thrown over the shoulders." (2)

36. From 13th to the close of the 19th century there has been little change in the

costumes of the men and women of this community as could be found from the various descriptions covering this period, except to the extent that by the end of the 19th century the women threw over their shoulders and bosoms a piece of white cloth of fine texture while abroad. For women to appear before royal personages covering their bosom was at one time considered to be so offending that a 'Ranee' (queen)..... "on a woman of her country coming to her presence, who having been sometime in a European settlement, where she had conformed to the fashion there had continued the concealment of her breasts, ordered them to be cut off, for daring to appear before her with such a mark of disrespect to the established manners of the country". (3) The custom requiring the Nair women in Travancore to remove the cloth covering the upper part of their body in the presence of the royal family was abolished by a royal proclamation in 1856. However, it was still thought a mark of respect not only for women but also for men to throw off the upper garment in the presence of their elders or superiors.

A Step of Progress

37. The costumes mentioned above gradually underwent significant changes in the present century. Writing in 1933 the author of the History of Kerala says, "The Malabar women have, no doubt, made some advance in the matter of dress. At present, a Nair woman ties round the loins tightly a long piece of cloth with one end passing between the legs and tucked fast to the waist behind. This reaches below the knee. Another and finer piece of cloth is worn over this, and it goes down almost to below the ankles. Over the upper part of the body a bodice or a sort of half-jacket, called 'rowkkai' is worn and when going abroad another piece of fine cloth is thrown over the shoulders covering the bust. This is the dress of the younger ones. The older women still stick to the former practice of

- (1) The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil, Vol. I, page 381
- (2) Malabar by William Logan, 1877, page 136
- (3) Grose quoted in History of Kerala by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Vol. III, page 202



A NAIR LADY IN TRADITIONAL COSTUME

simply throwing a piece of cloth over their shoulders when going abroad. In North Malabar and in South Travancore the long piece of cloth first mentioned is simply wound round the loins without the end being passed between the legs.¹ Though the above change in the costume was remarkable and followed by the generality of women as already observed there were still restrictions at times, though indirect, on the Nair women entering the temple wearing 'rowkkai' or any kind of dress to cover the upper part of their person. With the march of time, however, such restrictions had to bow down before the advancing tide of social progress. Like the change in the costume of women the garments of men also underwent slight changes in this transitional period. Their dress which consisted of only a cloth from waist to the knee changed to one round the loins the ends overlapping a foot or two in front and hanging straight to the ground. It should touch the ground, or very nearly do so and it was considered that wearing a cloth in such fashion carried with it dignity to the wearer. A small piece of cloth called 'thorthu' was also thrown over the shoulder. This was usually called the 'second cloth'.

Another Step of Progress

38. In the course of about a decade from the above period, or even less, the costumes of both men and women showed a tendency to further change. This has been described in the Census Report of Travancore, 1941 as follows:—

"The shirt is an addition becoming more and more popular. The white 'mundu' is being fast replaced by the 'veshti' with broad borders and the towel with stripes has taken the place of the old simple 'thorthu'....." In female attire also there has been considerable change. Malayali women were noted for their preference of simple white dress, though the manner of dressing varied with the women of varied communities. The educated section of women and those who follow their lead are adopting innovation in dress which bring them nearer to the general

mode of dressing in vogue in other parts of India. The use of silks and sarees is becoming common among the wealthier classes. Jumbies, blouses and jackets have come into common use among all classes but fashions vary with each caste. No remarkable change has come about in the dress of the Malayala Brahmin women. Among the Nair ladies, the simplicity and elegance of the 'pudava', 'rowkkai' and the upper cloth, all white in colour, have given place to the glamorous sheen of the sarees, the blouse and the jumper.² This trend of progress has been followed up with greater vigour up to the present day. Among the well-to-do and middle classes and to some extent even among the working classes the costume of the younger generation while abroad, now consists of blouse and full saree with, indeed, the underwears of skirt and bodice. In the case of the generality of the working class the costume remains much the same as mentioned in the preceding paragraph with but one difference that the cloth worn over the underwear is not very fine as in the case of the richer classes. There is a good section of both the rich and the middle class women who wear a cloth of fine texture over the underwear, a blouse and another fine cloth over the blouse with one end tucked to the right side of the loins and the other end thrown over the left shoulder. Both the clothes will generally have coloured borders. Women wearing this costume form the largest section barring the younger generation. A section of women of the older generation in the rural areas are not yet accustomed to the use of blouse or 'rowkkai' but wear only a fine cloth over the underwear, flowing up to the heels and a long fine cloth covering the upper parts of the person.

39. It will only be appropriate to mention here that the change from semi-clothing to full clothing and from full clothing to more fashionable types of clothing has been in keeping with the trends of modern changes (and shall I say of civilisation as well?). The statistics collected from the surveyed area regarding the costumes

(1) History of Kerala by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Vol. III, page 203

(2) Travancore Census Report of 1941, page 143

of Nairs while out of their houses show that the number of women in the Nair community who wear full saree and those who wear dhoti from waist to heels and a shawl of fine cloth over the upper parts of the person are equal, while those wearing blouse, dhoti and half saree constitute the largest number. Those females wearing only dhoti from waist to heels and a shawl over the upper part of the body belong to the older generation. The second largest number mostly consisting of children wear items of dress other than the above. It is also found from the above statistics that among the male population of the Nair community the largest number wear shirt and dhoti up to heels and the second largest number wear shirt and shorts and the third, shirt, shawl and dhoti up to heels. Among those who wear shirt and shorts the majority are children.

Hair Dressing

40. Almost all the mediaeval travellers mention that the Nairs, both men and women, used to grow their hair long and have it tied at the top of the head. A close description of the hair of the Nairs in the 17th century as given by Francois Pyrard says that 'they wear the hair long without cutting it, and tie it neatly on the head, carefully arranged in the bunch, and they are careful to dress and wash the head everyday.'¹ Linschoten, Caesar Fredrick, Vasco-da-gama, Tavernier and Della Vella all speak in the same trend. The description given by Della Vella goes 'both men and women wear their hair long and tied about the head; the women with a lock hanging on one side under the ear becomingly enough as almost all Indian women do, the gallantest that I have seen in any other nation. The men have a lock down the crown of the head, sometimes a little inclined on one side; some of them use a small coloured headband, but the women use none at all.'² About the latter part of the 18th century, the men began to have

their heads shaved barring the front tuft on the crown of the head which they allowed to grow long. They began also to have their faces shaved clean without retaining any beard or moustache. William Logan says in 1887, "The men wear their 'kudumi' or tuft of hair on the top of the head. The women have long black locks which they keep neat and clean and tidy by constant bathing and combing. When returning from the bath the hair is coquettishly allowed to hang loose down the back to dry. When dry it is oiled and gathered up neatly into a knot on the left side of the head in front."³ In the case of Nair males by about the first quarter of the present century or even a little earlier than that "the fashion of cropping the hair on the head in the European style and having the chin shaved close" came into vogue and was steadily progressing by about 1933 when the History of Kerala was written by Shri K. P. Padmanabha Menon. Here too, an unwritten order, or at any rate an order not duly published, of the Cochin Darbar at one time, prohibited the admission into temples of those who have their hair cropped and are without their tuft. This injunction also was but seldom enforced by local authorities who seemed to be partial towards this change in fashion. In the 1941 Census Report of Travancore it is observed that "the tuft is no longer an identifying mark of the Hindu, and the wearing of the caste mark is becoming a rarity".

41. In modern times there is no special method of hair dressing which could be identified with any particular community. While all types of hair dressing can be found among the females of every community, some are getting more popular in some communities than in another. Immediately after bath the females generally leave their hair hanging loose down the back to dry. When dry it is oiled and shaped in various directions. There are as many as 38 important modes of hair

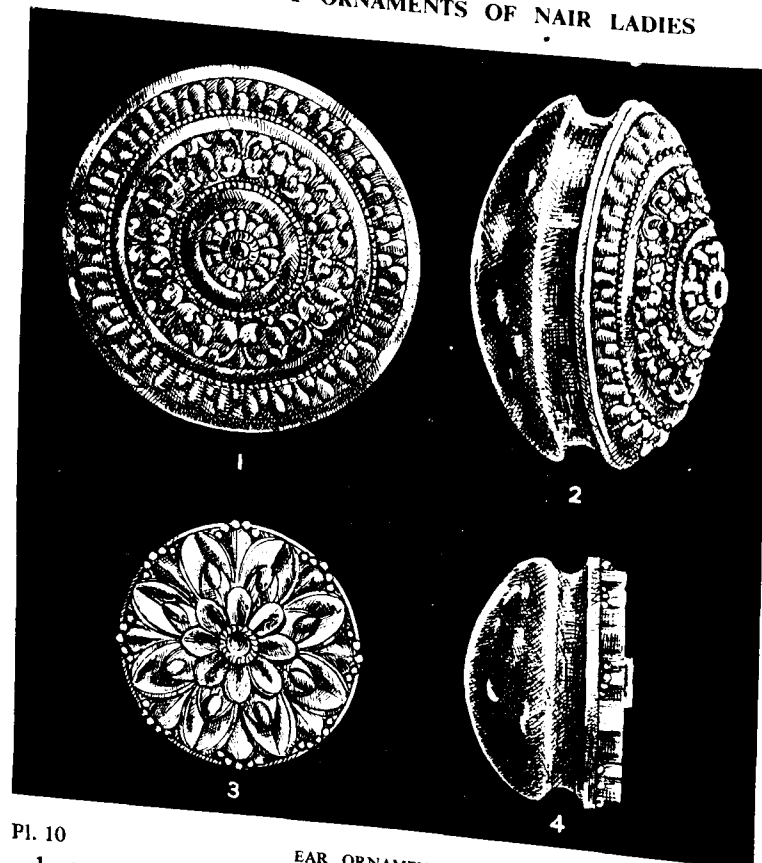
- (1) The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil, Vol. I, page 381
- (2) Quoted in History of Kerala by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Vol. III, page 210
- (3) Malabar by William Logan, page 136



Pl. 9

A NAIR FAMILY

SOME ANCIENT ORNAMENTS OF NAIR LADIES

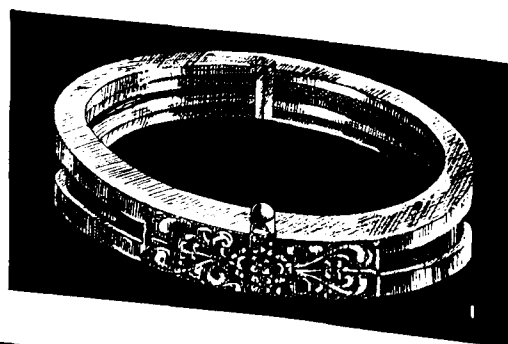


Pl. 10

1. FRONT VIEW OF 'THODA' 2. SIDE VIEW OF 'THODA' 3. FRONT VIEW OF 'THUKKA' 4. SIDE VIEW OF 'THUKKA'

EAR ORNAMENTS

Page 27



Pl. 11

1. 'IRATTAKADAKAM' 2 & 3. 'KADAKAM'

BANGLES

Page 27

ORNAMENTS

dressing current among the females of Kerala. Each method has its own name and characteristics. The following are the important types of hair dressing:—¹

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. Rajamalari | 20. Chakramudra |
| 2. Sumangali | 21. Vasanthi |
| 3. Sujatha | 22. Priyadarsini |
| 4. Ranjini | 23. Thrisooli |
| 5. Kalpakavalli | 24. Kalakanchi |
| 6. Mandakini | 25. Jayanthi |
| 7. Alikesini | 26. Kumudini |
| 8. Suryakanthi | 27. Nagabandhini |
| 9. Chathurvedi | 28. Sanghachoodi |
| 10. Chandralekha | 29. Tharangini |
| 11. Vajrasoochi | 30. Choodamani |
| 12. Amrithavalli | 31. Ragini |
| 13. Aaravalli | 32. Kanakambari |
| 14. Gajarajini | 33. Devika |
| 15. Mohini | 34. Hamsanandi |
| 16. Lalitha | 35. Ushamalari |
| 17. Nalini | 36. Manoranjini |
| 18. Sarppamanjari | 37. Pavizhakodi |
| 19. Ambika | 38. Minnalkanni |

Of these, 'Kumudini' is, perhaps, more common than others. 'Thrisooli' is, however, feeling its way. 'Ranjini' has established its popularity. 'Sujatha' closely follows. However, it may be mentioned that the custom of wearing flowers over the hair, especially jasmine, is most common among Nair ladies. The Brahmins also wear flowers on the hair but they prefer 'Jamanthi' to Jasmine.

Ear-lobes

42. The ancient Nairs, both men and women, used to have their ears bored and wore them long as those of many other communities in Kerala. The ear-lobes were so long that one could without exaggeration put his arm up to the shoulder through a lobe. So monstrously great it was. The process of making this has been described at great length in the monograph on Parassala.² This custom seems to have been continued even in the first half of the

18th century when Grose has referred to it and said that "most of the Malabaris, male and female, are particularly fond of having their ears hanged almost as low as their shoulders". From the first quarter of the present century the men of the rising generation never had their ear-lobes grown long although some of them allowed their ears to be perforated for wearing the studs. Even this has ceased to be continued now and most of the young men of the community do not have their ears perforated; nor do they wear studs or ear-rings. So far as women are concerned the tendency for long ears continued for some time even in the present century though the holes were being narrowed to a point of perforation. The latest tendency, however is not to perforate the ears but to wear spring studs.

Nails

43. Growing the nails long was considered to be a sign of being gentlemen among the Nairs of old. Tavernier speaks of this in respect of the left hand and attributes their use for combing the hair. This custom has ceased to exist. If at all it exists, it is only as an exception.

Ornaments

44. Both men and women were fond of rich ornamentation in ancient days. Francois Pyrard says as follows about the ornaments worn by the Nair women in ancient times:—"When the girls are grown, there is another thing by which you discern them from the boys, and that is the rich ornaments they wear of gold and precious stones; for their necks are laden with necklets, carkanets and chains of gold, pearls and stones; their large ears are the same, a fourth part of the ear drooping on each side. Then they have bracelets and heavy rings up to the elbow, and on the fingers, both hands and feet being all covered with jewels, and thick rings on the legs, everything being of gold or silver gilt. Be it noticed that I have never seen plain silver used for ornament by the Nairs or their

(1) 'Kesalankaram' by Mrs. K. M. Mathew

(2) Census of India 1961, Kerala, part VI F, page 219

A FEW MODERN PATTERNS OF HAIR DRESSING

ORNAMENTS

women, so it is a wondrous sight to see the ladies of quality so richly adorned and dressed, each according to her means."¹ The following passage from Forbes gives a picturesque description of the ornaments worn by Malabar women. "The dress of the Malabar women is similar to that of the other sex; their black glossy hair, tied in a knot on the middle of the head, is copiously anointed with cocoanut oil and perfumed with the essence of sandal, mogrees and 'champakas'; their ears, loaded with rings and heavy jewels, reach almost to their shoulders, this is esteemed a beauty;they are adorned with a profusion of gold and silver chains for necklaces, mixed with strings of Venetian and other gold coins; they have also heavy bangles or bracelets, a silver box, suspended by a chain on one side, forms a principal ornament, and contains the areca or betel nut, with its appendages of chunnam, spice and betel leaf. Their skin is softened by aromatic oils especially among the Nairs and Tetees, who are peculiarly attentive to cleanliness in their persons."² The men do not at present indulge much in the use of ornaments. Only those of the older generation continue to wear ear-rings or 'kadukkans'. These are made of gold and set with precious stones. Gold rings set with precious stones are worn on the fingers. Some wear also girdles made of silver or gold round the waist. Beyond this, the only ornament now used is a watch. The women used to wear even in the first quarter of the present century ornaments for the ear, nose, neck, arms, waist and ankles but not for the head or the forehead as among the Tamilians. The ear ornaments formerly consisted of a 'thukka' or 'thoda' made of gold. The 'thukka', a cylindrical gold ornament with a circular face, in some cases set with precious stones, used to be inserted in the large holes in the lobes of the ears. This was prevalent in the south. But in the north, instead of 'thukka', the 'thoda' was used. The 'thoda' is a two-lipped bi-converse disc holding the inside of the ear-lobes in its circumferential

groove. It is sometimes set with precious stones in front. Otherwise, it is elaborately carved with leaves and flowers. These are set with stones. The neck had various kinds of ornaments. Some of them are the 'nagapadam' (snake hood), the 'nalupanthi' (a four-stringed necklace), the 'kantasaram', the 'arimpumani', the 'mampumala', the 'thandummothiram' etc. The bracelets worn round the arms were thick and profusely carved in olden days. The old women satisfy themselves with a thick gold thread to which was attached the 'tali' or 'nali' pendant set with stones. Modern tendencies, however, are in favour of simpler ornaments. The 'thoda' and 'thukka' were fast getting out of date even before a few decades. They were being replaced by the stud (kammal), much smaller in size and which could be inserted by a mere punching on the lobe the need for which also is now dispensed with by the use of springs. The neck ornaments were being displaced by the 'addiyal' and 'pathakkam' (a simple gold thread to which a crescent shaped pendant set with the precious stone was attached) and the 'pachakkal tali' or necklace set with green stones. These again have undergone changes now and have been replaced by more up-to-date ornaments of highly attractive designs. The old types of bracelets were replaced by the 'kappu' and 'kolusu' some time ago and further replaced in recent times by simpler gold bangles and chains. Anklets are not being used now except by the younger folk like children who at times wear 'padasaram'. From the statistics about ornaments collected from the surveyed area it is seen that out of 54 houses of Nairs, only 10 do not have ornaments and the largest number of the remaining households have only ornaments worth Rs. 500 or below.

Caste Marks

45. Barbosa remarks about caste marks among Nairs, "And on their breasts, shoulders and foreheads, they make marks by threes by ashes which they wear in accordance with the custom of their sacred saying that they had it to remind that they

- (1) The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil, Vol. I, page 381
- (2) Quoted in the History of Kerala by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, page 217



have to turn to ashes; for when they die they burn their bodies, and so the ceremony continues among them. And many use it mixed with sandalwood, saffron, aloes wood and rose water, all this ground up." This custom is being continued even now when they go to the temple for worship. But the custom of having the caste mark on the forehead at other times is gradually declining.

Customs and Manners of Nairs The Marumakkathayam Family

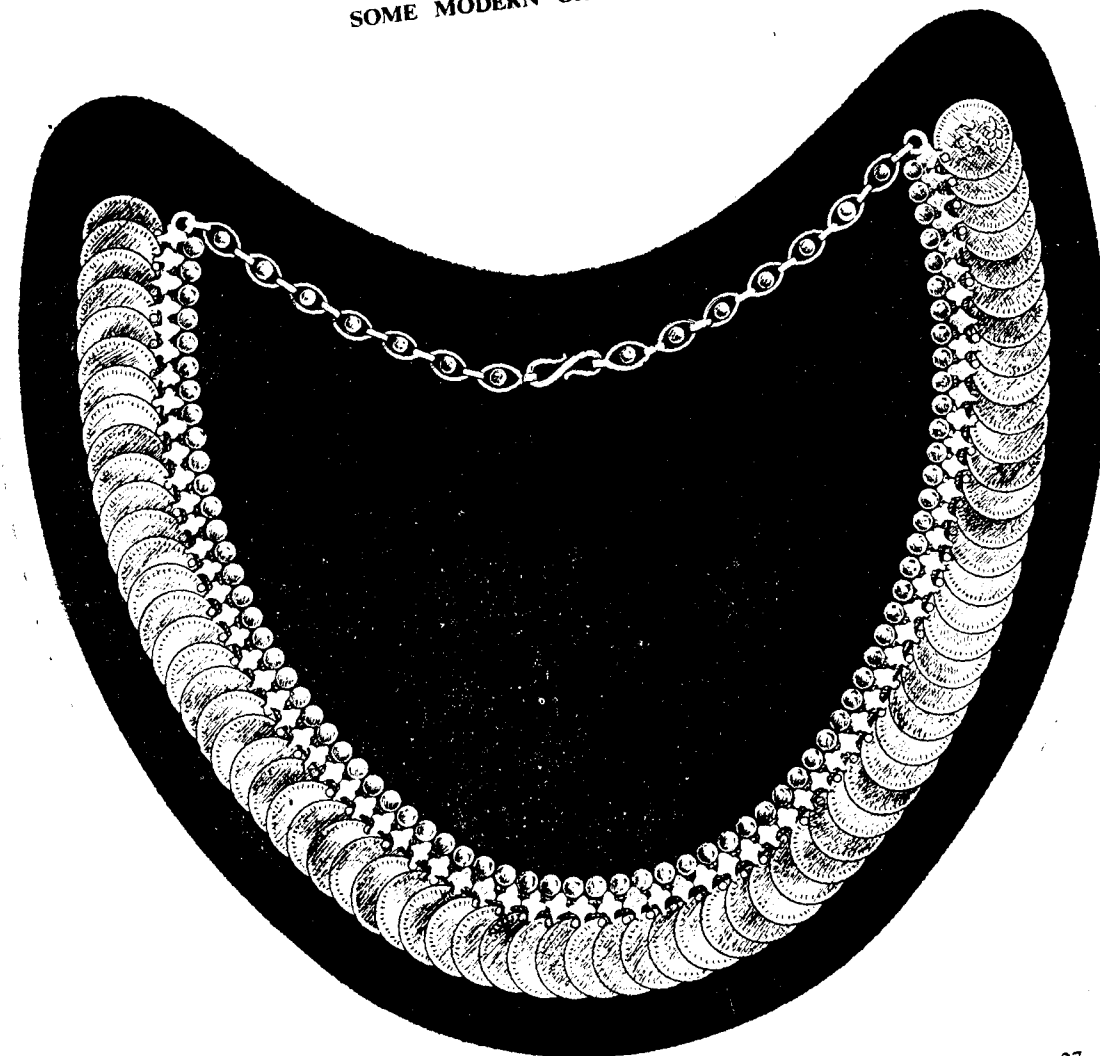
46. One of the ancient systems obtaining in the Nair community was the 'tarawad' or 'Marumakkathayam' family. "The most outstanding feature in the constitution of a Malabar Nair 'tarawad' is that the system of kinship which obtains is one in which fathers are practically ignored in the law and descent is reckoned through mothers. The civil law of the land takes cognizance only of relations on the female side. The constitution of the 'tarawad' or family of people living together is exceedingly complex. A mother and all her children, both male and female, all her grandchildren by her daughters, all her brothers and sisters and the descendants on the sisters' side, in short, all the woman's relatives on the female side, however distant their relationship, live together in the same block of buildings, have a common table, enjoy all her property and share it after her death in common with one another. There are at present instances in the country of such 'tarawads' with about 200 members belonging to different branches and separated from one another by generations of descent yet all able to trace their descent from one common ancestress. When, by the constant addition of members to a 'tarawad' it becomes too unwieldy to be governed and managed by one man, natural forces begin to work and bring about a division of it into various distinct 'tarawads' which keep up the original traditions of their common descent but have no legal right to the property of one another..... Over the whole of this group of members living in one 'tarawad', the eldest male is by legal right appointed 'karnavan' or managing head; on his death, the next senior

male member, to whatever branch of the family he may belong, succeeds to that office in preference to all others. Thus the joint property of the whole 'tarawad' is kept under the control and management of the 'karnavan' who is legally responsible for its safe keeping as well as for the education of its junior members and for all the necessities arising from its social status." The above description of a Nair 'tarawad' written in 1900 by T. K. Gopala Panicker in his 'Malabar and Its Folk', gives a brief picture of a Nair 'tarawad'. I would like to add one correction to the description viz., the eldest male member is not appointed but becomes *ipso facto* the 'karnavan' by virtue of his legal right. "In such a family the woman senior to others in age was originally mistress or head of the family, and she reigned or governed. Her eldest daughter was prime minister in the family, and through her all orders were transmitted to her little world. The son recognised the priority of the mother before whom he did not even venture to seat himself, unless she had given him permission. The brother obeyed the elder sister, and respected the younger ones. In fact the affection between brother and sister was a feeling that endured, while conjugal love was but a passing sentiment." This system whereby a group of males and females was bound together by the sacred tie of a common descent has been the object of admiration by many in ancient times. It has been compared to the family of bees by the Malabar Marriage Commission as follows:—

"The females have only to follow natural instinct to be fruitful and to multiply, while the males, free from all care for their own progeny, are expected to labour like the honey bee for the common good of the 'tarawad'-hive and pour their earnings into the lap of the venerable 'karnavan' who, in the exercise of absolute discretion administers the income for the benefit of all. Protected by the impartibility of the estate, refreshed by the acquisitions of the junior members, and under the beneficent sway of the senior male, the 'tarawad' would rise

(1) The Cochin Tribes and Castes by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Vol. II, page 47

SOME MODERN ORNAMENTS



'KASU MALA', A NECKLACE

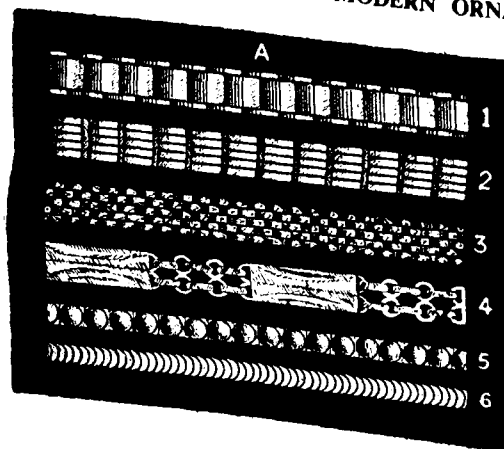
Pl. 12

SOME MODERN ORNAMENTS (Concl.)

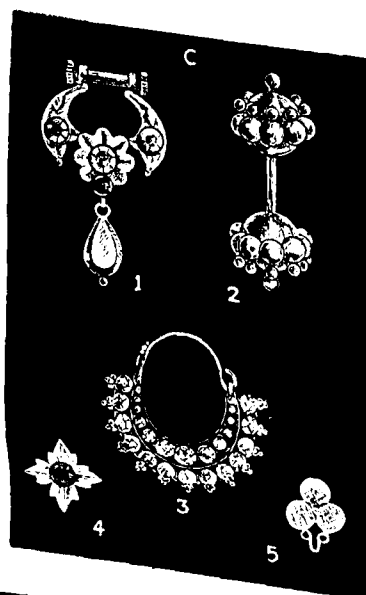
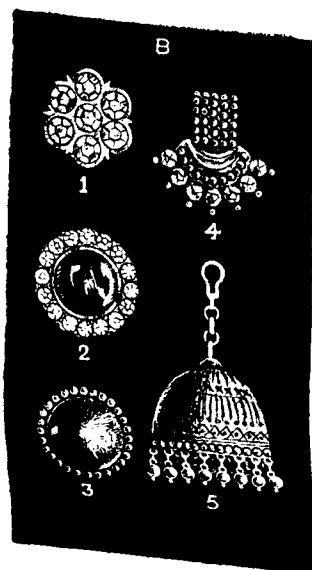
Pl. 13

Page 27

A. WRIST ORNAMENTS 1- 6 BRACELETS AND BANGLES



B. EAR - RINGS 1-4 STUDS 5. 'JIMKI' (PENDANT) C. 1. 'PACHAKALLU' 2. 'MEKUCH' 3. 'ALICATH' 4 & 5. STUDS



(Below) Pl. 14 CHAINS Page 27 1. 'ALANKARA MALA' 2. 'DIAMOND KATTA MALA' 3. 'PANA MALA' 4. 'MUTHUMALA'



CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF NAIRS

high and endure through generations." It has to be made clear that the wife and children of the male members of such a 'tarawad' had no place in the 'tarawad' except to the extent, if at all, of residing there occasionally. They have their rights in their own 'tarawads' of which they are members. The joint property of the 'tarawad' was originally impartible except with the unanimous consent of all members, and in the event of a partition with such consent, the joint property is divided into equal shares. But the 'karnavan' for the time being had a conventional right for a double share. The shares of the descendants of a female member are pooled together to form another 'tarawad' out of a 'thavazhi' of the original 'tarawad'. The system of inheritance is called the 'Marumakkathayam' because of the inheritance in which descent is traced in the female line. A male always forms the member of his mother's 'thavazhi'.

47. Though at one time the joint family system was much cherished by the Nair community it had its natural drawbacks. The male members of the Nair community had increasing desire to look after their wife and children and place them on a level of affection which the 'Marumakkathayam' system could hardly concede. When the interests in one's sisters and one's wife are diametrically opposed to each other it was quite natural that the system was bound to bristle with family dissensions especially when the 'karnavan's' management is not satisfactory. The system also tempted to foster a dangerous spirit of idleness amongst the members of the joint family as they were sure of their necessities of life being supplied by the joint management even if they did not do their part of the work for the family. Above all, both polygamy and polyandry became unpopular and rare in course of time with the result that the cause which led to the establishment of the 'Marumakkathayam' system of inheritance had no more existence in the community. These factors naturally led to widespread dissatisfaction among the members of the community against the system and quite naturally a community which was pulsating with such dissatisfaction agitated for legal

reforms which would enable the members of the 'Marumakkathayam tarawad' to claim partition and also make the wife and children of a male member the heirs to his self-acquired and separate property in the event of his death. In Travancore, the first nail on the coffin was driven by the Travancore Nair Regulation of 1088 (1912 A. D.) by which the wife and minor children of a Nair were declared as entitled to be maintained by the husband or father, the husband was declared as the legal guardian of his minor wife, and the father the legal guardian of his minor children if they are maintained by him and live with him or are under his protection, but not if they are in the 'tarawad', and gave the widow and children of a Nair who had undivided 'Marumakkathayam' heirs a right to half of his self-acquired and separate property left undisposed of on his death, and if there are no such undivided 'Marumakkathayam' heirs the full right to such property. While the above provisions governed the intestate succession, a Nair was given by this statute the full right of disposal by will the whole of his self-acquired and separate property. It also placed some restrictions on the 'karnavan' of a 'tarawad' in respect of the sale or lease or mortgage with possession for a period of more than 12 years of a 'tarawad' property except with the written consent of all the major members of the 'tarawad'. This statute, however, could not satisfy the progressive elements of the community. Consequently the Travancore Nair Regulation of 1100 (1925 A. D.) was passed, which while repealing the Travancore Nair Regulation of 1088 (1912 A. D.) repeated the provisions contained in the repealed Regulation in respect of guardianship and maintenance of wife and children and polyandrous marriages and struck a departure in respect of polygamous marriages, dissolution of marriages and 'tarawad' properties. For the first time in Travancore this statute declared that every adult member of a Nair 'tarawad' is entitled to claim his or her share of the properties of the 'tarawad', but no such partition could be claimed during the lifetime of the lineal ascendant without her consent subject, however to a few exceptions,

one of the exceptions being the consent of the majority of the adult members of the descendants of the lineal ascendant. On the death of the lineal ascendant partition could be claimed by the senior 'anandaravan' or any collateral 'thavazhi' or the majority of the other adult members of such 'thavazhi' on behalf of such 'thavazhi' or each of the male children or female children without issue who are not included in the 'thavazhi' referred to above. The 'karnavan' was declared entitled to one-fourth of the acquisition made for the 'tarawad' with the aid of the 'tarawad' income in addition to his own share in the partition. The other eventualities on which a partition could be claimed over the 'tarawad' properties by every adult member without the consent of the lineal ascendant were if the female descendants of the lineal ascendant had no issue living or have only male issue and are passed the child-bearing age or if the female ascendant has passed the child-bearing age and has only adult male children. In respect of intestate succession the provisions of the Travancore Nair Regulation of 1088 (1912 A. D.) were repeated in this statute. In Cochin State, the Cochin Nair Act of 1095 (1920 A. D.), besides making provisions regarding marriages in the community, adopted the provisions regarding inheritance and intestate succession to the self-acquired and separate property of a deceased Nair contained in the Travancore Nair Regulation of 1088 (1912 A. D.) and, in addition, made the 'tarawad' properties partible, restricting, however, the right of partition to 'thavazhi' but not to the members of a 'thavazhi'. According to the Cochin Nair Act of 1113 (1938 A. D.) the intestate self-acquired and separate property of a deceased Nair devolved upon his children, mother, widow and lineal ascendants through a deceased daughter. Every member of the 'tarawad' was also entitled by this statute to claim his share of the properties of the 'tarawad', such share being so much of the 'tarawad' properties as will fall to him if a division per capita was made among all the members of the 'tarawad' at the time. This was the most progressive legislation in respect of the properties of a Nair 'tarawad' and could be said to be the last nail on the coffin of

the Malabar 'tarawad'. So far as the Malabar area is concerned, the Madras Marumakkathayam Act of 1932, besides making provisions regarding marriage dissolution etc., adopted the same provisions with regard to the devolution of the self-acquired and separate property of a Nair dying intestate as in the Travancore Nair Regulation of 1088 (1912 A. D.) and the Cochin Nair Act of 1095 (1920 A. D.). In respect of the 'tarawad' properties any 'thavazhi' represented by the majority of its major members may claim to take its share of the properties of a 'tarawad' but no 'thavazhi' could claim to be divided from the 'tarawad' during the life time of an ancestress common to such 'thavazhi' or 'thavazhis' of the 'tarawad' except with the consent of such ancestress if she is a member of the 'tarawad'. Also, a member who has changed his religion could claim his share of the 'tarawad' properties or other members could compel him to take his share. The right of partition was not extended to the members of an impartible 'tarawad' in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar unless such 'tarawads' were made partible. These legislations reduced the Nair 'tarawad' under the 'Marumakkathayam' system into a mere skeleton, its flesh and blood having gone to enrich the 'Makkathayam' system. Most of the members of the community have turned 'Makkathayees' preserving their self-acquisitions and separate properties for the benefit of their wife and children maintaining them in their own houses instead of in the wife's 'tarawad'.

48. By the enactment of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 (Central Act 30 of 1956) the inheritance in the Nair community is brought under the provisions of this statute. Hence the want of uniformity in the law among the Travancore, Cochin and Malabar areas of Kerala in this respect has disappeared from the date of the enactment of this law. Under section 30 of this Act any Hindu, whether 'Marumakkathayee' or not, may dispose of by will or other testamentary disposition any property which is capable of being so disposed of by him in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Succession Act of 1925 or any other law for the time being in force and applicable to the Hindus. The interest of a member of a

'tarawad' or 'thavazhi' in the properties of the 'tarawad' or 'thavazhi' is deemed to be property capable of being disposed of by him within the meaning of this section. The properties of a Hindu, whether 'Marumakkathayee' or not, dying intestate will devolve firstly upon the son, daughter, widow, mother, son of a pre-deceased son, daughter of a pre-deceased son, son of a pre-deceased daughter, daughter of a pre-deceased daughter, widow of a pre-deceased son, son of a pre-deceased son of a pre-deceased son, daughter of a pre-deceased son of a pre-deceased son and widow of a pre-deceased son of a pre-deceased son. If there is no heir of the above class the properties will then devolve upon the father, son's daughter's son, son's daughter's daughter, brother, sister, daughter's son's son etc. If the heirs of this category are also absent then devolution will be in favour of agnates of the deceased and if there is no agnate then upon the cognates of the deceased. In the case of a Hindu 'Marumakkathayee', if there are no heirs of the first two categories mentioned above, the properties will devolve upon his relatives whether agnates or cognates. The properties of a Hindu female who is not governed by 'Marumakkathayam' or 'Aliyasandana' law dying intestate will devolve firstly upon the sons and daughters (including the children of any pre-deceased son or daughter) and the husband, secondly upon the heirs of the husband, thirdly upon the mother and father, fourthly upon the heirs of the father and lastly upon the heirs of the mother. But in the case of a Hindu female governed by the 'Marumakkathayam' law dying intestate her properties will devolve firstly upon the sons and daughters (including the children of any pre-deceased son or daughter) and the mother, secondly upon the father and the husband, thirdly upon the heirs of the mother, fourthly upon the heirs of the father and lastly upon the heirs of the husband. In respect of the properties of a Hindu female who is not governed by 'Marumakkathayam' or 'Aliyasandana' law any property inherited by her from her father or mother devolves in the absence of any son or daughter of the deceased (including the children of any

pre-deceased son or daughter) not upon the other heirs referred to above but upon the heirs of the father. This exemption, however, does not apply to the properties inherited by a Hindu female governed by the 'Marumakkathayam' or 'Aliyasandana' law from her father or mother. Where any property has been inherited by a Hindu female, whether governed by 'Marumakkathayam' law or not, from her husband or from her father-in-law, it devolves on such female dying intestate in the absence of any son or daughter (including the children of any pre-deceased son or daughter) not upon the other heirs referred to above, but upon the heirs of the husband. Any heir who is related to an intestate as the widow of a pre-deceased son, the widow of a pre-deceased son of a pre-deceased son or the widow of a brother shall not be entitled to succeed to the property of the intestate as such widow, if on the date the succession opens, she has re-married. A person who commits murder or abets the commission of murder is disqualified from inheriting the property of the person murdered or any other property in furtherance of the succession to which he or she committed or abetted the commission of the murder. Where, one has ceased or ceases to be a Hindu by conversion to another religion children born to him or her after such conversion and their descendants are disqualified from inheriting the property of any of their Hindu relatives unless such children or descendants are Hindus at the time when the succession opens.

Birth Rites

Pregnancy

49. In the 7th month of pregnancy of a Nair woman she observes 'bhajanam' which consists of bathing and worshipping in the temple every morning and keeping circumambulating the shrine till the midday pooja is over and keeping herself holy and clean before she takes her food. This is repeated in the evening and continues for 7 or 12 days according as one desires. In the 9th month of pregnancy is held the 'pulikudi'. The term literally means 'drinking of sour water'. The ceremony consists of the following.

BHARANIKAVU

50. A branch of a tamarind tree is plucked by the pregnant woman's brother or aunt who does it observing certain ceremonies. The woman's brother performs Ganapathi 'pooja' and then gives some of the tamarind leaves to the 'Enangathu' who takes the juice from these leaves and mixes it with juices of four other plants so that there would be juices of five kinds of sour plants, the four being 'Garcinia cambogia', 'Spondias mangifera', 'Banhinia racemosa' and 'Hibiscus hirtus'. The room in which the Ganapathi 'pooja' is performed will be decorated with a mat on the floor, metal lamp and a 'para' of rice, plantains, brown sugar, leaves of the holy basil or 'tulasi', sandal paste and 'Ashtagandham'. The mixture is boiled with a little rice from which the brother or aunt takes a little in a jack leaf folded like a spoon and let run down the blade of a knife into the pregnant woman's mouth. This is done three times. The mixture is then administered in the same manner by some woman of the husband's family also. The branch is then planted in the inner courtyard. A feasting brings the ceremony to a close. In South Travancore the ceremony performed by the brother is performed by a Maran and the woman is made to stand on a plank facing the east. After the ceremony certain tests are applied to assess the sex of the child in the womb by making the pregnant woman select one packet from some of the packets of grains. The whole expense of the ceremony is met by the husband. The above customs though followed now also are devoid of their elaborate character. Also no feasting is held now on a large scale on this occasion.

Child-Birth

51. Pollution after child-birth is observed for 15 days and on every day the mother wears cloths washed and presented to her by a woman of the Vannan caste. On the 15th day, and in the case of some on the 9th day, she is purified by the sprinkling of a mixture of oil and the five products of the cow ('panchagavyam') with gingili seeds and dipping herself in a tank or river after that. The new born baby is also purified

before the mother's purification. This is done by placing the baby on the bare floor and the father or uncle sprinkling a few drops of cold water on the baby. The first act done when a male child is born is to beat the earth with a cocoanut leaf, and if the issue is a female to grind some turmeric in mortar with the object of removing the child's fear. There is a custom in this locality that all expenses connected with delivery should be met by the husband. On the 27th day after the birth of the child or the first recurring day of the star under which the child is born, the baby is given a spoonful or two of milk mixed with sugar and slices of plantain fruit reduced to a kind of pulp by the 'karnavan' of the family who also names the child by calling it by its name three times in the ear. In some places the naming ceremony is postponed for six months and done along with the first rice-feeding. The child is not fed on rice for some time after birth, the practice being to give it the flour of dried plantain boiled with jaggery. On attaining the sixth month in the case of male and the fifth month in the case of female child it is given a small quantity of cooked rice, generally a portion of the rice offered to some temple divinity, some tamarind, salt, chillies and sugar by the 'karnavan' or father. In some cases this is done in a temple instead of at the house. A feast is at times given in this connection.

Talikettu Kalyanam

52. Before the girl attains puberty a ceremony called 'talikettu kalyanam' used to be performed in olden days. The person who was to perform the 'talikettu' was usually selected from certain well-recognised families and are called 'machambikars'. In the absence of 'machambikars' as in the northern parts of Kerala, the Aryapattar, the Nambyathiri or the Elathu was invited. A 'pandal' was erected for the invitees to witness the ceremony. The 'machambikar' (the bridegroom) used to place a 'tali' round the neck of the girl seated in a prominent place next to him facing east and the bride's maid known as the 'ammavi amma' would tie it round her back. It is observed in the Travancore State Manual, 1906 as follows:—

"At the end of the ceremony one of the bridegroom's own men, a 'machampi' bears the girl into the 'manavara', a decorated apartment in the inner part of the house where both the bridegroom and bride are required to remain under a sort of pollution for three days. On the night of the third day a procession is performed from the girl's house to a friend's where the bridegroom and party are served with a light meal of beaten rice, fruits, sugar and other comestibles known as the 'avalteetti'. When the manavalan returns after the light repast, the bride shuts up in a room when the songs called 'Vathil-thurapattu', literally, 'open the door songs' are sung by his friends to open the door. Reply songs are sung from within the room which means that the bride suspects her husband's coming home at so late an hour. On the fourth day night, after the couple take their bath in a neighbouring tank the bridegroom is dismissed with presents of rings, earrings etc., money and cloths by the father and uncle of the bride." In some parts of Malabar, before the bridegroom was dismissed a cloth used to be severed into two parts and each bit given to the bridegroom and bride in the presence of relations and friends. This was believed to constitute a formal divorce. The first day of the 'kettukalyanam' and if possible the remaining days were days of feasting to friends and relatives. There are various theories about the purpose of this marriage. Some western writers on the subjects even go to the extent of thinking that this was a real marriage but one which does not continue after three days. From the custom of the 'talikettu kalyanam' of several girls being performed by the same bridegroom in the same pandal, where the parents of the girls could not afford individual celebrations it is evident that it is no more than a formal religious ceremony, a mock-marriage without any of the physical incidents of marriage. Some believe that this ceremony was performed for a theoretical compliance with the belief that a girl should be married before she attains puberty. The Brahmanical explanation is that marriage is a sort of sacrament which every maiden must partake in

order that she may cleanse her own being from the taint of original sin, accomplish the salvation of her father and her ancestors and bring forth a son to carry on the domestic worship of her husband's family. The Brahmans who observed this either imposed this principle on the Nairs, or the Nairs borrowed it from them in the belief that it would lead to social distinction. But the 'kettukalyanam' lacked in the religious ceremonies of a 'samskara' or sacrament in the Hindu or European sense of the term. There was no officiating priest in attendance, and no formula to be repeated; there was no Vedic, Puranic or religious chant or exhortation and no formal benediction. The Travancore Marumakkathayam Committee (1908) after taking elaborate evidence on the subject declined to accept the theory that 'kettukalyanam' is a real marriage and expressed the view that it is only an essential ceremony which a woman had to pass through before her marriage. However, this custom has become extinct in modern times and it is only a matter of historical interest for the present generation.

Puberty

53. When a girl comes of age in the Nair community it was the custom to proclaim the event by 'kurava' (shouts of joy by women) and lodge her in a separate room. A lighted lamp and a brass pot with a bunch of cocoanut flowers are kept in that room. She has to keep with her a brass mirror called 'valkannadi'. The women of the neighbouring families and those from friends' and relations' visit her making presents of cloths. On the third day the villagers, friends and relatives are treated to a luncheon of rice and milk pudding. Early in the morning of the fourth day the Mannans or Velans appear, the girl is anointed with oil, and tender leaves of cocoanut palm are tied round her head and loins. She leaves the room in the company of maidens and the Velans entertain the party who soon move in procession to the neighbouring tank where the girl wears the cloth washed by a washerman and takes her bath with her friends. The same party return home in procession when the

Brahmani entertains the party with music. In the afternoon the girl is seated in a 'pandal' put up in front of the house where the Velans continue the songs which are Puranic and the assembled guests who are chiefly the women of the village as also those of the houses of her friends and relatives present the washerman each with a piece of cloth. They are entertained with a sumptuous feast held that day after which the assembled party break up taking leave of the host. The custom is followed in this village as well in its skeleton form even today, but is devoid of the feast and other elaborate accompaniments. The 'kurava' has disappeared in this as well as most other areas of the State. Pollution is observed for seven days though the girl is put under seclusion only for three days. On the 4th day there will be a ceremonial bath and the house and surroundings are purified by sprinkling holy water brought from the temple.

Marriage

54. Francois Pyard in his "Voyage to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil" states as follows:—"The Nairs may have one wife at a time; but it is not so with the women; for every woman may have as many as three husbands at once if she likes (But a Nair woman of the Brahmani race may have one only), and all contribute to support the wife and children without any quarrel or jealousy on this score..... The advantage they derive from this custom is, that one who hath not means himself to maintain a wife may have a third part of one and her cost of maintenance is only in this proportion." Barbosa has also referred to this polyandrous custom. What has led to the prevalence of this system in olden days is said to be poor remuneration which the Nair soldiers received from the kings who entertained them and the consequent inability on the part of one man to maintain his wife and children with what he got. Along with this custom of polyandry there was also prohibition of a Nair woman marrying one of a lower caste which was considered to be so highly derogatory to the social custom that those guilty of the offence were even killed in olden days. Whatever might have been

the advantages of the system of polyandry or the causes which led to its prevalence it was looked upon with mounting resentment by the rising generations of the community with the result that along with the statutory reforms affecting the inheritance of the Nairs the polyandrous marriages were also rendered void. The report of the Travancore Marumakkathayam Committee appointed by the Government of Travancore in 1908 says, "We observe that though the President of the Malabar Marriage Commission found polyandry to linger in some parts of Malabar, the Legislature expressly declared it illegal evidently on the ground of its immorality. If polyandry means the marriage of one female by more than one male, we may say positively that the practice does not exist anywhere in Travancore. There may be stray cases in which a brother's wife is treated as the wife of her brother-in-law. However that may be, one and all the witnesses say that such connections are to be dissolved. We would, therefore, recommend that polyandry be expressly declared illegal." As many as 592 of the witnesses interviewed by this committee advocated polygamy on the ground of the alleged prevalence of the practice, the recognition of the practice in Hindu and Mohammedan Laws, its being a preservative of the husband's character if the wife is suffering from an incurable disease and a provision for the birth of an issue in case the wife happens to be barren. Of these 592 witnesses, 213 were educated men. The Committee however, recommended the prohibition of polygamy. Nevertheless, it did not find a place in the statute which followed viz, The Travancore Nair Regulation 1088 M. E. (1912 A. D.) although by section 9 it rendered a subsequent marriage of a female during the continuance of the prior marriage void. It is only by the Travancore Nair Regulation of 1100 M. E. (1925 A. D.) that polygamy was declared void in the community. In the Cochin area both polygamy and polyandry were declared void by the Cochin Nair Act of 1095 M. E. (1920 A. D.). This also prohibited the marriage of a Nair female by a member of a polygamous community having his caste wife and also the marriage of a member of a polygamous

community having a Nair wife, with a woman of his caste. By the Madras Marumakkathayam Act of 1932 A. D. polygamy and polyandry were declared void in the Nair community. The provisions contained in the Cochin Nayar Act of 1095 M. E. (1920 A. D.) regarding the marriage of a Nair woman with a member of a polygamous community were also adopted in this statute. In the area covered by the present survey four cases of polyandry limited to a woman having brother of the first husband also as her husband have been reported among Nairs. All these households have household cultivation as their main source of income. Two of these households fall in the income group of above Rs. 100/- per mensem while the other two fall in the income group of Rs. 51—75 per mensem. The particulars of age of the husbands and wife in each case of these polyandrous marriages are given below.

Serial number of polyandrous marriages among Nairs in the surveyed area	Age of husbands	Age of wife
1	32 } 28 }	28
2	61 } 55 }	48
3	45 } 40 }	35
4	43 } 37 }	32

These, however are not the only cases in the community. There are a few more outside the surveyed area. In the surveyed area itself there is one household of Ezhuva and another household of Thandans in which polyandrous marriages limited to brothers exist. The custom of marriage between cross-cousins which was existing from very ancient times in the Nair community still continues to some extent but with less popularity in that the bridegroom is not always amenable to marry his uncle's daughter as it restricts his freedom of

choice of the bride. In the surveyed area of this village 10 cases of marriages between cross-cousins have been returned in this community.

Sambandham—A brief Description

55. The early form of marriage in the Nair community was known as 'sambandham'. This was performed in the following manner:—

After fixing up the marriage and the auspicious day and hour for the ceremony a few of the caste-men of the village and friends of the bridegroom meet together in the bridegroom's house and go along with the bridegroom to the bride's house in a small procession where they are welcomed and seated in a conspicuous part of the house. A portion of the Ramayanam and other sacred books referring to the marriage and happy conjugal life attending it are then read by the village school master. At the auspicious hour the bridegroom and his party proceed to a conspicuous part of the house where a special seat is provided for him. Two lighted lamps and a 'nirapara' (a measure of paddy decorated with flowers) would be placed on either side of this seat. The bridegroom and bride make obeisance to the 'karnavan' and other elderly men there and distribute presents to the Brahmans who bless the conjugal pair. The bridegroom or his 'karnavan' gives the bride the wedding dress in which she is to be dressed. The bride is then ushered in either by her mother or by an elderly member of the family when cloths are presented to her by the bridegroom. While this is done the elderly female members assembled there raise 'kurava'. In some places the bridegroom and his party chew betel leaf and nut while they chat with women. A feast is given to the invitees. After a while the party break up one by one wishing the couple all happiness. About day-break on the following day the bridegroom departs from the house leaving under the pillow a sum of money according to his means. This completes the 'sambandham'. The woman resides in her family and the husband visits her there. A few days after this the bridegroom's mother or a senior woman of his

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family sends some cloths including 'pavu mundus' and 'thorthu mundus' (superior cloths and towel respectively) and some gingili oil for her use during the next six months. This is continued every six months, and on festivals of 'Onam', 'Vishu' and 'Thiruvathira' she is given a little money, areca-nut, betel, tobacco and banana. Not long after, the women of the bridegroom's family express their desire to see her when she visits her husband's house and stays there for a few days, after which she is at liberty to visit her husband's house on any day she likes. But generally she stays in her own house. This ceremony of 'Sambandham' was also known as 'Pudava-koda' or 'Pudamuri'. In this village it was usual for the bridegroom or his people to make a money payment to the bride's people called 'Panayam'.

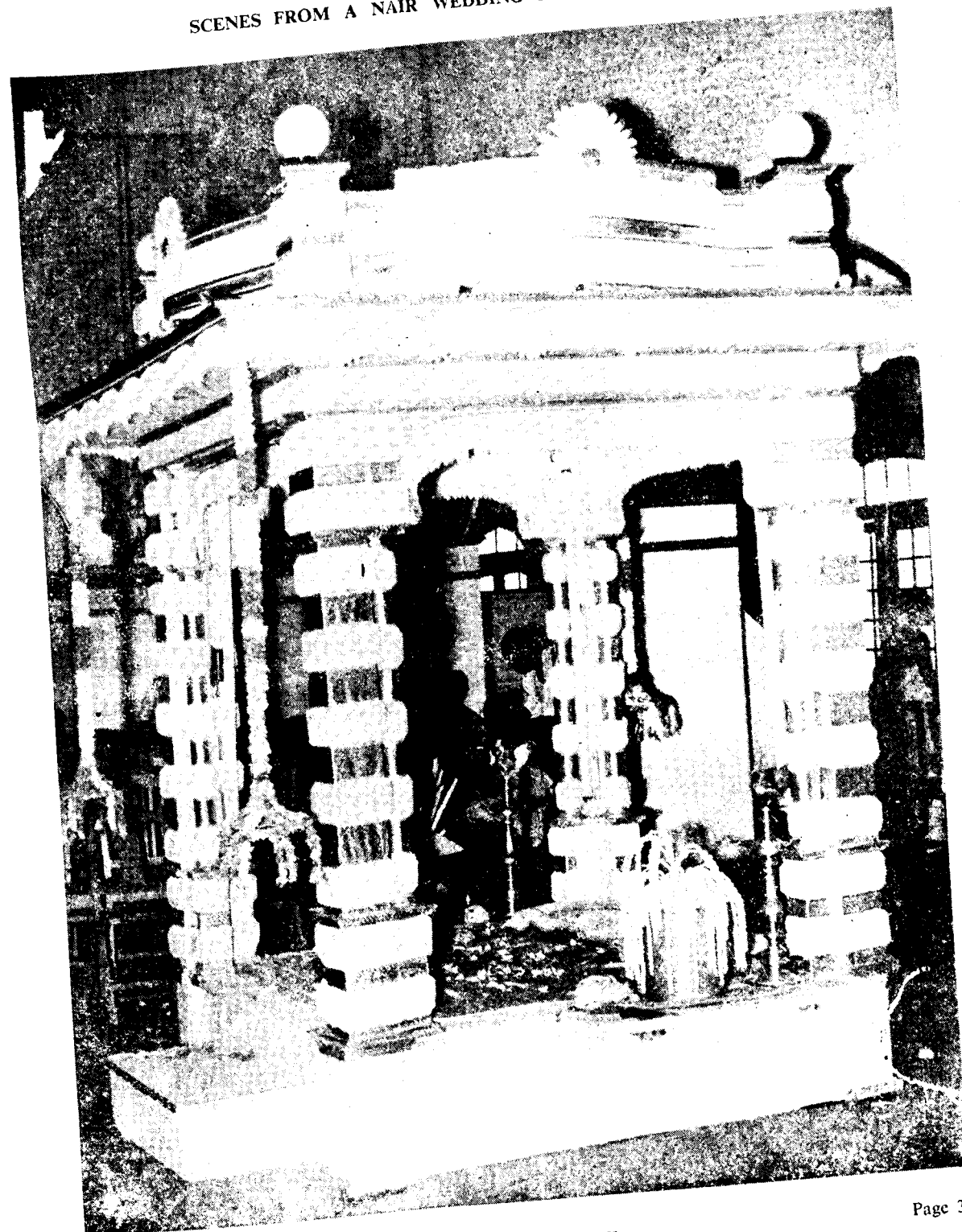
56. The Malabar Marriage Commission though was of opinion that 'Sambandham' did not constitute a religious ceremony or sacrament yet said that it was a customary marriage and that a contract may be inferred from its incidents. The nature of the 'Sambandham' ceremony had provided sufficient evidence of an agreement to cohabit and/or consideration for the same viz, the gift made, coupled with the promise of each party to cohabit with the other. It was considered that a religious ceremony was not essential for the completion of a marriage contract. Yet some statutory recognition was considered necessary to place the position beyond doubt. A 'Sambandham' was terminable at the will of the parties whether for good or bad reason although social custom and the sense of responsibility stood in course of time against unreasonable termination of a 'Sambandham'. The Marumakkathayam Committee of Travancore recognised that 'Sambandham', the ceremony as it existed then i.e., 1912, was fit for legal recognition and enough to form the basis of a marriage law if coupled with a provision for formal dissolution. Provision was, therefore, made by statute for the dissolution of marriages by mutual consent or a formal order of dissolution. The legislations in Cochin and Malabar also recognised 'Sambandhams' as valid marriages. It has to be noticed that there is

no tying of 'tali' or the officiating of a priest in this form of marriage.

Divorce

57. The Travancore Nair Regulation of 1088 (1912 A. D.) while recognising the validity of a 'Sambandham' also laid down the procedure for the dissolution of a 'Sambandham' as by mutual consent of parties recorded in a registered document and by order of a court. It was obligatory on the part of the court to allow the petition if it was not withdrawn within a period of six months without going into the merits of the grounds on which the dissolution was sought. The Court could determine the compensation payable to the wife after inquiring into the position, the means and circumstances of the parties. The maximum limit of compensation was also fixed at Rs. 2,000. These provisions underwent some changes in the Travancore Nair Regulation of 1100 (1925 A. D.) which recognised insanity, incurable diseases, impotency, incompatibility of temperament, habitual cruelty, adultery or change of religion as proper grounds for claiming a dissolution of marriage apart, of course, from the dissolution on mutual consent recorded in a registered document. The court was given full power to go into the grounds of divorce and either allow or dismiss the petition on its merits. When the dissolution is allowed whether on the petition of a husband or wife, the husband is liable to pay a compensation to be determined by the court not exceeding Rs. 5,000 or such monthly allowance till her marriage as the court may order. According to the Cochin Nair Act of 1095 (1920 A. D.) also marriage could be dissolved by mutual consent recorded in a registered deed or by an order of the court. The procedure which the court had to adopt was the same as in the Travancore Nair Regulation of 1088 (1912 A. D.) The court had the power to order compensation to the wife not exceeding Rs. 3,000 or direct the wife and children to be maintained by the husband. By the Cochin Nair Act of 1113 (1938 A. D.), on the change of religion of a person a marriage may be dissolved and the wife can claim compensation. This Act also declared invalid a marriage of a female

SCENES FROM A NAIR WEDDING IN TRIVANDRUM



THE MARRIAGE BOOTH

SCENES FROM A NAIR WEDDING IN TRIVANDRUM (Contd.)



Pl. 16

THE BRIDEGROOM GARLANDS THE BRIDE

Page 37



Pl. 17

THE BRIDEGROOM TIES THE 'TALI', HIS SISTER ASSISTING HIM

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SCENES FROM A NAIR WEDDING AT TRIVANDRUM — Concl.



Pl. 18

THE BRIDEGROOM PRESENTS THE 'PUDAVA' TO THE BRIDE

Page 37



Pl. 19

THE COUPLE ON THE WAY TO THE BRIDAL CHAMBER

Page 37



Pl. 20

A 'NALUKETTU'

Page 40



Pl. 21

A MIDDLE CLASS HOUSE

Page 42

under 16 years and a male under 21 years of age solemnised after the commencement of the Act. According to the Madras Marumakkathayam Act of 1932 (applicable to the Malabar area) a marriage is dissoluble by mutual consent recorded in a registered document or by application to a court of law. On receipt of the application the court is bound to allow the petition if it is not withdrawn within a specified time. But it can order compensation payable to the wife for which no maximum limit is fixed by the statute.

Modern Marriage

58. The following is an account of a marriage in the Nair community at present.

The marriage proposal usually starts from the bridegroom's side through some intermediary or direct. The horoscopes of the girl and the boy are first examined by an astrologer and if the horoscopes are found to agree the proposal is proceeded with; otherwise it is dropped. This is followed by the 'nischayam' or settlement of marriage which is done at an auspicious time in the bride's house. On the day appointed for the marriage, the bridegroom along with his relatives and friends including women and children proceed to the bride's house in a small procession. The 'Tali', 'Mala', 'Pudava' etc., intended for the occasion are also taken with them. The bridegroom and party are received in a neighbouring house by the bride's people and given light refreshments. After completion of all arrangements for the marriage a party from the bride's house go to the house where the bridegroom and his party are resting and lead them to the bride's house in a procession accompanied often by music. At the entrance of the 'pandal' a wooden plank and brass vessels filled with water would have been placed. While the bridegroom steps on the wooden plank the brother of the bride receives the bridegroom pouring water from the brass vessel on his feet. After this the mother of the bride receives the bridegroom by passing around his head a vessel in which rice, flowers etc., are placed and applying sandal paste on his forehead. The bridegroom then enters the marriage booth and gets himself seated.

The bride is ushered to the 'pandal' by her maternal aunt with the accompaniment of lighted lamp, 'ashtamangalyam' etc. 'Kurava' is shouted by women at the time of the reception of bridegroom as well as at the time of bringing the bride to the marriage booth and tying the 'tali'. The couple then present gifts to their parents and teacher. Thereafter the bride garlands the bridegroom who also garlands the bride in turn. The father of the bridegroom then hands over the 'tali' to the bridegroom which he places round the neck of the bride, and his sister or somebody on her behalf who will be standing close by completes the tying of the 'tali'. This is followed in some marriages by the exchange of rings by the couple. After this the 'pudava' is handed over to the bridegroom by his father and the bridegroom presents it to the bride with the blessing of those who have assembled there. Then, the father of the bride or somebody on his behalf makes the couple clasp their hands and leads them round the marriage booth either once or thrice. On entering the bridal chamber the bridegroom is given a cup of milk and a plantain fruit by some elderly lady of the house a portion of which is taken by the bridegroom and the rest offered to the bride. The guests are treated to a sumptuous feast. The couple along with the bridegroom's and bride's parties return to the bridegroom's house the same day. At the entrance the mother of the bridegroom will receive the bride with lighted lamp and other accompaniments. As a custom the girl should step in with her right foot first. Sweets are then served to the bride.

Funeral

59. When a person is about to breathe his last the members of the household and all his friends who may be present, one by one, pour a little water, from a tiny cup made of a leaf or two of the 'tulasi' (*Ocimum sanctum*), into his mouth holding in the hand a piece of gold or gold ring; the idea being that the person should touch gold ere the water enters the mouth. It is the custom that, as far as possible, the person is laid on 'darbha' grass spread on the floor before he dies. As early

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as possible after death, ashes will be spread all round the 'kusa' bed in the form of a ridged border. A lamp filled with cocoanut oil will be lighted by the side of the deceased's head which is always laid towards the south considered to be Yama's home. On the death of the person, his eyes are tightly closed, the limbs straightened and the big toes tied together. The sad tidings of death are conveyed through messengers mostly taken from the Marar, Veluthedan and Thandan communities for which they will be given cash rewards. When all the relatives have arrived—but they will not be awaited for a very long time as the Nairs believe that the disposal of the corpse by cremation or burial as soon as possible after death will be conducive to the happiness of the spirit of the departed—the body is washed and laid on a full plantain leaf covered with a new cloth consisting of six undivided pieces. One end of this cloth will be drawn over the body to cover it, except the face. The lighted lamp is again placed by the head side. This is followed by the offering of 'vaikari' consisting of raw rice, flower, curd etc., which is done by the male members of the family and near relatives. After this ceremony the face also is covered with cloth. At this stage the corpse is fully wrapped in cloth. The corpse in the wrapped condition is then carried on a bier made of fresh bamboos to the cremation ground by the near relatives. The ceremonies are directed by a member of the 'Attikurissi' clan (Marar) who is entitled to the customary perquisites. When the bier is borne away from the house the last of the pole-bearers will kick with his leg a vessel filled with cow-dung water and upset it. Generally it is only the bodies of the deceased senior members of a family that will be cremated. Persons whose parents are alive or who have died of disease like smallpox, cholera etc., are only buried. As the bier is carried to the cremation ground a lighted lamp and a pot containing burning charcoal are also carried to the funeral ground by the male relatives.

60. The Nairs of the 'kara' (local area) are responsible for the preparation of the funeral pyre. Generally, the pyre is made

out of pieces of wood cut from a mango tree. The Thandan will be cutting and preparing the wood for this purpose. A grave is dug first. It is over this grave that the firewood cut from the mango tree is piled. Usually beams to support the pyre are placed over the grave. These beams consist of either the stems of plantain or cocoanut trees. A basement of dried cocoanut husks is given to the pyre over the beams to facilitate cremation. A hole is left in the centre of the pyre to insert a torch of dried cocoanut leaves for expediting the burning of the pyre. The corpse is now placed on the pyre with head towards the south and obeisance paid to it by near relatives. The relatives of the deceased except the sons and nephews who have to observe pollution now put on the corpse new cloths which ceremony is called 'kodiyaidal'. These new cloths are taken by the Marar who directs the funeral ceremony out of which one cloth is given to the Thandan and another to the Veluthedan. The Marar then tears off a piece of cloth from the original piece in which the corpse has been wrapped. This is given after the cremation to the chief mourner who will wear it. All the near relatives of the deceased place a piece of firewood each on the headside of the corpse. A piece of red cloth ('kattiyavu') with sandalwood and other incense is also placed on the pyre. The pyre is now lit by the Marar with a torch. The chief mourner who is usually the eldest son of the deceased then walks round the pyre with a pot filled with water over his head three times and each time he takes the round the pot is gently struck with the end of a chopper by another. After the third round the chief mourner puts down the pot behind on the southern side of the pyre. When the corpse is half burnt, a ceremony called 'udakakriya' is performed by the chief mourner and other mourners by offering over the flame ghee, oil etc. to the corpse. All leave the cremation ground after this ceremony.

61. Pollution is observed for 15 days and throughout the period 'bali' is offered by the chief mourner and a female member every day before a bamboo stick fixed for

FUNERAL

the purpose in the courtyard of the house with a tender cocoanut cut and kept near it—all covered with cadjan leaves. On the fifth or seventh day the 'sanchayanam' ceremony (collecting the bones of the deceased from the pit) is performed. The bones are kept in a new earthen pot and put in a river or sea. On the fifteenth day the house of the deceased is purified by the Marar who sprinkles holy water for the purpose. On the sixteenth day the temple priest ('poojari' who is of the Elayathu caste) conducts the ceremony of 'pindam-vaikal' ('pindam' is a symbol representing the soul of the deceased) and offers the last 'bali' in the presence of the relatives of the deceased and others. A feast is held on this day. In some cases a 'sraddha' is also performed on the 41st day for which all friends and relatives are invited and treated to a feast after paying necessary homage to the departed soul. Some observe this annually. There are variations in some of the above items in modern times. The pollution is observed only for 10 days by some instead of the usual 15 days. Similarly, instead of the 'sraddha' on the 41st day some perform it much earlier i.e. the day after the last 'bali'.

62. It has to be observed in this connection that there are minor local variations in details. In the Nair funerals of the Chittur taluk, for example, there is a custom of pouring pots of cow-dung water over the corpse which is wrapped in cloths before it is taken to the cremation ground. Also in some places the 'kudamudappu' precedes the setting fire to the funeral pyre. Where the cremation is done in a public burial ground in urban areas some families do not use the firewood of mango tree for crema-

tion. Instead, dry cocoanut husks and cow-dung cakes are used.

House Types

63. A table giving the classification of houses in the village on 20 per cent sample by material of walls and roofs is given below.

Table VII
MATERIAL OF WALLS AND ROOFS OF 20 PER CENT SAMPLE HOUSES IN THE VILLAGE

Sl. No.	Material of wall	Material of roof	No. of houses
1	Cadjan	Cadjan	201
2	Stone	...	184
3	Mud	...	289
4	Stone	Tiles	103
5	Timber	Cadjan	79
6	Timber	Tiles	8
7	Bricks	Cadjan	24
8	Stone	Concrete	1
9	Tiles	Cadjan	1
10	Unburnt bricks	Cadjan	46

Items 4, 6 and 8 in the table are invariably high class houses, while some houses in item 5 can also be taken to be included in this category. Items 2, 7 and 10 belong to the middle class category. A few of item 3 also come in this category. All the houses in items 1 and 9 and most of the houses in item 3 are low class houses. In the surveyed area 9.73 per cent of the houses have walls of timber, 29.20 per cent walls of mud, 46.02 per cent walls of laterite and 15.05 per cent walls of cadjan leaves. 20.35 per cent of the houses have tiled roofs and the rest have only thatched roofs. A table showing the wall and roof material of the houses in the surveyed area is given below.

Table VIII
MATERIAL OF WALLS AND ROOFS OF THE HOUSES IN THE SURVEYED AREA.*

Material of wall				Material of roof	
Timber	Mud	Stone	All other materials	Grass, Leaves, Reeds thatch or bamboo	Tiles, Slate, Shingle
11	33	52	17	90	23

* Inapplicable items are deleted

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64. 4.42 per cent of the houses have no regular rooms, 15.05 per cent have one room each, 28.32 per cent two rooms each, 20.35 per cent three rooms each and 12.39 per cent four rooms each. Only 19.47 per

cent of the households have five or more rooms each. The following table gives the households in the surveyed area by number of rooms and number of persons occupying.

Table IX

HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS AND NUMBER OF PERSONS OCCUPYING

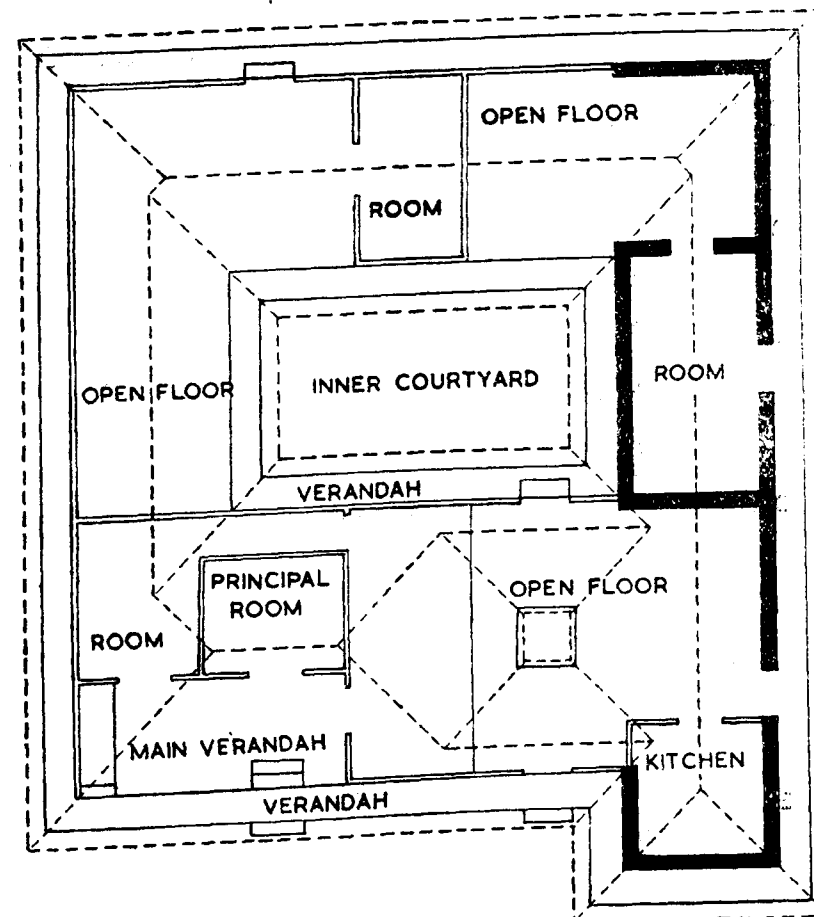
No. of rooms	Total No. of households	No. of households according to No. of persons in the household				
		1 person	2-3 persons	4-6 persons	7-9 persons	10 persons and over
No regular room	5	...	1	3	1	...
1 room	17	...	4	9	3	1
2 rooms	32	...	6	17	8	1
3 rooms	23	...	1	16	4	2
4 rooms	14	1	3	7	3	...
5 rooms and over	22	...	6	9	5	2

The Nalukett

65. The high class houses are of the old and new pattern the predominant type of the old pattern being the 'nalukett'. The 'nalukett' perhaps is the oldest of the high class house pattern in Kerala. It was popular in all communities from very ancient times, but more popular in the Nair community. Like the Roman Villa it is built on four sides of a central courtyard open to the sky, the classical 'impluvium' known in Malayalam as 'nadumittom' or the central courtyard. The buildings on the four sides are called 'vadakkini' or northern house, 'theekini' or southern house, 'kizhakkini' or eastern house and 'padijattini' or western house. There are sometimes verandahs on all sides of the courtyard and all round the exterior of the quadrangle as well, and these latter are sometimes enclosed with massive wooden bars having a reverse slope to that of the roof.

The verandahs and 'poomukam' are usually bounded by low walls or parapets—carrying broad wooden seats. In the upper storey there will usually, be an open hall corresponding to the 'theekini' for the men to sleep and a series of small bedrooms for women. There are separate staircases for the former and the latter. The windows of the men's quarters open to the compound only and there will be no window opening to the direction of the wings reserved for women. The details given above vary considerably with different houses. A sketch of the 'nalukett' is given below. The wooden walls are peculiar to the ancient 'nalukett' houses. These buildings were, in olden days, mostly thatched in this area, but modern tendencies have induced the owners of the houses to make slight alterations by providing more ventilation and replacing thatched roofs by tiled roofs.

THE NALUKETT

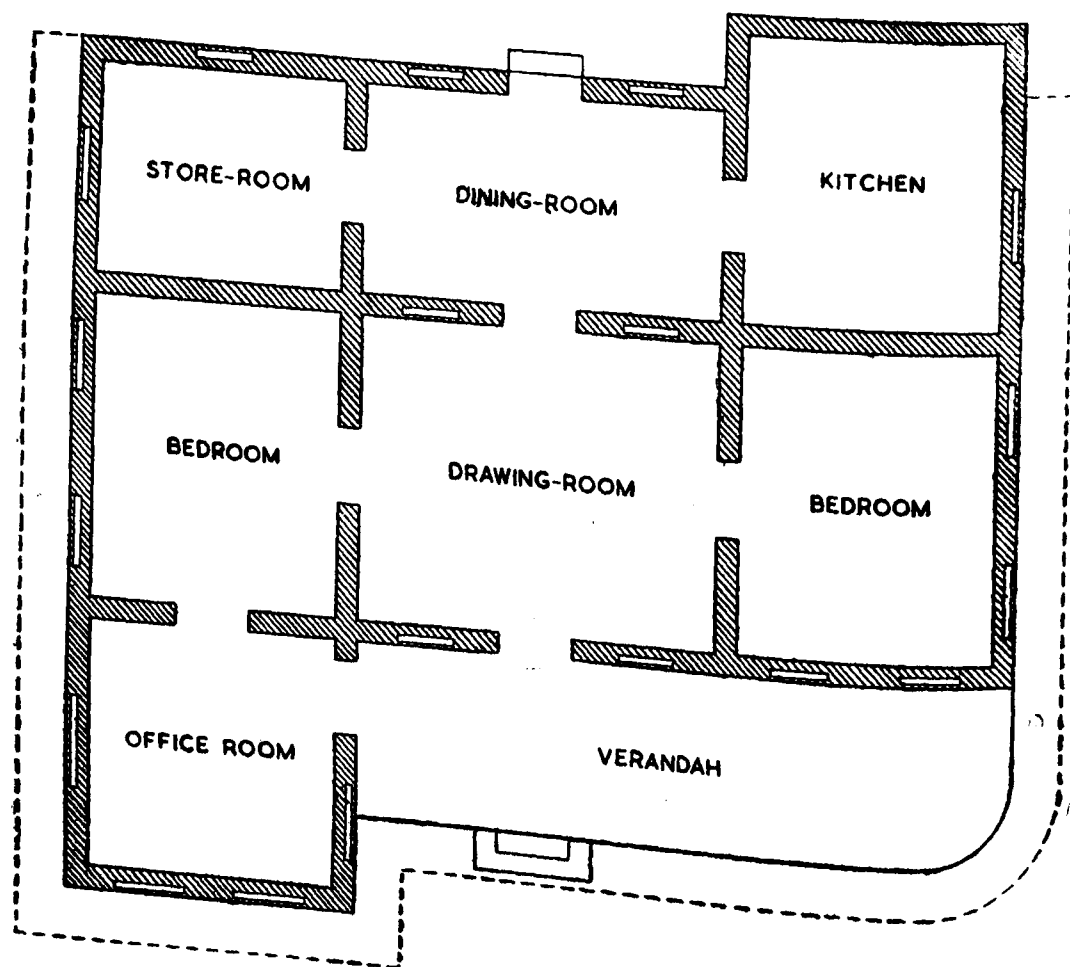


GROUND PLAN OF THE NALUKETT

A Modern High Class House

66. In modern construction of high class houses the wooden walls are completely absent. The houses are invariably constructed with laterite stones or burnt bricks and plastered with lime and in some cases with cement. The roofs of some of these houses are partly terraced in front or covered with asbestos sheets. The floor is cemented against the time-old custom of plastering with cow-dung. The doors and windows of modern houses are either painted or varnished. The kitchen has often modern amenities for keeping vessels and connected articles and a hearth on a raised platform provided with chimney. The front

side of a house consists of a verandah flanked on one or both sides by side rooms. The verandah opens to a central room which serves the purpose of a drawing room. On either side of this room is one bedroom each. Behind the drawing room are the dining room, the store room and an extension for the kitchen. The kitchen often juts on one side of the rear portion of the house. Bath rooms, latrines, cow sheds, firewood sheds etc. are provided in separate structures. If the party is wealthy the house may be provided with storeys. Otherwise the house is only single floored. The sketch of the ground plan of a modern high class house is given over leaf.

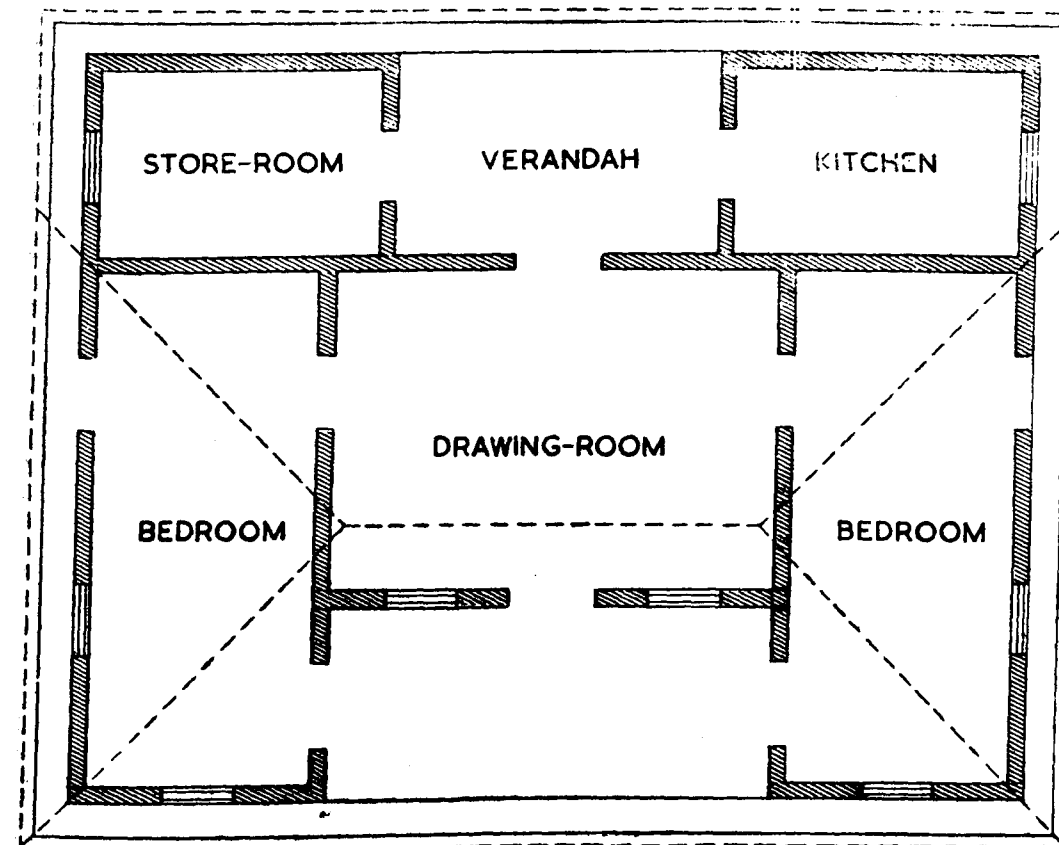


GROUND PLAN OF A HIGH CLASS HOUSE

A Middle Class House

67. A middle class house also has a verandah in front which opens to the main room which serves the purpose of the drawing room and two side rooms, one each on either side. The back side is en-

closed with kitchen occupying a part of the enclosure and the rest being used for dining and sundry purposes. A cattle shed is invariably constructed a little apart from the house. Latrines and bath rooms are rare for this type of houses.



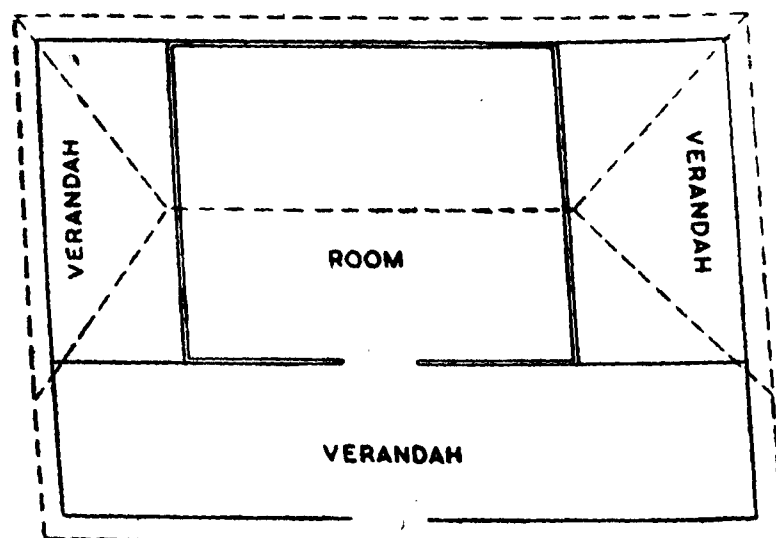
GROUND PLAN OF A MIDDLE CLASS HOUSE

Low Class House

68. This type of houses has only walls of cadjan or mud and are mostly single-roomed tenements. The roof is invariably thatched on bamboo frame. There is no bath-room or latrine for these houses. Windows are absent. In fact they are not necessary as the plaited cadjan leaves which form the walls have enough holes for ventilation. It need hardly be said that these houses have none of the facilities which one would require in a house. As many as 10 persons

or more are accommodated in some, while in some others the number of inmates comes to 4—9. During the rainy season the inmates of these poor class houses have little protection from violent wind and heavy down-pours. In the summer, however, these afford a cool shelter with the aid of the thatched roof and wall. But if the poor class houses are walled with mud, even this little advantage of a cool shelter in summer is denied to the inmates.

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GROUND PLAN OF A LOW CLASS HOUSE

Furniture and Accessories

69. 39.82 per cent of the households in the surveyed area possess chairs, 35.39 per cent tables, 59.29 per cent cots, 30.97 per cent stools, 39.82 per cent benches and 24.77 per cent almirahs. 5.30 per cent of the houses are electrified. 20.35 per cent houses have battery torches. One household has kerosene stove. Four households have bicycles. While there are radio sets in three households, there is a gramophone in one. The furniture in the well-to-do houses include among others, settees. Cane chairs are also popular in the area. This is perhaps due to the easy transport facilities from Punalur which is a centre of cane furniture.

Dress and Ornaments

70. 17.57 per cent of the male population of the surveyed area don shirt, shawl and dhoti, 30.74 per cent wear shirt and dhoti up to heels, 9.80 per cent wear shawl and dhoti up to heels, 33.78 per cent shirt

and shorts and 8.11 per cent other kinds of costumes, while outside their premises. The last two categories consist of boys.

71. Out of the female population, 12.77 per cent wear full saree, 6.85 per cent dhoti from waist to heels with shawl, 39.56 per cent half saree with blouse and dhoti from waist to heel and the rest other patterns of costumes. In the last category there are more of children. The girls mostly use blouse and skirt, while saree and blouse are worn by the young women of all communities. Out of the 113 households, only 27 are accustomed to the use of foot-wear. These are distributed among the various communities except Pulayas and Thandans. The following table gives the particulars of costumes worn by the inhabitants of the surveyed area while outside their premises. There is no household among Jacobites, Catholics, Marthomites, Members of Church of South India, Asaris and Thandans with females who wear dhoti and shawl only.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Table X

DRESS *

Total population		Communities								
		Nairs	Ezhuvas	Pulayas	Parayas	Asaris	Thandans	Jacobites	Marthomites	Catholics
296	Total No. of males in the community	138	65	19	7	12	9	29	8	7
321	Total No. of females in the community	139	63	16	8	16	15	38	9	12
I No. of males wearing										
52	1. Shirt, shawl and dhoti up to heels	28	8	...	...	4	3	6	1	2
91	2. Shirt and dhoti up to heels without shawl	49	19	6	2	3	2	7	1	1
29	3. Shawls and dhoti up to heels	11	7	6	1	2	...	1	1	...
100	4. Shirt and shorts	41	22	6	3	3	3	14	4	3
24	5. Any other type	9	9	1	1	...	1	1	1	1
II No. of females wearing										
41	1. Full saree	13	5	...	...	1	6	3	6	3
22	2. Dhoti from waist to heels only with shawl	13	2	5	2	...	...	...	...	...
127	3. Half saree with blouse and dhoti from waist to heels	59	27	7	2	4	5	14	3	4
131	4. Any other item	54	29	4	3	6	7	18	3	6

* Inapplicable items are deleted

72. 30.97 per cent of the households in the surveyed area do not possess any ornament at all. 28.31 per cent have ornaments up to the value of Rs. 100, 30.97 per cent up to Rs. 500 and 7.07 per cent up to Rs. 1,000. Two households have ornaments up to Rs. 1,500 and one household up to

Rs. 2,000. The Pulayas and Parayas of the surveyed area have no ornaments of any value at all. The following table gives the particulars of value of the ornaments possessed by the households of the various communities in the surveyed area.

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Table XI
ORNAMENTS *

Total No. of households		Communities									
		Nairs	Ezhuvas	Pulayas	Parayas	Asaris	Thandans	Jacobites	Marthomites	Catholics	Church of South India
113	Total No. of households in the community	54	20	7	3	4	5	11	4	4	1
78	Total No. of households wearing ornaments	44	7	...	...	4	4	11	4	3	1
35	Households using no ornaments	10	13	7	3	...	1	...	...	1	...
32	No. of households using ornaments of the value of Rs. 100/-	21	4	...	...	2	4	1	...	...	...
35	No. of households using ornaments upto Rs. 500/-	20	2	...	...	2	...	9	2	...	...
8	No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 1,000/- or below	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	3	...
2	No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 1,500/-	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
1	No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 2,000/-	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* Inapplicable items are deleted

Food and Drink

73. 38.94 per cent of the households in the surveyed area take more than three meals a day, 49.56 per cent three meals a day and 11.50 per cent two meals a day. All households except one are non-vegetarians. 31.85 per cent of the households take a combination of rice and tapioca as their staple food, while the rest have rice alone

in their place. Grown up male members of the labour classes take tea or coffee with or without light dishes from the neighbouring tea shops. The rest of the families prepare their own tiffin in the morning and evening. The following tables give the diet according to the number of meals and staple diet and food habits of the various communities in the surveyed area.

THE MALAYALI MEAL

Table XII
DIET (Number of Meals) *

Total No. of households	Name of the community	Total No. of households in the community	Households having two meals a day	Households having three meals a day	Households having more than three meals a day
113	Nairs	54	...	24	30
	Ezhuvas	20	4	12	4
	Pulayas	7	5	2	...
	Parayas	3	2	1	...
	Asaris	4	...	3	1
	Thandans	5	2	3	...
	Jacobites	11	...	8	3
	Marthomites	4	...	1	3
	Catholics	4	...	1	...
	Church of South India	1	...	56	44
Total		113	13		

* Inapplicable items are deleted

Table XIII
DIET (Staple Diet and Food Habits)*

Name of the community	Total No. of households	No. of vegetarian households	No. of non-vegetarian households	No. of households having as staple food	
				Rice	Combination of Rice and Tapioca
Nairs	54	...	54	45	9
Ezhuvas	20	1	19	14	6
Pulayas	7	...	7	...	7
Parayas	3	...	3	...	3
Asaris	4	...	4	...	4
Thandans	5	...	5	...	5
Jacobites	11	...	11	9	2
Marthomites	4	...	4	4	...
Catholics	4	...	4	3	1
Church of South India	1	...	1	1	...

* Inapplicable items are deleted

All the households in the surveyed area make special preparations on festive occasions.

A Malayali Meal

74. Unlike the Westerners, the Malayali Hindus, and to some extent, the other communities of Kerala, prefer to be seated in a cross-legged squatting posture on either a round or square wooden stand about 2 inches in height or on a mat laid on the

floor of the house. According to the customary conservative fashion he does not take his food in a plate; nor does he use spoons, forks or knives to take the food from the leaf. A plantain leaf taking the end portion up to 2 to 3 feet in length laid in front of him serves the purpose of the

plate. He would have cleaned his hands already by washing it well in water. A few drops of water are sprinkled over the leaf and smeared with the hand to wash off any possible dirt sticking to the leaf. Thus, the leaf is cleaned before any item of food is served on it. A little purified common salt is served first on the left hand tip of the leaf. Pickles of various kinds like ginger, lime, mango etc., and fried items of vegetables called 'upperis' made of elephant's foot and bananas fried 'pappads' (round crisp flour paste cakes), sweetened banana chips and ripe plantain fruits of various kinds are served on the border of the leaf. A number of curries made of various kinds of vegetables going under different names of preparations like 'erisseri', a preparation of raw plantains and elephant's footyam, sliced and boiled in water with salt and chillies and cocoanut pulp and cummin seeds added. For flavour a little pepper and a few mustard seeds fried in cocoanut oil and scraped cocoanut pulp are put in it., 'kalan', literally 'sour curry' (which is a preparation of buttermilk and sliced plantains, especially bananas and elephant's footyam), 'olan' (a preparation of sliced cucumber and brinjal with peas or pulses boiled in water with salt but without chillies and cocoanut oil and 'kariveppila' (Bergera koccigei) added for flavour) 'aviyal', (a preparation into which all sorts of vegetables go), 'thoran' (a dry preparation of vegetables sliced into very small pieces, boiled in water with salt and chillies till all the water dries up and flavoured with cocoanut pulp and mustard fried in cocoanut oil), 'koottukari' (a miscellaneous assortment of vegetables, and some Bengal-grams), are also served along with these. 'Patchati' and 'kitchati' (sour preparations made out of vegetables the former generally of mango and the latter a combination of buttermilk and cucumber) are also served. The first course of cooked rice is now served, in the centre of the leaf. On non-ceremonial occasions, however, the rice is served with a spoon of a cocoanut shell fixed to a handle made of bamboo stick. This is followed by serving dhal and ghee. A little of rice is now taken and

mixed with dhal, ghee and 'pappad' forming the very first dish to be taken. When once this is taken the person begins to taste the various dishes already served but he generally waits for the 'sambar' which is a highly relished dilute curry having dhal and vegetables such as brinjals, drumsticks, bittergourds, lady's finger etc. This is served right on the rice in the leaf. Rice is now taken mixing it with 'sambar' with the aid of the various other dishes already served. This is followed by the service of puddings. The pudding of the Malayali differs considerably from the western pudding, both in its contents as well as in its form and taste. The main types of Malayalee puddings are 'payasam' made of boiled rice, molasses and juice of cocoanut flavoured with spices, or 'palpayasam' which consists of cow's milk boiled with rice and sweetened with sugar, or 'prathamam' of various types like 'ata-prathamam' consisting of rice flour mixed with molasses forming into a paste and cut into small pieces and boiled in water with juice of cocoanut and molasses, or, again 'palada', a preparation resembling 'ata-prathamam' the chief components being the flour paste, cow's milk and sugar, or 'pazha-prathamam' in which ripe banana chips take the place of flour paste and cocoanut juice instead of cow's milk and sweetened to taste, or 'parippupayasam', the main ingredient of which is dhal, etc. By the time one takes these puddings he would have been fed up with sweet to a degree that he would relish a sour antidote to sumptuous sweetness. This is furnished by the next course which consists of 'pulisseri', a preparation of cucumber slices in curd. The next course consists of 'rasam', a very dilute preparation of dhal and tomatoes with various kinds of condiments and spices and rice. The plantains or bananas are taken along with one or the other kind of pudding. The final course which crowns the sumptuous meal is a mixture of rice and buttermilk with salt. Instead of the soda, iced water or hot drinks served on a western table, spiced water boiled and half cooled is served in a metal cup which may be either of bronze or silver. This water is taken by holding the cup in one's left hand

a little above his lips and pouring it into the mouth without touching the lips, a performance which requires some skill and experience. It is the custom that one should not use his left hand for eating. Nor is it possible to use the left hand as it is often a support for the person. This prohibition of the use of the left hand at times puts one to the interesting and slightly difficult feat of peeling off the skin of the plantain with his right hand alone. The leaf is thrown away after meal. The items served in a Malayali feast have been immortalised in more than one poem of the famous poets Kunjan Nambyar, Thunjat Ezhuthassan and several others. It has to be remarked that the above description fits in only with a rich meal taken on festive occasions. The ordinary meal is devoid of some of the items mentioned above like the puddings, the bananas and some of the curries but the 'sambar', 'rasam' and the buttermilk, a few items of pickles or vegetable fries, rice and 'pappads' are somewhat common for a middle class Hindu Malayali meal. This pattern, however, does not apply to non-vegetarian Hindus who even prefer plates to plantain leaves and non-vegetarian preparations to vegetarian dishes. The meals of non-Hindus vary considerably from the above pattern. They are non-vegetarian even in feasts. While a Hindu feast is mostly vegetarian, a Christian or a Muslim feast is mostly non-vegetarian. The use of plantain leaves as the plates in which the various dishes are served is common to most of the communities, especially in a feast, though for domestic purposes plates are used instead of plantain leaves. It has, indeed, to be observed casually that there are also persons belonging to various communities, especially Christians who have their feasts served in 'pucca' western fashion with all the accompaniments of a full-fledged western dinner.

75. All the households in the surveyed area except one of the Pulaya community have separate utensils for cooking different articles of food like rice, meat, fish, chips, milk etc. All the households are in the habit of using cocoanut oil in their preparations of curries.

Modern Hearth

76. Out of the total number of 113 households in the surveyed area only 27 households have modern hearths. The communities of Pulayas, Parayas and Thandans have no households with modern hearths at all.

Fuel

77. A study of the different kinds of fuel used in the surveyed area has revealed that all the households use firewood, while all except one household supplement the use of firewood with dry leaves and 94 households out of 113 supplement the firewood and dry leaves with other materials as well. The one household which uses only firewood is not only rich, but is also put up in a rented house with no facilities for the collection of dry leaves or other materials for fuel.

Toilets

78. 103 out of the 113 households use toilet soap, while all the 113 households use washing soap.

Miscellaneous

79. It is only 47 households out of the total 113 that entrust cloths to washer man for washing. 50.00 per cent of the Nair, 33.33 per cent of the Ezhuva, 50.00 per cent of the Asari, 63.60 per cent of the Marthomite, Jacobite, cent per cent of the Catholic and cent per cent of the Church of South India, households come in this category.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic Resources

80. Land is the main source of income in the village. The village has an area of 5,660.00 acres out of which 2,386.15 acres are under wet land paddy cultivation. About 300 acres are left as 'poramboku' and 'tharisu'. The remaining area is covered mainly by cocoanut plantation. From time immemorial these lands are utilised for the cultivation of paddy and cocoanuts though small scale conversion of wet land is taking place nowadays for putting up dwellings as well as for cultivation of cocoanuts. The wet lands are double crop lands. Thus the village has basically an agricultural economy. It is but natural that most of the households in the village depend on agriculture alone for their main source of income. According to 1961 Census the industrial establishments of the village are classified as follows:—

Table XIV

INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS

Type of Industry	Number
Production of copra	3
Rice Mill	8
Production of rice flour etc. by hand pounding	3
Bakery	1
Manufacture of soda water, lemonade, etc.	3
Handloom weaving	6
Tailoring	11
Manufacture of wooden furniture	3
Miscellaneous printing works	1
Manufacture of ayurvedic medicines	5
Manufacture of tin cans and copper vessels	3
Manufacture of agricultural implements	12
Repairing of cycles	3
Manufacture of lime	4
Manufacture of jewellery	5

81. All the above are small scale industries which are of recent origin. Since the village is mainly a paddy producing area the

number of rice mills is comparatively greater. The industries mainly function to meet the needs of the village alone. None of them have scope for absorbing large number of labourers.

82. Agriculture covers nearly 50 per cent of the workers, which is the most important occupation of the village. The next important group is other services which takes 25.89 per cent of the workers. This item includes mainly government service, office work and other unspecified items of work. 27.34 per cent of the workers in the village are females.

Live-Stock

83. 69.02 per cent households in the surveyed area have cows and 25.66 per cent have bulls. He-buffaloes are reared by 20.35 per cent of the households and she-buffaloes by 6.19 per cent. 11.50 per cent of the households rear goats, 75.22 per cent keep indigenous fowls and 1.78 per cent rear ducks. There is only one household rearing Rhode Island variety of fowls. Petty cultivators of the village do not own bulls or buffaloes for agricultural operations. They engage agricultural labourers who own one or two pairs of bullocks or buffaloes for ploughing their fields for which a substantially higher rate of wage than the usual rate for ploughing is paid. The daily needs of milk and eggs of the majority of the households are met by the cows and poultry maintained by them. As per the live-stock census, 1961 there are 5,973 heads of cattle consisting of cows, bullocks etc., 164 buffaloes, 1,237 goats, 103 sheep and 2 other animals in the village in addition to the poultry population numbering 11,082.

Land and Landholdings

84. Out of 113 households in the surveyed area 101 households possess land in the village or outside. Out of this 3 hold land from other persons and 11 have given out portions of their land to others on mortgage

LAND UTILISATION

or for cultivation under share cropping system. The following table gives the details of landholdings by the households of the surveyed area.

Table XV

HOUSEHOLDS OWNING OR POSSESSING LAND OR WHICH HAVE GIVEN OUT LAND TO OTHERS FOR CULTIVATION

Nature of interest on land		No. of households and extent of land									
		No land	5 cents and below	6 to 10 cents	11 to 20 cents	21 to 50 cents	51 cents to 1 acre	1.01 to 2.49 acres	2.50 to 4.99 acres	5 to 10 acres	Above 10 acres
1. Land owned	Pulayas	7	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Parayas	...	...	...	1	...	2	1	...	...	...
	Asaris	...	...	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	...
	Thandans	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Nairs	3	...	2	3	8	12	14	8	3	1
	Ezhuvas	...	2	2	6	8	1	3	1	1	...
	Jacobites	1	1	...	...	4	...	4	...	...	...
	Marthomites	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	1	...	...
	Catholics	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Church of South India	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2. Land held from private persons or institutions	Nairs	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Ezhuvas	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	Jacobites	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3. Land given out to private persons or institutions	Nairs	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	2	1	...
	Jacobites	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...
	Marthomites	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...
	Church of South India	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Land Utilisation

85. The following table gives the particulars of land utilisation in the surveyed area.

Table XVI

LAND UTILISATION

	Area of land owned by the households in acres	Area of land held by the households from private persons or institutions in acres
All groups	138.94	1.35
Area under cultivation by the households	115.89	1.35
Area given out to others for cultivation	23.05	...
	51	

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Traditional Occupations

86. Five households of Thandans in the surveyed area had climbing of cocoanut trees (harvesting of cocoanuts) as their traditional occupation out of which two have given up the same. Out of four households of Asaris which had carpentry as their traditional occupation only three households retain the same. Four Ezhuva households which had toddy tapping as their traditional occupation have already given it up. The members of the Pulaya and Paraya communities of the surveyed area are traditionally agricultural labourers. All of them with the exception of one still follow this. Agriculture has been the age-old pursuit of all other households in the surveyed area.

Trade and Commerce

87. The activities connected with trade and commerce in the village are mainly confined to the retail trade of necessities and disposal of the local produces. Paddy and cocoanuts are the main produces of the village which are marketed through middlemen who are engaged in this business.

88. A number of permanent and semi-permanent establishments engaged in retail trading activities of various kinds cluster round public offices, schools, markets and road junctions. The retail trades relate to cloth, provisions, stationery and various other miscellaneous goods. The traders engaged in retail usually bring the goods from the wholesalers at Kayamkulam or Alleppey. The villagers sell most of their minor produces like banana, plantain and tapioca and other tubers in the local markets which meet daily. Every evening this place is fully crowded. The following table gives the number and type of trading establishments in the village.

Table XVIII *

HOUSEHOLDS ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION, INDUSTRY, OR BUSINESS BELONGING TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Total No. of households	Households engaged in cultivation run by the household	Households engaged in industry run by the household	Households engaged in cultivation and industry run by the household	Households engaged in cultivation and business run by the household	Households not running cultivation, industry or business
113	79	8	3	5	18

* Inapplicable items are deleted

Table XVII

TYPES OF TRADING ESTABLISHMENTS

Type of trade	Number
Cloth	13
Tea dust	4
Vegetable	8
Stationery articles	20
Provision stores	88
Pan and beedi	60
Tea shops and hotels	134
Toddy shops	2
Arrack shop	1
Others	19

Household Cultivation, Industry or Business

89. 76.99 per cent households in the surveyed area are engaged in cultivation belonging to household either as a major or minor source of income. In this group are included households engaged in the cultivation of seasonal as well as perennial crops like paddy, cocoanut palms etc. 7.08 per cent of the households run industry, 2.66 per cent run cultivation and industry and 4.42 per cent conduct household business along with cultivation belonging to the households. Among the eleven households running industries ten are engaged in screw-pine mat-weaving and one in the manufacture of furniture. The mat-weaving in all these households is carried on as a part-time subsidiary occupation. All the five households running household business have retail trade of provision goods and stationery articles as their business. There are eighteen households which do not have any enterprise belonging to the household. Given below is a table furnishing the data of households in the surveyed area engaged in cultivation or industry or business belonging to the household.

THE WORKING CLASS POPULATION

90. Out of 167 workers in the surveyed area 45 are engaged in cultivation, 6 in business and one in industry run by their own households. The following table gives

the classification of the workers in cultivation, industry or business belonging to the households by age and sex.

Table XIX

WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUP, INDUSTRY, BUSINESS AND CULTIVATION BELONGING TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Age-group	Working in industry belonging to the household			Working in business belonging to the household			Working in cultivation belonging to the household		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	1	1	...	6	6	...	45	44	1
0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	10	1
15 - 34	1	1	...	3	3	...	29	29	...
35 - 59	...	...	...	2	2	...	5	5	...
60 and over	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...

The Working Class Population

91. 22.80 per cent of the population of the village are workers engaged in different types of occupations. The following table

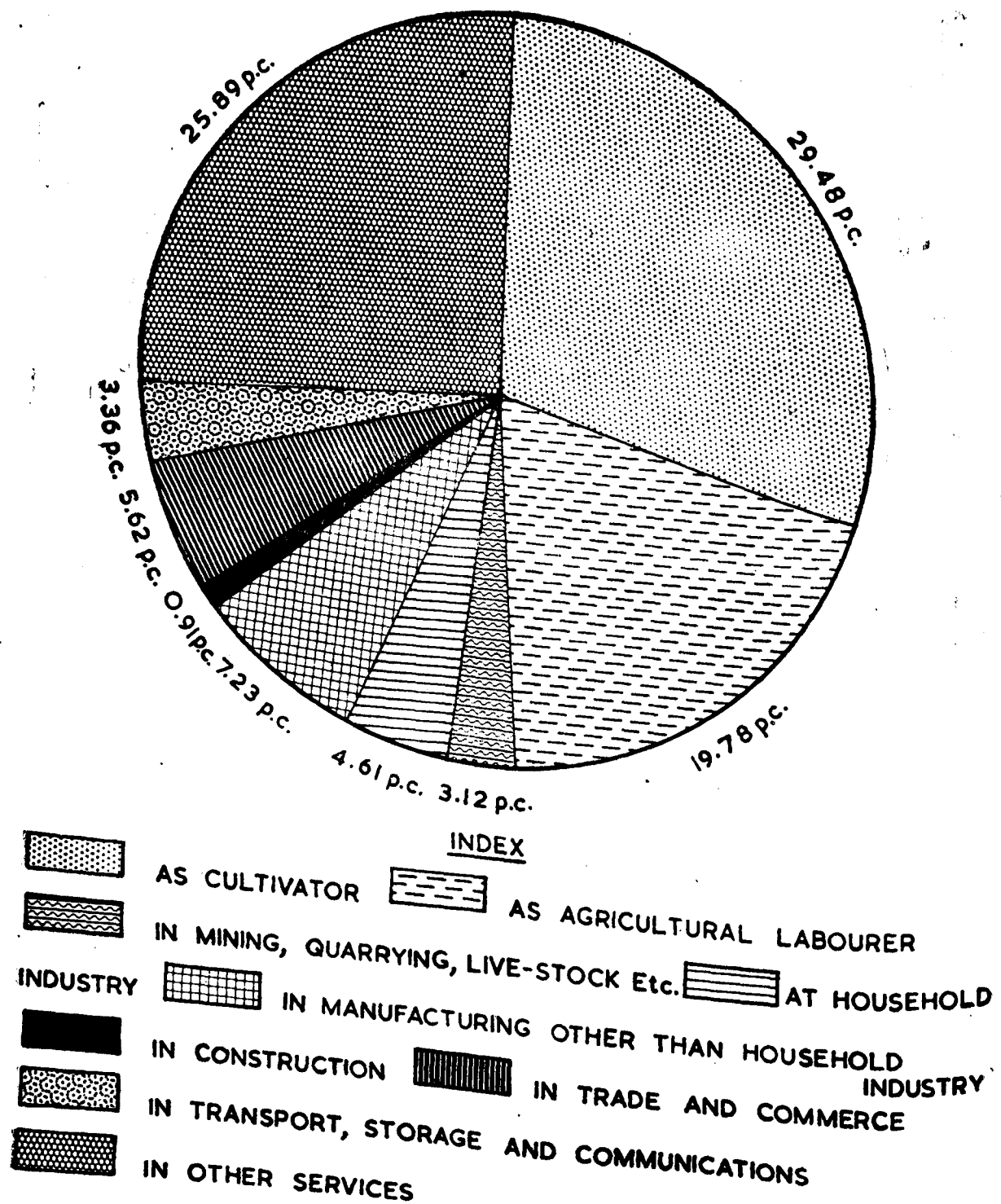
gives the classification of these workers among various livelihood classes according to the 1961 Census (in percentages).

Table XX

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS IN THE VILLAGE BY LIVELIHOOD CLASSES

Livelihood classes	Percentage of the total number of workers of all ages
Cultivators	29.48
Agricultural labourers	19.78
In mining, quarrying, live-stock, forestry etc.	3.12
At household industry	4.61
In manufacturing other than household industry	7.23
In construction	0.91
In trade and commerce	5.62
In transport, storage and communication	3.36
In other services	25.89

LIVELIHOOD CLASSES



THE WORKING CLASS POPULATION

92. The table given below furnishes the classification of the total population of

workers and non-workers of the surveyed area by sex and broad age-group.

Table XXI

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX AND BROAD AGE-GROUPS

Age-group	Total			Total workers			Total non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	617	296	321	167	118	49	450	178	272
0-14	257	133	124	...	...	...	257	133	124
15-34	167	67	100	70	43	27	97	24	73
35-59	151	78	73	87	67	20	64	11	53
60 and over	42	18	24	10	8	2	32	10	22

93. 27.07 per cent of the population of the surveyed area are workers comprising 26.95 per cent engaged in cultivation belonging to the household, 42.52 per cent engaged in agricultural labour, 0.59 per cent in industry run by the household, 3.59 per cent in trade and 26.35 per cent in other

services which include mainly teaching, office work, factory work etc. 29.34 per cent of the total workers are females. The following table gives the age and sex-wise classification of the workers of the surveyed area according to the nature of activity.

Table XXII

WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation		Age-groups				
		All ages	0-14	15-34	35-59	60 and over
Household cultivation	Persons	45	...	11	29	5
	Males	44	...	10	29	5
	Females	1	...	1	...	...
Agricultural labour	Persons	71	...	33	35	3
	Males	41	...	19	21	1
	Females	30	...	14	14	2
Household industry	Persons	1	...	...	1	...
	Males	1	...	...	1	...
	Females	...	...	...	...	...
Trade	Persons	6	...	3	2	1
	Males	6	...	3	2	1
	Females	...	...	...	...	...
Other services	Persons	44	...	23	20	1
	Males	26	...	11	14	1
	Females	18	...	12	6	...

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Non-workers

94. 68.62 per cent of the entire population of the village and 72.93 per cent of the population of the surveyed area are non-workers.

95. 25.56 per cent of the non-workers in the surveyed area are persons engaged in household duties only, 40.89 per cent are full-time students or children attending schools and 30.29 per cent sick, old or infants. There are 10 persons seeking employment out of whom seven are females. Two

persons have no special reason for not seeking any employment and do not belong to any other category.

96. 57.11 per cent of the non-workers in the surveyed area comprising mostly students and infants are in the age group of 0-14. 21.56 per cent, 14.22 per cent and 7.11 per cent are in the age-groups of 15-34, 35-59 and 60 and over respectively. The non-workers are classified according to age and sex below.

Table XXIII

NON-WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUPS AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY *

Age-group	Total No. of non-workers			Persons engaged in household duties only			Full-time students or children attending school		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	450	178	272	115	8	107	184	92	92
0-14	257	133	124	...	...	...	154	75	79
15-34	97	24	73	55	3	52	30	17	13
35-59	64	11	53	55	5	50	...	...	...
60 and over	32	10	22	5	...	5	...	...	...

(Contd.)

Age-group	Sick, old and infants			Persons seeking employment			Persons who have no special reason for not seeking employment and who do not belong to any other category		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	139	73	66	10	3	7	2	2	...
0-14	103	58	45	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-34	1	...	1	10	3	7	1	1	...
35-59	8	5	3	...	...	...	1	1	...
60 and over	27	10	17	...	...	...	...	...	...

* Inapplicable items are deleted

Paddy Cultivation

Cultivation Practices

97. Nearly 50 per cent of the total area of the village is under paddy cultivation. Both 'Virippu' and 'Mundakan' crops are raised in this area. A brief account of the cultivation practices and problems connected with 'Virippu' and 'Mundakan' cultivation is given below.

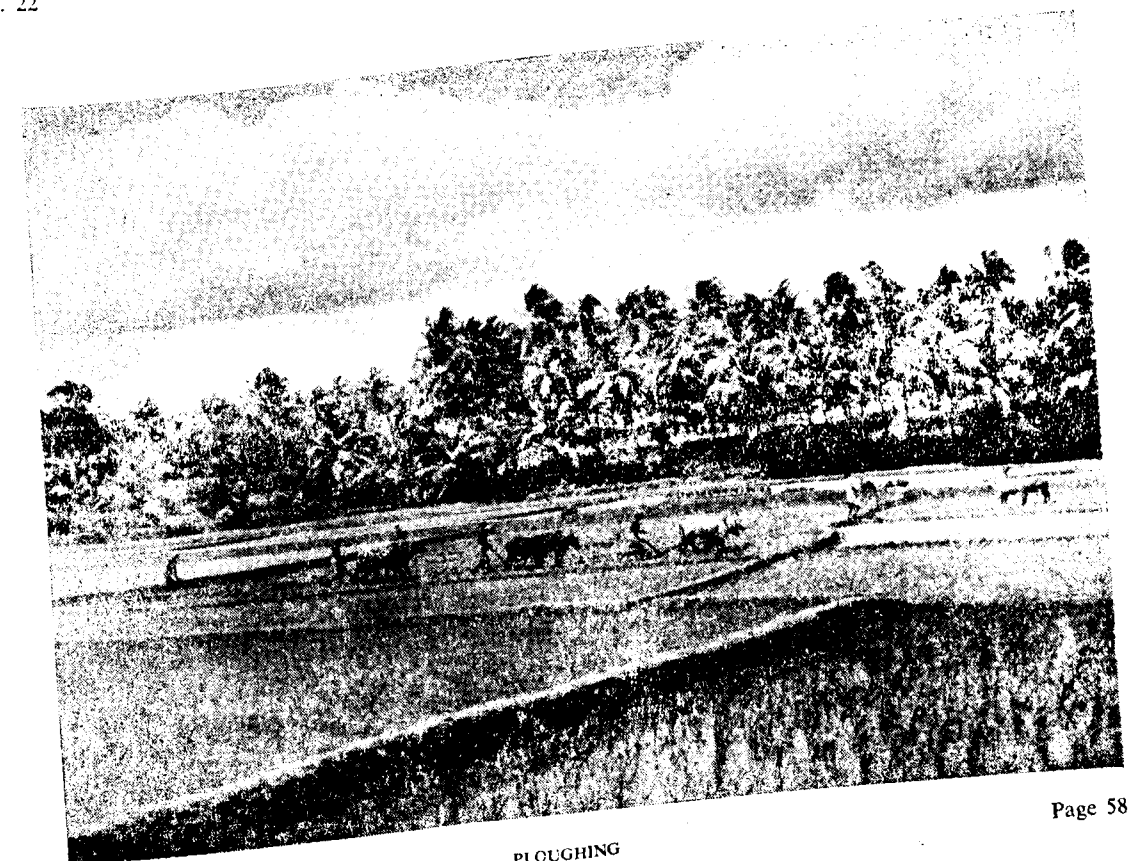
Virippu or Dry Cultivation

98. The crop has a duration ranging from 3 to 4 months sown during April-May and harvested during August-September. The local term describing 14 cents of paddy field is one 'para' of land. This notion is subject to local variations. In certain areas one 'para' of land represents seven cents and in some other places it represents ten



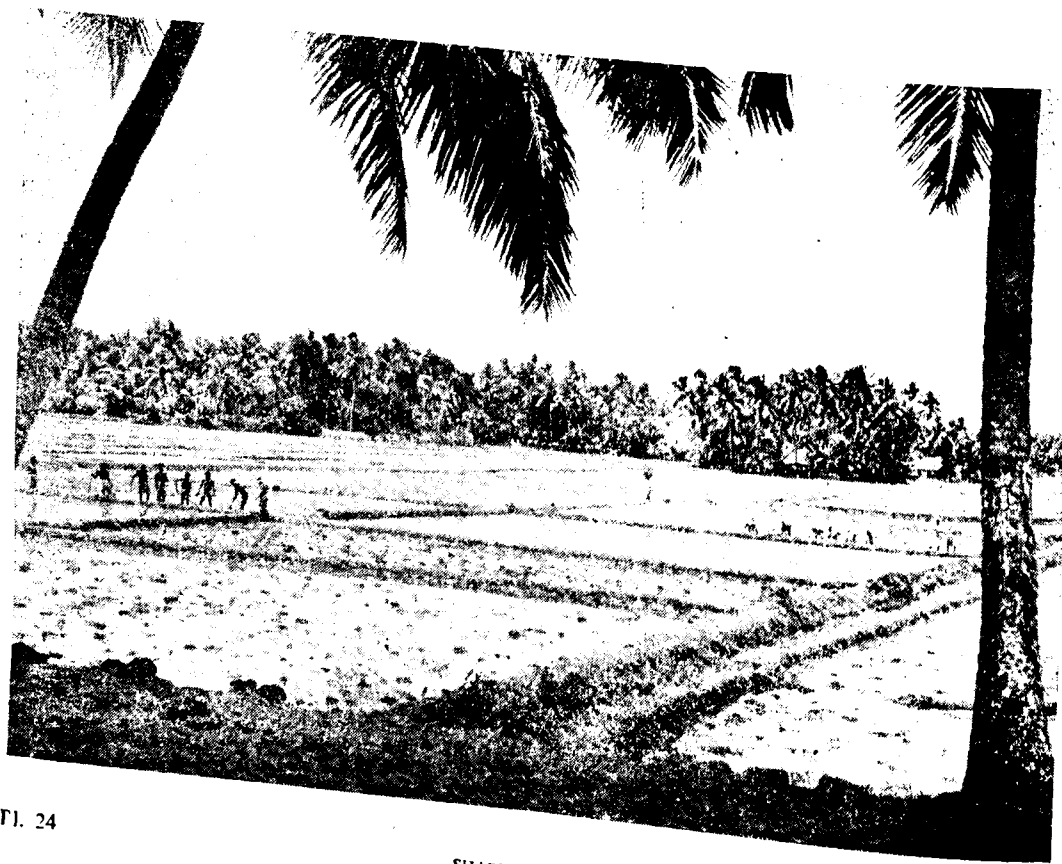
A POOR CLASS HOUSE

Pl. 22



PLOUGHING

Pl. 23



Pl. 24

SHAPING THE BUNDS



Pl. 25

DIGGING THE SOIL

(The preparation of the soil is done either by ploughing or by digging)

KOCHU VITHU

cents. In one 'para' of land five to seven and a half 'edangazhis' of seeds have to be sown. According to the duration of the crop and quality of the seed, there are five important varieties of seeds used in this area for the cultivation of 'Virippu'.

1 Kochu Vithu

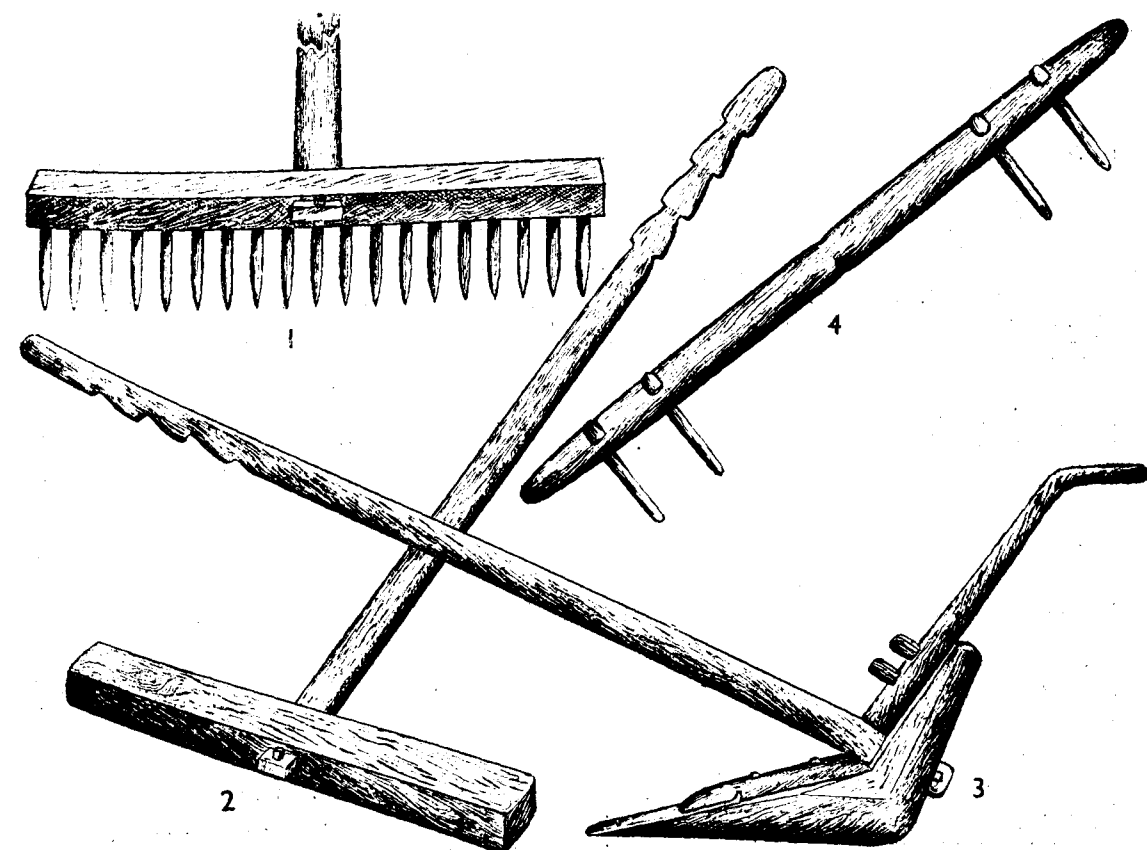
99. This is the most commonly used type of seed in this area. The duration of the crop is only about 90 days. Though the duration is short the yield is comparatively poor. Still the cultivators prefer to cultivate at least a few acres with this seed as the rice of this variety is considered to be more tasty than others and the grain is more durable. The average yield from this type of seed ranges from 12 to 18 fold.

2 101 Maniyan

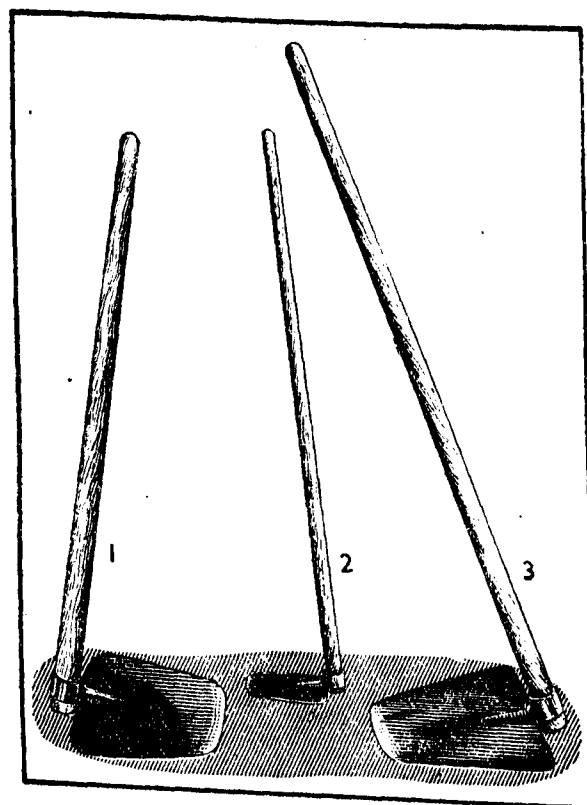
100. This strain gives comparatively higher yield than others. The yield ranges from 25 to 35 fold on an average. The name itself signifies that there will be 101 grains in a single bunch. The crop duration is about 4 months.

101. The other important varieties of seeds are No. 6, No. 9 and No. 10. The crop duration in the case of these types is about 3½ months and the yield ranges from 15 to 25 fold on an average. These varieties are less popular though they are improved varieties introduced by the Department of Agriculture.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS (Pages 58-59)



1. FORKED HARROW 2. 'T' SHAPED HARROW (KATTACHERIPPU) 3. WOODEN PLOUGH 4. YOKE



DIFFERENT TYPES OF SPADES

1. ORDINARY SPADE 2. SMALL SPADE 3. SPECIAL SPADE FOR SANDY SOILS

Preparation of the Soil and Sowing

102. After the mundakan harvest during December-January the land may be either lying fallow for the interim period till the next crop or cultivated with sesame. The latter prevails in most cases. For the preparation of the field for 'Virippu' the land is ploughed twice with a country plough and the clods beaten with a wooden mallet designed for the purpose. The roots of plants and other wastes are picked and removed by hand. The bund is also levelled and shaped with a spade. After a few days, the plot is levelled with a 'T' shaped implement called 'Kattacherippu' which is pulled by a pair of bullocks with a man standing over it at times to add weight so that the remaining clods are also smashed. Light showers are good during this time.

Now the field is ready for receiving the seed.

103. The required quantity of seed is mixed with ash. When there is no sufficient rain the seeds are moistened and packed with hay and kept for a day so that the seeds may start sprouting. The mixture of seed and ash will be put along the furrow of the plough by two or three persons dibbling by hand a small quantity at regular intervals.

104. Both ploughing and sowing are finished simultaneously. Each furrow is then covered with soil as the plough makes the next furrow by its side. In some cases when heavy rain is anticipated the seed alone is sown and manure is applied at later stage.

CHAKRAM

Weeding

105. After about ten days the interspace between the rows of the seedlings is picked by women with a small spade specially made for this purpose. Manure is also applied at this time. This operation is mainly intended to protect the tender plants from heavy drought, to prevent the excessive growth of weeds and to apply manure. One more picking is done either before or after weeding according to the weather condition. Almost all operations after sowing are usually undertaken by women labourers since much physical exertion is not required for the same. Similarly harvesting also is mainly done by women.

Harvesting

106. When the paddy is ripe for harvest, the plant is cut about 6" above the ground and assembled in small bundles called 'katta'. About 15 to 20 'Kattas' are put together and made a larger bundle called 'kattakettu' and transported by head-load to the threshing ground at the cultivator's house. These bundles are arranged in circular shape to about 6' height. They are then threshed in a day or two.

Threshing

107. Though the 'kattas' of different persons are, at times, put in a single heap it is not a problem for them to distinguish the 'kattas' belonging to a particular person, the identification being done by the knot. Both men and women engage themselves in harvesting and threshing. They are also assisted by their children.

108. Threshing is done by feet. For this the thresher's beam or bamboo-bars or some other similar support are put up for the purpose. The threshed paddy is given an initial cleaning before measuring. One tenth to one seventh of the gross produce harvested by one is given as the wage for harvesting. After drying and winnowing properly the paddy is either stored in granaries or sold as the case may be. It is but natural that the harvesting season is one of jubilation in all agricultural areas except when there is wholesale failure of crops. A lot of people picking the stray

paddy left in the field after harvesting is a popular scene in the village. This is a source of income to the poorer section of the population and the system is known in this locality as 'Kalaperukkal'.

Mundakan or Wet Cultivation

109. The crop has a duration ranging from 5 to 6 months. Sowing is done during August-September and harvesting during December-January. Two varieties of seeds are used in this area. These are called No. 19 and 'Athikirazhy'.

Seed No. 19

110. In favourable weather condition this will give 20 to 25 fold yield on an average. This has a duration of about five months.

Athikirazhy Seed

111. This is the most commonly used variety of seed. Its yield is poorer compared to the first, but the cultivators prefer this due to the better quality of rice and durability of the grains. The crop has a duration of about four and a half months.

The Cultivation

Preparation of the Soil

112. The entire operation in connection with the cultivation of the crop is done in water-logged fields. Immediately after the harvest of the previous crop the land is ploughed for uprooting the stubble of the harvested plants remaining in the field. After about a week the water in each block or patch of field is baled out with the help of a 'Chakram' (a toothed wooden wheel of large size) operated by men specialised in this operation.

'Chakram' or Persian Wheel

113. 'Chakram' is a popular country wheel used for baling out or baling in of water usually in connection with the cultivation of paddy. The wheel consists of a number of planks of about 4 to 5 feet in length varying from 7 to 12 in number. These planks are fitted to a hub in circular order. One or two concentric rows of wooden rims at appropriate distances from the hub run across the planks connecting them with one another. A projecting iron rod is fitted on either side of the hub with

BHARANIKAVU

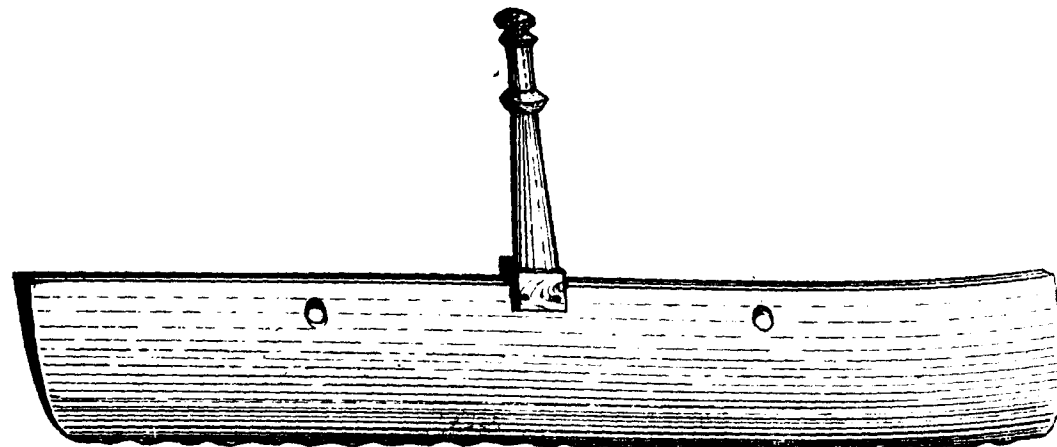
a view to facilitate the fitting of the wheel to a box-like structure called the 'pathi'. This structure consists of two planks of more or less triangular shape each one placed at a distance equal to the thickness of the hub and connected at the base by wooden planks. The base of the triangle will form the bottom of the box. On one side of the triangle the edges of the planks are fitted to two posts with a groove on the top of each in which the hub of the wheel can be fitted. The whole box is planted at one end of the field in which direction the water will be gravitated. After so planting the box, the wheel is suspended to the box with the rods on either end inserted in the grooves of the box. The wheel can then move freely when rotated with its planks ploughing the water as it rotates. On both sides of the wheel bamboo supports are put up to enable the workers who operate the wheel to sit on them and push the planks with their feet for propelling the wheel. One person also sits at the tip of the box on a similar bamboo support. He touches the edge of every plank with his feet as the wheel rotates thus adding to the momentum. The number of workers engaged in rotating the wheel varies from 2 to 20 according to the size of the wheel and the intensity of the operation. As the wheel is rapidly rotated the water is baled out or in as the occasion requires, by the planks

which form the teeth of the wheel. A diagram of the wheel and box is given separately. The bailing of water with a country wheel is a very hard and risky operation which is done only by skilled persons. The 'chakrams' used in this area are mostly small ones having seven to nine teeth. Most of the cultivators have 'chakrams' of their own. Those who do not have them borrow the same from those having surplus 'chakrams', often free of rent. Each plot is drained by a separate 'chakram'.

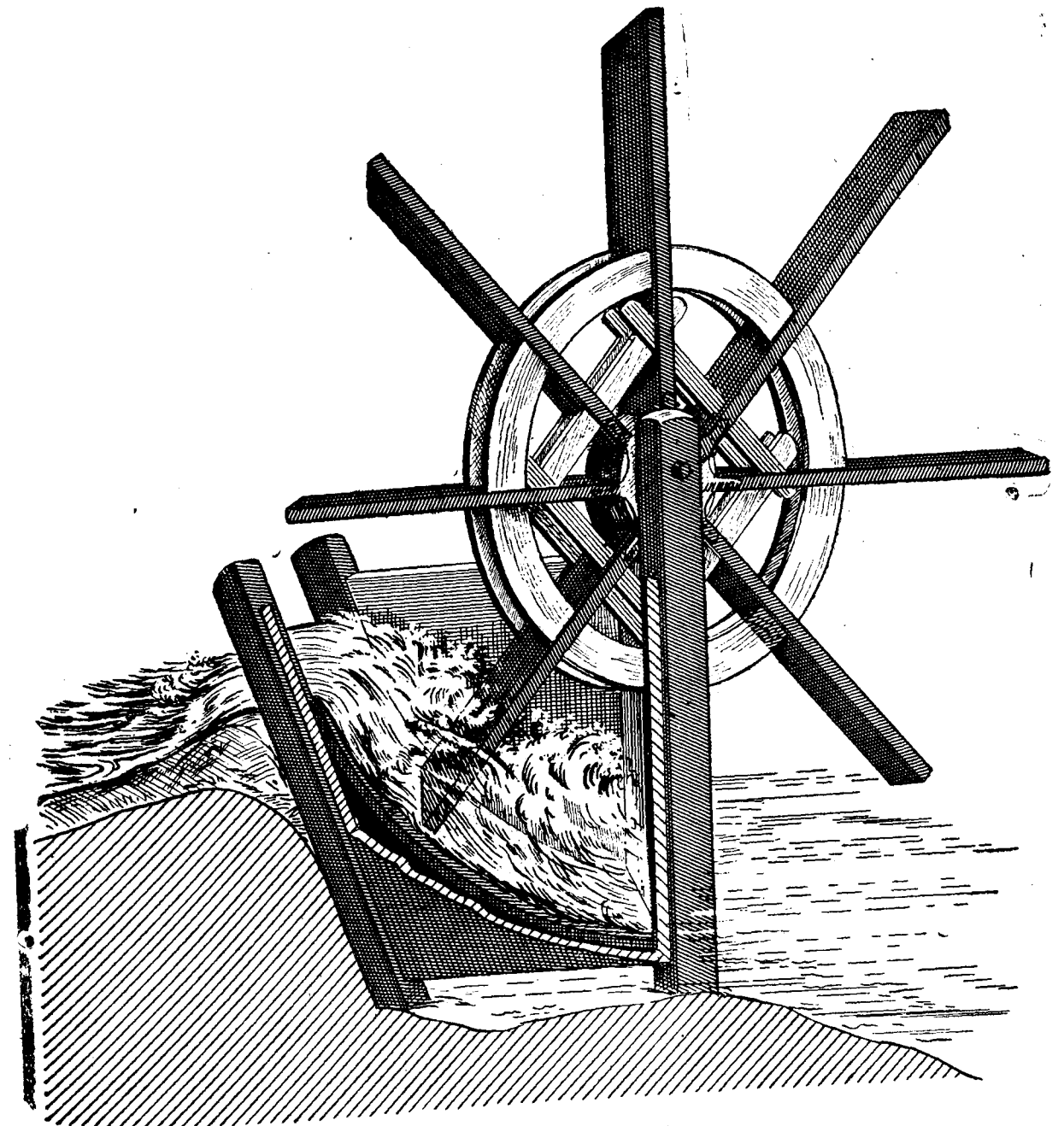
114. After draining the water from one block to the next block or to the channel the field will be ploughed twice and levelled with an implement called 'maram'. Finally ploughing is done for the fourth time and green manures and cow-dung are applied. This is followed by transplantation of the seedlings in a day or two.

Preparation of the Seedlings and their Transplantation

115. The seedlings would have been raised separately in another plot before the advent of the monsoon and plucked when the field is ready to receive them. After washing off the clay on the roots they are tied into small bundles and the tip cut off. They are stored in open air under shade and carried to the field at the appropriate time for



MARAM



CHAKRAM (PERSIAN WHEEL)

transplantation. These operations including transplantation are mainly done by women. The women take a small bundle of seedlings in one hand and plant a few seedlings with the other hand, standing in a line and stepping backward, leaving about 4 to 6 inches between one row of plants and the other.

Weeding

116. Within a period of one month weeding is done by plucking off the grass and stunted seedlings from the field. A proper weeding would leave the seedlings of paddy in clear lines. Ash is applied after weeding. After about 40 days weeding is repeated once again. At this time also ash manure is applied. Those who can afford, apply chemical fertilisers also along with the ash. Harvesting operations are more or less the same as described for the 'Virippu' cultivation above.

An account of the improved methods of cultivation is given in the last chapter.

Cost of Production and Yield

117. It is estimated that during the year 1961 there was an area of 904,304 acres under 'Virippu' and 758,678 acres under 'Mundakan' crops in the State. The total yield of dehusked paddy for these two crops is estimated to be 413,821 tons for 'Virippu' and 440,655 tons for 'Mundakan'. This gives an average yield of 1,560 lb. and 1,980 lb. of unhusked paddy per acre for 'Virippu' and 'Mundakan' crops respectively. The corresponding figures for the Mavelikkara taluk are given below.

	Virippu	Mundakan
Area harvested	7,650.00 (acre)	6,560.00 (acre)
Yield per acre in unhusked paddy	1,440 (lb.)	2,382 (lb.)
Total yield of dehusked paddy	3,231 (tons)	4,583 (tons)*

* Reports on crop cutting surveys on Autumn and Winter crops, 1961, Statistics Department, Kerala

118. The cost of cultivation of paddy varies from region to region and season to season. As per the practices followed in this village the average cost of cultivation for 'Virippu' crop per acre has been estimated as follows:—

Cost of seed	Rs. 25
Soil preparation	Rs. 75
Cost of manure	Rs. 50
Sowing operations	Rs. 15
Weeding	Rs. 10
Miscellaneous	Rs. 10
Total	Rs. 185

119. For the 'Mundakan' crop also almost an equal amount has to be spent on the various items mentioned. The yield per acre for both 'Virippu' and 'Mundakan' crops together is estimated to be of the value of Rs. 900/- a year (deducting 1/7 of the gross produce as harvesting charges) against a total cost of Rs. 370/- mentioned above. There is thus a net return of Rs. 530/- per annum for cultivation of paddy in one acre of double crop land.

Wages in Agriculture

120. Minimum wages for the various operations in connection with agriculture have been fixed under the statute by the Government from 17th December 1957. But in actual practice the prevailing rates of wages in the locality are higher than the statutory minimum in respect of several operations.

121. The minimum wages fixed by Government for various agricultural operations along with the prevailing rates are given below:—



Pl. 26

TRANSPLANTING

COST OF PRODUCTION

A. Minimum Time Rate for an Eight-Hour Day

	Minimum wage fixed		Prevailing rates
	Rs.	np.	Rs.
1. Ordinary agricultural labour			
i. Men	1	50	2.00 to 2.50
ii. Women	1	00	1.00 to 1.25
2. Preparing pits or bunds for planting cocoanuts (excepting in sandy tracts)	1	62	2.50
3. Digging or ploughing and preparing mounds, ridges or basins for tapioca or sugar-cane cultivation (excepting in sandy tracts)	1	62	2.50
B. Minimum piece rates for plucking of cocoanuts per cocoanut tree	0 04 plus one cocoanut for every 25 trees or part thereof		7 per cent of the produce plus two customary nuts
C. Ploughing			
1. Ploughing with labourer's bullocks	2	75 for a four-hour working day	3.50 to 5.00 for 5 to 7 hours work from 7 a. m.
2. Ploughing, with cultivator's bullocks	1	50 for a four-hour working day	2.00 to 2.50 for 5 to 7 hours a day
3. Transplanting operations	The minimum wages shall be the same as for any ordinary labour but the working hours shall be five for 'kayal' areas and six for other areas		1.00 (Women) for 5 hours of work

N. B. The hours of work fixed above are hours of actual work (i. e. excluding time spent in assembling, proceeding to the work spot and returning, rest period etc.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>4. Harvesting and threshing: 1/9 of the harvested paddy in addition to the customary payment called 'Thirpu' or 'Vellamkudi'. (Workers shall be entitled to remuneration for carrying 'katta' if threshing ground is not provided at the rate of one for every 2,000 paras of paddy field)</p> | <p>Varies from 1/10 to 1/7 of the produce plus customary rights and perquisites</p> |
|---|---|

- D. If the existing rates for all or any of the above agricultural operations are higher than the rates notified above, the higher rates will continue to be paid.

Family Budget

122. For the purpose of family budget study the households in the surveyed area have been classified under three main occupational groups having regard to their main sources of income. Accordingly 33.63 per cent households come in the group having agriculture or household cultivation and 30.08 per cent in the group having agricultural labour as their main occupation. 36.29 per cent of the households have miscellaneous occupations like government service, trade and other services.

i Household Cultivation

Income

123. Of the households in this group, 10.53 per cent get a monthly income between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50, 15.79 per cent between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75, 21.05 per cent between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 and 52.63 per cent above Rs. 100/- per mensem. Table I (a) in Appendix A gives the average number of persons, equivalent adult males and gainfully employed persons per household under the various income groups. The average number of gainfully employed persons per household is highest in the income group between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75, while it is lowest in the lowest income group between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50. But the number of gainfully employed persons and the income of household do not show any direct relation between them unlike in some other occupational groups. This is because this group consists mainly of landlords of the surveyed area whose income does not depend upon the earnings of each individual member as such. At the same time, the average number of persons per household is highest in the highest income group of above Rs. 100/- p. m. though the number of gainfully employed persons is smaller. This shows that the number of unemployed

persons per household is also high in this group.

124. Cultivation run by the households forms 82.49 per cent of the total income of this occupational group of households. Business run by the household comes next, help from relations third, salary or wages fourth and unspecified sources next. The income from industry run by the household, rent from land, pension etc. is comparatively insignificant. Table II (a) in Appendix A gives the details of income of households under various income groups. The highest income group has the maximum number of sources. This alone has income from salary or wages, business run by the household, rent from land and pension. The lowest income group alone has income from industry run by the household.

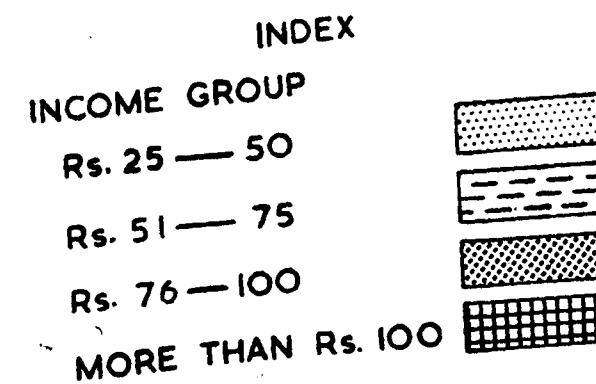
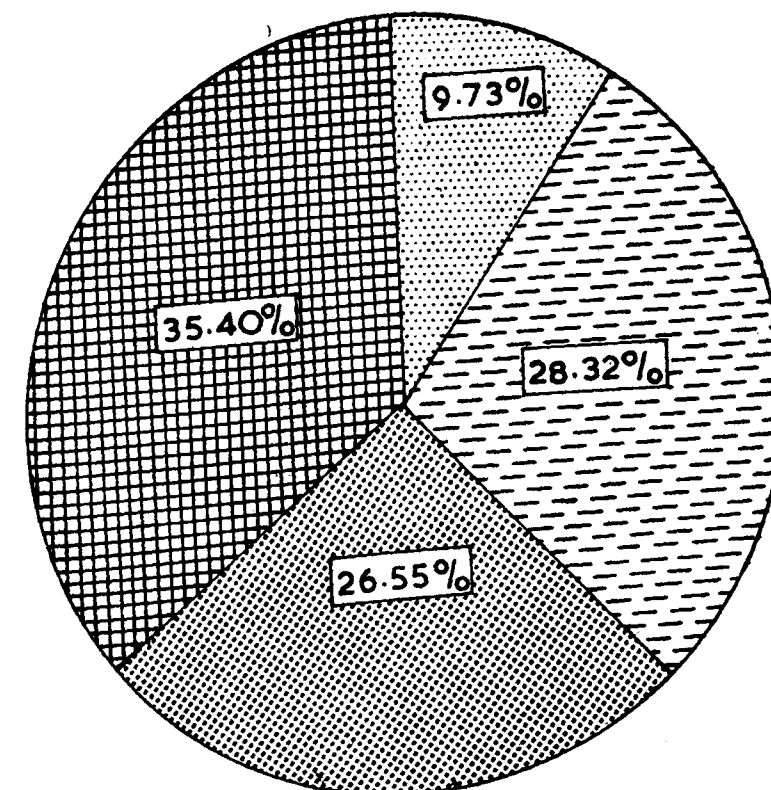
Expenditure

125. The items of expenditure for an average household of the various income groups have been given under five major categories in Table III (a-1) in Appendix A.

126. The first group (i.e. food) covers the major portion of expenditure coming to 60.77 per cent of the total for an average household. Taking individual income groups the amount spent on this item naturally rises with every higher income group.

127. There is perfect uniformity in the items of food articles consumed by all income groups in this occupational group with variations, indeed, in respect of the quantity consumed whereby the lower groups spend less than the higher income groups. Rice being the principal item of food, takes in 42.22 per cent of the expenditure on food. Next to rice come tapioca, cocoanuts, fish, milk, oils, chillies, condiments, vegetables etc. costing 6.89, 11.00, 7.78, 6.41, 3.50, 3.14, 3.32 and 2.02 per cent respectively of the expenditure on food. 2.78

HOUSEHOLD MONTHLY INCOME



(All Occupational Groups)

per cent is spent on smoking while chewing costs 1.56 per cent.

128. Clothing is the next major group of expenditure which covers 6.73 per cent of the total expenditure of an average family, while housing, fuel and light come as the third group costing 5.37 per cent of the total expenditure.

129. Miscellaneous items of expenditure which cover 14.17 per cent of the total expenditure of an average family per month consist of items of expenditure such as education, dhobi, barber, travelling, medical, religious, savings and other items. The first three and the last items are uniformly seen in all the income groups. The fourth, fifth and sixth items are found in more than one income group. The last but one item which includes savings like provident fund, kuri and other compulsory deposits, is the most important item of expenditure which takes in 44.42 per cent of the total expenditure for miscellaneous items of an average household. But unlike other items, this item is found only in the highest income group. This is but natural.

130. The amount spent on household cultivation, industry or business comes next to the above. The first item takes the major share coming to 98.37 per cent of the total expenditure under this head. The last income group spends more than double the amount spent by all other income groups together for this item. The expenditure on business run by the household is seen only in the highest income group.

ii Agricultural Labour

Income

131. 14.71 per cent households in this group have an average monthly income ranging from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50, 44.12 per cent Rs. 51 to Rs. 75, 29.41 per cent Rs. 76 to Rs. 100 and 11.76 per cent above Rs. 100. The average number of members, equivalent adult males and gainfully employed persons are given in Table I (b) of Appendix A. There is proportionate increase in the average number of gainfully employed persons with increase in the average income of this occupational class. This is but natural as the income of the

households engaged in agricultural labour should necessarily depend upon the wages of their members.

132. For all the households salary or wages is the most important source of income which covers 87.03 per cent of the total. This source is supplemented by industry run by the households for the last three income groups, and small-scale cultivation done by the households and other unspecified sources for all income groups and help from relations for the first two income groups. All the subsidiary sources except cultivation done by the household are comparatively of minor importance. The average income per household taking all the income groups together is only Rs. 72.93 per mensem. Table II (b) of Appendix A gives the details of income.

Expenditure

133. As in the case of other occupational classes, food is the major group of expenditure for this occupational class as well. This covers 79.98 per cent of the total. Clothing, housing, fuel and lighting, and miscellaneous groups of expenditure have more or less equal importance with 7.17 per cent, 6.60 per cent and 5.97 per cent respectively of the total expenditure. Expenditure on household cultivation, industry and business is comparatively insignificant so far as this group is concerned. Cultivation run by the household which alone has any importance covers only 0.28 per cent of the total expenditure. Since this group represents mostly the landless labour class of the surveyed area the expenditure on this item also naturally tends to be low.

134. In the food group of expenditure, rice is the important item which covers 40.58 per cent of the expenditure on food. Tapioca, cocoant and fish come next in the order of importance. The expenditure on tapioca is comparatively higher in this group which takes in 13.95 per cent of the total expenditure on food. As in the case of many other labour class population of the rural area, the agricultural labourers also supplement rice with tapioca and sometimes substitute it also. Another important item of expenditure in this group is smoking

which takes in 4.02 per cent while milk, oils, chillies, condiments etc. take in an equal share in this group.

135. Among the miscellaneous items of expenditure dhobi or soap is the most important item which covers 31.12 per cent of the total of this group. Education comes only as the second important item and barber as the third item of expenditure in this group with 21.86 per cent and 20.53 per cent respectively. An average household in this group spends only Rs. 4.53 per mensem which is far below the other two occupational groups. Table III (b-1) of Appendix A gives the details of expenditure of this group.

iii Miscellaneous Occupational Group

Income

136. In this group help from relatives is the most important source of income for 31.71 per cent of the households while Government service is the second important source. Other sources include carpentry, household business, rent from land, pension, office work, factory work, other services etc. On the basis of the monthly income 4.88 per cent of the households fall in the income group between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50, 26.83 per cent between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75, 29.27 per cent between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 and 39.02 per cent more than Rs. 100/- per mensem. The average number of gainfully employed persons rises with increasing income though not at a uniform rate. The total monthly income for an average household comes to Rs. 128.25. Salary or wages is the most important source of income for the last two income groups. There is no household in the lowest income group. Help from relations is the most important source for the two lower income groups. Another important source of income is household cultivation. While business run by the house-

hold assists the two higher groups, industry run by the household supplements the first and last income groups. There is some income under other sources for all income groups. Tables I(c) and II (c) of Appendix A give the data regarding the income etc. of this group.

Expenditure

137. The expenditure pattern of this group is more analogous to the first occupational group than to the second. An amount of Rs. 119.78 per mensem is spent by an average household of this group under the various groups of expenditure among which food is the most important item of expenditure. The main items of food consist of rice, tapioca, cocoanut, fish and milk coming to 43.32 per cent, 7.13 per cent, 10.94 per cent, 7.57 per cent and 6.38 per cent respectively. Next important items are oils, chillies, condiments, smoking etc.

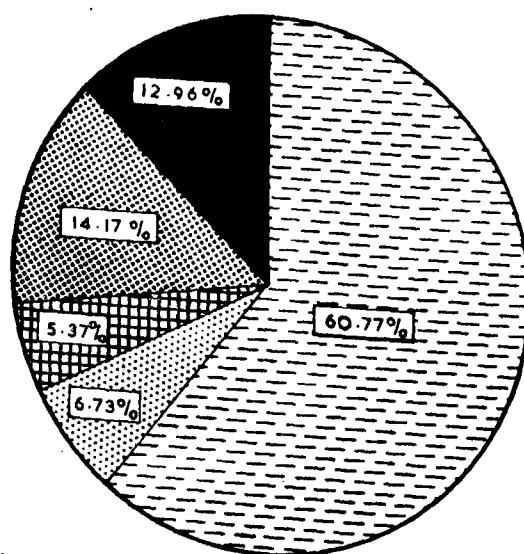
138. The expenditure on clothing and housing, light and fuel covers 8.11 per cent and 5.75 per cent respectively. Under the miscellaneous items of expenditure education is the most important item which takes in 46.73 per cent while expenditure on savings takes in 25.08 per cent. These two items constitute the major share under miscellaneous expenditure. Household cultivation, industry, business etc. conducted by the households take in only 2.49 per cent of the total expenditure out of which 94.97 per cent is on the first item. Table III (c-1) of Appendix A gives the details of expenditure of this group.

A Comparative Study

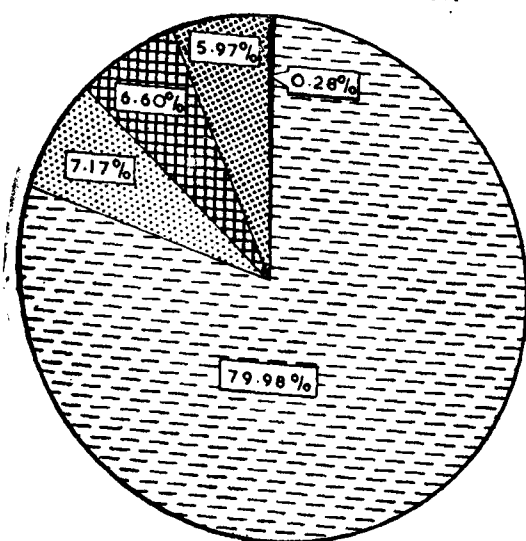
139. Given below is a summary of tables showing the income in rupees and the percentage of expenditure for an average household of the various occupational groups mentioned above under the several groups of expenditure.

MONTHLY EXPENDITURE BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

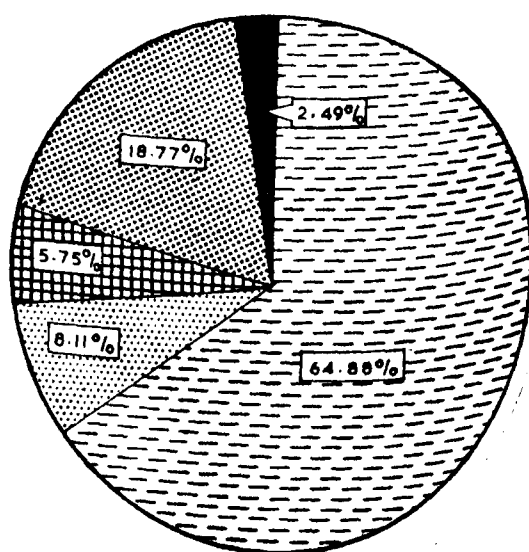
HOUSEHOLD CULTIVATION



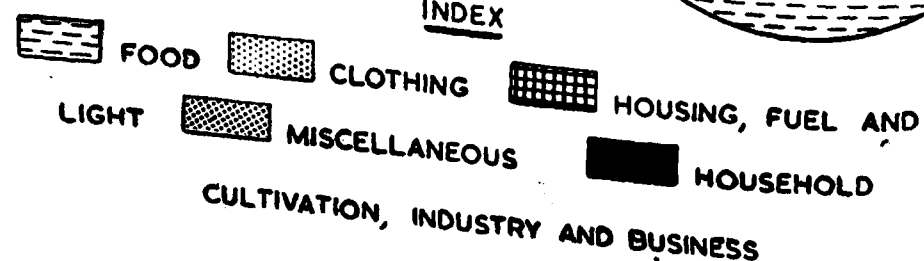
AGRICULTURAL LABOUR



MISCELLANEOUS



INDEX



INDEBTEDNESS

Table XXIV

SUMMARY TABLE OF THE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF A HOUSEHOLD OF THE DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Occupation	Household cultivation	Agricultural labour	Miscellaneous
No. of households	38	34	41
Item of Expenditure			
Food	60.77 per cent	79.98 per cent	64.88 per cent
Clothing	6.73 "	7.17 "	8.11 "
Housing, light and fuel	5.37 "	6.60 "	5.75 "
Miscellaneous	14.17 "	5.97 "	18.77 "
Household cultivation, industry and business	12.96 "	0.28 "	2.49 "
Total	Rs. 123.28	Rs. 75.98	Rs. 119.78
Income	Rs. 149.39	Rs. 72.93	Rs. 128.25
Expenditure per equivalent adult male for food	Rs. 17.37	Rs. 13.69	Rs. 17.68

140. The percentage of expenditure on food is highest for the agricultural labour group and lowest for the household cultivation group. This is but natural as the former has to earmark a major portion of income for food, the income of an average household being only Rs. 72.93 per mensem. Similarly, the percentage of expenditure on food naturally becomes low when the income of the household increases as may be seen in the case of the household cultivation group which gets the maximum monthly income. In the matter of clothing the miscellaneous occupational group stands first and the household cultivation group comes last. The former has to spend more on this item since a number of persons in this group are office workers, factory workers etc. Housing, fuel and light constitute the next important item. Agricultural labour group spends most under this head and the miscellaneous occupational group spends most under miscellaneous expenditure.

141. The expenditure for an equivalent adult male on food in the case of the agricultural labour group comes only to Rs. 13.69 per mensem even after spending about 80 per cent of the total expenditure on food alone. This is the poorest compared to the

remaining occupational groups in this respect.

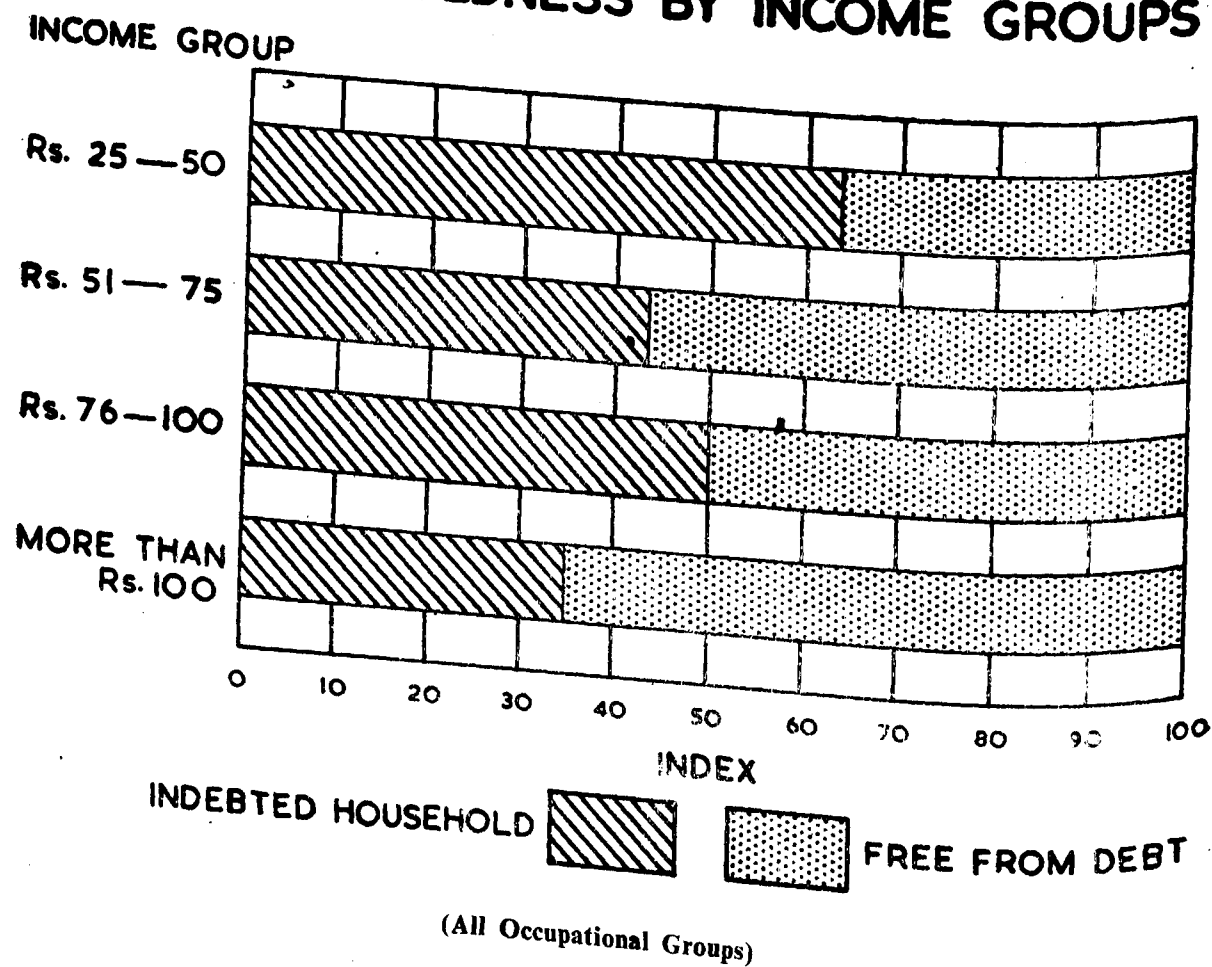
Surplus or Deficit

142. Only 58.41 per cent of the households out of the total number of 113 have surplus budgets, the percentage of deficit budgets being 41.59. There is no household having balanced budget. The number of households with deficit budget is highest in the occupational group of agricultural labour. The deficit households make up their deficits by borrowed money or sale proceeds of some property.

Indebtedness

143. 50 out of 113 households in the surveyed area are in debts of varying amounts. The largest number of indebted households are in the income group of Rs. 76 to Rs. 100 though there are households in debt in all other income groups as well. The percentage of households in debt is highest in the income group of Rs. 25 to Rs. 50. The average amount of debt varies from Rs. 215.71 in the lowest income group to 1,316.07 in the highest income group. The largest percentage of debt is due to marriage and the lowest due to sickness. House construction, household cultivation and ordinary wants are equally

INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUPS



important causes of debt. For one household education is the main cause of debt. Table IV of Appendix A gives the details of indebtedness.

Plantation Labour Vs. Agricultural Labour
144. A comparison of certain salient features of the family budget figures of the plantation labour at Edamon and those of agricultural labour of the surveyed area of Bharanikavu village reveals the followings:-

PLANTATION LABOUR VS. AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Table XXV

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE OF AN HOUSEHOLD OF THE PLANTATION LABOUR AT EDAMON AND AGRICULTURAL LABOUR AT BHARANIKAVU

Occupation	Plantation labour at Edamon		Agricultural labour at Bharanikavu	
No. of households covered	118		34	
Items	Rs.	Percentage	Rs.	Percentage
Monthly Expenditure per Household				
Food	76.55	69.84	60.77	79.98
Clothing	6.68	6.09	5.45	7.17
Housing, fuel and lighting	3.61	3.29	5.02	6.60
Miscellaneous	22.77	20.78	4.53	5.97
Household cultivation, industry and business	...	...	0.21	0.28
Total	109.61	100.00	75.98	100.00
Monthly Income per Household				
Income	104.64		72.93	
Monthly expenditure per equivalent adult male	18.32		13.69	

145. Indications given in the above table show that while an average household engaged in plantation labour gets a higher income, more than one-third of the income of a household engaged in agricultural labour, both households have only a deficit budget at the end of the month, the extent of deficit being Rs.4.97 in the case of the former and Rs.3.05 in the case of the latter. Although the amount spent by a household engaged in agricultural labour on every item of expenditure shown in the table is less than that of a household engaged in plantation labour except in the case of housing, fuel and light and household cultivation, household industry and household business, the percentage of expenditure on each item out of the total expenditure is greater in the case of the latter except in respect of miscellaneous expenditure and household cultivation, household industry and household business. The percentage of expenditure on miscellaneous items is greater in the case of the plantation labour because of the high incidence of savings like Provident Fund etc. and the expenditure on travelling to

their far off native village and back of which only one way expenses are met by the estate. Similarly, the expenditure on housing, fuel and light is comparatively less in the case of plantation labour because of the free housing facilities enjoyed by them.

Indices of Prosperity

146. It is reported that in the course of the last decade there has been only one household which has started an industry anew. This industry is the manufacture of furniture. One household has cleared out of the income of the household debts which existed prior to ten years, the amount of debt cleared being Rs. 1,500. During the above period 15.93 per cent households have acquired property, 14.16 per cent have made savings in cash and 24.78 per cent have invested capital in some new undertaking or building. The approximate money value of the above three items for all households together deducting the portion of debts and proceeds of the sale of properties amounts to Rs.1,08,620.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

Age and Sex Distribution of Population

147. 41.65 per cent of the population of the surveyed area fall in the age-group of 0—14, 27.07 per cent in the age-group of 15—34, 24.47 per cent in the age-group of 35—59 and 6.81 per cent in the age-group of 60 and over. The female population of the surveyed area is greater than the males, the percentage being 52.03.

148. The age-group of 0—4 commands largest number of males while the age-

group of 10—14 has the largest number of females compared to any other age-group. The percentage of female population in the age-group of 60 and over is 6.81 against 6.08 in the case of female population. This is in consonance with the trend elsewhere though against the trend in India.

149. The following table gives details of the population of the surveyed area by age and sex.

Table XXVI

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS

	Total of all ages	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 and over
Males	296	46	43	44	18	14	16	19	40	38	18
Females	321	33	45	46	31	27	18	24	34	39	24
Total persons	617	79	88	90	49	41	34	43	74	77	42

Age and Marital Status

150. The table on the next page gives the details regarding the marital status of the population of the surveyed area. 55.92 per cent of the total are never married, 34.68 per cent married, 8.27 per cent widowed and 1.13 per cent divorced or separated. Above the age of 35 there are only 7 males and one female who remain unmarried, while the majority of unmarried persons naturally fall within the lower age-groups.

Youngest Age of First Marriage

151. According to the data collected in regard to the youngest age of marriage of males and females done in the surveyed households the maximum number of marriages of females relate to the age between 15 and 19 and that of males between 20 and 24. The table No. XXVIII gives these details according to community and sex.

Consanguineous Marriages

152. In the surveyed area there are 13 cases of consanguineous marriages. All the

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

above are between cross-cousins. Of these, 10 are among Nairs, 2 among Asaris and one among Ezhuvas. Though all the communi-

ties of the surveyed area except Christians permit consanguineous marriages they are getting less popular in these days.

Table XXVII

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Age group	Total population			Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	617	296	321	181	164	102	112	10	41	3	4
0-9	167	89	78	89	78	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	90	44	46	44	46	...	1	...	...	...	1
15-19	49	18	31	18	30	1	20	...	...	1	...
20-24	41	14	27	13	6	7	16	...	2	...	...
25-29	34	16	18	8	2	17	21	...	1	1	1
30-34	43	19	24	2	1	19	23	...	1	...	1
35-39	46	21	25	1	...	17	4	...	3	...	...
40-44	46	21	25	2	1	13	15	...	...	1	...
45-49	28	19	9	...	...	8	7	1	8	...	1
50-54	28	13	15	1	...	8	4	4	4	...	...
55-59	26	11	15	...	...	8	4	2	10	...	...
60-64	23	14	9	2	...	7	1	2	6	...	...
65-69	23	14	9	...	...	2	...	2	6	...	...
70 and over	20	9	11	...	...	3	...	1	7	...	...

Table XXVIII

YOUNGEST AGE OF FIRST MARRIAGE BY SEX AND AGE-GROUPS

	Age groups											
	10-14		15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39	
	Ma-les	Fema-les	Ma-les	Fema-les	Ma-les	Fema-les	Ma-les	Fema-les	Ma-les	Fema-les	Ma-les	Fema-les
Nairs	...	5	1	37	26	10	18	1	6	...	1	...
Ezhuvas	...	1	1	17	12	2	7	...	...	...	...	...
Pulayars	...	...	...	2	3	5	4	...	1	...	...	...
Parayars	...	1	...	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
Asaris	...	...	...	2	2	1	3	...	...	...	...	...
Thandans	...	...	...	5	2	...	7	...	...	...	...	...
Jacobites	...	...	...	8	4	3	1	...	...	...	...	...
Marthomites	...	...	...	3	3	1	1	...	2	...	...	...
Catholics	...	...	...	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Church of South India	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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Births and Deaths

153. The table given below gives the birth and death figures of the village for the period from 1951 to 1960.

Table XXIX

BIRTHS AND DEATHS

Year	Birth	Still Birth	Death
1951	730	...	181
1952	705	...	200
1953	674	...	221
1954	596	...	214
1955	690	...	225
1956	689	...	221
1957	613	1	229
1958	724	6	167
1959	782	8	197
1960	745	10	192
Total	6,948	25	2,047

Immigration and Emigration

154. Seven households of the surveyed area have immigrated to this place during the present generation. Of these, three are on a temporary basis for employment while three have immigrated on grounds of marital relations and settled permanently here. One

household has settled here expecting a better job.

Literacy and Education

155. 61.43 per cent of the population of the surveyed area are literates or educated. This is greater than the corresponding figures for the district and the State (i.e. 56.90 and 46.80 respectively). Of the literates 15.57 per cent have no educational standard, 72.30 per cent have primary standard, 10.82 per cent have matric or higher secondary standard, 0.26 per cent intermediate standard and 0.79 per cent hold oriental titles like Vidwan, Visarad, etc. There is only one graduate. Out of the literates without educational standard 86.44 per cent come in the age-group of 5-9 which includes mainly children attending the lower classes. Similarly, the maximum number of illiterates are in the age-group of 0-4. The number of illiterates in the upper age-groups is comparatively greater.

156. Though the number of persons possessing higher qualifications is small it does not mean that the village is below standard as persons having higher qualifications in this area would have left the village in search of employment elsewhere. The following table gives the figures relating to literacy in this village according to age-group.

Table XXX

EDUCATION *

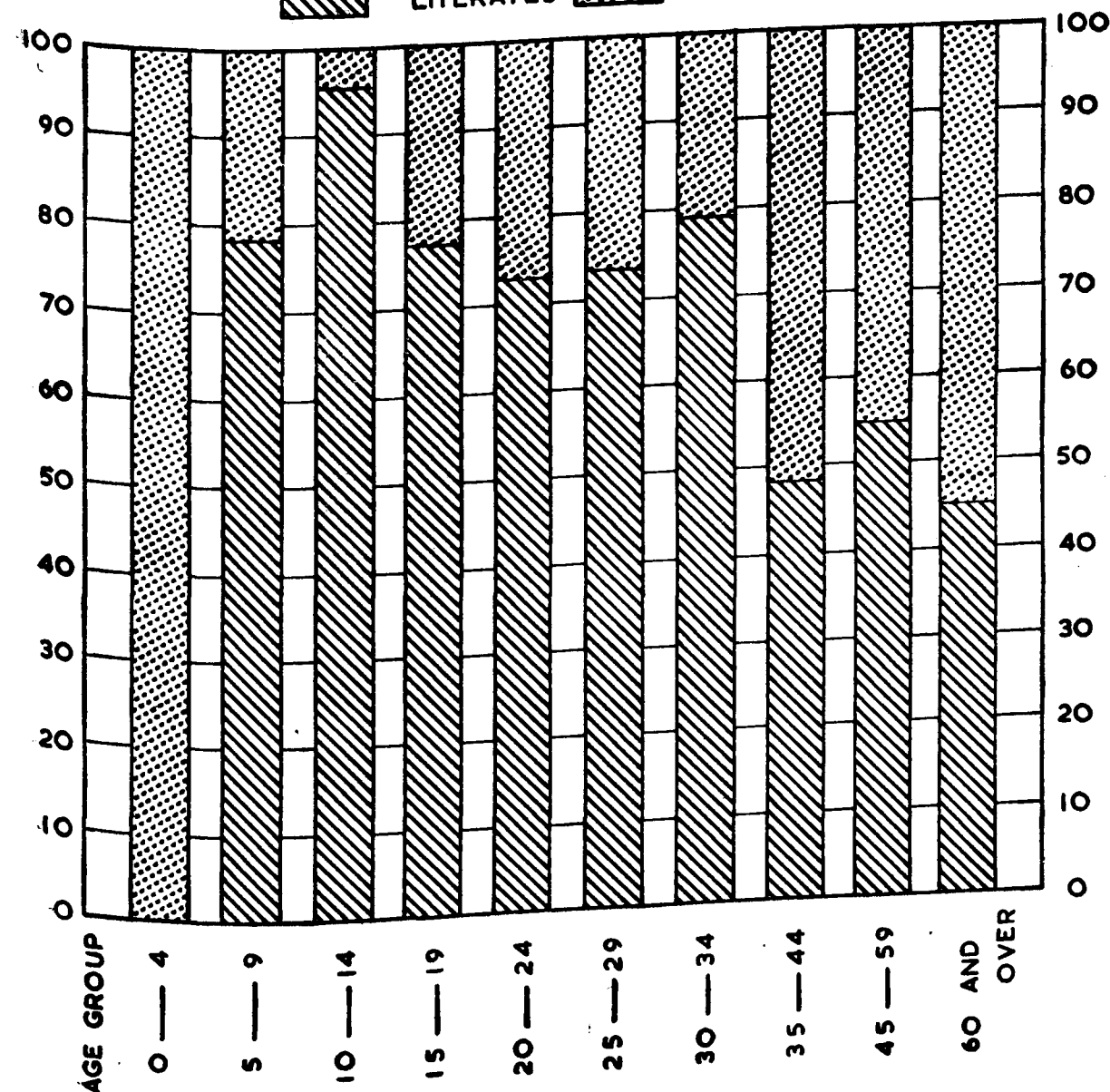
Age-group	Total	Illiterate	Literate without educational standard	Primary or junior basic	Matric or higher secondary	Intermediate	Graduate and above	Holders of oriental titles
0-4	79	79	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	88	19	51	18	...	...	...	...
10-14	90	4	2	84	...	...	...	...
15-19	49	11	...	27	10	1	...	...
20-24	41	11	2	22	6	...	...	...
25-29	34	9	1	18	6	...	...	...
30-34	43	9	1	25	7	...	...	1
35-44	74	38	...	32	4	...	...	...
45-59	77	35	1	33	6	...	1	1
60 and over	42	23	1	15	2	...	...	1

* Inapplicable items are deleted

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Social Awareness

157. The people of this village are well aware of the important events of the country and changes taking place in the social life. Out of the heads of 98 households questioned for the purpose of ascertaining the social awareness all were aware of the fact that untouchability was prohibited under law and 65 out of them were aware of the changes in the Hindu Succession Act. 24 were aware of changes in the Hindu Adoption Act and 47 were able even to describe the important provisions of the legislations.

Library and Reading Habit

158. There are five reading rooms in the village located one each at Thekkemankuzhy, Kattachira, Bharanikavu North, Bharanikavu South and Kattanam. The people of those localities make use of these libraries for reading the daily newspapers. There are 19 households in the surveyed area getting down their own newspapers at home.

Family Structure

159. 47.79 per cent households in the surveyed area are simple families, 39.82 per cent intermediate families and the rest joint families. For this classification a simple family is taken to consist of a husband, wife and unmarried children, an intermediate family of married couple, unmarried brothers and sisters and one of the parents and a joint family of married couples with

married sons, daughters or with married brothers or sisters. The following table gives the number of households in each community of the surveyed area under the above classification.

Table XXXI
FAMILY STRUCTURE

Community	Simple	Intermediate	Joint
Nairs	23	23	8
Ezhuvas	9	9	2
Pulayas	5	2	...
Parayas	1	2	...
Asaris	2	...	2
Thandans	2	2	1
Jacobites	8	2	1
Marthomites	1	3	...
Catholics	3	1	...
Church of South India ...	...	1	...

Dowry

160. The dowry system is prevalent among all the Christian communities of the surveyed area. Among the Hindus only three Ezhuva households have either given or received dowry. Altogether 18.58 per cent of the households in the surveyed area have either given or received dowry though at present the people do not openly encourage this system due to the introduction of the Dowry Prohibition Act. The following table gives the details of dowry by communities.

Table XXXII
DOWRY *

Total No. of households	Name of the community	No. of households which have either given or received dowry	No. of households which have either given or received dowry in cash or property excluding ornaments			No. of households which have either given or received dowry in cash or property and in ornaments						
			Up to Rs. 500	Up to Rs. 1,000	Up to Rs. 2,500	Up to Rs. 500	Up to Rs. 1,000	Up to Rs. 1,500	Up to Rs. 2,000	Up to Rs. 2,500	Up to Rs. 3,000	Above Rs. 3,000
20	Ezhuvas	3	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Jacobites	9	2	...	...	...	1	2	...	1	2	1
4	Marthomites	4	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	...
4	Catholics	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1	Church of South India	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	...	...	...
			...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...

* Inapplicable items are deleted

Medical Care

161. In serious cases of ailments 69.03 per cent of the households approach the Government hospital at Kayamkulam and the rest of the households approach local private hospitals. For ordinary ailments Ayurvedic physicians are approached as far as possible. Only 4.42 per cent of the households take the women to the hospital for maternity purposes, while 35.40 per cent get some qualified midwives for maternity assistance. 60.18 per cent of the households still follow the traditional way of calling an unqualified country midwife of experience. Out of the total number of households in the surveyed area 83.19 per cent follow a combined system of both Ayurvedic and allopathic treatment, while 12.39 per cent follow allopathic system only and 4.42 per cent follow Ayurvedic treatment.

Leisure and Recreation

162. By virtue of the nature of occupation of the majority of workers in the village they are in a position to avail themselves of a lot of leisure time or put themselves to enforced idleness. The lower income groups utilise this time for supplementing their income by getting into some occupations like screw-pine mat weaving, frog catching etc., while those of the well-to-do section make use of this time for visit to their relatives or engaging themselves in some similar activities.

163. There are no mass recreation facilities in the village. The nearest cinema theatre is at Kayamkulam at a distance of about three miles from the surveyed area. There are 19 households in the surveyed area from which members go for cinema occasionally while there are only two households from which members go for dramas once in a while. In the morning and evening the people spend their leisure time by chatting at a neighbouring teashop or the road junction or by playing cards during seasons of unemployment.

Nature of Caste Relationship

164. Tremendous changes have taken place in the matter of intercaste relationship

in the village within the past few decades. Even after the prohibition of untouchability by law the vestiges of this social evil were finding their sway in some sections of the society. Cases of untouchability are available to some extent in this village. Even now a member of the lower caste will not dare to enter the house of a high caste Hindu. Along with the existence of the symptoms of this dying evil there are a number of progressive steps in the other direction also. To some extent interdining is permitted between a high caste Hindu and an Ezhuva. There is also one case of intercaste marriage in a household in the surveyed area in which a member of an Ezhuva family has married a girl from a Nair family of the neighbouring village. This is a remarkable incident in the social life of this village. Progress in various other respects is also seen in the matter of intercaste relationship. The Hindus and Christians and the various subdivisions among them move cordially in the public life of the village. They co-operate and make co-ordinated attempts for achieving various common ends of the village disregarding caste or communal differences. In the celebration of festivals also different communities join together and work for their successful conduct.

Attitude to Family Planning

165. 34 persons in the surveyed area belonging to various communities were questioned to ascertain their views about the family planning programme of government. Out of these, 33 were well aware of the programme and have some idea of the methods. The opinion of the remaining one also was ascertained after explaining the programme and purpose of the plan. All except two were in favour of this programme. Out of these, 10 favoured family planning through self-restraint only, 20 favoured contraceptives and self-restraint and two sterilisation. The following table gives the relevant data in this regard.

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Table XXXIII
FAMILY PLANNING ENQUIRY

	Total	Name of community								
		Nairs	Ezhuvas	Pulayas	Parayas	Asaris	Thandans	Jacobites	Martho- mites	Catho- lics
No. of persons interviewed	34	15	10	1	1	1	3	2	...	1
No. aware of family planning programme	33	15	10	...	1	1	3	2	...	1
No. not aware of family planning	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
No. not in favour of family planning	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
No. in favour of family planning to be achieved										
(a) by self-restraint only	10	3	2	...	...	1	2	1	...	1
(b) by contraceptives only	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(c) by both	20	9	7	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
(d) by sterilization	2	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...

166. The number of persons favouring and disavouring family planning are classi-

fied below according to the number of children.

Table XXXIV
PERSONS FAVOURING OR DISFAVOURING
FAMILY PLANNING BY NUMBER
OF CHILDREN

No. of children	In favour	Not in favour
No children	1	1
1-2	13	...
3-4	15	...
5-7	3	1
Total	32	2

167. Another table giving the age of the mother, duration of marriage and number

of children of the couple who are in favour of family planning is given below.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

Table XXXV

DURATION OF MARRIAGES AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF PERSONS
FAVOURING FAMILY PLANNING

Duration of marriage in years	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19
No. of children	1	2 3	2 3 4 5 7	4 5
Age group				
20-24	3	3 1	...	...
25-29	...	2 1	1 7	...
30-34	...	...	4 1 3 1 1	2 1
35-39	...	...	...	...

168. In the working of family planning programmes the 'Sevanam' hospital run by the Bharat Sevak Samaj mentioned earlier is rendering signal service. There is a family planning clinic attached to the hospital. The distribution of contraceptives of different kinds is also done here. The method of sterilisation is not widely practised.

Co-operative Societies

169. There are two co-operative societies working in the village, one a service co-operative society and the other a handloom weavers co-operative society.

170. The service co-operative society was started in 1100 M.E. (1925 A.D) as a Nair co-operative society by the local people with 32 members. In 1956 this was converted into a multi-purpose society. Since 1961 the society is functioning as a service co-operative. It has 950 members with a share capital of Rs.19,896. The society has received a loan of Rs.5,500. from the N.E.S. Block besides another loan of about Rs. 30,000 from the District Co-operative Bank. The loans are distributed to the local agriculturists for the purchase of manure and improvement of agriculture. There is also a manure depot maintained by the society in addition to a fair-price shop run by the same agency. The society has a reserve fund of Rs. 40,000. Distribution of insecticides, improved implements, seeds etc. are done by the society. The local N.E.S. Block has supplied one breeding goat to the society which is maintained at its

own expense. 23 households from the surveyed area have joined this society.

171. The Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society was started in 1955 with 101 members with a share capital of Rs. 3,100. An amount of Rs. 6,400 has been received from Government which is issued as loan to the members. The society supplies thread as loan to its members and takes back the finished products and also undertakes marketing of the products.

National Extension Service Block

172. The Bharanikavu N. E. S. Block which was started by the end of 1961 has shown the following achievements by the end of 1962, in respect of agricultural and rural welfare activities.

1. No. of compost pits dug 317
2. Chemical fertilisers distributed 170 tons
3. Insecticides and fungicides supplied 1,218 kg.
4. Improved seeds and seedlings supplied

Paddy	265 paras
Cocoanut	1,635 Nos.
Areca-nut	100 "
5. Kitchen gardens started 53 "
6. Rural latrines constructed 39 "
7. Educational grants issued to schools. Rs. 1,000
8. Grants issued to libraries Rs. 100

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173. The block has got 4 villages within its jurisdiction of which Bharanikavu village forms one. The above achievements are in respect of the entire Block area of which the Bharanikavu village had its due share.

Household and Developmental Activities

174. There is significant progress in the use of improved varieties of seeds, manures, implements etc. by the ryots of this village. During the last ten years 39.82 per cent households in the surveyed area have had the benefit of better seeds, 10.62 per cent better implements and 61.94 per cent better manure. 56.64 per cent of the households have used pesticides.

175. During the above period 15.93 per cent of the households have acquired more land for cultivation, while one household has purchased new tools for household industry and 54 households have purchased new implements for use in agriculture.

176. After the death of the previous heads of households 27 households in the surveyed area have lost land and 31 households have gained land.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

Panchayat

177. There is a separate panchayat for the village with 10 wards. Started in 1948, the panchayat has provided 272 street lights in different parts of the village covering a total of about 56 miles and issued small sums of money to the local libraries as grants. There is one panchayat midwife for attending to cases of maternity in the panchayat. The panchayat also attends to the cleaning of roads and markets through sweepers appointed for the purpose. Fourteen public wells have been constructed in different parts of the village for providing drinking water. A public market is also maintained by the panchayat. Several minor irrigation works have been undertaken by the panchayat and executed through P. W. D. staff. These include deepening of existing canals and construction of new

canals for the paddy fields in different parts of the pachayat area. In this village an area of about 600 acres of paddy field has been benefited by this scheme.

178. The income of the panchayat mainly consists of various kinds of taxes collected from the public, which comes to Rs. 15,428.59. The expenditure was only Rs. 10,004.65 in 1961-62. At present the panchayat has a cash balance of Rs. 7,435.

Festivals

179. Of the various festivals conducted in the village, those connected with the Bharanikavu temple, Vettikottu temple and the St. Stephen's Church, Kattanam are having more local importance.

180. In the Bharanikavu temple annual festivals are conducted during the months of March-April. During this time people from neighbouring villages also attend the celebrations. The festival at Vettikottu is conducted during October-November annually. These festival days are expected very eagerly by the villagers and those around the village. The feast of St. Sebastian at the St. Stephen's Church, Kattanam is celebrated in the month of Makaram every year. All the above have a socio-religious character. The colourful aspects of the festivals consist of processions and other paraphernalia such as hoisting of flag, beating the drum, music with various instruments, gunshots, illumination, fireworks, etc. Throughout the nights of the festival days there will be various variety entertainments. The local festivals in the temples and church are occasions for members of the community residing in distant places to meet each other and make purchases of various articles. This is a peculiar feature common to all such celebrations, giving an appearance of a fair.

181. Onam is celebrated by all communities while 'Thiruvathira', 'Karthika' etc. are much observed by the Nair community. Other Hindu celebrations consist of 'Ashtamirohini', 'Sivarathri', 'Deepavali', 'Makara Sankramam', 'Karkadaka Vavu' etc. while the Christians have Christmas and Easter as their important festive occasions

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in addition to a number of other festive days of less importance. These festivals are more or less common throughout Kerala for the various communities mentioned.

182. In addition to the above, celebration of the Republic Day on January 26th, Independence Day on August 15th and Children's Day on November 14th are conducted on a grand scale.

CHAPTER V

A RETROSPECT

Social and cultural

183. Chapter II of this monograph has set forth in some detail the outstanding stages of progress through which the Nair community has passed. From a semi-clad stage the pattern of costumes has progressed to full and fashionable clothing both in respect of males and females. The custom of growing tuft by the males has disappeared. The females have adapted themselves to more modern patterns of hair dressing. It is no more considered a symptom of beauty for females to grow long ear-lobes. The males also have ceased to perforate their ears and wear studs. Apart from these, more significant changes have taken place in the field of matrimony, inheritance and family system. The wasteful ceremony of 'Kettukalyanam' has been completely given up by the Nair community. While the matriarchal system of inheritance had its own peculiar features, it was, nevertheless, a relic of an undeveloped stage in the growth of society. A series of progressive legislations which reflected the tempo of the reformist spirit of the community have successfully driven the nail on the coffin of this system giving more recognition to one's own wife and children. Polyandry as well as polygamy which prevailed in the community though in a limited measure have been rendered void. These steps of progress have re-vitalised the community in more ways than one. While a reference to this epoch-making changes is heartening, there are also indications of decline in certain respects. The most important of them is the loss of martial traits which had at one time dominated the male population of the Nair, Christian, Ezhava and some other communities in ancient Kerala. The 'kalaris' which in former days were used for training the youths of the land for a mili-

tary career were highly popular. The Nairs of old used to anoint themselves with oil of sesamum in order to render themselves light and nimble and wind and twine their bodies as if they had no bones. They could use the javeline with great dexterity and strike their enemies with arrows with unerring skill. The martial traits of the Nair community have won unmixed approbation from the foreign travellers who have visited Kerala in ancient times. The Christians used to keep their bodies flexible by the copious use of coconut oil with which their joints were rubbed from infancy. It is said of them that "in former times they seldom appeared abroad without being well armed and besides the poniard a few carried matchlocks and rude muskets. Others would bear lance at the end of which were suspended steel rings which made an agreeable sound when the lance was in motion. But the greater part of them carried only a naked sword in the right hand and the buckler in the left arm. They were trained in the use of these weapons at the early age of 8 years and continued to exercise them till 25 which account for their using them with much dexterity." In the case of Ezhavas a good number of them were in ancient times in the military retinue of several rulers and chiefs. Similar traditions are available in regard to Muslims and some other communities. With the lapse of time, the environments also changed. The disappearance of local rulers and chiefs who had kept their own military retinues took away the chances of employment of persons trained for a military career. This along with other reasons contributed to the gradual decline of military training imparted through 'kalaris' to the youths of the land. This great national loss is something which could be made up only by

¹ Anthropology of Syrian Christians by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, page 56. The reference in this book is to Syrian Christians but since all the other Christian communities have their origin in the Syrian Christian community the reference should be presumed to embrace all Christians of old.

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revival of the ancient system of training. There is no reason why the people of Kerala cannot claim a martial heritage and distinguish themselves in this field by getting themselves trained from early years and thus revive the latent talents in them. No doubt, Malayalees have even now distinguished themselves in military operations in several fronts. The distinction would be much more if the ancient training is revived for the benefit of the younger generation. The products of such training could be availed of not only for defence services but more for internal security. The modern organisations of N. C. C. etc. could be utilised to supplement the wealth of the training received from 'kalaris' which could be established throughout the country without much difficulty.

Economy

184. As already observed, this village is mainly an agricultural village. The progress of its economy, therefore, depends on the successful production of agricultural products. Paddy being the most important item of cultivation in the village it is essential that the cultivation of paddy should be run on scientific lines. While this village has made some progress in this direction, there is much more to be achieved. A few suggestions in this regard are given below.

Improved Seeds

185. A good number of improved strains of paddy have been evolved and popularised by the research wing of the Agriculture Department in addition to the existing ones. Some of these varieties recommended by the department for the various districts in 'Virippu' and 'Mundakan' cultivation are given below.

Table XXXVI
IMPROVED PADDY VARIETIES

District	Virippu crop	Mundakan crop
1. Cannanore	P. T. B. 2, 5, 9	P. T. B. 20, 23
2. Calicut	P. T. B. 1, 2, 9	P. T. B. 4, 12
3. Palghat	P. T. B. 2, 26, 31	P. T. B. 12, CO-19, 25
4. Trichur	P. T. B. 1, 7, 10, 32	P. T. B. 12, 27
5. Ernakulam	P. T. B. 1, 7, 13, 32	P. T. B. 12, 27
6. Alleppey	P. T. B. 10	UR 19
7. Kottayam	P. T. B. 1, 9, 10	P. T. B. 12
8. Quilon	P. T. B. 10	UR 19
9. Trivandrum	P. T. B. 10, 32, UR 19	P. T. B. 12
Note:-	P. T. B. —	Pattambi
	UR —	University Research Station
	C. O. —	Coimbatore

186. The above varieties have durations ranging from 90 days in the case of P. T. B. 10 to 145 days in the case of P. T. B. 1. The average yield from these seeds also ranges from 2,000 lb. per acre in the case of P. T. B. 31 and 32 to 3,000 lb. per acre in the case of P. T. B. 1.

Selection of Seeds and Seed Treatment

187. The seeds should be winnowed well to separate the good ones from the bulk and given salt-water treatment by putting the seeds in salt water (2 lb. of salt in four gallons of water) and stirring well. The seeds which settle down alone are to be

selected and those which float should be refused. The selected seeds should then be washed in pure water and dried under shade. This should be followed by the treatment of the seed with insecticides. When once the seeds are treated with insecticides care should be taken that they are not used as food stuff in any way thereafter. This kind of selection and treatment of seeds will help the cultivator to save considerable quantity of seeds. Properly selected seeds ensure cent per cent germination.

Preparation of the Soil

188. After the harvest of the 'Mundakan' crop in the months of December to February the field should be either ploughed eight times or dug thrice before the sowing for 'Virippu' crop. But the last round should be just before sowing. This operation is intended to give sufficient aeration to the soil and destroy the eggs of insects, ant-moles etc. After tilling, the hard blocks of soil may be broken with wooden mallets.

189. In the case of 'Mundakan' cultivation also it is necessary to plough the field eight times. This can be substituted by digging once and ploughing four times. Before the last ploughing or digging green manure, cow-dung etc. should be applied and finally levelled with 'maram' (leveller).

190. In the case of 'Mundakan' crop the present practice of shallow ploughing results in the plants developing a shallow root system and confining the feeding zone of the plant to a very limited area. Experiments have shown that deep ploughing to 8" will result in increased yield.

Manuring

191. Our soils in general are deficient in plant food. A judicious selection of organic and inorganic manure, therefore, is bound to boost up the yield. It is essential that the soil is properly analysed before deciding upon the manure to be applied as different types of soil require different manurial treatments. While for 'Mundakan' crop green leaves and cow-dung are to be used as organic manures, for 'Virippu' ash and other compost manures are the best. In addition to the above, chemical ferti-

lizers can be used at the time of preparing the soil and a few days thereafter as top dressing mixtures or separately. The manures recommended for the various crops for different types of soil are given below.

1 Virippu

(a) Laterite Soil

192. Application of 5,000 lb. of cow-dung, 125 lb. of superphosphates or 100 lb. of bone meal and 84 lb. of ammonium sulphate per acre as basal manure and 100 lb. ammonium sulphate and 30 lb. of muriate of potash as top-dressing after weeding when there is enough water in the fields will greatly benefit laterite regions.

(b) Sandy Region

193. 5,000 lb. of cow-dung, 125 lb. of superphosphate or 100 lb. of bone meal as basal manure and 100 lb. of ammonium sulphate and 30 lb. of muriate of potash as top-dressing after weeding when there is enough water in the field are considered to be suitable for the sandy region.

2 Mundakan

194. For 'Mundakan' crop the following doses are considered to be appropriate.

(a) Laterite Region

Basal dressing:-

Superphosphate — 250 lb.
or

Bone meal — 200 lb.
Ammonium sulphate — 75 lb.
Muriate of potash — 30 lb.

Top-dressing (30-40 days after transplanting)

Ammonium sulphate — 100 lb.
Muriate of potash — 30 lb.

Instead of the above, N. P. K. mixture of 200 lb. for basal dressing and 250 lb. for top-dressing can also be used. The proportion for mixing is 8 per cent Ammonium sulphate: 8 per cent Superphosphate: 8 per cent Muriate of potash.

(b) Sandy Region

Basal dressing

Superphosphate — 200 lb.
or

Bone-meal — 150 lb.

Top-dressing (30 days after planting)

SOWING

Ammonium sulphate — 100 lb.
Muriate of potash — 30 lb.

The dose is to be repeated after an interval of 30 days. Instead of the straight fertilisers, N. P. K. mixture at the rate of 200 lb. as basal dressing and 150 lb. as top-dressing in two doses can also be applied.

Sowing

195. Of the two methods of sowing for 'Virippu' viz., broadcasting and dibbling, the latter helps to save the seed rate and facilitate easy weeding at later stages. For 'Mundakan' crop transplanting is the most common practice. This requires early preparation of the nursery. The nursery should be on a raised portion of the field. This ensures a steady flow of the water through the nursery to make the seedlings grow sturdy. The plot meant for the nursery should be ploughed at least six times or dug twice. The seedlings raised in 6 cents of land will be sufficient for transplanting an acre. The manuring should consist of 15 baskets of well rotted cattle

manure and ash as well as 4 lb. each of ammonium sulphate and superphosphate for 6 cents of land and the plot laid out into raised beds and the seeds sown thinly and covered. When the plant puts forth six leaves it is mature to be transplanted. The success of the crop mainly depends upon the method of cultivation known as the improved method of transplanting. This Japanese method is identified with planting in lines and intensive manuring. This operation can either be done by stretching a string or with the help of a planting frame.

196. The frame consists of three bamboo triangles. The length of each side is kept according to the appropriate spacing between rows advocated in the locality, say 10". The bamboo triangles are fastened together at the corners to three horizontal bamboo sticks so that the spacing between two triangles is equal to that recommended for adoption between plants.

197. When planting, the frame is placed at the edge of the puddled field. The planter



PLANTING OF PADDY WITH THE HELP OF PLANTING FRAME

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reaches over and plants seedlings at the base of each triangle. He then steps back and rolls the frame by one turn towards himself. This brings the frame 10" back, ready for planting a second row of seedlings at the base of three triangles. This is repeated till the planter reaches the end of the field. The planter can then turn round and plant another series of rows of seedlings on his way back. The short duration varieties should be spaced 10" between lines and 4" in the line whereas the long duration varieties should be spaced 10" between lines and 6"—8" in the line. Two plants should be planted in one bunch.

198. The idea behind transplanting in lines is that weeding can be done with greater ease

with the aid of a 'Japanese hoe'. The stirring of the soil between the lines facilitates both the removal of weeds and the proper aeration of soil. Normally this process should be repeated thrice with an interval of two weeks between two stirrings.

Plant Protection

199. It is necessary to protect the crop from all kinds of enemies in the field till it is harvested, especially pests and insects. Measures should be immediately taken to control their attacks as soon as symptoms are visible by pressing into service sprayers, dusters and chemicals.

200. The following are the plant diseases and the treatment for the same.

Table XXXVII

IMPORTANT CROP PESTS AND THEIR CONTROL

Name of crop and pest 1	Nature of damage 2	Control measures 3
Paddy		
1. Rice swarming caterpillar (Lepidoptera-Noctuidae) <i>Spodoptera mauritia</i>	They feed on the leaves of paddy. They appear suddenly in the field in large swarms and destroy the whole field. The attack is usually in the nursery and early growing stages. Attacked plants reduce to stumps and die	1. Flood the field and submerge the crop for 10-12 hours. 2. Collect the caterpillars by sweeping with suitable baskets and destroy them 3. Let into the fields herds of duck 4. Spray 0.25% D. D. T. @ 30-40 glns./acre or dust D. D. T. 5% or B. H. C. 10% @ 15 lb./acre
2. Rice stem borer (Lepidoptera-Pyralidae) <i>Schoenobius incertulus</i>	The tiny caterpillars move down to the paddy stem and bore into it. They feed on the internal tissues. As a result the central shoot fades and dies and the ear-head becomes white.	1. Collect egg mass from nursery and destroy 2. Trap the moths by light traps 3. Dip the seedlings in 0.08% Folidol, or 0.05% Endrin or spray the nursery with them before transplantation 4. Dust at regular intervals 5% B. H. C., 5% D. D. T. or 10% Endrin till flowering Spray Folidol or Endrin
3. Other stem borers (a) <i>Scirpophaga innotata</i> (White borer) (b) <i>Chilo zonellus</i> (Striped borer)	They bore into the stem, feed from within and cause the death of the plants	

CONTROL OF CROP PESTS

Name of crop and pest 1	Nature of damage 2	Control measures 3
(c) <i>Sesamia inferens</i> (Pink borer) (d) <i>Proceras Polychriza</i>	Appear in the field during ear bearing season and damage the crop by sucking the milky juice of tender grains which become chaffy in consequence.	1. Collect nymphs and adults and destroy them. 2. Dust with 5% or 10% B. H. C. @ 10-15 lb./acre
4. Rice bug (Hemiptera-Corredidae) <i>Leptocoris acuta</i>	Small bluish black beetles covered all over with short spines, both adults and grubs, damage plants. Adults feed on the green matter and grubs mine the leaves and feed from within.	1. Collect the beetles with hand nets and destroy 2. Dust with 5% B. H. C. or 5% D. D. T. @ 15-20 lb./acre Dust 10% B. H. C. or 5% D. D. T. or spray 0.2% D. D. T.
5. Rice Hispa (Coleoptera-Chrysomelidae) <i>Hispa armigera</i>	Adult is a small white moth with brownish markings on wings. Caterpillars damage paddy plants by defoliation	1. Collect in nets and destroy. 2. Dust with B. H. C. 5% or 2% Aldrin
6. Rice Case Worm (Lepidoptera-Pyralidae) <i>Nymphula depunctalis</i>	The adults and nymphs damage the plants by feeding on them	1. Dust with 10% B. H. C. 2. Spray 0.2% D. D. T.
7. Paddy Grasshoppers (Orthoptera-Acriididae) (a) <i>Hieroglyphus banian</i> (b) <i>Hieroglyphus orizivorous</i> (c) <i>Oxya velox</i>	The maggots bore into the stem, attach buds of shoots and cause formation of hollow elongated galls known as silver shoots. Hence no ears are formed.	Dust B. H. C. 5% or D. D. T. 0.2%
8. Paddy Gall Fly (Diptera-Cecidomyiidae) (Diptera)	The Caterpillars damage by folding the leaves and feeding on the green matter from within. As a result leaves get dried up.	As in the case of paddy Hispa
9. Paddy leaf roller (Lepidoptera-Pyralidae) <i>Cnaphalocrocis medinalis</i>	Both adults and grubs damage leaves by sucking off the green matter Caterpillars damage paddy crops by climbing on the plants and cutting down the ear heads. Caterpillars defoliate the plants	As for Spodoptera do. do.
Minor Pests of paddy	Caterpillars attack all stages of plants feeding on leaves These feed on leaves of paddy	do.
(i) Paddy Leptispa <i>Leptispa pygmae</i>	Suck juice from young plants and make them fade	Dust B. H. C. 10% or D. D. T. 5%
(ii) Climbing cut worm <i>Cirphis albistigma</i>		
(iii) Paddy skipper <i>Parnara mathias</i>		
(iv) Horned caterpillar <i>Melanitis ismene</i>		
(v) Yellow hairy caterpillar <i>Psalis securis</i>		
(vi) Paddy Semilooper <i>Remigia frugalis</i>		
(vii) Spotted leaf beetle <i>Oides affinis</i>		

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Table. XXXVII—(concl'd.)

Name of crop and pest	Nature of damage	Control measures
1	2	3
(viii) Gregarious blue beetle <i>Haltica cyanea</i>	Occasionally found in clusters on paddy leaves	Dust B. H. C. 10% or D. D. T. 5%
(ix) Minor sucking insects	They cluster on young plants and suck the tender parts. They appear in swarms and nymphs and adults of these jassids suck the tender parts	1. Dust B. H. C. 10% 2. Spray crude oil emulsion Dust B. H. C. 5% or D. D. T. 5%
(a) The striped bug <i>Tetroda historoides</i>		
(b) Paddy jassid Green Spotted jassid <i>Nephotettix bipunctatis</i> White jassid <i>Tetrigonella spectra</i>		
Paddy leaf hopper <i>Nilaparvatha sordescens</i>	Both adults and nymphs suck the juice of the plants. Appeared as a serious pest in Kuttanad in 1957.	Dust B. H. C. 5%
Red spotted ear head bug <i>Menida histrio</i>	Found on the ear heads of paddy	Dust B. H. C. 5%
Paddy mealy bug <i>Rirersia oryzae</i>	They suck the juice of the plants which result in weakness and stunted growth of plants	Spray Folidol 0.05% or EKATOX—0.05%
Rice thrips <i>Thrips oryzae</i>	Adults and nymphs lacerate leaf tissues and suck up sap.	1. Flood the nurseries 2. Dust B. H. C. 5%

201. It is advisable to make use of the interim period between the harvest of the 'Mundakan' and sowing of 'Virippu' by the cultivation of crops like sesame, or pulses like horsegram, 'tur' etc. This will bring additional income to the farmer besides enriching the soil.

202. Since the village is situated in Alleppey district the paddy cultivation in this area receives the benefit of the package programme or the intensive Agricultural District Programme launched by the Government. This programme aims at the maximisations of food crops and other agricultural produces by intensive cultivation. The programme is being implemented through the practice of a set of improved scientific methods specially suited to a particular area in the cultivation of various crops. This envisages technical advice and economic assistance to the ryots of the area by contacting and assessing the needs of each farmer through the various agencies of the Government. Distribution of loans are also included in the scheme.

203. The bailing of water which is one of the important processes in the cultivation

of 'Mundakan' crop is still done by the time old method of using the country water wheel. In several parts of Kerala this has been displaced by the pump sets. It is strange that in an important centre like this where 'Mundakan' cultivation is conducted on a large scale the pumping sets have not been installed. There is already electricity in the village. If only the pumps are purchased by the cultivators by taking advantage of the loan facilities this problem can be solved. No doubt, the farmers have to co-operate themselves with the procedure as the minimum size of the land for the use of a pumping set has to be an economic one. Another difficulty experienced in the area was the leaving of the construction of irrigation canals incomplete on the boundary of the Panchayat in which the village is situated as the neighbouring panchayat had not taken up the same scheme. But fortunately, this difficulty has now been solved by the co-operation of the neighbouring Panchayat. This factor is, however, an eye opener to the supreme necessity of co-ordinating the schemes to benefit a stretch of villages lying in different Panchayats.

OIL MILLS

Kerala Khadi and Village Industries Board. There is no reason why their help cannot be received here if necessary steps are taken to secure the same.

205. Although this village is a good cocoanut producing area there is not even a single oil mill here. The dry copra of the village is being marketed at Kayamkulam and Alleppey. There is scope for at least one oil mill in this area. The private sector has, however, to take up this.

204. Although co-operation has developed in the village among cultivators and handloom weavers it has not covered the screw-pine mat makers. This is one of the villages where screw-pine is found in fairly large numbers. But the screw-pine mat making has not progressed to a degree to which one should expect. No doubt, by organising a co-operative society for screw-pine mat weaving this industry can get impetus. Screw-pine mat weaving is one of the industries, which is given aid by the

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APPENDIX A

Table I (a)

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income Group	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 and above	Females of 12 and above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12		
Household cultivation	Less than Rs. 25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 25- 50	4	0.50	1.75	0.75	0.25	2.58	0.50
	Rs. 51- 75	6	1.67	2.16	0.83	0.84	4.45	1.33
	Rs. 76-100	8	1.38	2.00	0.63	0.62	3.80	0.88
	Above Rs. 100	20	2.15	2.05	0.80	0.85	4.82	1.20

Table I (b)

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income Group	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 and above	Females of 12 and above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12		
Agricultural Labour	Less than Rs.25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 25- 50	5	1.00	1.20	0.40	...	2.28	1.40
	Rs. 51- 75	15	1.53	1.80	1.07	0.80	4.09	2.00
	Rs. 76-100	10	2.20	2.10	1.50	1.20	5.44	2.70
	Above Rs. 100	4	2.50	2.50	1.75	0.75	6.00	3.00

Table I (c)

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income Group	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 and above	Females of 12 and above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12		
Miscellaneous	Less than Rs. 25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 25- 50	2	0.50	1.50	0.50	1.00	2.60	0.50
	Rs. 51- 75	11	1.27	1.82	0.27	1.28	3.68	0.82
	Rs. 76-100	12	1.66	1.83	1.00	0.92	4.28	0.92
	Above Rs. 100	16	2.00	2.50	1.13	0.81	5.22	1.69

APPENDIX A

Table II (a)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	All households	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
			No. of households	No. of households	No. of households	No. of households
			38	4	6	8
			Rs.nP. Per cent	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
Household cultivation	(a) Salary or wages	5.83 3.90	...	...	...	11.08
	(b) Industry run by the household	0.44 0.29	4.17	...	...	...
	(c) Business run by the household	7.68 5.14	...	...	...	14.58
	(d) Cultivation run by the household	123.23 82.49	30.73	57.92	78.13	179.38
	(e) Rent from land	0.16 0.11	...	...	...	0.31
	(f) Rent of houses	...	...	...	...	...
	(g) Pension	0.79 0.53	...	...	...	1.50
	(h) Gifts and presents	...	...	...	...	...
	(i) Help from relatives	5.92 3.96	2.08	1.39	5.21	8.33
	(j) Other sources	5.34 3.58	3.13	5.56	4.17	6.20
	Total	149.39 100.00	40.11	64.87	87.51	221.38

Table II (b)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	All households	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
			No. of households	No. of households	No. of households	No. of households
			34	5	15	10
			Rs.nP. Per cent	Rs.nP.	Rs.nP.	Rs.nP.
Agricultural Labour	(a) Salary or wages	63.47 87.03	36.17	51.25	75.00	114.59
	(b) Industry run by the household	1.67 2.29	...	3.08	0.63	1.04
	(c) Business run by the household	...	...	...	...	...
	(d) Cultivation run by the household	4.85 6.65	3.17	5.22	6.43	1.56
	(e) Rent from land	...	...	...	...	...
	(f) Rent of houses	...	...	...	...	...
	(g) Pension	...	...	...	...	...
	(h) Gifts and presents	...	...	...	...	...
	(i) Help from relatives	0.67 0.92	0.83	1.25	...	...
	(j) Other sources	2.27 3.11	2.92	1.39	3.33	2.08
	Total	72.93 100.00	43.09	62.19	85.39	119.27

Table II (c)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	Households with a monthly income of					
		All households		Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
		No. of households					
		41	2	11	12	16	
		Rs.nP.	Per cent	Rs.nP.	Rs.nP.	Rs.nP.	Rs.nP.
Miscellaneous	(a) Salary or wages	56.83	44.31	...	15.30	49.79	97.75
	(b) Industry run by the household	3.29	2.56	5.00	...	...	7.81
	(c) Business run by the household	6.91	5.39	...	...	5.56	13.54
	(d) Cultivation run by the household	25.17	19.62	4.17	14.28	17.22	41.25
	(e) Rent from land	5.00	3.90	...	...	...	12.76
	(f) Rent of houses	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(g) Pension	2.24	1.75	...	...	...	5.75
	(h) Gifts and presents	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(i) Help from relatives	22.76	17.75	22.92	26.89	18.05	23.44
	(j) Other sources	6.05	4.72	3.75	7.73	5.00	5.99
		Total	128.25	100.00	35.84	64.20	95.62

Table III (a-1)

**AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND
OCCUPATION**

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on Food	Households with a monthly income of			
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
	No. of households	38		4	6	8	20
		Per household	Per equivalent adult male				
		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
Household Cultivation	A. Food Group						
	i. Cereals and pulses						
	Rice	31.63	7.34	42.22	14.50	24.00	39.70
	Other grains	1.49	0.35	1.99	0.81	1.08	1.91
	Dhal	0.58	0.13	0.77	0.25	0.38	0.70
	Total	33.70	7.82	44.98	15.56	25.46	42.31

(Continued)

Table III (a-1)—Contd.

Table III (a-1)—Continued

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Households with a monthly income of \$100 and over

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE			OCCUPATION		Households with a monthly income of			
Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of				
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100	
				4	6	8	20	
	No. of households							
		38						
		Per household	Per equivalent adult male					
		Rs. nP.	Rs.nP.		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	
Household cultivation	ii. Vegetables							
	Potatoes	0.77	0.18	1.03	0.19	0.38	0.61	1.07
	Tapioca	5.16	1.20	6.89	4.88	6.42	5.19	4.83
	Onions	0.40	0.09	0.53	0.29	0.38	0.36	0.45
	Cocoanut	8.24	1.91	11.00	4.94	5.83	7.28	10.01
	Other vegetables	1.51	0.35	2.02	0.63	1.17	1.31	1.86
	Total	16.08	3.73	21.47	10.93	14.18	14.75	18.22
	iii. Meat and Fish							
	Meat	0.97	0.23	1.29	0.38	0.25	0.12	1.65
	Fish	5.83	1.35	7.78	3.13	4.08	3.87	7.68
	Total	6.80	1.58	9.07	3.51	4.33	3.99	9.33
	iv. Milk	4.80	1.11	6.41	2.13	2.67	3.00	6.70
	v. Ghee and Oils	2.62	0.61	3.50	1.63	1.88	2.34	3.15
	vi. Salt	0.31	0.07	0.41	0.22	0.31	0.29	0.34
	vii. Condiments							
Chillies	2.35	0.54	3.14	1.31	1.79	1.84	2.93	
Tamarind	0.43	0.10	0.57	0.25	0.31	0.34	0.54	
Other condiments	2.49	0.58	3.32	1.31	1.79	2.06	3.10	
Total	5.27	1.22	7.03	2.87	3.89	4.24	6.57	
viii. Sugars	1.32	0.30	1.76	0.50	0.46	0.84	1.93	
ix. Coffee and Tea	0.77	0.18	1.03	0.19	0.25	0.43	1.18	
x. Liquor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
xi. Tobacco	2.08	0.48	2.78	1.00	1.83	1.00	2.80	
Smoking	1.17	0.27	1.56	0.75	0.75	0.87	1.50	
Chewing	3.25	0.75	4.34	1.75	2.58	1.87	4.30	
Total								
xiii. Other foods including refreshments	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Pansupari etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total under food	74.92	17.37	100.00	39.29	56.01	59.17	94.03	

(Continued)

(Continued)

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APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (a-1)—Concl'd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
			4	6	8	20
Household cultivation	No of households	38				
	Expenditure per household	Percentage of total expenditure on miscellaneous items				
	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
B. Clothing	8.29		3.44	5.28	5.94	11.10
C. Housing, Light, Fuel etc.	6.62		5.10	5.85	5.71	7.53
D. Miscellaneous Expenditure						
i. Education	3.26	18.66	0.31	2.15	2.29	4.56
ii. Dhobi or soap	2.43	13.91	1.25	1.82	1.75	3.12
iii. Barber	0.92	5.27	0.44	0.86	0.67	1.13
iv. Travelling	0.56	3.20	...	0.28	0.47	0.79
v. Medical fees and medicines	0.88	5.04	0.31	...	0.57	1.38
vi. Religious observances	0.03	0.17	...	...	0.05	0.04
vii. Amusements	...	...	...	...	...	...
viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings	7.76	44.42	...	...	...	14.75
ix. Payment of debts	...	...	...	...	...	...
x. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere	...	...	...	...	...	...
xi. Other items	1.63	9.33	0.42	0.56	0.78	2.54
Total	17.47	100.00	2.73	5.67	6.58	28.31
		Percentage of total expenditure on cultivation etc.				
E. Cultivation, Industries and Business						
i. Cultivation run by the household	15.72	98.37	2.50	4.86	7.14	25.06
ii. Industry run by the household	...	...	...	...	...	...
iii. Business run by the household	0.26	1.63	...	...	...	0.50
Total	15.98	100.00	2.50	4.86	7.14	25.56
F. Grand Total of A to E	123.28		53.06	77.67	84.54	166.53

APPENDIX A

Table III (b-1)

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of			
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
				5	15	10	4
Agricultural labour	No. of households	34					
		Per household	Per equivalent adult male				
		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
A. Food Group							
i. Cereals and Pulses							
Rice	24.66	5.55	40.58	12.30	20.74	32.70	34.75
Other grains	1.12	0.25	1.84	0.60	0.91	1.45	1.50
Dhal	0.27	0.06	0.44	0.20	0.20	0.38	0.38
Total	26.05	5.86	42.86	13.10	21.85	34.53	36.63
ii. Vegetables							
Potatoes	0.29	0.07	0.48	0.15	0.34	0.15	0.63
Tapioca	8.48	1.91	13.95	5.20	8.12	9.90	10.38
Onions	0.38	0.08	0.63	0.30	0.34	0.41	0.45
Cocoanuts	6.83	1.54	11.24	4.40	5.82	8.40	9.75
Other vegetables	0.93	0.21	1.53	0.70	0.78	1.15	1.25
Total	16.91	3.81	27.83	10.75	15.40	20.01	22.46
iii. Meat and Fish							
Meat	0.49	0.11	0.81	0.20	0.47	0.65	0.50
Fish	4.44	1.00	7.31	3.40	3.80	5.15	6.38
Total	4.93	1.11	8.12	3.60	4.27	5.80	6.88
iv. Milk	2.37	0.53	3.90	1.60	2.23	2.30	4.00
v. Ghee and Oil	1.91	0.43	3.14	1.15	1.70	2.40	2.50
vi. Salt	0.30	0.07	0.49	0.19	0.28	0.35	0.35
vii. Condiments							
Chillies	1.96	0.44	3.22	1.05	1.73	2.40	2.88
Tamarind	0.29	0.07	0.48	0.23	0.29	0.35	0.38
Other condiments	1.90	0.43	3.13	1.10	1.70	2.25	2.81
Total	4.15	0.94	6.83	2.38	3.72	5.00	5.07
viii. Sugars							
ix. Coffee and Tea	0.41	0.09	0.67	0.30	0.35	0.45	0.69
x. Liquor	0.20	0.05	0.33	0.10	0.17	0.23	0.38
xi. Tobacco	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Smoking	2.44	0.55	4.02	1.30	2.30	2.70	3.75
Chewing	1.10	0.25	1.81	0.50	1.10	1.65	0.50
Total	3.54	0.80	5.83	1.80	3.40	4.35	4.25

(Continued)

BHARANIKAVU

APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (b-1) Concl'd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of			
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
	No. of households	34		5	15	10	4
		Per house- hold	Per equi- valent adult male				
		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
Agricultural labour	xii. Other foods including refreshments Pansupari etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total under food	60.77	13.69	100.00	34.97	53.37	75.42 84.21
		Expendi- ture per house- hold	Percentage of total expendi- ture on miscel- laneous items				
		Rs. nP.					
	B. Clothing	5.45	...	3.33	5.06	6.08	6.46
	C. Housing. Light, Fuel etc.	5.02	...	4.48	4.81	5.15	4.60
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure						
	i. Education	0.99	21.86	...	0.34	2.00	2.08
	ii. Dhoby or soap	1.41	31.12	1.00	1.33	1.55	2.04
	iii. Barber	0.93	20.53	0.52	0.78	1.11	1.54
	iv. Travelling	0.02	0.44	...	0.05	...	...
	v. Medical fees and medicines	0.34	7.51	0.25	0.31	0.28	0.73
	vi. Religious observances	...	...	...	...	...	...
	vii. Amusements	...	...	...	...	...	...
	viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings	0.32	7.06	...	0.22	0.42	0.83
	ix. Payment of debts	...	...	...	...	...	...
	x. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere	...	...	...	...	...	...
	xi. Other items	0.52	11.48	0.48	0.47	0.54	0.73
	Total	4.53	100.00	2.25	3.50	5.90	7.95
			Percentage of total expenditure on cultivation etc.				
	E. Cultivation, Industries and Business						
	i. Cultivation run by the household	0.21	100.00	...	0.28	0.21	0.21
	ii. Industry run by the household	...	...	...	...	...	...
	iii. Business run by the household	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	0.21	100.00	...	0.28	0.21	0.21
	F. Grand Total of A to E	75.98		45.03	67.02	92.76	103.43

APPENDIX A

Table III (c-1)

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of			
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
				2	11	12	16
	No. of households	41					
		Per house- hold	Per equi- valent adult male				
		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
Miscellaneous	A. Food Group						
	i. Cereals and Pulses	33.66	7.65	43.32	13.00	20.45	29.83 48.19
	Rice	1.58	0.36	2.03	0.62	0.80	1.39 2.38
	Other grains	0.52	0.12	0.67	0.07	0.29	0.32 0.89
	Dhal	35.76	8.13	46.02	13.69	21.54	31.54 51.46
	Total						
	ii. Vegetables	0.71	0.16	0.91	0.13	0.43	0.50 1.14
	Potatoes	5.54	1.26	7.13	3.50	6.18	6.08 4.94
	Tapioca	0.43	0.10	0.55	0.22	0.35	0.38 0.54
	Onions	8.50	1.93	10.94	4.75	5.91	7.33 11.63
	Cocanuts	1.62	0.37	2.08	0.75	1.02	1.06 2.56
	Other vegetables	16.80	3.82	21.61	9.35	13.83	15.35 20.81
	Total						
	iii. Meat and Fish	0.87	0.20	1.12	0.50	0.27	0.33 1.72
	Meat	5.88	1.34	7.57	3.25	4.00	5.17 8.03
	Fish	6.75	1.54	8.69	3.75	4.27	5.50 9.75
	Total	4.96	1.13	6.38	2.00	2.14	3.33 8.50
	iv. Milk	2.58	0.59	3.32	0.63	1.77	2.23 3.64
	v. Ghee and Oil	0.30	0.07	0.39	0.20	0.25	0.31 0.35
	vi. Salt	...	...	...	...	...	...
	vii. Condiments	2.52	0.57	3.24	1.22	1.68	2.02 3.64
	Chillies	0.47	0.11	0.61	0.22	0.34	0.36 0.67
	Tamarind	2.42	0.55	3.11	1.18	1.75	2.00 3.34
	Other condiments	5.41	1.23	6.96	2.62	3.77	4.38 7.65
	Total	1.19	0.27	1.53	0.25	0.57	0.92 1.94
	viii. Sugars	0.68	0.15	0.88	0.12	0.32	0.57 1.08
	ix. Coffee and Tea	...	...	...	...	...	...
	x. Liquor	2.46	0.56	3.17	...	1.27	2.83 3.25
	xi. Tobacco	0.82	0.19	1.05	...	0.82	0.88 0.88
	Smoking	3.28	0.75	4.22	...	2.09	3.71 4.13
	Chewing						
	Total						

(Continued)

BHARANIKAVU

APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (c-1)—Concl'd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION									
Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households		Households with a monthly income of				Percentage of total expenditure on food	
		No. of households	41	Rs. 25-50 Rs. 51-75 Rs. 76-100 Above Rs. 100				Percentage of total expenditure on food	Percentage of total expenditure on miscellaneous items
				Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.		
Miscellaneous	xii. Other foods including refreshments Pansupari etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total under food	77.71	17.68	100.00	32.61	50.61	67.84	109.31	...
		Expenditure per household	Rs. nP.						
			Rs. nP.						
	B. Clothing	9.71			3.54	5.11	6.49	15.73	
	C. Housing, Light, Fuel etc.	6.89			3.33	5.23	6.85	8.49	
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure								
	i. Education	10.51	46.73		0.21	2.11	1.86	24.06	
	ii. Dhoby or soap	2.21	9.83		1.04	1.43	1.79	3.21	
	iii. Barber	0.97	4.31		0.33	0.58	0.98	1.31	
E. Cultivation, Industries and Business	iv. Travelling	0.55	2.45		...	0.11	0.63	0.86	
	v. Medical fees and medicines	0.64	2.84		0.42	0.19	0.42	1.15	
	vi. Religious observances	0.03	0.13		...	...	...	0.08	
	vii. Amusements	...	...		...	...	...	...	
	viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings	5.64	25.08		...	0.30	2.43	12.43	
	ix. Payment of debts	...	...		...	...	...	...	
	x. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere	...	...		...	...	...	...	
	xi. Other items	1.94	8.63		...	...	...	...	
	Total	22.49	100.00		0.42	0.49	0.76	4.01	
					2.42	5.21	8.87	47.11	
F. Grand Total of A to E									

APPENDIX A

Table III (a-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION: HOUSEHOLD CULTIVATION

Items	All households	Percent- age of total ex- penditure	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	above Rs. 100
			4	6	8	20
No. of households	38		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
	Rs. nP.					
I. Expenditure	74.92	60.77	39.29	56.01	59.17	94.03
A. Food	8.29	6.73	3.44	5.28	5.94	11.10
B. Clothing	6.62	5.37	5.10	5.85	5.71	7.53
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.	17.47	14.17	2.73	5.67	6.58	28.31
D. Miscellaneous						
E. Cultivation, industry and business	15.98	12.96	2.50	4.86	7.14	25.56
Total Expenditure	123.28	100.00	53.06	77.67	84.54	166.53
II. Income	149.39		40.11	64.87	87.51	221.38
III. Expenditure in relation to income	+26.11		-12.95	-12.80	+2.97	+54.85

Table III (b-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION: AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Items	All households	Percent- age of total ex- penditure	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
			5	15	10	4
No. of households	34		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
	Rs. nP.					
I. Expenditure	60.77	79.98	34.97	53.37	75.42	84.21
A. Food	5.45	7.17	3.33	5.06	6.08	6.46
B. Clothing	5.02	6.60	4.48	4.81	5.15	4.60
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.	4.53	5.97	2.25	3.50	5.90	7.95
D. Miscellaneous						
E. Cultivation, industry and business	0.21	0.28	...	0.28	0.21	0.21
Total Expenditure	75.98	100.00	45.03	67.02	92.76	103.43
II. Income	72.93		43.09	62.19	85.39	119.27
III. Expenditure in relation to income	-3.05		-1.94	-4.83	-7.37	+15.84

BHARANIKAVU

APPENDIX A—Concl'd.

Table III (c-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION: MISCELLANEOUS

Items	All households	Percent- age of total ex- penditure	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
No. of households	41		2	11	12	16
	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
I. Expenditure						
A. Food	77.71	64.88	32.61	50.61	67.84	109.31
B. Clothing	9.71	8.11	3.54	5.11	6.49	15.73
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.	6.89	5.75	3.33	5.23	6.85	8.49
D. Miscellaneous	22.49	18.77	2.42	5.21	8.87	47.11
E. Cultivation, industry and business	2.98	2.49	0.63	0.91	1.28	5.96
Total Expenditure	119.78	100.00	42.53	67.07	91.33	186.60
II. Income	128.25		35.84	64.20	95.62	208.29
III. Expenditure in relation to income	+8.47		-6.69	-2.87	+4.29	+21.69

Table IV

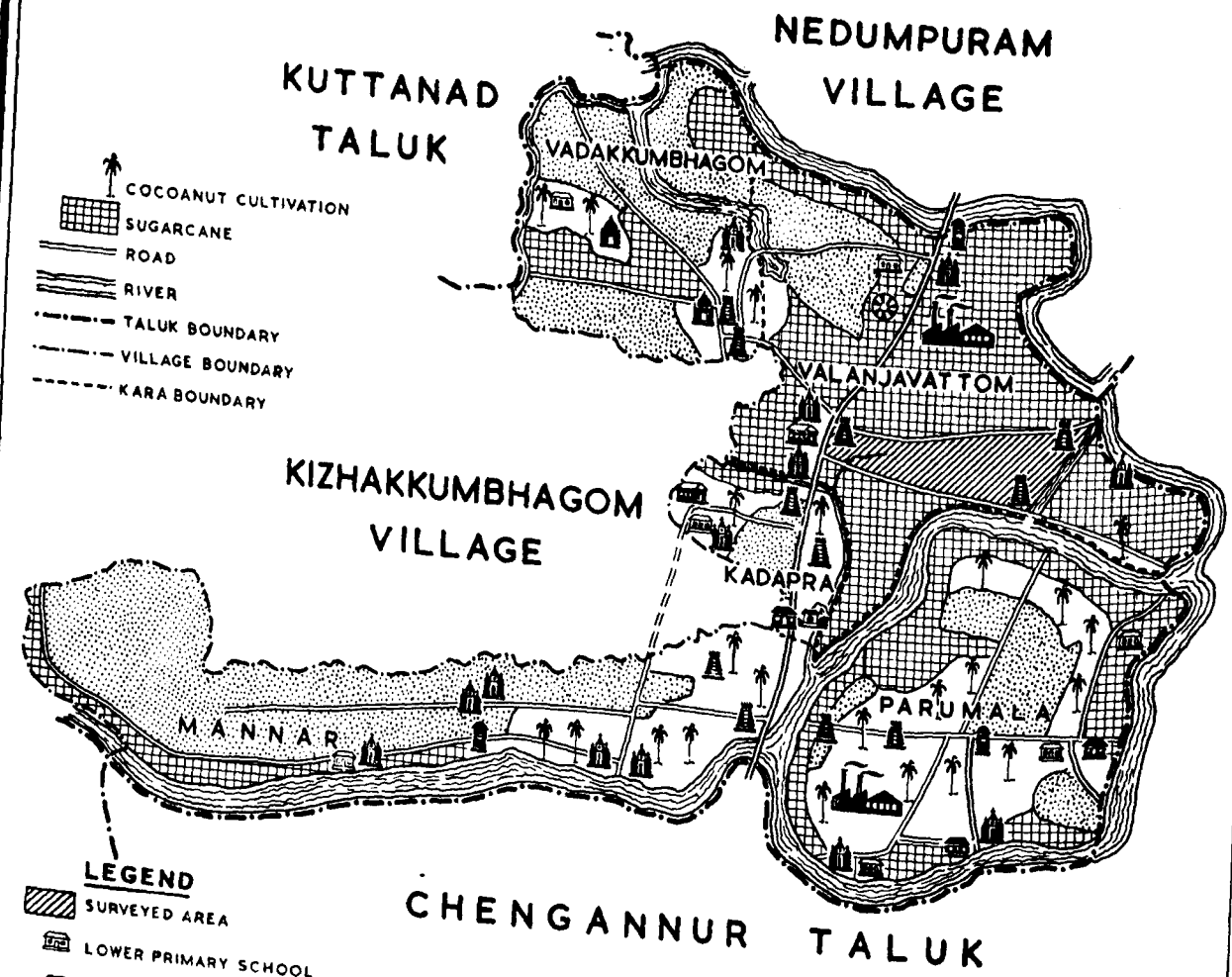
INDEBTEDNESS

I. Indebtedness by income groups					II. Indebtedness by causes				
Income Group	Total No. of households	No. of households in debt	Percentage of column 3 to column 2	Average indebtedness for households in debt	Causes	Amount of debt	No. of households in debt	Average for households in debt	Percentage of debts due to causes to the total debt
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
				Rs. np.		Rs. nP.		Rs. nP	
Less than Rs. 25	...	...	...	...	(a) Purchase of land	...	...	...	...
Rs. 25-50	11	7	63.63	215.71	(b) House construction or repairs to existing building	4,200.00	5	840.00	13.81
Rs. 51-75	32	14	43.75	236.78	(c) Marriages	12,900.00	8	1,612.50	42.43
Rs. 76-100	30	15	50.00	481.00	(d) Funerals	...	...	...	...
Above Rs. 100	40	14	35.00	1,316.07	(e) To give dowry	...	...	...	...
					(f) To clear old outstanding debts	2,575.00	4	643.75	8.47
					(g) Sickness	150.00	1	150.00	0.49
					(h) Ordinary wants	3,190.00	26	122.69	10.49
					(i) Household cultivation	4,090.00	6	681.66	13.45
					(j) Industry run by the household	...	...	...	...
					(k) Business run by the household	1,800.00	2	900.00	5.92
					(l) Education	1,500.00	1	1,500.00	4.94

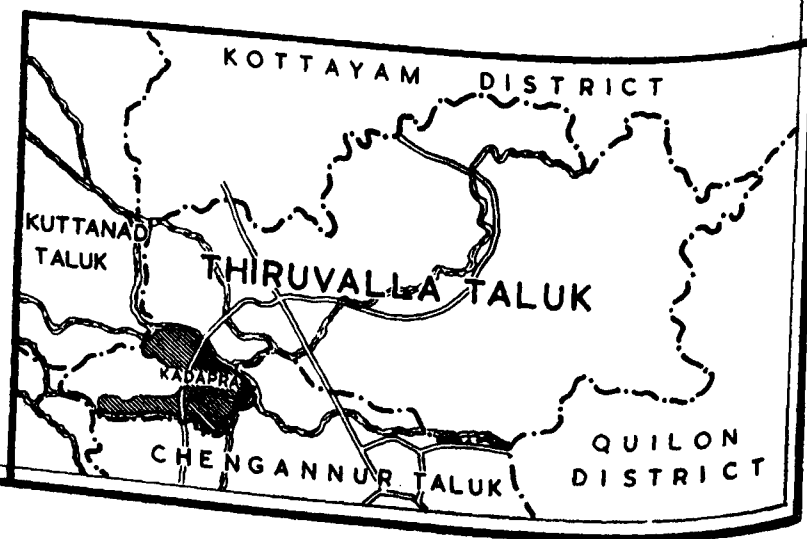
KADAPRA

KADAPRA VILLAGE

A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM



- LEGEND**
- SURVEYED AREA
 - LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOL
 - UPPER PRIMARY SCHOOL
 - HIGH SCHOOL
 - FACTORY
 - VILLAGE OFFICE
 - POST OFFICE
 - TEMPLE
 - CHURCH
 - MOSQUE
 - N.E.S. BLOCK
 - PADDY FIELD



KADAPRA *

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Location

1. Five miles¹ north-west of the populous town of Thiruvalla in Central Travancore a small island has been formed by Pamba and Manimala rivers which after their confluence a little above Keecherival again split into two and flow in two different directions to meet the backwaters. This island which lies on the southern side of Vembanad lake consists of three revenue villages, Kadapra, Kizhakkumbhagom and Thalavadi. The eastern most of them, one which looks like the wide open jaws of a lion is Kadapra, the village under survey. On the south and a portion of the east the muddy waters of the mighty Pamba wash its boundaries. Along the remaining portion of the eastern boundary and the entire northern boundary the Manimala river winds its way. A major portion of the western side of Kadapra is covered by Kizhakkumbhagom village and the remaining portion by Thalavadi village. The village forms an administrative unit of Thiruvalla taluk of the Alleppey district. Alleppey town, the district headquarters, is 35 miles² away from the village, but Kottayam the headquarters of the neighbouring district is only 22 miles³ away and Changanacherry, the most important commercial town of Central Travancore, only 10 miles⁴ away. The peculiar location of the village has been responsible for its prominent characteristics such as its suitability for sugarcane cultivation, the underdeveloped communication system, the preservation of its rustic character and the orthodoxy in social outlook. Although the village has been chosen for the study of sugarcane cultivation, the other features mentioned above are also equally important.

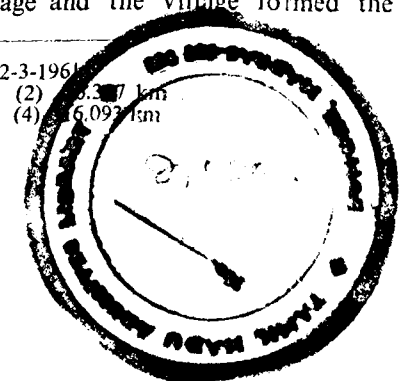
Physical Aspects

2. The terrain has been cut out into fragments by the eroding arms of the unruly rivers which give fertility to the soil and prosperity to the people only along with the woes of flood and the interruption of communications. Thus the northern portion consisting of Valanjavattom and Vadakkumbhagom subdivisions of the village are cut out from the rest of it by Kolarathodu and a branch of the Pamba river, just as Parumala, another subdivision on the southern side, has been carved out as a separate island. The other two subdivisions, one of which has the same name as the village, are similarly separated from the rest of it by rivers and streams. Though for all practical purposes the land has a flat surface, the central portions of the above three natural subdivisions have a slightly higher elevation than the border areas, giving it the contours of an inverted porcelain plate. These central portions alone remain above the water level when the surrounding areas are submerged by the flood waters of the monsoons. With the onset of the rains during the north-west monsoon the Pamba river swells up overflowing the banks and becoming capricious in its course. Therefore, the boundaries of the village may here and there be altered occasionally or new branches may further subdivide the landscape, as it happened near the Panayannar temple where a former bathing ghat now remains away from the river.

Name of the Place

3. It would appear that during prehistoric times the sea extended to the borders of the village and the village formed the

* Basic survey in this village was conducted between 21-2-1961 and 12-3-1961
(1) 8.047 km.
(2) 35.27 km.
(3) 35.407 km.
(4) 16.092 km.



KADAPRA

shore (Kadappuram). Even when the sea receded and the place formed an interior village it still retained its name 'Kadappuram' though corruption during the course of centuries made it 'Kadapra'. The change seems to have occurred only in the last century for, in the beginning of the 19th century 'Kadappuram' was the name used, as can be seen from the memoirs of Ward and Conner. At present, the sea coast lies about 10 miles¹ away from Kadapra. Though this factor throws some doubts on the correctness of the above theory, there is ample evidence in the Periplus and the writings of Ptolemy and Pliny that during their times the coast extended to these interior areas. Several seaports mentioned by Ptolemy such as Podoperura, Semna and Bakara identified as Udayamperur, Chembu and Vayaskara are interior places at present.² The absence of any other theory for the origin of the name of the village further confirms the probability of the above story.

Early History

4. While Kadapra itself is not a known name in the ancient history of Kerala, certain localities of it, particularly Niranam can boast of a history dating from the pre-Christian era. In Dr. Gundert's edition of Keralolpathy he has expressed the opinion that the place called Nilmannu or Nirmannu mentioned in connection with the establishment of the Namboothiri settlements of Chengannur and Thiruvalla is the same as the present Niranam in the Western portion of Kadapra. This is highly probable since Niranam had a large Namboothiri population in ancient times and as such would have been in constant communication with the neighbouring Namboothiri centres. It is also believed that the port Nelkinda mentioned in Pliny's Natural History and in the Periplus and Ptolemy's writings is Niranam since it lies adjoining Kuttanad mentioned as 'Cotanara' in these ancient works and its location on the side of the Pamba river makes it probable that at one

time it might have been a port. The discovery of the coins of Augustus Caesar from Niranam leads us to the inference that it had contact with the early Roman traders. The possibility that it was once a port is further supported by the fact that St. Thomas who established churches in important seaports of those days such as Cranganore, Kottakavu and Quilon, established a church at Niranam also. The present Jacobite church at Niranam is believed to be located at the place where St. Thomas originally constructed a small church and dedicated a cross. After this ancient glory the place declined into an unimportant village for, no mention of it is heard until the time of the so-called 'Niranam Poets' who are counted among the architects of modern Malayalam. Niranam, Kadapra and Parumala find mention in 'Unnuneelisanthesam', a Malayalam poetical work assigned to the 14th century, as being towns en route from Quilon to the north.

5. Political history of the place is little known until the formation of the erstwhile Travancore in the middle of the 18th century. Before that period the village formed part of Thekkumkoor Kingdom. Between 1750 and 1760 the petty kingdoms of Kayamkulam, Chembakassery, Vadakkumkoor and Thekkumkoor were conquered by King Marthanda Varma of Travancore to form the Travancore State and, therefore, from that period the village under survey came within the territory of the Travancore rulers.

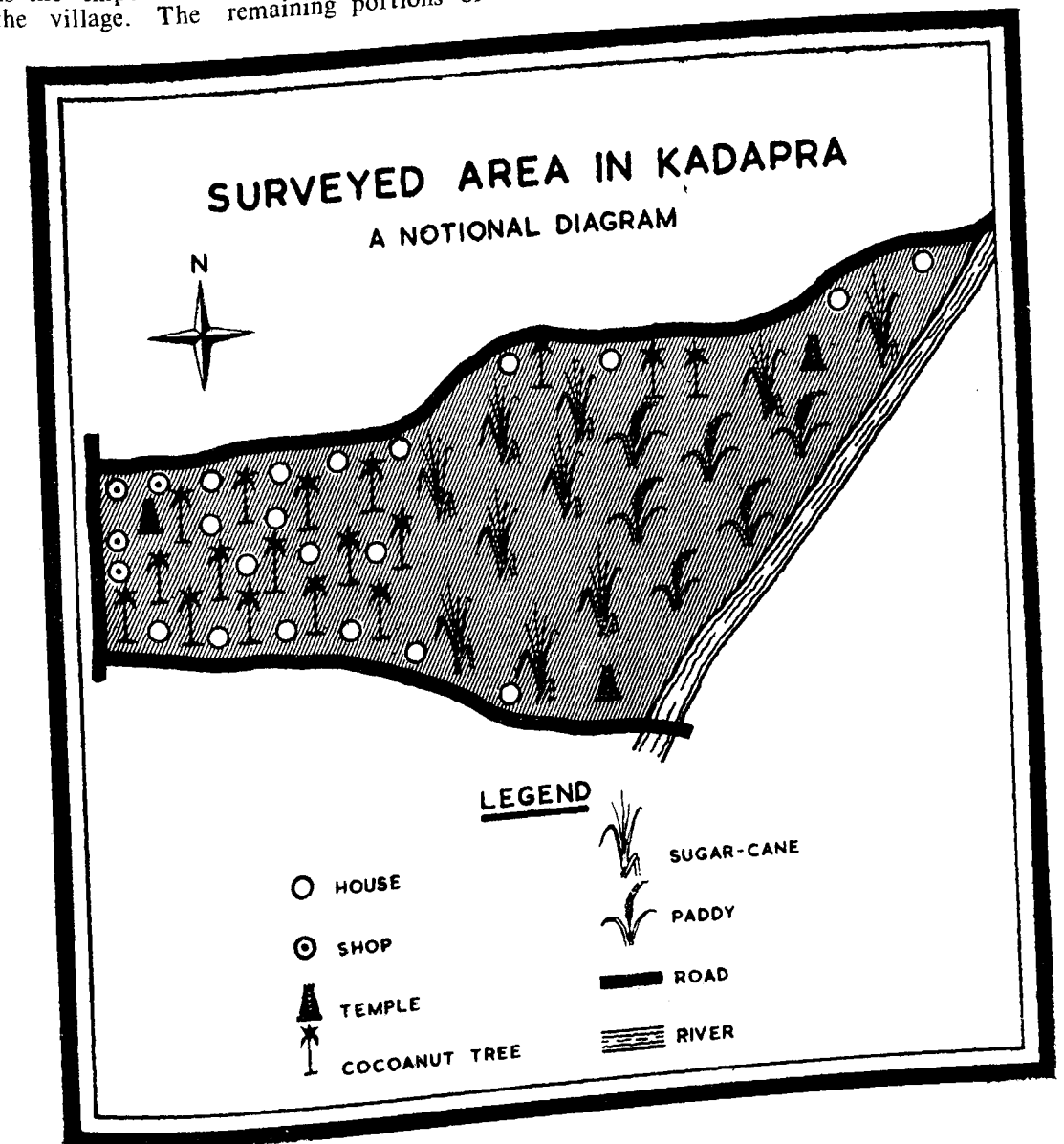
Surveyed Area

6. A triangular area extending to 225 acres³ surrounded by Puthanaru, Alanthuruthy-Nakada road, Thiruvalla-Mavelikara road and Alanthuruthy-Keecherival road was taken up for house to house survey and intensive study for preparing this monograph. Besides containing a representative population comprising most of the communities of the village the surveyed

area includes sugarcane and paddy cultivations, and thus affords an opportunity to study the prominent communities as well as the important economic activities of the village. The remaining portions of

the village have, however, been covered by a general study in order to gather sufficient general information to serve as background for the surveyed area.

SURVEYED AREA



(1) 16.09 km.

(2) The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago by B. Kanakasabha Pillai, 1956 edition, pages 17 and 19

(3) 91.05 hectares

KADAPRA

The Soil

7. Almost everywhere in the village the surface soil is formed by the gradual silting of the sediment carried by the Pamba and Manimala rivers. The soil of the low lying lands on the banks of the rivers is enriched every year by the organic matter and mineral nutrients deposited in large quantities during the flood season. In other areas also the soil contains a high percentage of organic matter and minerals but since fresh layers of silt are not added every year as along the river banks, it forms a distinct type of soil. The soil along the river bank is alluvial while in other places it varies from sandy loam to clay loam. In the small island of Parumala the proportion of sand in the soil is much higher than elsewhere. The sub-soil everywhere in the village is lateritic. Both the alluvium and loam are suitable for sugarcane cultivation but the sugar content in the cane grown in loamy soil is higher than that in the alluvial soil. The soil is also suitable for the cultivation of paddy, vegetables, tapioca and cocoanut.

Climate and Rainfall

8. From the readings taken by the Pulikeezhu N. E. S. Block it is found that the temperature gradually increases from January to April reaching a maximum in April or May before the monsoon starts. The maximum temperature during the hottest time of the day in these months fluctuates between 34°C and 38°C while the minimum temperature varies between 19°C and 24°C. During the monsoon months between May and October the temperature slightly decreases and then remains without much change during the months of November and December. Humidity is lowest during the months of February, March, April and May when it is below 65 per cent. During the monsoon months it increases and reaches up to 80 per cent. Both the mean temperature and humidity during any month are less than those in coastal places like Poracad. The temperature and humidity readings for the year 1959, taken at Pulikeezhu are given below.

Table I

TEMPERATURE AND HUMIDITY AT PULIKEEZHU—1959

Month	Temperature in degrees centigrade				Mean relative humidity (in percentage)	
	Mean maximum	Mean minimum	Highest temperature	Lowest temperature	8-30 a. m.	5-30 p. m.
January	31.6	20.8	34.2	18.9	62.6	62.0
February	33.8	25.0	35.5	21.1	65.2	43.6
March	35.1	23.8	36.1	22.8	62.8	47.4
April	34.1	23.7	37.2	21.1	56.0	39.8
May	33.1	23.0	37.2	21.6	58.0	41.6
June	31.3	22.9	33.3	21.6	62.8	52.8
July	33.0	23.4	35.5	22.2	60.6	53.2
August	34.4	23.8	35.5	22.2	57.0	36.8
September	33.3	23.7	35.5	21.6	59.0	43.8
October	31.9	23.6	33.3	22.2	76.6	61.0
November	32.6	23.2	33.9	21.1	73.0	58.2
December	31.7	20.9	33.3	21.9	68.0	61.8



Pl. 27

GLYRICIDIA — A POPULAR HEDGE PLANT

CLIMATE AND RAINFALL

9. The average annual rainfall is about 120" and most of the precipitation is received from the south-west monsoon commencing from May and continuing till September. As a rule, rainfall is heaviest during the months of June and July but this is subject to considerable variation, and heavy downpours are not uncommon during October. The months of December, January, February and March are characterised by low rainfall, but there

are no rainless months except in exceptional years. Sugarcane cultivation is, therefore, possible without irrigation but the difference in acre-yield between crops unirrigated and irrigated during the low rainfall months may be as high as 10 tons per acre. The rainfall readings recorded at Thiruvalla about 5 miles¹ away from the village are given in the subjoined table.

Table II

RAINFALL

Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Septr.	Octr.	Novr.	Dec.	Annual
1951 I	1	...	7	8	12	28	20	13	16	14	17	2	138
II	6.3	1.3	148.3	166.6	294.1	912.6	353.1	189.5	452.9	291.3	356.9	17.8	3190.7
1952 I	2	5	1	14	12	8	16	19	2	16	6	4	105
II	38.6	73.4	12.7	184.7	238.0	354.1	235.2	382.3	22.9	344.4	35.1	39.1	1950.5
1953 I	1	4	3	11	6	16	28	18	12	20	6	2	127
II	31.7	80.3	32.3	155.5	62.2	331.7	994.2	266.2	203.2	389.3	153.5	25.7	2730.8
1954 I	2	...	7	11	14	25	23	23	20	19	6	3	153
II	50.5	...	169.4	301.2	224.8	795.8	507.2	398.3	293.4	320.8	64.3	82.0	3208.2
1955 I	...	...	2	10	20	29	22	14	20	19	13	2	151
II	0.5	0.3	14.2	240.0	488.2	816.4	334.5	115.5	407.1	415.3	251.7	28.7	3112.8
1956 I	...	1	6	10	19	27	21	17	22	19	12	2	156
II	...	4.8	40.1	112.0	346.2	710.9	305.3	247.1	208.5	536.7	209.5	61.0	2782.1
1957 I	...	...	2	7	13	24	24	15	10	17	13	4	129
II	0.8	0.5	12.5	85.1	325.9	809.5	755.1	286.0	117.0	339.1	229.9	35.6	2997.9
1958 I	...	1	6	10	21	26	18	24	7	13	13	2	141
II	...	10.9	57.1	142.2	453.8	834.8	438.1	523.6	120.9	245.4	226.8	54.4	3108.1
1959 I	...	1	1	14	17	24	27	18	20	12	13	4	151
II	...	63.8	7.1	177.8	564.0	928.9	812.0	249.4	421.3	258.4	170.0	68.4	3721.1
1960 I	2	2	3	21	23	22	22	18	26	14	18	2	173
II	35.0	29.2	60.5	498.6	704.1	375.0	630.9	450.8	519.2	308.9	478.0	61.0	4151.2

I. No. of rainy days.

II. Total rainfall in millimetres.

The Flora and the Fauna

10. Jack, mango, anjili (*Artocarpus hirsutus*), tamarind and *Garcinia cambogia* are the most numerous among the perennial trees. Coconut and areca-nut palms grow in every plot though not as luxuriantly as in some other coastal villages or river banks. Medium size trees like *Erythrina*,

moringa, cashew (*Anacardium occidentale*), Payin (*Vateria indicus*), 'Ambazham' (*Spondias mangifera*), 'Vazhana', Pungu (*Pongamia glabra*) and bread-fruit grow in small numbers in all parts of the village, but papaya, bullock's heart and coffee are found in certain parts only. *Glyricidia*, 'Puvarasu' (*Thespesia populnea*) and 'Velipparathi'

(1) 8.05 km.

(*Hybiscus teleaceus*) are planted extensively along the boundaries as fence stakes. Pepper vines creep over almost all large trees. In certain marshy areas screw-pine plants grow along the boundaries. Different types of plantains, pineapple and tubers like yam and colocasia are cultivated in the garden lands besides sugarcane which is cultivated extensively in the village. Along the banks of the rivers between the months of November and April vegetables like lady's finger, cucumber, pumpkin, bitter gourd, snake gourd etc. are cultivated on a large scale. Paddy is cultivated in some of the low-lying plots while tapioca is more common in the garden lands in the interior. Among the large trees *Garcinia cambogia* is unusually numerous in this village, a number of trees being found in each compound in certain parts. Tamarind is also fairly common. The fruits of both the trees are valuable as ingredients for cooking purposes, particularly cooking of fish. A note on both these plants and their uses is given below.

Tamarind

11. One of the most common trees in the village, the tamarind is not regularly cultivated by anybody. The seeds thrown away by human beings or by birds and animals propagate the plant. During long years the tree grows to a height of about 60' to 70' and a girth of 10' to 12' or more, with spreading, rounded, crown and pinnate leaves. The leaf contains 10 to 20 pairs of leaflets of about 0.5" in length. The bark of the tree is dark grey, moderately thick and deeply fissured longitudinally and transversely. The wood is hard and coarse-grained and specially suited for the manufacture of country 'ghanys', mortars, tools and turnery. The leaves are shed in the hot months and the new leaves appear in March-April. The small, yellow and red variegated flowers appear from April to June and the pods ripen from February to April. The pods are brown, 3" to 6" long and 0.5" wide with a brittle epicarp filled with dark, brown fibrous and pulpy mesocarp containing 3 to 10 brown, smooth, compressed seeds. The pods, generally semicircular or arch shaped, are eaten by

certain birds and animals. When ripe they are collected, the endocarp and the seeds removed, the pulp is salted and preserved for use in the preparation of vegetarian dishes and for cooking fish. The seeds are eaten by children but more often they are given to the cattle as fodder. The leaves and the bark have medicinal values and it is common for the sick persons to take bath in water boiled with tamarind leaves.

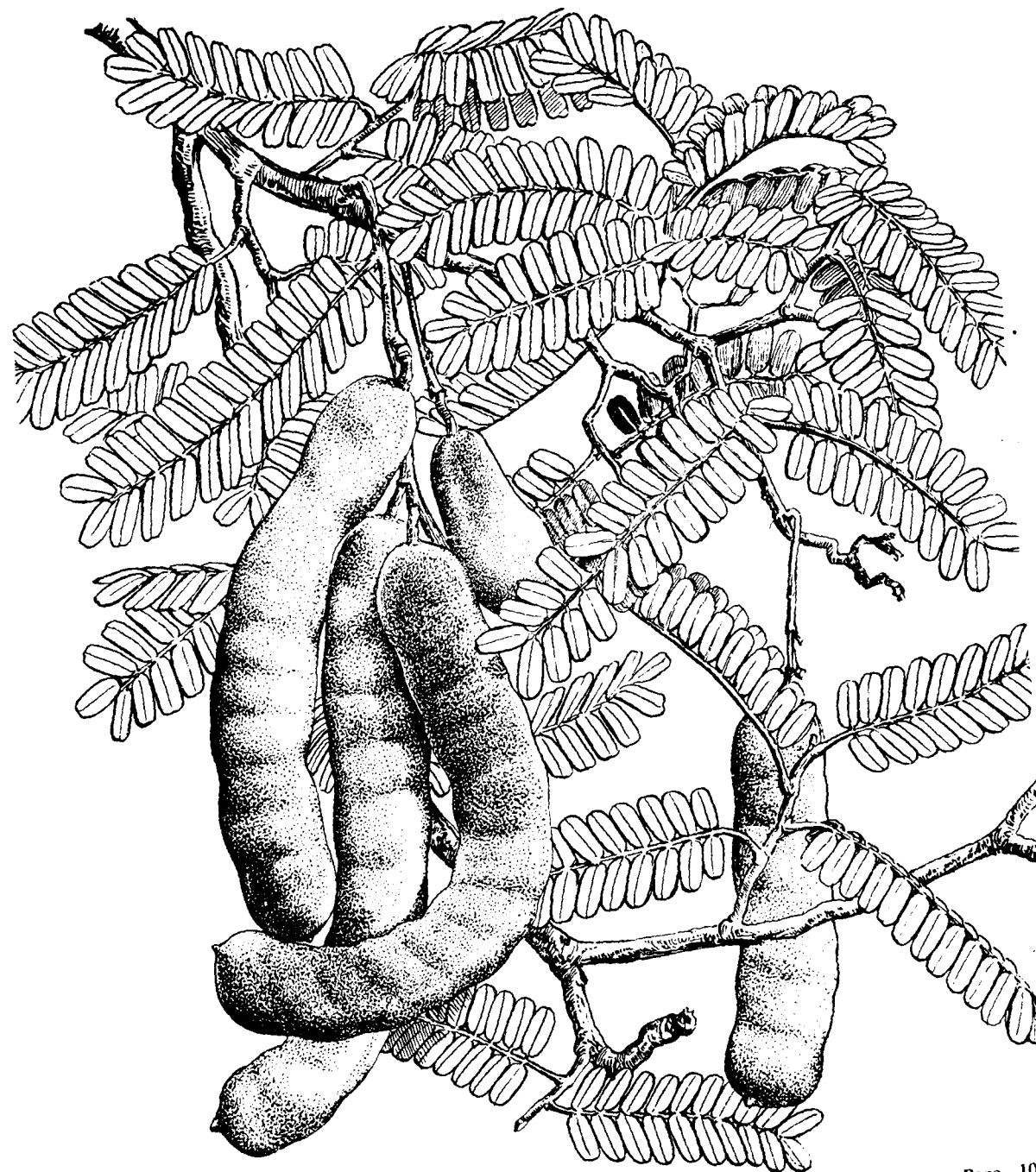
Garcinia cambogia

12. It is a large evergreen tree growing to a height of 50' to 60' but those in the village are generally smaller in size, being young trees. The bark of the tree is thick, smooth and dark in colour with white circular patches. The timber is used generally for fuel and not for furniture. The leaves are simple, smooth, leathery and arranged opposite to each other. The plant sprouts from seeds scattered by birds and small animals which eat the fruit. The small flowers appear as inflorescence in January and the fruits ripen in July-August. The globular fruit with lobes on the surface has a diameter of about 2" to 2½". Initially of light green colour, it becomes deep green as it matures and turns golden yellow on ripening. The seeds ranging from 5 to 10 are reniform and arillate. The fleshy part of the fruit has a sharp pleasant acid taste and is used as a seasoning agent in cooking fish and vegetables. It also possesses many medicinal values. For preservation, the fruit is cut open into two, the pulp and the seeds removed and the fleshy portion dried in sun or in smoke.

13. Except the domestic animals and birds the natural fauna is limited to reptiles like snakes and field rats. Among the domestic animals cows and goats are most numerous. A few households rear she-buffaloes also. Indigenous varieties of fowls are bred in many households. In 'Unnuneelisandesom', a poetical work already referred to, there is mention that the river in olden days was infested with crocodiles. However crocodiles are not heard of in these parts in recent times.

Communications

14. Being surrounded on all sides by



THE TAMARIND

Pl. 28

rivers the village is not easily accessible. Not only at least one ferry has to be crossed to reach the village from any direction but to go from one part of the village to another part ferries have to be negotiated. Along the main road from Thiruvalla to Mavelikkara passing through the village two bridges are being constructed to surmount this difficulty, with the completion of which the major problems of communication will be solved. It is hoped that the bridges will be opened for traffic within two years. The Parumala portion of the village will still remain isolated from the rest of it as the bridges do not benefit that island. It is mentioned in 'Unnuneelisesandesom'¹ that there was a bridge from Parumala to Kadapra in olden days but it disappeared so long ago that the present generation has not even heard of it. Within the village itself there is the only one road which is motorable at all times of the year. Byroads connecting this road to Niranam, Vadakkumbhagam, Nakada and Keecherival are only partly motorable, and that too only during the fair weather. In the island of Parumala there is a road lying along the middle of it. There is bus service along the main road connecting the village to Thiruvalla and Mavelikkara, the buses and passengers being ferried at Pulikeezhu and Pannai. Due to the limitation in communication facilities other vehicles in the villages are extremely rare. Since the river is deep and runs smooth along the flat country all its branches afford excellent facilities for water transport. This, in fact, is a great blessing for the sugarcane cultivators who have to transport their crops to the factory within a short time and at a low expense if they are to get a reasonable profit from the cultivation. Almost the entire cargo transportation from the village is carried on by country boats. Passengers to coastal towns like Alleppey depend on steam boats that ply the river up and down at frequent intervals.

Important Institutions

15. By far the most important institution of the village on which hinges the economy

of all the sugarcane cultivators is the sugar factory at Pulikeezhu owned by a private firm and started in 1942 at the instance of the then Travancore Government. It is the only sugar mill in the State till now. The development of sugarcane cultivation of the area is owing to this factory to a large measure. Besides sugar, it also manufactures various alcoholic liquors and pharmaceuticals as by-products. A Straw Board Factory is under construction at Parumala and is expected to go into production very soon, making use of bagasse thrown out from the factory.

16. Among the public institutions the N. E. S. Block, Pulikeezhu tops the list as being the biggest one. Started in 1951, it is now running out the period of its second stage. The Kadapra Government High school started in 1874 as a primary school and upgraded as a high school in 1958 and the Niranam St. Mary's High School started as an upper primary school in 1917 and raised to a high school in 1947 render invaluable service in the matter of education. Besides these high schools, there are three upper primary schools and seven lower primary schools, most of them run by private agencies. The Village Office, the Panchayat Office, the Co-operative Inspector's Office and the Health Assistant's Office are the other public offices that are situated in the village. More than all these public institutions the places of public worship deserve our notice.

Places of Public Worship

17. Among the places of Hindu worship the Panayannarkavu in Parumala deserves the first mention as it is believed to be the oldest temple in the village and is renowned for the human sacrifices associated with the worship there in ancient days. Every year, on the Vishu day in April-May, a virgin was sacrificed before the goddess Kali of Panayannarkavu. That this sanguinary goddess was held in great awe by the people is clear from 'Unnuneelisesandesam' where the messenger is instructed to worship the goddess on his way to the heroine.

KADAPRA

The work describes the goddess as having been born from the fiery eyes of Siva and wearing the skulls of elephants as ear studs and being the most blood-thirsty deity.¹ The local tradition that the temple is several centuries old is not upheld by Shri-R. V. Poduval who after making a comparative study of the architecture of the temples of Travancore assigns Panayannarkavu to the 18th century.² The well-preserved mural paintings on the walls of the temple have evoked the admiration of Dr. Kramrisch who says, "The painter of Draupadi's Swayamvara, on the temple of Panayannarkavu draws in it, with ardent abandon, his faith in the strength of Pandavas. Their figures are shown by him on different surfaces of the wall, a strong though not a closely knit composition. Its ingenuousness and breadth assure him his small place in the great tradition of Kerala painting."³ Today the temple is practically in an abandoned condition, standing in the midst of thorny thickets which provoke the frightful thoughts of the numerous virgins sacrificed there. Another place of worship dedicated to the same goddess and finding mention in 'Unnuneelisanadesam' is the Alanthuruthy temple. The date of its construction is also not certain, but from the appearance it gives the impression of having survived two to three centuries. In every corner of the village there is a temple proclaiming the Hindu influence in the village. Some of them are dedicated to Bhadrakali while others are sacred to Siva and Vishnu but excepting the above two, all the rest are smaller in size and of comparatively recent origin.

18. Just as old temples are numerous, there are in the village a number of old Christian churches also. One of them is believed to be established by St. Thomas, the Apostle, during his sojourn in the west coast. The Syrian Christian tradition regarding the introduction of Christianity in Kerala holds that the Apostle came to Cranganore soon after the death of Christ

and established 7 churches. One among them at Niranam is believed to have been established in about A. D. 54 near Trikapaleswaram temple just outside the boundary of the village where the Apostle was able to convert about thousand caste Hindus. But the enemies of the Apostle, led by the 'Pathillakars' some of whose relatives were also among the converts, are reported to have demolished the church and thrown the cross into the river, accusing the Apostle of complicity in certain heinous crimes. When the Apostle returned to the village he worked a miracle in order to prove his innocence. Thereafter, the new converts rescued the cross from another place in the river and the Apostle established a church near that spot to dedicate the Cross. The present St. Mary's church is pointed out as the location of the second church. The building, of course, was reconstructed several times, the present one being built about 80 years ago. After the division of the Christians into Jacobites and Catholics in the 17th century Niranam came into the possession of the Jacobites and has ever since remained one of the important spiritual centres of that sect. From the chronicle of the bishops kept in the church it is evident that Niranam was the headquarters of a number of bishops although at present no bishop is staying there. Inside the church there are two tombs, one that of Mar Thoma Bishop II, brother of Mar Thoma I, the first Bishop and leader of the Jacobites and the other that of a later bishop. The church stands close to a temple and exhibits some influence of the ancient Hindu architecture in the granite pillar lamps and the flag staff in front of the church. Parumala Jacobite church, although only of recent origin, is also an important place of worship where the death anniversary of Bishop Mar Gregorios Geevarghese, who was buried in the church in 1902, is celebrated on a grand scale with the gathering of large crowds from far and near. Another Bishop Yuyakkim Mar Ivanios was also buried in this

(1) 'Unnuneelisanadesam' part I, stanzas 114 and 115

(2) The arts and crafts of Travancore by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Dr. J. H. Cousins and R. Vasudeva Poduval

(3) Ibid page 160



GARCINIA CAMBOGIA

MARKETS

church in 1925. Besides these two churches the Jacobites possess five more churches in different parts of the village. The Catholics have four churches and Marthomites one church, thus making the total number of Christian churches a dozen. In Vada-kkumbhagomkara of the village where most of the Muslims reside there are two mosques. The existence of so many places of public worship definitely proclaims that at one time the village was a spiritual centre both for Hindus and Christians. Even now the people are zealous in their religious practices.

Markets

19. Except for a few small shops scattered on the sides of the main road there are no big shopping centres or market places within the village or in the immediate neighbourhood. The nearest big market is at Thiruvalla where purchases are made and commodities sold. The sugarcane which is the largest cash crop for the villagers does not require any particular market, since it need only be delivered in the sugar factory at Pulikeezhu.

Health and Sanitation

20. Drinking water is available in all parts of the village. About 200 households have been benefited by the water supply system installed by the sugar factory for its employees. 18 public wells with hand pumps have been constructed by the Public Health Engineering Department in different parts of the village. No public drainage system has been implemented and the drainage of water is not as efficient as it ought to be. Chicken-pox makes its appearance every year though it does not claim

any toll of lives. Other epidemics have not been heard of in recent times. During the monsoon season large areas along the banks of the rivers are flooded forcing the people to evacuate the houses and bringing numerous public health problems in its wake. Government have opened an ayurvedic dispensary in Parumala and a midwifery centre in Kadapra. The Panchayat has started another midwifery centre and appointed sweepers to clean the road junctions. Almost at the centre of the village there is a private allopathic hospital with nine beds for in-patients. Besides these medical institutions there are homeopathic and ayurvedic private practitioners in different parts of the village.

Residential Pattern

21. The peculiarity about residential pattern is that there is no regular system in the location or the facing of the houses or in the distribution of the communities. Wherever a suitable plot for house construction is available the house is put up facing the road, if there is a road near it. When the accessibility is not a material consideration the houses face the east. Kadapra is no exception for the superstitious importance which the carpenter-architect commands in the facing and location of the house and probably the great importance given to the architect, added to the desire for privacy accounts for the confused scattering of the residential houses. The diffusion of the communities among one another perhaps may be traced to their common origin and the resultant mutual regard and toleration.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Area, Houses and Population

22. Kadapra village consisting of five 'karas' extends to 4,176.66 acres¹ including dry and wet lands, ponds, canals, public places and all usable and unusable surface of the land. According to the village records the total wet area is 2,175.43 acres², dry area 1,378.38 acres³ and cultivable wastes 0.33 acre⁴. The rest are Government lands used for public purposes or occupied by roads, rivers and other public places. No additional area is available for occupation anew. The total population in 1961 comes to 19,709 persons with 9,776 males and 9,933 females. The density of population works out to 3,020 persons per square mile. The sex ratio is 1,016 females for every thousand males. In sharp contrast to the 24.7 per cent increase in population in the whole State during the last decade there has been only 13.89 per cent increase in the population of

the village under survey. In 1951 the total population was 17,305 consisting of 8,627 males and 8,678 females with a density of 2,652 per square mile. The sex ratio has increased during the decade by 10 females for every thousand males. This is also against the all-State trend. The total number of houses increased from 2,935 in 1951 to 3,302 in 1961, keeping up the increase almost to an equal pace with the increase in population.

23. The extent of the surveyed area is only 225.76 acres.⁵ The area is sparsely populated compared to other parts of the village. The total population is 683, with 320 males and 363 females. The density of population is 1,936 persons per square mile. The survey covers 123 households of various communities pursuing different occupations and presenting a fair cross section of the village community.

Table III

AREA, HOUSES AND POPULATION

Area in		Density of population per Sq. mile	Total No. of households	Persons	Males	Females
Acres	Hectares					
225.76	91.36	1,936	123	683	320	363

Ethnic Composition

24. The settlement history of the village has to be based on conjectures as no reliable means of knowing it are available to us. There is every reason to believe that originally Kadapra was a settlement of Malayalee Brahmans like the neighbouring places of Thiruvalla and Chengannur which are mentioned in 'Keralotpathy' as Namboothiri settlements established by

Parasurama. The tradition about St. Thomas says that when he came to Niranam it was a large Namboothiri settlement and that he converted a good number of them. The tradition further holds that when a section of their community was converted and the apostle performed miracles to vindicate his faith a sizable section of the remaining Namboothiris fled from the

(1) 1690.24 hectares
(5) 91.36 hectares

(2) 880.37 hectares

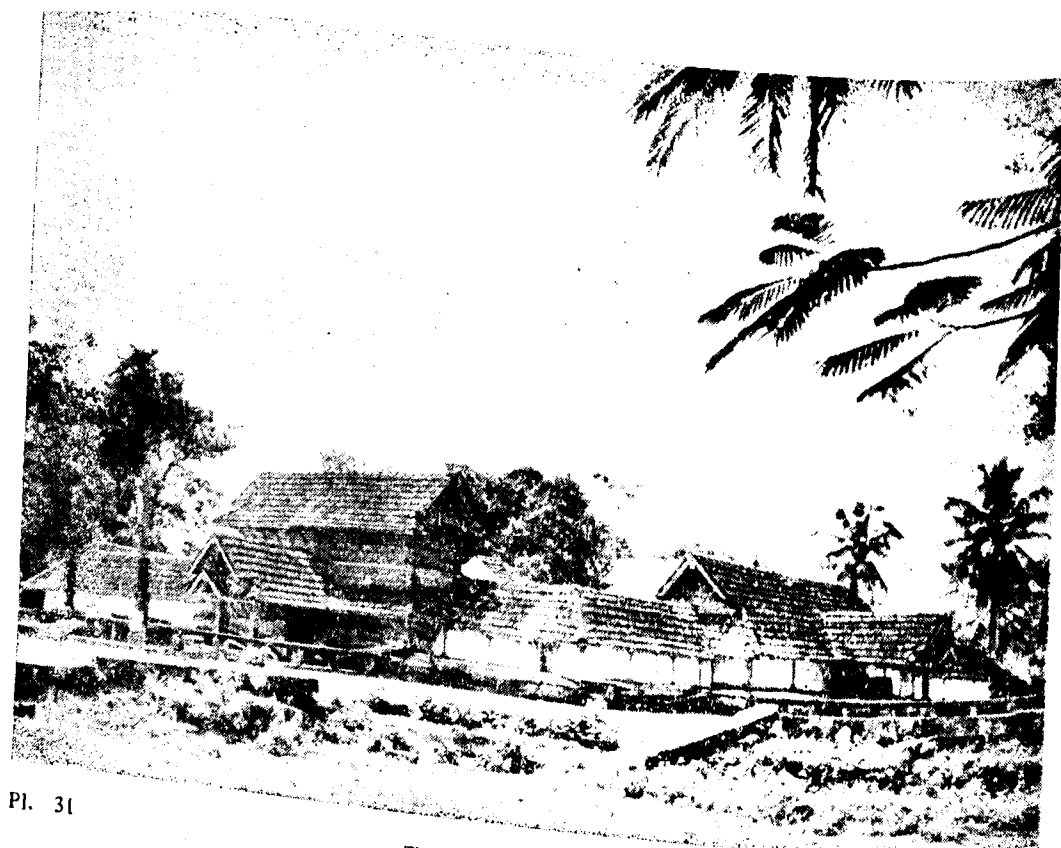
(3) 557.81 hectares

(4) 0.13 hectare



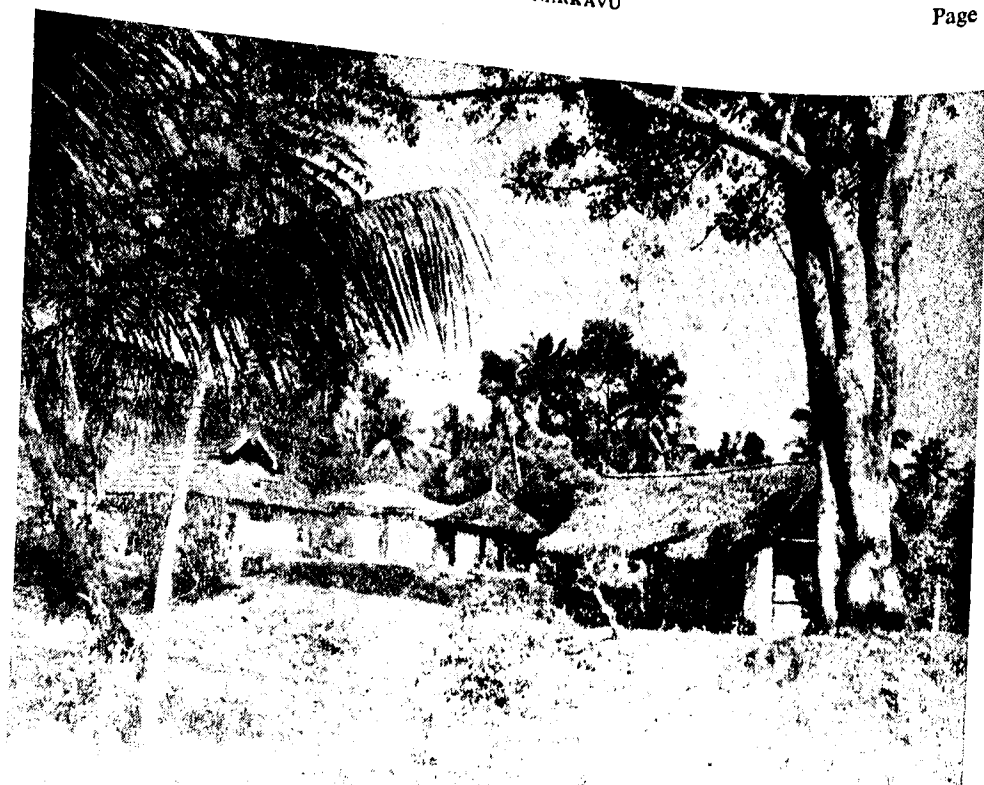
Pl. 30

COUNTRY BOATS CARRYING CARGO AND PASSENGERS



Pl. 31

THE PANAYANNARKAVU



Pl. 32

THE TRIKAPALESWARAM TEMPLE

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

village placing the documents concerning the properties of Thrikapaleeswaram temple before the idol of Siva. A prosperous local Nair family is still associated with this story as being the inheritors of the temple by virtue of one of their ancestors finding out these abandoned documents. Nairs who are believed to be among the original inhabitants of Kerala also might have been living in the village in those days. 'Unnuneelisesandesam' believed to have been written in the 14th century refers to the prosperous and powerful Nairs of the village as lords of the locality.¹ No local tradition is available as to whether the other communities were the ancient inhabitants of the village or later immigrants. Today about 50 per cent of the population are Hindus, 40 per cent Christians and the rest Muslims. Among the Hindus the most important section consists of Nairs and the next important section of Brahmans who were subdivided into Namboothiris, Tamil Brahmans, Pottys, Embrans and Elayaths. Ezhuvas, Pulayas, Parayas, Asaris, Veerasaivas and Kollans and a small number of Kshatriyas who were once known as 'Thampurans' form the other constituents of the Hindu community. A large majority of the Christians are Jacobite Syrians known as the descendants of the Namboothiri converts of the time of the Apostle. Besides them, there is a small section of Knanaya Jacobites who are the descendants of 5th century immigrants from Syria. Small numbers of Marthomites, Syrian Catholics and Latin Christians are also among the Christian population. Among the Nairs there are a few families known as Adissans who, after having kept up a separate individuality till recently, have now practically merged indistinguishably among the Nairs.

25. In the surveyed area 59.30 per cent are Hindus. They are split into 41.44 per cent Nairs, 4.39 per cent Pulayas, 3.08 per cent Ezhuvas, 3.22 per cent Asaris, 2.34 per cent Vilakathala Nairs, 2.34 per cent Veluthedathu Nairs, 1.76 per cent Kollans

and 0.73 per cent Veerasaivas. The entire remaining population is Jacobite Syrian Christians.

Table IV
RELIGION, COMMUNITIES, CASTES OR SUB-CASTES

Communities	No. of house-holds	Pers- ons	Mal- es	Femal- es
Hindus				
Nairs	55	283	129	154
Vilakathala Nairs	3	16	8	8
Veluthedathu Nairs	3	16	8	8
Asaris	3	22	12	10
Ezhuvas	5	21	13	8
Veerasaivas	1	5	2	3
Kollans	1	12	4	8
Pulayas (Scheduled Caste)	7	30	13	17
Total	78	405	189	216
Christians				
Jacobite Syrian	45	278	131	147

26. Since Jacobite Syrian Christians are a conspicuous community of the surveyed area, not dealt with anywhere else in these monographs, a note on that community is given below. A reference has been made about Marthomite Christians and Adissans also, since this village seems to be the most appropriate place to deal with them.

Jacobite Syrian Christians

27. A reference to the origin of Christianity in Kerala, the St. Thomas' tradition and the tenets of Catholics has been made in the monograph on Parassala in Part VI-F of this series and to the circumstances in which the Synod of Diamper was convened on 20th June, 1599 by Archbishop Menezes in the monograph on Kottukal in the same volume. Some of the decrees of the Synod of Diamper were not without giving exasperation to a section of the Syrian Christians of the time. The prohibition of the marriage of the clergy, the insistence on pain of excommunication that thence

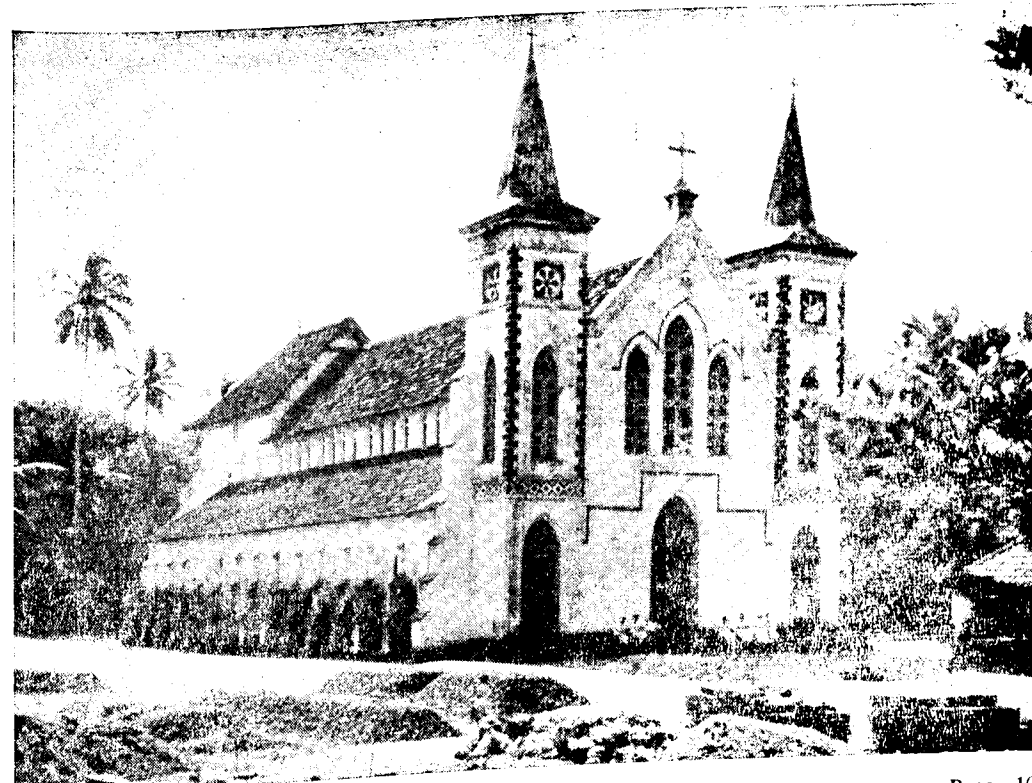
(1) Unnuneelisesandesam Part I, Stanza 118.

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forward no priest shall marry, the suspension of all married priests, whether once or oftener, from the ministry of their orders and all sacerdotal acts until such time as they have put away their wives effectually, the correction or destruction of books in Syriac liturgy, the demand for recanting publicly any error which priests had committed, the insistence on a licence for preaching etc., were among them. Added to these, this section could not accommodate to the behaviour of the Jesuits which they considered to be oppressive. According to Rev. James Hough, repeated complaints were made by them against their treatment by the Jesuits to Rome but without obtaining redress and impatient with the delay in getting their grievances redressed this section determined to submit no longer to the Jesuits and came to the conclusion of renouncing the domination of the Roman Prelate and choosing an ecclesiastical ruler of their own. Archdeacon Thomas, a near kinsman of the late Archdeacon George was selected for the purpose. They also resolved to obey him as their only superior until they should obtain a bishop of their church.¹ G. T. Meckenzie has it that it was quite natural that there would be disagreement between the European Archbishop and the hereditary Archdeacon of the Syrians, and while contemporary writers have described Archdeacon Thomas as a 'proud and turbulent mischief maker', there is a tradition among the Latin clergy that Archbishop Garcia had a sarcastic manner which the Syrians disliked and these led the Archdeacon to go beyond the allegiance to Rome.² They followed up the steps they had taken with an application to their ancient patriarch at Mosul to send them a bishop without delay and to guard against any disappointment they also wrote to the patriarch of Copts in Egypt and to the Jacobite patriarch in Syria for the same purpose. It is supposed that these applications were simultaneous. A bishop by name Attalla (known also as Ahatalla) arrived at Surat

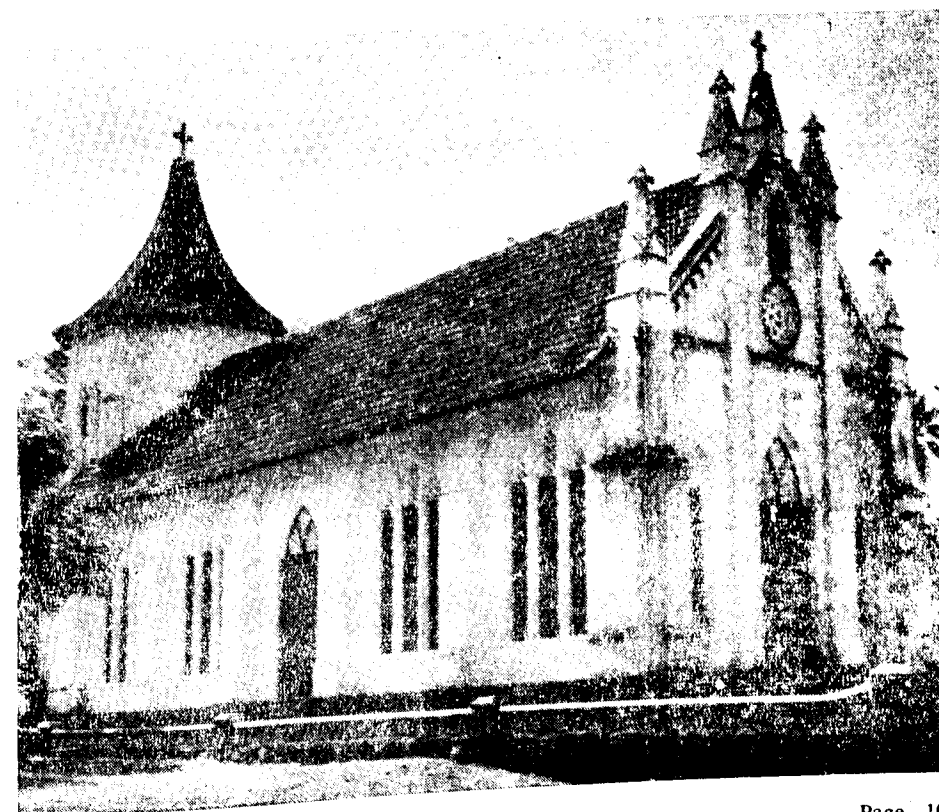
some time after the despatch of these petitions for a bishop. There are various versions as to who this Attalla or Ahatalla was and with whose authority he came. One version is that he was sent by the patriarch of Copts, that he was originally a Jacobite bishop who had been deposed by his patriarch in Syria and took asylum with the patriarch of Copts. Another version discredits this and thinks that he was a Nestorian and was sent to India by the patriarch of Mosul. Vincent Maria, however, describes him as a Jacobite and says he came to Malabar in the year 1653. It is also presumed that Mar Ignatius of a tradition current among the Syrians of India as having come from Antioch to Malabar is the same person as Attalla, Ignatius being the name assumed by all the Jacobite patriarchs and many of their bishops. There is yet another theory that the patriarch of Babylon had made another attempt to get into touch with the Syrian Christians of Malabar by sending a bishop to them in the person of Attalla. That this version is not likely to be correct could be inferred from the subsequent events which show that a section of Syrian Christians under Archdeacon Thomas was highly interested in getting at Attalla from the custody of the Portuguese which would not have been the case if they had not applied for a bishop and were not expecting a bishop from abroad on their request. Whatever be the correctness of the various theories about the source from which Attalla was sent, it is the subsequent events that are relevant to the context. One version goes that when Attalla arrived at Surat he found some Capuchin friars to whom he disclosed the object of his mission and these friars lost no time in giving notice of his arrival to the officers of the inquisition at Goa in consequence of which he was arrested at Mylapore and placed in the hands of the Jesuits. It is also said that Attalla succeeded in contriving to send a letter to Archdeacon Thomas through some Syrian ecclesiastic of the

(1) The History of Christianity in India by Rev. James Hough, Vol. II, page 296
(2) Travancore State Manual, 1906, Vol. II, page 182



ST. MARY'S CHURCH, NIRANAM

Pl. 33



THE PARUMALA JACOBITE CHURCH

Pl. 34



Pl. 35

A NAIR FAMILY

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A PULAYA FAMILY

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place in which he said that he was sent by Pope, that he was taken a prisoner at Calamine, that he would soon be sent to Cochin and from there to Goa and finally requested for deliverance through armed men. Another version is that Attalla landed in Surat and assuming the title of Patriarch Ignatius and dressed as a simple monk was put up in a Franciscan convent where he was suspected and from there he made his way to Mylapore and was put up in the house of the Jesuits. Here, again, he was looked upon with suspicion and from here he managed to send a letter to Archdeacon Thomas as already referred to. Attalla's letter was conveyed to Malabar whereupon the leading men of the section under Archdeacon Thomas assembled at Diamper and first decided to invite Archbishop Garcia to Diamper to speak about this affair. But the latter suspecting some evil design in the invitation paid no attention to it. Their next resort was to take up arms and rescue Attalla from the hands of the Jesuits. Hearing of his arrival on the coast of Cochin "they assembled to a number of 25,000 men, all well armed, and advanced preceded by Archdeacon and the majority of the clergy as far as 'Matanger' (modern Mattancherry), about a quarter of a league from Cochin. The Portuguese immediately shut the gates of the city, and mounted their artillery upon the walls." The Rani of Cochin also is said to have remonstrated against their valiance and united her entreaties with those of the Christian subjects to obtain the liberation of Attalla. But all was of no avail. Desperate of attaining their objects either by persuasion or by force, they retraced their steps breathing out increased hostility against the Portuguese and the Jesuits. Their rage could no longer be restrained and none could control them. They met at Mattancherry in the suburbs of the town of Cochin, "a Patiyola was drawn up and all unanimously and casting themselves

on the refuge of God, attached a large cable to the Roman cross at Mattancherry and extended it both ways in the market place; and the people assembled held by this rope and unanimously and with one voice swore as stated above and separated themselves from the followers of the Roman faith".³ This incident known as the 'Koonan Cross Swearing' was in 1653. The word 'Koonan' means 'bent' and probably indicates that the large granite cross at Mattancherry had some bent. There are various versions about the wording of the swearing, one version being that it was directed against the Portuguese, another that it was directed against the Jesuits and yet another that it was directed against the authority of the church of Rome. This was soon followed by two others, one at 'Rapolino' and the other at 'Mangate'.⁴ They now relinquished all hopes of obtaining a prelate from their patriarch and determined upon having the Archdeacon consecrated by 12 Cathanars selected for the purpose. Four ecclesiastics were appointed to form his counsel and assist him in the management of the diocese. The validity of the consecration of Archdeacon Thomas naturally became a subject matter of controversy as he was consecrated by priests instead of by a bishop and it was not until 1665 when Mar Gregorius known as the Metropolitan of Jerusalem arrived in Malabar and consecrated Archdeacon Thomas as Bishop Marthoma - I that this defect was cured. Thus the Jacobite Syrian Christians became a separate denomination from the Syrian Catholics. The former are known as 'Puthen Koottukar', meaning 'new observants' and the latter as 'Pazhaya Koottukar', meaning 'old observants'. A good number of the Syrian Christians who joined the party under the Archdeacon Thomas were recovered by the Catholics as a result of the work of the Carmalites and particularly Bishop Joseph sent from Rome. It is said that eighty-four churches returned to the Roman Catholic

(1) State Manual of Travancore, 1906, Vol. II, page 182

(2) The History of Christianity in India by Rev. James Hough, Vol. II, page 304

(3) History of Kerala by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Vol. II, page 484

(4) The History of Christianity in India by Rev. James Hough, Vol. II, page 305

faith and only thirty-two remained under the Archdeacon.

28. Mar Gregorius was a Jacobite prelate. The head of the Jacobite Church claims to be a patriarch of Antioch. By the Greek Church he is regarded as schismatical and that Church also has its patriarch of Antioch who lives in Damascus. There are also Maronite and Latin patriarchs of Antioch. In accepting Mar Gregorius, this section of Syrian Christians came into communion with the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch and was severed from the patriarch of Babylon. The Jacobite Church in Malabar does not admit that it was ever Nestorian in doctrine. "The advent of Mar Gregorius was looked upon by the leaders of the church as God-send to bring about a solution of their problems and restore their episcopate, and in accepting him they were probably unconscious of making any change in the recognised doctrines of their faith."¹

29. G. T. Mackenzie observes about the faith of the Jacobite Syrian Christians as follows:- "They (Jacobites) say that the only difference between them and Roman Catholics is that they do not admit the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome and they do admit the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch. They follow old style in their calendar and use the Syrian version of the liturgy of St. James the less."² Perhaps a little explanation is required to clarify the above statement. The Jacobite offshoot of Christianity was started after the general council of Chalcedon towards the end of the 5th century. Therefore the dogmas that have been declared by the Catholic Church after this council, such as the assumption of Holy Virgin Mary, the doctrine of transubstantiation and the existence of purgatory etc., have not been accepted by the Jacobites as dogmas officially declared by the Church. These beliefs are, however, held by them traditionally and therefore it may be only correct in a general way to say that there is no difference between the Catholics and Jacobites as far as dogmas are concerned.

30. The hierarchical order and ritual system of the Jacobite Syrians bear resemblance to those of the Copts, or native Egyptian Christians. They are governed by bishops under a Metropolitan. The priests, generally called 'Cattanars' perform the services of the church and the administration of sacraments. Having no regular pay from the church they live on the contributions and donations of the people on festival days and on the small offerings received for the performance of the services and administration of sacraments. They wear trousers over which a long-sleeved shirt reaching below the knees is put on. This dress, however, is now prevalent only in rural areas like the village under survey, in other places a dress similar to that of the Protestant parson having been adopted. But in all places they put on a flat skull-cap and grow beard. Unlike the Catholic priests the Jacobite priests can marry before their ordination. However, marriages are prohibited after the ordination even if the wife dies. Dignitaries such as Remban (Doctor) and bishops are celibates.

31. The liturgy is even now mainly in Syriac but common prayers in which all the congregation is supposed to take part have been translated into Malayalam. This facilitates the congregation to take part more intelligently in the service with all the people associating themselves in it with singsong prayers. The liturgical Malayalam is slightly different from the literary Malayalam as the former contains a number of Syriac terms in Malayalam garb for terms for which there are no original Malayalam equivalents. Unlike the Catholics the Jacobites do not have statues of saints in their churches but pictures are allowed.

Marthomites

32. After the separation of the Jacobites from the rest of the Syrian Christians following the 'Koonan Cross Swearing' the Jacobite church in Kerala had a steady growth for some time in which the C.M.S. Mission of England and the European



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A JACOBITE SYRIAN CHRISTIAN FAMILY
(THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY IS A PRIEST)

(1) The History of the Syrian Church in India by F. E. Keay, page 59
(2) Mackenzie in the Travancore State Manual, 1906, Vol. II, page 219



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A MARTHOMITE FAMILY

residents of Travancore and Cochin had played a prominent role. But, before long the local authorities of the Church could not see eye to eye with the aspirations of the foreign missionaries with the result that the missionaries along with a section of the Jacobites established the Anglican Church severing their connections with the Jacobites. The European missionaries were interested in the reform of the Jacobite Church and had left an impression upon the Syrian clergy that the Jacobite church stood in need of some urgent reforms. Abraham Malpan and Marcus Cathanar, both of whom were on the staff of the C. M. S. College at Kottayam, were the leading products of this reformist spirit imbibed by a section of the community from the foreign missionaries. Mar Dionysius-IV who was then the bishop of the Jacobites was accused of misconduct by the reformists in a memorial presented to the British Resident, Colonel Fraser, who, however, did not pay much attention to it. Mar Dionysius-IV, however, issued an order to all congregations under his jurisdiction instructing them that in future the missionaries were not to be allowed to preach in their churches. Among the chief alterations made by the reformists in the liturgy were the following:-

All prayers for the dead and the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints were omitted. Certain changes were made in the prayers said by the priest before receiving holy communion and some portions were completely deleted. A rubric enjoining the priest to bless the incense and the declaration that the Holy Ghost will bless the incense were removed. The communion was to be administered in both kinds. It was not to be celebrated when there was no one to partake and the service was to be conducted in the mother tongue instead of Syriac.¹

33. Abraham Malpan used this revised liturgy in his own church at Maramon. He had destroyed a wooden image of some sacred personage in honour of which an annual festival was held. Later he abolished

the festival as well. Mar Dionysius was not pleased with the activities of Malpan and excommunicated the entire congregation at Maramon. A nephew of Abraham Malpan went to the Jacobite patriarch at Mardin in Syria at whose hands he got himself consecrated as Metropolitan Bishop with the title of Mar Athanasius Mathew. This Metropolitan tried to establish his position by ousting Mar Dionysius. But Mar Dionysius did not yield. At this juncture one Mar Kurilos who had been sent by the patriarch to investigate into the complaints against Mar Athanasius Mathew pretended to be the bishop himself in support of which he filled up a blank document he had from the patriarch and Mar Dionysius concurred with him. The tie, therefore, happened to be between Mar Athanasius and Mar Kurilos. A committee was appointed by Government to examine the respective claims of these. The finding of the committee went in favour of Mar Athanasius Mathew and he was subsequently recognised as Metropolitan by a Royal Proclamation. Mar Dionysius resigned his position due to old age and died shortly. Two new bishops, viz, Mar Athanasius Stephanos and Mar Dionysius Joseph were also appointed by the patriarch on receipt of complaints against Mar Athanasius Mathew while the latter was in position. These naturally led to further disputes and the patriarch, Moran Mar Ignatius Peter III who visited Kerala in 1875 convened a synod at Mulanthuruthy, divided the jurisdiction of the Church into seven dioceses and put seven bishops in charge of these. Mar Dionysius Joseph was given the diocese of Quilon and he was given a precedence over others. In 1877 Mar Athanasius Mathew died. His cousin Mar Athanasius Thomas succeeded him. But Mar Dionysius Joseph declared that he himself was the rightful bishop and resorted to litigation to establish this right. This was followed by a series of suits regarding nearly all the individual churches in possession of the reformed party. Ultimately the reformed party was left with

(1) A History of the Syrian Church in India by F. E. Keay, page 86

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only a few churches and from that time onward the reformed church had a separate existence under the name 'the Marthoma Church'. This Church is governed by a constitutional episcopacy the chief legislative body being the 'Prathinidhi Mandalam'. It includes all the clergies and representatives of the parishes. The 'Sabha' council which is the executive body consists of five bishops and twenty-five members chosen by the Mandalam. In the constitution of the Marthoma Church the following affirmations are made with regard to its faith and practice.

"1. The Malankara Mar Thoma Syrian Church, believed to be founded by St. Thomas, one of the Apostles of Christ, and called by that name, is a part of the one Apostolic and Catholic Church.

2. Along with the other historic churches this church believes in the Holy Trinity as revealed by Jesus Christ, God Incarnate and the Redeemer of mankind.

3. This Church acknowledges the Bible, consisting of the sixty-six books of the Old and New Testaments, and the Nicene Creed based on the Bible, as the basis of its faith and doctrines, and under no circumstances should this be modified by anyone at any time. The orders of Deacon, Priest and Bishop, the consecration of churches, baptism, holy communion, marriage, extreme unction and burial as well as Sundays, Lent, and festival days concerning life and work of our Lord, should not be completely cut off from the observances of the Church.

4. The object and mission of the Church is to keep and safeguard the faith as revealed by Christ and taught by the Apostles, to promote the spiritual life of the faithful through the administration of the sacraments and the preaching of the Word, and to proclaim the Gospel to all nations, baptising them to be his disciples in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

Adissans

34. A small group of people called

Adissans living around the Panayannar Bhagavathi temple deserve a passing mention as such a community is not found anywhere else in Kerala. In fact the Adissans are not a separate community but only a few families of Nair community called by a new name for some legendary reasons. The local report is that in olden days while human sacrifice was annually performed for the propitiation of Bhagavathi, one virgin escaped the butcher on the intervention of the oracle of the temple. When she was about to be killed she smiled looking at the deity, and the oracle, thinking that the deity was pleased in her, asked her life to be spared. She was married to a Brahman priest of the temple from whom the Adissans were born. Some old members of the group, however, do not admit the correctness of the story and say that they are the descendants of one of the military generals of a local ruler. Whatever be the origin, from olden times they were treated as equals by Nairs and permitted to contract marital alliances with members of the Nair community. In appearance, dress, occupation, social status and in faith and worship they do not differ from the Nairs, their only distinction being the appellation of Adissan to the name which also the present generation has dropped out. Their customs and manners also do not differ from those observed among the Nairs and as such no separate mention is made on them in this monograph.

House Types

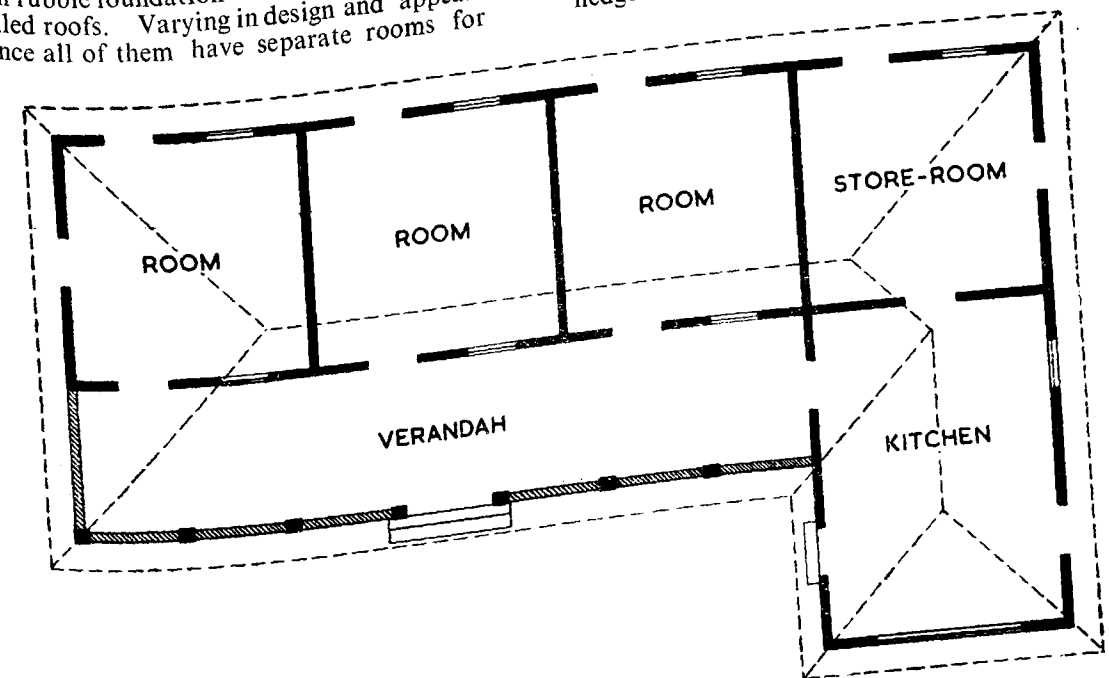
35. The houses of very poor people, majority of whom belong to Paraya or Pulaya communities and most of whom live in the lands of other people, are small huts constructed with bamboo or branches of some trees and thatched with cadjan. The side walls and roof are fabricated with cadjan in such a flimsy manner that during the rainy season water easily drips in through the roof and walls. The floor area measuring 20' x 10' or 20' x 15' is often not divided into rooms. Kitchen may be separately enclosed in some houses but in

HOUSE TYPES

others even this is not done. The basement is of a mud platform a foot or a foot and a half high from the ground. The roof is supported on six or eight pillars. The floor, after beating it hard, is coated with cow-dung. Even though a few feet of the compound around the house is kept clean and swept daily, the house itself does not contain any embellishments or decorations.

36. Most of the cultivators and majority of the sugar factory workers of whom there is a good number in the village own houses which may be called of the middle class group. These houses are constructed on rubble foundation with laterite walls and tiled roofs. Varying in design and appearance all of them have separate rooms for

sleeping, dining, cooking and storing, besides one or two verandahs. The walls are plastered and the floors cemented in many cases and coated with cow-dung in other cases. In the old houses and some modern houses of this category there is a low ceiling constructed at the level of the wall-plate to serve as a store for grains and domestic articles. Religious and other pictures decorate the walls. The courtyard in front is spacious and clean with ornamental plants on its borders. Almost all these houses have a well in the compound but latrines and bath-rooms are available only in a small section of them. Compounds are enclosed with cadjan fences or hedges of plants.



THE SKETCH OF MODERN MIDDLE CLASS HOUSE

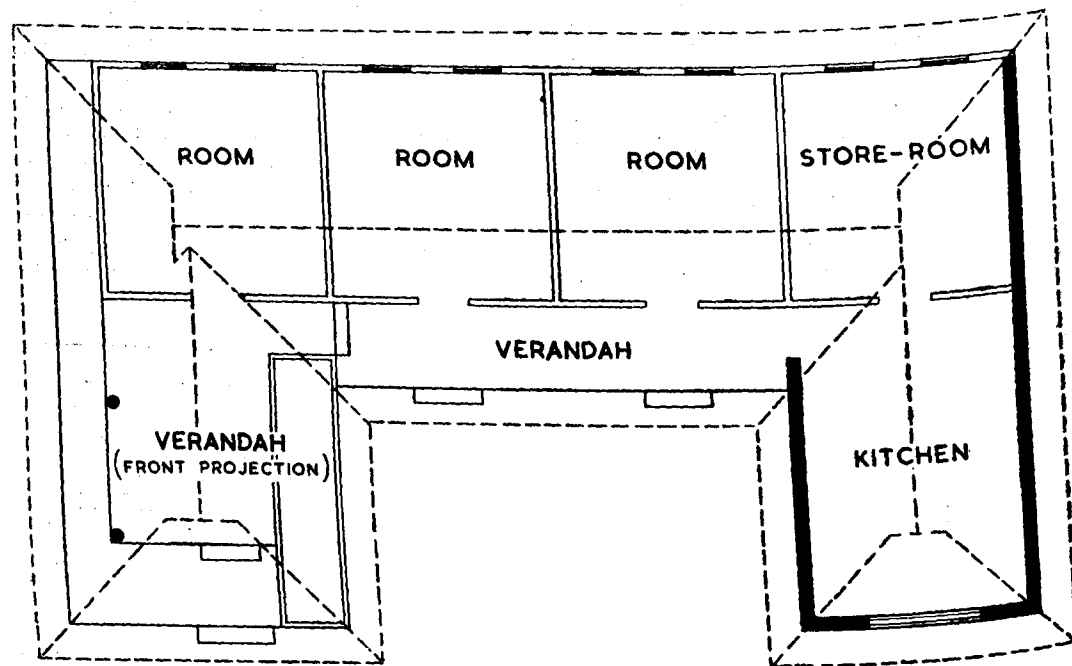
37. The old type of middle class houses are a class by themselves, with wooden walls, ventilated roofs and small rooms. Many of these houses have a front projection intended to be the reception room. The kitchen is a separate wing with a well

dug very close to it. The rooms are not properly ventilated. The doors and windows are smaller in size and it may be difficult for one to get into the room without bending. The wooden walls often contain carvings but the most exquisite

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carvings are found on the front 'Mukhavaram' on which often the date of construction might also be engraved. The basement of these houses is generally higher than that of the modern middle class

houses. Originally latrines and bath-rooms were absent in these houses but subsequently they have been constructed in a few of them.



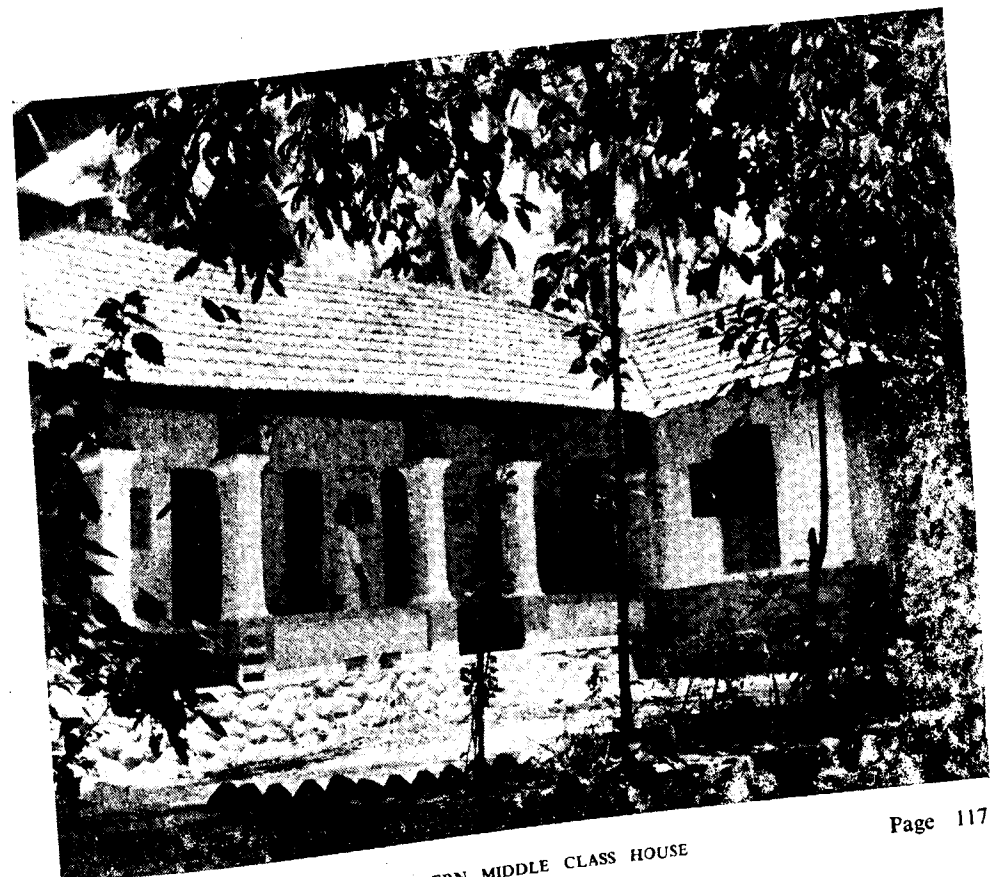
THE SKETCH OF OLD MIDDLE CLASS HOUSE

38. High class houses are few and far between. They are owned by the rich cultivators or some of the highly paid factory workers. Built in recent times in brick and granite and plastered or cemented, they have all the advantages and convenience of a modern house. Spacious rooms having large windows and doors, verandahs, separate accommodation for sleeping, dining, cooking and storing and a well-kept courtyard in front are the characteristics of these houses. Latrine, bath-room, well and cattle shed are attached to all of them. The low type of ceiling found in the middle class houses are not common in the modern high class houses.

39. No distinction on the basis of community or occupation can be found in house-building in modern times. Neither can any difference be traced from community to community in the style of architecture, location, facing or size of the house. However, on entering the houses it may not be difficult to distinguish to which community the house belongs, since invariably there are some religious pictures or marks in the front room or verandah.

40. Most of the materials for house construction have to be brought from other places. Granite and laterite are brought from Thiruvalla, Chengannur and other eastern villages and timber from Edathua, Thiruvalla or Changanacherry. Since

(1) See the monograph on Parassala in Vol. VII-F of this series for a detailed description of 'Mukhavaram'



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A MODERN MIDDLE CLASS HOUSE



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AN OLD MIDDLE CLASS HOUSE

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

water transport provides a cheap means of conveyance this does not impose any great burden on the people. In a number of places in the village bricks are being manufactured and they are used increasingly for house construction in the place of granite and laterite. A tile factory has been established in the neighbouring village and, therefore, the problem of tiles is also solved.

41. For 3,408 households the village has a total of 3,302 houses. Therefore it is only a handful of houses that have more than one household. The average strength of the households in the village is 5.78 and the average number of people staying in a house 5.97. About one-fourth of the households are 'Kudikidappukars' having no ownership over the land in which they live but having only permanent right to live in the houses. There are a good number of households staying in rented houses, majority of the employees of the sugar factory being in this category.

42. In the surveyed area all except three households have their own houses. 17.89 per cent of these houses have walls of cadjan, 11.38 per cent of timber, 11.38 per cent of unburnt bricks, 30.08 per cent of burnt bricks, 28.46 per cent of laterite and the remaining of mud. 67.48 per cent of the houses are thatched with cadjan while the others are tiled. The average number of persons per household in the surveyed area is 5.55 and the average number of persons per house 5.69. 10.57 per cent households do not get the convenience of a regular room in their houses while 32.52 per cent households get one room each, 34.96 per cent get two rooms each, 13.01 per cent get three rooms each, 4.06 per cent get four rooms each and 4.88 per cent get five or more than five rooms each. The distribution of the households according to the number of rooms and the number of members in each household is given in the following table.

Table V

HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS AND BY NUMBER OF PERSONS OCCUPYING

No. of rooms	Total No. of households	Number of households according to number of persons in the household				
		One Person	2-3 persons	4-6 persons	7-9 persons	10 persons and over
No regular room	13	2	6	3	1	1
1 room	40	1	4	27	7	1
2 rooms	43	...	3	23	15	2
3 rooms	16	...	5	6	3	2
4 rooms	5	...	1	1	3	...
5 rooms and over	6	...	1	3	2	...

Dress and Ornaments

43. While remaining indoors the males of all communities wear only a dhoti which may reach down to the heels in the case of well-to-do people and down to the knee, in the case of poor people. Generally this is a white cloth but in recent times coloured ones are also being used.

While working in the field the men wear a dhoti reaching down to the knee and a turban to over the head and in some cases a banian too. For going out of the house for other purposes a large majority of men put on a white shirt and a white dhoti reaching down to the heels. The older men use a shirt with sleeves reaching up to the



Pl. 41
A JACOBITE SYRIAN CHRISTIAN GIRL
IN MODERN COSTUME

KADAPRA

elbow while young men use half-sleeved shirts or full-sleeved shirts with the sleeves rolled up to the elbow. The old men, besides wearing shirt and dhoti, put on a shawl round the neck but very poor people wear only a white dhoti reaching down to the heels and a shawl which may be white or coloured. Boys wear a dhoti or shorts at home but outdoors they put on shirts and shorts, both being of coloured cloth. Only a small percentage of people use any foot-wear. No difference in the style of dress is visible between communities.

44. The Syrian Christian women while remaining indoors wear a white dhoti and a white blouse called 'chatta'. This blouse having a heart-shaped neck and sleeves reaching up to the elbow is considered to be a modest apparel. While going out of the house majority of women put on a white 'half saree' of fine counts with or without gold-laced borders, over the 'chatta' and dhoti. This section of women use the same dress even while going to the church but then convert the free end of the saree as a sort of veil to cover the head. Other women adhering to 'chatta' and dhoti but not wearing 'half saree' use a separate veil of fine counts of about 2½ yards in length and about 50" breadth to cover the head in the church. This cloth is wrapped over the body in such a way as to cover the whole upper portion except the face. The dhoti is worn in a peculiar fashion with a fan-like frill behind covering the buttocks. Young women of the Syrian Jacobite community have started using 'full saree' and the number of such women is fast increasing

indicating that the dress pattern of the Syrian Jacobite women is passing through a transitional stage. The dove-like Christian maiden going to the church in the traditional white dhoti, 'chatta' and veil will vanish in the not too distant future. Almost all the young girls wear skirt and blouse both at home and outside. Among the Hindu women, majority wear a white dhoti and a white or coloured blouse of a cut different from the 'chatta' of the Christian women, while at home and supplement this dress with a 'half saree' while going outside. Checkered and coloured dhotis and 'full sarees' have found acceptance among the younger women in the last decade. Hindu women of well-to-do families wear 'full saree' both at home and while going out of the house. The modern trend in all sections of women to abandon the traditional white costumes in favour of coloured 'full sarees' will soon integrate the women of the different communities indistinguishably, as far as the dress is concerned. The Hindu girls, like the Christian girls, wear blouse and skirt on all occasions. While going for work the women wear the dhoti and blouse and a towel to cover the head. In the case of very poor and old women of the working class the dhoti may reach only down to the knee and the blouse may not be put on at all. The percentage of women using foot-wear is much smaller than the percentage of men. The following table gives the classification of the people of the surveyed area according to the dress pattern by communities.

		DRESS									
		Communities									
		Jacobite Syrian Christians	Nairs	Ezhuvas	Vilakkathala Nairs	Veluthedathu Nairs	Asaris	Kollans	Veerasaivas	Pulayas	
Total population											
Males	Females										
320		131	129	13	8	8	12	4	2	13	Total No. of males in the community
	363	147	154	8	8	8	10	8	3	17	Total No. of females in the community
I. No. of males wearing											
36		18	15	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	(1) Shirt, shawl and dhoti up to heels
144		50	67	7	5	3	6	2	1	3	(2) Shirt and dhoti up to heels without shawl
		16	6	3	...	...	...	1	...	6	(3) Shawl and dhoti up to heels
32		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	(4) Dhoti from waist to heels only
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	(5) Dhoti from waist to knee only
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	(6) Banian and pants
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	(7) Banian and shorts
		47	41	3	3	4	3	1	1	4	(8) Shirt and pants
107		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	(9) Shirt and shorts
1		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	(10) Full suit
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	(11) Any other type
II. No. of females wearing											
55		19	29	...	1	2	3	...	1	...	(1) Full saree
23		1	5	2	1	...	...	2	...	12	(2) Blouse and dhoti from waist to heels
		...	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	(3) Dhoti from waist to knee only with shawl
6		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	(4) Dhoti from waist to knee only
148		63	66	5	2	4	4	3	1	...	(5) Half saree with blouse and dhoti from waist to heels
131		64	51	...	3	2	3	3	1	4	(6) Any other type

45. The Syrian Christian women in olden days used a number of peculiar ornaments which have completely disappeared now except for some old women wearing them once in a while. The earlobes of the Christian women in olden

days used to be grown as among the Namboothiri and Nair women. In the hole bored in the upper ear was inserted a gold pin with an enlarged globular head containing engravings. The two ends of this pin are connected with a small chain

and the whole thing was called 'Murisum Thudalum'. Some instead of using this, suspended a circular disc from a pin inserted in the upper ear while some others suspended a small cylindrical gold ring. The former was called 'Valika' and the latter 'Kunukku'. A large variety of neck chains and bangles were also worn by the women in olden days but at present the taste in ornaments has become much simpler. Now the ear-lobes are not grown or burdened with gold, the only ornament put on the ear being the stud. The chains and bangles have become simpler in design and their number reduced considerably. Finger rings are used both by men and women.

46. The Hindu women in olden days used larger ear-studs, a great number of bangles and neck chains besides chains on the ankles, but in their case also preference for simplicity has affected the patterns. Only smaller ear-studs are now used and the number of neck chains and bangles have been reduced. The ankle-chain has

almost disappeared except in the case of young girls. Finger rings are, however, still very common and are worn both by males and females. The Hindu men of the locality used to perforate the ear-lobe and put on a small ear-stud but this has become out of fashion among the younger generation. In the matter of ornaments also a uniform taste characterised by simplicity is emerging out of the bewildering variety which the different communities patronised in former times.

47. In the surveyed area 91.06 per cent households use ornaments, a fact indicating that ornaments are used more extensively in this village than in other surveyed villages of the Alleppey district. In the surveyed area the maximum amount spent by each household on ornaments is Rs. 500 or less except in respect of 14 households which spend up to Rs. 2,000 per household. The following table shows the amount spent by the households in the different communities on ornaments.

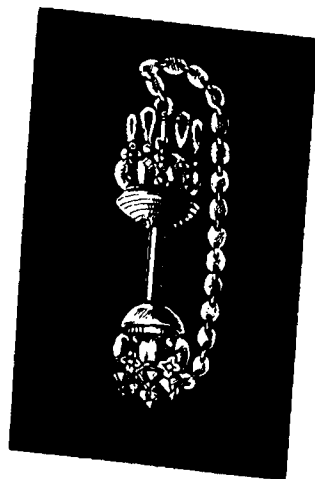
Table VII
ORNAMENTS

Total No. of households		Communities								
		Jacobite Syrian Christians	Nairs	Ezhuvas	Vilakkathala Nairs	Veluthedathu Nairs	Asaris	Kollans	Veerasaivas	Pulayas
123	Total No. of households in the community	45	55	5	3	3	3	1	1	7
112	Total No. of households using ornaments	42	55	5	1	3	3	...	1	2
11	No. of households using no ornaments	3	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	5
54	No. of households using ornaments of the value of Rs. 100 or below	24	29	4	1	2	...	...	1	2
43	No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 500	15	24	1	...	1	2	...	...	...
10	No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 1,000	1	8	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
4	No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 1,500	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1	No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 2,000	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

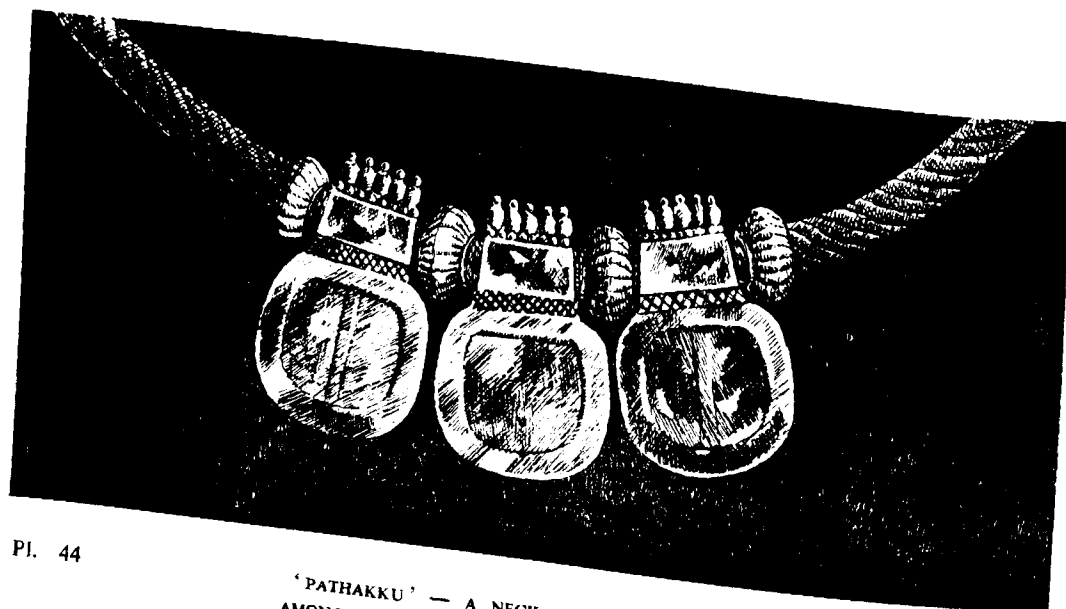


Pl. 42

A JACOBITE SYRIAN CHRISTIAN LADY
WEARING 'VALIKA', AN EAR ORNAMENT



Pl. 43 'MURISUM THUDALUM' — AN ORNAMENT OF THE UPPER EAR, COMMON AMONG THE JACOBITE SYRIAN CHRISTIAN WOMEN IN OLDEN DAYS Page 122



Pl. 44 'PATHAKKU' — A NECK ORNAMENT POPULAR AMONG THE JACOBITE SYRIAN CHRISTIAN WOMEN Page 122

FURNITURE AND ACCESSORIES

Furniture and Accessories

48. The most common item of furniture found in almost every household is the cot. There may not be cots for all the members in a household but the head and other old members, particularly the males, have cots for sleeping. Different varieties of cots such as those with bamboo and country twine, good timber and rope or rose or teakwood and cane are found in the houses according to their financial ability. After cot, the most numerous item of furniture is the chair. At least 50 per cent of the houses in the village possess chairs in varying numbers. Tables, stools, benches and almirahs are less common. The old type of middle class houses with 'Mukhavaram' and wooden walls have their complement of rickety old furniture which have not been replaced. There are also houses with very fashionable items of furniture. Among other accessories kerosene lanterns top the list as electric line has not been extended to the interior areas. Battery torches are seen in a small number of houses. Utensils consisting of both earthenwares and metalwares for cooking and dining are possessed in sufficient numbers by all households.

49. 78.86 per cent households of the surveyed area possess cots, 48.78 per cent have chairs, 46.34 per cent possess tables, 16.26 per cent possess stools, 31.71 per cent have benches and 29.27 per cent have

almirahs. There are lanterns in 60.16 per cent households and battery torches in 12.20 per cent households. Only 5 houses are electrified in the area, in spite of the fact that the electric line passes along one boundary of the surveyed area. The households of the cultivators possess almost all the required agricultural implements. The agricultural labourers possess the spade and the sickle which they take along with them when they go for work.

Food and Drink

50. In the matter of food consumption the village seems to be better off than several other surveyed villages, for most of the houses can afford at least 3 meals a day and a good many even more than that as indicated by the figures collected for the surveyed area. Among the surveyed households there is not even one which has to subsist on less than three meals a day. While 39.02 per cent of them take three meals a day, the remaining households besides taking three principal meals also enjoy some refreshments like coffee or tea and some sweets, tapioca or fruits in the evening. This definitely marks an improvement over all the areas surveyed so far, viz, those in Trivandrum and Quilon districts. The following table classifies the households on the basis of the number of meals taken daily.

Table VIII

DIET (NUMBER OF MEALS)				
Total No. of households	Name of the community	Total No. of households in the community	Households having three meals a day	Households having more than three meals a day
123	Nairs	55	20	35
	Vilakkathala Nairs	3	1	2
	Veluthedathu Nairs	3	...	3
	Asaris	3	...	3
	Kollans	1	...	1
	Veerasaivas	1	1	...
	Ezhuvas	5	5	...
	Pulayas	7	7	...
	Jacobite Syrian Christians	45	14	31

51. Though in olden days the Nairs and high caste Hindus of the village were strict vegetarians, now several Nairs and members of other Hindu communities take non-vegetarian diet. In the surveyed area all except 8.94 per cent households are non-vegetarians. It is uncommon to find vegetarians among Christians who have no religious taboo for fish and meat but in the surveyed area there are two vegetarian families among the Syrian Christians. Rice and tapioca form the staple food. 56.10 per cent households consume rice alone as staple food while the remaining households use tapioca also along with rice. The availability of tapioca is seasonal, limited to the months of July, August, September, November, December and January. Some

boil and dry fresh tapioca and preserve it for use during other months. Fruits, especially jack fruit, which is available in plenty from February to May, are consumed in large quantities. The vegetables cultivated along the river banks cocoanut and cocoanut oil and fish are the other chief ingredients of food. In the matter of staple food or subsidiary items no distinction can be made on the basis of community alone but the labourers and other poor people use more of tapioca and fruits than cultivators and richer people. Milk and milk products are used only by a small section of the people. The classification of the people of the surveyed area according to nature of food taken is given in the following table.

Table IX
DIET (STAPLE DIET AND FOOD HABITS)

Name of the community	Total No. of households	No. of vegetarian households	No. of non-vegetarian households	No. of households having as staple food	
				Rice	Combination of rice and tapioca
Nairs	55	7	48	37	18
Vilakkathala Nairs	3	...	3	...	3
Veluthedathu Nairs	3	...	3	2	1
Asaris	3	...	3	1	2
Kollans	1	...	1	...	1
Veerasaivas	1	1	...	1	...
Ezhuvas	5	1	4	2	3
Pulayas	7	...	7	...	7
Jacobite Syrian Christians	45	2	43	26	19

Customs and Manners of Jacobites

Child-birth

52. A number of special customs are observed among the Jacobite Syrians of the village in connection with the first child-birth. It is a common practice for the mother of the girl and other close female relations such as sisters-in-law to visit her during the 5th month of pregnancy with a present of sweets. In the 7th month, or in the 9th month if the 7th month is inauspicious, the girl is taken to her mother's house by a party of five, seven or nine of her relations including her mother and sisters-in-

law. If the mother of the girl is visiting the husband's house for the first time on this occasion, she presents her son-in-law with a gold ring and receives from him a gift of a few yards of white cloth. She is supposed to share this cloth with her intimate female relations. The girl sets out wearing, generally, her wedding costumes and after making prayers. After the 5th month of pregnancy the girl does not go to the church and other holy places. Though in her mother's house there are no

special ceremonies associated with pregnancy until the child-birth, certain restrictions are imposed on her diet and daily routine. Food containing egg, meat, fish, beans and grams is excluded from her diet. Milk is used only sparingly, but butter-milk can be used without any restriction. With a view to give sufficient exercise to the hips which will facilitate easy child-birth, the girl will do some work such as sweeping the courtyard and rooms and washing the plates. During the day time she is not only not permitted to sleep but is advised even not to lie down. All kinds of heavy work are prohibited during the period of pregnancy. She cannot go near cemetery or temple or take bath at noon time, or go all alone to the river for taking bath. A piece of iron, preferably an iron knife, is kept under the pillow but this can be replaced by a bible if deemed fit. Many of these observances are disappearing from the advanced section of the community but the orthodox people still stick on even to the minute details. The rich nowadays take the girl to a hospital or nursing home or get down a doctor or at least a midwife at the time of delivery. The poor being unable to afford these expenses, procure the assistance of a country midwife. As soon as the child is born some old women believe it necessary to bang a door or a window with a loud noise, in order to prevent the development of fear complex in the child according to some, but to drive away the demons lurking somewhere in the house, according to others. The child is washed immediately after the birth and given gold dissolved in honey. For the next three days it is fed only on the juice of fruits, preferably grape. The mother is given dried rice without spicy ingredients. After two or three days some give dilute alcoholic liquors to the mother in order to help digestion. Other ayurvedic or allopathic medicines may also be administered to her. For the first two weeks the body of the mother is massaged with oil and balms and washed in water boiled with leaves of medicinal plants. Her abdomen is tied round with a bandage in order to expedite shrinking of the stomach. The child is also washed daily in warm water

applying cocoanut oil or olive oil. Medicated ghee is applied on the head of the child before bath and after the bath a medicated powder rubbed on the crown of the head. After a month, wealthy people give the mother nutritious food consisting of soup, meat, milk etc.

53. Immediately after the child-birth intimation is given to the husband's house. The husband, his parents and sisters visit the child and the mother with presents. Baptism takes place after the 40th day for boys and 50th day for girls unless on account of the lent or some fatal disease to the child it has to be performed earlier. If the father of the child is a Marthomite, generally the baptism takes place in the father's parish after the child and mother have been taken over to his house. Two close relatives of the father of the child act as godfather and godmother for baptism as among Catholics. They bring cosmetics and at least two sets of dress when they come for the ceremony. The child dressed in new clothes, is taken to the church in the company of the godfather and the godmother and in some cases the mother also if she is fit to go to the church. At the time of baptism all the dress and ornaments are removed from the body of the child to declare that it abandons all worldly pomp. After the baptism the child is given holy communion and if it is a boy taken to the altar by the priest and made to kiss it. Since the sanctuary is forbidden to the women the female children are not taken to the altar. The priest then hands over the child back to its people who, clothing it in the second set of new dress, take it back to the house where a small celebration is held. The water in which the child is bathed on the day of baptism is thrown on the roof top or in a tank or river as it should not be trampled upon. For three days after the baptism the child is not permitted to be touched by non-Christians. The mother and the child are taken to the husband's house only after three months. Before that the father of the child brings it either a neck chain or a waist chain and the mother's people provide other ornaments.

The mother's people also present sweets, a wooden box for keeping dress, household utensils and in some cases even a milch cow.

54. Many of the above customs become unnecessary for the subsequent confinements since they take place in the husband's house. The restrictions regarding work and diet and observances associated with the occasion of child-birth and baptism are, however, common features of all confinements.

Puberty

55. There are no ceremonies or customs associated with puberty except that the girl may take rest for a few days. Otherwise the event is not even known to other people.

Marriage

56. Enquiries for the marriage are started by the girl's parents unlike in several other communities. If the family status and financial conditions of the girl's family are satisfactory the boy's relations visit the girl's house and see the girl. If the girl makes a suitable match for the boy in their opinion, the boy is sent to see her personally. Nowadays it is common to exchange the photos of the boy and the girl if they are in distant places, although even in this case it is insisted that the boy himself should see the girl before the final settlement. If he is also satisfied with the girl the day for the settlement of the marriage is decided. The ceremony of settlement takes place in the girl's house with a small feast wherein the parish priest may take part. On the day of settlement, in olden days, the dowry agreed upon had to be paid, together with 5 per cent of that amount for the boy's wedding dress. The dowry used to be an odd number of rupees, even number being considered inauspicious. 10 per cent of the dowry had to be paid to the church as a donation from the couple. The 'minnu' and a full set of dress including the wedding veil to be presented at the marriage to the girl are to be purchased by the boy's people. After the settlement, banns are published in the parish churches of the boy and the girl on three consecutive Sundays. The marriage takes place in the boy's parish unlike in many

other communities. Sunday is the most preferred day for the marriage but it may also be celebrated on Monday. Unlike in olden days when the marriages were solemnised only in the morning, now marriages are held in the evening also. The celebrations start from the eve of the marriage when all the relations gather in the boy's house and the girl's house. Before the boy and the girl start from their house the respective parish priests come to their houses and say prayers. The boy and the girl give small amounts as presents to their teachers. The girl's party reach some house arranged by the boy's people near the church and take rest there. They go to the church only after the boy and his party have arrived there. The marriage service consists of two parts, the first part being the betrothal or dedication and the second part the solemnisation of the marriage. The bride's party hand over to the boy's parish priest a letter from the girl's parish priest intimating that there is no objection for the marriage. Two gold chains carrying crosses, the 'manthrakodi' (wedding veil), two rings and the 'minnu' are placed in front of the sanctuary. The couple stand facing the sanctuary before the parish priest, the girl on the right side and the boy on her left. The service commences with prayers and blessing the rings. One of the blessed rings is put by the priest on the ring finger of the right hand of the bridegroom and the other on the corresponding finger of the girl, with the words 'Receive thou this ring of thy betrothal, from the hands of thy holy priest as if from the hands of the Holy Apostles.' Next is blessing the crowns for the bride and bridegroom, to symbolise an old Syrian custom followed in Palestine where the newly married couple, after their wedding, used to stay for a week in the house, wearing the wedding costumes and crowns, as if they were the king and the queen. In the Syrian Christian marriage, the crown is replaced by the chain carrying a cross. After blessing, the priest holds the chain over the head of the bridegroom and makes the sign of the cross three times with it before putting it on his neck. The ceremony is repeated for the bride also.

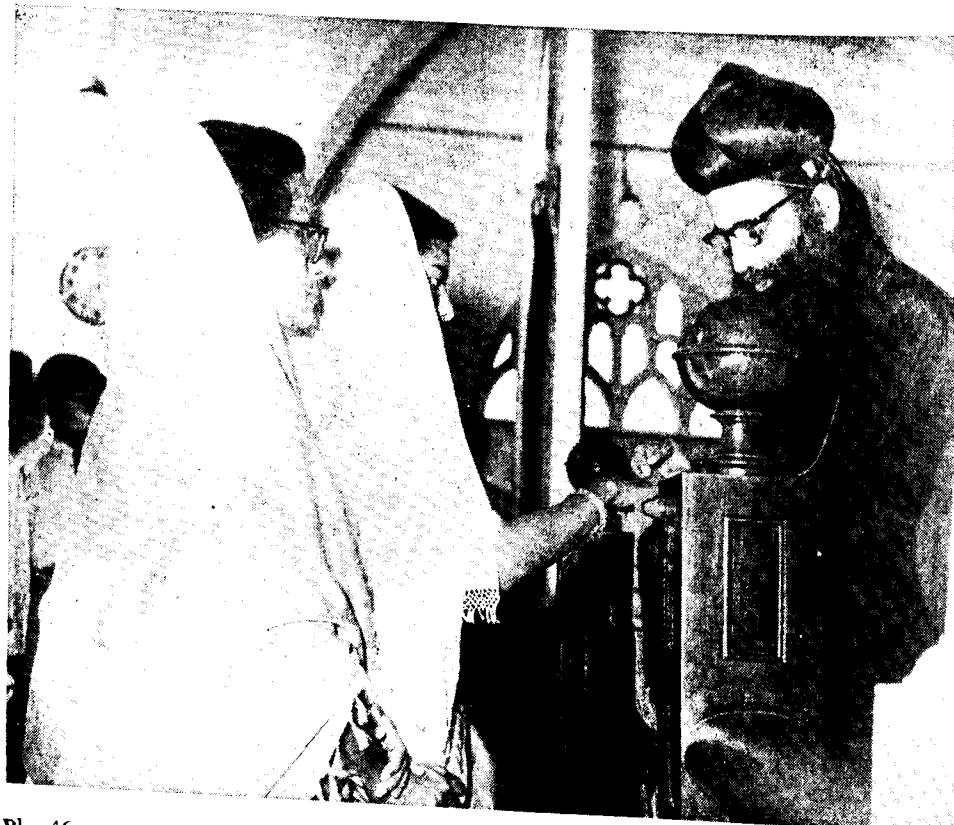
SCENES FROM A JACOBITE SYRIAN CHRISTIAN WEDDING IN TRIVANDRUM



Pl. 45

PUTTING THE WEDDING RING ON THE
RING - FINGER OF THE BRIDEGROOM

SCENES FROM A JACOBITE SYRIAN CHRISTIAN WEDDING (Contd.)



Pl. 46

THE BRIDE RECEIVES THE WEDDING RING

Page 126

SCENES FROM A JACOBITE SYRIAN CHRISTIAN WEDDING (Contd.)



Pl. 48

THE BRIDE BEING CROWNED

Page 126



Pl. 47

THE BRIDEGROOM BEING CROWNED

Page 126



Pl. 49

THE BRIDEGROOM TYING THE 'MINNU'
ROUND THE NECK OF THE BRIDE

Page 127



Pl. 50

THE BRIDEGROOM PUTS THE WEDDING VEIL
ON THE HEAD OF THE BRIDE

The 'minnu' held on a string of seven threads taken from the wedding veil is tied by the boy around the neck of the girl. As soon as the 'minnu' is tied, the female relations of the girl standing near her to assist in the ceremony withdraw, allowing the boy's female relations to take that place, symbolising that hence forward the girl belongs to the boy's family. The priest hands over the wedding veil to the boy who puts it on the head of the girl. The priest concludes the ceremony with the words, "Behold from this time forward we entrust you each to the other. God be witness between me and you and if you break any of the laws of God I am guiltless". When the couple arrive in the boy's house for the reception they are greeted with lighted lamp and sprinkling of perfumed water. The eldest sister who is not a widow gives some sweet milk for them to drink. In olden days only mats were provided for sitting but nowadays tables and chairs have become common. The chief male guest from the bride's party used to be given a separate seat with a black woollen blanket spread on a white cloth on the floor or chair. But such conspicuous honour is not bestowed on the chief guest nowadays. After receiving the presents the bride and bridegroom are formally led to the bridal chamber. In the feast the chief guest is the parish priest who makes a prayer and blesses the food before the commencement. On the same day the couple and the bride's party return to the bride's house. The bride and bridegroom are taken back to the bridegroom's house on an auspicious day after two or three days, when the girl's mother also may accompany them. The bridegroom attends the bride's parish church on one of the Sundays following this.

57. Widow remarriage is permissible in the community but divorce is prohibited. Polygamy and polyandry are against the religious laws relating to marriage and have never been in practice among Jacobites.

Funeral

58. When a person approaches his last moment the priest is sent for in order to give him extreme unction or the last sacra-

ment to prepare the patient for death. The priest recites special prayers for the salvation of his soul. After death a wooden cross and candles brought from the church are placed at the head-side of the dead body. The body is washed in warm water, dressed in new white clothes and sprinkled with perfumes. It is then laid on a cot and exposed for the visitors. When all the relations to whom intimations have been sent out have arrived, the priest comes to the house for the funeral ceremony. He recites some prayers for the dead at the side of the body which is then placed in a coffin and carried by the relations to the church. All of the gathered males accompany the funeral procession which is led by the priest. On arrival at the church the coffin is placed with the face towards the altar and again prayers are said by the priest. During the funeral procession as well as in the church the laity also take part in the prayers. The coffin is then brought to the grave. The priest blesses the grave and the coffin is lowered into it with the head towards the west. The priest after further prayers drops three pinches of earth on the body reciting the biblical words that the man is dust and to dust he returns. The coffin is covered with its lid, and the grave filled up. A cross made of wood is planted on the grave. No food is cooked in the house after the death until the funeral is over. When the people return from the church after the funeral a simple vegetarian meal known as 'pattinikanji' cooked in a neighbouring house is served. For a few days the close relations of the deceased do not engage in their normal avocations. On the 16th and 40th days special prayers are said for the deceased in the church and vegetarian feast given to the people assembled for the function. On the anniversary day every year masses for the dead are arranged to be said.

Customs and Manners of Marthomites Child-birth

59. There are only very few deviations from the customs of Jacobites in respect of the child-birth so far as Marthomites are concerned. Among the Marthomites

nobody goes to see the girl in the 5th month of pregnancy, but a party of her relations go to bring her to her mother's house in the 7th or 9th month of pregnancy. All the restrictions regarding diet and work imposed on a pregnant girl among the Jacobites are observed among the Marthomites also, except that the Marthomite girl goes to the church even in the advanced stage of pregnancy unless she is physically unfit. The rituals associated with the child-birth among the Jacobites such as administering to the child gold dissolved in honey, feeding the child for three days on the juice of fruits etc. are observed by the Marthomites without change. Similarly, with regard to the diet given to the mother after the child-birth, bathing the mother applying medicated oil and washing the child in warm water applying olive oil also there is similarity between the two communities. The baptism can take place any time after the 28th day but generally it takes place after two or three months. The baptisms of Jacobites and Marthomites are mutually accepted, although in the details there are some differences. Among the Marthomites the child is neither given holy communion after the baptism nor taken to the altar by the priest. They are also not particular that the water in which the child is washed on the day of baptism should be thrown on the roof or in a tank, or the non-Christians should not touch the child for three days after baptism. The priest may come to the house on the day of baptism and take part in the feast. The mother and the child are taken to the husband's house after two months and they are given ornaments and household utensils as among Jacobites on this occasion. The subsequent confinements generally take place in the husband's house.

Puberty

60. There are no observances associated with puberty among the Marthomites.

Marriage

61. The preliminaries leading to the settlement of the marriage are the same both among the Jacobites and the Marthomites. Unlike among the Jacobites, the payment of 10 per cent of the dowry to the church is not compulsory among Marthomites,

but they give at least one per cent of the dowry as a donation. The marriage takes place in the boy's parish. Sunday is a prohibited day for the marriage; generally it is celebrated on Monday or Thursday. The ceremonies in the church closely follow what have been described in connection with Jacobite marriage. The blessing of the rings, the crowning of the couple, the tying of 'minnu' and the presentation of wedding veil are the essential parts in the Marthomite marriage also. For the reception at home the couple is not accosted with a lighted lamp as among the Jacobites, but they are given some sweet milk to drink. After the feast the couple and the bride's party return to the bride's house on the same day. Before starting, an interesting function known as 'neerattu' takes place. The bridegroom gives a piece of cloth to his mother-in-law or her representative and an umbrella to the bride, and himself receives an umbrella from the mother-in-law. The bridegroom attends the bride's parish church on one of the Sundays following the marriage. As among Jacobites, widow remarriage is permissible but divorce, polygamy and polyandry are prohibited. Whereas a widowed Jacobite priest cannot remarry, the Marthomite priest can marry again after the death of his wife.

Funeral

62. When the death of a person appears certain he is given extreme unction. After the death the corpse is washed in warm water, dressed in new white clothes and perfumed with oils. The body is laid on a cot with the head towards the west, for the mourners to see. No crucifix or candles are placed on the side of the body as among Jacobites and Catholics. When all relations have arrived, the priest comes to the house and conducts prayers. The dead body is then placed in the coffin and taken to the church in a procession. All the gathered males accompany the funeral procession, the females generally remaining back at home. The priest leads procession as among Jacobites. On reaching the church the coffin is placed with the head towards the west and further prayers said.

Inheritance

64. Among the Jacobite Christians and Marthomites, if properties are divided before the death of the father the boys are given equal shares, setting apart some properties for the maintenance of the parents. The married girls, having received dowry, do not get any share from the properties unless there is only one daughter or there are special circumstances which persuade the father to show some sympathetic consideration to them. If there are unmarried girls at the time of division, properties may be set apart for their dowry also. The parental house is generally assigned to the youngest son with whom the parents live until their death. The property set apart for the maintenance of the parents will generally be taken by this son after their death as a compensation for looking after them and for meeting the expenses in connection with their funeral and other ceremonies.

The rest of the ceremony is exactly the same as in the case of Jacobites save that no cross is planted over the grave. One sharp difference between Marthomites and Jacobites in the obsequies for the departed is that the Marthomites never pray for the dead either on the occasion of the funeral or subsequently, as they do not believe in the existence of purgatory.

Consanguineous Marriage

63. Marriage between relations is not permitted among the Jacobites and Marthomites. But among the Hindu communities of the village consanguineous marriages were quite common in olden days. The recent trend being not in favour of it, cross-cousin marriages which were very common among all the Hindu communities, are becoming rare now. In the surveyed area only 4 cases of consanguineous marriages in the Nair community and one case among Asaris were reported, while there was none in other communities.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic Resources

65. The income from the land is by far the most important source of livelihood for the villagers of Kadapra. The land is subjected to intensive cultivation by raising paddy, sugarcane or tapioca and if unsuited for these crops by planting perennial fruit trees like jack, mango and coconut. The paddy cultivation is limited to about 600 acres¹ of which 500 acres² fall under the category of 'kayal' lands where a single crop can be raised after pumping out the water. This area has been brought under the Punja Special Officer who, as in the case of Prakkad³, arranges the construction of the bund and pumping. Only in about hundred acres two crops are raised if the rainfall is timely and the floods do not interfere with agricultural operations. The remaining wet area extending to 1,500 acres⁴ and a small portion of the dry land is brought under sugarcane cultivation. The rest of the dry lands contain houses and perennial crops like jack, mango, coconut and pepper. Tapioca and plantains are also cultivated annually in a portion of this land. Thus while sugarcane remains the chief source of income for the village, a number of other minor items contribute, though only an insignificant amount, to the total income. The monsoon floods on the one hand enrich the soil by the annual deposits of organic matter but on the other cause extensive damages in certain years. All except about one-third of the village remains submerged under water for a number of days continuously during the floods. If the duration is longer than what the paddy or sugarcane can resist, the entire crop is lost for the year, but if the flood recedes after a short period, the deposits left behind by the water assures a good crop. In fact the village owes its

fertility and the heavy sugarcane and paddy crops to this annual vagary of nature.

66. The starting of the sugarcane factory in the village has not only enhanced the price of sugarcane but also provided some employment for the local people. Even though there are only very few highly paid factory employees from the village a good number of unskilled workers are recruited from the locality itself. This has released the pressure of agricultural labourers on the land thereby increasing the agricultural wages. Another factory under construction for the manufacture of strawboard will provide some employment for the labourers rendering a similar effect on the village economy. Agricultural labourers also find employment in the neighbouring villages which are all under intensive sugarcane cultivation.

67. A small number of households depend for their livelihood on pottery carried on as household industry. The water transport facilities and the necessity of transporting the sugarcane products of the neighbouring villages to the factory within the village have provided employment to some people as boatmen. About one-fourth of the total workers of the village depend upon miscellaneous occupations, such as Government job, for their income. But almost all categories whether agricultural labourers, boatmen, factory workers or Government servants, have a small plot of land and derive at least a nominal income from cultivation.

Factors Influencing Economic Life in the Village

68. Nearly 95 per cent of the land of the village is held under 'Jenmom' tenure which confers absolute right on the

(1) 242.81 hectares

(3) See monograph on Prakkad infra

(2) 202.34 hectares

(4) 607.03 hectares

FACTORS INFLUENCING ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE VILLAGE

owners. The remaining land comes under less substantial tenures such as 'Jenmi vaka', 'Kanam', 'Otti' and 'Kandukrishi'. These tenures are as good as absolute ownership since eviction of the occupant at the will of the title holder is practically impossible. In the case of 'Kanam' and 'Kandukrishi' the tenant is vested with proprietary rights recently. The value of the land has mounted up enormously, in some cases even 10 to 15 times, during the post-war years. The establishment of the sugar factory has enhanced the value of sugarcane fields particularly.

69. The development of communications in recent years has influenced the economy of the village considerably. Besides the steamboats, regular bus services have been introduced through the village in spite of the absence of bridges. This makes journeys to the neighbouring towns like Thiruvalla, Mavelikkara and Kayamkulam easy and quick. Small bridges and cart-roads have been constructed under the aegis of the N. E. S. Block making the far corners of the village accessible with less difficulty. The intermittent communications between the islands will be made smooth with the completion of two major bridges at Puli-keezhu and Pannai within the next two years when a non-stop drive through the heart of the village will become possible. The importance of the waterways will not diminish with the completion of the bridges since they afford the cheapest method of carrying the sugarcane to the factory.

70. The starting of the sugarcane factory marks an important landmark in the economic life of not only Kadapra but several other neighbouring villages. The sugarcane production of these areas found a steady market in the factory, saving the cultivators from the necessity of depending upon country ghanis which could take in the cane only at a painfully slow rate, at the same time not assuring a steady price. The price of jaggery manufactured locally fluctuated violently from year to year, and in certain years due to the low price the cultivators did not even harvest the crop. The position has changed now completely.

Tons of sugarcane is swallowed daily by the giant crushers in the factory. The time of cultivation is slightly varied from place to place so that when the crop in each field is ready to be harvested it can be sent to the factory without causing any accumulation there. The factory is advocating improved methods of cultivation, propagating better varieties of sugarcane and encouraging the cultivators by the advance of loans, provision of irrigation facilities and supply of manures at reasonable prices.

71. The strawboard factory under construction in Parumala will also influence the economic set up of the village to some extent though it is now too premature to say what exactly will be the extent of this influence. It will certainly give employment to some more workers and provide a better market for the bagasse thrown out from the sugarcane industry, which is now used only as fuel. Other large industries are not likely to develop in the near future in the village in the absence of any special facilities to be exploited. Household industries of the village total just to 17 and all these industries are run on small scale employing altogether less than 40 workers. All these industries are of the traditional type, such as goldsmithy, blacksmithy, preparation of ayurvedic medicines, furniture manufacturing and casting of bronzewares and have not registered any progress in recent times. The starting of the sugarcane factory has driven out of existence some country ghanis which were manufacturing jaggery from sugarcane.

72. With the establishment of the factory the credit facilities of the sugarcane cultivators have improved. For the purchase of manure the factory advances loans which need be repaid only at the time of harvest. Co-operative societies functioning successfully among the cultivators issue loans for the purchase of manure and the execution of other agricultural operations. A cultivator who has registered himself with the factory finds it easy to furnish security for these loans since loans are issued on the strength of the registration card. This may look

rather unsound but it has been successful so far for the reason that the cultivator is not reluctant to pay back his debts when he receives a lump sum from the factory at the time of harvest, more so if the creditor is present at the time he receives the money from the factory. Some requiring money for non-agricultural purposes even pledge the registration card for taking loans from private individuals, but the interest in this case is rather high.

Livelihood Classes

73. In the early writings of the European authors to which references have been made in the first chapter, we find that pepper and other spices were exported from this area. But Niranam would have served only as a port of export for the hinterland on the banks of Pamba which produced pepper and still produces it on large scale. The village itself could not have had much of pepper cultivation just as it does not have even today.

74. From the memoirs of Ward and Conner we understand that cultivation and manufacture of jaggery and a kind of sugar from the sugarcane were the important occupations in this area in the 18th century. Cocoanut was plentiful and cattle more numerous than in the neighbouring areas. The greater importance of agriculture has been made evident by the large number of agricultural implements enumerated by them. There were only a small number of artisan castes in those days.

75. The relative importance of occupations at the time of 1951 census can be inferred from the percentages of population depending for the livelihood on the different occupations. 33.07 per cent of the population depended on cultivation in 1951, 27.63 per cent on agricultural labour and 17.94 per cent on productive activities other than cultivation, such as household and large scale industries, fishing, quarrying etc. 6.14 per cent earned their livelihood from commerce, 1.83 per cent from transport and 1.70 per cent from miscellaneous occupations. The remaining people forming only 1.69 per cent of the total population relied on rent

from land and were not engaged in any particular occupation. The overwhelming importance of agriculture in the life of the village in 1951 is clearly borne out by the fact that nearly 60 per cent of the population subsisted on cultivation and agricultural labour. There were some changes in this position between 1951 and 1961. In 1961, 18.41 per cent of the total workers were engaged as cultivators and 26.44 per cent as agricultural labourers. There were 2.31 per cent workers in mining, quarrying, animal husbandry, fishing and plantation, 3.52 per cent workers in household industry, 13.48 per cent in manufacturing other than household industry, 0.64 per cent in construction, 6.60 per cent in trade and commerce, 1.62 per cent in transport, storage and communications and 26.98 per cent in other services. The importance of agriculture slightly diminished within the ten years from 1951 to 1961 while other services gained in importance during the same period. There has not been any change in the position of other occupations during the decade.

76. In the surveyed area of the village 15.20 per cent of the total workers are engaged in cultivation, 33.33 per cent in agricultural labour, 15.79 per cent in manufacturing other than household industry, namely the sugar factory, 11.70 per cent in trade and commerce and 23.98 per cent in other services. Almost all the cultivators and agricultural labourers are engaged in sugarcane cultivation and all industrial workers employed in the sugar factory. Some of the people engaged in trade and commerce work outside the village and are engaged in petty trade. The 'other services' mainly consist of Government employment and teaching.

Ownership of Economic Resources

77. The biggest landowner in the village is a temple owning more than 50 acres of land. Three persons own between 20 and 25 acres, 4 persons between 15 and 20 acres and 11 persons between 10 and 15 acres. There are 68 persons owning between 5 and 10 acres and 1,707 persons owning between one acre and five acres.

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

1,330 persons have between 50 cents and one acre of land and 1,121 persons between 5 cents and 50 cents. There are 947 persons possessing less than 5 cents in the village. Thus, the total number of holdings is far above the total number of households. There are two reasons for this, viz, that in several households there are more than one person holding land individually and that a fraction of the landowners are absentee landlords.

78. In the surveyed area there is only one household owning more than 10 acres of land. 3.25 per cent households own between 5 acres and 10 acres, 17.07 per cent between 1.01 acres and 4.99 acres and 65.04 per cent one acre or below. 13.82

per cent households do not own any land at all. A very small number of households have taken land from private persons or institutions whereas a larger number of households have given out lands to other persons for cultivation. Among the latter category a good number are Nairs who in olden days were not inclined to do the cultivation themselves. But now they are equally interested in cultivation as anybody else and would have taken back the lands given out for cultivation if it were possible. The following table gives the distribution of land owned by the surveyed households according to the community and tenure status.

Table X
HOUSEHOLDS OWNING OR POSSESSING LAND OR WHICH HAVE GIVEN OUT
LAND TO OTHERS FOR CULTIVATION

		No. of households and extent of land									
Nature of interest on land	Community	No land	5 cents and below	6 to 10 cents	11 to 20 cents	21 to 50 cents	51 cents to 1 acre	1.01 to 2.49 acres	2.50 to 4.99 acres	5 to 10 acres	Above 10 acres
1. Land owned	Nairs	3	2	3	10	17	4	7	6	2	1
	Jacobite Syrian Christians	7	3	4	5	9	8	7	...	2	...
	Pulayas	6	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Ezhuvas	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Vilakathala Nairs	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...
	Veerasaivas	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
	Veluthedathu Nairs	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...
	Asaris	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	Kollans	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2. Land held direct from Government under tenures less substantial than ownership	Nil	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
3. Land held from private persons or institutions	Nairs	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...
	Jacobite Syrian Christians	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
4. Land given out to private persons or institutions	Jacobite Syrian Christians	...	...	...	2	2	1	3	1	1	...
	Nairs	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Vilakathala Nairs	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	Asaris	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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79. Earlier statistical data regarding the distribution of land either in the village or in the surveyed area are not available in order to compare the present distribution with the previous state of affairs. However, the transfer of registry cases that have come up in the village during the last 10 years show that redistribution of land has taken place only nominally. Subdivision of land or multiplication of ownership takes place generally as a result of the partition of the family properties among the heirs after the death of the head of the household. The reason for the absence of other transactions on large scale is obvious. The most important source of income for the people of the village is the land. Unless one gets a more attractive and easier opportunity to earn the livelihood one is not willing to part with the land however small it be. In the surveyed area only 12 households have acquired new properties and 9 households sold away properties during the last 10 years.

80. Out of total area of 113.12 acres possessed by the surveyed households 91.21

acres are brought under cultivation of sugarcane, cocoanut, paddy, tapioca and pepper by the owners themselves. They produce 1,115 tons of sugarcane, 24,150 cocoanuts, 1,470 bushels of paddy, 52 tons of tapioca and about a ton of pepper. Out of the above 8,405 cocoanuts, 1,170 bushels of paddy and 21 tons of tapioca are consumed by the households themselves and the rest sold. Only the area occupied by the houses is left uncultivated and this extends to only 3.11 acres. Altogether 93 households from the surveyed area derive income from cultivation directly carried out by them.

81. Almost all the household industries and petty business establishments are run by the households themselves. In the surveyed area there are 9 households running their own business and 2 households running their own household industries. Since economic resources other than cultivation are of only minor importance, the distribution of these items is not of much importance in considering the ownership of economic resources.

Table XI

HOUSEHOLDS ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION, INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS BELONGING TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Total No. of households	Households engaged in cultivation run by the household	Households engaged in industry run by the household	Households engaged in business run by the household	Households engaged in columns 2, 3 and 4	Households engaged in columns 2 and 3	Households engaged in columns 2 and 4	Households engaged in columns 3 and 4	Households not engaged in cultivation, industry or business
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
123	84	...	1	1	1	7	...	29

Occupational Trends

82. From the livelihood classes mentioned above it is clear that the prominent occupations of the village are Government service, agricultural labour, cultivation and factory work in the order of importance. A large number of people engaged in non-agricultural pursuits possess at least a small plot of land and cultivate it

directly. On the other hand the cultivators and agricultural labourers solely depend upon cultivation or agricultural labour for their livelihood and idle away the leisure time. However, the leisure time is comparatively short for the people engaged in sugarcane cultivation since it is a long term crop requiring constant attention.

EMPLOYMENT POSITION

83. It is not possible to mention exactly to what extent the people of the village have abandoned traditional occupations. Nevertheless, from the shift in importance from agriculture to other services one has to conclude that there has been some change in this regard. This is more evident from the figures collected for the surveyed area. There, 70 households have been traditionally engaged in agriculture, 3 in washing, 2 in carpentry, 1 each in blacksmithy and manufacture of 'pappadam' and 3 in hair dressing. The remaining 43 households are not following the traditional occupations. Some of the latter have abandoned the traditional occupations in search of new occupations while the others never had any traditional occupation. General enquiry shows that many of those people have abandoned cultivation or agricultural labour and taken up factory employment or Government service instead.

Employment Position

84. 28.53 per cent of the total population of the village are workers against 25.04 per cent in the surveyed area. 23.65 per cent of the workers in the village and 19.88 per cent of the workers in the surveyed area are females. The sugarcane cultivation employs females only for a few

items of work such as planting and stripping while the sugar factory does not employ females at all. The employment opportunities for females are hence poor. A review of the employment of workers in the surveyed area by age-groups shows that two persons below the age of 15, 35.07 per cent of the persons in the age-group of 15 to 34, 57.04 per cent of those between 35 and 59 and 30.43 per cent of the persons in the age-group of 60 and over are workers. If the working age-group is taken as 15 to 59, the total percentage of working people in that group is 43.91. The contrast in the distribution of the workers among the various age-groups between Prakkad and Kadapra villages of Alleppey district, both of which mainly follow agricultural occupations, is interesting. While in Prakkad the percentages of the total workers in the age-groups of 15 to 34 and 35 to 59 are 55.02 and 37.02 respectively, in Kadapra they are 43.27 and 47.37. One important reason for this difference is that in Kadapra there is a larger percentage of persons in the age-group of 15 to 34 attending school than at Prakkad. The age and sex classification of the workers and non-workers of the surveyed area is given in the table below.

Table XII

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX AND BROAD AGE-GROUP

Age group	Total			Total workers			Total non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	683	320	363	171	137	34	512	183	329
0-14	284	140	144	2	1	1	282	139	143
15-34	211	92	119	74	60	14	137	32	105
35-59	142	65	77	81	64	17	61	1	60
60 and over	46	23	23	14	12	2	32	11	21

85. Among the workers of the surveyed area 15.20 per cent are cultivators, 33.33 per cent agricultural labourers, 15.79 per cent factory workers, 7.02 per cent businessmen and 28.66 per cent workers in miscellaneous occupations. The percentage of the female workers is largest in the miscellaneous occupations. Among the

factory employees the largest percentage is in the age-group of 35 to 59. Most of the workers in the age-group of 60 and over are owner-cultivators. A table showing the broad age-group and occupation of the workers of the surveyed area is appended below.

Table XIII
WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS

Occupation		Age-group				
		All ages	0-14	15-34	35-59	60 and over
Agriculture	Persons	26	...	3	12	11
	Males	22	...	3	9	10
	Females	4	...	...	3	1
Agricultural labour	Persons	57	...	29	28	...
	Males	43	...	22	21	...
	Females	14	...	7	7	...
Factory employment	Persons	27	...	9	18	...
	Males	27	...	9	18	...
	Females	...	...	...	...	...
Business	Persons	12	...	4	6	2
	Males	10	...	4	5	1
	Females	2	...	...	1	1
Miscellaneous	Persons	49	2	29	17	1
	Males	35	1	22	11	1
	Females	14	1	7	6	...

86. Among the total non-workers of the surveyed area 35.74 per cent are males. 55.08 per cent of the non-workers are in the age-group of 0-14, 26.76 per cent in the age-group of 15-34, 11.91 per cent in the age-group of 35-59 and 6.25 per cent in the age-group of 60 and over. More than half of the non-workers in the age group of 0-14 and about one-third of the non-workers in the age group of 15-34 are full-time students. More than half of the

non-workers in the 15-34 age-group and nearly 93 per cent of the non-workers in the age-group of 35-59 are women engaged in household duties. Out of the total population in the 15-59 age-group excluding full-time students, housewives and sick persons, only 4.53 per cent remain unemployed. 16 persons in the age group of 15-34 and two boys in the age-group of 0-14 are seeking employment.

Table XIV
NON-WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUP AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY

		Age-group				
		All ages	0-14	15-34	35-59	60 and over
Total No. of non-workers	Persons	512	282	137	61	32
	Males	183	139	32	1	11
	Females	329	143	105	60	21
Persons engaged in household duties only	Persons	135	1	74	57	3
	Males	...	...	...	...	...
	Females	135	1	74	57	3
Full-time students or children attending school	Persons	198	151	46	...	1
	Males	93	73	20	...	...
	Females	105	78	26	...	1
Sick, old and infants	Persons	158	128	1	4	25
	Males	73	64	...	1	8
	Females	85	64	1	3	17
Retired persons not employed again, rentiers, persons living on agricultural and non-agricultural royalty, rent or dividend or other persons of independent means	Persons	2	...	...	...	2
	Males	2	...	...	...	2
	Females	...	...	...	...	...
Beggars, vagrants independent women without indication of source of income and others of unspecified source of existence	Persons	1	...	...	...	1
	Males	1	...	...	...	1
	Females	...	...	...	...	...
Persons seeking employment	Persons	18	2	16	...	...
	Males	14	2	12	...	...
	Females	4	...	4	...	...

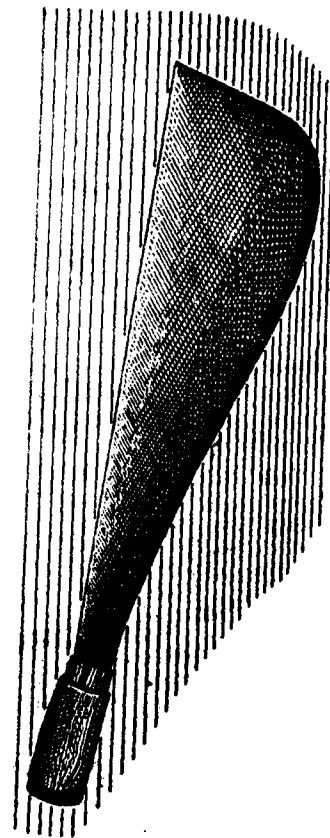
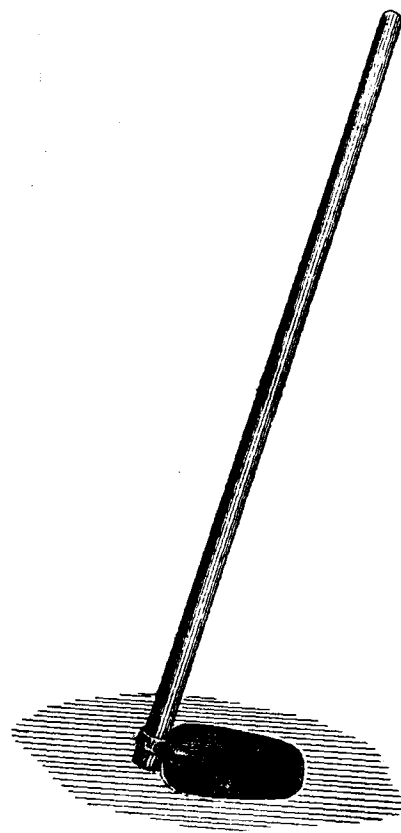
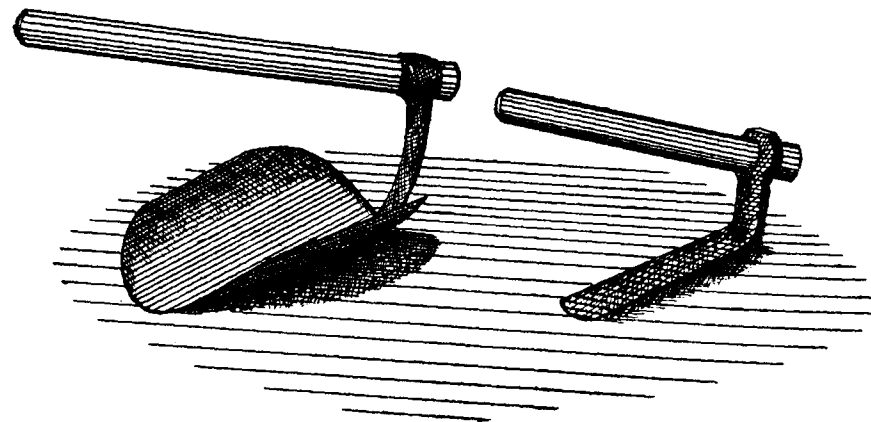
87. 24.56 per cent of the total workers are engaged in industry, business or cultivation belonging to the household. All the businessmen and all the cultivators of the surveyed area come in this category.

Sugarcane Cultivation

Facilities Available

88. The factors that make sugarcane cultivation suitable to the area are several. First of all, the soil with the deposit of silt by the floods is rich in nitrogen, organic matter and mineral nutrients, making it possible to take heavy crops of sugarcane even without the application of nitrogen fertilisers. The heavy rainfall

for 6 months and the moderate precipitations during the other months dispense with the necessity of irrigation. A ready market with an assured price is available in the area itself with the starting of the sugarcane factory which takes in the crop at the rate of 1,000 to 1,500 tons per day unlike the old country crushers which took endless time grinding the cane reed by reed. Delay in crushing the cane means loss of money to the cultivator since after the normal period of harvest the weight of the cane is reduced rapidly. The transport of sugarcane to the factory is made easy and cheap by the rivers and their branches which wind around the village.



AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

Season for Planting

89. The planting of sugarcane can be started from September and continued up to March. After the establishment of the factory the period for cultivation in each area is fixed by the factory to stagger the harvest facilitating a regular spread-out intake. The eastern villages start the cultivation first as the crop in those areas can be transported by water only up to October-November, the upper reaches of the rivers becoming too shallow after that. The village under survey being the home village of the factory, transportation is easy from there and therefore the planting is started late, generally in January and February. The entire village is not planted at the same period; the planting time changes slightly from area to area.

Preparation of Soil

90. If the sugarcane crop is raised after taking a paddy or some other alternate crop the land is picked or ploughed to a depth of 6" to 8", kept exposed for a fortnight and then ploughed a second time. On the other hand, if the field had been already under sugarcane cultivation, it should be picked to a depth of 8" and kept exposed for a fortnight. After removing the stubbles a deep ploughing is given to the land. In either case, after the second ploughing the surface is levelled and trenches of 9" depth are taken 3' apart. The trench planting method is not only the most convenient for irrigation but also the most expeditious and economic. However the older method of digging pits at a distance of one foot from one another is still followed by some people in the village.

The Seeds

91. The top sets with three buds each, collected from the previous crop are used as seed. At the time of harvest the top portion of the cane covered with leaf stalks is cut away and only the remaining portion sent to the factory. From this top portion one or two pieces of three budded sets are taken for seed. The most common varieties cultivated in the village are known as 'Co 449' and 'Co 785'. Developed in the research station of Coimbatore, they are

both drought and flood resistant. Co 785 takes about two weeks for sprouting whereas Co 449 takes only one week. Large cultivators raise their own seed nurseries to make up the shortages caused by diseases or floods. The factory arranges to supply nucleus seed of good quality imported from outside and the cultivators use it for raising nurseries and for further multiplication. Before planting, the sets are treated by some people with chemicals as a precaution against diseases. A 0.5 per cent solution of the organo murrain fungicides such as Aretan, Agallol or Leytosol is suitable for this purpose. Soaking the sets in the solution for five minutes is ideal and is even necessary in the case of Co 785 which is a slow germinator. The number of sets required per acre varies according to the method of planting; it is the least for the pit method and the most for the trench method. In the trench method itself there are two ways of planting, one by placing the seeds end to end and the other, by placing the seeds overlapping. In the latter method more sets are required than in the former method. The total number of sets thus varies from 12,000 to 15,000 but more is entirely a waste.

Planting and Manuring

92. 3 to 5 tons of cow-dung or compost are applied in the trenches in every acre of land and the soil gently picked to prepare a soft bed in the ideal method of cultivation but it is followed only by a few people. A small channel is made on this bed to place the set. The set should be placed with the buds sideways and then covered with a thin layer of soil. If the earth does not contain sufficient moisture and rain is not expected immediately the germination will be accelerated by irrigation. As a precautionary measure some additional sets are planted at the end of each row for filling up the gaps left by ungerminated sets. Since sufficient rain is not normally expected up to April it is necessary to irrigate the crop 5 or 6 times to maintain its growth. It has been found that watering the young crop 5 or 6 times during this period is not only beneficial in increasing the yield by about 5 to 6 tons per acre but also serves

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as a good insurance against severe damage to the crop by submersion due to early floods. In the case of sandy soil the irrigation may have to be more frequent. Similarly crops harvested in January and February will keep up both the yield and the quality of cane if irrigated once or twice after the monsoon ceases. Manuring is done in two equal instalments, the first being between three weeks and one month after planting and the second in the third or fourth month, before the onset of intensive rain. The manure should have been absorbed in the soil before the floods lest it should be washed away. Different fertiliser factories are propagating their own sugarcane mixtures among the cultivators. All of them contain phosphate, potash, nitrogen, as rock phosphate, muria or sulphate of potash, ammonium sulphate and uria. In the case of alluvial soil the optimum dose of fertiliser recommended by the sugarcane factory is 100 pounds of N, 40 pounds of P_2O_5 and 100 pounds of K_2O . However, the cultivators of the village feel that this is insufficient and in actual practice apply more. The manure is applied by digging a hole or a groove about a foot away from the set and filling the fertiliser into it. By the time the second dose of manure is applied, the plant would have grown three or four feet high.

Weeding

93. A weeding operation is undertaken at the end of one month, and after another month an inter-culturing by stirring up the soil in the trench as well as the ridges is carried out. At the end of the 4th or 5th month, and at any rate, before the end of April the trench is filled up with earth after stripping away the dry leaves from the plant. In the case of the plants of normal growth two trash twist propping will prevent the lodging. Generally all these operations are carried out in the village by manual labour but bullocks can be used for some operations with more economy and greater efficiency.

Plant Diseases

94. The diseases common in the area are smut, pineapple, wilt, mosaic and

grassy shoot. The plants affected with smut will show a long black whip-like growth at the top as well as on the side shoots. Very often sprouting of buds is seen in the attacked canes. Unless the disease is nipped in the bud it will spread rapidly damaging the entire crop. The most effective method of checking the disease is by removal of the affected clumps from the field. While removing the clumps care should be taken to cover the whip with cloths in order to prevent the escape of spores. The collected whips are burned or buried by careful cultivators. Fields affected with smut are not ratooned nor seeds taken from affected clumps. Pineapple and wilt generally affect the fields flooded for long time and can be prevented if the above mentioned cultural operations are carried out without fail. The grassy shoot disease as the name itself implies makes the plant grow like grass. Since no remedy is yet discovered for this disease the affected plants are removed immediately on detection to prevent further spreading. Such fields are not ratooned again as the disease appears more commonly in ratooned fields. The pests that attack the plants are stem borer, top borer and termites. In the case of the first two, the affected shoots should be destroyed while in the case of the termites dusting of Aldrin is found to be an effective remedy.

Harvesting

95. Harvesting can be done after 12 months but it is suggested by the factory that uniform method in this matter is not an ideal one from the standpoint of production of sugar, as maturity in cane varies according to the strain and the manure applied. Therefore, the juice is tested for its sugar content before the harvest of any particular field is started. Generally the cane is cut close to the ground with knives but in the case of ratooning the cutting is done with the spade at least two or three inches below the surface soil. The top green portion with the leaves are cut away and the rest sent to the factory. Transport is entirely carried out by country boats through the Pamba river. Boats with boatmen are available for hire from



Pl. 51 YOUNG SHOOTS OF SUGAR-CANE AFTER THE FIRST MANURING Page 140



Pl. 52 SUGAR-CANE PLANTS BEFORE THE SECOND MANURING Page 140



Pl. 53

SUGAR-CANE PLANTS OF FIVE MONTHS' GROWTH

Page 140



Pl. 54

SUGAR-CANE PLANTS BEFORE PROPPING

Page 140

the factory which owns nearly 500 boats for the purpose. If the field is away from the river bank the cane is transported by head-load to the boat which takes it to the factory. At the factory the load is lifted by cranes and passed on to the crushing mill. The weighing is done mechanically in the presence of the owner and the payment made subsequently. Until 1962 the payment was made on the basis of what is called brix system, the brix for each consignment of cane being calculated from the average sugar content in it. The minimum brix was fixed at sixteen points and extra payment made for additional points. Now the price is paid only at a flat rate. The percentage of recovery in the villages around the factory has varied from 6.58 to 9.07 in the last 10 years and the yield of sugarcane per acre from 17.59 tons to 25 tons on an average. The recovery rate in the area is one of the lowest in India. The maximum yield of sugarcane may go up to 45 tons in the best plots and in the village under survey many plots produce about 30 to 40 tons per acre.

Ratooning

96. The total area under sugarcane cultivation in the village is roughly estimated to be 1,700 acres. Only about one-third of the whole area is planted newly every year, the rest falling under ratooning. For ratooning the leaves after the harvest are left to dry in the field for one or two days and then set fire to, burning the top ends of the stems also. The burnt top ends of the stems are cut away with spade and the surrounding area is cleared. After 10 to 15 days when the stumps sprout, the field is picked and other cultural practices carried out as for the new planting. It is generally found that the yield from the first ratooning is better than from the newly planted crop by about 25 per cent in the case of Co 449. Normally a field can be ratooned twice if the plants have not been affected by diseases.

Economics of Sugarcane Cultivation

97. Labourers are locally available. Except for planting the sets and stripping the leaves the women are not employed. Cultivators complain that the wage rates

are increasing by leaps and bounds every year, reducing the margin of profit of the cultivators. The wage rate is normally Rs. 2.50 per day for a male without any food but at the time of harvest and planting operations, it may go up to Rs. 4. The cost of cultivation according to the estimate of a cultivator of good standing is given below.

98. The preparation of soil including initial ploughing and trenching costs Rs. 24 per acre. The cost of tops required for one acre will be roughly Rs. 100 and the planting operation will cost Rs. 12.50. The labour charges for the first manuring will require at least Rs. 5 per acre and the picking and the second manuring at least Rs. 20 per acre. The irrigation, if carried out by Government pump sets costs Rs. 7.50 per acre and if by the pump sets of factory, Rs. 15 per acre. Adequate number of Government pump sets are not available for supply to all the areas, and some cultivators necessarily have to depend upon the factory for the pump sets. Inter-culturing trenching, filling, stripping and propping will cost about Rs. 37.50 per acre and Rs. 30 for purchase of poles for propping the plants. The manure at the rate applied by an average cultivator costs Rs. 330 per acre but it may be mentioned here that the dosage is higher than the optimum prescribed by the factory. Harvesting and loading the cane into the boats from a field, half a furlong away from the river, cost Rs. 5 per ton. In the case of a large number of fields the distance from the river is not more than half a furlong, but if the distance increases this charge may go up to Rs. 10 or if the distance decreases it may go down to Rs. 3. If the average yield is taken as 25 tons per acre the total cost on this item alone will work out to Rs. 125, assuming the distance is only half a furlong. The distance from the factory to the fields of the village may be taken approximately as two miles on an average and the water transporting charges for this distance will amount to Rs. 37 for 25 tons. There may be other unforeseen expenses such as purchase of insecticides or replacing of propping which may cost

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roughly Rs. 14 per acre. Thus the total cost of cultivation and transporting charges works out to about Rs. 750 per acre for an average field of the village. During the year under survey the price paid by the factory was at the rate of Rs. 40.20 per ton which works out to Rs. 1,005 for 25 tons. The cost for ratooned crop will be less by about Rs. 175. The rent of the land is not included in this estimate assuming that most of the cultivators themselves own the land. According to the estimate made by the factory the cost of cultivation works out to Rs. 725 per acre. This is split up into Rs. 44 for the preparatory work, Rs. 20 for trenching and planting, Rs. 120 for the tops, Rs. 10 for weeding and manuring, Rs. 165 for purchase of manure, Rs. 65 for propping, stripping etc., Rs. 30 for irrigation, Rs. 50 for earthing, threshing, twisting etc., and Rs. 175 for harvesting and transporting. According to the factory's estimate the cost for ratooned crop works out to only Rs. 500. Out of the above cost in the most cases the value of the tops can be reduced since each field will be able to collect sufficient tops from the previous harvest. In the case of ratooning these tops can be sold and an additional profit made. The tender leaves at the tuft can be used as fodder for cattle even though it cannot be counted as income in terms of money.

99. The refuse of the cane left out after extracting the juice is known as bagasse and is sold by the factory as fuel, after meeting the factory's own requirements. This provides a rather cheap fuel for the village where firewood is scarce. The press-mud, another refuse from the factory, is a good manure for sugarcane.

Other Occupations

100. Animal husbandry is not practised as an occupation but a large number of houses keep a cow or a goat and breed a few chicken. Only two houses, which keep she-buffaloes in the surveyed area, have animal husbandry as the main source of income. No pasture land as such is available to feed the animals but along the boundaries and in the house compounds a cow or a goat can be tethered. Kuttanad

area being not far away from the village, straw is available at cheap rate which some houses purchase and store. At the time of the sugarcane harvest the tender sugarcane leaves provide good fodder. Even though bulls can be harnessed with advantage in the sugarcane cultivation very seldom they are used. Except for the first ploughing for which bulls are made, use of, all the other operations are carried out manually. This explains the very small number of bulls in an agricultural village like Kadapra. In the surveyed area where there are as many as 30 households whose principal occupation is cultivation only one keeps bulls. There are 56 households in the surveyed area with cows, 7 households with she-buffaloes and 18 with goats. There are 57 households rearing indigenous fowls, one household rearing Rhode Islands and one household rearing White Leghorns. In spite of the efforts of the N. E. S. Block in the last 8 years the improved varieties of fowls have been introduced only in a small number of households in the village. The animal husbandry products are consumed in the village itself, mainly by the producing households.

101. No fishing worth the name is possible in the village for want of facilities. Once in a while a small number of people fish in the river with casting-nets and hooks but it is not a regular occupation for anybody. Forestry and connected occupations are also absent, there being no forests either in the village or anywhere in the neighbourhood.

102. Among the village industries manufacture of jaggery was an important one before the establishment of the sugar factory. All the country crushers engaged in the village have been put out of commission now since the entire sugarcane production of the area has compulsorily to be given to the factory. The other village industries consisting of a few blacksmithy, tailoring, bidi manufacturing, oil milling and such other insignificant units do not deserve a detailed description as they neither afford the scope for it nor exert any influence in the economic or social setup of the village. It has already been



Pl. 55

PROPPING THE SUGAR-CANE TO PREVENT IT
FROM FALLING



Pl. 56

AN EXAMPLE OF POOR SUGAR-CANE CROP



Pl. 57 A SAMPLE OF "GRASSY SHOOTS" IN SUGAR-CANE

Page 140



Pl. 58 MATURE SUGAR-CANE READY FOR HARVESTING

Page 140

INCOME

mentioned that commercial activities of the village are limited to a few petty provision shops and tea-shops. The tea-shops have most of their business in the morning whereas in the provision shops the evening hours are the busy time. Barter method is absent but the benefit of credit is given to known people.

Family Budget

103. For the study of the family budget only the households in the surveyed area have been considered. They are divided into cultivators, agricultural labourers and miscellaneous occupational group since appreciable differences are found in the income and expenditure as well as in the sources of income and the nature of expenditure among these three classes. In the surveyed area 30 households principally depend upon cultivation, 33 households on agricultural labour and 60 households on miscellaneous occupations for the major part of their income. Among the last category one is a beggar whose income and expenditure could not be estimated with any degree of correctness. Hence, that household has been left out in the tables and in the following analysis.

Income

104. By far the cultivators are the most prosperous section of the community in the surveyed area. Among them 3.33 per cent households get a monthly income between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50, 23.34 per cent between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75, 13.33 per cent between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 and 60.00 per cent above Rs. 100. The average number of equivalent adult males per household among these four income groups of the cultivators is 2.80, 3.05, 5.50 and 5.40 and the average number of gainfully employed persons 1.00, 1.00, 1.00 and 1.39 respectively. The average number of members in all the households together works out to 5.97. The average income per household of the four income groups is Rs. 33.34, Rs. 69.75, Rs. 95.84 and Rs. 249.40 respectively. Taking all the households of the cultivators together the average income works out to Rs. 179.80 which is far above the corresponding

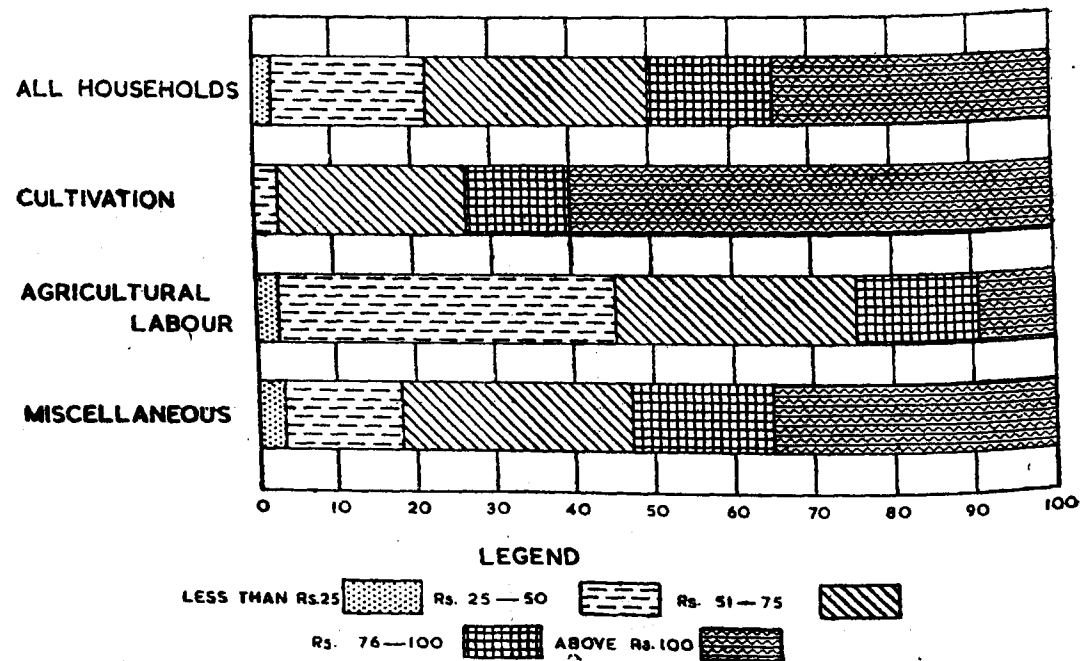
figure for the agricultural labourers and miscellaneous occupational group.

105. The agricultural labourers are the poorest section of the population in the surveyed area. 3.03 per cent of the households of this class derive only less than Rs. 25, 42.43 per cent derive between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50, 30.30 per cent derive between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75, 15.15 per cent derive between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 and 9.09 per cent above Rs. 100 per household per mensem. The average number of equivalent adult males per household in this class is 1.90, 3.05, 4.47, 5.36 and 8.10 and the average number of gainfully employed people per household 1.00, 1.21, 2.50, 2.80 and 3.67 respectively. The average number of the members per household is only 5.39 which is the least among the different classes. The average income per household in the different income groups of this class is Rs. 24.50, Rs. 44.61, Rs. 64.40, Rs. 93.93 and Rs. 172.75 per mensem and the average income per household for all the households together Rs. 69.13 per mensem which is also the least among the different occupational classes.

106. Among the miscellaneous occupational group 3.39 per cent derive a monthly average income of less than Rs. 25, 15.26 per cent between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50, 28.81 per cent between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75, 16.95 per cent between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 and 35.59 per cent above Rs. 100 per household. Both among the agricultural labourers and the miscellaneous occupational group a large majority of the households derive only less than Rs. 100 per month which is quite inadequate for their subsistence, considering the number of members in the households. In the miscellaneous occupational group the average number of members per household is 1.50, 4.10, 5.65, 6.20 and 6.05 and the average number of gainfully employed people per household 1.00, 0.67, 1.47, 1.40 and 1.43 respectively. The average number of members per household for all the income groups together is 5.51.

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INCOME GROUPS



(Households by Monthly Income)

107. Though the average number of members increases with income in all the occupational classes, only in the case of the agricultural labourers the average number of gainfully employed members bears any proportion to the increasing income. The monthly average incomes of the corresponding income groups in the various occupational classes do not vary much except in the highest income group. In the highest income group the cultivators derive a much larger income than the other two occupational classes and the agricultural labourers derive a higher income than the miscellaneous occupational class.

108. Analysing the sources of the income of the different occupational classes it is found that the cultivators derive 74.11 per cent of their total income from the household cultivation and 16.32 per cent from salary or wages. Only a small share of the income is derived from sources such

as household industry, household business, rent from land or houses, pension, help from relatives and unidentifiable sources. For the agricultural labourers 79.68 per cent of the total income is derived from salary or wages and the remaining income from household cultivation, household business, help from relatives and other sources. Almost all households of this class have a small plot of land and derive some income from it. So also all households derive a small income from unidentifiable sources. For the miscellaneous occupational class 64.75 per cent of the total income is derived from salary or wages, 15.07 per cent from household cultivation, 7.12 per cent by way of help from relatives and 6.82 per cent from household business. Small incomes are derived by a few households in this group from household industry, rent from land and pension. As among the agricultural labourers in this class also almost all house-



Pl. 59

A MALE WORKER IN
SUGAR-CANE CULTIVATION



Pl. 60

A FEMALE WORKER IN
SUGAR-CANE CULTIVATION

EXPENDITURE

holds own small plots from which some income is derived. Help from relatives and unidentifiable sources also benefit a large number of households in this class.

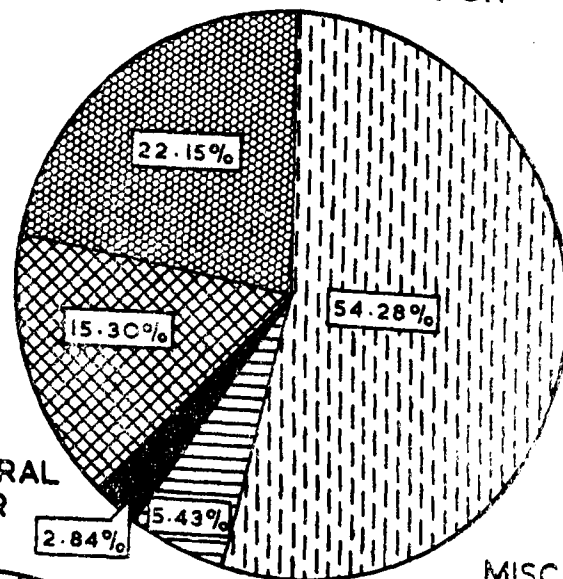
Expenditure

109. All occupational classes spend the largest percentage of their expenditure on food. This represents 54.28 per cent for the cultivators, 85.78 per cent for the agricultural labourers and 73.01 per cent for the miscellaneous occupational group. 53.34 per cent of the total expenditure on food is spent on rice by the cultivators while the agricultural labourers spend 60.08 per cent and miscellaneous occupational group 54.97 per cent. Only 5.37 per cent of the total expenditure on food is spent by the cultivators on tapioca, but the agricultural labourers spend 11.11 per cent and the miscellaneous occupational group 6.20 per cent. The other important food items for the cultivators are cocoanut, milk, fish, condiments and other vegetables, for the agricultural labourers, fish, cocoanut, condiments and oils and for the miscellaneous occupational group, cocoanut, fish, and condiments. Only a nominal amount is spent on meat but all occupational classes spend greater amounts on oils and other vegetables. The cultivators spend Rs. 19.33, the agricultural labourers Rs. 14.04 and the miscellaneous occupational class Rs. 16.00 per month per equivalent adult male on food. After food the cultivators spend the maximum amount to

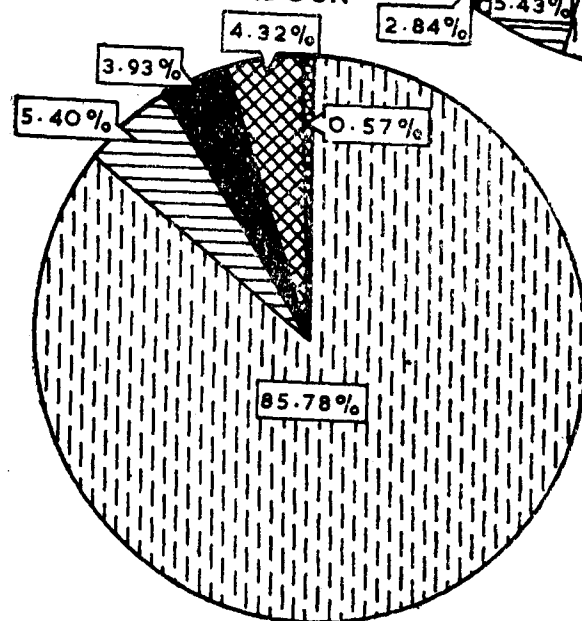
meet the expenses of cultivation. The other items of expenditure in the order of importance are miscellaneous items, clothing, housing, light and fuel. For the agricultural labourers the order of importance of expenditure on items other than food is clothing, housing, light, fuel etc., miscellaneous items and expenses of cultivation, industry or business, while for the miscellaneous occupational class it is miscellaneous items, clothing, housing, light, fuel etc., and cultivation, industry or business. Out of the miscellaneous expenditure, the cultivators spend the largest amount on education while the agricultural labourers spend the maximum on dhobi or soap and miscellaneous occupational group for savings schemes. The order of importance of miscellaneous expenditure for the cultivators is education, savings schemes, remittances to dependants, dhobi and soap and travelling, while for agricultural labourers it is dhobi and soap, savings schemes, education and hair dressing and for the miscellaneous occupational group savings schemes, education, dhobi and soap and medical expenses. The reason for the high investment in savings schemes by the miscellaneous occupational class is that many of them are employed in the factory or in the Government service where savings schemes are compulsory. As in Prakkad the amount set apart for investment in savings schemes in this village also is comparatively high.

MONTHLY EXPENDITURE BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

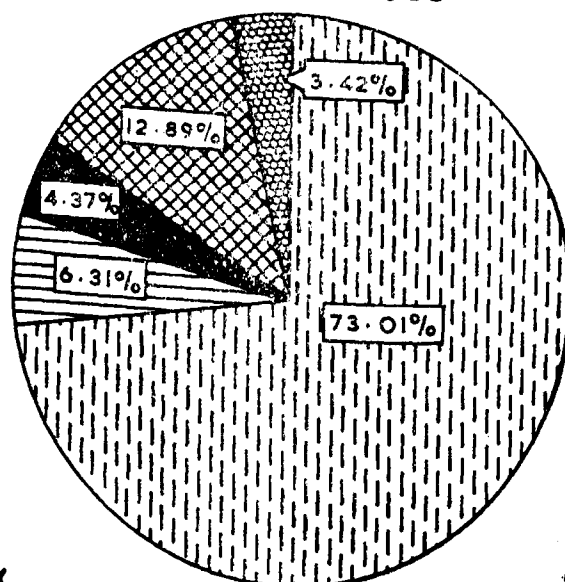
HOUSEHOLD CULTIVATION



AGRICULTURAL LABOUR



MISCELLANEOUS



INDEX

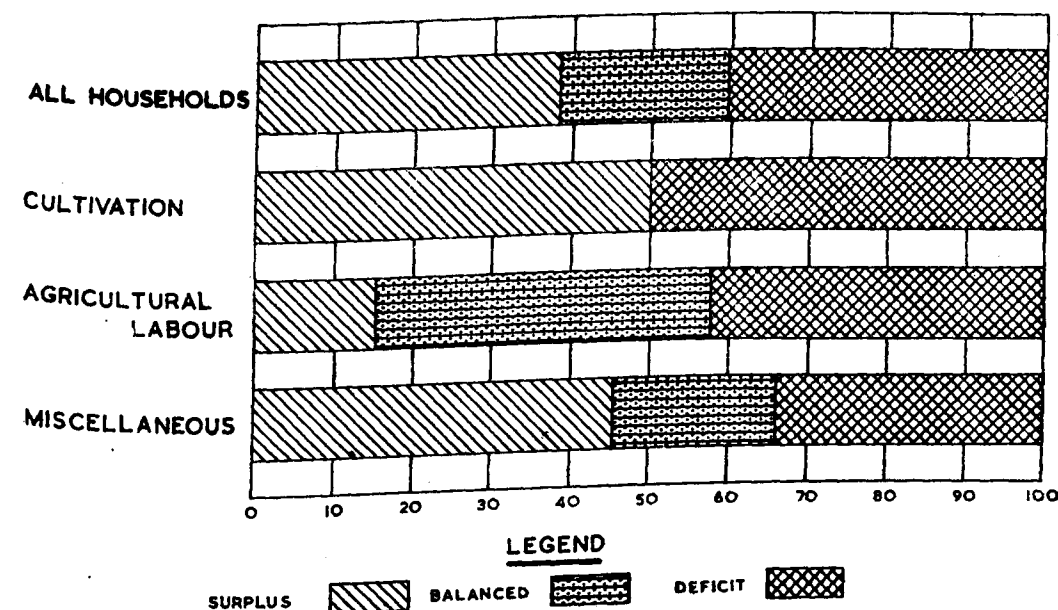


SURPLUS OR DEFICIT BUDGETS

110. Considering all the families of the cultivators together 50.00 per cent of them have surplus budgets and the remaining deficit budgets. Among the agricultural labourers 15.15 per cent have surplus budgets, 42.42 per cent have deficit budgets and the remaining have balanced budgets. In the miscellaneous occupational class the percentage of families with surplus budgets is comparatively high, and they are found distributed in all except the lowest income group. 45.76 per cent of these have surplus budgets, 33.90 per cent deficit budgets and 20.34 per cent balanced budgets. This would appear remarkable, considering the fact that the average income

in this occupational class is much less than for the cultivators and only slightly better than for the agricultural labourers, but an explanation is not far to seek. The cultivators have to spend a sizable portion of their income on cultivation itself while the miscellaneous occupational class spends only a negligible amount on this item. Between the agricultural labourers and miscellaneous occupational class the average number of members among the former is much higher than among the latter and therefore the former have to spend a much higher percentage of their income on food itself. Taking the different occupational

SURPLUS, BALANCED AND DEFICIT BUDGETS



classes together 38.19 per cent households of the surveyed area have surplus budgets, 40.50 per cent deficit budgets and 21.31 per cent balanced budgets. The following

table gives the classification of the families of the various occupational classes and income groups according to the nature of the budget.

Table XV

SURPLUS, BALANCED AND DEFICIT BUDGETS

Occupation	Income groups	Total No. of households	Surplus	Balanced	Deficit
Cultivation	Less than Rs. 25	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 25—50	1	...	...	1
	Rs. 51—75	7	2	...	5
	Rs. 76—100	4	1	...	3
	More than Rs. 100	18	12	...	6
	Total	30	15	...	15
Agricultural Labour	Less than Rs. 25	1	...	...	1
	Rs. 25—50	14	1	7	6
	Rs. 51—75	10	1	3	6
	Rs. 76—100	5	2	2	1
	More than Rs. 100	3	1	2	...
	Total	33	5	14	14
Miscellaneous Occupations	Less than Rs. 25	2	...	2	...
	Rs. 25—50	9	2	5	2
	Rs. 51—75	17	3	2	12
	Rs. 76—100	10	4	2	4
	More than Rs. 100	21	15	1	2
	Total	59	27	12	20
Grand Total*		122	47	26	49

*The household of a beggar is not taken into account in this table also.

Indebtedness

111. 20.49 per cent of the households in the surveyed area are in debts. The percentage of indebted families is the largest in the highest income group. The debt amount varies from Rs. 118.75 to Rs. 688.46. 62.53 per cent of the debt has been incurred for the sake of capital investment, such as purchase of land, house construction and investment in business, 9.35 per cent for education and 8.08 per cent for treatment. Only 20.04 per cent of the total debts has been incurred for tiding over ordinary wants. It is of parti-

cular interest to know that nobody has borrowed any money for marriages, funerals or for giving dowry. During the last 10 years the surveyed households have spent Rs. 7,485 towards clearance of old outstanding debts. The cooperative societies of the area are the source of credit for the cultivators while the other people borrow money from the more prosperous neighbours. The cultivators also borrow from private individuals for purposes for which the societies do not advance loans or for amounts which are larger than would be available from the society.

Small amounts may be borrowed from friends for short terms without payment of any interest but in other cases the private individuals charge any interest up to 12 per cent. More details about the households in debts and causes for borrowing are available in the table in appendix.

Indices of Prosperity

112. During the last 10 years 19 households have cleared old outstanding debts,

9 households acquired new properties, 15 households made cash savings and 19 households invested capital in new undertakings in the surveyed area. The total value of the acquired properties, the cash savings and the capital investments during the period in the surveyed area amounts to Rs. 61,142 excluding debts incurred for this purpose and the proceeds from the sale of properties.

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Literacy and Education

116. The percentage of literacy of the village is much above the average literacy of the State and the district. 64.33 per cent of the total population of the village and 72.91 per cent of the population of the surveyed area are literate. From the literate population of the surveyed area 21.89 per cent are just able to read and write but have not passed even the primary standard. 70.28 per cent have passed primary standard, 6.02 per cent have passed

matriculation or higher secondary, 0.40 per cent have passed intermediate and 1.41 per cent are degree holders. The number of degree holders is higher in this surveyed area than in the other surveyed centres of Alleppey district. Among the just literate and those who have passed primary school or matriculation there is a large number who are still continuing their education. Nobody from the surveyed area has gone for technical education.

Table XIX
EDUCATION

Age group	Total	Illi-terate	Literate without educational standard	Primary or junior basic	Matric or higher secondary	Inter-mediate	Graduates and above
All ages	683	185	109	350	30	2	7
0—4	101	101	...	...	...	...	...
5—9	94	28	...	...	...	...	...
10—14	89	1	22	12	...	...	...
15—19	58	1	1	66	...	...	...
20—24	52	1	3	46	8	...	2
25—29	50	3	5	34	10	...	4
30—34	51	6	2	35	4	2	1
35—44	65	5	7	42	1	...	...
45—59	77	20	8	49	4	...	...
60 and over	46	19	7	48	1	...	...
				18	2	...	...

Births and Deaths

117. Separate statistics for births and deaths in the surveyed area have not been collected but the figures for the entire village for the decade from 1951 to 1960 are given in the following table. Both the

birth and death figures have been practically stationary during the decade. The birth rate has been approximately 23 per thousand per year while the death rate has been nearly one-fourth that much.

Table XX
BIRTHS AND DEATHS

Year	Still birth	Live birth	Death
1951	...	409	112
1952	...	367	102
1953	...	363	105
1954	...	347	123
1955	...	368	124
1956	...	316	103
1957	...	366	118
1958	1	372	94
1959	...	437	84
1960	...	423	92

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Family Structure

118. 56.91 per cent of the households in the surveyed area consist of only husband, wife and children and therefore fall in the category of simple families. 21.95 per cent families contain, besides the husband, wife and children, some of the unmarried relatives of the husband or wife or a widowed mother or father of one of them and hence, according to the classification adopted for the survey, fall in the category of intermediate families. The remaining households contain more than one couple each, in addition to their children and other relations. These households come under the classification of joint families. The intermediate and joint families are found among all communities of the surveyed area and the village but they have nothing to do with the ancient joint family system where the properties were held undivided and the administration of the family was vested in the eldest male member.

Table XXI
FAMILY STRUCTURE

Community	Simple	Intermediate	Joint
Nairs	31	14	10
Jacobite Syrian Christians	30	6	2
Pulayas	4	1	1
Ezhuvas	1	3	1
Asaris	2	...	1
Vilakkathala Nairs	1	1	1
Veluthedathu Nairs	1	1	1
Kollens	...	...	...
Veerasaivas	...	1	...
Total	70	27	26

Emigration and Immigration

119. Neither emigration nor immigration has taken place either in the village or in the surveyed area on any appreciable scale in the recent past. A few employees of the sugar factory who have come from other villages stay in the quarters provided by the factory but they do not have any permanent interest in the village and it is most likely that they will return to their home villages once their employment in the

factory is over. In the present generation only one Asari family has come to the surveyed area, it having come there in search of employment. All the remaining households of the area settled there generations ago.

Medical Care

120. The absence of a public allopathic hospital in the village and the difficulty of crossing the ferry with patients to reach the nearest public allopathic hospital is one of the worst grievances of the villagers. A private allopathic hospital is functioning in Kadapra. The Government ayurvedic hospital at Parumala is not of much help either, since most of the villagers have to cross one or two ferries to reach that institution. From the surveyed area only 7 households have ever got down a doctor to their homes for consultation. 55 households go to the public hospital or dispensary in the neighbouring villages for treatment while 61 households go to the private hospital in the village for the purpose. All the surveyed households resort to both ayurvedic and allopathic treatment. On the occasion of child-birth 17.07 per cent households take the women to hospital, 10.57 per cent households get down a doctor to their homes and 25.20 per cent call a qualified midwife. 23.58 per cent households depend upon unqualified midwives in child-births. In the remaining households so far there has been no child-birth and their attitude could not therefore be ascertained.

Leisure and Recreation

121. Recreational facilities are very little in the village and no organised effort has been made in this direction. As far as the high schools are concerned there are small playgrounds attached to them but for the other schools even this facility is not available. A young men's club has been organised at Niranam by the people in the locality but this has no facilities for outdoor games or entertainments. There is no theatre or other means of entertainment within the village itself. Picture-going is rare as the ferries have to be crossed and conveyances may not be available late in

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Age and Sex Distribution

113. 53.15 per cent of the total population of 683 persons in the surveyed area are females. In most of the age-groups the females outnumber the males. 41.58 per cent of the population are children below the age of 15, 40.41 per cent belong to the age-group of 15 to 44 and 11.27 per cent belong to the age-group of 45 to 59. People aged 60 and over constitute 6.74 per cent of the population. The number of persons, particularly of males, is comparatively small in the age-group of 25 to 29,

the reason being that a number of men from the surveyed area have gone out for higher education and employment. In the highest age-group the numbers of males and females are equal contrary to the general phenomenon of females outnumbering the males in the higher age-groups. The oldest age in the surveyed area is 78 for women and 75 for men. The age and sex distribution of the population of the surveyed area is presented in the table below.

Table XVI

POPULATION BY AGE-GROUP

	Total of all ages	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 and over
Males	320	50	49	41	20	26	20	26	32	33	23
Females	363	51	45	48	38	26	30	25	33	44	23
Total persons	683	101	94	89	58	52	50	51	65	77	46

Age and Marital Status

114. 55.78 per cent of the total population of the surveyed area are never married, 36.46 per cent married, 6.44 per cent widowed and 1.32 per cent divorced or separated. 13 women above the age of 19 remain unmarried but all of them are below the age of 30. Among the males there are only 6 persons remaining un-

married above the age of 30. All married people except 6 women in the age-group of 15 to 19 are above 19. Among the widowed persons majority are females. One widowed male is aged below 29 while the others are above 60 and five widowed women are below the age of 40. A detailed statement of the marital status of the people of the surveyed area is given below.

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Table XVII

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Age group	Total population			Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
								6	38	1	8
All ages	683	320	363	192	189	121	128	...	...	...	...
0-9	195	99	96	99	96	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	89	41	48	41	48	...	6	...	...	1	1
15-19	58	20	38	20	32	5	17	...	...	...	...
20-24	52	26	26	20	8	13	23	1	2	...	3
25-29	50	20	30	6	5	21	21	...	1	...	...
30-34	51	26	25	5	...	20	15	...	2	...	...
35-39	38	21	17	1	...	11	13	...	1	...	2
40-44	27	11	16	...	...	13	13	...	6	...	1
45-49	33	13	20	...	...	12	7	...	3	...	...
50-54	22	12	10	...	...	8	8	...	6	...	...
55-59	22	8	14	...	...	10	2	2	4	...	...
60-64	18	12	6	...	...	5	3	1	5	...	...
65-69	14	6	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
70 and over	14	5	9	...	...	3	...	2	8	...	...

115. In the village the common age of the first marriage for women is from 17 to 24 and for men from 23 to 30 at present. In the surveyed area in the memory of the present generation only 9 girls have been married below the age of 15 and only 9 males have married below the age of 20. As far as the people remember the largest

number of marriages of girls have taken place in the age-group of 15 to 19 and of boys in the age-group of 20 to 24. The table below gives the age of first marriage of boys and girls that have taken place in the memory of the present generation, but the table represents more a bygone practice than the present state of affairs.

Table XVIII
AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

Community	Age-groups									
	10-14		15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Nairs	...	4	4	33	22	18	20	...	9	...
Jacobite Syrian Christians	...	5	3	29	25	11	11	...	6	...
Pulayas	...	...	1	6	5	1	...	...	...	...
Ezhuvas	...	...	...	3	5	2	2	...	...	...
Asaris	...	...	1	2	...	1	...	...	...	...
Vilakkathala Nairs	...	...	...	2	3	1	...	...	...	...
Veluthedathu Nairs	...	...	...	2	2	1	1	...	1	...
Kollans	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Veerasaivas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	...
Total	...	9	9	78	63	36	35	...	...	...

night after the shows. Playing cards, gambling and such other methods of whiling away the time are not commonly found here. Even during festive occasions such as Onam, when community games or entertainments are organised in several villages of Kerala, no attempt is made in Kadapra, to organise them.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

122. The village has a separate panchayat governed by eight elected members. The annual income of the panchayat is estimated to be about Rs. 20,000 from which a sizable portion has to be spent for the pay of the staff. Therefore, only a small amount is available for developmental activities. The panchayat attends to the maintenance of the small bits of village roads here and there, arranges to sweep the road junctions and lights the streets with a few lamps. The most important achievement of the panchayat perhaps is the construction of some wells and three public bathing ghats. A midwife has been appointed under the panchayat to attend to maternity cases.

123. Communal organisations were non-existent in the past. However, in recent times attempts have been made to establish branches of such organisations among the Hindus. Christians of the village have parish organisations to assist the priests in the administration of matters connected with the parish. The general body of the people of each Jacobite parish elects a committee which meets at regular intervals to look into the management of the parish properties and arrange for the conduct of religious festivals of the parish. The committee selects two or three trustees who are responsible to the committee and the people for the daily management of the properties and assets of the church. They collect the offerings in the church and the rent from the properties and arrange for the carrying out of routine work in the church.

Co-operative Societies

124. Altogether there are 7 co-operative societies functioning in the village of which the Sugarcane Cultivators' Co-operative Society having a total membership of 2,640 is the most active and the largest. It has a

paid up share capital of Rs. 6,80,295. All the members are sugarcane cultivators and receive loans from the society at the time of cultivation. The society also distributes manures and chemicals to the members. Manure loans and other short term loans are issued to the members on the strength of the registration card from the factory, without insisting upon any other security. It has nearly Rs. 30,000 worth of share in the District Co-operative Bank, besides a few shares in a new sugar mill under construction in the neighbouring village. The Kadapra Service Co-operative Society with 489 members and a share capital of Rs. 6,840 is also working vigorously. Its main activity is providing credit facilities to the members most of whom are sugarcane cultivators. Five other societies working within the village are the Kadapra-Mannar Syrian Christian Co-operative Society, Pamba River Factory Vinnyogaka Co-operative Society, Pulikkeezhu Labour Contract Co-operative Society, Parumala Vinnyogaka Co-operative Society and Manpathra Vyavasaya Co-operative Society. The first of these societies, registered long ago, contain only Syrian Christians as its members. The second and fourth societies are consumer co-operatives with large membership. The Manpathra Vyavasaya Co-operative Society is an industrial co-operative containing only potters as its members. As among the paddy cultivators of Prakkad the co-operative movement has taken root among the sugarcane cultivators of the village under survey. The main reason for the success of the societies among the sugarcane cultivators is that realisation of debts is made easy by the fact that the member cultivators get a large sum of money at a time from the factory when they may not grudge clearing away debt to the society. Often the society keeps the registration card of the debtors and receives the entire amount from the factory, from which the debt amount will be realised before giving the balance to the cultivators. Besides the co-operative societies, the sugarcane cultivators have an association of their own to look after their interest, to bargain with the factory or make representations to the Government for the

redressal of their grievances and for the increase in the price of sugarcane.

Dowry

125. 44 out of 45 Christian households in the surveyed area have either given or received dowry. Out of 78 Hindu households only one Asari household and one Veerasaiva household returned having given or received dowry. In recent times there have been several instances in the Hindu community where some amount was given to the bridegroom on the occasion

of the marriage though this would not be recognised as dowry and would not affect the claim of the girl for the share of the family properties. However the amounts so given are small compared to the dowry given among the Christians. The amounts involved vary according to financial capacities of the parties. In the surveyed area it has exceeded Rs. 3,000, in five cases. The following table gives the classification of the households according to their community and the amounts involved.

Table XXII

DOWRY

Total No. of households	Name of the community	No. households which have either given or received dowry	No. of households which have either given or received dowry as ornaments alone without cash or property	No. of households which have either given or received dowry both in cash or property and in ornaments						
				Up to Rs. 100	Up to Rs. 500	Up to Rs. 1,000	Up to Rs. 1,500	Up to Rs. 2,000	Up to Rs. 2,500	Above Rs. 3,000
		44		1	9	12	10	5	3	4
45	Jacobite Syrian Christians	Nil		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
55	Nairs	Nil		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5	Ezhuvas	Nil		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Vilakkathala Nairs	Nil		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Veluthedathu Nairs	1		...	...	...	...	...	...	1
3	Asaris	Nil		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1	Kollans	1		...	...	1	...	...	...	...
1	Veerasaivas	Nil		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7	Pulayas			...	...	...	...	...	...	...

126. It is difficult and perhaps too early to assess the effect of statutory prohibition of dowry on the custom. It could, however, be said that some are still secretly clinging to the custom even now.

Caste Relationship

127. Religious toleration and communal harmony were highly valued by all sections of the people even in olden days. A standing monument for this is the close proximity

between the Niranam church and the Munnoottimangalam temple. The intermingled settlements of different communities also proclaim this fact. This harmony has, however, been occasionally disturbed in the last few years though such disturbances have been limited to the surface and have not affected the daily life. The communal feelings come to the forefront mainly during the elections.

128. There is equality between the Syrian Christians and the higher Hindu castes like Nairs. Pulayas, Blacksmiths, Asaris, etc., who were considered to be lower castes in olden days are not given a welcome of equality by the other communities. However, no form of untouchability or unapproachability is practised anywhere; neither is admission to the public places denied to any community.

Libraries and Reading Rooms

129. There are three reading rooms in the village under survey. They get down Malayalam daily newspapers and weeklies for the benefit of the people who gather there in the evenings. Beyond this they do not undertake any other intellectual activity. Daily newspapers are purchased by a large number of households in the village, the percentage of such households being 50 in the surveyed area. The newspapers published from Kottayam, from where a large number of dailies issue, reach the village early in the morning. A good number of villagers start their day with the reading of the newspapers. Some among the educated section of the village also purchase English dailies published from outside the State.

Social Awareness

130. With the high literacy and the widespread reading of the newspapers the social awareness naturally increases. The important developments in the country are followed by the people with keen interest. The legislations and the proceedings of the State Assembly reported in the papers are read with close attention. The abolition of the practice of untouchability is known to all the households in the surveyed area. But the Hindu Adoption Act and Hindu Succession Act, though widely known, are not so clearly understood.

Developmental Activities

131. Co-operation in the developmental activities seems to be rather poor from the

information gathered from the surveyed area. Out of 123 households in the surveyed area no one has so far taken part in the activities of the community project by contributing land, labour, cash or material though it is more than 8 years since the N.E.S. Block was started in the village. However, the impact of the developmental activities undertaken by the Blocks seems to have had reflections in the life of the cultivators. 41 households in the surveyed area have received better irrigation facilities, 33 households better seeds, 21 households better implements, 70 households better manure and 70 households pesticides during the last 10 years. 70 households have been benefited by the demonstrations conducted by the N. E. S. Block in surveyed area.

Family Planning

132. 58 households belonging to the different communities in the surveyed area were interviewed to find out the popularity of the family planning programme. 55.17 per cent of the interviewed households, including members from all communities, were well aware of the programme. 81.25 per cent of the households from those who were aware of the programme expressed in favour of adoption of family planning. 57.69 per cent of the people in favour of the programme approved only the method of self-restraint for the purpose while 30.77 per cent approved both self-restraint and the use of contraceptives while 11.54 per cent expressed themselves in favour of sterilization. On explaining the purpose of the programme to those who were not aware of it, majority of them spoke in favour of adopting it, though they could not make any choice between the different methods advocated. The remaining people who did not express in favour of the programme did not oppose it either. Their attitude was more of indifference to the problem.

Table XXIII

ATTITUDE TO FAMILY PLANNING

	Name of the community									
	Total	Nairs	Jacobite Syrian Christians	Pulayas	Ezhuvas	Asaris	Vilakkathala Nairs	Veluthedathu Nairs	Kollans	Veerasaivas
1. No. of persons interviewed.	58	23	23	2	3	2	2	2	...	1
2. No. of persons aware of family planning	32	12	12	1	2	1	1	2	...	1
3. No. of persons in favour of family planning out of item No. 2	26	10	10	1	...	1	1	2	...	1
4. No. of persons out of item No. 3 in favour of										
(a) Self-restraint only	16	8	4	...	1	1	...	1	...	1
(b) Contraceptives and self-restraint	8	2	4	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
(c) Contraceptives only	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(d) Sterilization	4	...	2	...	1	...	...	1	...	...
5. No. of persons who were not aware of family planning programmes	26	11	11	1	1	1	1	...	...	...
6. No. of persons out of item 5 who were in favour of family planning when the programme was explained to them	16	7	5	1	1	1	1	...	...	...

Festivals

133. The Independence day and the Republic day celebrated on modest scales under the auspices of the schools are the only celebrations in which the different communities take part together. 'Vishu' is celebrated by all the Hindus. 'Onam' which was celebrated only by Hindus formerly has become more cosmopolitan recently and the non-Hindu communities do not mind taking part in the celebrations now, though they do not take any initiative in the matter. There are a number of religious celebrations held every year in the temples and churches. In December-January a feast known as 'Chirappu' is celebrated in the Perumpadappu Siva temple. Almost during the same period there is a 'Talapoly' festival in Alanthuruthy Devi temple, when women carrying in brass plates auspicious articles such as

paddy, rice, flowers, an oil lamp lighted in one half of a coconut etc., take part in a procession. This marks the end of a period of special devotion of 41 days known as 'Mandalam'. Besides the 'Talapoly' there is a festival lasting for three days celebrated in the same temple in the month of April. On the 'Onam' day 'Arat' is celebrated in the Munnootimangalam Vishnu temple by taking the deity outside the temple for a bath. The festival in the Panayannarkavu Bhagavathi temple takes place in April. Colourfully decorated large images of bulls carried in a procession is the most interesting function of this festival. It is said that this procession takes place exactly on the same day when in olden days a virgin used to be sacrificed there at the culmination of the procession. The human sacrifice was stopped when, as referred to in the second chapter in

connection with Adissans, a girl smiled at the deity even while she was about to be killed. There are unimportant festivals in all the other temples.

134. The Christian churches also celebrate one or two festivals every year. The Niranam church celebrates the feast of one Bahanan Sahada in the month of January, the feast of Virgin Mary in the month of September and the death anni-

versary of two bishops entombed in the church. The latter feast is the most important and is attended by a large crowd gathering from distant places. In the church of Saints Peter and Paul at Parumala the death anniversary of Mar Gregorios Geevarghese is celebrated on the first and second of November every year. This is a great feast advertised in the local papers and attended by a large crowd.

Social

135. Kadapra is one of the most ancient settlements in Kerala finding a place not only in the old writings of this country but also in the accounts of the ancient Roman travellers. Niranam, as an important port from where pepper and other spices were exported to the Roman empire, had very early contacts with foreigners. This fact has been established beyond doubt by the discovery of coins of Augustus Caesar from the neighbourhood of Niranam in recent years. In the Parumala island, it has been reported, that large urns probably used to bury people, have been discovered in pieces. The History of Kerala Church mentions of Apostle Thomas having gone there and converted some high caste Hindus to Christianity.

136. Originally the village was a centre of high caste Hindus especially Namboothiris. But in the beginning of the Christian era a good section of the Hindu population of the village became Christians. Thus both the Hindus and Christians have lived here for about 2,000 years in complete harmony cherishing the feeling of the ancient oneness. The preservation of this spirit by the present and future generations will be to the common good of all concerned. Indeed, it requires great restraint, jealous guarding against one's own excesses and a sustained interest in the well being of one's neighbours as in his own. Centuries of good tradition in this respect already referred to will help this in a great measure.

137. One of the public health problems confronting the village is the absence of a Government allopathic hospital. The lack of communication facilities to neighbouring areas has made this problem a really serious one. But the construction of the bridges at Pulikeezhu and Pannayi which has been undertaken by the Government is a silver lining in the cloud in that these bridges will connect this village with the roads leading to Thiruvalla and Mannar

CHAPTER V CONCLUSION

where good Government hospitals are available. The distance from this village to Thiruvalla is about 5 miles and to Mannar hospital about 2 miles. The location of the ayurvedic hospital in the village is hardly conducive to the easy access to it from several parts of the village. Besides its being in an island isolated from the rest of the village, this island itself happens to be in a corner of the village.

138. A major part of the village will be under water for three or four weeks continuously during the monsoon period. Besides the necessity for the families of shifting from their houses at this time, the floods also bring in their wake several public health problems. The drinking water is affected, the houses are damaged, the floor is left damp and the surroundings of residential houses covered with silt, decayed leaves and other materials deposited by the floods. For some time after the recession of the floods, life in these areas is unhealthy. While the normal remedy for the problem is the resort to effective flood control measures this village may not welcome such measures as the annual floods bring along with several disadvantages also certain benefits to the village in the form of enriching the soil by the silt carried by the floods. The great success of the sugarcane cultivation in the village should be mainly attributed to the fertility of the soil to which these floods contribute not a little. At the same time great vigilance is called for on the part of the Public Health Department at the time of rehabilitation of the households in the flooded area when the floods have receded.

139. Another important aspect in the social life of the people of Kadapra is the influence that religion has exerted and still exerts on their minds. From very ancient times the Hindus have had a number of temples in the village, where feasts were celebrated on pompous scales. The temples of the village, particularly Panayannarkavu

attract worshippers even from distant places. Similarly, Niranam has been one of the earliest Christian spiritual centres. During all the vicissitudes of the Christian church of Kerala, Niranam played a prominent role. Even now it remains a bishopric of the Jacobites. Annual feasts in the Niranam and Parumala churches are well known among the Jacobite Christians of Kerala.

140. The percentage of literacy in this village is, as already observed, 64.33 and in the surveyed area 72.91. Both these are far above the State average. This speaks very highly of the people of the village who have a long tradition of enlightenment and culture to their credit.

Economic

141. One of the impressive and heartening features of this village is the interest taken by the adult population in work. This feature is perceptible to a remarkable degree both in the middle and poor classes and no less even among the richer classes and lends hopes for the future.

142. The economic life of the majority of the people centres round sugarcane cultivation. Before the establishment of a sugar factory in the village there was some sugarcane cultivation in and around the village, but paddy cultivation had perhaps greater importance. The establishment of the factory so turned the table that sugarcane replaced paddy in most of the fields and paddy came to have only a nominal place in the agricultural produce of Kadapra. Sugarcane factory has improved the economy of the cultivators in several ways. In olden days the sugarcane cultivators required greater financial capacity than at present as they could get money only after crushing the cane, manufacturing jaggery and selling it in the market. Often they might have had to hold the stock until market conditions improved, if they had to get any profit. Today they need only deliver the cane at the factory and can receive payment immediately. The fluctuating market in sugarcane has been stabilised by the factory, besides saving the cultivators from the trouble of finding money for crushing the cane and manu-

facturing jaggery. In addition, the factory advances money even for raising the cultivation. It distributes manure on credit, arranges irrigation facilities, distributes improved strains of sugarcane and renders technical help to improve the cultivation. Consequently production has increased phenomenally. All the cultivators are now carrying on the cultivation on modern lines using chemical manures and following improved cultivation practices. There is little room left for new suggestions in this regard. Neither is extension of the area under sugarcane to be advised, for the maximum possible land is now used for this purpose in the village.

143. The sugarcane production of the area is one of the highest in India. While Uttar Pradesh and Bihar produce only about 25,000 pounds per acre on an average, the average production in the village under survey is nearly 50,000 pounds, several fields producing much more. Nevertheless, the sugar recovery from the cane of the area is one of the lowest in India, the recovery rate in the village under survey being below 9 per cent. The sugar content varies from area to area; it is the lowest on the banks of the river which receive large quantity of silt deposit and the highest in the laterite soil away from the river where this benefit is not available. On the other hand the production of sugarcane is the highest along the banks while it is the lowest in the interior. In olden days the price of the cane was fixed according to sugar content on the basis of what is known as brix system, which assured a fair price for cultivators of all areas. Last year this system of payment was stopped in favour of payment at a flat rate. This flat rate is slightly above the minimum value given in the former days but below the maximum value, thus giving room for complaint from one section of cultivators. While the sugarcane cultivation has made great strides of progress in this village it is still a matter for exploration as to whether the sugar contents of the canes can be enhanced by application of such chemicals in the soil as would help it.

144. The establishment of the sugar factory has improved the employment opportunities of workers of the village. On the one hand the factory itself employs a number of illiterate, unskilled people as casual labourers and on the other hand, the extension of sugarcane cultivation after the starting of the factory has led to increased demand for agricultural labour both within the village and in the neighbouring areas. Unlike paddy cultivation the sugarcane cultivation gives almost year-round employment particularly with the spread-out cultivation method followed here. The wage rates have increased considerably and in fact has become one of the grievances of the cultivators. The hard-board factory at Parumala is likely to further improve the employment opportunities and perhaps also reduce the cost of production of sugar by utilisation of the begasse which is now a by-product thrown out as waste.

145. The co-operative movement in this village has left a glorious chapter in the history of the movement in Kerala. The

success of the societies in this village should serve as a beacon light to the rest of the societies in the State. Indeed, one of the factors responsible for the success of these societies is the possibility of making prompt recoveries of the loans at the time of the sale of the produces, especially sugarcane, at the sugar factory. This should be an eye-opener to the co-operative societies which are extending loans to their members. One of the main reasons which have contributed to the failure of credit societies is the habitual indolence of the members in the matter of repaying the loans and walking away with the loans already secured as if they have made a life profit by exploiting the society. If only the credit societies will make sure of the machinery for the recovery of the loans by the sale of the produce in the case of agriculturists and products in the case of other members, when they are ready for sale, this problem of non-recovery of the loans could be effectively tackled and the cooperative credit movements find their way to greater success.

KADAPRA

APPENDIX A

Table I (a)

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income Groups	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 and above	Females of 12 and above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12		
Cultivation	Less than Rs. 25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 25- 50	1	1.00	2.00	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 51- 75	7	1.14	1.57	0.29	0.71	2.80	1.00
	Rs. 76-100	4	2.25	2.50	0.50	1.50	3.05	1.00
	Above Rs. 100	18	2.11	2.33	1.44	0.94	5.50	1.00
							5.40	1.39

Table I (b)

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income Groups	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 and above	Females of 12 and above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12		
Agricultural labour	Less than Rs. 25	1	...	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.90	1.00
	Rs. 25- 50	14	1.21	1.29	0.86	0.50	3.05	1.21
	Rs. 51- 75	10	1.40	2.30	0.90	1.10	4.47	2.50
	Rs. 76-100	5	1.80	2.40	0.80	2.00	5.36	2.80
	Above Rs. 100	3	3.33	4.00	1.33	1.00	8.10	3.67

Table I (c)

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income Groups	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 and above	Females of 12 and above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12		
Miscellaneous	Less than Rs. 25	2	...	1.00	0.50	...	1.15	1.00
	Rs. 25- 50	9	1.00	1.44	0.33	1.33	3.13	0.67
	Rs. 51- 75	17	1.71	2.06	0.94	0.94	4.50	1.47
	Rs. 76-100	10	1.80	2.30	1.70	0.40	4.92	1.40
	Above Rs. 100	21	2.05	2.00	0.81	1.19	4.85	1.43

APPENDIX A

Table II (a)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	All households	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
	No. of households	30	1	7	4	18
		Rs. Per cent	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cultivation	(a) Salary or wages	29.34 16.32	...	8.33	18.75	41.50
	(b) Industry run by the household	0.78 0.43	...	...	...	1.30
	(c) Business run by the household	2.22 1.23	...	...	...	3.70
	(d) Cultivation run by the household	133.24 74.11	16.67	52.38	67.71	185.72
	(e) Rent from land	2.36 1.31	...	...	...	3.94
	(f) Rent of houses	1.58 0.88	...	...	...	2.64
	(g) Pension	1.00 0.56	...	...	...	1.67
	(h) Gifts and presents	...	...	...	...	...
	(i) Help from relatives	3.00 1.67	...	7.14	...	2.22
	(j) Other sources	6.28 3.49	16.67	1.90	9.38	6.71
	Total	179.80 100.00	33.34	69.75	95.84	249.40

Table II (b)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	All households	Households with a monthly income of				
			Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
	No. of households	33	1	14	10	5	3
		Rs. Per cent	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Agricultural labour	(a) Salary or wages	55.08 79.68	22.83	40.21	48.70	64.25	141.22
	(b) Industry run by the household	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(c) Business run by the household	4.80 6.94	...	...	...	18.33	22.22
	(d) Cultivation run by the household	5.31 7.68	...	1.49	9.08	8.75	6.53
	(e) Rent from land	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(f) Rent of houses	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(g) Pension	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(h) Gifts and presents	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(i) Help from relatives	0.32 0.46	...	0.75	...	...	...
	(j) Other sources	3.62 5.24	1.67	2.16	6.62	2.60	2.78
	Total	69.13 100.00	24.50	44.61	64.40	93.93	172.75

KADAPRA

APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table II (c)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	All households	Households with a monthly income of					
			Less than	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Above	
			Rs. 25	25-50	51-75	76-100	Rs. 100	
	No. of households	59	2	9	17	10	21	
		Rs.	Per cent	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Miscellaneous	(a) Salary or wages	63.76	64.75	13.58	20.92	45.12	69.53	99.23
	(b) Industry run by the household	1.50	1.52	...	...	0.49	...	3.81
	(c) Business run by the household	6.71	6.82	...	6.02	8.09	...	9.72
	(d) Cultivation run by the household	14.84	15.07	4.17	5.06	9.83	8.33	27.20
	(e) Rent from land	1.41	1.43	...	...	...	...	3.97
	(f) Rent of houses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(g) Pension	0.40	0.41	...	...	...	...	1.12
	(h) Gifts and presents	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(i) Help from relatives	7.01	7.12	...	9.44	2.94	7.00	9.92
	(j) Other sources	2.84	2.88	...	2.67	3.01	3.73	2.62
	Total	98.47	100.00	17.75	44.11	69.48	88.59	157.59

Table III (a-1)

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of				
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100	
				No. of households	30	1	7	4
		Per household	Per equivalent adult male					
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Miscellaneous	A. Food Group							
	i. Cereals and pulses							
	Rice	49.30	10.31	53.34	20.00	27.57	44.25	60.50
	Other grains	1.62	0.34	1.75	...	1.00	1.25	2.03
	Dhal	0.99	0.21	1.07	0.50	0.64	0.88	1.18
	Total	51.91	10.86	56.16	20.50	29.21	46.38	63.71

(Continued)

APPENDIX A

Table III (a-1)—Contd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE FOR HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of					
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100		
				No. of households	30	1	7	4	18
		Per house- hold	Per equi- valent adult male						
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cultivation	ii. Vegetables								
	Potatoes	0.67	0.14	0.73	...	0.14	0.25	1.00	
	Tapioca	4.96	1.04	5.37	3.75	4.54	4.50	5.29	
	Onions	0.38	0.08	0.41	0.15	0.22	0.25	0.48	
	Cocoanuts	5.89	1.23	6.37	1.35	2.60	3.31	7.99	
	Other vegetables	3.43	0.72	3.71	...	1.61	1.94	4.66	
	Total	15.33	3.21	16.59	5.25	9.11	10.25	19.42	
	iii. Meat and Fish								
	Meat	1.34	0.28	1.45	...	0.86	1.25	1.63	
	Fish	4.28	0.89	4.63	...	2.64	3.19	5.39	
	Total	5.62	1.17	6.08	...	3.50	4.44	7.02	
	iv. Milk	4.70	0.98	5.09	...	...	...	7.83	
	v. Ghee and Oil	2.92	0.61	3.16	1.00	1.86	2.00	3.64	
	vi. Salt	0.41	0.09	0.44	0.25	0.25	0.38	0.49	
	vii. Condiments								
	Chillies	1.63	0.34	1.76	1.00	1.21	1.50	1.86	
	Tamarind	0.52	0.11	0.56	0.25	0.29	0.38	0.66	
	Other condiments	3.54	0.74	3.83	1.00	2.07	2.63	4.46	
	Total	5.69	1.19	6.15	2.25	3.57	4.51	6.98	
	viii. Sugars	2.97	0.62	3.21	...	1.79	2.00	3.81	
	ix. Coffee and Tea	1.70	0.36	1.84	0.50	0.89	1.00	2.24	
	x. Liquor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	xi. Tobacco								
	Smoking	0.45	0.09	0.49	...	0.36	0.25	0.56	
	Chewing	0.73	0.15	0.79	...	0.57	0.38	0.92	
	Total	1.18	0.24	1.28	...	0.93	0.63	1.48	
	x. Other foods including refreshments								
	Pansupari etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total under food	92.43	19.33	100.00	29.75	51.11	71.59	116.62	

(Continued)

KADAPRA

APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (a-1)—Concl'd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE FOR HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Households with a monthly income of					
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100		
			No. of households	30	1	7	4	18
		Expenditure per household	Percentage of total expenditure on miscellaneous items					
		Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Cultivation	B. Clothing	9.25		2.08	3.69	5.21	12.71	
	C. Housing, Light, Fuel etc.	4.83		1.08	2.69	3.06	6.26	
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure							
	i. Education	12.29	47.18	1.25	1.25	1.98	19.49	
	ii. Dhobi or soap	2.54	9.75	1.00	1.21	1.50	3.38	
	iii. Barber	0.37	1.42	0.17	0.19	0.27	0.48	
	iv. Travelling	1.44	5.53	...	...	0.15	2.36	
	v. Medical fees and medicines	1.17	4.49	...	0.12	0.21	1.85	
	vi. Religious observances	0.26	1.00	...	0.01	0.04	0.41	
	vii. Amusements	0.26	1.00	...	...	...	0.43	
	viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings	4.11	15.78	...	0.71	1.67	6.19	
	ix. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere	3.33	12.78	...	...	...	5.56	
	x. Other items	0.28	1.07	...	...	...	0.46	
	Total	26.05	100.00	2.42	3.49	5.82	40.61	
				Percentage of total expenditure on cultivation etc.				
E. Cultivation, Industries and Business								
	i. Cultivation run by the household	37.71	100.00	...	9.52	11.46	56.60	
	ii. Industry run by the household	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	iii. Business run by the household	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total	37.71	100.00	...	9.52	11.46	56.60	
F. Grand Total of A to E				170.27	35.33	70.50	97.14	232.80

APPENDIX A

Table III (b-1)

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of					
				Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100	
				1	14	10	5	3	
No. of households	33	Per household	Per equivalent adult male						
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Agricultural Labour	A. Food Group								
	i. Cereals and pulses								
	Rice	35.92	8.44	60.08	13.00	22.89	34.20	52.00	83.33
	Other grains	0.95	0.22	1.59	...	0.75	0.90	1.10	2.17
	Dhal	0.69	0.16	1.15	0.50	0.48	0.70	0.70	1.67
	Total	37.56	8.82	62.82	13.50	24.12	35.80	53.80	87.17
	ii. Vegetables								
	Potatoes	0.09	0.02	0.15	...	...	...	0.20	0.67
	Tapioca	6.64	1.55	11.11	3.75	5.09	6.58	8.00	12.08
	Onions	0.19	0.05	0.32	...	0.17	0.19	0.21	0.33
	Cocoanuts	2.54	0.60	4.25	1.00	1.53	2.39	2.84	7.75
	Other vegetables	1.15	0.27	1.92	...	0.25	0.45	1.45	7.58
	Total	10.61	2.49	17.75	4.75	7.04	9.61	12.70	28.41
	iii. Meat and Fish								
	Meat	0.18	0.04	0.30	...	0.14	0.20	0.40	...
	Fish	2.77	0.65	4.63	1.00	2.27	2.58	3.60	5.00
	Total	2.95	0.69	4.93	1.00	2.41	2.78	4.00	5.00
	iv. Milk								
		0.21	0.05	0.35	...	...	...	...	2.33
	v. Ghee and Oil								
		1.70	0.40	2.84	1.00	1.32	1.65	2.00	3.33
	vi. Salt								
		0.20	0.07	0.50	0.10	0.24	0.25	0.45	0.42
	vii. Condiments								
	Chillies	1.22	0.29	2.04	0.50	1.00	1.28	1.50	1.83
	Tamarind	0.35	0.08	0.59	0.15	0.25	0.33	0.40	0.83
	Other condiments	1.91	0.45	3.19	0.50	1.46	1.75	2.50	4.00
	Total	3.48	0.82	5.82	1.15	2.71	3.36	4.40	6.66
	viii. Sugars								
		1.21	0.28	2.02	...	0.57	1.20	1.80	3.67
	ix. Coffee and Tea								
		0.84	0.20	1.41	0.25	0.63	0.75	1.00	2.00
	x. Liquor								
		0.21	0.05	0.35	...	0.50	...	...	...
	xi. Tobacco								
Smoking	0.22	0.05	0.37	...	0.37	0.20	...	...	
Chewing	0.50	0.12	0.84	0.75	0.25	0.30	1.40	0.75	
Total	0.72	0.17	1.21	0.75	0.62	0.50	1.40	0.75	
xii. Other foods including refreshments									
Pansupari etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total under food	59.79	14.04	100.00	22.50	40.16	55.93	81.55	139.74	

Continued.

Continued.

APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (b-1)—Concl'd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Households with a monthly income of				
			Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
			1	14	10	5	3
	No. of households	33					
		Expenditure per household					
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Agricultural labour	B. Clothing	3.76	0.83	2.35	3.83	5.58	8.06
	C. Housing, Light, Fuel etc.	2.74	1.92	1.82	2.54	2.48	8.42
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure						
	i. Education	0.71	23.59	...	0.09	0.53	0.83
	ii. Dhobi or soap	1.26	41.86	0.75	0.84	1.15	1.70
	iii. Barber	0.22	7.31	0.08	0.17	0.17	0.23
	iv. Travelling	...	...	...	...	...	...
	v. Medical fees and medicines	0.05	1.66	...	...	...	0.56
	vi. Religious observances	0.03	1.00	...	...	0.08	...
	vii. Amusements	0.02	0.66	...	...	...	0.08
	viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings	0.72	23.92	...	0.18	0.17	0.50
	ix. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere	...	...	...	...	...	...
	x. Other items	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	3.01	100.00	0.83	1.28	2.10	3.34
							14.54
E. Cultivation, Industries and Business							
	i. Cultivation run by the household	0.25	62.50	...	...	0.42	0.83
	ii. Industry run by the household	...	...	...	...	...	...
	iii. Business run by the household	0.15	37.50	...	...	...	...
	Total	0.40	100.00	...	...	0.42	0.83
F. Grand Total of A to E		69.70					1.67
			26.08	45.61	64.82	93.78	172.43

Table III (c-1)

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of				
				Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
				2	9	17	10	21
	No. of households	59						
		Per household	Per equivalent adult male					
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Miscellaneous	A. Food Group							
	i. Cereals and pulses							
	Rice	38.46	8.79	54.97	8.50	23.67	34.00	40.30
	Other grains	1.12	0.26	1.60	...	0.53	0.97	0.90
	Dhal	0.78	0.18	1.11	0.25	0.36	0.63	0.88
	Total	40.36	9.23	57.68	8.75	24.56	35.60	42.08
	ii. Vegetables							
	Potatoes	0.51	0.12	0.73	...	...	0.12	0.40
	Tapioca	4.34	0.99	6.20	1.00	3.53	4.96	5.90
	Onions	0.26	0.06	0.37	0.13	0.18	0.22	0.27
	Cocoanuts	4.04	0.92	5.77	1.25	1.91	2.89	2.96
	Other vegetables	2.39	0.55	3.42	0.38	0.75	1.12	1.85
	Total	11.54	2.64	16.49	2.76	6.37	9.31	11.38
	iii. Meat and Fish							
	Meat	0.68	0.16	0.97	...	...	0.12	0.40
	Fish	2.93	0.67	4.19	0.50	0.78	2.21	2.90
	Total	3.61	0.83	5.16	0.50	0.78	2.33	3.30
	iv. Milk	2.65	0.61	3.79	...	...	...	1.25
	v. Ghee and Oil	2.25	0.51	3.22	0.88	1.25	1.87	1.95
	vi. Salt	0.34	0.08	0.49	0.18	0.25	0.35	0.38
	vii. Condiments							
	Chillies	1.39	0.32	1.99	0.50	0.92	1.34	1.35
	Tamarind	0.50	0.11	0.71	0.20	0.25	0.35	0.70
	Other condiments	2.75	0.63	3.93	0.75	1.17	2.03	2.45
	Total	4.64	1.06	6.63	1.45	2.34	3.72	4.50
	viii. Sugars	2.07	0.47	2.96	0.50	0.89	1.35	1.80
	ix. Coffee and Tea	1.14	0.26	1.63	0.38	0.56	0.79	1.03
	x. Liquor	0.31	0.07	0.44	...	...	0.47	0.30
	xi. Tobacco							
	Smoking	0.49	0.11	0.70	...	...	0.29	0.15
	Chewing	0.57	0.13	0.81	0.50	0.28	0.15	0.65
	Total	1.06	0.24	1.51	0.50	0.28	0.44	0.80
	xii. Other foods including refreshments							
	Pansupari etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total under food	69.97	16.00	100.00	15.90	37.28	56.23	68.77
								100.83

Continued.

APPENDIX A—Contd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	No. of households	All households	Households with a monthly income of				
				Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
				2	9	17	10	21
			Expenditure per household	Percentage of total expenditure on miscellaneous items				
			Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Miscellaneous	B. Clothing	6.05		1.25	2.56	3.70	5.92	9.98
	C. Housing, Light, Fuel etc.	4.19		1.08	2.50	2.96	3.96	6.33
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure							
	i. Education	2.60	21.05	...	0.42	1.31	1.63	5.28
	ii. Dhobi or soap	1.86	15.06	0.50	0.88	1.17	1.86	2.98
	iii. Barber	0.28	2.27	0.04	0.16	0.16	0.35	0.43
	iv. Travelling	0.82	6.64	...	0.11	0.07	0.22	2.10
	v. Medical fees and medicines	0.84	6.80	...	0.13	0.39	0.54	1.73
	vi. Religious observances	0.14	1.13	...	0.05	0.02	0.16	0.27
	vii. Amusements	0.18	1.46	...	0.04	...	0.09	0.43
	viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings	5.02	40.65	...	...	1.21	3.03	11.68
	ix. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere	0.19	1.54	...	...	...	1.00	0.06
	x. Other items	0.42	3.40	...	...	1.47	...	...
	Total	12.35	100.00	0.54	1.79	5.80	8.88	24.96
				* Percentage of total expenditure on cultivation etc.				
	E. Cultivation, Industries and Business							
	i. Cultivation run by the household	2.77	84.45	...	0.33	1.20	0.79	6.29
	ii. Industry run by the household	0.34	10.37	...	...	...	...	0.95
	iii. Business run by the household	0.17	5.18	...	...	0.59	...	...
	Total	3.28	100.00	...	0.33	1.79	0.79	7.24
	F. Grand Total of A to E	95.84		18.77	44.46	70.48	88.32	149.34

Table III (a-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION: CULTIVATION

Items	No. of households	All households	Percentage of total expenditure	Households with a monthly income of				
				Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	30			...	1	7	4	18
		Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Expenditure								
A. Food	92.43	54.28	...	29.75	51.11	71.59	116.62	
B. Clothing	9.25	5.43	...	2.08	3.69	5.21	12.71	
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.	4.83	2.84	...	1.08	2.69	3.06	6.26	
D. Miscellaneous	26.05	15.30	...	2.42	3.49	5.82	40.61	
E. Cultivation, industry and business	37.71	22.15	...	...	9.52	11.46	56.60	
Total Expenditure	170.27	100.00	...	35.33	70.50	97.14	232.80	
II. Income	179.80		...	33.34	69.75	95.84	249.40	
III. Expenditure in relation to income	+9.53		...	-1.99	-0.75	-1.30	+16.60	

Table III (b-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION: AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Items	All households	Percentage of total expenditure	Households with a monthly income of				
			Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
			1	14	10	5	3
	No. of households		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Expenditure	33						
	Rs.						
A. Food	59.79	85.78	22.50	40.16	55.93	81.55	139.74
B. Clothing	3.76	5.40	0.83	2.35	3.83	5.58	8.06
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.	2.74	3.93	1.92	1.82	2.54	2.48	8.42
D. Miscellaneous	3.01	4.32	0.83	1.28	2.10	3.34	14.54
E. Cultivation, industry and business	0.40	0.57	...	...	0.42	0.83	1.67
Total Expenditure	69.70	100.00	26.08	45.61	64.82	93.78	172.43
II. Income	69.13		24.50	44.61	64.40	93.93	172.75
III. Expenditure in relation to income	-0.57		-1.58	-1.00	-0.42	+0.15	+0.32

KADAPRA

APPENDIX A—Concl'd.

Table III (c-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION: MISCELLANEOUS

Items	All households	Percent- age of total ex- penditure	Households with a monthly income of				
			Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
No. of households	59		2	9	17	10	21
	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Expenditure							
A. Food	69.97	73.01	15.90	37.28	56.23	68.77	100.83
B. Clothing	6.05	6.31	1.25	2.56	3.70	5.92	9.98
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.	4.19	4.37	1.08	2.50	2.96	3.96	6.33
D. Miscellaneous	12.35	12.89	0.54	1.79	5.80	8.88	24.96
E. Cultivation, industry and business	3.28	3.42	...	0.33	1.79	0.79	7.24
Total Expenditure	95.84	100.00	18.77	44.46	70.48	88.32	149.34
II. Income	98.47		17.75	44.11	69.48	88.59	157.59
III. Expenditure in relation to income	+2.63		-1.02	-0.35	-1.00	+0.27	+8.25

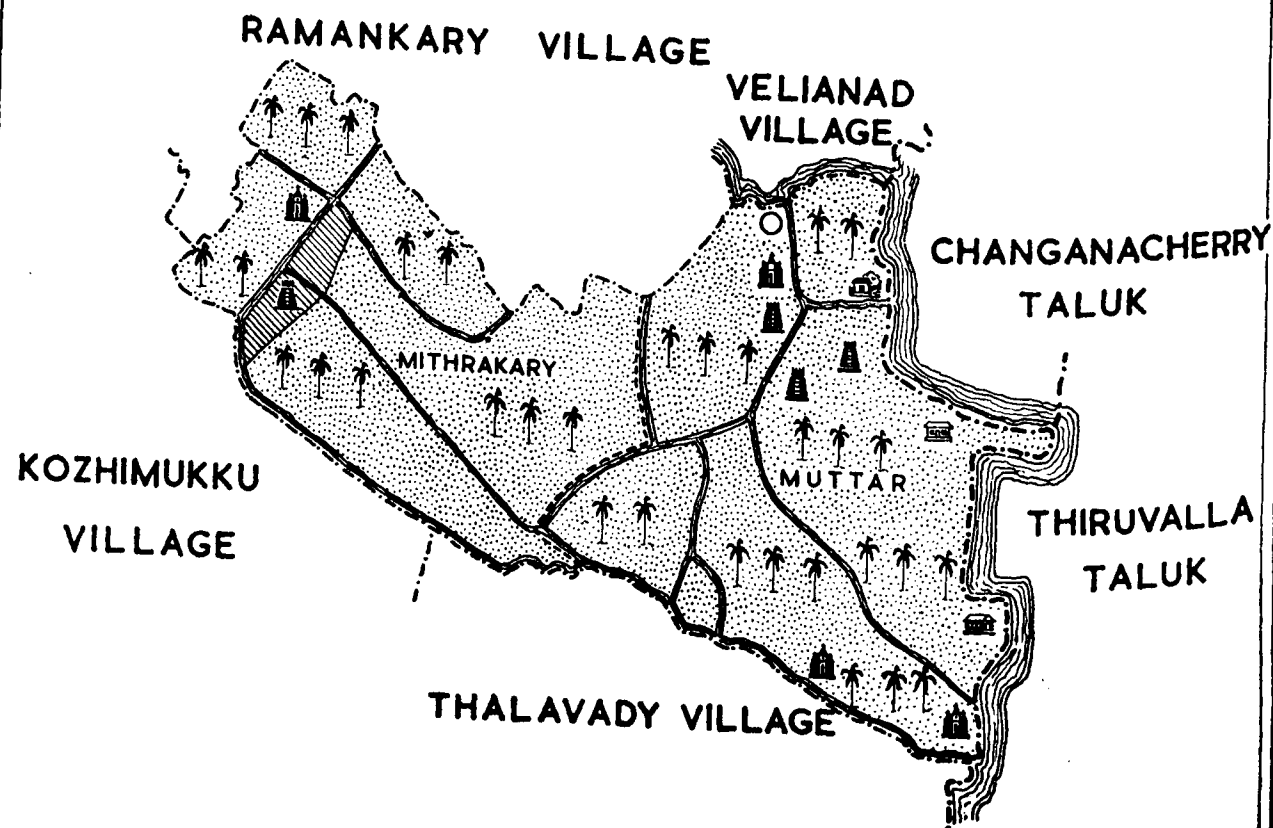
Table IV
INDEBTEDNESS

I. Indebtedness by income groups					II. Indebtedness by causes				
Income Group	Total No. of households	Total No. of households in debt	Percentage of column 3 to column 2	Average in-debtedness for households in debt	Causes	Amount of debt	No. of households in debt	Average for households in debt	Percentage of debts due to causes to the total debt
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
				Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
Less than Rs. 25	3	...	...	...	(a) Purchase of land	2,500.00	2	1,250.00	21.27
Rs. 25-50	24	4	16.67	118.75	(b) House construction or repairs to existing building	3,950.00	5	790.00	33.60
Rs. 51-75	34	5	14.71	370.00	(c) Marriages	...	...	...	...
Rs. 76-100	19	3	15.79	160.33	(d) Funerals	...	...	...	...
Above Rs. 100	42	13	30.95	688.46	(e) To give dowry	...	...	...	...
					(f) To clear outstanding debts	...	...	...	...
					(g) Sickness	950.00	4	237.50	8.08
					(h) Ordinary wants	2,356.00	10	235.60	20.04
					(i) Household cultivation	...	...	...	...
					(j) Industry run by the household	...	...	...	...
					(k) Business run by the household	900.00	2	450.00	7.66
					(l) Education	1,100.00	3	366.67	9.35

MUTTAR

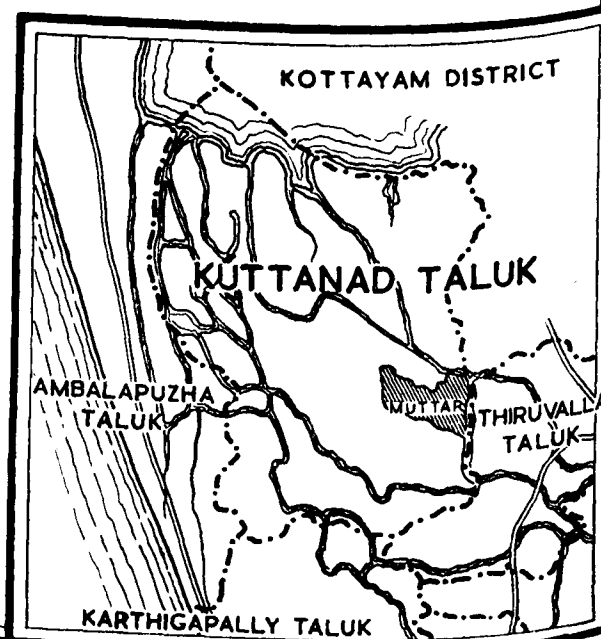
MUTTAR VILLAGE

A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM



LEGEND

- SURVEYED AREA
- LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOL
- HIGH SCHOOL
- VILLAGE OFFICE
- TEMPLE
- CHURCH
- CONVENT
- COCONUT CULTIVATION
- PADDY FIELD
- RIVER & CANAL
- TALUK BOUNDARY
- VILLAGE BOUNDARY
- K. R. A. BOUNDARY



MUTTAR*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Several artisan castes of Kerala such as Kammalans, Kulalans and Kuravans are believed to have migrated to the west coast from the Coromandal coast in ancient days. Certain communities like Thattans and Moosaris migrated in waves through several centuries in order to meet the growing requirements of Kerala. The later arrivals among them as well as those living along the border areas between Kerala and the Tamil country retain the Tamil culture and language to a great extent and still maintain their contact with Tamilnad by pilgrimages and marital alliances, but the descendants of the ancient migrants who settled in the interior areas assimilated the Kerala culture to so large an extent that today it sounds incredible to talk of their Tamilian origin. A typical example is the Kulalans. There are Kulalans in several villages on the border of Tamilnad who talk Tamil, dress like Tamilians and follow the Tamil customs and manners to such an extent that they are likely to be treated as an alien community in Kerala. The Kulalans of Parassala on whom a study has been made in the monograph on Parassala in part VI F of this series fall in this category. On the other hand, there are Kulalans locally known as Velans in interior villages like Muttar who, although still talk of their Tamil origin, neither know the Tamil language nor follow the Tamil customs but have been completely integrated with the Malayalees socially and culturally. It is mainly to make a study of the changes that have been brought about in the Kulala community by the new environments that the village under survey was taken up. As the survey was being conducted, it was found that the peculiar geographical setting of Muttar has made it a unique village in respect of communication system, sanitation aspects, trade and

commerce and agriculture. Therefore all these points have been covered briefly in the following pages.

Location

2. Muttar is situated at $9^{\circ} 24'$ north latitude and $76^{\circ} 30'$ east longitude within that long water-logged stretch known as Kuttanad in the Alleppey district of the State. No road or railway leads to it; it is accessible only through boats, being surrounded by water and a major portion of the land being submerged for at least half of the year. From the main central road connecting Kottayam with Trivandrum a new road starts towards the west at the southern limit of Changanacherry town. This road, passing through the heart of Kuttanad, fording three ferries, joins the Bombay-Cape Comorin national highway at the southern limit of Alleppey town. It passes about a mile away from the boundary of the village and that is the nearest to which one gets to the village through a motorcar. From there one has to depend upon a steam boat or, better still, a country-craft which alone is able to go to all the parts of the village. The village is about 7 miles away from the Changanacherry town and about 11 miles from Alleppey, the district headquarters. A mile along the water through the canals and around the islands means much more time than along an uninterrupted smooth road.

Name of the Place

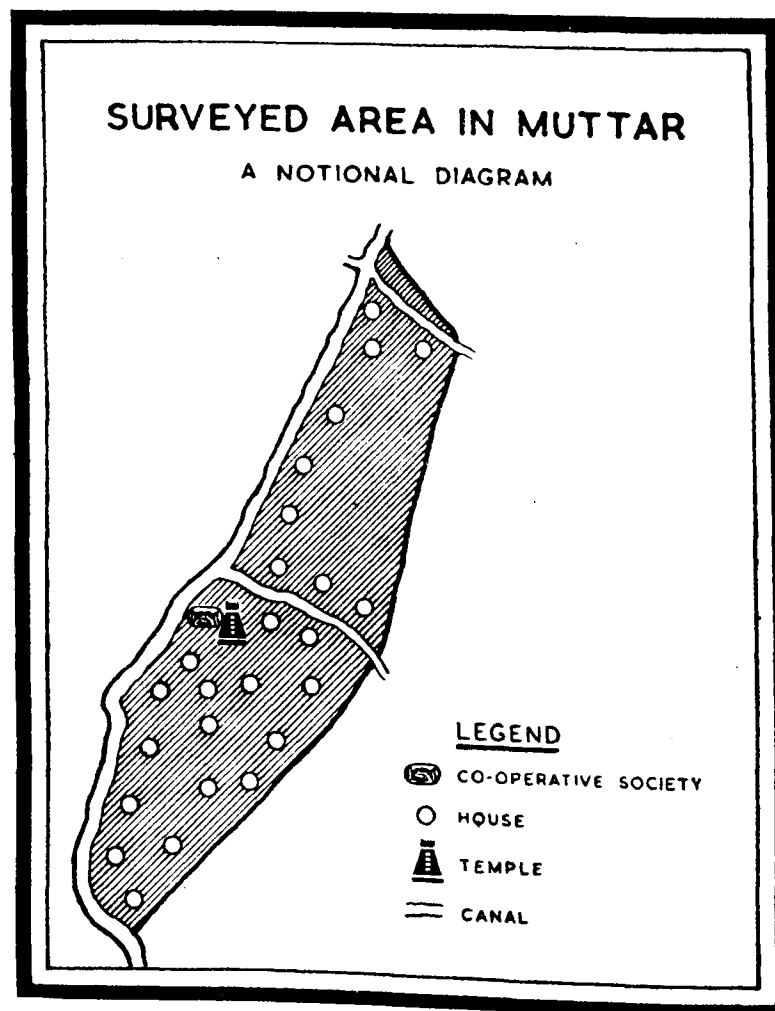
3. A branch of Manimala river flowing along the eastern boundary of the village is called Muttar after which the village has been named. At the south-eastern corner of the village the course of the smoothly flowing river is suddenly blocked and the flow turned to the north in eddies and whirlpools. The turn is a dangerous point for boats, several of which have capsized

* The basic survey in this area was conducted between 14th March 1961 and 7th April 1961

MUTTAR

here. Because of this sudden turn in the course, the river is called Muttar, signifying a river whose path has been blocked

and turned away. It is anybody's guess why the village on the bank of the river is called after the river itself.



Surveyed Area

4. 176 acres at Mithrakkari on the side of 'Mithrakkari thodu' and surrounding Mithrakkari Bhagavathy temple was taken up for house to house survey and detailed study. The surveyed area contains a colony of Velans with their pot making sheds and co-operative society and a few Nair, Ezhuva, Christain and Kammala households pursuing different occupations such

as cultivation, agricultural labour, trade and smithy. Besides offering an opportunity to study the Velans and their occupation the surveyed area provides facilities for a brief study of the problems peculiar to Kuttanad. This place is called Mithrakkari since most of the land in the locality is owned by Mithramadham, a Namboothiri landlord of Chengannur. The rest of the village covered by a general study will

THE SOIL

often find mention in the succeeding pages to supplement the study of the surveyed area.

Physical Aspects

5. A major portion of the village is under water except for a few months in the year. Through this large shallow lake flows the canals protected on either side by bunds. In certain places the bund is very wide and contains a string of houses. In fact, most of the habitation of the village is along these bunds. Within the network of the canals the surface of the water is interrupted by small islands containing cocoanut trees and huts. Between October and February water is pumped out and paddy cultivated, when the verdant mantle

gives the place a refreshing look. The surface of the land is practically flat.

The Soil

6. The soil of the village is essentially alluvial, being formed by the deposit of the flood waters during the centuries. Dark in colour and acidic in reaction, it contains a high percentage of organic matter as is characteristic of the soil of Kuttanad. The sub-soil in several places is clayey, enabling the potters of the village to excavate the clay required for their industry from the village itself. Laterite or granite is not reached at ordinary depths. Analysis of the soil conducted under the auspices of the N. E. S. Block and Agricultural Department gives the following results:-

Table I
SOIL

	Type of soil	Organic carbon	Availability of phosphorus	Availability of potash	pH	Total soluble salts
			Low	Low	Normal	High
Sample I	Clay loam	1.05	8	20	5.6	1.30
Sample II	"	1.23	5	60	5.0	1.40

Climate and Rainfall

7. The neighbouring stations where the climate and rainfall have been recorded are Alleppey, Changanacherry and Thiruvalla. The readings of the latter two places have been given in the monograph on Kurichi in part VI C of this series and in the monograph on Kadapra in this volume respectively. While Alleppey is a coastal place, Changanacherry and Thiruvalla fall within the midland region and therefore the conditions between these stations and the village under survey, which lies along the eastern border of the lowland region, are different. The moderating influence of the sea is not felt at Muttar but the humidity is as high as in any coastal place. The rainfall is not so intense as in the midland region. However, the comparative distribution of the rainfall between the different months follow the same pattern as at Prakkad or

Kadapra. December, January, February and March are practically dry months with the exception of occasional drizzles. The first monsoon showers pour down during April. May, June, July and October are characterised by heavy showers and August, September and November by occasional showers. Intense heat of the summer with profuse sweating caused by the high humidity and the incessant rains of monsoon resulting in floods everywhere are the outstanding features of the climate.

The Flora and the Fauna

8. The small island and the banks of canals projecting out of water are studded with cocoanut palms. Cocoanut diseases spreading rapidly have turned their green leaves into yellow and many a tree is visible standing with a headless trunk. Where the cocoanut plantation has been completely ruined by diseases banana has been intro-

MUTTAR

duced recently. Banana cultivation has received so much impetus during the last decade that in the newly reclaimed areas banana gets preference to cocoanut unlike in olden days. 'Attuparathy' (*Hybiscus teleaceus*) is the commonest hedge plant grown along the banks of the canals and boundaries of the islands, on account of its fibrous root system which prevents erosion. A very strong fibre of pale, brown colour used for cordage can be taken from the bark of the plant. 'Poovarasu' (*Portia tree-Thespesia populnea*) which is also grown as hedge plant on the river banks and sides of paddy fields yields timber that is used in this area for furniture such as cot and chair. Slim, tall, silver stemmed areca-nut trees standing scattered in the cocoanut plantations throughout the village add an unforgettable grace to the groves. Screw-pine, 'Punna' (*Alexandrian lorrel-Calophyllum inophyllum*), mango, jack, breadfruit and bamboo of golden colour are some of the rare species grown in all parts of the village. A type of reed resembling tender sugarcane has been planted along the river banks in some places to prevent erosion while sugarcane itself is cultivated in the south eastern corner of the village over a small area. Tubers, grams and vegetables are often raised around the houses but of all cultivations paddy is the most important and covers the largest area.

9. Cows, buffaloes and goats are reared by some households in all parts. Since buffaloes are used instead of bulls for ploughing in the area, bulls are seldom met with among the cattle. The animals have to be fed on straw, cocoanut cake and other fodder purchased from the market for which reason only agricultural households, for whom these animals are necessary companions, show any interest in possessing them. Poultry farming and duck rearing are so common, on the other hand, due to the special facilities available here for rearing them, that hardly there is a household without 10 or 15 chicken or ducks. The fowls are fed on paddy and damaged cashew sold as fodder. Frogs found almost on the scale of pests in the paddy fields and canals provide employment as frog-catchers to a number of people during the

rainy months. Fish and water snakes are also found in the paddy fields and canals. House crows, small tropical birds, cranes and wild ducks are the most common feathered tribes of the sky.

Communication

10. The common notions about communications are totally inapplicable to this area. There is no road of any description within the village, the nearest road passing about a mile away from its boundary. Telephone and telegraph facilities are also not available either in the village or in the immediate neighbourhood, but two branch Post Offices have been opened at Muttar and Mithrakkari. A new visitor is likely to be awe-struck by this appalling lack of communication system although the villagers do not feel it as acutely as a visitor accustomed to the modern communication facilities. Practically every house can be approached through a country craft. People row from one house to another house or from one village to a neighbouring village in small boats and consider themselves fortunate at least in the matter of locomotion. They argue that in other villages where the communication system is supposed to be better, every house is not approachable through a road and people have to walk some distance to catch a bus or to fetch a car. If a patient is to be taken to the hospital he has to be carried some distance before putting him in a car whereas in the village under survey he can be put in the boat straight from the bed. The journey, besides being smooth and uninterrupted, since no damaged bridge or culvert or washed-away road can interfere with it, is less dangerous, water being shallow and everybody being able to swim. If protection from sun and rain is required an improvised small cabin can be fitted on to the boat in a minute. People are so much accustomed to the boat that they tend to sympathise with others for whom this facility is not available. Women go from one house to another house in a boat for gossiping. Children aged 3 and 4 enjoy boat rowing just like children elsewhere enjoy a ride on a tricycle. Small boats 6' to 8' long and hardly 2' wide looking almost like a large spathe of the cocoanut tree, is the most

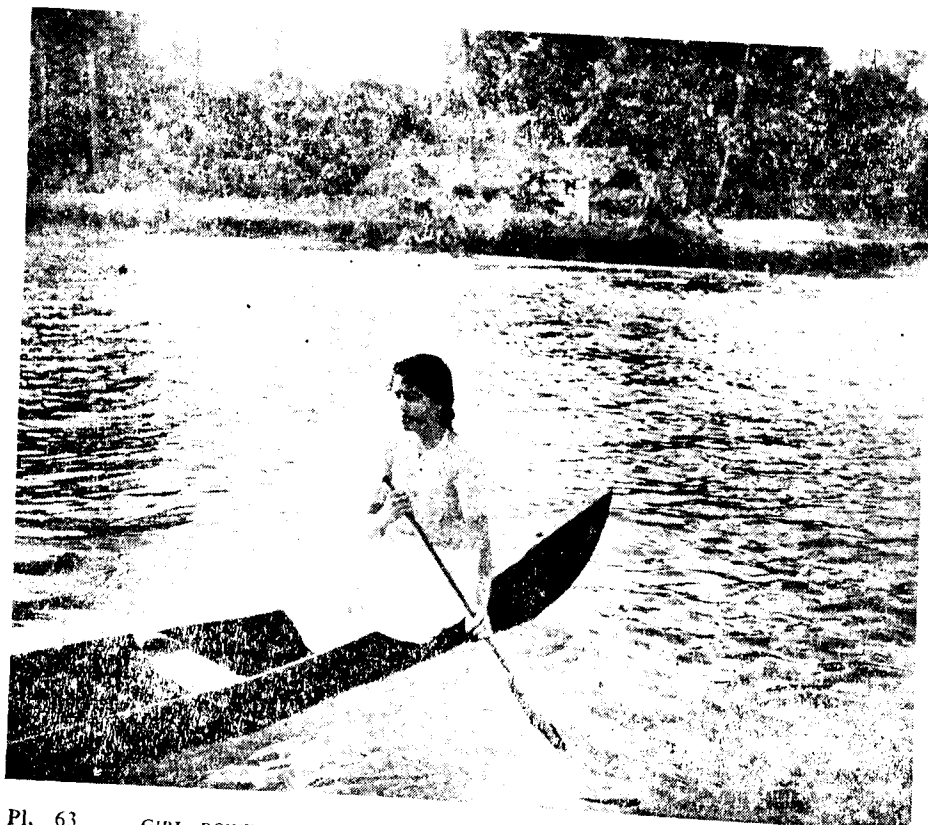


Pl. 61

THIS IS MUTTAR



MODE OF TRANSPORT IS COUNTRY BOAT



Pl. 63 GIRL ROWING THE BOAT — A POPULAR SCENE IN MUTTAR

Page 176



Pl. 64 MARK THE SIZE OF THE BOAT AND THE AGE OF THE ROWERS

Page 177

popular one-man conveyance that can reach any place in the village and can be conveniently carried on the shoulder, if required. Steamboats run regular passenger services through the village to Changanacherry and Edathua. Gliding along the canals in a small country boat, seeing the people stepping into boat from the verandah of their houses, noticing the boats tied in front of every building and watching the ease with which even frail women and small children row the boats one feels oneself to be in a Venetian village in an oriental world.

Important Public Places

11. A Village Office, a Panchayat Office, two Branch Post Offices and a Veterinary Hospital are the only Government institutions functioning in the village. The Catholic church at Muttar conducts a school which, started in 1905 as a lower primary school, was upgraded into a high school from 1950. Further, there are one upper primary school and three lower primary schools within the village and a number of high schools and primary schools in the neighbouring village such as Ramankari. Some students attend schools and colleges in Changanacherry town also.

Places of Public Worship

12. The Syrian Catholics have three churches within the village—the St. George's Church at Muttar established in 1850, the St. Xavier's Church at Mithrakkari established in 1896 and the St. Thomas' Church established in 1910. The St. George's Church and St. Xavier's Church buildings are rather old while the St. Thomas' Church has a new building constructed in 1958. Originally the village had a Christian predominance but no church of their own. They used to attend the Niranam church in Kadapra village till the division of Christian community into Catholics and Jacobites in the 17th century. The Christians of the village belonging to the Catholic section thereafter used to attend the church at Changanacherry till 1850 when they constructed their own church at Muttar at the site of the present St. George's Church. The St. Xavier's Church and St. Thomas'

Church were originally started as chapels under St. George's Church and later on, as population increased, raised to separate parishes.

13. There are five private temples of which Mithrakkari Bhagavathy temple owned by the Mithramadhom of Chengannur is the biggest and the oldest. Kottumal Ganapathy temple is also a private temple but Kochukodungalloor Bhagavathy temple is owned by a number of families jointly. The S. N. D. P. organisation of the Ezhuvas has opened a temple close to the Bhagavathy temple, mainly for the use of the members of that community. Ayyanar temple is a small shrine owned by the Kulalans of Mithrakkari for the exclusive use of that caste, the deity dedicated there being a special patron of the pot-makers.

Burial Grounds and Crematoria

14. The three Catholic churches have cemeteries in compounds adjoining them to serve the needs of their parishioners. As the Hindu communities do not have public burial grounds or crematoria they bury or cremate their dead in a corner of the house-compounds. The Kulalans of the surveyed area have kept vacant a small plot adjacent to their colony to cremate their dead.

Market

15. Within the village there is no market and there are no facilities for opening one. Paddy and other village produces are sold within the village itself to itinerant merchants. The nearest market town of importance is Changanacherry, from where the requirements of the village are purchased.

Health and Sanitation

16. After being acquainted with the physical aspects of the village it is easy to imagine the enormity of public health problems. Drainage, of course, does not come into consideration, water stagnating everywhere throughout the year, breeding mosquitoes and other harmful insects. Protected water supply, whether through pipe or well, being available nowhere in the village people freely use the water of the canals and the paddy fields for all purposes. They take bath, wash the clothes, plates and

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utensils and take water for cooking purposes at the same place in the canal or paddy field. Numerous attempts made to construct tube-wells in order to solve this problem ended in failure due to the nature of the soil and the presence of dirty water all around. Constant use and the sense of helplessness have developed in the villagers an attitude of resignation that is so often noticed by a newcomer who sees people dipping their hands into the water and taking it to the mouth to drink as they go in boats, grown-up people as well as children washing their hands and mouth in the canals before and after meals and women washing dining plates at the same place where they take bath and wash the clothes. Under such conditions there is no wonder that stomach ailments and contagious diseases become almost inseparable life-companions. Dysentery is so common in the area that there is hardly any person who does not suffer from it. Safety tank latrines in the whole of the village do not count more than a dozen. For ordinary people a small cadjan enclosure on the edge of the paddy field or canal serves as the latrine. About 50 per cent of the households dispense with even this improvisation and answer the calls of nature in the open fields, thus further spreading the diseases through the water. The nearest dispensary is at Velianad about 2 miles away from the village where a doctor comes daily for 2 hours only as he has to attend to the work in another hospital also. The Health Assistant of the

village carries out vaccination and the registration of births and deaths. The panchayat has appointed a midwife whose services cannot be availed of timely in the various parts of the village due to the difficulties of communication.

Residential Pattern

17. The houses are constructed in a line along the banks of the canals and rivers or in small clusters in the islands. They face the canal or paddy fields and have their front steps serving as landing places for boats just as the houses in other places have their main entrance opening to a road or a path way. On account of the limitation of building sites and the freedom of location the architectural science, though valued very much by these villagers also, does not influence the residential pattern. The Christians, Ezhuvass, Pulayass, and Parayass live in a scattered manner throughout the village. Nairs are also found among the other communities in most parts of the village, but there is a cluster of them around the Kochukodungallor Bhagavathy temple at Muttar and another cluster around the Bhagavathy temple at Mithrakkari. The Kulalans live in their own colonies at Mithrakkari and Muttar for the convenience of carrying out their work. Every cluster of houses in the island is separated from the neighbouring one by a vast stretch of water around it and as such lives practically in its own little world, developing an intimate social relationship among the people residing there.



Pl. 65

AYYANAR TEMPLE, MITHRAKKARI

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Pl. 66

A PARAYA FAMILY OF MITHRAKKARI

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Pl. 67

A VELAN MALE

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Pl. 68

A VELAN FEMALE

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CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Area, Houses and Population

18. The total area of Muttar village according to the survey records is 2,588.48 acres,¹ of which only 292.36 acres,² are registered as dry land. The remaining area comprises of paddy fields, canals and rivers, limiting the 'living area' to a small fraction of the total area. The total population in 1951 was 7,400 and the density, taking into account the whole area of the village, 1,830 per square mile.³ The population according to the 1961 Census was 8,143 and the density 2,013 per square mile.⁴ In 1951

there were 3,750 males and 3,650 females showing a slight majority of males in the population, whereas in 1961 this majority was reversed, the number of males then being 4,041 and females 4,102. The total population in 1961 was divided into 1,383 households living in 1,301 houses.

19. The survey covered 121 households in an area of 176 acres.⁵ The total population in the surveyed area is 716 persons consisting of 365 males and 351 females. The density of the surveyed area works out to 2,604 per square mile.⁶

Table II

AREA, HOUSES AND POPULATION

Area in		Density of population per Sq. mile	Total No. of households	Persons	Males	Females
Acres	Hectares					
176	71.225	2,604	121	716	365	351

20. The average number of members per household in the village, at the time of 1961 Census was 5.89 and that in the surveyed area according to the survey 5.92. 1.65 per cent households in the surveyed area are single member households, 15.70 per cent

households have two or three members each and 45.46 per cent households between four and six members each. 28.10 per cent households have seven to nine members each and 9.09 per cent households ten or more members each.

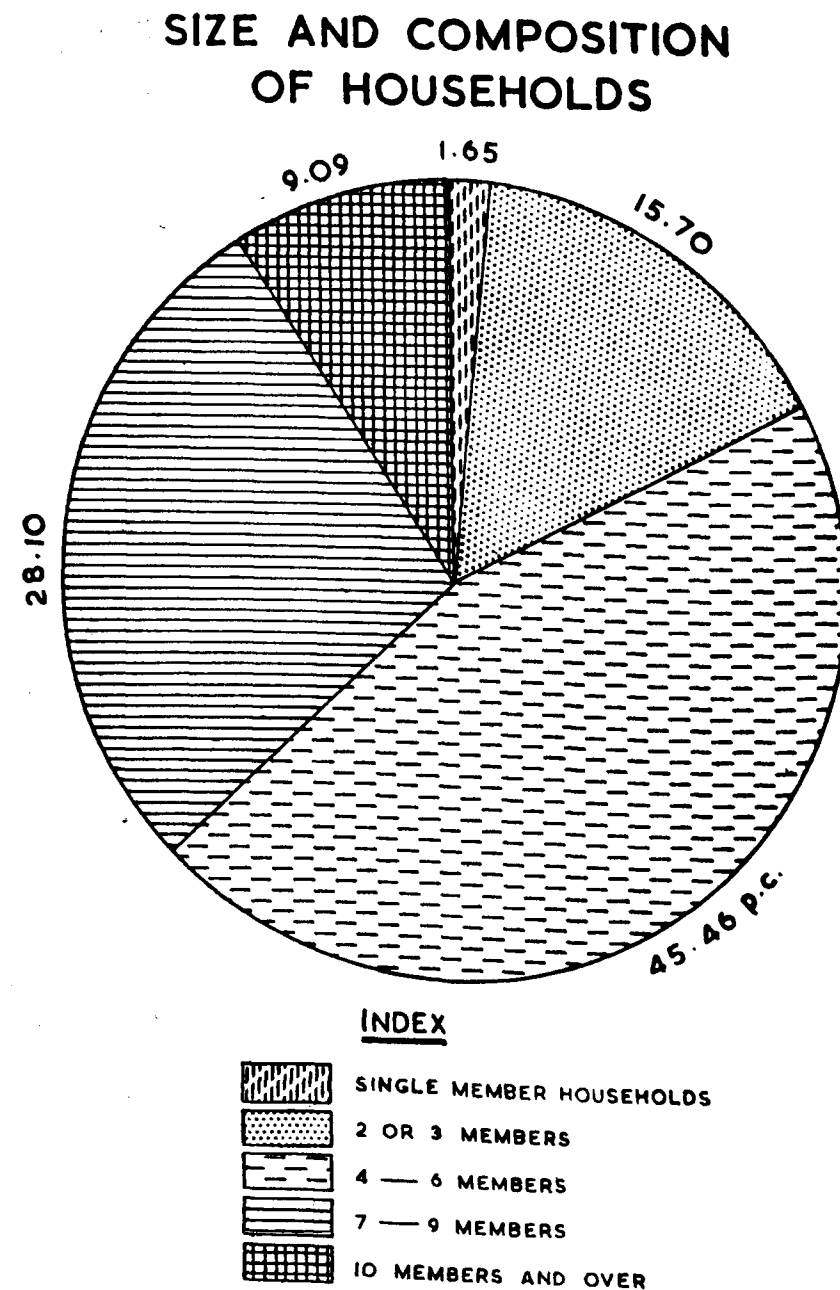
Table III

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

Total No. of households	Single member households	Two or three members	Four to six members	Seven to nine members	10 members and over
121	2	19	55	34	11

(1) 1 047.52 hectares
(2) 118.31 hectares
(3) 706 per sq. km.

(4) 777 per sq. km.
(5) 71.23 hectares
(6) 1,005 per sq. km.



ETHNIC COMPOSITION

Ethnic Composition

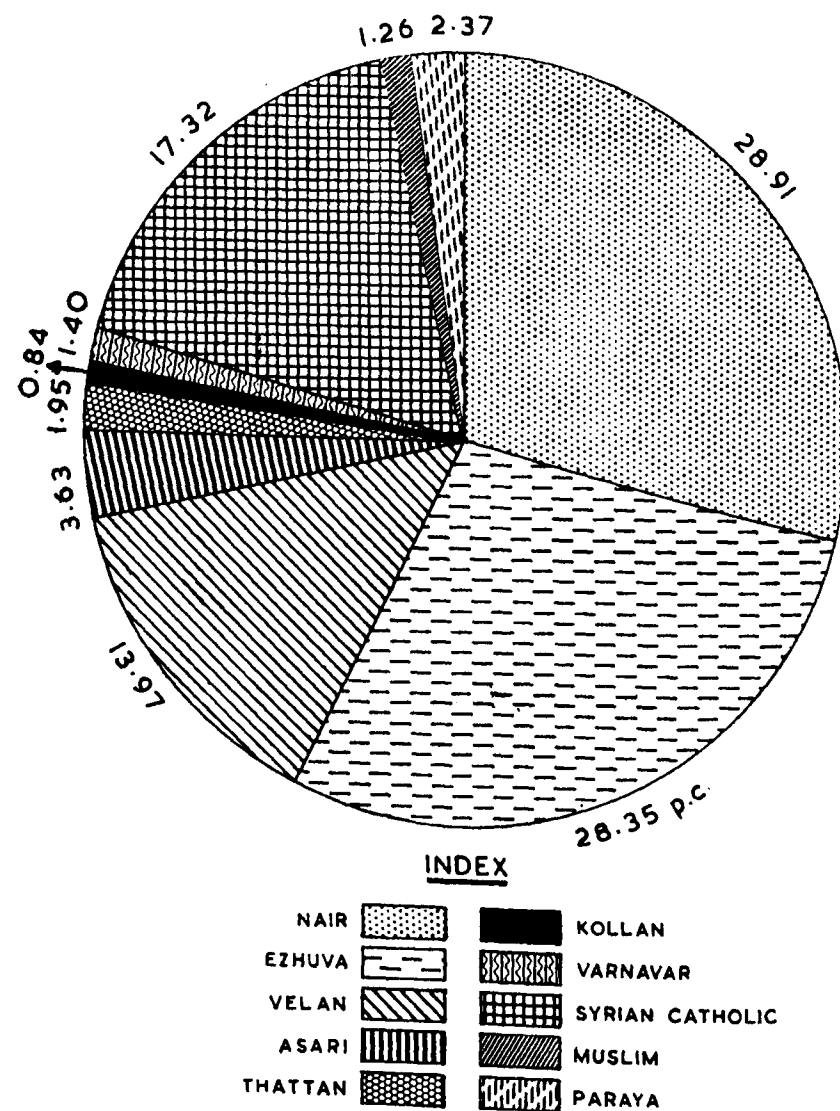
21. Exact figures to assess the strength of the communities in the village are not available but it is estimated that Christians belonging to the Syrian Catholic denomination constitute more than 50 per cent of the population. Ezhuvas form the second largest community after which come Nairs, Pulayas, Parayas, Velans, Asaris, Thattans, Kollans, Varnavars and Muslims. Majority of the cultivators are Christians. Octogenarians believe that the Christians who patronised from early times cultivation as their main occupation came from the eastern villages to Muttar as tenant-cultivators of the big Namboothiri landlords. Ezhuvas, Pulayas and Parayas were brought there by the Christians as agricultural labourers, while the Nairs came either as

landlords or as cultivators. The Velans and Kammalas were brought to the village by the Namboothiri landlords for the construction and repair of the temple and for providing the vessels and other accessories for the worship. The Velans and Kammalas of Mithrakkari have a tradition that they were settled there on free lands given by Mithramadhom 'Jenmi' for rendering services to the local Bhagavathy temple. Nobody remembers when exactly the various communities immigrated to the village but they might have come some time before the 15th century. The ethnic composition of the surveyed area is given in the following table. Almost all communities of the village are present in the surveyed area also.

Table IV
RELIGION, COMMUNITIES, CASTE OR
SUB-CASTE

Communities	No. of households	Persons	Males	Females
Hindus				
Nairs	38	207	114	93
Ezhuvas	32	203	103	100
Velans	21	100	51	49
Asaris	4	26	14	12
Thattans	2	14	5	9
Kollans	1	6	2	4
Varnavars	1	10	5	5
Total	99	566	294	272
Christians				
Syrian Catholics	17	124	56	68
Muslims	1	9	6	3
Scheduled Castes				
Parayas	4	17	9	8

ETHNIC COMPOSITION



22. References have been made to all the above communities in the monographs of other villages in this volume as well as in parts VI E. and VI F. A note on Velans, which is the community taken up for special study in this area, is given below.

Velans

23. The Kulalans of the area, locally known as Velans, are engaged solely in the manufacture of earthenwares for the supply of which to the Mithrakkari temple they were brought down by Mithramadhom.

Even now they supply pots to the temple and annually receive 6 'paras' of paddy and enjoy 84 cents of rent-free land given for their settlement. The belief common in the community about their pre-migration history is that they belonged to Madura. The legendary origin of the community as given in the monograph on Parassala,¹ is neither known to the Velans of the village nor believed by them on being told. Apart from the fact that they worship the Madura Meenakshy and make occasional pilgrimages to the temple of that goddess, they do not have any contact with the Tamil country, language or people. The present generation which speak as good Malayalam as any of the neighbouring communities does not know Tamil at all. Both men and women wear costumes common among the Ezhuvas or Nairs of the locality, unlike the Kulalans of Parassala.

24. In contrast to the Kulalans of Parassala who do not recognise any hierarchical divisions among them, the Velans of the village believe that the Kulala Brahmans to which section they belong, the Pulikki Nairs, the Kusavans and the Channans are the four divisions of the same community, the Kulalans being at the top and the Channans at the bottom. According to the claim of the Kulala Brahmans or Velans of the village they are adepts in the manufacture of all types of earthenwares, whereas the Pulikki Nairs have specialised in the manufacture of earthen pitchers. The Kusavas also can manufacture different types of vessels but not with the same perfection as the Velans, while the Channans can manufacture only a type of small dining plate known as 'Chatti'. Velan men marry Kusava females but do not allow their females to marry Kusava males. Recently interdining between Velans and Kusavas has been approved by both the communities on the understanding that the Kusavas are not to enter the kitchen of Velans and are to remove the leaves and plates used by them for eating. For the present, these social associations take place but on rare occasions. In the matter of marriage even now the tendency is to limit

it to each division and if possible to the circle of cross cousins. The social contacts of the Velans of the village are mostly with the Velans of the neighbouring villages, particularly Talavady. Occasionally marriages take place between the village under survey and more distant places like Chengannur, Kottayam and Vaikom also.

25. Though by physical characteristics the Velans do not possess any special features which distinguish them from the other people of the locality, they are found to be less healthy and poorly built. This may be due to the poor income and the lack of nutrition or may be attributed as a family trait, because all the Velans of the surveyed area have descended from common ancestors. In the matter of personal and domestic cleanliness they are behind the other communities, possibly on account of the peculiar nature of their occupation. Generally gentle in disposition, hospitable to strangers and straightforward in dealings, they occasionally show a quick temperament, ready to quarrel on flimsy grounds and willing to become friends equally quickly. After a day's hardwork they consider it legitimate to refresh the body and enliven the spirit with the alluring juice of the cocoanut palm.

26. The Velans, though can manufacture any type of earthenware, have specialised in the manufacture of earthen plates which are in great demand in the village and surrounding places for cooking and dining purposes. The flat plates of various sizes ranging from 6" to 3' in diameter, the lids for earthenwares and the small dining bowls form the bulk of the production in the surveyed area. Women and children take part in the work along with the men. Mutual assistance between families is limited to lending materials and cooperating in baking. Ordinarily baking is done by individual families but when a family has only very few articles to be baked independently it may seek the assistance of its neighbour and may be obliged. Greater co-operation is, however, forging its way with the establishment of a society which

(1) Census of India, 1961, Kerala, Part VI F

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has demonstrated the advantage of mutual assistance and collective bargaining. They neither know any other occupation nor are willing to explore new sources of income, the greatest objection for this being that they may have to work under others lowering themselves from the exalted position equal to the Brahmans that they claim for themselves. Let alone work, they are indignant even to accepting food from other castes except Brahmans, in spite of the wretched poverty to which the unprofitable occupation has driven them.

27. Saivites in worship, Velans of the village treat Madura Meenakshy as their special goddess. Other gods and goddesses commonly worshipped by Hindus are adored by them but they neither worship Madan, Yekshi, Muthiaramma and similar demon gods, feared and worshipped by the Kulalans elsewhere nor believe in them. Breakages in baking are not attributed to any special demon god, but only to their ill-luck and imperfect workmanship. Although the public temples and shrines are frequented by them, they construct in each colony, as they have done in the surveyed area, a small temple or shrine of their own in which Ayyanar, by which name they call Siva, is dedicated. For the purpose of the 'poojas' the Velans have their own priest called 'Vadhyar'. The barber has, however, certain functions to perform during cremations, since the 'Vadhyar' himself is too pure to do those things. The village under survey is served by a 'Vadhyar' from the village of Kudamaloor. He wears a sacred thread and has undergone the different rites that are prescribed for the twice born. The 'Vadhyar' for Muttar and 10 other neighbouring villages of Arppukkara, Kottayam, Changanacherry, Talavady etc., is nominated by a representative body assembled from these villages. When an incumbent dies the parents of an aspirant intimate the other villagers their desire to make their son the next 'Vadhyar' and request them to gather in their place for the nomination. If the aspirant is found suitable, considering the family, antecedents, character, aptitude and popularity, he is selected. Accepting the discipleship of a willing Brahman

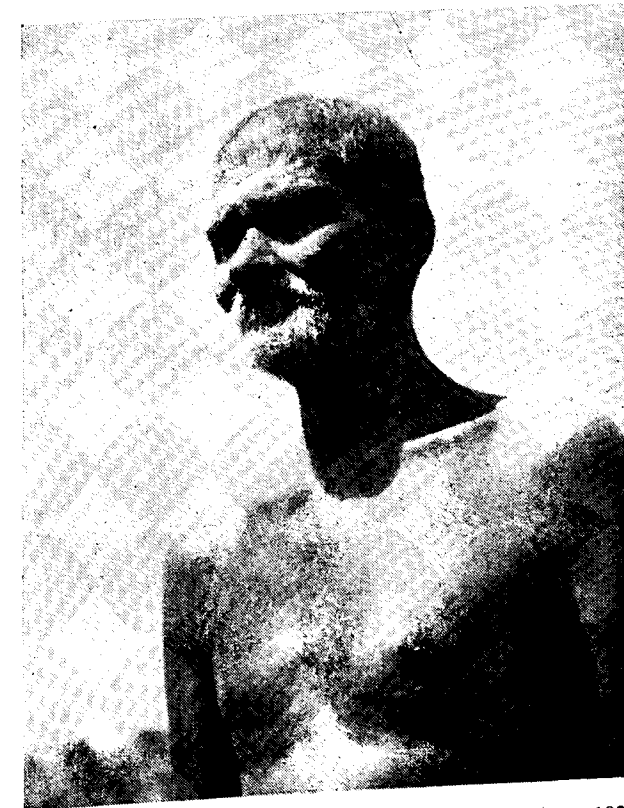
in some neighbouring place, he then undergoes 'Upanayanam', 'Samavarthanam', etc. and learns bits of 'Manthras' and 'Thantras'. After a long apprenticeship he returns to the village to become the spiritual mentor and the chief director of ceremonies to his folks in the eleven villages. Since one man alone is not able to attend to the needs of the community in all the villages more people have been appointed to the post recently.

28. Educationally the Velans are still a backward community. Generally the education is stopped once the child passes primary school because by that time the child will be able to do some odd job in the household occupation. The burden of giving fees and providing for books and dress for the school-going children and the difficulty of getting any better-paid job—the community neither enjoying educational concession nor reservation in appointments—have made the people think that advanced education is not to be sought sparing the children from the household occupation for six or seven years. Consequently even matriculates are absent among them in the surveyed area. It has, nevertheless, been found that the children who have gone to school do not show any reluctance to sit down at the wheel and mould the clay as their illiterate parents do.

29. Though the caste hierarchy has practically crumbled in the social life of the village the Velans still continue to observe some of the taboos of the caste ridden days. Claiming equality with the Brahmans in olden days they used to wear the sacred thread and grow the tuft of hair on the head. On special occasions like marriage and the time of performing obsequies to the dead even now they put on the sacred thread like the Kulalans of Parassala. Vilakka-thala Nair who, in olden days, was the barber of superior communities like Nairs, extended his services to the Velans also, thus recognising the high social status of the Velans. Widow remarriage has been started among them only quite recently and as among the Brahmans strict monogamy has always been observed by them.

House Types

30. House construction is confronted



Pl. 69

AN OLD VELAN MALE

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Pl. 70

A PARAYA HOUSE

Page 185



Pl. 71

A VELAN HOUSE



Pl. 72

A VELAN FAMILY IN TYPICAL COSTUMES

HOUSE TYPES

with peculiar problems in the village. Materials like laterite, brick, granite, timber and tile have to be purchased and brought from other places like Changanacherry and Edathua. Even then it is not possible to construct big houses, for, the soil is so loose and soft that even a small building constructed with laterite or brick sinks a few inches under its own weight every year. A standing example for this is the old parochial house in the compound of St. George's Church, the doors of which at one time were well above the ground but have now sunk almost to the ground level. The church itself constructed in concrete in recent times is sinking every year. Even at great depths laterite or rock are not reached to support big buildings. The other alternative of driving piles all along the foundation is a costly scheme from the point of view of an average man. Added to this, there is the hazard of floods submerging almost every place in the village for a few days during the monsoon. These floods further undermine the foundation if not totally damage the house. For these reasons big houses found in other rural areas are not met with in Muttar. Even the houses of rich people constructed in brick or laterite are not nearly as big as the middle class houses elsewhere. Majority of the houses in the village can be classified as poor class, being constructed with cadjan and sticks. Middle class houses may account for only less than 15 per cent of the total houses in the village and high class houses, if at all they can be called so, are limited to a dozen or two. All the houses whether of cadjan or brick and tiles, except those constructed in very recent times, have ventilators in the roof. These ventilators are so large that in order to accommodate them the ridge pole is bent upwards more prominently than elsewhere and the ventilators are fitted in an inclined position instead of vertically. The cultivator's houses contain a wooden granary or a room of wooden walls for storing paddy. Out of the houses built in brick or laterite only some are plastered, the rest being partly plastered or wholly unplastered. Similarly the floors of many houses are not cemented for the reason that in the damp

ground it is advantageous to have the floor coated with cow-dung. Almost close to the house there is a small wooden structure for keeping the fowl and not far away from it a cow-fold. The agricultural implements are kept in the cow-fold, if it is convenient, and in the back verandah or in some room of the house, if the cow-fold is inconvenient. In almost every house there is a scaffold above the kitchen to keep some of the domestic articles and to dry things during the rainy season. In the middle class and high class houses the peculiar Kerala type of low ceiling is invariably found. This serves not only as a storing place but also a safe resort during the monsoon floods.

31. Annually for a few days during the monsoon majority of the people have to abandon their houses to go to more elevated places or make suitable devices for living and storing their domestic belongings and animal stock. Some houses are constructed on raised foundations to meet this exigency but more often than otherwise this precaution is found to be inadequate. If the people do not find a safe resort anywhere near or do not have a low type ceiling for their houses, they construct a scaffold within the house itself with bamboo poles and wooden planks to store the domestic articles. The members of the household spend the time on it and provide a similar platform for the live-stock.

32. The low class house looks essentially the same in convenience and external appearance as those described in the monographs of Kadapra and Prakkad in this volume. They are constructed on a platform raised with clay brought from the paddy fields. The height of the basement varies according to the locality where the house is constructed and according to the means of the owner. If the house is located in a low lying area liable to be flooded very quickly and if the owner is resourceful the basement may be 4' or 5' high but otherwise it may be only about 2' high. Over this platform the roof is supported on pillars. It is thatched with cadjan and the sides screened with plaited cadjan leaves or bomboos mats, if walls are not constructed with clay. The floor is coated

with cow-dung. The space inside is generally divided into a verandah in front, a kitchen on one side and a room in the remaining part of the floor area. The verandah a foot or so below the room, may be inside the walls in certain cases but in some other cases outside the walls. It serves as the sleeping place for male members of the household as well as the reception room. The main room serves as a storing place and a sleeping room for women and children. Above the kitchen a scaffold is constructed with bamboo to store provisions and other articles which should be kept dry. In some houses one or two religious pictures hang from the pillars or the rafters. The height of the building is less than the height of similar dwellings found in places like Prak-kad; one can enter it only by bending.

33. The middle class house is constructed on laterite basement with laterite walls. Some houses constructed in recent times have brick walls. The roof is constructed with bamboo or cocoanut timber and generally thatched with cadjan but there are a few tiled houses also. In front of the house there is a narrow verandah at a lower level than the rooms. The rooms are limited to 2 or 3 in number besides the kitchen. The floor in majority of cases is coated with cow-dung and the walls are left unplastered in many houses. All the rooms or at least one has the low type of ceiling to facilitate storing of articles on it. As in the case of low class houses a scaffold of bamboo or timber is invariably found over the kitchen. The households which have cultivation put up a wooden granary in one of the rooms. Doors, usually made of cocoanut timber, are not so large in size as to enable one to enter the rooms without bending, but ventilation is quite sufficient.

34. High class houses have laterite foundation, laterite or brick walls and tiled roofs. A popular pattern of high class house had two projecting wings in front, containing two sleeping rooms and a central structure connecting the two wings. The front portion of this central structure is converted into a verandah for the reception of visitors and the hind portion into rooms. The kitchen is in one of the wings at the

back side and the granary in one of the central rooms behind. The number of rooms in this type of houses varies from 4 to 6. The walls are plastered with lime but the floor in some cases is only coated with cow-dung. Windows and doors are larger than in the middle class houses. Though cocoanut timber is used in the construction of certain parts, the windows and doors are constructed with better timber. A low type of ceiling is provided to all the rooms and the kitchen, as in the low class and middle class houses, contains a wooden scaffold.

35. Latrines and bath-rooms, as mentioned earlier, are absent in the majority of low class and middle class houses. Even though high class houses have latrines, they do not have bath-rooms, these being dispensed with by enclosures constructed on the side of the river or canal to afford privacy for the women taking bath therein. Compound walls are not common in the village. Several compounds do not have even a fence or hedge to demarcate the boundaries or to afford privacy. This is particularly so in the islands but on the side of the canals, some houses have constructed fences in front of the houses for the sake of privacy from the boats plying frequently in front of them. A small wooden cabin for poultry is found in almost every house and a cow-fold in most houses of the cultivators. Though people generally take care in keeping the house and surroundings neat and hygienic, due to the inevitable dampness of the floor many of the houses are less neat and healthy than similar houses in the midland or highland regions of the State. Conditions become worse during the rainy season.

36. For 1,383 households in the village there are 1,301 houses. The average number of persons per house works out to 6.26. In the surveyed area where all the households have independent houses the number of members per house works out to 5.92.

37. Classified by the material used for the walls, 46.35 per cent of the houses of the village have used cadjan and bamboo mats and 3.82 per cent clay. All these fall in the category of low class houses. 31.69 per cent houses have laterite walls. 14.04

per cent wooden walls and 4.10 per cent brick walls. Classified by material of the roof 87.49 per cent houses have cadjan, 12.37 per cent tile and 0.14 per cent asbestos.

38. In the surveyed area 31.40 per cent houses have walls of cadjan or bamboo

mats, 12.40 per cent walls of mud, 26.45 per cent walls of laterite, 9.09 per cent walls of timber and 20.66 per cent walls of burnt bricks. 90.08 per cent houses are thatched with cadjan while the others are provided with tiled roofs.

HOUSE TYPES

Table V

Total No. of Census households	MATERIAL OF WALL AND ROOF						Material of roof	
	Material of wall						Grass, leaves, reeds, thatch or bamboo	Tiles, Slate shingle
	Grass, leaves reeds or bamboo	Timber	Mud	Burnt bricks	Stone			
121	38	11	15	25	32		109	12

39. 4.96 per cent houses in the surveyed area do not have regular rooms, 33.89 per cent have one room each, 41.32 per cent two rooms each, 14.05 per cent three rooms each, 1.65 per cent four rooms each and 4.13 per cent five or more than five rooms each. Majority of households live in congested houses, considering the small

number of rooms and the large number of members. In no household in the surveyed area there are separate rooms for each couple. The classification of houses according to the number of rooms and the number of persons living in them is given in the following table.

Table VI

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS AND BY NUMBER OF PERSONS OCCUPYING

Number of rooms	Total No. of households	Number of households according to number of persons in the household				
		1 Person	2-3 Persons	4-6 Persons	7-9 Persons	10 Persons and over
No regular room	6	...	2	3	1	...
1 room	41	1	11	21	8	...
2 rooms	50	1	5	23	15	6
3 rooms	17	...	1	7	7	2
4 rooms	2	...	...	1	...	1
5 rooms and over	5	...	...	...	3	2

Dress and Ornaments

40. As far as the dress of men is concerned no difference is noticed between the various communities. All except the boys wear a white dhoti while at home. During

the working time a towel is used to cover the head to protect it from the sun. While moving outside the house on other occasions majority of the men wear a white or coloured shirt and a white dhoti, whereas

others wear shirt, dhoti and shawl or shawl and dhoti alone. The boys while at home wear either shorts or dhoti but for going to school they change over to shorts and shirt or banian. Even though the Velans trace their origin to Tamil country the Tamil influence is not visible in the style of their dress. While at home they wear the white dhoti in the same way as the other people do and while going out they too put on a shirt or shawl over the dhoti.

41. In the dress of the females there is conspicuous distinction between Christians and Hindus. The Christian women wear a white dhoti with a fan-like tail at the back and a white blouse ('chatta') with sleeves, reaching down the elbow in the case of young women and down to the wrist in the case of old women. The Hindu women on the other hand, wear a white dhoti and a coloured blouse. The

dhoti is worn by them almost in the same way as the men wear the dhoti and hence they are quickly distinguishable from the Christian women. The Hindu and Christian women of the village dress like their counterparts in Kadapra and Prakkad while going out of the house and therefore any further description is out of place here. It may, however, be mentioned that the tendency among Christian women to adopt full saree is less common here than in those places, probably on account of the poorer financial position. The limited contact with urban people might be an additional reason for the preservation of orthodoxy in the matter of dress. The Velan women wear the same dress as the other Hindu women of the locality and are quite indistinguishable that way. The following table gives the dress pattern adopted by the different communities in the surveyed area.

Table VII
DRESS

Total population		Communities										
Males	Females											
365		Total No. of males in the community	Nair	Ezhuva	Syrian Catholic	Velan	Asari	Parayan	Thattan	Kollan	Varnavar	Muslim
	351	Total No. of females in the community	114	103	56	51	14	9	5	2	5	6
		I. No. of males wearing	93	100	68	49	12	8	9	4	5	3
45		(1) Shirt, shawl and dhoti up to heels	21	6	9	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
186		(2) Shirt and dhoti up to heels with-out shawl	60	49	26	28	8	7	3	1	1	3
35		(3) Shawl and dhoti up to heels	6	16	5	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
2		(4) Dhoti from waist to heel only	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
97		(5) Shirt and shorts	27	32	16	11	4	1	1	...	3	2
		II. No. of females wearing										
23		(1) Full saree	14	6	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...
33		(2) Blouse and dhoti from waist to heels	4	17	3	2	...	3	1	...	2	1
16		(3) Dhoti from waist to knee only with shawl	1	7	...	7	...	1	...	...	...	...
156		(4) Half saree with blouse and dhoti from waist to heels	47	42	33	19	7	...	2	2	2	2
123		(5) Any other item	27	28	32	21	4	4	4	2	1	...

42. Ornaments seem to be very popular with the women of the surveyed area where as many as 85.12 per cent households use some ornaments. Due to the poverty, however, in 71.85 per cent of these households ornaments are limited to about Rs.100 in value. There are only 24.27 per cent households using ornaments worth up to Rs. 500 and 3.88 per cent households using ornaments worth up to Rs. 1,000. No household in the surveyed area has invested more than Rs. 1,000 on ornaments unlike in Kadapra and Prakkad where this amount goes up to Rs. 2,000. Since the economic condition of the people outside the surveyed area does not materially vary from that in the surveyed area it may be stated that the range of investment on ornaments outside the surveyed area would also be approximately the same.

43. The items of ornaments used by the women are ear-studs, bangles, neck chains, necklaces and finger rings. The old generation among the Christian women put on in the upper ear a gold ring called 'Kunukku' which has already been mentioned in the monograph on Kadapra. Since there are no common patterns for the other items a description about them is not attempted here. The Hindu men of the village wear gold ear-studs with inlaid imitation stones. The Velan men, on the other hand, put on a small gold ring on the ear-lobes. Both the ear-studs and rings are now seen only among the elder men indicating that it is a disappearing fashion as in other villages. The following table gives the distribution of the households of the various communities of the surveyed area according to the amounts invested by them on ornaments.

Table VIII
ORNAMENTS

		Communities									
		Nairs	Ezhuvas	Velans	Asaris	Thattans	Kollans	Varnavars	Syrian Catholics	Muslims	Parayas
Total No. of households	121	38	32	21	4	2	1	1	17	1	4
Total No. of households in the community		32	31	14	3	2	1	1	16	1	2
Total No. of households using ornaments		6	1	7	1	...	...	...	1	...	2
Households using no ornaments		22	21	14	3	2	1	1	8	...	2
No. of households using ornaments of the value of Rs. 100 or below		10	8	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...
No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 500		...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 1,000		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

44. Footwears are totally absent among the women and practically so among the men. Using footwears causes practical problems in walking around in the marshy places and travelling in boats, which probably accounts for their absence in the village.

Furniture and Other Household Goods

45. Cots, chairs and benches are the most common items of furniture found in the houses, cots being found almost in every house. Except in a small number of high class houses all items of furniture are made of cheap country wood, in some cases even of coconut timber. The timber of

portia tree which grows abundantly in the village is reported to be suitable for the manufacture of chairs and certain parts of cots, and a number of items of old furniture are made out of it. Much care is not given for finish or workmanship in the manufacture of furniture. In the surveyed area out of 121 houses, 93 possess cots, 47 chairs, 42 benches, 29 tables, 13 almirahs and 10 stools. Among other household goods lanterns are found in 119 houses and battery torches in 6 houses. Only two houses in the surveyed area have been electrified. Petromax, kerosene stoves, gramophones and radio sets are not used in any of the households. Utensils for cooking and dining are possessed in sufficient numbers. They include brass, copper and aluminium vessels and earthenwares for storing water and cooking food and earthenwares and metalwares for dining. In some households porcelain plates are also used for dining purposes. Any type of wheeled vehicle is out of question in the surveyed area and in the village, but almost all households in the surveyed area and the village possess small boats for moving about.

Food and Drink

46. All the households in the surveyed area have reported that they take at least three meals a day. 23.14 per cent of the households, in addition to the three principal meals, eat or drink something in between, especially in the evening. The percentage of households taking more than three meals a day is high among Nairs, Syrian Catholics and Asaris, very low among Velans and Ezhuvas and nil among other communities. From general enquiries it has been found that the luxury enjoyed in the matter of food by the communities outside the surveyed area follows almost the same pattern. Most of the people take rice gruel for breakfast. A small section of men, particularly among the working class, go to tea shop and take some preparation in rice flour together with tea or coffee for breakfast, whereas some others take coffee and tapioca at home. Lunch and supper consist of rice and vegetable or fish. The households of the different communities classified according

to the number of meals taken by them are presented in the following table.

Table IX
DIET (NUMBER OF MEALS)

Name of the community	Total No. of households in the community	Households having three meals a day	Households having more than 3 meals a day
Nairs	38	25	13
Ezhuvas	32	27	5
Velans	21	19	2
Asaris	4	2	2
Thattans	2	2	...
Kollans	1	1	...
Varnavars	1	1	...
Syrian Catholics	17	11	6
Muslims	1	1	...
Parayas	4	4	...

47. The staple food in the village is rice for the majority of people and rice and tapioca for the remaining. 69.42 per cent households in the surveyed area fall in the former category and the balance in the latter category. 19.01 per cent households in the surveyed area are vegetarians majority of whom belong to the Nair community. Among the Velans who claim Brahman origin, there are only two vegetarian households but among the Thattans all the two households are vegetarians. Ezhuvas, Syrian Catholics, Asaris, Parayas, Kollans and Muslims, of the surveyed area are non-vegetarians without exception. Tapioca is consumed by all the communities, although in the table the Parayas, Thattans, Kollans and Varnavars are not shown as using tapioca. The survey was conducted during the harvest season when paddy was available in plenty and tapioca was rather costly. The workers at such times use only paddy which is readily available and which is considered to be superior to tapioca. At other times when the stock of paddy is exhausted and the wage is received in money, they too purchase tapioca. Coconut, other vegetables, fish and milk are used on a small scale by all sections of

people. Among the beverages, coffee is more common than tea. Almost all sections of people drink toddy. Country arrack clandestinely brewed from paddy and toddy forms another popular drink among addicts. The following table gives an insight into the nature of food taken by the people of the surveyed area.

Table X
STAPLE DIET AND FOOD HABITS

Name of the community	Total No. of households	No. of vegetarians	No. of non-vegetarians	No. of households having as staple food	
				Rice	Combination of rice and tapioca
Nairs	38	19	19	26	12
Ezhuvas	32	...	32	18	14
Velans	21	2	19	18	3
Asaris	4	...	4	3	1
Thattans	2	2	...	2	...
Kollans	1	...	1	1	...
Varnavars	1	...	1	1	...
Syrian Catholics	17	...	17	10	7
Muslims	1	...	1	1	...
Parayas	4	...	4	4	...

Customs and Manners among Velans

Child-Birth

48. Most of the customs observed by Ezhuvas, Nairs and other Hindu communities on the occasion of child-birth are found to have currency among the Velans also. Thus in the 7th month of pregnancy the ceremony of 'Pulikudi' is observed by them in the presence of the 'Vadhyar'. A sour juice extracted from the leaves of five different trees is given to the girl by an old married lady related to the girl, in the presence of neighbours and relations invited for the function. After 'Pulikudi' either in the same month or in the 9th month the girl is taken to her house by her parents for confinement. It is customary to arrange this journey during an odd month of pregnancy, since even months are considered inauspicious. No restriction regarding

food or work is imposed on the girl before the child-birth. She continues to work even till the eve of confinement if fatigue or ill-health does not prevent her from doing so. At the time of delivery a country midwife or an elder woman of the community assists the girl. After child-birth the normal food is continued, but to avoid any harmful consequence Ayurvedic medicines are administered to her for about a week. Ordinarily work is resumed only after 45 days. Pollution is observed by all members of the household for 16 days, during which period the male members do not eat food from the house. On the 28th day a thread is tied round the waist of the child and it is given a name, preference being given to the name of the paternal grandfather or paternal grandmother as the case may be. The rice-feeding ceremony is carried out in one of the neighbouring temples in the 4th month if the child is a boy and in the 6th month, if a girl. The mother and the child are taken to the husband's house only after three months. The subsequent confinements usually take place in the husband's house but all the customs except 'Pulikudi' are observed for all of them.

Puberty

49. On the attainment of puberty the girl is segregated for 11 days. She bathes every day and on the 11th day the 'Vadhyar' is invited to perform 'homam'. During the period of segregation the girl remains in a room where she is served with food and other requirements. Unlike among the Kulalans of Parassala no presents are given to the barber or washerwoman and no other customs observed. During the monthly periods the women observe pollution for 7 days by keeping away from the kitchen and avoiding contact with unpolluted persons. Neither during the puberty nor during the monthly periods the women take bath at the ordinary bathing ghats lest they should pollute other people also. During the period of pollution after menstruation the women can do work in a separate shed so as not to pollute others. However, they should not approach the temple and other holy places. The Velans

of the surveyed area observe the pollution during puberty and monthly periods very meticulously for fear of offending the god in the temple of the settlement.

Marriage

50. As among the Kulalans of Parassala the Velans of the village give great importance to the agreement of horoscopes of the bride and the bridegroom. After preliminary negotiations, if the parents of the boy and the girl decide to proceed with the marriage proposal, the horoscopes are got examined by the boy's people. Should they not agree, marriage is not contracted, whatever be the other circumstances favouring it. If there is agreement between the horoscopes, the boy's people intimate the fact to the girl's people. The girl's relations then find out the auspicious moment for the marriage in consultation with the village astrologer (Kaniyan). The betrothal used to take place in the girl's house formerly but at present it is celebrated in the boy's house as well. The elaborate marriage ceremony lasting for five days in former times, as among the Brahmans, has now been condensed to a few hours, performing the important ceremonies in quick sequence. The time of marriage may vary according to the auspicious moment of the day. On the day of marriage a party consisting of both men and women and the bridegroom come to the village where they are received in a house specially arranged for this purpose. There is no rule regarding the number of members in the party but generally an odd number is considered lucky. They bring with them the marriage badge ('Minnu'), garlands and wedding veil ('Manthrakodi') required for the occasion. Just before the auspicious moment a party of women from the girl's house go with a lighted lamp, a jug of water and a plate containing flowers, plantain, coconut and other auspicious articles, to lead the bridegroom's party to the girl's house. The ceremonies are performed in front of a plantain leaf containing paddy, rice, jaggery, ghee, cow's urine, sandal paste and the fruits of a local plant known as 'Kadali' (*Melastoma malabathricum*). First

the boy sits before it and the 'Vadhyar' carries out the preliminary rituals, of which the most important part is tying a thread ('Kappu') on the hand of the boy. When the boy retires after the ceremony, the girl takes the place and all the rituals are repeated. Receiving the 'Manthrakodi' (wedding veil) and wedding costume from the hands of the 'Vadhyar' she goes back to the bridal chamber to dress up in these new clothes. Both the boy and the girl then come together to the 'pandal' and sit before the plantain leaf. During a long ceremony consisting of the recital of many vedic texts the boy ties the 'tali' on the neck of the girl and the couple exchange garlands. When the ceremony concludes all the gathered people are treated to a sumptuous feast. Next day the 'Vadhyar' pours oil on the heads of both the boy and the girl and they wash the feet of each other, a ceremony which is becoming obsolete now. On the day after the marriage the couple go to the bridegroom's house but the party which came from the boy's house return on the day of the marriage itself.

Funeral

51. On the death of a person the corpse is washed in warm water and laid on a new cloth in the courtyard of the house, keeping the head towards the south. The 'Vadhyar', on his arrival, prepares a pudding by boiling raw rice with coconut kernel. All the mourners consisting of all the children and near relatives of the deceased take bath, put on sacred threads and come to the corpse wearing wet clothes. Each of them drops a little pudding in the mouth of the corpse and a copper coin, which the Vilakkathala Nair, who is present throughout the funeral ceremony, collects immediately. This function corresponds to the 'Vaikkariyidal' found in other Hindu communities. The dead body is then covered in a new cloth over which a red cloth, preferably silk, is spread. It is carried to the funeral pyre by the mourners on a frame made with bamboo. The eldest son carrying on his head an earthen pot containing water, precedes the corpse and the Vilakkathala Nair with a lighted torch follows it. Any of the near relations can

carry the dead body to the pyre. On reaching the pyre the dead body is placed on it with the head towards the south. The chief mourner with the pot on his head walks round the pyre three times knocking the pot once during each round with a chopper to allow the water to drip out. On completion of the third round he stands near the head of the corpse facing it, throws the pot backward, turns away from the pyre and goes to take bath, without looking back. Incense and perfumes are now put on the pyre and on the return of the chief mourner the Vilakkathala Nair sets fire to it. The next day 'Sanchayanam' takes place with the collection of bones from the pyre and the burying of the ashes in the same spot. The bones are kept in an unbaked vessel until the end of the period of pollution which lasts for 11 days. During the period of pollution the 'Vadhyar' performs certain ceremonies in which the chief mourner wearing the sacred thread takes part. If the family cannot afford to invite the 'Vadhyar' on all the eleven days for the performance of the ceremonies his presence is secured only on the first day and the last two days. During the remaining days some elderly men of the locality guide the chief mourner to carry out the ceremonies according to the instructions left by the 'Vadhyar'. During the period of pollution the members of the household do not go to places of public worship but resume pot making. The bones are thrown into a river or some other place where moisture remains always. After one year the soul of the deceased is settled in a temple with the performance of some special ceremonies for which an amount has to be given to the temple. It is believed that if this is not done the soul will wander in the world restlessly.

Consanguineous Marriages

52. Among the present generation in the surveyed area there are 13 cases of marriage

between blood relations, 3 of them among Velans, 6 among Nairs, 3 among Ezhuvas and 1 among Muslims. All the three cases of consanguineous marriages in Velan community are between cross cousins while in the Nair community five are between cross cousins and one is with the boy and his cross cousin's daughter. All the consanguineous marriages in Ezhuva and Muslim communities have taken place between cross cousins. Besides these, there is one case of a Velan having married his elder brother's widow and one case of an Ezhuva having married his wife's sister while the wife herself was alive, obviously a case of polygamy. Consanguineous marriages were in vogue among all communities except Christians of the village. Even now in certain households preference is given for cross-cousin marriage though the practice is vanishing rapidly. Both polygamy and polyandry have been always prohibited among Velans but they were practised by some other Hindu communities of the village in olden days. Polyandry has now completely disappeared while polygamy survives in a few cases. The younger generation disapproves polyandry and polygamy as abominable social evils and opposes consanguineous marriages on social and sentimental grounds.

Inheritance

53. The Velans of the village follow the 'Makkathayam' law of inheritance. Not only no share is given to the daughter but she is not even given a dowry. In fact, in olden days the girl's parents had to be paid a bride-price by the boy before the marriage. Among the Christians of the village the properties are divided equally among the sons, but the girls are given dowry which in most cases is an amount equal to her share of the parental properties. Among Nairs 'Marumakkathayam' is still followed in spite of the legal position that the property should be shared equally among sons and daughters.

CHAPTER III ECONOMY

Economic Resources

54. Agriculture is by far the most important economic resource of the people of Muttar. In the paddy fields one crop is raised between September and February during the years when the rainfall is normal. If there is little rainfall in the first months of monsoon and heavy downpour during the later months, this crop is generally a failure. However, in such years it is possible to take an additional crop between June and September before the normal crop is sown and thus to compensate for the loss. The fields which lie on a comparatively higher level regularly take these two crops with success except when the rainfall in the beginning of monsoon is excessive.

55. After paddy the largest source of income is cocoanut cultivation. Around the houses, along the bunds and wherever a little dry land is available cocoanut has been cultivated. So far the trees have yielded very good crops but of late diseases have been spreading in the plantations reducing the yield. In several places instead of trees with green leaves one sees only haggard-looking palms with yellow or dry leaves or a trunk altogether without leaves. Spraying and other treatments were experimented without any success. The cocoanut cultivators are despondent about the control of the disease and are now thinking of raising other crops. Banana has thus been introduced in recent times in several parts of the village. It is said that but for the constant care and work that are involved in the banana cultivation, it would have been taken up by more people and cultivated on a still larger scale.

56. Among the working class population a large percentage depends upon agricultural labour and connected occupations. During the period of paddy cultivation work is so plenty that the working force of the village has to be strengthened by additions from the neighbouring villages but after the harvest, work becomes scarce and labourers

fall back on sundry jobs in the cocoanut plantations and other dry cultivations. A good number of people earn their living during non-cultivating seasons by quarrying mud from the paddy fields and canals for the purpose of filling up some corners here and there or for raising bunds, embankments and basements of houses. Women having work only during the time of harvest generally idle away the rest of the year. Christian women of the village, even the wives of Christian workers, do not go for work, as they consider it below their dignity to work under somebody else for wages. They prefer to live on the earning of the men or starve rather than doing work for wages. This strange notion about the dignity of labour, not shared by the Christians of other areas in the State, is a relic of the past when agricultural labour was associated with inferior castes. Quite recently signs of change in this outlook have been noticed among the poor people.

57. Breeding of ducks engages full time some households who solely depend upon this occupation for their livelihood. As already mentioned earlier, poultry farming is undertaken on a small scale in every household. The eggs thus produced bring in sufficient money for the housewives for the purchase of daily necessities. During the monsoon season frog catching employs a small number of people. So also, a few are engaged in fishing. These occupations are either seasonal or so unremunerative that nobody in the village depends entirely upon them. Due to the demand for water transport, that being the only means of communication in the village, a small section of the population is employed in that occupation. It is more for transporting goods than for carrying passengers that the boatmen are employed.

58. In three places in the village there are colonies of Velans who are employed in the manufacture of earthenwares. Having no other occupation they derive their whole

income from the sale of the products. The marketing of these products in different places where annual fairs take place is the monopoly of a set of people who are solely engaged in it. When there are no fairs or festivals they move around the villages selling the articles from house to house and earning their livelihood. A small number of people are engaged in fish trade and in the sale of articles of daily requirements and minor stationery items.

Factors Influencing Economic Life

59. The whole area of the village except 171.61 acres falling under 'Poramboke', 0.31 acres falling under 'Tharisu' and 102.01 acres falling under 'Kandukrishi' is held under proprietary rights by a large number of land owners. 'Poramboke' and 'Tharisu' are Government lands, the former being the lands occupied by canals, public places and rivers. The 'Kandukrishi' lands originally belonged to the Crown. On the integration of Travancore and Cochin these lands were given over to Government by the Maharaja. Under the Land Assignment Act provision has been made for the registry of these lands in favour of the tenants on payment of suitable compensation and most of the lands in the village under this tenure have already been registered in the names of the occupants. No other land reform has affected the ownership or distribution of lands in the village. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Act which has now been replaced by the Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1963 would, however, have affected the ownership radically. There are a large number of small holders in the village who do not undertake the cultivation of their own lands directly. They have given over their lands to tenant-cultivators on fixed rents. Each of these tenant-cultivators has taken on rent lands from a large number of owners and thus occupies extensive contiguous blocks. Under the Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1963 the tenants are entitled to fixity of tenure with the prospects of getting a purchase right over the holdings.

60. The land improvement measures described in the report on Prakkad infra

have been of great benefit to Muttar village and all other villages in Kuttanad area. Under the Irrigation Act the system of bunding a large number of plots together for facilitating de-watering operation was introduced here at the same time when it was introduced at Prakkad. The Puncta Special Officer is now arranging for the repairs of bunds, pumping of water and the collection of dues, as he does at Prakkad. The research works undertaken by the agricultural department have been of great value in detecting the deficiencies of the soil and countering the defects of acidity. The availability of chemical fertilisers suited to the soil of the area has also had remarkable effect on paddy cultivation. The construction of the spillway at Thottappally referred to in the monograph on Prakkad is intended to facilitate the control of floods caused by the discharge of the rivers.

61. Industrialisation, improvement of communications and expansion of marketing facilities have not improved the economy of Muttar, though there have been great developments in these directions in several other villages of the State. The natural resources and the geography of the area being what they are, there are no facilities for starting any industry in the area. Communication system has improved to some extent after the construction of the Alleppey-Changanacherry road in so far as the villagers can now reach the towns quicker. However, within the village itself they have to depend upon the old country-crafts. Even outside the village the road is made use of only for passenger traffic as cargo transport is still difficult on account of the ferries that have to be crossed before reaching any of the towns. The boats still carry the paddy, cocoanut and other agricultural products of the village for marketing them in towns like Changanacherry as they used to do before the opening of the road. The pot-makers find their markets in the fairs and festivals that take place in the churches and temples around the village. The marketing facilities in these fairs have not increased in recent years; on the other hand, the habit of purchasing things during the fairs and festivals is on the decrease. The

increased use of metalwares for cooking and dining has also affected the demand for the earthenwares manufactured by the Velans.

62. The sources of finance have improved during the last decade due to the institution of the pumping system, the organisation of co-operative societies, and lately, the introduction of the package scheme. Loans are issued by the societies for the purchase of seed and manure. The cost of pumping and bunding need be paid only in instalments and a part of this cost is borne by the Government by way of subsidy. According to the package scheme loans are issued for land improvement and for the purchase of cattle and improved agricultural implements. Under the scheme, a production plan is prepared for each cultivator with the help of experts, technical and monetary aid are rendered to the cultivator to carry it out and short term and medium term loans are issued with arrangement for repayment in easy instalments. All these do not mean that the problem of finance does not exist for the cultivators of the village. Though, no doubt, these schemes have rendered great relief to them in meeting the normal cultivation costs, often due to procedural delays or the need for larger funds arising from natural calamities and other factors the cultivators raise funds from private sources paying exorbitant interests. It has been reported that till a few years back, some small cultivators used to borrow paddy from big landlords at as much as 25 to 30 per cent interest with promise to repay it at the succeeding harvest. Fortunately the practice is vanishing now.

Livelihood Classes

63. From the survey conducted at Mithrakkari 7.92 per cent of the workers are found to be cultivators, 43.40 per cent agricultural labourers, 23.02 per cent workers in household industry, 2.64 per cent workers in construction, 8.30 per cent workers in trade and commerce, 3.40 per cent workers in transport and 11.32 per cent workers in other occupations. The predominance of cultivation and agricultural labour is characteristic of the village. The importance of household industry in the

surveyed area is due to the existence of potters' colony there. Though separate figures are not available for previous years, from the nature of occupations and answers to the questions obtained during the survey it has to be concluded that this pattern has not been affected in recent years.

64. Taking the workers of the entire village, 14.49 per cent are cultivators, 31.90 per cent agricultural labourers, 2.63 per cent workers in mining, quarrying etc., 8.02 per cent workers in household industry, 3.95 per cent in manufacturing other than household industry, 0.28 per cent in construction, 6.91 per cent in trade and commerce, 0.92 per cent in transport and storage and 30.90 per cent in other occupations, according to the 1961 Census. The mining and quarrying occupation includes the work in coconut plantations and the quarrying of clay or mud from the fields. Therefore, they are also associated with agriculture. Thus cultivation and connected occupations employ nearly 50 per cent of the total workers of the village. Household industry mainly consists of pot making, manufacture of copra, oil pressing, dehusking paddy and tailoring and these industries together employ only a small percentage of the total workers. The marketing of earthenwares provides employment for a number of businessmen who sell them in the neighbouring villages and carry them to the places of fairs and festivals. The other men in trade and commerce are employed as hawkers and petty shop owners.

65. According to the 1951 Census 29.61 per cent of the people of the village depended upon cultivation, 32.76 per cent on agricultural labour, 14.35 per cent on productive activities other than cultivation which included mining, quarrying, household industries and major industries, 10.74 per cent on commerce, 4.47 per cent on transport and 8.07 per cent on other services for their livelihood. Between 1951 and 1961 the importance of cultivation suffered a set-back. There has been decrease in the number of people depending upon commerce and transport also, while the number of people depending upon other

services increased considerably. It is true that the number of dependants in the families of cultivators is disproportionately high, thus making the percentage of cultivators in 1961 smaller due to the difference in the method adopted for Census. But this does not completely explain the variations between the two sets of figures. One has to conclude, therefore, that more and more people are trying to get some occupation in other services and escape from cultivation, commerce and transport. Education being more widespread among the cultivators, they get better opportunities for employment in other services and give up the traditional occupation which partly explains the smaller percentage of workers in cultivation. The transport occupation suffered due to the opening of the Alleppey-Changanacherry road which put out of commission a number of boatmen engaged in carrying passengers. Due to the opening of the road, the commercial activities of the village also suffered, for now marketing as well as purchases are carried out in the neighbouring towns since they have become more quickly accessible.

Ownership of Economic Resources

66. The total land of the village is divided into 1,890 holdings of which only 3 are above 50 acres and 7 between 25 acres and 50 acres. 24 holdings extend between 10 and 25 acres, 53 holdings between 5 and 10 acres, 425 between one acre and 5 acres and 1,378 below one acre. All the large holdings belong to the Namboothiri 'Jenmis' who are absentee landlords. Their lands have been parcelled out to tenant-cultivators on fixed rents. Among the small holders also many have leased out their lands to the tenant-cultivators each of

whom, as mentioned earlier, would have taken a number of such small holdings for cultivation. Thus the actual number of people cultivating land is much less than the number of holdings. Instead of fragmentation of holdings as seen in many other villages of the State, here there is really a consolidation of holdings into larger plots, necessitated by the peculiar problems faced by cultivation. Sale of land does not take place on any large scale in the village, particularly the sale of dry land. Paddy lands may occasionally be sold. It costs only between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 2,500 per acre on an average. The cost of dry land varies from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 per acre but if at all there is any sale of dry land the extent involved is generally only a few cents. The value of paddy land has not undergone much change during the last decade while there has been some increase in the value of dry land. The fact that all persons engaged in trade and commerce, household industry and transport are self-employed does not mean any appreciable distribution of the economic resource since the capital involved in them is insignificant.

67. In the surveyed area 38.02 per cent households possess no land and live on the properties of others as 'Kudikidappukars'. 11.57 per cent own only 5 cents and less each, 8.26 per cent own 6 to 10 cents each, 11.57 per cent 11 to 20 cents each, 9.09 per cent 21 to 50 cents each, 8.26 per cent 51 cents to 1 acre each, 9.09 per cent 1 acre to 2.49 acres each, 3.31 per cent 2.5 acres to 4.99 acres each and the rest between 5 to 10 acres each. 14.88 per cent households have taken small areas on rent from private individuals or institutions while one household has given out a small plot for cultivation to another person.

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Table XI

HOUSEHOLDS OWNING OR POSSESSING LAND OR WHICH HAVE GIVEN OUT LAND TO OTHERS FOR CULTIVATION

Nature of interest on land	Community	No. of households and extent of land									
		No land	5 cents and below	6 to 10 cents	11 to 20 cents	21 to 50 cents	51 cents to 1 acre	1.01 to 2.49 acres	2.50 to 4.99 acres	5 to 10 acres	Above 10 acres
1. Land owned	Nairs	7	4	1	4	8	4	7	2	1	...
	Ezhuvas	15	2	7	4	2	1	1	...	...	...
	Velans	16	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Asaris	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Thattans	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...
	Kollans	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Varnavars	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	Syrian Catholics	3	1	1	5	1	3	2	1	...	...
	Muslims	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
	Parayas	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2. Land held from Private persons or institutions	Nairs	...	1	...	...	...	2	1	...	1	...
	Ezhuvas	...	2	...	3	1	1	...	1	...	...
	Thattans	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	Muslims	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	Syrian Catholics	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...
3. Land given out to private persons or institutions	Nairs	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...

68. Out of 21 households engaged in pot making in the surveyed area 20 are carrying on the work as household industry. All the 4 basket weavers, one blacksmith and one tailor of the surveyed area are also self-employed. All the 15 households engaged in business from the surveyed area are running their own shops. Thus as far as the surveyed area is concerned there is no concentration of economic resources in any hand. What little is available is distributed among a large number of households equitably.

Employment Position

Out of the total population of the village 30.76 per cent are workers, while in the surveyed area their percentage is 37.01. The distribution of the workers of the

village and surveyed area between the various livelihood classes has been given supra. Among the workers of the surveyed area 34.34 per cent are females and 3.02 per cent persons aged below 15 years. Taking the working age-group as 15 to 59, 61.29 per cent of the population in that age-group are employed. It would appear that among the agricultural population of the village a good percentage of the people aged 60 and over also do some work as indicated by the 52.73 per cent of the people aged over 60 still going for work from the surveyed area. The distribution of the workers and non-workers for the surveyed area among the different age-groups can be found out from the following table.

EMPLOYMENT POSITION

Table XII

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX AND BROAD AGE-GROUPS

Age-groups	Total			Total workers			Total non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages	716	365	351	265	174	91	451	191	260
0-14	289	149	140	8	5	3	281	144	137
15-34	219	111	108	123	78	45	96	33	63
35-59	153	74	79	105	66	39	48	8	40
60 and over	55	31	24	29	25	4	26	6	20

70. All the employed children below the age of 15 are working in pottery. There is a larger number of workers in the 15 to 34 age-group than in 35 to 59 age-

group. The following table gives the classification of the workers of the surveyed area according to occupation, sex and age-group.

Table XIII

WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation		Age-groups				
		All Ages	0-14	15-34	35-59	60 and over
Pot making	Persons	56	4	28	16	8
	Males	29	2	15	7	5
	Females	27	2	13	9	3
Agriculture	Persons	21	...	3	14	4
	Males	...	...	...	...	...
	Females	22	...	10	9	3
Business	Persons	19	...	2	1	...
	Males	3	...	3	1	1
	Females	5	...	3	1	...
Household industries other than pot making	Persons	5	...	...	...	...
	Males	...	...	58	47	9
	Females	115	1	30	19	8
Agricultural labour	Persons	58	1	28	28	1
	Males	57	...	4	3	1
	Females	9	1	4	3	...
Transport	Persons	9	1	...	...	...
	Males	...	...	4	3	...
	Females	7	...	4	3	...
Construction	Persons	7	...	...	...	...
	Males	...	...	13	12	3
	Females	30	2	11	11	3
Miscellaneous	Persons	26	1	2	1	...
	Males	4	1	...	...	...
	Females	...	...	...	...	...

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71. 37.74 per cent of the total workers of the surveyed area are employed in industry, business or cultivation belonging to their own households, majority of the people in industry being potters. All the people

employed in cultivation and business are self-employed. The sex and age classification of these people is given in the following table.

Table XIV

WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUPS, INDUSTRY, BUSINESS AND CULTIVATION BELONGING TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Age-groups	Total			Working in industry belonging to the household			Working in business belonging to the household			Working in cultivation belonging to the household		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages	100	71	29	57	31	26	22	19	3	21	21	...
0-14	4	2	2	4	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-34	41	27	14	28	16	12	10	8	2	...	...	...
35-59	39	29	10	16	7	9	9	8	1	14	14	...
60 and over	16	13	3	9	6	3	3	3	...	4	4	...

72. Out of the total non-workers of the surveyed area 62.31 per cent are children below the age of 15. Among the remaining non-workers, 72.35 per cent are females. In the 0 to 14 age-group all children of the school-going age are attending schools, except one boy who has stopped his studies and is seeking some employment. 22.94 per cent of the non-workers above the age of 14 are also attending schools while 15.29

per cent among them are sick or too old to work and 6.47 per cent are seeking employment. Among the women aged 15 and above 61.79 per cent are employed as housewives. There are 6 men also attending to the household chores. The following table classifies the non-workers of the surveyed area according to sex, age-group and nature of activity.

Table XV

NON-WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUPS AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY

Age-groups	Total No. of non-workers			Persons engaged in household duties only			Full-time students or children attending school			Sick, old and infants		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages	451	191	260	82	6	76	213	117	96	131	59	72
0-14	281	144	137	36	...	...	174	91	83	105	52	53
15-34	96	33	63	...	...	...	39	26	13	...	...	...
35-59	48	8	40	43	5	38	...	...	...	4	2	2
60 and over	26	6	20	3	...	3	...	...	...	22	5	17

200

(Continued)

TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Table XV—Concl'd.

Age-group	Retired persons not employed again, rentiers, persons living on agricultural & non-agricultural royalty, rent or dividend or other persons of independent means			Persons seeking employments			Persons who have no special reason for not seeking employment and who do not belong to any other category		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages	2	2	...	12	7	5	11	...	11
0-14	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	1
15-34	...	...	...	11	6	5	10	...	10
35-59	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
60 and over	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Traditional Occupations
Agriculture

73. The normal paddy crop of the village taken between October and February is known as 'puncha'. In elevated fields, and even in low lying fields if the monsoon is not very intensive, another crop can be taken between April and September. To take this crop, the field is cleared off all the stubbles immediately after the harvest of 'puncha' crop and ploughed twice and the seed broadcasted. Generally no manure is applied nor any other agricultural operations undertaken. Though the operations are very simple the crop is often a failure on account of the incessant rains. In certain years the crop may be so poor that it may not be harvested at all. However, if the rainfall is less than the normal, this gives a better yield than the 'puncha' itself. The seed known as 'Kolappala' is the most suitable for this season and often the crop itself is called 'Kolappala'. It is a long term crop requiring at least 6 months duration. Bunding, pumping, weeding and manuring which are essential operations for a 'puncha' crop need not be carried out for the 'Kolappala' crop. A type of grass called 'Varinellu' (wild rice) resembling paddy so closely as to make it almost indistinguishable grows as weed in the 'Kolappala' crop during certain years. Due to the similarity, a timely weeding operation is impossible and, therefore, the weed grows along with

the paddy. The fields attacked by it produce very poor crop in spite of all other advantageous circumstances. The extermination of the weed is very difficult and often it grows in the succeeding years also.

74. For the normal 'puncha' crop all the operations required for a wet cultivation have to be carried out. In the case of fields subjected to 'Kolappala' cultivation they are ploughed immediately after the harvest and the seeds sown after completing the bunding and dewatering operations. In other cases the field is ploughed at intervals as at Prakkad. Unlike for the 'Kolappala' crop, germinated seeds are broadcasted for the 'puncha' crop. The common varieties of seeds used are 'Athikkara' and 'T 9'. The periodical pumping and maintenance of bunds are precarious but essential operations for a successful crop. The average yield per acre is estimated to be about 200 paras while the average cost of cultivation per acre works out to 90 'paras'. At the standard rate a cultivator gets about Rs.250 per acre if he has proprietary right over the land. If the field is taken on lease he may have to pay a rent ranging from 25 'paras' to 40 'paras' which reduces his profit considerably. If during the 'puncha' cultivation any portion of the bund gives way a whole stretch of field is washed away leaving nothing behind. A cultivator may have to purchase even the seed for the next crop in such a contingency but in recent years this calamity has not occurred frequently.

75. The banana cultivation started in recent years has been found to be a very profitable crop. The seed is planted in August-September either in trenches or pits dug in the ground. A layer of sand is spread in the trench or pit and the seed placed over it. Cow-dung or compost manure is put in the pit before covering it with sand. As the plant grows up, periodically the weeds are removed and the soil is dug and manure applied. During the summer a type of moss growing in the paddy fields and canals is collected and put around the plant to retain the moisture. The plants may have to be watered for one or two months but watering is easy due to the natural facilities. The crop is generally good. A bunch contains about 40 to 50 bananas and each bunch fetches Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 at the present market rate.

Animal Husbandry

76. Among the large animals, cows and goats are the most common but even they are not found in majority of the households, due to the poor feeding facilities. They have to be fed on straw or leaves from the plants growing along the banks of canals and boundaries of the compounds. Since for ploughing purposes buffaloes alone are used almost all agricultural households own a pair or two of buffaloes. Practically all households breed a few chicken of the indigenous variety. The eggs sold daily to the hawkers form a small but regular source of income, with which the poor people purchase their daily necessities. Besides feeding on paddy from the fields as well as from the compounds where inevitably some grains are lost during the harvest operations, the chicken are fed on damaged cashewnuts available as fodder. Coconut cake, rice bran and other fodder are also good chicken feeds. However, nobody has taken any care to raise poultry on large scale or on scientific lines or to improve the birds by introducing exotic varieties available from the N. E. S. Block. Duck breeding is equally or even more important than the breeding of chicken. Unlike among the chicken farmers, all the households engaged in duck breeding depend upon it entirely for their livelihood. The eggs and the birds

find ready market in Changanacherry. During the interval between the harvest and the succeeding cultivation the large expanse of paddy fields provide abundant facilities for feeding ducks. Thereafter they move to the neighbouring villages in search of feeding grounds. During the time of cultivation when it is not possible to send the birds into the paddy fields they are fed in the canals and rivers or herded into net enclosures and fed on the sago of palm tree, paddy or cocoanut cake. To distinguish the birds belonging to a particular owner, special marks are engraved on their beaks. Large herds of birds spread over the surface of the water in the paddy fields and canals, at every turn greeting the visitors with clattering noise and the herdsman moving among them standing on a small spathe-like boat are unforgettable scenes of Kuttanad.

77. The best season for the duck-breeders is the period immediately following the harvest. With plenty of grains left in the field, there is no problem of feeding and the birds yield the maximum number of eggs. On an average it is expected that a duck will lay as many as 300 eggs every year but if they are regularly and properly fed eggs will be laid every day throughout the year. It is not necessary for the breeders to carry the eggs to the market as there are itinerant merchants who meet the breeders regularly and purchase eggs as well as the male birds. The price of eggs varies from 6 to 8 rupees per hundred and the price of a bird from 2.50 to 4.00 rupees depending upon the size and the season. Generally the female birds are costlier than the male birds. The duck-breeders do not hatch the eggs but only purchase young birds from those who have taken up hatching of eggs as a regular business.

78. In the surveyed area there are cows in 42 households, buffaloes in 6 households, she-buffaloes in 4 households and indigenous variety of fowls in 72 households. The smaller number of buffaloes is explained by the fact that among the surveyed households, there are only a small number of cultivators. There are no duck-breeders in the surveyed area.

79. Fishing is not a regular occupation for anybody, although several people go for fishing occasionally. It is more for their own domestic consumption than for earning a livelihood that the people do so. On the other hand, frog-catching is undertaken by a good number of people for livelihood during the rainy season when frogs are plenty in the paddy fields and canals. With a powerful lamp fixed on the bow of the boat they move about in pairs in the canals and paddy fields during the night and catch the frogs with a small net. During certain nights a man may be able to catch frogs worth 20 or 30 rupees but during other nights he may have to return without anything. After cutting off the head the frog is sold to the agents of the freezing factories who are engaged in the export of frog legs.

Pot Making

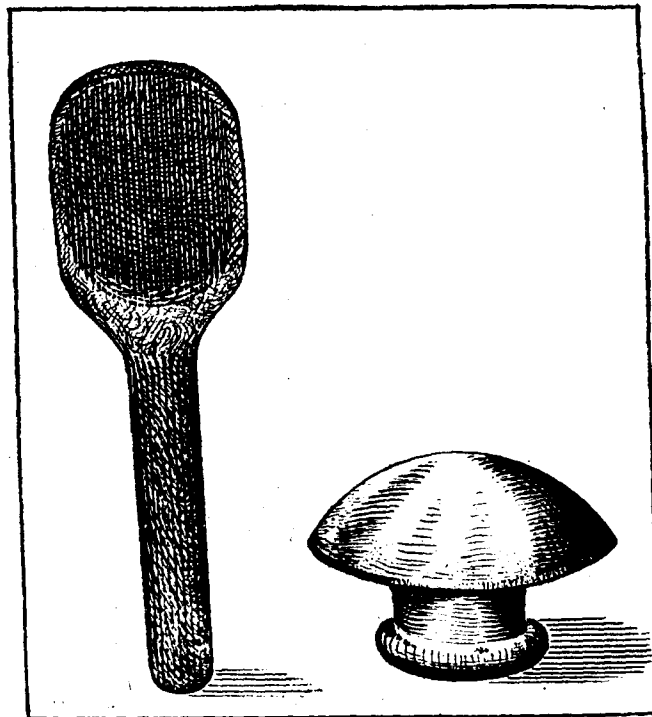
80. In 21 households in the surveyed area and in two other colonies in the village outside the surveyed area the Velans carry on this industry as a traditional occupation. Almost all males and females capable of work in the Velan colonies including even children below 15 take part in the work. The men do the difficult items of work such as digging and kneading the clay, and shaping and baking the vessels, whereas the women and children carry out the rest of the work which can be done more leisurely in one corner of the house or work-shed with less physical exertion. Thus they rotate the potter's wheel, beat the moulded vessels to make them thin and hard and to complete the unfinished bottom and dry them. If any particular colour is to be given to the vessels that work is also undertaken by the women. The division of labour between men and women follows the same line at Parassala and Muttar.

81. In the nature of products there is difference between Parassala and Muttar. At Parassala the Kulalans have specialised in the manufacture of jugs, pots, ovens, clay models and toys while in the village under survey, the Velans almost exclusively manufacture flat vessels of various sizes. If required, they can manufacture most of the articles manufactured at Parassala but they

have confined themselves to this special item of work on account of its large demand in Kuttanad area. The flat vessels are required for the cooking of vegetarian dishes and fish and find good market among the Christians who predominate the surrounding places. The small earthen bowls used for dining by the poor are also manufactured here.

82. The clay required for ordinary articles is dug up from the neighbouring fields by the Velans but occasionally the superior clay from the village of Thalavadi is purchased for special purposes. There are some people belonging to other communities who have made it their regular occupation to dig up clay from the paddy fields and sell it to the Velans. If purchased, a country boat-full of clay costing Rs. 4 will suffice for the manufacture of articles worth Rs. 100. The techniques of manufacture are almost the same as given in the description in the monograph of Parassala village. The clay is first of all spread in the sun to evaporate the excess water contained in it. Then suitable slices are cut from it and after mixing with sufficient river sand, kneaded with legs. The proportion of river sand varies with the nature of the clay and it is only by experience that one is able to find out the exact quantity to be added. The kneaded clay is piled up in one corner of the work-shed. Small pieces are cut from it, placed on the wheel and, after sprinkling some water if necessary, shaped into vessels by rotating the wheel. The product is cut out at the bottom with a thread and gently dried in the sun. The women then beat it to reduce the thickness and shape the bottom. The vessel is beaten with a wooden mallet holding a stone as an anvil inside the vessel. The size and shape of the mallet and the stone are the same as those in the sketch given in the monograph on Parassala reproduced here. The vessel is again placed in the sun and dried well. The small vessel used for dining is coated with dark clay to give it a white colour on baking but other vessels are not painted. With a piece of stone the surface of the vessel is rubbed to give it smoothness. The vessel is again dried in the sun before baking.

MUTTAR



MALLET AND STONE

83. The method of baking followed in Muttar is different from that followed at Parassala. Whereas in Parassala a large number of households individually or jointly own kilns, there is none owning a kiln in Muttar. Again, instead of firewood, coconut husk which is locally available and hence cheaper is used in Muttar for baking, adding a few sticks of firewood in order to keep the fire alive for a long time. The vessels and the fuel are piled alternately in the following manner. A layer of husk with a piece or two of firewood is first spread on the ground and the vessels to be baked spread over it. Over this another layer of husk and firewood is spread and a second layer of vessels piled. Thus there can be three or four layers of vessels and husks. Lime water is sprinkled over the pile by the oldest women of the colony with the intention of reducing breakage by expelling the harmful effects of evil-eye. Finally the whole pile is covered with straw and coated with clay, leaving a small portion at the

bottom exposed for setting fire. The piling of the vessels is started in the afternoon so that it can be set fire to by sunset. One or two persons keep watch over the pile throughout the night. The fire dies out by midnight and the pile cools down by the next morning. The breakage, never above 10 per cent by this method, is much lower than at Parassala. This may also be due to the use of superior clay. The percentage of breakage increases if the vessels are not properly dried before baking and therefore naturally during the rainy season the losses are higher.

84. In the surveyed area the pots are sold to the merchants through the Potters' Co-operative Society. Most of the merchants belong to the neighbouring localities and come to the colony at the time of breaking the piles. When the vessels are taken out they are held in one hand and tapped with a finger of the other hand to listen to the noise and decide whether the vessel is damaged. The broken ones are



Pl. 73

A VELAN WOMAN SHAPING THE BOTTOM OF THE VESSEL



Pl. 74

SAILING WITH POTS TO THE NEIGHBOURING VILLAGES



Pl. 75

A SPARE TIME WORK WITH THE INNER
BARK OF THE MIDRIB OF COCOANUT LEAVES

Page 205

thrown away and the others counted and given to the merchants. These merchants carry them in large boats to the neighbouring markets or to fairs. Some merchants carry them to the households direct. The prices are fixed between the society and the merchants. Though the society has given the Velans a proper organisation for collective bargain the merchants have also come to some understanding among themselves and are in a position to thwart the demands of the society to some extent. Moreover the society itself does not have sufficient funds and often informally borrows from the merchants, placing itself under the obligation to give the products to them even with some concession in price.

85. Usually a single pile for baking contains vessels worth Rs. 100. The vessels may be of different descriptions and at times may belong to different households. But there is no difficulty in distinguishing the vessels of each household. According to the Velans each one is able to recognise his product, just as one is able to distinguish one's own handwriting. The manufacture of vessels worth Rs. 100 engages two men and three women for 12 days. Each pile requires about a thousand coconut husks costing on an average Rs. 30 and 4 maunds of firewood costing Rs. 2.50. The straw for covering the piles costs about Rs. 7.50 in spite of the fact that straw is comparatively cheap in the locality. Thus the total cost excluding the labour charges but including the cost of clay amounts to Rs. 44. Supposing the breakage is normal the product in a single pile will fetch Rs. 100 on an average, giving Rs. 56 as wages for the workers. This works out to about 93 P. per head per day. During the summer season the work is quicker and the prospects brighter. But the rhythm of work is retarded during the rainy months and the income is considerably reduced. The estimate given above is based on the figures for August and September when the rain is not very intense. During the summer months the income per head will be better and may go up to Rs. 1.50 or 1.75, while during June—July it may be even less than 75 P.

86. The crude potter's wheel described in the monograph of Parassala is the common equipment used at Muttar. Modern innovations in the potter's wheel had their experiments in the Velans' colony, but they were found to be unsuccessful. The concrete wheels supplied to the Velans have been discarded by them, since they are found to be not only heavier but also unsteady in revolution.

Basket Weaving

87. A small mention must be made of this household industry even though its importance in the economy of the village is next to nothing. The occupation engages only half a dozen households belonging to the Paraya community in the surveyed area for two or three months in a year. The raw material used is the bark peeled from the midrib of coconut leaf. This bark is split into narrow strips of about half a centimetre in breadth and gently dried in the sun. Large baskets of 3 to 4 'paras' capacity are manufactured with this. Since the material is more pliable, these baskets last longer than the reed baskets. Generally the cultivators who have coconut plantations permit the Parayas to take the barks from the leaves for the manufacture of the baskets. The manufactured baskets are given to the same cultivators and the Parayas get only the wages either in kind or money, generally the former. When the coconut leaves are not available these households also manufacture baskets, sieves, etc., from reeds. But the handicraft is only a subsidiary occupation for them, their primary occupation being agricultural labour.

Trade and Commerce

88. One peculiarity about the village in the matter of trade and commerce is that barter system is still prevalent on a large scale. During the time of cultivation almost all agricultural labourers and some small cultivators exchange paddy for the articles they purchase. Even during other times this system is not totally absent. The transaction is then carried on in other village products such as eggs and coconuts. The hawkers of the village are an interesting set of people and their method of trade is

unique. They are mainly two types, one solely engaged in fish trade and the other dealing in provisions and minor stationery articles. The latter move around in the village in boats from morning till evening rowing from island to island. They announce their approach to each place by honking a horn fitted on the boat. Their boats contain generally kerosene, cocoanut oil, salt, chilli and other condiments, bidi, soap, blue and fodder such as damaged cashewnut which is a good chicken feed. There is another set of people belonging to this category who go around with tapioca and other vegetables and a third set going around vending stationery articles. The fish mongers, on the other hand, appear only in the afternoon and announce their approach by shouting like jackals. This way they are easily distinguished from the other traders. They come in a crowd and competing with one another move very fast between the islands to reach them first, incessantly shouting on the way. It is fascinating to see these boats gliding in water like snakes, the men making piercing shouts, in the background of the honking of the horns from the slow moving provision traders.

89. During the harvest season temporary shops spring up on the bunds of paddy fields to cater to the needs of the harvest workers. They too deal in barter and sell refreshments and food as well as provisions. Their period of activity is over when the harvest is finished, but then they move from one field to another and thus carry on their business for 3 or 4 months at a stretch.

Family Budget

90. The study of family budget is limited to the surveyed area since particulars have been gathered only for the households residing there. In the surveyed area 21 households derive their principal income from pot making, 16 households from cultivation, 15 households from trade and commerce and 69 households from other occupations such as transport, Government service, agricultural labour, blacksmithy and goldsmithy.

Income

91. Out of the 21 households engaged in pot making 9.52 per cent earn between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50, another 9.52 per cent between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75, 33.34 per cent between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 and 47.62 per cent above Rs. 100 per month. Among the cultivators the percentages of households falling within the above income groups are 12.50, 12.50, 12.50 and 62.50 respectively and among the miscellaneous occupational group 20.29, 46.38, 14.49 and 18.84 respectively. Among the businessmen there is no household getting less than Rs. 50 per month, they being equally divided in the income groups of Rs. 51 to Rs. 75, Rs. 76 to Rs. 100 and above Rs. 100. The average monthly income of the four income groups among pot-makers is Rs. 41.67, Rs. 75.00, Rs. 95.83 and Rs. 152.08, among the cultivators Rs. 50.00, Rs. 75.00, Rs. 100.00 and Rs. 224.38 and among the miscellaneous occupational group Rs. 43.28, Rs. 67.64, Rs. 93.79 and Rs. 140.86 respectively. Among the businessmen the monthly average income of the three groups is Rs. 72.91, Rs. 95.58 and Rs. 219.67 respectively. Though among the lower income groups there is not much variation in the average monthly income of the different occupational classes, in the highest income groups wide variations are observed. Thus the miscellaneous occupational group and pot-makers have a much lower income in the highest income group than the cultivators and businessmen. The percentage of people falling in the highest income group is larger among cultivators and pot-makers than among the other two occupational classes. Taking all the income groups together the pot makers have a monthly average income of Rs. 115.48, cultivators Rs. 168.35, businessmen Rs. 129.38 and miscellaneous occupational group Rs. 80.29. Thus in all respects the miscellaneous occupational group who form the largest percentage of the population of the surveyed area is the poorest section, while the cultivators form the richest section. The average number of adult equivalent males per household is 3.78 among pot makers 5.79 among cultivators, 5.31 among

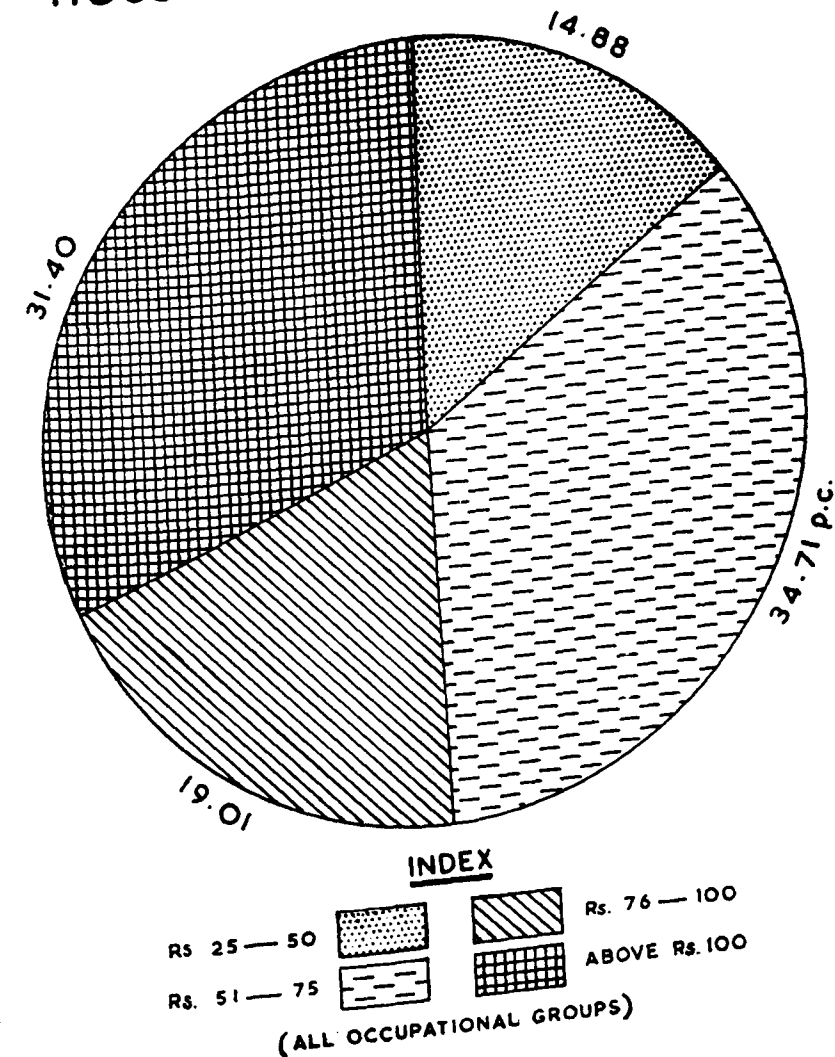
businessmen and 4.68 among miscellaneous occupational group. The poorest section have the smallest number of members and the richest section, the largest number of members. The average number of gainfully employed people per household is the lowest among the cultivators and the highest among the pot makers. Among the cultivators, while only the head of household or an able male member carries out the occupation under his sole supervision,

INCOME

among the pot makers all members including the women and even children take part in the occupation. The number of households falling within each income group, the average number of adult equivalent male members and the average number of gainfully employed members per household can be found out from the tables in Appendix.

92. Analysing the sources of income it is found that the pot makers derive

HOUSEHOLD MONTHLY INCOME



practically the whole of their income from the household industry: only about 5 per cent of the income is derived by way of salary or wages. This small portion of the income represents two families who do not run their own industry but go to work in other households for wages. But they work only under Velans and only in pot making. This income pattern confirms their statement that they do not go for other occupations or to work under other people. Among the cultivators 78.35 per cent of the total income is derived from household cultivation, 11.60 per cent from salary or wages, 8.66 per cent by way of help from relatives and 1.39 per cent from miscellaneous sources. While help from relatives is received only by a few households in the highest income group, the income from miscellaneous sources is derived by the households in the 51 to 75 income group and in the highest income group. Among the businessmen 71.17 per cent of the total income is earned by household business, 15.41 per cent from salary or wages, 10.63 per cent from household cultivation, 1.50 per cent from other sources and 1.29 per cent from pension. Income from salary and household cultivation are derived by all households of this occupational group. Among the miscellaneous occupational group 84.38 per cent of the total income is derived by way of salary or wages, 8.81 per cent from household cultivation, 3.54 per cent from household industry, 1.81 per cent by way of help from relatives, 1.24 per cent from miscellaneous sources and 0.22 per cent as rent from land. All households in this occupational group derive some income from salary or wages and household cultivation whereas the other sources are available only for a few households in some income groups. More particulars regarding the source of income of the different occupational groups are given in the tables in the Appendix.

Expenditure

93. The pot makers spend 59.01 per cent of their total income on food, while the cultivators spend 60.92 per cent, businessmen 77.64 per cent and miscellaneous occupational group 79.79 per cent respectively.

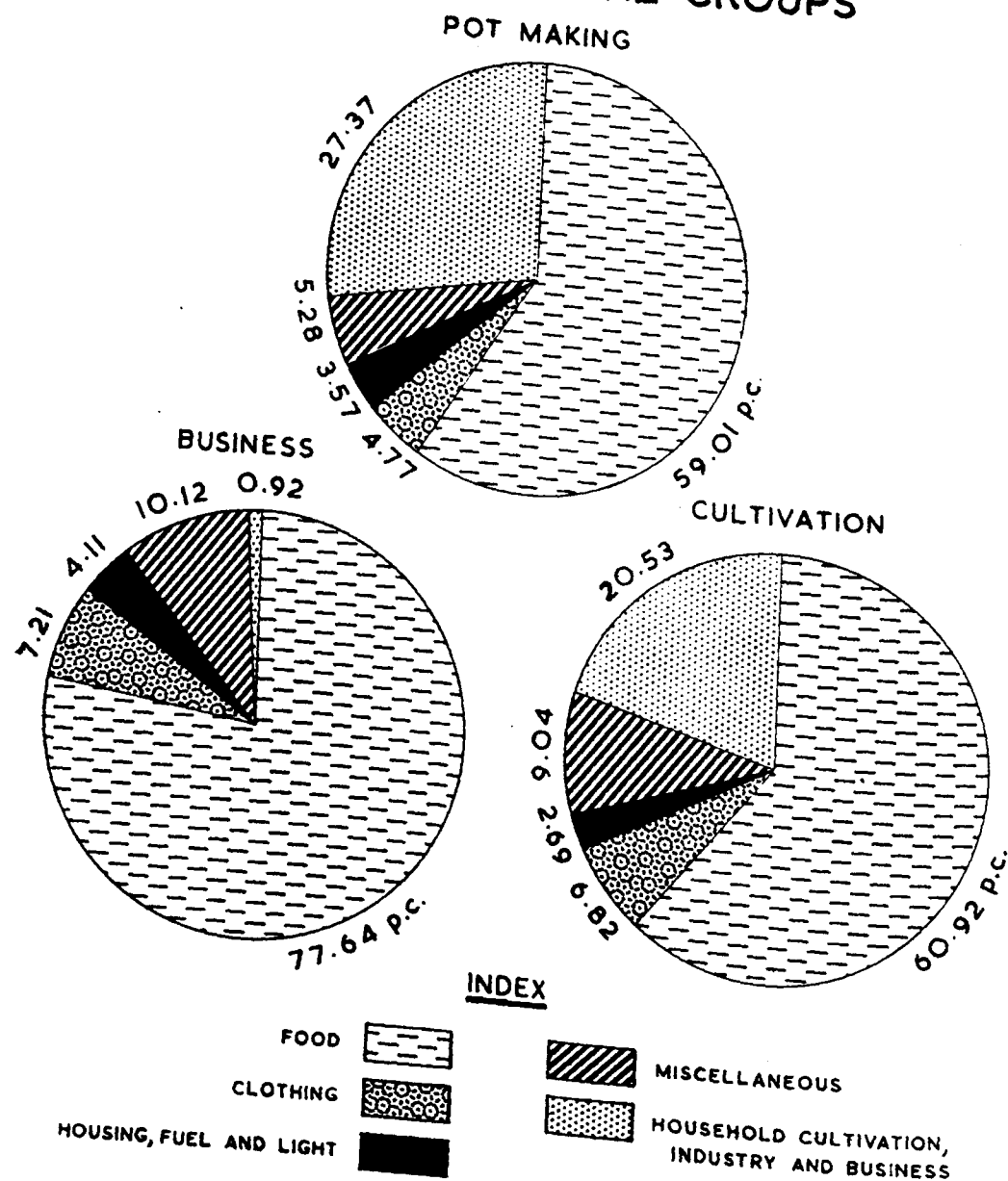
Out of the amount spent on food the pot makers spend 55.32 per cent on rice, 7.59 per cent on tapioca, 3.88 per cent on other vegetables, 3.42 per cent on cocoanut, 3.10 per cent on fish and 2.32 per cent on sugar. Liquor and pansupari take away a substantial percentage of this amount, 4.35 per cent being spent on liquor and 7.04 per cent on pansupari. They do not spend any amount on meat or milk. Rs. 18.26 is spent per equivalent adult male per month for food alone by this occupational class. Among the cultivators 61.33 per cent of the amount spent on food is used for rice (the commuted value of the product consumed by them), 7.36 per cent for milk, 3.70 per cent for fish, 2.37 per cent for tapioca, 4.13 per cent for cocoanut, 4.75 per cent for other vegetables and 4.35 per cent for condiments. From the table it is found that they spend only a negligible amount on liquor and chewing etc. This does not necessarily mean that the cultivators of this area are better than the pot makers in this respect. In fact from the general enquiries it is found that majority of them are addicted to both these habits. It just so happened that the cultivators in the surveyed area are to some extent exceptions in this matter. The smaller amount spent on tapioca is naturally due to the fact that they produce sufficient rice for the domestic consumption and therefore are not inclined to spend any amount on tapioca which is considered to be the food of the labourers. The large amount spent on milk is particularly noteworthy. From the expenditure pattern on food it is evident that the cultivators have a more nutritious diet than the pot makers. They, however, spend a smaller amount, namely Rs. 17.34 on food per equivalent adult male per month. The businessmen spend 56.64 per cent of the total amount on food for rice, 5.02 per cent on tapioca, 4.33 per cent on other vegetables, 6.59 per cent on milk, 4.40 per cent on fish and 4.46 per cent on condiments. Unlike the cultivators, the businessmen spend 2.49 per cent of the expenditure on food for liquor. As among the cultivators the businessmen too spend a high amount on milk, but unlike the former, the latter spend a high amount on tapioca also.

Both the cultivators and businessmen spend some amounts on other grains and meat. Rs. 17.62 is spent by the businessmen on food per equivalent adult male per month. The miscellaneous occupational group spends 61.87 per cent of the total expenditure on food for rice, 6.45 per cent on tapioca, 3.77 per cent on other vegetables, 3.62 per cent on milk, 3.44 per cent on fish, 4.47 per cent on condiments and 2.05 per cent on liquor. The higher percentage of expenditure on tapioca and smaller percentage on milk, fish and meat indicate their comparative poverty. They spend only Rs. 13.77 on food per equivalent adult male per month this being the lowest among the different occupational classes. It is interesting to note that the pot makers who do not derive as much income as the cultivators and businessmen spend the largest per capita amount on food.

94. The pot makers spend 4.77 per cent of their total income on clothing; 3.57 per cent on housing, light, fuel etc., 5.28 per cent on miscellaneous items and 27.37 per cent on the household industry. The cultivators spend 6.82 per cent of the total expenditure on clothing, 2.69 per cent on housing, light, fuel etc., 9.04 per cent on miscellaneous items and 20.53 per cent on household cultivation. The businessmen spend 7.21 per cent of the total expenditure on clothing, 4.11 per cent on housing, light, fuel etc., 10.12 per cent on miscellaneous items and 0.92 per cent for household cultivation and business and the miscellaneous occupational group spends 7.83 per cent on clothing, 4.73 per cent on housing, light, fuel etc., 6.26 per cent on miscellaneous items and 1.39 per cent on cultivation, industry or business. It is only natural that the pot makers and the cultivators invest a large percentage of their total expenditure in the household industry or cultivation and the miscellaneous occupational group spends practically nothing on this item. But it is surprising to note that the businessmen invest only a very negligible amount in their

occupation, while normally it requires as high an investment as in cultivation and pot making. Even the negligible percentage shown to have been spent under cultivation, business or industry by this class is actually spent by a household on cultivation and not on business. All the business of the surveyed area are of petty nature and except the capital investment made at the beginning of the business no additional amount is invested in later periods which explains this anomaly. Out of the miscellaneous expenditure the pot makers spend 47.25 per cent for investment in saving schemes, 20.23 per cent for dhobi and soap and 5.17 per cent for education, while under this item the cultivators spend 21.81 per cent on education, 19.50 per cent on dhobi and soap and 18.47 per cent for investment in saving schemes. The businessmen spend 18.55 per cent on education, 16.52 per cent on dhobi and soap, 20.83 per cent for investment in saving schemes, and 15.05 per cent on travelling and the miscellaneous occupational group spends 29.45 per cent on dhobi and soap, 20.35 per cent on education and 19.37 per cent on saving schemes. While a large expenditure for dhobi and soap is necessary for the pot makers, the negligible amount spent on education, evidently points out their lack of interest in the matter. In contrast to this the miscellaneous occupational group, which receives a smaller income, spends a much higher percentage for education. The largest percentage spent on education is by the cultivators which bears out the statement in a previous page that the cultivators are more advanced than other people in the matter of education. The pot makers invest the highest amount in saving schemes. This is because they are compelled to do so since the marketing of their product is undertaken by the society which gives each member a certain amount required for the necessary expenditure, withholding the rest as reserve.

MONTHLY EXPENDITURE BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS



SURPLUS OR DEFICIT BUDGET

Surplus or Deficit Budget

95. On the basis of occupational classes, the pot makers and miscellaneous occupational group have deficit budgets whereas the cultivators and businessmen have surplus budgets. Taking the households in each occupation on the basis of the income it is found that among the pot makers, the households in the income group of Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 and Rs. 51 to Rs. 75 have all deficit budgets, while in the income group of Rs. 76 to Rs. 100 two households have surplus budgets, two balanced budgets and three deficit budgets and in the highest income group, 9 households have surplus budgets and one deficit budget. Altogether 52.38 per cent of the pot makers' households have surplus budgets, 9.52 per cent balanced budgets and 38.10 per cent deficit budgets. Among the cultivators, one household in the income group of Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 has deficit budget and the remaining one balanced budget whereas in the income group of Rs. 51 to Rs. 75 and Rs. 76 to Rs. 100,

all the households have deficit budgets. In the highest income group 50 per cent have surplus budgets, 30 per cent balanced budgets and the remaining deficit budgets. Altogether 31.25 per cent households of the cultivators have surplus budgets, 25.00 per cent balanced budgets and 43.75 per cent deficit budgets. Among the businessmen there are households with surplus budgets in all the three income groups. Altogether 80.00 per cent households in this occupational class have surplus budgets and 20.00 per cent deficit budgets. In the miscellaneous occupational group there are households with surplus budgets and deficit budgets in all the income groups. Taking all of them together 30.44 per cent have surplus budgets, 15.94 per cent balanced budgets and 53.62 per cent deficit budgets. Taking together all the households of the surveyed area, 40.50 per cent have surplus budgets, 14.05 per cent balanced budgets, and 45.45 per cent deficit budgets. A table classifying the households according to the nature of their budget is given below.

Table XVI

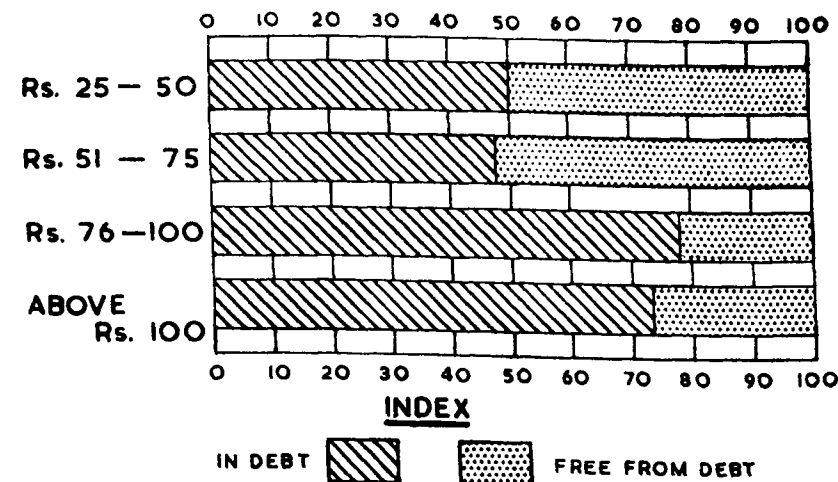
SURPLUS, BALANCED AND DEFICIT BUDGET

Occupation	Income group	Surplus	Balanced	Deficit
Pot making	Rs. 25—50	...	...	2
	Rs. 51—75	...	...	2
	Rs. 76—100	2	2	3
	Above Rs. 100	9	...	1
	Total	11	2	8
Business	Rs. 51—75	3	...	2
	Rs. 76—100	4	...	1
	Above Rs. 100	5	...	...
	Total	12	...	3
Cultivation	Rs. 25—50	...	1	1
	Rs. 51—75	...	...	2
	Rs. 76—100	...	...	2
	Above Rs. 100	5	3	2
	Total	5	4	7
Miscellaneous	Rs. 25—50	4	...	10
	Rs. 51—75	6	8	18
	Rs. 76—100	4	1	5
	Above Rs. 100	7	2	4
	Total	21	11	37
Grand Total		49	17	55

Indebtedness

96. 61.98 per cent of the households of surveyed area have incurred debts for various purposes. These households fall in all the income groups as well as all the occupational groups. It is found that the percentage of indebtedness of households is higher in the higher income groups. The average debt amount varies from Rs. 149 in the lowest income group to Rs. 387.50 in the highest income group. The largest percentage of families have incurred debts to meet the daily necessities of life. The other important causes for incurring debt are household industry, household business, household cultivation, sickness and celebration of marriage. One household has incurred debt for giving dowry and three households for the education of their

children. Considering the different items it is found that the highest percentage of debt has been incurred for household cultivation. Ordinary wants take the second place and household business the third place. The total debt amount of the surveyed area amounts to Rs. 21,198. All the debts are incurred in cash. The Potters' Co-operative Society and the Service Co-operative Society are the most important sources for loans in the surveyed area. For small amounts of loan from the Society it is enough that two other members stand surety, while for higher amounts landed properties have to be given as security. Loans are raised occasionally from private individuals in which case no security is to be given for small amounts, but exorbitant interest has to be paid.

INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUPS**Indices of Prosperity**

97. During the last 10 years, 20 households in the surveyed area have cleared old outstanding debts amounting to Rs. 8,407. 3 households have acquired new properties, one has made cash savings and three households have invested capital in new undertakings. Total value of the last three items amounts to Rs. 10,450. Both the number of families that show prosperity in this way

and the total amount indicating the extent of prosperity are very small compared to several other centres. Five of these households are among the cultivators and two in the miscellaneous occupational group. The cultivators of the surveyed area are the most prosperous section as already stated. This is so even with the rest of the village.

CHAPTER IV**SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE****Age and Sex Distribution**

98. In the surveyed area 50.98 per cent of the population are males. 40.36 per cent of the population are children below 15 years of age. The population in the working age-group of 15 to 59 accounts for 51.96 per cent and the people aged 60 and above account for 7.68 per cent. The preponderance of male population is maintained in age-groups other than the age-group of 15 to 24 in which the males and females are equal in number and in the age-groups of 5-9, 25-29 and 45-59 in which the male

population is less than the female population. In the working age-group of 15-59 the female population is slightly higher than the male population. This is very significant as far as the economy of the village is concerned since the large section of the female population still do not go for manual labour. The highest age in the surveyed area is 80, there being two males and two females of that age. The distribution of the population of the surveyed area according to sex and age is given in the following table.

Table XVII

		POPULATION BY AGE-GROUPS									
		Total of all ages	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59
Males	365	43	49	57	34	30	21	26	39	35	31
Females	351	38	54	48	34	30	24	20	38	41	24
Total Persons	716	81	103	105	68	60	45	46	77	76	55

Age and Marital Status

99. 56.43 per cent of the total population consisting of 30.59 per cent males and 25.84 per cent females of the surveyed area are never married, 37.56 per cent consisting of 19.55 per cent males and 18.01 per cent females are married, 5.17 per cent consisting of 0.84 per cent males and 4.33 per cent females are widowed and 0.84 per cent are divorced. There are only females in the last category. All boys and girls below the age of 20, except one girl, come in the category of never married, unlike in most villages where a number of married girls in the

age-group of 15-19 are found. In the 20-24 age-group, 25-29 age-group and even in some higher age-groups there are unmarried females in the surveyed area, although they constitute only a very small section of the females of marriageable age. Among the males 80 per cent in the age-group of 20-24 are never married, but in the higher age-groups unmarried males are small in number and above the age of 39 there are no unmarried male persons. All the widowed males are aged 60 or over whereas among the females there are widows in the lower age-groups starting from 20.

MUTTAR

Table XVIII
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Age-group	Total population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	716	365	351	219	185	140	129	6	31	...	6
0-9	184	92	92	92	92	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	105	57	48	57	48	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	68	34	34	34	33	...	1	...	...	...	...
20-24	60	30	30	24	6	6	21	...	1	...	2
25-29	45	21	24	4	3	17	20	...	1	...	...
30-34	46	26	20	4	...	22	16	...	3	...	1
35-39	48	24	24	4	1	20	21	...	3	...	...
40-44	29	15	14	...	1	15	12	...	...	...	1
45-49	22	10	12	...	...	10	9	...	...	...	...
50-54	29	13	16	...	1	13	10	...	2	...	1
55-59	25	12	13	...	...	12	10	...	3	...	...
60-64	21	10	11	...	...	9	5	1	5	...	1
65-69	14	8	6	...	...	8	5	...	1	...	...
70 and over	20	13	7	...	...	8	...	5	7	...	...

100. In olden times marriages of both boys and girls used to take place at a very early age, often round about 15 for girls and about 20 for boys. Thus in the surveyed area, during the memory of the people still alive, six females were married below the age of 15. There has been one case of a boy marrying below the age of 15, a rather uncommon practice even in remote past. The number of marriages between 15 and 19 was very large; in fact majority of girls used to be married in this age span. There

have been cases of boys also marrying at this age, though not in as large a number as the girls. The marriages at younger ages were not limited to any particular community and have taken place in all communities in olden days. It seems to have been a general rule of the locality rather than a custom practised by any particular community. The youngest age of marriage that took place in the surveyed households during the memory of their present heads is given in the following table.

Table XIX
YOUNGEST AGE OF FIRST MARRIAGE

Communities	Age-groups									
	10-14		15-19		20-24		25-29		30 and over	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Nairs	...	...	1	26	19	11	14	1	4	...
Ezhuvas	...	...	2	20	19	12	7	...	4	...
Velans	...	6	5	11	11	4	5	...	...	...
Asaris	...	1	1	3	1	...	2	...	...	...
Thattans	...	1	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
Kollans	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Varnavars	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Syrian Catholics	1	1	...	15	14	1	1	...	1	...
Muslims	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
Parayas	...	...	...	4	2	...	...	...	...	...
Total	1	9	11	83	67	28	33	1	9	...

LITERACY AND EDUCATION

Literacy and Education

101. Out of the total population of the surveyed area only 20.81 per cent are illiterate. Out of this more than half are children below the age of five. 20.39 per cent of the population are just literate, being able to read and write and not having acquired any academic qualification. Nearly two-thirds of these people are children below the age of 15 and hence still continuing their studies in the primary classes. 56.15 per cent of the population have passed primary or junior basic. Nearly one-third of these are students below the age of 20 who are sure to acquire further educational qualifications. 2.23 per cent of the people have passed matriculation or higher secondary. Some among them are continuing their studies in the colleges. One person in the surveyed area has taken

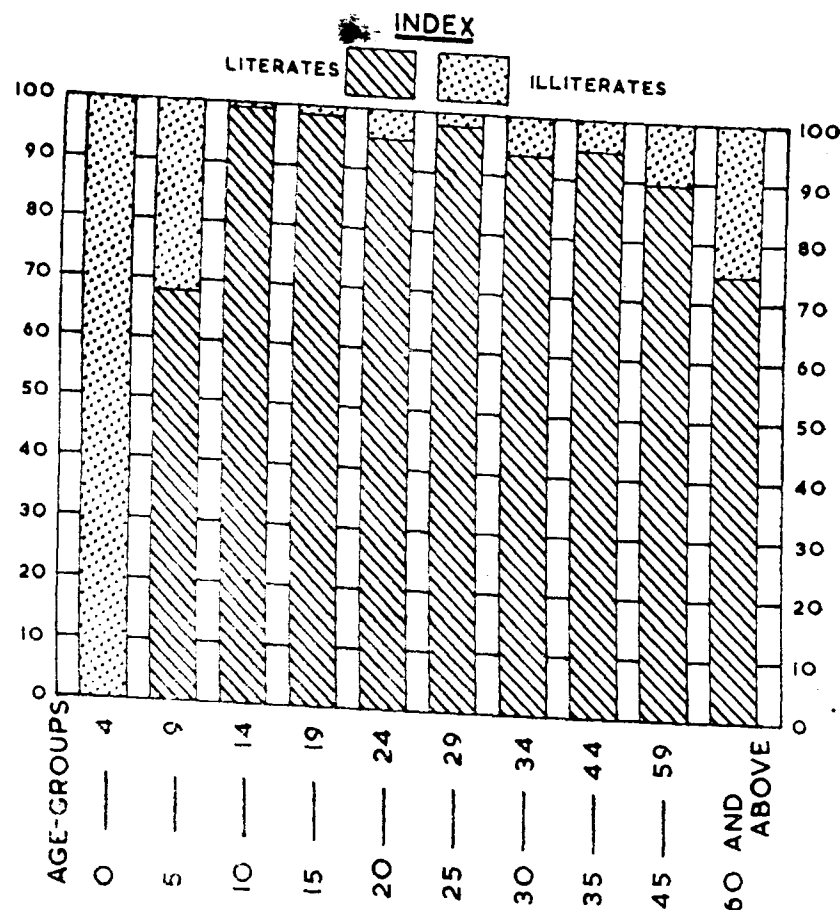
degree and two persons have taken diploma in teaching. The percentage of female literacy is almost as high as the percentage of male literacy. Out of the 79.19 per cent literates of the surveyed area, 41.06 per cent are males and 38.13 females. The percentage of literacy and education in the surveyed area far exceeds not only the State and district averages, but also the percentages of some other neighbouring villages where there are more educational institutions and better facilities for the children to go to school. In the village under survey the children have to be sent along the bunds or in a country boat to the school. During the rainy season both these methods become extremely precarious for small children; nevertheless, all the children go to school.

Table XX

EDUCATION

Age-group	Total		Illiterate		Literate without educational standard		Primary or junior basic		Matric or higher secondary		Graduates and above		Diploma holders	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
0-4	43	38	43	38	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	49	54	18	15	30	30	1	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	57	48	1	...	23	10	33	18	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	34	34	...	1	3	5	29	22	2	5	...	...	...	1
20-24	30	30	2	1	2	1	23	27	2	1	1	...	...	...
25-29	21	24	...	1	3	6	16	17	1	...	...	...	...	...
30-34	26	20	...	3	5	4	20	13	1	1	...	...	...	...
35-44	39	38	...	4	3	5	35	28	1	...	...	...	...	...
45-59	35	41	...	8	3	6	31	27	1	...	...	...	...	...
60 and over	31	24	7	7	1	6	22	11	1	...	...	...	...	...
All Ages	365	351	71	78	73	73	210	192	9	7	1	...	1	1

LITERACY



Births and Deaths

102. The birth and death figures for the entire village from 1951 to 1960 are given in the following table in the absence of figures for the surveyed area separately. These figures show a decreasing trend both in births and deaths. During the year 1953 the number of births was unusually small. This discrepancy can be accounted for only by incompleteness of registration as there is no satisfactory explanation for the general downward trend in birth and death. Family planning is not as popular in the village as in some other surveyed areas.

Table XXI
BIRTHS AND DEATHS

Year	Still Birth	Live Birth	Death
1951	...	225	73
1952	...	221	72
1953	...	32	61
1954	...	131	75
1955	...	202	61
1956	...	214	80
1957	...	188	81
1958	...	179	54
1959	...	113	58
1960	...	189	51

Family Structure

103. There is a larger percentage of joint families in this village than in some other places as seen from the figures of the surveyed area where 53.72 per cent of the families are simple in structure, 19.01 per cent intermediate and 27.27 per cent joint. While the intermediate family consists of husband, wife and children in addition to one of the parents, or unmarried brothers or sisters of the husband or wife, the joint family consists of more than one married couple and their children. The joint families are found in larger numbers among the Ezhuvas, Nairs and Catholics of the village. The family structure pattern in the surveyed area is given in the following table.

Table XXII
FAMILY STRUCTURE

Communities	Simple	Intermediate	Joint
Nairs	21	6	11
Ezhuvas	16	5	11
Velans	13	6	2
Asaris	2	1	1
Taattans	2	...	1
Kollans	...	...	1
Varnavars	...	...	5
Syrian Catholics	8	4	...
Muslims	...	1	1
Parayas	3	...	...
Total	65	23	33

Immigration and Emigration

104. In the surveyed area there has been no emigration or immigration in the recent past. So far as the people remember, all their forefathers were residents of the area since long past and none has abandoned the village to go elsewhere. Similar has been the case with the rest of the village also.

Medical Care

105. For medical consultations and treatment the villagers have either to approach the ayurvedic and homeopathic physicians of the locality or make a long trip to one of the neighbouring villages to see an allopathic doctor. The nearest place where

one can see an allopathic doctor is Velianad where a doctor comes daily for a few hours. Due to these difficulties medical consultation is reserved to the occasions of emergency. On such occasions whoever is easily available is approached, whether he is qualified or unqualified or whether he is ayurvedic, allopathic or homeopathic. Stomach ailments are generally neglected as they are considered to be a normal thing for the people of this area. The only prophylactic measure that is being taken is the vaccination against smallpox. The members of all households in the surveyed area have been vaccinated. No particular preference is shown by the people for any type of treatment. From the surveyed area all households have had occasions to go to the ayurvedic, homeopathic and allopathic physicians for treatment. On the occasion of confinement ordinarily the help of a qualified person is not obtained due to the difficulty of meeting such a person anywhere in the neighbourhood. Neither are the women taken to the hospital for confinement, unless danger to the life of the expectant mother is apprehended. The ordinary rule is for some old women among the relations or the neighbours to assist the labouring mother. In the surveyed area only from three households women have been taken to the hospital for confinement and only 24 households have called qualified midwives for assistance at child-births. All the other households have tidied over the situation with the assistance of some elderly women.

Leisure and Recreation

106. Recreational facilities are absent in the village. The lay-out of the village does not permit of games such as football. The common pastime indulged in during the leisure time is the game of dice. Children as well as old people can be seen sitting beneath the coconut palms and throwing the dice with great interest during the holidays. This game seems to be a special feature of this village. In the neighbouring places, it is not so popular. Boat-race is another special entertainment of this area and people show keen competitive spirit in winning races. There are

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some who maintain expensive boats for the race alone and take part in the well-known competitions of Alleppey, Champakulam and Aranmula. Within the village itself occasionally small races are organised. Men of all ages and communities take part in these competitions. A number of these competitions are organised during the time of 'Onam' which is the season of general merry-making. There is a Children's Club in front of the St. George's Church where small boys and girls gather daily in the evening. The only public receiving set of the village is installed in the panchayat and it is kept at full blast throughout the day though listeners do not seem to be many.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

107. The village was under two panchayats till the beginning of 1962, the eastern portion being under Muttar panchayat and the western portion surrounding Mithrakkari under the neighbouring panchayat of Ramankari. When the panchayat was delimited in 1962, all the areas of the village were brought under a single panchayat with its headquarters at Muttar. From the time of delimitation the panchayat council was disbanded and the administration taken over by an Executive Officer. The activities of the panchayat are mainly directed towards the improvement of public health and the provision of certain minor public amenities. A midwife has been appointed by the Muttar panchayat. It has constructed four large wooden bridges and a number of minor bridges, besides co-operating with the N. E. S. Block in the construction of two other bridges. In the various parts of the village the panchayat has erected 56 lamps. 3 wells were constructed with the funds of the panchayat alone and 8 other wells constructed with the aid of the N. E. S. Block. It is also running a few ferry services in the rivers and has constructed a boat jetty.

108. Caste panchayats of any description were neither prevalent in olden days nor do they exist at the present time. Communal organisations like S. N. D. P., N. S. S., etc., have started their branches in the village in recent times.

Co-operative Societies

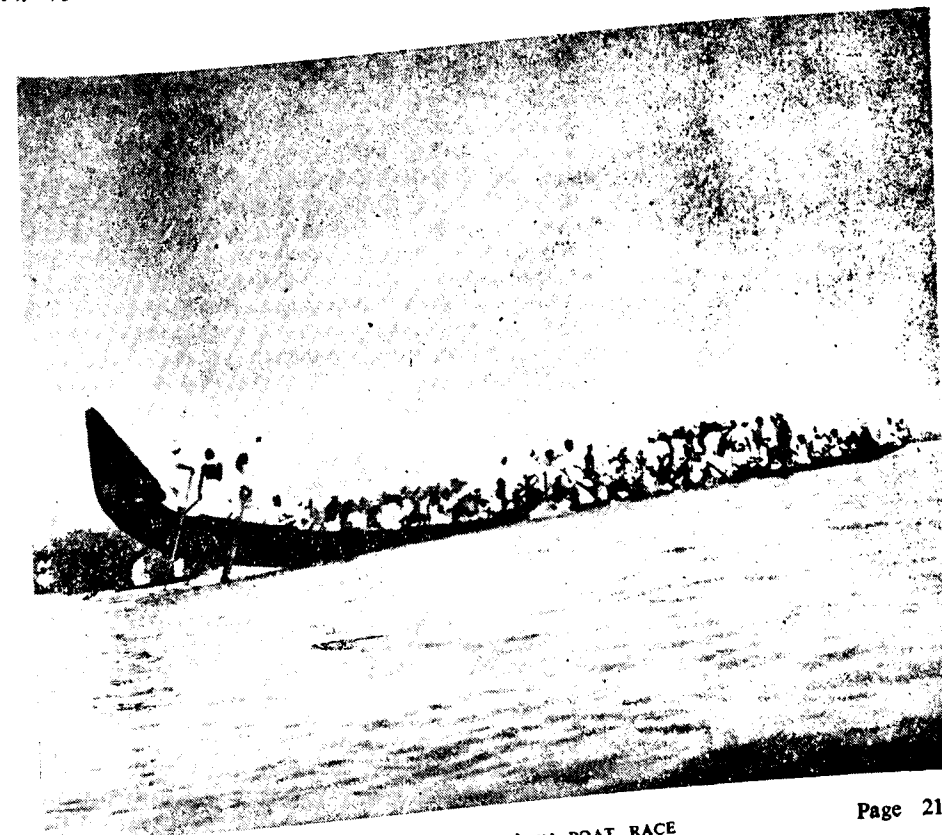
109. There are 6 well-organised co-operative societies working effectively in the village. Out of the two societies working among the potters one is the Mithrakkari Co-operative Society started in 1956 with 42 members who include 36 workmen and 6 sympathisers. It has received a grant of Rs. 375 from the N. E. S. Block and a loan of Rs. 4,720 from the Government through the Industries Department. The Khadi Board has advanced a loan of Rs. 5,500 to it. The society suffered from the mismanagement of the office-bearers in the beginning. But now it has recovered and is functioning effectively among the potters of the surveyed area. Lack of funds is a great handicap standing in the way of its expansion. Often the society itself has to borrow from the businessmen and give advances to the members, thus binding itself to sell the articles to a particular businessman even at a loss. As a result, the potters do not get as much price for their products as the society ought to have been able to procure for them. The second society, the Muttar Potters' Co-operative Society was started in 1957 with 32 members. It has received a small grant from the N. E. S. Block and a loan of Rs. 4,000 from the Khadi Board. The activities of this society also are handicapped by the lack of funds. However, both these societies mark an important step in the field of co-operation inasmuch as the potters now do not individually go to a businessman for advances or sell the products to them direct.

110. The Muttar Service Co-operative Society was started in 1956 with 298 members and a share capital of Rs. 7,890. The society supplies manure and provides credit facilities for the members all of whom are cultivators. It is one of the agencies through which the Kuttanad package scheme implements some of its programmes and is the local agency of a fertiliser factory. The Pudukari Service Co-operative Society is the oldest co-operative movement of the area, started about 26 years ago with 284 members and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 11,405. It has survived several crises



Pl. 76

A TEAM OF YOUNGSTERS GOING FOR BOAT RACE



Pl. 77

A 'CHUNDAN VALLOM' IN BOAT RACE

and is now discharging its functions creditably. The main activity of the society is the issue of loans to the members. With the extension of banana cultivation in recent times a society was organised by the banana growers in 1960. At present it has 299 members and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 6,0.0. It is also engaged in the issue of credits to the members. The students of St. George's High School have started a co-operative society for the purchase and supply of stationery and books. The hand pounders of the village had organised a society but it is now under liquidation. The societies working among the cultivators are the best in the village and they show that as among the cultivators of Kadapra and Prakkad, the co-operative movement has gained acceptance among the cultivators of Muttar too.

Dowry

111. Dowry is prevalent only among the Christians of the village. In the surveyed area, out of the 17 Syrian Catholic households, 15 are participants in this social practice and have given or received dowry ranging from Rs. 500 to more than Rs. 3,000. The amount solely depends upon the financial position of the family and may often far exceed Rs. 3,000. The abolition of dowry system by enactment does not seem to have affected the practice so far. The old customs die hard in spite of all social reforms. Though there are several other communities in the surveyed area none of them has either given or received dowry on the occasion of the marriage but among certain Hindu communities like Nairs and Ezhuvas as in several other villages under study, some amount is given to the boy as a consideration for the marriage. This, of course, does not affect the claim of the girl to the share of property but forms only an additional attraction for the boy. At the same time it is not generally treated as dowry either. Among the Christians the boy who has received the dowry does not usually claim any share of the parental property irrespective of his legal rights. In the surveyed area among the Syrian Catholics, 5 families have given dowry in cash, property or ornaments worth up to

Rs. 500, 6 families worth up to Rs. 1,000, one family worth up to Rs. 2,000, two families worth up to Rs. 3,000 and one family worth more than Rs. 3,000.

Caste Relationship

112. Even though untouchability and unapproachability are not practised, some sentimental barriers still remain between the different communities. Scheduled castes like Parayas and Pulayas are not conceded equality by other communities like Nairs. Even Christians among whom the caste hierarchy did not exist, do not treat the Scheduled Castes as equals. The Velans try to keep up their food taboos and refuse to work under other communities. Nevertheless, the continuance of these observances does not mean any ill-treatment or wilful humiliation of any community, but shows only the reluctance of the people to get out of conservative habits. No caste or communal rivalry exists in the village on the ground of these observances or on other grounds.

Libraries and Reading Habit

113. There are two small libraries in the village at Muttar with small collections of books and periodicals. Reading habit is limited to the Malayalam news papers which are read with keen interest. The large number of workers who have to earn their daily food and the cultivators who have some work or other connected with their occupation at all times of the year, neither find time to read much nor consider such intellectual nourishment very essential to their lives. In the surveyed area only 12 households get down daily newspapers.

Family Planning

114. 72 households in the surveyed area were interviewed to assess the popularity of family planning scheme in the village. These households comprise Nairs, Ezhuvas, Syrian Catholics, Velans, Asaris, Pulayas, and Muslims. Only 44.44 per cent of the interviewed households were aware of the family planning scheme, showing that the knowledge of the scheme is limited to a smaller percentage of people than in several other surveyed villages. 90.63 per

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cent of the households who knew about the scheme were in favour of adopting it. These families included all the above communities except Parayas and Muslims who never heard of the scheme at all. Among the households who were in favour of this scheme there are Syrian Catholics also, but they, according to the teachings of their church, approved only the method of self-restraint for the purpose. Among other communities also a large percentage agreed with the Catholics on the method, and only 6 households—4 among Nairs and 2 among Ezhavas—accepted the use of

contraceptives or sterilization as unobjectionable for family planning. When the programme of family planning was explained to the persons who had no knowledge about it, majority of them were of the view that planning of the family was a necessity in the face of the rapidly increasing population, but they did not volunteer to speak about their attitude towards the adoptability of the various methods. The following table reflects the attitude of the people of the surveyed area on the family planning programme.

Table XXIII
FAMILY PLANNING

	Name of the community							Total
	Nairs	Ezhavas	Velans	Asaris	Syrian Catholics	Muslims	Parayas	
1. Total No. of persons interviewed	21	20	10	6	11	1	3	72
2. No. of persons aware of family planning programme	12	11	2	3	4	...	...	32
3. No. of persons in favour of family planning out of item No. 2.	10	11	2	3	3	...	...	29
4. No. of persons out of item No. 3 in favour of								
(a) Self-restraint only	6	9	2	3	3	...	...	23
(b) Contraceptives and self-restraint only	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(c) Contraceptives only	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	3
(d) Sterilization	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	3
5. No. of persons who were not aware of family planning programme	9	9	8	3	7	1	3	40
6. No. of persons out of item No. 5 who are in favour of family planning when the programme was explained to them	7	7	7	2	1	...	3	27

CHAPTER V CONCLUSION

Social

115. The peculiar geographical condition of the village brings in a number of social and economic problems which do not commonly occur in the other villages of Kerala. Most of the social problems are closely related to public health and are not easy of solution. Nevertheless, solution of these problems is essential to improve the health conditions and therefore they should be tackled at least in course of time. The most fundamental among these problems is the provision of drinking water. Pure drinking water that is available in the midland and highland regions of Kerala is not available anywhere in the village and for most of the people here the pure water means the water from the canal or field without visible dirt or insects. This water which the people in the other parts of the State would not even like to use to wash the dining plates or to clean the mouth, is freely drunk and made use of for cooking purposes in the area under survey. Naturally it proves to be a fertile source of many diseases. It is not due to ignorance or carelessness that the people make use of this water but due to sheer non-availability of any better source of drinking water. It has been reported that experiments for the construction of tube-wells and filter point wells were conducted but they proved futile as far as the village was concerned. In similar areas such wells have succeeded but here due to the nature of the subsoil and the geographical conditions there is no hope that these methods will ever yield fresh water. The only alternative seems to be to make use of the available water after filtering it and purifying with chemicals. It has to be considered whether at least in large islands such a method cannot be undertaken just as is done with the river water in order to supply to the big towns. Salinity does not appear at all times and therefore this water should be equally fit for purification as the river

water. For the few months when the water becomes saline other methods should be thought of, such as a suitable storage tank.

116. Construction of hygienic latrines at places where they will not become public nuisances is almost as important as the provision of drinking water. At present for majority of people a small enclosure situated on the bank of a canal serves as latrine. However much people accustomed to this arrangement may speak about its suitability for the area, it cannot be disputed that these latrines are the greatest single cause of danger to the public health of the area. They pollute the water of the canals and paddy fields which, as repeatedly mentioned, is made use of for drinking and cooking purposes by the village population. Even after the provision of better sources for drinking water, the continuance of these latrines is still to be discouraged. The W. H. O. type latrine now propagated by the Development Blocks and the Public Health Department involves only a small expenditure and is within the economic reach of almost all people. It requires only a small area and as such does not take away much of the precious dry land. There is no need for the aid of an external agency for the implementation of this reform and the people themselves can undertake it, probably with a little social education to convince them how dangerous the present practice is.

117. The provision of medical facilities in areas like this is an urgent necessity, due to the low public health standard of the area and the difficulty of communication. At present the villagers have to wait for the doctor in one of the neighbouring villages even where he comes only for a few hours a day. In emergencies the patients have to be taken to more distant places. In spite of all the advantages of the water transport it should be said that in the case of grave diseases, where time becomes an important factor, the water transport is

tardy. On other occasions the difficulty of reaching the hospital encourages a tendency to neglect diseases until they prove to be fatal. The figures relating to the medical attention during child-birth amply prove this fact. It is more due to the difficulty of getting at a qualified person or getting down a trained midwife to attend on the child-bearing mothers than due to any other reason that so many people are satisfied by getting some country midwife to handle the child-births. The location of a hospital with a resident doctor would also have improved the general public health consciousness of the people. In former times a mobile dispensary used to visit these villages and render some medical aid, though only once or twice a week. At present even this facility is denied to them. If starting of more hospitals in these water-logged area presents great problems and involves heavy expenditure, the revival of the mobile dispensary should be thought of.

118. The housing condition of the village is not satisfactory, probably due to the problems created by the situation and connected feature of the village. Not only the materials for the construction of better houses are not available in the village but the construction of such houses, even on the supply of materials, is beyond the means of average people. Due to the nature of the soil the large buildings constructed with laterite or brick and concrete are liable to sink. Position assistance under the house construction schemes is, therefore, an urgent need of the locality. It is up to the people of this area also to take advantage of the various housing schemes working under Government. The starting of some co-operative society for storage and sale of housing materials will also be useful in this connection.

119. The lack of communication facilities is a major obstacle in the social and economic advancement of the villages in Kuttanad. It is true that the water transport has certain advantages such as the cheapness and the fact that ready-made roads are not necessary. But it has inherent defects which relegate it to the last

among modern communication systems. It is true that the people of the area are accustomed to these inconveniences and have devised their own methods for overcoming them but this does not necessarily mean that they do not experience the disadvantages of the system in their daily lives. Much of the inconveniences could be avoided by the construction of more wooden bridges over the canals at important points and the construction of raised permanent embankments for the paddy fields. This will reduce considerably the dependence of the people on the boat for movements within the village. Also, the completion of the bridges along the Alleppey-Changanacherry road would have generally improved the communication facilities of the area.

120. The caste relationship existing in the area at present requires a passing reference here. All aspects of this relationship are not visible in the surveyed area due to the absence of certain communities there. The agricultural labourers, most of whom are Pulayas and Parayas, still suffer some of the disabilities to which they were subjected in olden days, in spite of all the social reforms. These labourers who were for all practical purposes predial slaves in olden days, still bind themselves to year-round labour under obligations and conditions reminiscent of the olden days. In this respect they are not better than the agricultural labourers of the Prakkad village which also falls in the Kuttanad area. The Hindu high castes do not approve of free movement with them and, as far as possible, do not allow them to enter their houses. Equality in public places is, no doubt, allowed in theory and practised to a certain extent, but in private life these low castes are kept below the so-called high castes. No high caste will generally like to inter-dine with them, not to mention of more intimate social contacts. The low castes are, however, trying to assert their claims for social equality and often win their points. For a smooth social life it would have been better that the high castes voluntarily concede the equality of the low castes forgetting the past

CONCLUSION

differences and prejudices and conforming to the more fundamental human values.

Economic

121. The chief economic activity of the village is paddy cultivation. Normally the fields of the village are capable of only a single crop but depending upon the intensity and distribution of rainfall an additional crop is taken during certain years. The bunds are not repaired or reconstructed in order to take this second crop and consequently if there is heavy rain the whole crop is lost. The normal 'puncha' crop, although it has been established very much recently by the new schemes organizing the cultivators in groups, is still subjected to devastation by flood. The construction of the spillway at Thottapally and the Thanneermukkom bund are supposed to control the flood waters. Even on completion of these schemes it is doubtful whether a successful crop will be completely ensured, for, the type of bunds constructed around the paddy fields at present are so weak that they easily give way to the pressure of water. A proper solution for this calamity is the construction of stronger permanent bunds. In certain areas such bunds have been constructed by Government but the scheme has not been extended to all the areas due to its heavy financial implications. It is worth while thinking whether the scheme cannot be implemented by sharing the burden between the Government and the cultivators instead of by the Government alone. In such a case, in most of the paddy fields of the village, two successful crops will be possible and the increased returns will enable the cultivators to pay off in a short period the expenditure on the bunds. These permanent bunds may also be made use of for planting cocoanut trees which will yield an additional income.

122. After paddy, the most important crop in the village is cocoanut. In fact, cocoanut cultivation is more profitable than paddy but for the diseases that now rapidly spread in the plantations of the village. The diseases and their remedies have been already discussed in the Trivandrum district volume and in the monograph on Prakkad village in this volume. The diseases seem

to have attained more frightful proportions here than in many other villages and the control measures have proved to be practically ineffective with the result that now the cocoanut cultivators are turning their attention towards other crops. Banana has taken the place of cocoanut in several localities and has been found to be almost equally profitable as cocoanut. It would, therefore, appear that a change of crop from cocoanut to banana on the dry lands of the village may prove to be a wise expedient in the present conditions. Probably, after some years of banana cultivation the major cocoanut diseases might be eradicated and cocoanut could be reintroduced.

123. Credit facilities have improved among the cultivators of the area. The service co-operative societies and agricultural societies are rendering fine accounts of themselves. The package programme will also improve the credit facilities of the village but one would feel that there is need for further improvement in this regard. In olden days the practice among the cultivators was to borrow in kind from the big landlords at unreasonably high interest. Such borrowing was very common during the years of high flood, when many of the paddy fields would be devastated. Even for seed the cultivators used to borrow from the rich landlords, during such times. The debts had to be paid back with interest in kind at the following harvest, leaving behind practically nothing and driving the cultivator to indebtedness again. The severity of the system has very much disappeared with the increase of credit facilities but it is common knowledge that such borrowings still continue at least on a small scale. Formation of more co-operative societies so as to bring into the co-operative fold all the cultivators of the village and enlarging the field of activities of the societies alone can completely stop the old system.

124. The cultivators and agricultural labourers of the area who form the majority of the population get work only for a few months in the area. Thereafter, at least some of them are idle while the remaining

people engage themselves in avocations like quarrying of mud, casual labour, plantation work etc. Even the latter category does not receive regular employment. There is, therefore, great need for the development of subsidiary occupations and subsidiary sources of income for the people. In this regard one's attention is easily drawn to the development of poultry which is already an important subsidiary source of income for many of the households of the village. The present breeds of poultry developed in the houses are indigenous and they lay eggs only for a few months in a year. From the point of view of meat also they are inferior varieties. Replacing them with exotic birds and developing the poultry on more scientific lines can considerably improve this source of income.

125. Just as there is need for expanding the co-operative movement among the cultivators, there is great need for expanding and strengthening the movement among the potters of the surveyed area. Almost all of them are now members of one or the other of the co-operative societies, but due to the poor financial position of these societies they are not able to render material service to the members. The societies should be able to raise more funds and

improve their credit worthiness to receive additional loans from official agencies. Then alone they will be able to bargain with the merchants and get proper wages for the workers. It is also worth while considering whether these societies themselves cannot undertake the marketing of the products instead of selling them to the merchants. Among the non-agricultural pursuits which might be tried here, trade and commerce, transport, professions and other services have little scope and, therefore, one has to think of the possibilities of introducing industries in the area. The natural conditions are favourable only for the cottage industries such as handloom weaving or the manufacture of light engineering products. Among the large industries there are very few which are particularly suited to the area but recently a section of the population has been speaking about the manufacture of straw-boards from the straw available here in abundance. Straw-boards and hard boards are being manufactured with this raw material in other countries and experts say that there is no reason why it cannot be done here. It would, therefore, be beneficial both to the State and village in particular, if industrial entrepreneurs gave more thought to it.

APPENDIX A

Table 1 (a)
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income group	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 & above	Females of 12 & above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12		
Pot-making	Less than Rs. 25	...	...	...	...	0.50	2.50	2.15
	Rs. 25—50	2	1.10	1.10	1.10	0.50	3.50	2.65
	Rs. 51—75	2	1.10	1.10	0.57	0.71	3.71	2.96
	Rs. 76—100	7	1.29	1.14	1.10	1.10	6.20	4.91
	Above Rs.100	10	2.10	1.90	1.10	1.10	...	...

Table 1 (b)
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income group	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 & above	Females of 12 & above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12		
Business	Less than Rs. 25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 25—50	...	...	...	...	0.40	4.20	4.04
	Rs. 51—75	5	2.20	1.60	2.40	0.60	6.20	4.52
	Rs. 76—100	5	1.40	1.80	1.00	1.60	9.20	7.58
	Above Rs.100	5	3.40	3.20	1.00	1.60	...	...

Table 1 (c)
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income group	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 & above	Females of 12 & above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12		
Cultivation	Less than Rs. 25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 25—50	2	1.00	1.00	0.50	0.50	4.50	3.15
	Rs. 51—75	2	1.50	2.00	1.00	0.50	4.50	3.80
	Rs. 76—100	2	1.50	3.00	2.00	1.20	6.00	4.95
	Above Rs.100	10	2.30	3.10	2.00	1.20	8.70	6.74

APPENDIX A--Contd.

Table I (d)

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income group	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 & above	Females of 12 & above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12		
Miscellaneous	Less than Rs. 25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 25--50	14	0.93	1.20	0.36	0.57	3.15	2.56
	Rs. 51--75	32	1.88	1.91	1.19	1.00	5.98	4.61
	Rs. 76--100	10	2.40	2.30	1.20	1.00	6.90	5.57
	Above Rs. 100	13	3.08	2.54	1.00	0.85	7.47	6.29

Table II (a)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	All households	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
Pot-making	No. of households	21	2	2	7	10
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	(a) Salary or wages	5.36	4.64	18.75	...	3.57
	(b) Industry run by the household	110.12	95.36	22.92	75.00	92.26
	(c) Business run by the household	...	...	...	...	...
	(d) Cultivation run by the household	...	...	...	...	...
	(e) Rent from land	...	...	...	...	...
	(f) Rent from houses	...	...	...	...	...
	(g) Pension	...	...	...	...	...
	(h) Gifts and presents	...	...	...	...	...
	(i) Help from relatives	...	...	...	...	...
	(j) Other sources	...	...	...	...	...
Total		115.48	100.00	41.67	75.00	95.83

Table II (b)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	All households	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
Business	No. of households	15	...	5	5	5
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	(a) Salary or wages	19.94	15.41	...	18.33	8.50
	(b) Industry run by the household	...	...	...	...	...
	(c) Business run by the household	92.08	71.17	...	48.75	70.83
	(d) Cultivation run by the household	13.75	10.63	...	5.00	11.25
	(e) Rent from land	...	...	...	...	...
	(f) Rent from houses	...	...	...	...	5.00
	(g) Pension	1.67	1.29	...	...	...
	(h) Gifts and presents	...	...	...	...	...
	(i) Help from relatives	...	...	...	...	...
	(j) Other sources	1.94	1.50	...	0.83	5.00
Total		129.38	100.00	...	72.91	95.58

Table II (c)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	All households	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
Cultivation	No. of households	16	2	2	2	10
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	(a) Salary or wages	19.53	11.60	6.25	...	30.00
	(b) Industry run by the household	...	...	...	...	...
	(c) Business run by the household	...	...	...	...	...
	(d) Cultivation run by the household	131.90	78.35	43.75	70.83	100.00
	(e) Rent from land	...	...	...	...	...
	(f) Rent from houses	...	...	...	...	...
	(g) Pension	...	...	...	...	23.33
	(h) Gifts and presents	14.58	8.66	...	4.17	2.92
	(i) Help from relatives	2.34	1.39	...	...	...
	(j) Other sources	...	...	...	...	...
Total		168.35	100.00	50.00	75.00	100.00

Table II (d)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	All households		Households with a monthly income of			
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
	No. of households	Rs.	Per cent	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	69	14		32		10	13
Miscellaneous							
(a) Salary or wages	67.75	84.38		31.82	57.36	83.54	119.87
(b) Industry run by the household	2.84	8.54		1.49	3.13		5.77
(c) Business run by the household	...	...		...	...	...	...
(d) Cultivation run by the household	7.07	8.81		3.72	4.61	9.00	15.22
(e) Rent from land	0.18	0.22		...	...	1.25	...
(f) Rent from houses	...	...		...	...	...	...
(g) Pension	...	...		...	...	...	...
(h) Gifts and presents	...	...		...	...	...	...
(i) Help from relatives	1.45	1.81		4.17	1.30	...	...
(j) Other sources	1.00	1.24		2.08	1.24	...	...
Total	80.29	100.00		43.28	67.64	93.79	140.86

Table III (a-1)

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households		Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of			
					Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
	No. of households	21			2	2	7	10
		Per household	Per equivalent adult male					
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Pot-making	A. Food Group							
	i. Cereals and pulses							
	Rice	38.19	10.10	55.32	17.50	22.50	28.14	52.50
	Other grains	0.77	0.20	1.12	0.50	0.50	0.64	0.98
	Dhal	0.60	0.16	0.87	0.50	0.50	0.54	0.68
	Total	39.56	10.46	57.31	18.50	23.50	29.32	54.16

(Continued)

Table III (a-1)—Contd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households		Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of			
					Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
	No. of households	21			2	2	7	10
		Per household	Per equivalent adult male					
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Pot-making	ii. Vegetables							
	Potatoes	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Topioca	5.24	1.39	7.59	3.75	3.75	3.75	4.88
	Onions	0.20	0.05	0.29	0.15	0.15	0.16	0.25
	Cocoanut	2.36	0.62	3.42	1.60	1.60	1.62	3.18
	Other vegetables	2.68	0.71	3.88	2.00	2.50	2.11	3.30
	Total	10.48	2.77	15.18	7.50	8.00	7.64	11.61
	iii. Meat and Fish							
	Meat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fish	2.14	0.57	3.10	1.63	1.63	2.07	2.40
	Total	2.14	0.57	3.10	1.63	1.63	2.07	2.40
	iv. Milk	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	v. Ghee and Oils	1.19	0.31	1.72	1.25	1.00	1.07	1.40
	vi. Salt	0.33	0.09	0.48	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.43
	vii. Condiments							
	Chillies	1.24	0.33	1.80	1.25	1.00	1.11	1.38
	Tamarind	0.29	0.08	0.42	0.25	0.25	0.29	0.30
	Other condiments	1.43	0.38	2.07	1.00	1.13	1.29	1.68
	Total	2.96	0.79	4.29	2.50	2.38	2.69	3.36
	viii. Sugars	1.60	0.42	2.32	1.25	1.25	1.36	1.90
	ix. Coffee and Tea	0.90	0.24	1.30	0.75	0.63	0.82	1.05
	x. Liquor	3.00	0.79	4.35	2.00	2.00	2.29	3.90
	xi. Tobacco							
	Smoking	0.71	0.19	1.03	...	0.75	1.00	0.65
	Chewing	1.30	0.34	1.88	1.63	0.75	0.71	1.75
	Total	2.01	0.53	2.91	1.63	1.50	1.71	2.40
	xii. Other foods including refreshments							
	Pansupari etc.	4.86	1.29	7.04	...	4.00	4.86	6.00
	Total under food	69.03	18.26	100.00	37.26	46.14	54.08	88.61

(Continued.)

Table III (a-1)-Concl'd.

Occupation	Items of expenditure	No. of Households	All households		Households with a monthly income of			
			Expenditure per household	Percentage of total expenditure on miscellaneous items	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs.100
					2	2	7	10
Pot-making	B. Clothing		Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	C. Housing, light, fuel etc.		5.58		3.13	4.17	4.29	7.25
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure		4.17		1.63	3.00	3.85	5.13
	i. Education		0.32	5.17	...	...	...	0.67
	ii. Dhobi or soap		1.25	20.23	0.88	1.25	1.04	1.48
	iii. Barber		0.44	7.12	0.13	0.38	0.32	0.59
	iv. Travelling		0.16	2.59	...	...	...	0.33
	v. Medical fees and medicines		0.10	1.62	...	...	...	0.21
	vi. Religious observances		0.03	0.48	...	...	0.02	0.05
	vii. Amusements		...	...	...	...	...	...
	viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings		2.92	47.25	...	2.50	2.76	3.71
	ix. Payment of debts		0.38	6.15	...	...	0.95	0.13
	x. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere		...	...	...	...	...	...
	xi. Other items		0.58	9.39	...	...	...	...
	Total		6.18	100.00	1.01	4.13	5.21	8.30
				Percentage of total expenditure on cultivation etc.				
	E. Cultivation, Industries and Business							
	i. Cultivation run by the household		...	...	...	...	...	...
	ii. Industry run by the household		32.02	100.00	...	19.58	27.98	43.75
	iii. Business run by the household		...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total		32.02	100.00	...	19.58	27.98	43.75
F. Grand total of A to E			116.98		43.03	77.02	95.41	153.04

APPENDIX A

Table III (b-1)

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households		Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of			
		No. of households	Per house- hold		Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
					Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
		15			...	5	5	5
			Per house- hold	Per equivalent adult male				
			Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Business	A. Food Group							
	<i>i. Cereals and pulses</i>							
	Rice	53.00	9.98	56.64	...	35.00	42.00	82.00
	Other grains	1.20	0.23	1.28	...	0.80	1.10	1.80
	Dhal	0.78	0.15	0.83	...	0.55	0.80	1.00
	Total	54.98	10.36	58.75	...	36.35	43.90	84.80
	<i>ii. Vegetables</i>							
	Potatoes	0.40	0.08	0.43	...	0.20	0.20	0.80
	Tapioca	4.70	0.89	5.02	...	3.00	5.25	5.85
	Onions	0.22	0.04	0.24	...	0.21	0.21	0.25
	Cocoanuts	3.41	0.64	3.64	...	2.29	2.89	5.05
	Other vegetables	4.05	0.76	4.33	...	2.80	2.75	6.60
	Total	12.78	2.41	13.66	...	8.50	11.30	18.55
	<i>iii. Meat and Fish</i>							
	Meat	1.40	0.26	1.50	...	0.80	0.60	2.80
	Fish	4.12	0.78	4.40	...	2.60	3.00	6.75
	Total	5.52	1.04	5.90	...	3.40	3.60	9.55
	<i>iv. Milk</i>	6.17	1.16	6.59	...	4.40	6.10	8.00
	<i>v. Ghee and Oils</i>	1.78	0.34	1.90	...	1.15	1.60	2.60
	<i>vi. Salt</i>	0.38	0.07	0.41	...	0.25	0.40	0.50
	<i>vii. Condiments</i>							
	Chillies	1.50	0.28	1.60	...	1.05	1.40	2.05
	Tamarind	0.33	0.06	0.35	...	0.25	0.30	0.45
	Other condiments	2.35	0.44	2.51	...	1.35	1.80	3.90
	Total	4.18	0.78	4.46	...	2.65	3.50	6.40
	<i>viii. Sugars</i>	1.97	0.37	2.11	...	1.60	1.50	2.80
	<i>ix. Coffee and Tea</i>	1.02	0.19	1.09	...	0.85	0.80	1.40
	<i>x. Liquor</i>	2.33	0.44	2.49	...	...	2.00	5.00
<i>xi. Tobacco</i>								
Smoking	1.30	0.24	1.39	...	0.70	1.70	1.50	
Chewing	1.17	0.22	1.25	...	1.00	0.30	2.20	
Total	2.47	0.46	2.64	...	1.70	2.00	3.70	
<i>xii. Other foods including refreshments</i>								
Pansupari etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total under food	93.58	17.62	100.00	...	60.85	76.70	143.30	

(Continued)

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APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (b-1)—Concl'd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS
AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households		Households with a monthly income of			
		No. of households	Expenditure per household	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
Business	B. Clothing	15	Rs. 8.75	...	5	5	5
	C. Housing, light, fuel etc.		4.99	...	5.00	7.08	14.17
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure			...	3.57	4.25	7.17
	i. Education		2.28	18.55	...	1.00	5.33
	ii. Dhobi or soap		2.03	16.52	...	1.30	3.30
	iii. Barber		0.65	5.29	...	0.43	0.92
	iv. Travelling		1.85	15.05	...	0.80	4.75
	v. Medical fees and medicines		0.94	7.65	...	0.50	2.33
	vi. Religious observances		0.42	3.42	...	0.08	1.17
	vii. Amusements		...	...	...	...	...
	viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings		2.56	20.83	...	...	...
	ix. Payment of debts		...	...	...	0.67	7.00
	x. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere		...	...	...	...	...
	xi. Other items		1.56	12.69	...	...	...
	Total		12.29	100.00	...	2.73	5.32
E. Cultivation, Industries and Business							
	i. Cultivation run by the household		1.11	100.00	...	...	1.67
	ii. Industry run by the household		...	...	...	...	...
	iii. Business run by the household		...	...	...	...	...
	Total		1.11	100.00	...	...	...
F. Grand total of A to E			121.39	...	...	1.67	1.67
				...	72.15	97.02	195.11

APPENDIX A

Table III (c-1)

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS
AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households		Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of				
		No. of households	Per house- hold		Per equivalent adult male	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
						Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
		16			2	2	2	10	
					Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Cultivation	A. Food Group								
	i. Cereals and pulses								
	Rice	60.63	10.64	61.33	25.00	37.00	40.00	76.50	
	Other grains	1.16	0.20	1.17	0.50	0.75	0.88	1.43	
	Dhal	0.81	0.14	0.82	0.38	0.63	0.50	1.00	
	Total	62.60	10.98	63.32	25.88	38.88	41.38	78.93	
	ii. Vegetables								
	Potatoes	0.33	0.06	0.33	...	...	...	0.53	
	Tapioca	2.34	0.41	2.37	3.75	1.88	1.88	2.25	
	Onions	0.28	0.05	0.28	0.20	0.25	0.20	0.33	
	Cocoanuts	4.08	0.72	4.13	1.68	2.75	2.18	5.20	
	Other vegetables	4.69	0.82	4.75	1.00	3.75	2.00	6.15	
	Total	11.72	12.06	11.86	6.63	8.63	6.26	14.46	
	iii. Meat and Fish								
	Meat	1.44	0.25	1.46	...	...	...	2.30	
	Fish	3.66	0.64	3.70	...	...	2.13	5.43	
	Total	5.10	0.89	5.16	...	...	2.13	7.73	
	iv. Milk	7.28	1.28	7.36	...	...	2.50	11.15	
	v. Ghee and Oils	1.89	0.33	1.91	1.00	1.00	1.38	2.35	
	vi. Salt	0.41	0.07	0.41	0.25	0.25	0.38	0.48	
	vii. Condiments								
	Chillies	1.56	1.27	1.58	1.00	1.13	1.25	1.83	
	Tamarind	0.39	0.07	0.40	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.48	
	Other condiments	2.34	0.41	2.37	1.00	1.00	1.25	3.10	
	Total	4.29	0.75	4.35	2.25	2.38	2.75	5.41	
	viii. Sugars	2.13	0.37	2.15	0.50	1.25	1.50	2.75	
	ix. Coffee and Tea	1.16	0.20	1.17	0.25	0.63	1.00	1.43	
	x. Liquor	0.50	0.09	0.51	...	...	2.00	0.40	
	xi. Tobacco								
	Smoking	0.78	0.14	0.79	...	...	...	1.25	
	Chewing	1.00	0.18	1.01	0.75	0.75	1.50	1.00	
	Total	1.78	0.32	1.80	0.75	0.75	1.50	2.25	
	xii. Other foods including refreshments								
	Pansupari etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total under food	98.86	17.34	100.00	37.51	53.77	62.78	127.39	

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APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (c-1)—Concl'd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS
AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households		Households with a monthly income of			
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
	No. of households	16		2	2	2	10
		Expenditure per household	Percentage of total expenditure on miscellaneous items				
		Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cultivation	B. Clothing	11.07		4.17	5.21	6.25	14.58
	C. Housing, light, fuel etc.	4.37		1.42	3.63	3.92	5.21
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure						
	i. Education	3.20	21.81	0.21	0.42	2.92	4.42
	ii. Dhobi or soap	2.86	19.50	1.00	1.38	1.75	3.75
	iii. Barber	0.69	4.70	0.29	0.38	0.67	0.84
	iv. Travelling	1.80	12.27	0.50	...	...	2.78
	v. Medical fees and medicines	1.14	7.77	...	...	...	1.82
	vi. Religious observances	0.19	1.30	...	...	...	0.30
	vii. Amusements	...	...	...	...	...	...
	viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings	2.71	18.47	2.50	...	...	3.83
	ix. Payment of debts	...	...	...	...	...	...
	x. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere	...	...	...	...	...	...
	xi. Other items	2.08	14.18	0.42	0.42	...	3.17
	Total	14.67	100.00	4.92	2.60	5.34	20.91
			Percentage of total expenditure on cultivation etc.				
	E. Cultivation, Industries and Business						
	i. Cultivation run by the household	33.31	100.00	2.71	10.00	22.50	46.25
	ii. Industry run by the household	...	...	...	...	...	...
	iii. Business run by the household	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	33.31	100.00	2.71	10.00	22.50	46.25
	F. Grand total of A to E	162.28		50.73	75.21	100.79	214.34

APPENDIX A

Table III (d-1)

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS
AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of			
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
				14	32	10	13
	No. of households	69					
		Per household	Per equivalent adult male				
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Miscellaneous	A. Food Group						
	i. Cereals and pulses						
	Rice	39.88	8.52	61.87	20.71	36.78	47.00
	Other grains	0.70	0.15	1.09	0.38	0.62	0.83
	Dhal	0.57	0.12	0.88	0.45	0.48	0.68
	Total	41.15	8.79	63.84	21.54	37.88	48.51
	ii. Vegetables						
	Potatoes	4.16	0.89	6.45	3.04	4.43	4.25
	Tapioca	0.19	0.04	0.29	0.15	0.17	0.23
	Onions	2.29	0.49	3.55	1.73	1.90	2.63
	Cocoanut	2.43	0.52	3.77	1.49	1.73	3.18
	Other vegetables	9.07	1.94	14.06	6.41	8.23	10.29
	Total						
	iii. Meat and Fish						
	Meat	0.33	0.07	0.51	0.07	0.13	0.60
	Fish	2.22	0.47	3.44	1.04	2.08	2.43
	Total	2.55	0.54	3.95	1.11	2.21	3.03
	iv. Milk	2.33	0.50	3.62	1.07	1.09	3.30
	v. Ghee and Oils	1.25	0.27	1.94	0.96	1.10	1.35
	vi. Salt	0.36	0.08	0.56	0.25	0.33	0.43
	vii. Condiments						
	Chillies	1.21	0.26	1.88	1.02	1.10	1.38
	Tamarind	0.30	0.06	0.47	0.24	0.27	0.30
	Other condiments	1.33	0.28	2.06	0.99	1.13	1.48
	Total	2.84	0.60	4.41	2.25	2.50	3.16
	viii. Sugars	1.35	0.29	2.09	0.80	0.98	1.75
	ix. Coffee and Tea	0.82	0.18	1.27	0.48	0.66	1.03
	x. Liquor	1.32	0.28	2.05	0.50	0.88	2.00
	xi. Tobacco	0.39	0.08	0.61	0.14	0.20	0.55
	Smoking	1.03	0.22	1.60	0.93	0.85	1.20
	Chewing	1.42	0.30	2.21	1.07	1.05	1.75
	Total						
	xii. Other foods including refreshments						
	Pansupari etc.	64.46	13.77	100.00	36.44	56.91	76.60
	Total under food						104.19

(Continued.)

MUTTAR

APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (d-1)—Concl'd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
	No. of households	69	14	32	10	13
		Expenditure per household				
		Percentage of total expenditure on miscellaneous items				
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Miscellaneous	B. Clothing	6.33	3.42	5.47	7.13	10.99
	C. Housing, light, fuel etc.	3.82	2.34	3.43	4.45	5.87
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure					
	i. Education	1.03	0.18	0.47	2.29	2.37
	ii. Dhobi or soap	1.49	0.93	1.35	1.65	2.31
	iii. Barber	0.41	0.28	0.20	0.63	0.90
	iv. Travelling	0.17	0.09	...	...	0.82
	v. Medical fees and medicines	0.18	0.36	...	0.13	0.45
	vi. Religious observances	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.15
	vii. Amusements	0.01	...	...	...	0.06
	viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings	0.98	...	0.31	0.50	4.04
	ix. Payment of debts	0.24	...	...	...	1.28
	x. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere	...	...	...	...	...
	xi. Other items	0.52	0.06	...	0.13	2.59
	Total	5.06	1.92	2.34	5.35	14.97
		Percentage of total expenditure on cultivation etc.				
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	E. Cultivation, Industries and Business					
	i. Cultivation run by the household	1.00	0.30	0.20	1.46	3.40
	ii. Industry run by the household	0.12	...	0.26	...	...
	iii. Business run by the household	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	1.12	0.30	0.46	1.46	3.40
	F. Grand total of A to E	80.79	44.42	68.61	94.99	139.42

APPENDIX A

Table III (a-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION: POT-MAKING

Items	All households	Percentage of total expenditure	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
	No. of households		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	21		2	2	7	10
	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Expenditure	69.03	59.01	37.26	46.14	54.08	88.61
A. Food	5.58	4.77	3.13	4.17	4.29	7.25
B. Clothing	4.17	3.57	1.63	3.00	3.86	5.13
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.	6.18	5.28	1.01	4.13	5.21	8.30
D. Miscellaneous	32.02	27.37	...	19.58	27.98	43.75
E. Cultivation, industry and business	116.98	100.00	43.03	77.02	95.42	153.04
Total Expenditure	115.48	...	41.67	75.00	95.83	152.08
II. Income	-1.50	...	-1.36	-2.02	+0.41	-0.96
III. Expenditure in relation to income						

Table III (b-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION: BUSINESS

Items	All households	Percentage of total expenditure	Households with a monthly income of			
			Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
	No. of households		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	15					
	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Expenditure	94.25	77.64	...	60.85	76.70	143.30
A. Food	8.75	7.21	...	5.00	7.08	14.17
B. Clothing	4.99	4.11	...	3.57	4.25	7.17
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.	12.29	10.12	...	2.73	5.32	28.80
D. Miscellaneous	1.11	0.92	...	...	1.67	1.67
E. Cultivation, industry and business	121.39	100.00	...	72.15	95.02	195.11
Total Expenditure	128.83	...	...	72.91	95.58	219.67
II. Income	+7.44	...	...	+0.76	+0.56	+24.56
III. Expenditure in relation to income						

MUTTAR

APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (c-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY
INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION : CULTIVATION

Items	No. of households	All households	Percentage of total expenditure	Households with a monthly income of			
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
		Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Expenditure	16			2	2	2	10
A. Food		98.86	60.92	37.51	53.77	62.78	127.39
B. Clothing		11.07	6.82	4.17	5.21	6.25	14.58
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.		4.37	2.69	1.42	3.63	3.92	5.21
D. Miscellaneous		14.67	9.04	4.92	2.60	5.34	20.91
E. Cultivation, industry and business		33.31	20.53	2.71	10.00	22.50	46.25
Total Expenditure		162.28	100.00	50.73	75.21	100.79	214.34
II. Income		168.35	...	50.00	75.00	100.00	224.38
III. Expenditure in relation to income		+6.07	...	-0.73	-0.21	-0.79	+10.04

Table III (d-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY
INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION : MISCELLANEOUS

Items	No. of households	All households	Percentage of total expenditure	Households with a monthly income of			
				Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
		Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Expenditure	69			14	32	10	13
A. Food		64.46	79.79	36.44	56.91	76.60	104.19
B. Clothing		6.33	7.83	3.42	5.47	7.13	10.99
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.		3.82	4.73	2.34	3.43	4.45	5.87
D. Miscellaneous		5.06	6.26	1.92	2.34	5.35	14.97
E. Cultivation, industry and business		1.12	1.39	0.30	0.46	1.46	3.40
Total Expenditure		80.79	100.00	44.42	68.61	94.99	139.42
II. Income		80.29	...	43.28	67.64	93.79	140.86
III. Expenditure in relation to income		-0.50	...	-1.14	-0.97	-1.20	+1.44

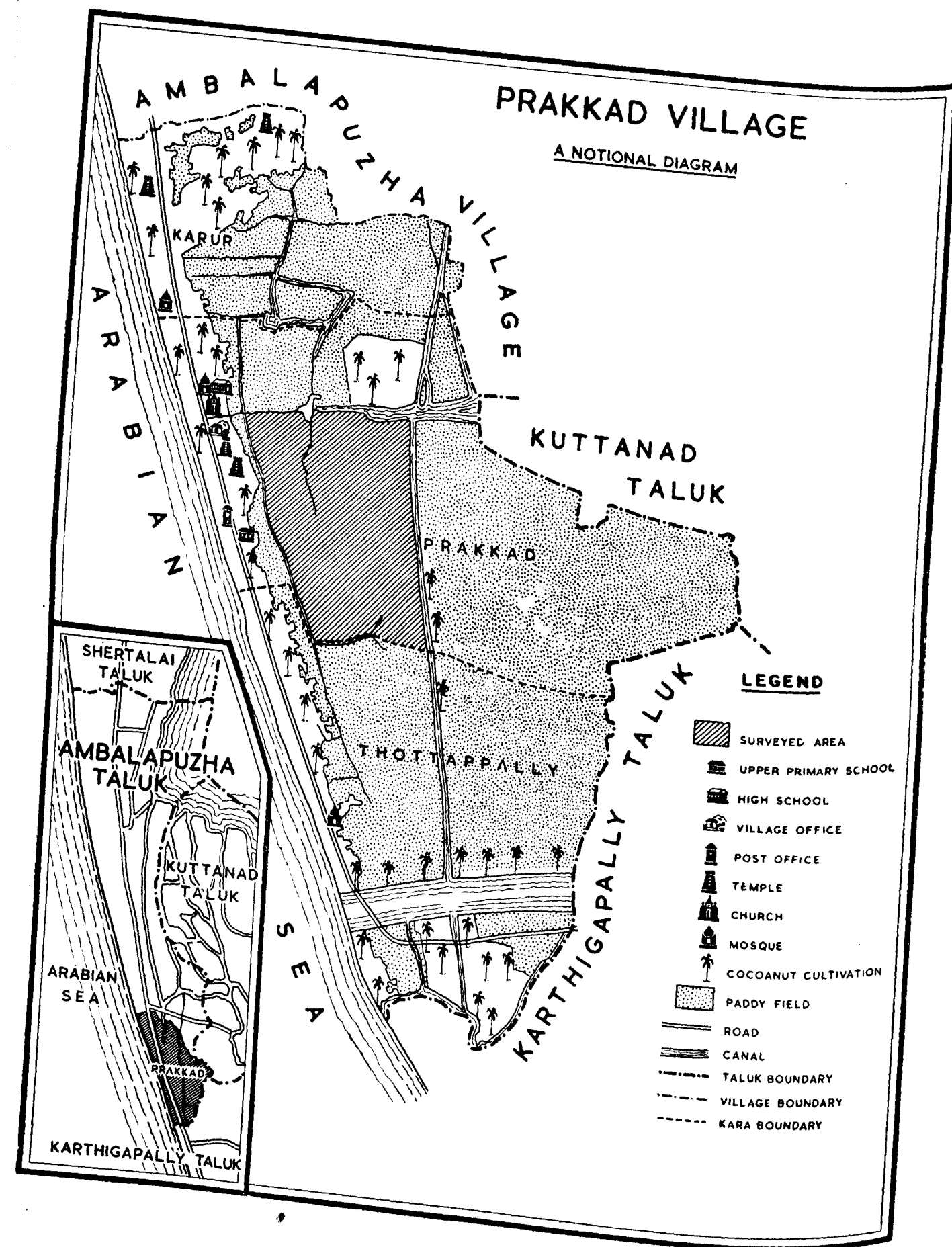
APPENDIX A

Table IV

INDEBTEDNESS

Indebtedness by income groups					II. Indebtedness by causes			
Income groups	Total No. of households	No. of households in debt	Percentage of column 2 to column 3	Average indebtedness for households in debt	Causes	Amount of debt	No. of households in debt	Average for households in debt
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
				Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
Less than Rs. 25	...	...	...	...	(a) Purchase of land	500.00	1	500.00
Rs. 25-50	18	9	50.00	149.00	(b) House construction or repairs to existing building	1,275.00	2	637.50
Rs. 51-75	42	20	47.62	159.35	(c) Marriages	1,475.00	4	368.75
Rs. 76-100	23	18	78.26	323.33	(d) Funerals	...	...	...
Above Rs.100	38	28	73.68	387.50	(e) To give dowry	500.00	1	500.00
					(f) To clear outstanding debts	...	...	...
					(g) Sickness	1,275.00	7	182.14
					(h) Ordinary wants	3,972.00	25	158.88
					(i) Household cultivation	4,101.00	8	512.63
					(j) Industry run by the household	2,725.00	15	181.67
					(k) Business run by the household	3,350.00	12	27.92
					(l) Education	2,025.00	3	675.00
								9.55

PRAKKAD



PRAKKAD.*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Kuttanad, the well-known granary of Kerala, lying in Ambalapuzha and Kuttanad taluks of Alleppey district, is a vast stretch of marshy land on the banks of Vembanad lake. Natural conditions and the soil in this area are entirely different from those in other agricultural villages of the State. On account of the numerous problems that confronted the cultivators the paddy cultivation of Kuttanad was a chronicle of continuous failures till about 20 years ago. About 10,000 acres of wet lands lying in Prakkad and neighbouring villages of Ambalapuzha taluk, though falling in the general classification of Kuttanad, has greater difficulties in raising paddy cultivation, due to the special type of soil known as 'kari' or 'peaty' available in that region. In addition to the general problems of draining saline water and supplying fresh water for cultivation, the farmer of the 'kari' land had to counter the acute acidity of the soil resulting from the unusually high percentage of organic constituents in the soil. During the years 1950-1954 the State Government undertook a number of agricultural improvement measures for the Kuttanad area by which the 'kari' land cultivation also benefited considerably. The construction of large ring bunds enclosing vast areas of paddy fields, the institution of pumping system, the completion of the Thottappally spillway, the soil analysis undertaken by the Agricultural Department and the supply of suitable chemical manures to counter the defects of the soil, started a new chapter in 'kari' land cultivation. Prakkad was taken up for this study to sketch briefly the impact of these measures on the social and economic life of the village.

Location

2. The Prakkad village lies about 10 miles south of Alleppey along the coast, at 9° 21' 25" north latitude and 76° 23' east longitude. It is the southernmost village of the Ambalapuzha taluk in Alleppey district, surrounded on the western side by the Arabian sea, on the northern as well as a portion of the eastern side by Ambalapuzha village and on the remaining sides by Kuttanad and Karthikapally taluks. The village is about 43 miles south of Cochin and 84 miles north of Trivandrum.

Name of the Place

3. While the village is generally called Poracad, many of the official records have shortened it as 'Prakkad'. The Portuguese and the Dutch, who had commercial contacts with the village during the 16th and 17th centuries, called it 'Poraka' or 'Porcai' and travellers like Varthema, Tavernier and Barbosa referred to it by names as close to 'Poracad' as their tongue would permit them to pronounce. Popular imagination has found some relation of the name of the place to an episode in Mahabharatha which speaks of Arjuna having burnt down a forest named 'Khandavam' in order to please Agni, the god of fire. Village legends say that the forest in question was in this place for which reason it was called Poracad or 'outer forest'. The presence of a large number of tree stumps and bits of charred wood two or three feet below the surface soil in this area has contributed to this version.

Early History

4. From very ancient times Prakkad acquired fame as a port. But to start with it earned some notoriety as being the strong-hold of pirates who plundered the

* The basic survey in this village was conducted between 29-1-1961 and 18-2-1961.

(1) 4,046.86 hectares

(2) Travancore State Manual, 1941, Volume IV, page 708

merchantmen passing that way from Europe to the east as testified to by several authoritative writers, both ancient and modern, such as Hamilton, Barbosa, Nieuhoff and Logan. This tradition of piracy was carried on by Captain Kyd and Evory until finally stamped out by Admiral Watson and Clive in 1856. During the heyday of piracy a small principality sprouted in Prakkad and perished after a short but brilliant existence.

Commonly called Chembakasserry, it was also known as the Kingdom of Poracad whose rulers were high caste Namboothiris exercising both political and spiritual authority over the kingdom. The rise and fall of the kingdom has been vividly described in several books and short accounts have been given by K. P. Padmanabha Menon and Nagam Aiya. The kingdom of Poracad was first subjugated in

PHYSICAL ASPECTS

1678 A. D. by the Raja of Cochin but its separate existence continued till the Travancore ruler, Maharaja Marthanda Varma conquered it in 1746, bribing the ministers and generals of the king.¹ After the decline of the principality of Chembakasserry Prakkad still maintained its status as a port until the development of Alleppey port in consequence of which it rapidly fell into disuse. Today it is no more a recognised port.

Surveyed Area

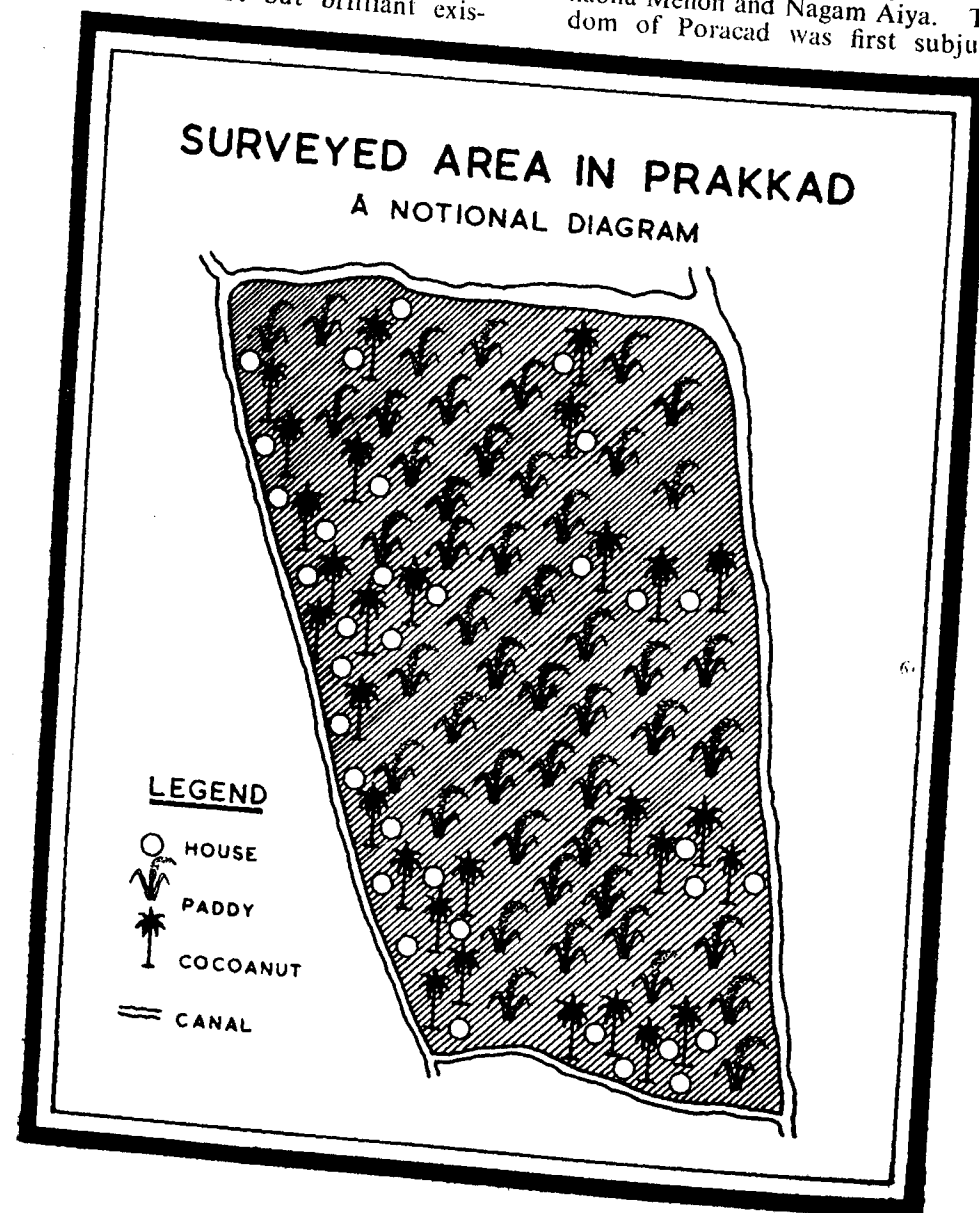
5. The area taken up for intensive survey in this village consists of 431.30 acres (174.54 hectares) lying between the Trivandrum-Shoranur Canal on the east and the Kochuthodu on the west, bounded on the north by the Malayilthodu and on the south by Thottappally Canal. The households are scattered in the paddy fields which remain submerged in water for the major part of the year when the whole area presents the appearance of a vast lake with minute islands littered in it in a haphazard manner. Except during the summer the houses are inaccessible by land; it is practically impossible to move out from one house to another without the aid of a boat. A mud road taking out from the national highway at Prakkad junction to the east leads one to the boundary of the surveyed area. Within the surveyed area the only possible road communication is an embankment constructed for the protection of paddy fields.

Physical Aspects

6. Along the coast of the village there is a narrow strip of sandy dry land stretching to below half a mile in width at the widest point. At the southern extremity of this strip, where it narrows down, inroads have been made by the Thottappally bar. To the east of this border land lie the mirror like 'kari' lands, extending to the horizon, with the surface broken here and there by small islands containing the farmers' huts beneath the shade of coconut trees. Between September and February when paddy is cultivated in the fields they

present an endless green surface intersected by the serpentine snare of bunds. The Trivandrum-Shoranur Canal flowing dreamily amidst these velvety green fields is clearly visible only during this season, dissolving as it does, at other times, into the endless sheet of water spreading throughout the area. Small branch channels intended for the drainage of water from the paddy fields disappear behind the plants during the cultivation and drown in salt water at other times.

7. The mud bank which used to appear off the coast of Prakkad is an interesting phenomenon which at one time made the coastal waters safe for ships even in the worst squally weather. During the monsoon, layers of fine soft mud extending to a few miles into the sea would collect in the water near the coast rendering the water calm and smooth. Captain Drury who made some investigation about this phenomenon says, "The origin of this deposition of so large a quantity of mud in the open sea about two or three miles from the shore and so many miles from any bar or outlet from the backwater has never been satisfactorily accounted for. From the circumstance of there being no natural outlet for the vast accumulation of waters which are poured down from the various mountain streams into the basin of backwater nearer than thirty-six miles on either side, it is not improbable that there exists a subterraneous channel communication with the sea from the backwater through which the large quantity of mud is carried and thrown up again by the sea in the form of a bank."² Dr. King of the Geological Survey of India, who also made some studies about this phenomenon, came to the conclusion that the discharge of mud might be due to hydraulic pressure from the backwater by percolation or through underground channels. Dr. Day found that the mud felt unctuous and sticky but not gritty unless mixed with sand. "It is of a very dark greenish colour and has but a slight odour. Under the microscope



(1) Travancore State Manual by Nagam Aiya, Vol. I, page 347 and History of Kerala by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Vol. II, page 121
(2) Quoted by T. K. Velu Pillai in Travancore State Manual, Vol. I, page 89

PRAKKAD

it shows 'very minute angular fragments of quart, the largest hardly visible without a lense: this is the sand. Secondly, foraminiferous shells, of the genus rotalia and a few fragments of larger shells. Thirdly, diatomaceae, of which were discovered species from upwards of genera. Fourthly; a few spicules of sponges and corals, very minute; and some amorphous matter which was not destroyed after long boiling in strong acids'. On a more elaborate enquiry the mud was found to be very tenacious and resistant of pressure, like a stiff piece of gelly; and it is supposed that, acting like an immense spring it yields to the pressure of the waves, that the water thus loses its force and becomes quiescent".¹ Dr. King of the Geological Survey after experiments has proved conclusively that a 'sensible amount of oil' exists in the mud and this oil may be an efficient cause of the quiescence of the sea². It is the appearance of this mud bank which, even in the absence of any natural facility, enabled the foreign traders to lay the ships in safety near the shore during the monsoon season and made Prakkad a port. Unfortunately, of late it has been noticed that the appearance of mud bank is a shifting phenomenon and that for some years past it has continuously failed to appear near Prakkad. The water has become devastatingly turbulent, eroding the sandy bank, uprooting cocoanut trees and demolishing houses. Today the village has become one of the several villages which fall victims to sea erosion almost as an annual feature.

The Soil

8. The soil is sandy along the narrow strip of dry land stretching on both sides of the national highway but proceeding from the coast to the interior the proportion of loam in the sand gradually increases. To the east of this dry strip of land stretch the paddy fields, with a special type of soil known as 'peaty soil'. Its black colour has given rise to the name 'kari' lands to the paddy fields of the area. The 'kari or peaty' soil occurs in about 10,000 acres³

(1) Land of Perumals, page 36
(2) Logan's Manual, Vol. I, 1906 edition, page 37
(3) 4,046.86 hectares

with a major portion of it in the village under survey and the rest in the neighbouring villages. The surface soil containing sulphur and sulphuric acid is highly acidic and exerts a direct toxic effect on plants. Below this surface soil which extends only from six inches to one foot, there is a layer of marine sub-soil embedded, in most places, with wood fossils. Rich in organic constituents, it contains a high percentage of sulphur compounds also. A few feet under the surface everywhere large stumps of decayed trees lie buried. Often one stumbles against large logs while picking or ploughing the land. Dr. N. Subramoney of the Agricultural College, Vellayani (Kerala) has conducted some research work on the soils of the 'kari' lands. The result of his chemical analysis of the samples of the village is given in the following table.

Table I

RESULT OF THE CHEMICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SOIL SAMPLES OF PRAKKAD (IN PERCENTAGES) *

	Horizon 0-9"	Horizon 9"-2'	Horizon 2'-3'9"
Loss on ignition	57.40	67.20	74.20
Nitrogen	0.77	0.81	0.85
P ₂ O ₅	0.01	Trace	Trace
K ₂ O	0.31	0.34	0.45
Ca O	0.12	0.12	0.11
pH	4.30	5.50	5.40
Water Soluble:			
Chloride	0.21	0.24	0.25
Sulphate	0.54	0.34	0.41

*on oven dry basis.

CLIMATE AND RAINFALL

9. The large loss on ignition shows the high percentage of organic matter. On mechanical analysis of the 'kari' soil of Prakkad, the samples being taken from a depth of 0 to 9", it is found that on oven dry basis it contains 1.85 per cent coarse

sand, 3.40 per cent fine sand, 11.50 per cent silt, 15.90 per cent clay and 42.50 per cent organic matter. The ground-water has also been subjected to chemical analysis, the results of which are given in the following table.

Table II

COMPOSITION OF GROUND-WATERS IN THE CULTIVATED FIELDS

Origin of sample	Acidity pH	Total solids mgs/lit	In percentage of ignited residue				
			Ca O	Fe O	Al ₂ O ₃	SO	Cl
Thottappally area water from a field in Manakkal, Pallam, Prakkad	2.1	2,102.1	2.3	4.9	3.1	12.1	1.4

10. On the whole the 'kari' soil is extremely infertile. Its microbial count is low but the oxygen offtake is quite appreciable. The effect of this peculiar soil on cultivation shall be discussed in more detail in the third chapter while dealing with paddy cultivation.

Climate and Rainfall

11. The temperature during the month of January fluctuates between a minimum of 28°C and a maximum of 31°C. In the months of February, March and April the temperature gradually increases, reaching a maximum of 37°C at the hottest time of the day in some years. The monsoon rains

bring down the mercury to the level of January at which it continues without much fluctuation during the months of June, July and August. The seasons can be broadly divided into two, the summer and the rainy. The winter occurring towards the end of monsoon and the beginning of summer is hardly perceptible while the spring can be noticed only by the changes in the plants and not in the climate. The high humidity is perhaps the most sensible quality of all seasons. The temperature and humidity readings taken in 1959 at Ambalapuzha are given below.

Table III

TEMPERATURE AND HUMIDITY AT AMBALAPUZHA 1959

Month	Temperature in centigrade				Mean relative humidity (in percentage)	
	Mean maximum	Mean minimum	Highest temperature	Lowest temperature	8.30 a. m.	5.30 p. m.
January	30.2	28.8	31.6	28.3	98.0	96.4
February	30.9	26.2	33.3	21.1	80.8	78.8
March	33.5	23.0	35.1	21.1	62.6	61.6
April	35.0	24.1	36.6	22.2	59.6	61.6
May	33.6	25.1	36.1	23.3	60.0	67.8
June	30.7	24.7	32.8	22.2	87.2	89.8
July	29.8	22.8	31.6	21.1	89.6	90.4
August	31.0	22.5	32.2	20.5	91.4	87.4
September	31.3	22.7	32.2	21.6	94.2	93.4
October	31.9	22.9	33.3	22.2	87.2	89.2
November	32.2	22.5	34.2	21.1	90.2	94.2
December	33.0	25.3	35.0	22.8	90.6	91.8

PRAKKAD

12. Rainfall readings during the decade between 1951 and 1960 recorded at Ambalapuzha, the neighbouring village, are given in the following table. January, February

and March are generally the driest months even though during these months also there may be a little rain now and then.

Table IV

RAINFALL

Year		January	February	March	April	May	June	July
1951	I	1	2	3	8	7	30	18
	II	20.3	47.0	86.9	165.1	261.9	978.1	285.7
1952	I	3	4	1	6	16	23	18
	II	57.1	101.6	2.8	68.6	264.2	402.6	151.1
1953	I	3	3	2	6	7	13	26
	II	95.3	25.4	12.7	94.0	233.7	271.8	694.2
1954	I	2	1	8	15	16	24	22
	II	53.3	25.4	151.6	275.3	399.7	822.2	323.3
1955	I	1	3	5	8	19	26	22
	II	69.9	14.0	85.1	88.1	626.6	741.7	338.3
1956	I	...	...	...	12	17	27	15
	II	...	...	...	104.7	397.5	683.8	216.4
1957	I	1.3	...	3	8	11	24	23
	II	...	...	129.5	114.8	453.4	636.5	532.6
1958	I	...	4	1	5	14	22	14
	II	...	39.5	17.8	149.9	518.1	836.9	241.2
1959	I	...	2	1	11	22	20	23
	II	...	88.4	20.8	152.0	290.9	711.5	820.0
1960	I	...	1	...	8	22	13	20
	II	...	53.3	...	202.1	759.3	293.2	845.6

RAINFALL--Concl'd.

Year		August	September	October	November	December	Annual
1951	I	11	12	20	15	...	127
	II	136.4	291.3	561.3	235.5	...	3069.5
1952	I	26	2	15	8	...	126
	II	281.9	30.5	329.2	49.5	47.0	1786.1
1953	I	9	10	19	12	...	115
	II	166.1	173.2	482.6	227.3	...	2476.3
1954	I	24	22	17	4	...	164
	II	353.1	265.4	275.6	24.1	406.4	3275.4
1955	I	13	16	17	12	1	143
	II	150.4	462.8	518.2	206.3	19.6	3321.0
1956	I	14	23	24	15	1	148
	II	203.2	205.7	415.3	223.5	20.3	2470.4
1957	I	9	8	15	6	3	111
	II	288.8	63.5	516.9	120.7	61.0	2919.0
1958	I	21	9	12	5	1	107
	II	440.8	78.7	205.7	92.6	27.2	2648.4
1959	I	14	13	4	3	1	111
	II	365.8	252.5	155.0	18.3	113.0	2988.2
1960	I	11	12	5	8	1	101
	II	277.8	395.8	66.0	304.0	0.5	3197.6

- I. No. of rainy days
- II. Rainfall in millimetres

COMMUNICATIONS

The Flora and the Fauna

13. According to lieutenants Ward and Conner who conducted the geographical and statistical survey of Travancore early in the 19th century there was an abundance of cocoanut trees in Prakkad at the time of the survey, the total number of cocoanut, areca-nut and jack trees, the latter two being negligible in number, coming to 80,265. A few reeds and inferior crops were also growing in the deep marshes bordering the lake. The picture remains essentially the same today. The entire coast is lined with groves of cocoanut trees among which one or two mango trees or jack trees struggle hard for light and air. The Glyricidia plants, introduced by the N. E. S. Block during the last decade, together with 'Poovarassu' (Thespesia populnea) and 'Velipparuthi' (Hibiscus teleaceus) adorn the hedges on both sides of the national highway. A sprinkling of 'Punna' (Calophyllum inophyllum) tree of stunted growth and Erythrina with its scarlet flowers can be seen in the garden lands as if to break the monotony of the cocoanut groves. Close to the coast in certain places, which are mostly infertile for any other vegetation, a particular type of cactus and a species of grass with very sharp blades grow, giving a look of desolation to those areas. In the eastern part of the village on the banks of canals and paddy fields screw-pine and 'Uthalam' (Cerbera Odalam) are grown to form fencing. The fruit of the latter plant is deadly poisonous though its leaves serve as a good fodder for goats. A type of wild grass looking almost like paddy but having only one cylindrical shoot grows luxuriantly in the paddy fields left fallow for some seasons. It serves as fodder to the buffalo. In the canals and paddy fields an exotic plant locally known as 'African Payal' is spreading rapidly, threatening the area with devastation of cultivation. It just floats over the surface of the water and grows so quickly that within a few weeks a large paddy field may be completely blanketed. Being a new plant its uses or the methods to check its rapid growth are yet to be found out.

14. The only natural fauna are those thriving in water, the chief among them being fish, frogs and snakes. Fish is not so plentiful as to make fishing in the paddy fields a profitable industry. A large variety of water-snakes breed in the canals and paddy fields but fortunately they are not poisonous. Prawns, abundant in estuaries and paddy fields of other areas, are not so numerous in these parts. During the season of paddy cultivation bandicoots and rats appear in large numbers. Big animals are limited to the domestic cattle, such as cows, bulls and buffaloes. Bulls are rare since in the paddy fields of this area they are seldom useful for ploughing. On the other hand, buffaloes render invaluable service during the agricultural operations as they can be harnessed with advantage in the fields flooded with water. Occasionally goats are reared by some households but ducks and chicken are kept by more people. Clouds of migratory birds like cranes and wild ducks descend on the fields during certain seasons to feed on water insects and paddy.

Communications

15. The national highway passing through the village parallel to the coast is the only road worthy of mention. Small mud roads leading to the national highway from the east serve but short distances since about a furlong or two east of the national highway, the paddy lands put a dead-line on all road traffic. A network of bunds and embankments serving as foot paths beyond this area during the seasons of cultivation are either washed away or submerged during the monsoon, leaving the people to depend upon a country boat to go from one place to another and even from one house to the neighbouring house. For the people who have not gone to the area it is difficult to imagine how the inhabitants of these small islands communicate with each other or go to some other part of the village during the monsoons. At the time of heavy floods almost all the islands are submerged and many houses flooded, making it impossible to move out of the house without a boat. Rowing and swimming are, therefore, practised by all from the very childhood.

PRAKKAD

16. Almost parallel to the national highway flows the Trivandrum-Shoranur Canal along which regular passenger and cargo boat services pass. By boat the village is connected to several important towns like Quilon, Alleppey, Kottayam, Changanacherry and Cochin. Transport of goods is carried out exclusively by boats as it provides the cheapest means of transport. There are no telegraph or telephone offices within the village but branch post offices function at Prakkad junction and at Thottappally. The nearest railway station is at Mavelikkara about 16 miles away from the village. However Kayamkulam railway station which is a mile or so more distant is more easily accessible to the villagers on account of the numerous bus services connecting the village and Kayamkulam.

Important Public Places

17. Two centuries ago Prakkad, the capital of the Chembakasserry principality, was a big town. There were a number of palaces, religious institutions, godowns, customs houses and other important establishments in this place which now looks a deserted, fishing and agricultural village. Lieutenants Ward and Conner writing between 1816 and 1820 enumerate the important places of the village as follows:-

"Poracad, once the seaport of the country, and a place of considerable trade declined on the rise of Alleppey. It is, however, populous and consists of a broad street lined with bazaars, with other narrow lanes branching off to the right and left; the buildings of note are the Cotaurums of the Rajah of Travancore and Chembakasserry, the latter now a depot for tobacco, the large Koncanee Pagoda, the Romo-Syrian Church, and also a few spacious houses of merchants, the latter now in a state of decay; small crafts with Sirkar tobacco from Jaffna patnam touch here to deposit their cargoes; the streets at evening are crowded by people who come to purchase, and in their turn dispose of various articles of consumption; to preserve order a Tannah is established and a chowkey where duties are levied. A line of fortification in ruins to the south called

Thottappally Vandey was raised to prevent the Rajah's troops from encroaching; a skirmish is said to have ensued at it when the latter became victorious in the year 1741 A. D. Here are also the remains of a Portuguese fort, and a factory in the sea to be seen at low water,....." The decline which had already set in at the time of the survey by Ward and Conner completed its course so thoroughly long ago that even the foundations of these big institutions have disappeared without trace. The big palaces, godowns and fortifications were probably located on the western side of the national highway and were destroyed by the encroaching sea. The religious institutions mentioned by Ward and Conner, such as the Catholic church and the Koncanee pagoda, however, have survived the forces of nature. An old mosque, reported to be older than both the church and the pagoda but not mentioned by Ward and Conner, also survives, though due to lack of proper maintenance decay has set in on the building. Apart from these religious institutions there are no other public places deserving mention. A Village Office, a Panchayat Office, a Police out-post, a Gramsevak's Office and the educational institutions limited to one high school, one upper primary school and three lower primary schools are the only humble descendants of the old palaces, customs houses, bazaars and forts.

Places of Public Worship

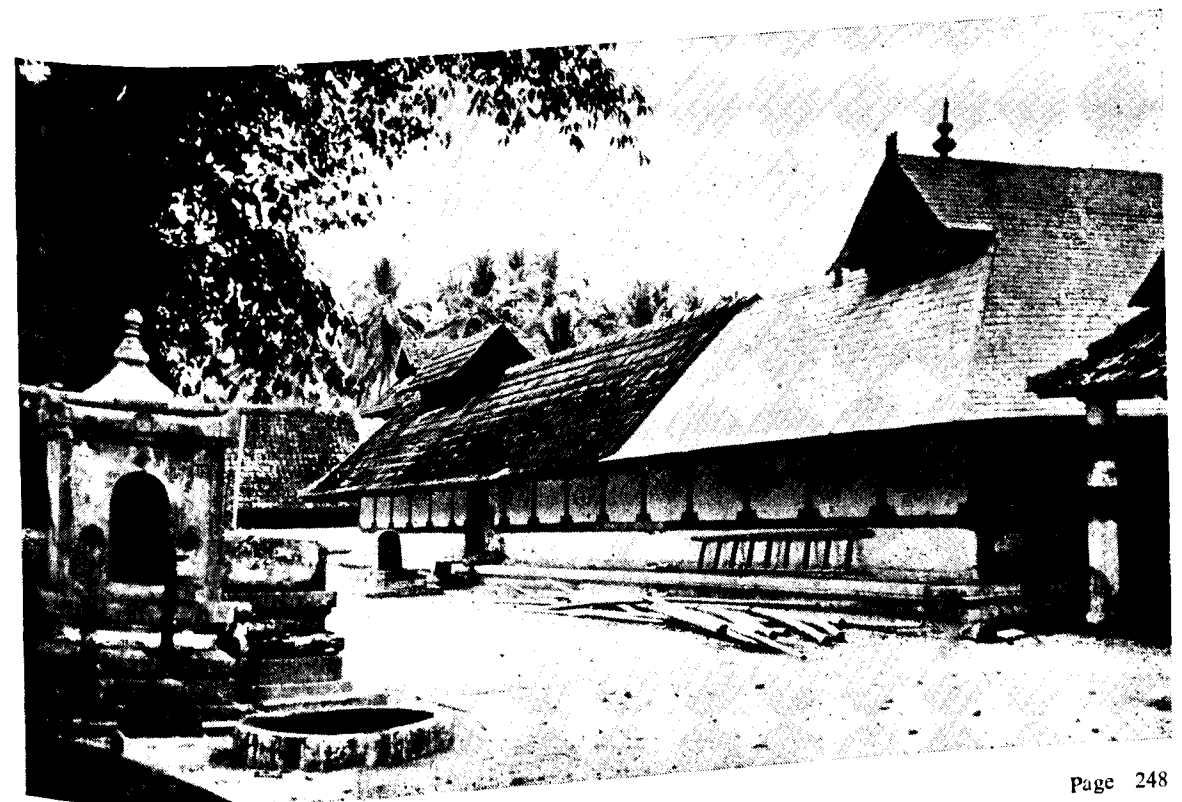
18. Among the places of public worship the pagoda of Goudasaraswath Brahmans mentioned by Ward and Conner as the Koncanee pagoda, the Catholic church and the old mosque are the most important. The pagoda is believed to have been constructed 300 years ago by Goudasaraswath Brahmans who migrated to this area from the country around Goa. Only caste Hindus are permitted to worship in the temple but all Hindus can offer their oblations in the minor temples of Anandeswaram, Murikolil and Poonthala. Another big temple dedicated to Vasudeva and referred to in the works of the court poets of the Chembakasserry rulers stood on



Pl. 78

THE CHIEF METHOD OF CARGO TRANSPORT IN THE AREA

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Pl. 79

GOUDASARASWATH TEMPLE

Page 248

(1) Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States, Vol. II



Pl. 80

PORACAD ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

the coast before it was swallowed by the waves about a hundred years ago.

19. It is said that the Catholic church was constructed in 1410¹ and that the cross dedicated in the church was brought by the Portuguese from Europe. Shri K. P. Padmanabha Menon states that the church was constructed by a Raja of Poracad. "The Raja", he says, "was a great friend of his Christian subjects who were permitted to build churches all over the State. It is said that, under the workings of remorse of having killed his fellow Brahmans, the first sole ruler of the State erected an altar in the Christian church at Kodamalur, a strange procedure for a Hindu and that a Namboothiri Brahman. The Church at Poracad which was visited by Archbishop Meneses is said to have been erected by a Raja of Poracad who attributed a victory he had won to the cross displayed on the banner of his Christian subjects who fought for him."² Another Church stood on the western side of the road but was destroyed by sea erosion some years ago.

20. The mosque called Pazhayangadi Palli, ancient as it is believed to be, does not furnish any information about its date of establishment. There are two other mosques in the village, one close to the church and the other in the southern corner.

21. Attached to the Catholic church and mosques there are cemeteries. But among the Hindus only the Goudasaraswath Brahmans have a crematorium. Other communities bury or cremate their dead on the seashore or in the private compounds.

Markets

22. Prakkad, a big trading centre with godowns, business streets and customs houses during the time of the Portuguese and the Dutch had the death of its business occupations spelled by the decline of the kingdom of Chembakasserry and the disappearance of the foreign trading powers. In the place of a populous town consisting of broad streets lined with bazaars which were crowded in the evening by people, there are only a few petty shops now. For

want of any regular market or large shops, the villagers go to the neighbouring towns for marketing their products and purchasing daily necessities.

Health and Sanitation

23. Drinking water is not available in all parts of the village at all times. Since the ordinary wells do not yield fresh water, the entire population has to depend upon a few tube-wells constructed here and there. The population in the eastern area scattered over small islands not possessing tube-wells, have to fetch water from far away places in boats. Owing to this meagre availability of fresh water it is used only for essential purposes like cooking and drinking, the hard water of the tanks being used for other purposes. The epidemics that took a heavy toll of lives in the past, before the construction of the tube-wells, might be attributed to the scarcity of fresh water. With the construction of tube-wells the epidemics have subsided considerably; at any rate they are not a regular annual phenomenon now. The seacoast inhabited by fishermen is generally clean except during the seasons of good catch when, with the drying of fish and other operations connected with fishing, conditions deteriorate. In the eastern parts of the village where houses are always surrounded by stagnant water hygienic conditions are not satisfactory. There is no hospital in the village; the nearest one is at Ambalapuzha about two miles away. Except for a few Ayurvedic physicians there are not even private practitioners within easy reach. A rural midwife and a health visitor are the only specialists to whom are left the public health problems of the village.

Residential Pattern

24. The fishermen's huts springing up like mushrooms every year along the coast are washed away by the ocean waves lashing on the beach in the beginning of the monsoon, compelling the people to seek shelter elsewhere. Educational institutions being closed during this period, many of them are permitted by the authorities to

(1) The Catholic Directory of Malabar, page 118
(2) History of Kerala, Volume II, page 112

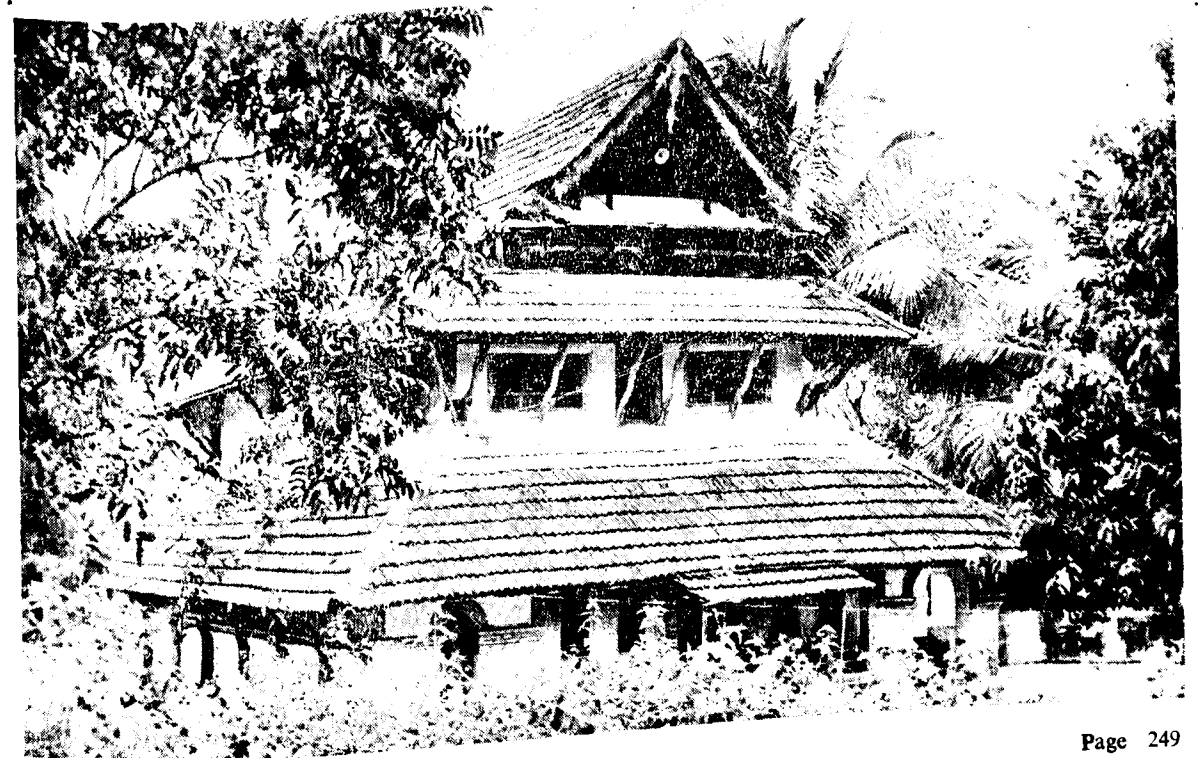
PRAKKAD

stay in some nearby schools. When the sea subsides, undaunted by the prospects of the repetition of the calamity, the people construct huts again. These huts are uniformly scattered with no particular clustering anywhere. However, almost all of them are found only in the southern coast of the village since in the northern coast there are no facilities for landing the boats. On the eastern side of the main road, along the dry land, there are permanent houses which also, like the huts on the beach, are scattered without any regular order. The houses on the sides of the roads face the roads while in other places there is no general rule in this matter, except the opinion of the master carpenter. Unlike on the beach where the house compounds are not demarcated, on the eastern side of the national highway each house is located within a fenced compound. Further east there are small clusters of houses in each island and lines of houses along the large embankments of the Trivandrum-Shoranur Canal and Malayilthodu. Most of them are permanent but during heavy floods they may have to be vacated. During the harvest season large number of temporary sheds are put up along the main bunds by the agricultural labourers who come from the neighbouring villages but immediately after the harvest these huts are demolished.

25. Two colonies in the village, one near the Thottappally Spillway and the other at Illichira, have been constructed by the Government. The first colony having 150 houses was constructed in order to settle the fishermen of the area, but the fishermen were not very enthusiastic about availing of this facility. Consequently the houses were allotted to some scheduled castes and other poor people.

The colony was occupied only two years ago. Constructed in regular lines and with only small compounds around them it gives the area a greater liveliness than the rest of the village. Fences and hedge plants have already sprung up around them, belligerently proclaiming the separate existence of each house. In the colony at Illichira 50 households of Pulayas and Parayas were given free 96 cents of wet lands each for house construction and cultivation. When the household reclaimed sufficient land from these plots Government would give financial aid for the construction of houses. However only 26 households have so far reclaimed lands for house construction and approached the Government for the financial help and only 4 have completed the houses. The other 22 households which have reclaimed lands live in temporary sheds in the plots but many of them abandon these sheds during the floods. 24 households have neither filled up the lands nor constructed even temporary houses.

26. Along the coast only the fishermen belonging to the Araya community and a few Muslim fish-traders are living. On the eastern side of the road there are a few Arayas and members of other Hindu communities as well as Christians and Muslims. The Goudasaraswath Brahmans have crowded around their pagoda, but other Hindu communities live scattered among the Christians and Muslims. In the eastern part of the village, along the sides of the Trivandrum-Shoranur Canal and Malayilthodu, there is a concentration of Christian cultivators. Majority of the inhabitants in the small islands scattered in the paddy fields are Pulayas who are permanent agricultural labourers of the neighbouring paddy fields.



Pl. 81

PAZHAYANGADI MOSQUE



Pl. 82

A CULTIVATOR'S HOUSEHOLD
(SYRIAN CATHOLICS)

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CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Area, Houses and Population

27. The total area of the village is 5,729.71 acres¹ of which more than 50 per cent consists of wet lands submerged under water except during the cultivating season. The houses are, therefore, concentrated on the western side in about half of the area of the village. According to 1951 Census the total population of the village was 14,204 comprising 6,999 males and 7,205 females. The total number of houses was 2,211 and the density of population per square mile 1,587. According to 1961 Census the total population increased to 18,007 of whom 8,872 are males and 9,135 females. The total number of houses rose

up to 2,800. The density of population in 1961 comes to 2,011 per square mile. The percentage increase in population during the last decade has been 26.77 which is above the district (19.06) and the State (24.76) percentages of increase in population. The dwelling houses increased by 30 per cent between 1951 and 1961. The surveyed area has an extent of 431.50 acres² and a total population of 708 persons. 345 of them are males and 363 females. The density of population in the surveyed area is 1,050 persons per square mile. Each of the 131 households in the surveyed area has a separate house.

Table V

AREA, HOUSES AND POPULATION

Area in		Density of population per sq. mile	Total No. of households	Persons	Males	Females
Acres	Hectares					
431.50	174.62	1,050	131	708	345	363

28. The time of enumeration has affected the number of houses, total population and the sex ratio both in 1951 and 1961. The indigenous population, number of houses and sex ratio would have been less if the enumeration were conducted at any time other than the harvest season. The enumeration took place in the month of March when the people from various neighbouring villages flock in large numbers to the 'kari' lands and stay there in temporary sheds put up on the bunds until the whole harvest is finished. This floating population and the temporary sheds were enumerated and accounted for in the figures of Prakkad, thus artificially inflating them. Both men and women are employed in harvesting operations but the females outnumber the males, reducing the sex ratio of the village.

The cultivation extended to more areas in 1961 than in 1951 increasing the immigration of labourers from neighbouring villages during the last census. The difference in the figures of 1961 caused by the floating population is, therefore, more pronounced than in 1951. This, as well as the establishment of the colonies accounts for the unusual increase in the total population of the village during the last decade.

Ethnic Composition

29. Ward and Conner had noted during their survey that there were Brahmans, Ambalavasis, Nairs, Weavers, Washermen and Barbers, people belonging to Tamil communities, Konkanees, Kammalas, Muslims, Christians, Ezhuvas, Pulayas and Parayas in the village. The large number of alien communities such as Chettys,

(1) 2,318.73 hectares

(2) 174.62 hectares

PRAKKAD

Koncanes and Tamils must have come over to Prakkad for trade. The following table gives the number of members in each of the above communities according to their enumeration:—

Table VI*

Brahmans of various castes and Chettys inclusive	95
Umbalawassy or the different castes of Wariar, Marayan, Pesharodee &c., connected with the religious establishments	31
Nairs including all denominations	476
Different classes of weavers, washermen, barbers &c.	111
Various castes of Tamil from the eastern coast	213
Konkanies, Puppada chettys and Koodo-mecarras	...
Various castes of artificers, smiths, carpenters &c., &c.	208
Moossulmen, Jonah Mapullah &c.	1,391
Christians of every description	1,180
Eleevars or as they are indifferently known shovans, Teahs, in which class is comprised the whole of the lower order	619
Polians, Parriars or the different classes of predial slaves	312
Total number of castes	48
Total of males	2,679
Total of females	2,447
Total population	5,126

*Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and the Cochin States, Vol. II

30. The ethnic composition of the village even today remains unchanged except for the fact that the comparative strength of different communities would have varied slightly. Since figures for the different communities are not available village-wise from the 1961 Census, it is not possible to assess correctly the extent of these changes. By rough estimation it may be said that at present Ezhuvas are the largest in number followed by Syrian Catholics, Arayans and Muslims. Pulayas and Parayas are perhaps next in strength and other communities like Goudasaraswath Brahmans, Nairs,

Brahmans etc., are only minorities. Ezhuvas are engaged in cultivation, water transport, tapping and agricultural labour whereas Arayans are exclusively employed in fishing. The most important occupation of the Muslims of the area is trade, particularly trade in fish. The main occupation of the Christians is cultivation while the Pulayas and Parayas solely depend upon agricultural labour for their livelihood.

31. In the surveyed area 49.72 per cent are Syrian Catholics, 21.05 per cent Pulayas, 20.62 per cent Ezhuvas, 3.53 per cent Latin Catholics, 2.40 per cent Arayas, 2.12 per cent Parayas and 0.56 per cent Ganakans. All the Latin Catholics are Anglo-Indians of the Portuguese lineage. They were larger in number in the village, but many migrated to neighbouring places like Alleppey, Cochin and Quilon. The following table gives the population figures of the above communities in the surveyed area.

Table VII

RELIGIONS, COMMUNITIES, CASTES OR SUB-CASTES

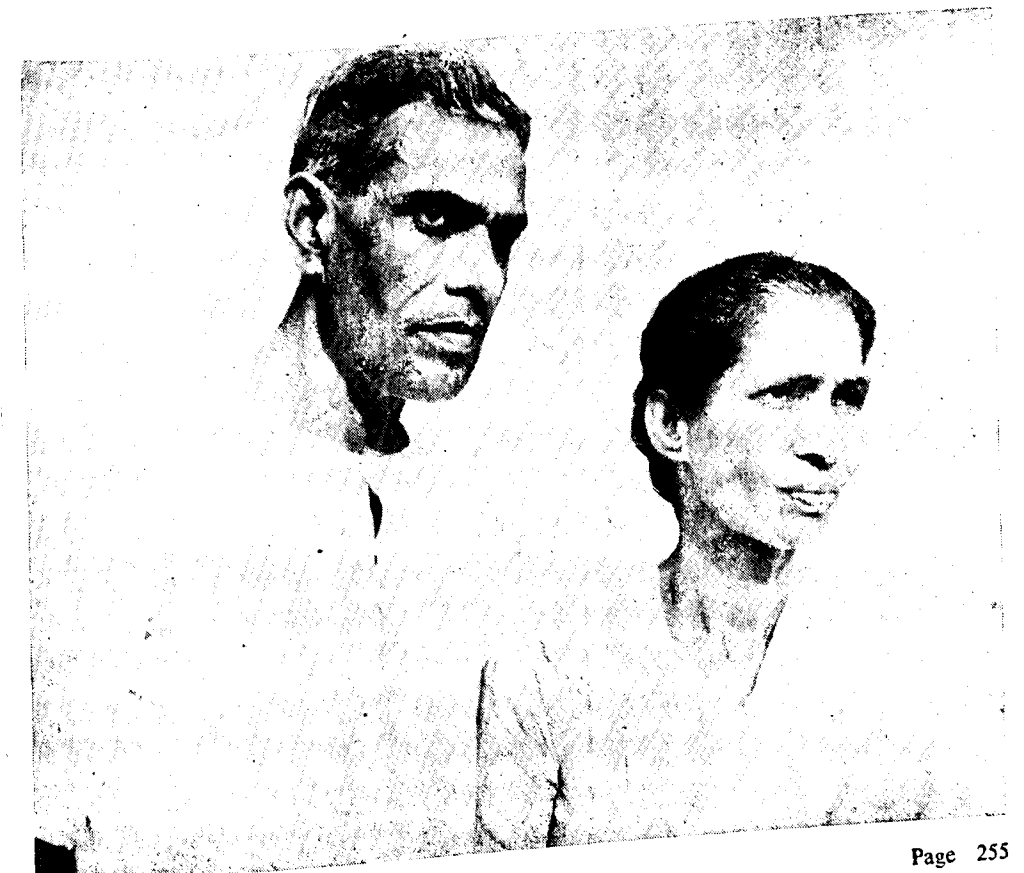
Communities	No. of house-holds	Per-sons	Males	Fe-males
Hindus				
Ezhuvas	24	146	75	71
Arayas	3	17	10	7
Ganakans	1	4	2	2
Pulayas (Scheduled Caste)	28	149	75	74
Parayas (Scheduled Caste)	3	15	8	7
Total	59	331	170	161
Christians				
Syrian Catholics	68	352	161	191
Anglo-Indians (Latin Catholics)	4	25	14	11
Total	72	377	175	202

Among the above communities a short note is given below only on Arayas as the accounts of other communities are being given in the monographs of other villages.



Pl. 83

A PULAYA HOUSEHOLD



Pl. 84

AN ARAYA COUPLE



Pl. 85

AN ARAYA FEMALE

Arayas

32. The origin of the community of fishermen is lost in legends and fables just as is the case with several other castes of Kerala. One of such legends attributes the origin of this caste to an accident occurred while Siva and Parvathi were crossing a brook. When Siva put out his hand into the water a ring from his finger slipped into the river. To rescue the ring Siva created a man from the thigh of his spouse and sent him down into the water. The new creature performed expeditiously the task set for him and Siva pleased with his service, ordained that he and his descendants should thenceforward make their living by labouring in water.¹

33. Fishermen and ferrymen formed a community separate from others even during Puranic times as evidenced by the numerous references to them in Ramayana and Mahabharatha. The ferryman Guhan who transported Sree Rama and his party across the river Sarayu during their exile, belonged to this community. Vedavyasan, the author of Mahabharatha, was born to a ferrywoman, Sathyavathi, by Parasara Maharshi while the sage was crossing the river. According to Mahabharatha, this ferrywoman was later on married to Santhanu Maharaja, who had a son called Bheeshmar from a previous marriage. Another prince Vichithraveeryan, was born to Santhanu Maharaja from the second wife. Bheeshmar who could neither marry nor take up the reins of the country into his hands according to a vow taken by him, brought three princesses to be married to Vichithraveeryan. The eldest princess refused to marry anyone except Swalan with whom her marriage had been fixed up by her father. But the younger two, Ambika and Ambalika, married Vichithraveeryan to become soon widows without issues. Vedavyasan, the step-brother of the deceased prince, accepted the widowed princesses at the request of his mother, and two children, Dhridharashtrar and Pandu, were born to them. It is well known that these latter

two were the progenitors of the two warring groups whose battles form the theme of the Mahabharatha. Again, in Sakunthalam a fisherman played the key role by recovering the lost wedding ring of Sakunthala.

34. The fishermen of Kerala are divided into four sub-castes viz, Valan, Arayan or Kadal Arayan, Mukkuvan and Marakkan of which we are concerned with the second group. All the four sub-castes profess to belong to separate groups widely different from one another in customs and manners. There were no inter-marriages or inter-dining between them in olden days but at present inter-dining has become common. The Arayas of Kerala are the descendants of the sage Parasara and Sathyavathi, otherwise known as Matsyagandhi, and they were brought to Travancore from the banks of the Cauvery in South India, according to one tradition quoted in the 1931 Census Report.² But 'Dheeverolpathi' mentions Arayas as being descendants of Dushyandan mentioned in Puranas and brought to Travancore from the banks of the Krishna river by the Chembakasserry Raja. A different tradition noted by anthropologists mentions them as having been brought to Kerala by Parasurama for taking up ferry services in the numerous rivers and backwaters of the western coast.³ A tradition current in the surveyed village agrees with the first version. The members of the community are now found all along the coast of Kerala from Quilon onwards to the north. Wherever they live, they cluster in large numbers and reside away from other fishermen groups like Mukkuvas, Valas and Marakkans.

35. The Arayas of Prakkad are divided into four exogamous clans called, Ponnillam, Chembillam, Karillam and Moonnillam in the order of seniority. The priests and the barbers belong to the last group who can marry only among themselves as the senior 'illams' do not condescend to enter into alliances with them. Chembillam can marry from Ponnillam and Karillam where-

(1) History of Kerala, Volume III, Page 464

(2) Travancore Census Report, Volume XXVIII, Part I, page 380

(3) Cochin Tribes and Castes by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Volume I, page 231

as Ponnillam can marry only from Chembillam. These distinctions and restrictions are not observed in the social life of present times, except in the case of Moonnillam who still suffer their inferiority. In each locality the Arayas have a chief man called Achan in some places and Arayan in other places, whose title is inherited by his children. In olden days Achan was a powerful person in the community since his presence or permission was required for all functions. A marriage could not be contracted without his approval nor could a boat be launched into the sea at the beginning of the fishing season without his permission. Even the priest could perform his sacred duties only with the consent of the Achan. He used to try cases and award punishments either by himself or with the help of a council nominated by him. Besides these privileges he also enjoyed the right to receive certain dues from his people on all important occasions. The Achans of Prakkad had special privileges in the religious ceremonies of Ambalapuzha temple and during the coronation of Chembakasserry Rajas. For hoisting the flag in the temple during the annual festival and also during the coronation of the Chembakasserry Raja the Achan of Prakkad had to send the required rope and some salt. In return for sending the rope to the temple the Achan was given some rice during the festival of the temple. He was expected to provide boatmen for the Raja and to pilot the royal boat during long journeys. The families of Achans have still some influence in the community and command respect from the people. Ordinary members of the community are reluctant to enter Achan's house without the specific permission from the Achan and even then they do not accept a seat of equality.

36. With rare exceptions the Arayas of Prakkad have been following their traditional occupation of fishing in the sea for long time past; no change in the occupation or even in the techniques or appliances has taken place for years or even centuries. The exceptions who do not engage them-

selves in fishing consist of one or two Araya families in the interior of the village engaged in cultivation. Indeed, in olden days the Arayas of the area constituted a powerful navy of the Chembakasserry kings with an Araya naval commander. But their successors are not inclined to take up any occupation other than fishing at present. The Arayas prefer fishing only in the sea, limiting their operation to about ten miles from the coast and using only boats, ignoring the possibilities of profitable fishing in lakes and rivers or the comparative cheapness of a catamaran. The common fishing gear used consists of nets of varying meshes for different types of fishes. Hook and line method of fishing is not popular among them and the nylon nets are shunned. The catches are mostly mackerel (*Avila*), sardines (*Chala*) and prawns.

37. The fishermen communities like Mukkuva and Vala were included among the 'Pathithas' in olden days. Although they were above the polluting castes, they still were not permitted to use the public roads or to enter the public institutions. Notwithstanding the fact that they had honourable duties to perform both to the king and the temple, admission to the temples was refused to them till the Temple Entry Proclamation of 1936. The different Census Reports have not ventured to classify the Arayas or to note exactly the changes in their position in relation to other communities through decades. At present they are treated by the State Government as 'Other Backward Communities', eligible to receive some concessions in the matter of education and employment. Educated and financially well-off Arayas assert equality with other communities and get off with it. But some orthodox old people of other communities who still breathe the fetid air of bygone years are reluctant to concede this.

38. In faith and religious habits the Arayas do not differ from other Hindus of the area. All the common Hindu gods like Siva, Subramania, Parvathi, Vishnu, Saraswathi etc., are worshipped by them. In the festivals of the Chengannur temple

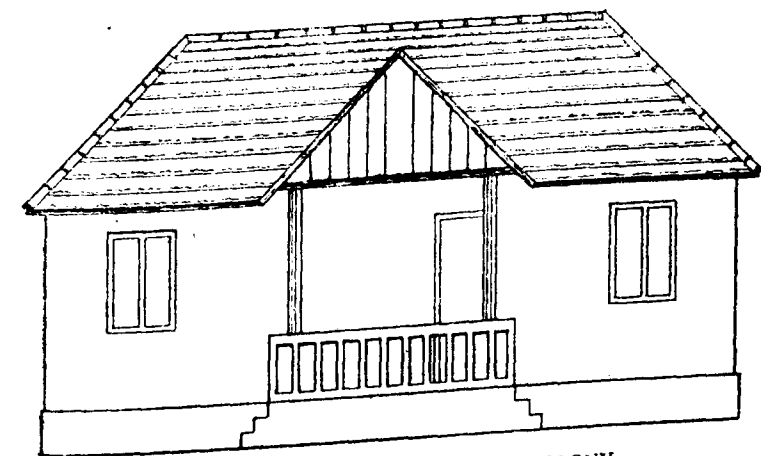
one day is specially set apart for the Arayas since the idol of Siva consecrated in that temple is believed to have been salvaged by them from the sea. Animal sacrifices and sorcery were very important elements in the religious habits and beliefs in olden days. Numerous were the professional sorcerers of the community who were frequently approached for curing diseases, dispelling evil spirits and securing good catches without calamities. Sorcery is still practised unobtrusively; but animal sacrifices have been given up for good. In the beginning of the fishing season a small ceremony known as 'Andiyan Ponkala' is held to honour the sea-god to procure a prosperous season and to avert the dangers of the sea. Similar ceremonies are held when a new boat is launched into the sea for the first time. Nowadays Brahman priests are called to officiate in religious ceremonies by certain rich people of the community. However the priest's association with the community on such occasions is strictly limited to the performance of the ceremonies and the acceptance of the reward in money. He does not receive any food, nor does he take part in any other social functions.

39. Though mild in facial features they possess a sturdy physique. In colour they are of varying shades. In olden days the men used to have their heads shaved keeping on the crown a tuft tied in a knot slanting

to one side. The women then did not cover the upper part of the body, and kept the locks tied in a knot on the crown of the head like the Nair women of those days. The strides of progress in the dress and manners of people witnessed in the last few decades had their influence on this community as well. The Araya men have given up the tying of the tuft in favour of cropping the hair. Their women no more leave the upper part of their body naked. Instead, they wear upper garments of the same pattern as the Nair women of the day. Malayalam is their mother-tongue. A peculiar phraseology and a dragging intonation, however, distinguish their conversation from that of the others.

House Types

40. The low class houses of the village fall in three distinct categories viz, the houses in the colony, the fishermen's huts along the coast and the huts of the agricultural labourers in the eastern part of the village. The houses in the colony constructed on granite foundation with laterite walls and tiled roofs are of uniform pattern. Their floors have been cemented and walls plastered. Each of these houses has a small verandah behind, a kitchen on one side and two living rooms. Two rows of houses face each other. Originally latrines were attached to the houses, but now in all houses they have been demolished as their



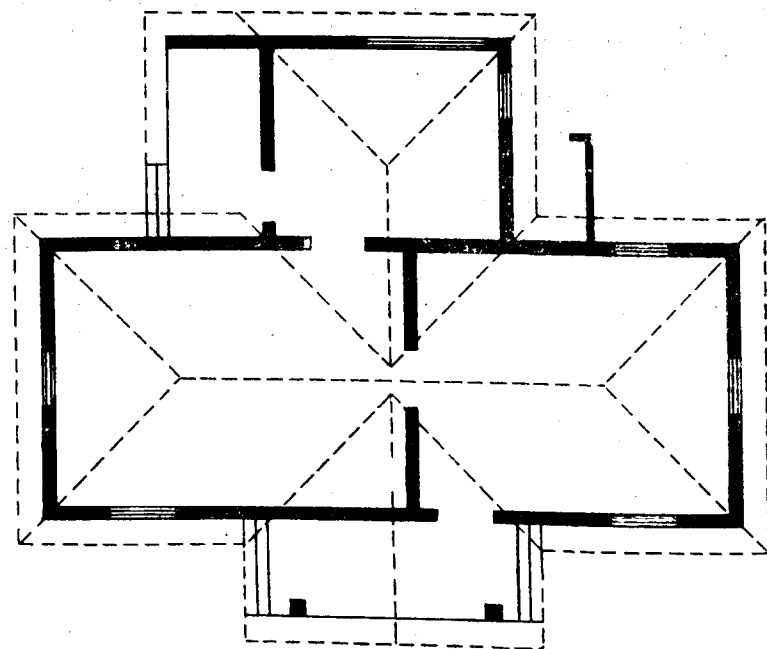
FRONT VIEW OF A HOUSE IN THE COLONY

(1) History of Kerala, Volume III, page 336

PRAKKAD

existence close to the house was found to be inconvenient. Around the house there is a small yard which has been fenced up by

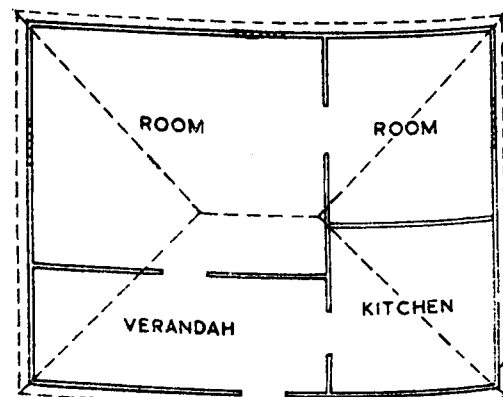
the occupant. The houses are not electrified. A tube-well in the colony supplies good water to the inhabitants.



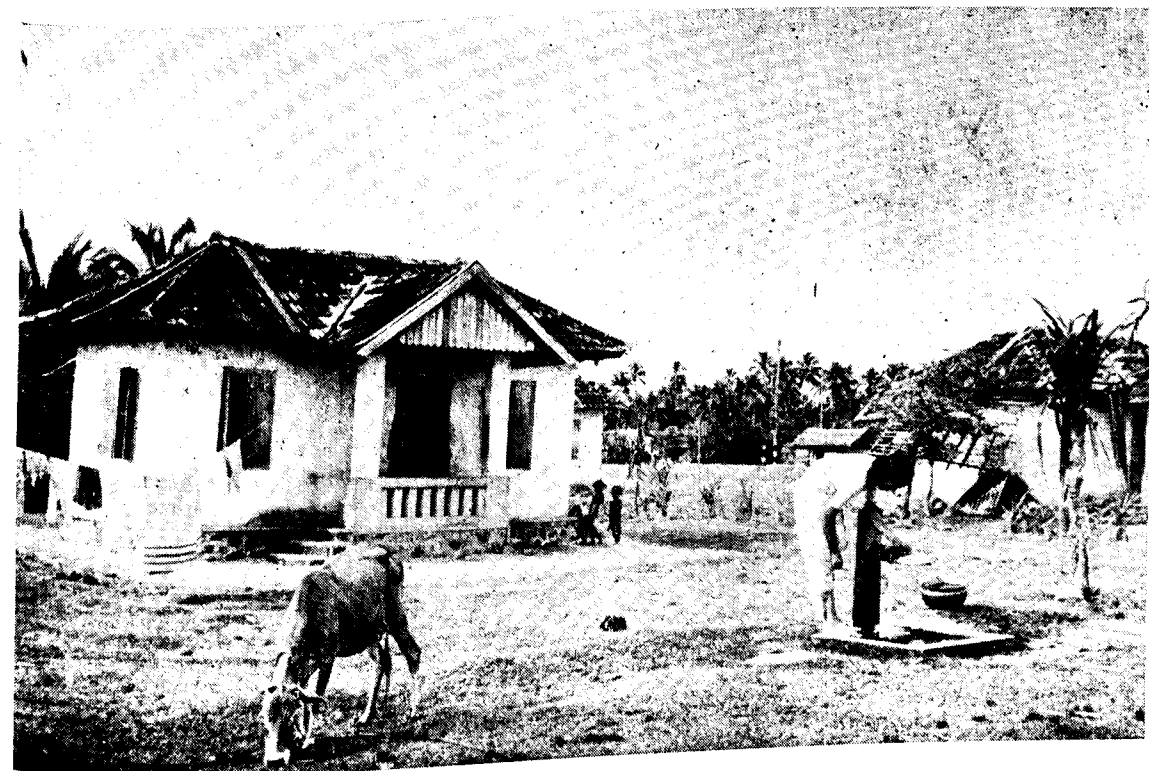
GROUND-PLAN OF THE HOUSE IN THE COLONY

41. The fishermen's hut is constructed on the sandy beach on flimsy foundation. In certain cases a layer of laterite stones or rubble serves as the foundation whereas in some cases even this is dispensed with. A rectangular frame-work made of the stem of cocoanut tree suiting the dimensions of the foundation is placed over the basement. The space within this frame-work is filled with mud and beaten hard so as to make it firm. The sides of the platform are given a coating of clay enclosing the wooden frame within it to protect it from rain and to give the basement a decent look. Pillars intended to support the roofing of the house are fixed to the four corners and sides of the wooden frame-work. Another rectangular frame-work identical to the one used for the foundation is supported on the pillars to serve as beams for the roof. The roof in the shape of an inverted 'V' is fabricated with bamboo or reed rafters over these beams and thatched with plaited cadjan.

The walls of the house are made by screening the space between the pillars with plaited cadjan or bamboo mat fixed on a frame of bamboo or reed. The space within is usually divided into a narrow verandah in front, a kitchen on one side and one or two rooms. The inside walls



FISHERMEN'S HUT—GROUND-PLAN



Pl. 86

A HOUSE IN THE COLONY



Pl. 87

THE HUT OF A FISHERMAN



Pl. 88

THE DRESS PATTERN OF ARAYAS



Pl. 89

THE THOTTAPPALLY BRIDGE-CUM-SPILLWAY

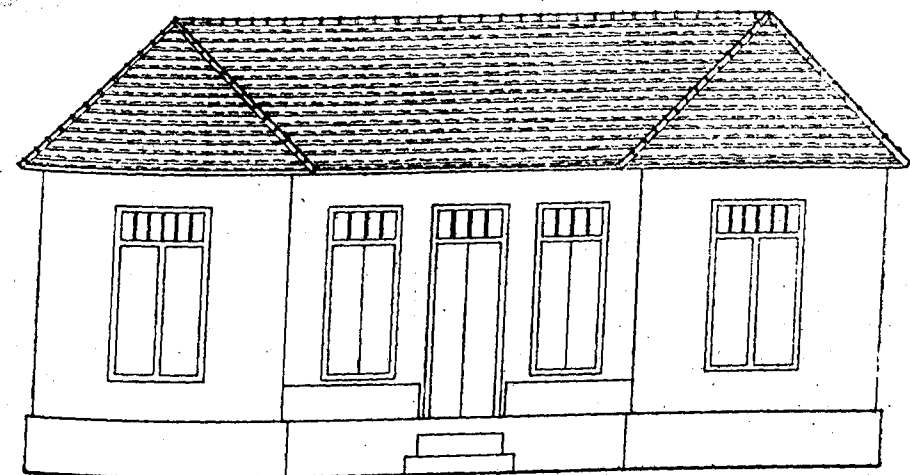
HOUSE TYPES

are also constructed with plaited cadjan or bamboo mat and provided with cheap doors and windows. The floor is coated with cow-dung so smoothly that it almost looks like a cemented surface. The houses and surroundings are always kept neat.

42. The houses of the agricultural labourers, particularly Pulayas and Parayas who live by the side of the paddy fields, are worse than the fishermen's huts in appearance and convenience. They are built on a basement of mud with four pillars at four corners and two pillars in the middle to support the ridge pole. The rafters are made of cheap quality wood or bamboo and the roof is thatched with cadjan. The sides are covered with cadjan but not as beautifully as in the case of fishermen's huts. While in certain houses the space within may be divided into kitchen and room, in certain other houses this is not done. The floor coated with cow-dung is rough and damp. The houses of the

agricultural labourers of Christian and Ezhuva communities are, however, much better than those of Pulayas and Parayas.

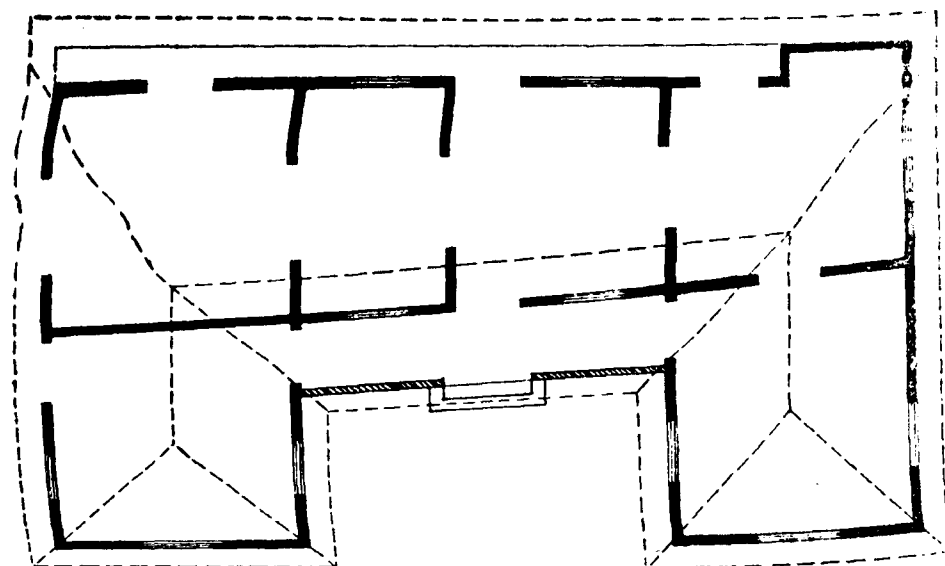
43. Middle class houses are constructed on laterite or granite foundation, the former being more common than the latter. In the majority of cases, the walls are constructed with laterite and plastered with lime. The roofs are either tiled or thatched with cadjan. Besides a verandah in front and a kitchen behind there are rooms varying in number from two to five. Large windows and doors of good variety timber are used in the construction to provide ventilation. The floor in most cases is only coated with cow-dung. In some houses wooden planks have been used in the construction of the inner walls or for enclosing verandahs. Some houses in this category are provided with the low ceiling of the Kerala pattern described in the monographs on Kadakkavoor¹ and other villages.



A MIDDLE CLASS HOUSE

(1) Part VI F of this series

PRAKKAD



GROUND-PLAN OF A MIDDLE CLASS HOUSE

44. In a middle class house belonging to the small cultivators there will be a wooden granary in one of the rooms which is exclusively meant for storing paddy. Constructed with timber, the granary is a large rectangular wooden box provided with only a single door and placed either on four walls about one or two feet high or on wooden legs of the same height as the walls mentioned above in order to protect the paddy from the dampness of the earth. Well-dried paddy kept in this wooden granary remains for one or two years without any damage.

45. High class houses are only few and far between. Most of them, especially the old ones, have wooden walls to facilitate storing of paddy but the modern houses are constructed with laterite walls. They are invariably tiled. Large windows and doors are provided to facilitate ventilation. In majority of cases, the floor is cemented while in some old houses it is paved with floor-tiles. The cultivators' houses have large granaries of the type described above for the purpose of storing paddy. The rooms in these houses vary from 4 to 7 besides verandahs and kitchen.

46. Latrines and bathrooms are absent in all except high class houses. The people

on the western side of the village go to the beach to answer the calls of nature while those on the eastern side resort to the paddy fields for the purpose. In the eastern part of the village wherever there are latrines they are located by some canal. Latrines in the form of small rectangular enclosures, jutting into the canals and connected to the bunds by small planks are a common site in this part. Bathing is mostly done in the tanks. The high class houses and a few middle class houses on the sides of the main road and a few high class houses in the interior have electric connections.

47. The infertility of the soil coupled with the lack of fresh water for watering have made it impracticable for the house-owners to rear flower gardens in their premises. The front premises of the house are, however, swept daily and kept neat and tidy. Structures like cattle shed, bath-rooms, latrines etc., are never put up in front of the house. Only in the high class houses door and window curtains are hung. The floors are kept bare. Religious pictures and pictures of national leaders decorate the walls of the sitting room or verandah in some houses. The floors are frequently scrubbed and the compound provided with

HOUSE TYPES

as much drainage facilities as possible to make the hygienic conditions of the house and the surroundings satisfactory.

48. Privacy of the house, particularly that of the living rooms, is jealously guarded by all sections of the people. Except along the coast all houses have fences around them to a height of about 5 to 8 feet, which hide the view of the interior from easy public gaze. The windows and doors of the living rooms are located at such points and generally kept closed that a passer-by or a guest coming to the house does not ordinarily get a chance of looking through them. Kitchen is either on one side or behind the house to give the womenfolk added privacy.

49. Most of the materials for the construction of the houses are not locally available. Rubble and laterite have to be brought from the villages in the eastern part, about 25 to 30 miles away. Timber is to be purchased from Government or private depots in Alleppey or Kottayam. Tile, cement and lime have to come from the neighbouring towns and even sand for mixing the mortar has to be brought from elsewhere as the beach sand is too fine to

suit the purpose. Fortunately the water transport affords a cheap means of conveying these materials to the village. At any rate these are problems of only the comparatively well-to-do people who want to construct high class or middle class houses. For the low class houses the cocoanut stem and the cadjan which form the chief materials for house construction are locally available.

50. According to the 1961 Census the total number of houses in the village is 2,800 and the total number of households 2,882. As pointed out at the outset of this chapter many of these houses are temporary ones put up by the labourers coming for the harvest. So also a number of households who belong to other villages are put up here during this season. Assuming that both are proportionate, only three out of every hundred households do not own their own houses. The average number of people in each house works out to 6.43. In the surveyed area there are houses with no regular room and with regular rooms varying in number from one to more than five each as can be seen from the following table.

Table VIII
HOUSEHOLDS BY No. OF ROOMS AND BY No. OF PERSONS OCCUPYING

No of rooms	Total number of households	Number of households according to number of persons in the household				
		1 person	2-3 persons	4-6 persons	7-9 persons	10 persons and over
No regular room	19	1	5	10	2	1
1 room	54	...	10	30	14	...
2 rooms	43	...	8	24	6	5
3 rooms	9	...	2	2	4	1
4 rooms	3	...	...	1	1	...
5 rooms and over	3	...	...	...	3	8
Total	131	1	25	67	30	...

51. 51.87 per cent of the households of the village have cadjan leaves for the walls of their dwellings, 32.51 per cent laterite stones, 10.20 per cent timber and 5.42 per cent bamboo mats. Classified by the type of roofing, 84.75 per cent of the households

have the roof of their dwellings thatched with cadjan and 15.07 per cent laid with tiles. In all, four houses in the village have terraced concrete roofing. Two temples have roofs constructed with granite stones.

52. Majority of the houses in the surveyed area fall in the category of poor class houses of the worst type described above. They belong to the agricultural labourers. Surveyed houses that can be classified as high class are only two and middle class only below twenty-five. 61.83 per cent of the households of the surveyed area have for their dwellings, walls of cadjan, 26.72 per cent of laterite, 5.34 per cent timber, 3.82 per cent of unburnt bricks and 2.29 per cent of burnt bricks. Brick is a comparatively recent introduction and all the houses of the brick walls in the surveyed area were constructed after the houselisting operation for the general Census which explains the absence of such houses in the data given in the previous paragraph. The dwellings of 89.31 per cent of the households in the surveyed area are thatched with cadjan and the remaining tiled. In 12.48 per cent houses of the surveyed area the hearth is constructed on raised platforms whereas in the other houses it is constructed on the floor with three stones.

Dress and Ornaments

53. The dress of the males can be classified into three categories. Those of the first category consisting of old men wear dhoti, shirt and shawl when they go out, while those of the second category, majority of whom are young men, wear dhoti and shirt and the boys who fall in the third category wear shirts and shorts. While at home or while going for work the shirt is removed by all categories, retaining only the dhoti or shorts. The men who work in the field or go for fishing use a shawl to protect the head from heat or rain. The fishermen and the agricultural labourers, particularly Pulayas and Parayas use a dhoti reaching only up to the knee while they go for work. If it happens to hang below the knee it is folded and tucked up.

54. Unlike in the case of men some diversity is found in the dress of the women of the different communities. Almost all Hindu women wear a dhoti reaching up to the heels and a blouse to which a 'half saree' is added while going out of the house. The dhoti worn by the working females is often checkered while that of the others is

always white. The blouses used by most females are of deep colours. The working women put a scarf on the head as a protection against the sun. The dhoti of low caste women, particularly of the Pulaya and Paraya communities, does not reach the heels but only covers the knees. A few young women of the middle class and high class families wear saree and blouse.

55. While remaining at home or going for work the women of the Syrian Catholic community generally wear a white dhoti and a white blouse of characteristic design. The dhoti is worn in such a peculiar fashion as has been described elsewhere that these women can be easily distinguished. The blouse worn by older women has sleeves reaching up to the wrist and the younger women reaching up to the elbow. In this community also the younger women have started wearing saree and blouse for special occasions.

56. The Muslim women also have a characteristic dress consisting of either a deeply coloured dhoti or a white dhoti with thickly coloured borders and blouse. The blouse is generally white and its sleeves reach up to the wrist in the case of older women and up to the elbow in the case of younger women. It may have some coloured lines along the borders. In cut and design it differs from the blouse used by Hindus along with full saree or that used by Syrian Catholics with dhoti. Younger Muslim women also have started wearing blouse and saree like the women of other communities. Those who do not use saree put on a cloth on the head while going outside the house.

57. The girls in all communities wear skirt and blouse for both of which coloured cloth is preferred. In the matter of dress the girls of different communities are almost indistinguishable except the Muslim girls who can be recognised by the cloth with which they cover the head.

58. A few Anglo-Indian women of the area put on frocks like their counterparts in other places. However, the men of this community wear only dhoti and shirt except on special occasions when they may put on a full suit.

59. Footwear is rarely used either by men or by women. In the surveyed area only in 22.90 per cent households the men use footwear and only in 3.05 per cent households women use footwear. Most of these households belong to the Christian

community. The following table classifies the males and females of the surveyed area according to the dress used by them when they go out of the house for purposes other than work.

Table IX

DRESS

Total population		Communities						
Males	Females	Syrian Catholics	Anglo-Indians	Ezhavas	Arayas	Ganakans	Pulayas	Paravas
345		Total No. of males in the community						
	363	Total No. of females in the community						
		I. No. of males wearing						
39		29	...	6	1	1	2	...
168		79	1	40	6	1	37	5
		13	...	9	1	...	16	2
41		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
90		40	7	29	2	...	20	1
6		...	6	...	...	...	...	...
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		II. No. of females wearing						
	22	21	...	...	1	...	...	...
	70	...	1	16	1	...	48	4
	5	...	...	4	...	...	...	1
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
143		98	1	29	3	1	9	2
		72	9	22	2	1	17	...
123		6. Any other item						

60. Out of the 131 households in the surveyed area 81.66 per cent including almost all Christians, Ezhuvass, Anglo-Indians and some households of other communities use ornaments. It cannot be said that there is any difference in the preferences to ornaments from community to community even though there may be different tastes in the design of the items. The number of households using ornaments in each community and the amount spent

by them on ornaments are solely determined by the financial resources of the households. Out of the total households 43.51 per cent use ornaments worth up to Rs. 100, 31.22 per cent up to Rs. 500 and 4.58 per cent up to Rs. 1,000. There are only two households using ornaments worth up to Rs. 1,500 and one household up to Rs. 2,000. The distribution of these households by communities is given in the table below.

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FOOD AND DRINK

61. The common items used by the women of all communities are the ear-studs, bangles, rings and neck chains. The old women among the Christians wear a

large ring on the upper ear. The females of the Muslim community have also their own special items, which have been mentioned in the monograph on Amaravila.¹

Table X
ORNAMENTS

Total No. of households		Communities						
		Syrian Catholics	Anglo-Indians	Ezhuvas	Arayas	Ganakans	Pulayas	Parayas
131	Total No. of households in the community	68	4	24	3	1	28	3
	Total No. of households using ornaments	67	4	24	1	1	10	3
	Households using no ornaments	1	...	...	2	...	18	3
	No. of households using ornaments of the value of Rs. 100 or below	31	1	18	...	...	7	...
	No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 500	31	1	5	...	1	3	...
	No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 1,000	4	...	1	1	...	...	...
	No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 1,500	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
	No. of households using ornaments up to Rs. 2,000	...	1	...	...	...	...	...

Furniture and Accessories

62. The furniture in the low class houses except those of Pulayas, Parayas and Arayas who do not possess any furniture at all, consists of a cot, a bench and a stool or a chair. In the middle class houses the items of furniture found are the same but there are larger numbers of them. On the other hand, the high class houses are furnished with a number of fashionable items such as settees, chairs, tables, almirahs, cots and benches. Household utensils like lanterns, cooking vessels and steel or porcelain plates for dining are found in sufficient numbers

in all houses. As many as 93.20 per cent households in the surveyed area possess separate utensils for cooking different items of food. Houses which do not have electric connections use kerosene oil lamp; vegetable oil is used for lighting lamps only in temples or at the time of worship in the Hindu houses. Vehicles such as bicycles, carts etc., are absent in the surveyed area since there are no roads within it. But almost all these households possess country boats. The number of households in the surveyed area using each item of furniture is given in the following table.

Table XI
FURNITURE AND MISCELLANEOUS GOODS

Total No. of households	Number of households having												
	Chair	Table	Cot	Stool	Bench	Almirah	Lantern	Petro-max	Electric light	Battery torch	Kerosene stove	Bicycle	Gramophone
131	54	40	92	9	27	21	128	1	3	18	...	...	3

(1) Part VI F of this series

Food and Drink

63. The staple food of the people is rice as everywhere else in Kerala. 38.17 per cent of the total households in the surveyed area use rice alone while the remaining households which are mostly of fishermen and agricultural labourers supplement rice with tapioca. Tapioca is not cultivated in the village but has to be brought from the eastern villages Changanacherry has the biggest market of the neighbouring areas from where vegetables can be had. The fish-mongers purchasing fish from Prakkad early in the morning carry them in country boats to Changanacherry and other eastern villages for sale and on their return bring tapioca for sale

in the village. During the seasons when fresh tapioca is not available, parboiled tapioca is purchased from the shops. Fish forms an important item of food for the people along the coast. They use less of rice and more of fish and tapioca compared to the cultivators and agricultural labourers in the eastern parts. Other grains like wheat, maize etc., are not at all taken by the people in this part of the State. All households make special preparation on festive occasions such as Onam and Vishu in the case of Hindus and Easter and Christmas in the case of Christians. The following table gives the staple diet and food habits of the people of the different communities in the surveyed area.

Table XII*
DIET (STAPLE DIET AND FOOD HABITS)

Name of the community	Total No. of households	No. of vegetarian households	No. of non-vegetarian households	No. of households having as staple food	
				Rice	Combination of rice and roots including tapioca
Syrian Catholics	68	...	68	38	30
Anglo-Indians	4	...	4	4	...
Ezhuvas	24	...	24	6	18
Arayas	3	...	3	1	2
Ganakans	1	...	1	1	...
Pulayas	28	...	28	...	28
Parayas	3	...	3	...	3

* Inapplicable items are deleted.

64. Majority of the people in the village manage to eat something three times a day. For the fishermen and agricultural labourers the breakfast is limited to coffee or tea and some preparations in rice flour from a tea-shop. The women and children remaining at home prepare rice gruel for the morning if savings from the previous day's supper have not been preserved for the breakfast. A lunch of rice is either taken at home or at the work-spot and a supper, also of rice, taken before going to bed. Tapioca may supplement any of the three meals or in some cases all the three meals. Most of

the males take either coffee or tea in the evening from home or tea-shops. Among the women there is a large number addicted to evening coffee but they take bare coffee without any milk. In the surveyed area 82.44 per cent households take three meals a day and the remaining households take some small refreshments in the evening in addition to the three principal meals. In the latter category an early morning tea or coffee before the breakfast is also a common feature. The following table gives the distribution of these households by communities.

Table XIII*

DIET (NUMBER OF MEALS)

Total No. of households	Name of the community	Total No. of households in the community	Households having three meals a day	Households having more than three meals a day
1	2	3	4	5
131	All households	131	106	23
	Syrian Catholics	68	54	14
	Anglo-Indians	4	...	4
	Ezhuvas	24	21	3
	Arayas	3	2	1
	Ganakans	1	...	1
	Pulayas	28	28	...
	Parayas	3	3	...

* Inapplicable items are deleted

Customs and Manners of the Arayas

Birth

65. During the 4th or 5th month of the first pregnancy the girl's parents visit her in her husband's house with sweets and presents. She is taken to her mother's house for the confinement either in the 5th or in the 7th month as may be convenient to either party. Unlike in several other communities the ceremony of 'Pulikudi' is performed in her mother's house either in the 7th or 8th month. A beverage consisting of the juice of *Garcinia cambogia* fruit with gold dissolved in it is administered to the girl by one of her aunts as part of the ceremony. Either on the same day or on a succeeding day rice cooked by the girl in a new pot in the yard of the house is offered to gods in a ceremony called 'Vayattuponkalayidal'. Both 'Pulikudi' and 'Vayattuponkalayidal' are being gradually neglected and may soon be completely abandoned. In the advanced stage of pregnancy the woman does only light work and particularly abstains from lifting weights. She does not step out of the house at night for fear of evil spirits supposed to be capable of doing harm both to herself and to the child within. At the time of child-birth the help of a country midwife or an old woman is secured. Other married

women of the household also render whatever service is required of them on the occasion. If the child is a boy the household women shout four times in a chorus and if a girl three times, a custom which is gradually being given up. However, the old custom of giving gold and *Vayambu* (*Acorus calamus*) dissolved in honey to the child immediately after the birth is followed even now. So also the mother is given to drink a mixture of ginger juice and honey. For the first few days the child is fed on the juice of dried grape sweetened with sugarcandy, as the mother is considered fit to breast-feed the child only after three days. The child is not taken out of the house for the first few days for fear of evil spirits. All members of the household observe pollution for 16 days during which period, in olden days, the male members used to take food from outside. The washerwoman (Mannathi) attached to the household presents the mother with change of cloths on the 7th and 11th days and purifies the house by sprinkling cow-dung solution for which she is given some reward. During the period of pollution the mother should take particular care not to touch wooden objects or to approach the granary. Even her shadow is supposed to be harmful to fruit-bearing plants. The

diet of the mother generally consists of rice seasoned with rock-salt and pepper, but devoid of chillies, other condiments and liquid. On the 28th day a thread is ceremoniously tied round the waist of the child by its father's sister or some other close relative. The father or the uncle of the child places it in his lap and calls it by a name by which it shall henceforward be known. The mother cannot go to temples or other holy places until the child has been taken to a temple for the 'rice giving' ceremony in the 5th or 6th month. When the mother and the child are taken to the husband's house after 56 days, the husband gives his wife's mother an amount towards the expenses in connection with the child-birth. Further confinements take place in the husband's house and the girl's people give the husband some amount to meet the expenses of the second confinement. The ceremony of 'Pulikudi' and 'Vayattuponkalayidal' are observed only for the first confinement but all the other practices described above are common features for all succeeding confinements.

Puberty

66. In olden days when a girl attained puberty she had to remain in a room for seven days until the ceremonial bath would clean her on the 7th day. Under the plank on which the girl sat was placed a sweet prepared from rice flour covered in plantain leaves. When the girl went for the bath this sweet was given to the barber woman. These customs are obsolete now, except for the observance of pollution for 7 days. The attainment of puberty nowadays is intimated only to close female relations. During the monthly periods women observe pollution for three days.

Marriage

67. Marriage of Araya girls in some places used to take place immediately after the puberty in olden days, but it is reported that in the surveyed village a girl used to be married only after the age of 20 and a boy after the age of 30. At present marriage is celebrated any time after the 15th year of a girl and the 20th year of a boy. Negotiations are started by the boy's parents either directly or with the help of an intermediary. The boy interviews the

girl before the marriage is finally settled. The betrothal called 'Nischayam' takes place in the girl's house not long after the settlement. The parents and relations of the boy and girl sit on either side of a plantain leaf on which a lighted lamp and a pot full of water are placed. The girl's people ask the boy's people why they have come and when the latter states the purpose of their visit, the girl's people ask for an advance of Re. 1 and a betel leaf to be given to the Achan, the chief of the community in the locality. This is complied with by the boy's people. The betrothal thus over, the boy's people go away after a small feast. The auspicious date for the marriage is fixed in consultation with the village astrologer (Kaniyan). The marriage takes place in the girl's house on this day of good luck. The bridegroom's party is received at the gate by the women of the bride's house. The bride's brother garlands the bridegroom and washes his feet; flowers and rice are thrown on him as a mark of welcome. The bride, dressed up in the wedding costume assisted by the bridegroom's sister, is led to the nuptial stage by the barber woman, who holds a lighted lamp. The bride and bridegroom sit before a lighted lamp and a 'Nirapara'. At the auspicious moment the boy's uncle gives the marriage badge to the bridegroom who ties it round the neck of the girl. The bride and bridegroom exchange garlands and walk hand-in-hand around the lamp three times. The wedding ceremony concludes with a feast. The bride and bridegroom should go to the bridegroom's house on the same day so as to reach there at a pre-determined auspicious moment. The mother of the boy receives them there. The couple return to the girl's house on the next day and with that the formalities are over.

68. In olden days if a girl became pregnant before marriage, according to the custom of the community she had to be ostracized, performing all the ceremonies of the funeral. If the parents of the girl relented they would also incur the displeasure of the community. Nowadays such severe punishments are not meted out to unchaste girls or their families, but the

parents will quickly try to get her married to a distant place.

69. Polyandry was prohibited in the community while polygamy was permissible till about 20 years ago. Instances of both are absent among the Arayas of the village under survey at present. There are no strict rules regarding sororate and levirate although it is mentioned by L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer that the latter was taboo in the community.¹ Divorce can be obtained with the permission of the Achan and the Enangans on the payment of a small amount but it has been rare in recent years. Widow remarriage is permissible.

Funeral

70. Funeral ceremonies start with the washing of the body in warm water, applying oil and soap. Dressed up in clean white clothes and smeared with sandal paste, the body is laid on a mat on the ground with the head towards the south. The relations put new clothes on the dead body to show their respect to the departed but the ceremony of 'Vaikariyidal' observed in several Hindu communities is not followed by the Arayas. All the clothes put on the corpse are removed from the body and given to the barber. The sons and nephews who have to carry the body to the pyre take bath in the sea before the funeral starts. On return from the sea the chief mourner, who can be any one of the sons, carries some sea water in a mud pot on his head. As the corpse is taken to the pyre he walks just at the head of the coffin holding one of his hands on it in such a way that the water in the pot trickles down on the corpse. The funeral pyre is made on the beach. The procession walks round the pyre three times before placing the dead body on it. The top of the pot in which water was carried by the chief mourner is broken away and placed beside the leg. Piling firewood on the dead body, the chief mourner sets fire to it. The gathered people throw splinters dipped in oil over the body to keep the fire ablaze so that the body may be consumed quickly. All the people, except the barber who remains until the pyre has completely burnt down, return

by the time the body is almost half burnt. The people who carried the dead body, purify themselves by taking bath in the sea before going to the house. No food is cooked at home on the day of the cremation. Next day all the members of the household bathe in fresh water and take a meal of rice gruel. The barber woman mixes sea water with cocoanut water and sprinkles it with plantain leaves all over the house. Ceremonies known as 'Karmam' are performed for 15 days in a small 'pandal' constructed in the courtyard with the stem of areca-nut tree. While the barber performs the ceremony everyday the chief mourner attends it after taking a clean shave and bath. The latter eats only vegetables and rice during this period and sleeps alone in the 'pandal'. The 'Karmam' is performed in the 'pandal' in front of two objects supposed to represent the soul of the deceased, a pole planted at the centre and a tender cocoanut placed beside it. On the 5th day 'Sanchayanam' is performed by collecting a few bones in a pot to be thrown into the sea at Rameswaram or Varkala and by throwing the balance of the remains into the neighbouring sea. Pollution is observed for 16 days. There is a feast on the 16th day to mark the end of the period of mourning. Offerings are made to the soul of the deceased on the beach on the new moon day in the month of Karkidakam (July-August).

71. Women in pregnancy and people who die of contagious diseases are buried at night with chanting of special 'manthras'. Young children are also buried. The stomach of the pregnant woman who dies is opened, the child taken out and buried in the same grave. The souls of the deceased are specially remembered and honoured as it is believed that they have transformed into spirits capable of doing good and evil to their living relatives. Moreover, if 'pujas' are not offered for them they wander in the world without attaining the eternal bliss.

Consanguineous Marriages

72. Consanguineous marriages were prevalent among Nairs, Ezhavas and Brahmans

CONSANGUINEOUS MARRIAGES

of the village. Even though it was not a rule among the Muslims they had no objection for marriage among blood relations, whereas among Christians such marriages were positively prohibited. Among the Arayas it was not followed as a rule and as far as possible marriages used to take place between unrelated people. Among the Pulayas and Parayas consanguineous marriages were widely prevalent in olden days. Almost all consanguineous marriages in the

Hindu communities used to take place between cross-cousins and marriages between parallel cousins were prohibited. Since consanguineous marriages of any type are not favoured nowadays the number of such marriages among the younger generation is very small. In the surveyed area there is only one case of consanguineous marriage. It has taken place between cross-cousins in a Paraya household.

(1) The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Volume I, page 263

Economic Resources

73. Out of a total area of 5,729.71 acres¹, 2,349.66 acres² are classified as wet lands including canals, rivers and portions of backwaters. The exact extent under paddy cultivation excluding the latter items cannot be accurately estimated as there are no records to show the area occupied by each of them separately. Nevertheless, it can be said that all except less than 20 per cent of the above area is under cultivation. The total dry land in the village extends to 1,897.55 acres³ in which about 80 per cent of the houses of the village are located. A considerable portion of the dry land, therefore, is occupied by houses. According to the village records there are 951.11 acres⁴ of waste lands belonging to the Government. This includes the public roads, the area occupied by the public institutions, a portion of the beach and public canals. All the waste lands which are not under occupation for one or other purpose by the Government or which cannot be occupied since it is a canal or beach too close to the waves, has been either occupied unauthorisedly or leased out by Government to the people for short terms. Another 531.39 acres⁵ of land classified as uncultivable waste according to the village records has now been completely occupied either unauthorisedly or under short term leases. Therefore, within the village there is no more waste land which can be occupied newly. There is neither forest nor grazing ground in the village or in the neighbouring villages. According to Ward and Conner the agricultural practices of 150 years ago required leaving out some areas in the paddy fields as current fallows since the water from a group of fields had to be drained out to a plot within it. With the changes in the agricultural practices this

- (1) 2,318.73 hectares
- (2) 950.90 hectares
- (3) 767.92 hectares

necessity has been eliminated and all plots are brought under cultivation every year, unless some special calamities prevent it.

74. Only one crop is raised in the paddy fields. If pests or other distressing failures do not occur, it is a good crop. The cocoanut trees of the dry land, on an average, yield about 7,000 nuts per acre per year, but the income from the cocoanut trees is gradually diminishing as the trees are growing old and new types of diseases are spreading to more and more trees. There is no scheme for systematic replantation of the areas where the trees require replacement either due to age or due to diseases. Livestock is only an insignificant economic resource for the village since large scale breeding of cattle or birds does not fit in with the land utilisation pattern.

75. Among other sources of income the chief is fishing which gives employment to a large number of fishermen along the coast. A small number of people eke out their living from coir spinning and another small section is engaged in the manufacture of boiled rice. Manufacture of copra is another small industry providing work for a few.

Changes Influencing the Economic Life of the Village

76. The land reforms have little affected the economic condition of any of the sections of the village population but the land improvement measures taken by the Government during the last decade in the 'kari' lands have almost brought about a revolution in the agriculture. The construction of bunds, introduction of pumping system, advance of agricultural loans and the various other measures described in detail in the following pages have solved almost all the problems the cultivators had to face. Thus whereas only small patches of fields

- (4) 384.90 hectares
- (5) 215.15 hectares

were cultivated till 1950 now the entire area is brought under cultivation as a result of these schemes and nearly always the cultivation is successful.

77. Another important step in the improvement of paddy cultivation of these areas is the construction of the Thottappally spillway in 1954. The spillway consisting of a bridge, a regulator and a channel for the drainage of flood water without letting in the salt water, has 40 spans of 30 feet each, each span being provided with a shutter operated electrically and, when the current fails, mechanically. A channel of 4,300 feet length and 1,200 feet width drains the flood water as well as the water pumped out from the paddy fields to the sea through the regulators. 400 square miles of area including the 'kari' lands of the village are benefited by this scheme which costs to Government 5.15 million rupees. But for the construction of the spillway the mud embankments alone would not have been able to stand the pressure of water and protect the crop.

78. Industrialisation which is rapidly changing the economic structure of the country has not made any impact on the economy of Prakkad. The only industry worthy of mention is the manufacture of bidi which is carried out by small establishments employing 3 or 4 hands each. Tailoring, blacksmithy, production of copra and dehusking of rice together sustain a few establishments. But in these industries, in recent times, there has been neither expansion nor any change in the technique or machinery which can influence the economic life. A small boat building yard to manufacture sea going country boats has been organised by the N. E. S. Block recently.

79. The national highway passing through the village was widened and tarred in recent years. More buses and lorries appeared on the road on the one hand, while large steam boats and numerous country crafts started plying along the canals on the other. The improvement in the water transport has facilitated the marketing of fish and paddy in towns such as Changanacherry and Alleppey and villages surrounding them. But it may be noted

that the improvement in communication merely consisted in the fuller and better exploitation of the existing facilities and not in any expansion. These improvements were more as a result of the economic improvement of the area due to some other causes than vice versa.

80. Within the village itself there has been no expansion whatsoever in the marketing facilities in recent times. On the other hand, there has been a marked decline in this respect since the time of the Portuguese and the Dutch. The principal commodities of the village, paddy and cocoanut, are mainly marketed in Changanacherry and Alleppey. The lack of marketing facilities seriously affects the fishing industry at the time of the best catch when large quantities of sardine are hauled to the shore, which can neither be quickly marketed at a reasonable price nor preserved by curing, due to incessant rain. The fishermen are, therefore, constrained to dispose of the catch at very cheap rates to the cocoanut cultivators for manurial purposes.

81. The sources of finance of the cultivators have expanded very much by the loans issued by the Government. By the institution of the pumping system the individual cultivator is spared the burden of investing large amounts on pumps and bunds. Moreover, a portion of the pumping cost is met by the Government by way of subsidy. The Government are also advancing loans at low interest for the purchase of manure. Large number of cultivators of the area have taken advantage of these schemes. Besides, in 1963 the Package Scheme under which the cultivators are advanced loans for almost every agricultural operation at very low interest was extended to the village under survey.

Livelihood Classes

82. Duarte Barbosa in the 16th century remarks about the occupation of the people of Prakkad: "Porka has a lord of its own. Here, many gentile fishermen reside, who do nothing and have no other occupation than that of fishing during the winter, and of plundering on the sea during summer such as fall in their way. They possess certain small boats, like brigantines which

they row skilfully and collecting many of these together, they themselves being armed with bows and arrows, they surround any ship becalmed, and after forcing it to surrender by means of their arrows, they proceed to plunder the crew and the ship, casting the men naked on the ground. The booty they divide with the lord of the country who countenances them."¹ Barbosa seems to have paid attention only to one occupation which exercised the minds of the foreign traders most. There would have been at least the cultivation of coconut trees even in those days in the village, since coconut cultivation was common along the coast of Kerala from very ancient times. At any rate the picture we have got from the survey of Ward and Conner definitely leads us to believe that agriculture was one of the important occupations of Prakkad towards the end of 17th century. They have enumerated the large number of agricultural implements, cattle etc., besides making a passing reference to the agricultural practices followed in the village. Coconut trees and garden plots were plentiful during their time. Even though Ward and Conner did not make any special study of fishing, that also must have been an important occupation in those days. Business engaged a large number of people since Prakkad was still a thriving port during their time.

83. According to 1951 Census 14.10 per cent of the total population depended upon cultivation, 18.05 per cent on agricultural labour, 43.42 per cent on manufacture including fishing, 6.33 per cent on commerce, 4.17 per cent on transport, 12.17 per cent on other services and 1.76 per cent on rent received by them. From the above, it is clear that manufacture including fishing, of which fishing was by far the most important occupation, formed the largest livelihood class. Next in importance was agricultural labour followed by cultivation and other services. Commerce and transport took the last places. According to 1961 Census 5.08 per cent workers are cultivators, 19.25 per cent agricultural labourers, 19.52 per

cent employed in mining, quarrying, fishing etc., 17.03 per cent in household industry, 4.43 per cent in manufacturing other than household industry, 1.23 per cent in construction, 5.52 per cent in trade and commerce, 1.69 per cent in transport, storage and communication and 26.25 per cent in other services. Fishing and manufacturing together retained the top place in 1961 also followed by other services. Cultivation was relegated to a lower place in 1961. The importance of trade and commerce remained almost unchanged but transport, storage and communications suffered a decline. There was enormous increase in the number of people employed in other services during 1961.

84. In the surveyed area, out of the total workers, 10.03 per cent are cultivators 61.59 per cent are agricultural labourers, 7.27 per cent are persons engaged in household industry, 9.69 per cent in business and 11.42 per cent in miscellaneous occupations. The fact that the surveyed area is in the eastern part of the village explains the higher percentage of people engaged in cultivation and the lower percentage or even absence of people employed in other occupations. Since no previous figures are available exclusively for the surveyed area it is not possible to find out the trend of change in the livelihood classes. But since no new occupations are found it may be generally presumed that there has been no change in the livelihood pattern in the area.

Ownership of Economic Resources

85. Figures for the total village to show the distribution of economic resources among the people are not available. From general enquiry it is revealed that among the fishermen of the village a large number possess either individually or in groups, boats and nets, leaving only a small section of them to go for wages. On the other hand, in the field of agriculture landless people are large in number but big landlords are absent. There is no individual in the village owning more than 50 acres of land. 9 persons own between 25 and 50 acres, 47 between 12.50 and 25 acres, 156 between 5

and 12.50 acres and 169 between 2.50 and 5 acres. With 749 persons owning between 50 cents and 2½ acres and 1,754 persons owning less than 50 cents, the total number of landholders aggregate to 2,884. It might appear at first sight that as there are only 2,882 households in the village there is a fair distribution of land among the people; but, this impression is incorrect as more than one third of the landowners are absentee landlords who do not consider the village as their home. Landless 'Kudi-kidappukars' are numerous. In the surveyed area itself, 57.25 per cent of the people live in the properties of others and do not possess any land either in the village or outside. 4.58 per cent households in the surveyed area own less than 5 cents each,

2.29 per cent between 6 cents and 10 cents each, 4.58 per cent between 11 cents and 20 cents each and 5.34 per cent between 21 cents and 50 cents. 10.69 per cent own between 51 cents and one acre and 8.40 per cent between 1.01 acres and 4.99 acres. There are only 5.34 per cent owning between 5 and 10 acres and 1.53 per cent owning above 10 acres. 14.50 per cent households have taken land from private persons on lease. Lands in these areas generally do not change hands by outright sale; the common method in which properties get distributed is by family partition or inheritance. A table giving the number of households in the surveyed area according to the size of the land possessed by them is appended below.

Table XIV
HOUSEHOLDS OWNING OR POSSESSING LAND OR WHICH HAVE GIVEN
OUT LAND TO OTHERS FOR CULTIVATION

		Number of households and extent of land									
		No land	5 cents & below	6-10 cents	11-20 cents	21-50 cents	51 cents to 1 acre	1.01 to 2.49 acres	2.5 to 4.99 acres	5 to 10 acres	Above 10 acres
Land owned	Syrian Catholics	29	4	3	4	6	8	7	3	3	1
	Anglo-Indians	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	1
	Ezhuvas	15	2	...	2	1	2	1	...	1	...
	Pulayas	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Arayas	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Ganakans	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
	Parayas	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Land held under tenures less substantial than ownership	Ezhuvas	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Land held from private persons	Syrian Catholics	...	...	...	...	...	2	4	3	2	1
	Anglo-Indians	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
	Ezhuvas	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
	Pulayas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

outside the village. Out of

86. Some of the surveyed households own lands outside the surveyed area whereas within the surveyed area lands are possessed by people who live outside the

surveyed area or outside the village. Out of the 431.50 acres in the surveyed area about one third is owned by these absentee landlords. Among the surveyed households all

(1) Quoted by Shri K. P. Padmanabha Menon in the History of Kerala, Volume I, page 294

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those who possess lands cultivate them directly. Only 3.35 acres occupied by houses and compounds are left uncultivated.

87. Among other economic resources of the surveyed area, manufacture of boiled rice is one of the most important. 16 households are engaged in this industry. 2 households are engaged in herding of ducks, 7 households run their own provision stores, 4 households run cloth shops and 14 households carry on miscellaneous business such as fish or vegetable trade, tea shop etc.

Employment Position

88. 32.58 per cent people of the village and 40.82 per cent people of the surveyed area have some work or other. The percentage of employment in the village and area is higher than in all the other surveyed areas of Alleppey district. In the total population of

the surveyed area 39.12 per cent are persons below 15 years of age and, therefore, not capable of being usefully employed. When these persons are deducted, the percentage of employment in the surveyed area increases to 66.13 per cent. There are only 4 workers aged below 15. 55.62 per cent workers are aged 15 to 34, 37.62 per cent are aged 35 to 59 and 6.57 per cent are aged 60 or above. 66.25 per cent people in the 15 to 34 age-group, 77.54 per cent people in the 35 to 59 age-group and 38.30 per cent people in the 60 and over age-group are workers. 37.37 per cent of the total workers are females. The largest number of female workers is found in the age-group of 15 to 34 in which group the male and female workers are neck and neck in number. The following table gives the age and sex distribution of the workers and non-workers of the surveyed area.

Table XV

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX AND BROAD AGE GROUPS

Age groups	Total			Total workers			Total non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	708	345	363	289	181	108	419	164	255
0-14	277	134	143	4	4	...	273	130	143
15-34	246	115	131	159	89	70	87	26	61
35-59	138	71	67	107	70	37	31	1	30
60 and over	47	25	22	19	18	1	28	7	21

89. In the surveyed area among the cultivators there is only one female, whereas among the agricultural labourers the number of females is almost equal to the number of males, for a large number of female workers are required for agricultural operations such as, weeding, manuring, transplanting, harvesting, winnowing

and drying the paddy. In the household industry of manufacturing boiled rice also there is a good percentage of females whereas in business and miscellaneous occupations their percentage is very low. From the table below the age and sex distribution of the workers of the surveyed area according to occupation can be found out.

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS

Table XVI

WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation		Age-groups				
		All ages	0-14	15-34	35-59	60 & over
Cultivation	Persons	29	...	6	15	8
	Males	28	...	6	14	8
	Females	1	...	...	1	...
Agricultural labour	Persons	178	2	108	60	8
	Males	90	2	46	34	8
	Females	88	...	62	26	...
Dehusking of paddy	Persons	21	1	15	5	...
	Males	13	1	10	2	...
	Females	8	...	5	3	...
Business	Persons	28	1	12	13	2
	Males	27	1	12	13	1
	Females	1	...	...	...	1
Miscellaneous	Persons	33	...	18	14	1
	Males	23	...	15	7	1
	Females	10	...	3	7	...

90. Among the total workers of the surveyed area 63.67 per cent are employed as casual labourers or paid workers and the remaining are employed in the industry, business or cultivation belonging to the household itself. The distribution of the people employed in industry, business or cultivation belonging to the household is furnished in the following table.

Table XVII

WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUP, INDUSTRY, BUSINESS AND CULTIVATION BELONGING TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Age-group	Total			Working in industry belonging to the household			Working in business belonging to the household			Working in cultivation belonging to the household		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	79	69	10	22	14	8	28	27	1	29	28	1
0-14	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
15-34	34	29	5	16	11	5	12	12	...	6	6	...
35-59	33	29	4	5	2	3	13	13	...	15	14	1
60 and over	10	9	1	...	...	...	2	1	1	8	8	...

91. Among the non-workers 65.16 per cent are persons aged below 15 and 19.09 per cent are women pre-occupied with domestic duties. 2.15 per cent of the total

non-workers are employment seekers. Among the unemployed persons a small number of people in the working age-group are not interested in getting any job at all.

Table XVIII*

NON-WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUP AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY

Age-group	Total No. of non-workers			Persons engaged in household duties only			Full-time students or children attending school		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
All ages	419	164	255	83	...	83	142	76	66
0 - 14	273	130	143	3	...	3	121	60	61
15 - 34	87	26	61	47	...	47	21	16	5
35 - 59	31	1	30	26	...	26	...	...	...
60 and over	28	7	21	7	...	7	...	...	...

Table XVIII—Concl'd.

Age-group	Sick, old and infants			Persons seeking employment			Persons who have no special reason for not seeking employment and who do not belong to any other category		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
All ages	176	80	96	9	6	3	9	2	7
0 - 14	147	68	79	2	2	...	...	...	...
15 - 34	5	4	1	7	4	3	7	2	5
35 - 59	4	1	3	...	...	...	1	...	1
60 and over	29	7	13	...	...	...	1	...	1

* Inapplicable items are deleted.

Traditional Occupations

92. It cannot be said that in the village as a whole there is any shift from the traditional occupations. From olden times fishing and agriculture have been the most important occupations followed by the largest number of households and they still remain so. Manufacture of boiled rice and herding of ducks are also being carried out almost by the same line of households. There might have been some changes in the occupation of the households engaged in business, transport and other activities, but they are so few that these changes do not justify the assumption that the traditional pattern has altered.

93. In the surveyed area 56 households were traditionally cultivators, 46 agricultural labourers, 3 fishermen and one was physician. Among the cultivators 53 are still continuing the work of their predeces-

sors while 3 have abandoned it, 2 for want of sufficient land and 1 in favour of a better job. The agricultural labourers, the fishermen and the physician carry on the traditional occupations without any change. None in the area has received any training in improving the traditional occupation nor has anybody introduced any improved equipments in their work except the electric pump. Nevertheless cultivators of the village have considerably improved the technique of cultivation with the introduction of a sort of co-operative farming under the 'puncha' cultivation scheme. 25 households in the surveyed area never had any traditional occupation and they, like their forefathers, take up any work that is available in the area.

Paddy Cultivation in 'kari' Lands

94. Although the 'kari' cultivation came to be heard of in other parts of the State

only in recent times, the cultivators of the area have been struggling hard for centuries past to convert this submerged marshy lands into productive paddy fields. The earliest detailed reference about the cultivation of Kuttanad, which includes the 'kari' lands also, is found in the memoirs of Ward and Conner. A description of the cultivation practices and the problems facing the cultivators of the area given by Ward and Conner may be useful in studying the background of this occupation. They say, "The extent of fertility is here measured by the limits of the inundation to which it is annually subject commencing in June and partly subsiding in September or October. When the labours of cultivation commence, much of this extent is under constant tillage, but as its fertility is found to diminish after a succession of crops, some share is allowed to remain fallow. The space thus left covered with water for a considerable time serves as a reservoir to the neighbouring fields. The level surface of this space is separated into divisions of various dimensions, generally from 20 to 30 acres, but the rank vegetation of grass and aquatic herbs that here spring up during the rains must be first removed. This operation, which is accomplished by scraping the bottom with a long hoe, is succeeded by passing the plough three or four times over the field, men and cattle being more than half immersed during the performance of this labour; buffaloes of course, (and their feet make nearly as much impression as the plough) are the only cattle fitted for such work. This is followed by encompassing the several areas with embankments, those of the former here having been swept away by the floods. This is a tedious and difficult undertaking, commencing by fixing a double row of strong stakes measuring about 20 feet firmly in the bottom, where they are two and three feet asunder, but inclining inward; the breadth at the top diminishes to one-third of that distance, weeds and grass occupy the interstices in each row of poles, forming thus two slender divisions, the space between which is filled with mud taken from the channel along

whose course they run. In this operation, the Polayen is frequently obliged to dive under water to some depth, when having collected as much soil as with both hands can be secured on his head, he rises half enveloped in his miry load; if of shallow depth, the soil is taken up with a large wooden hoe. The wall raised with such difficulty is elevated a few inches above the level of the water as yet nearly in most places 3 feet deep, but which is now reduced to about as many inches by the Chukram. A couple of ploughings are given subsequent to this, and the space divided into beds and smoothed, is fitted for the seed, which soaked in water for the last five days becomes slightly germinated and is sown broadcast. In the vicinity of the higher grounds, where less watery seedlings are transplanted, a few hot days are requisite to quicken the vegetation. This is accelerated by occasional inundations which are again repeated on the 9th or 10th day; the field remains overflowed for a month when the water is drawn off for a short time and again restored not being subsequently removed (the plant about three-fourth) covered till the crop is nearly ripe. Kuttanad yields but one crop called Madupu, reaped in the latter end of April or May. Rice is the only article sown; it yields about ten or twelve fold. This tract situated so low is liable to suffer from the vicissitudes of the weather more than most other parts, as an unexpected rise of the streams that intercept it, (which a few hour's severe rain are sufficient to swell), forcing the slender embankments guarding the crops frustrates in a moment the hopes of the farmer. The regularity of the seasons, however, gives here a tolerable security against such accidents." Ward and Conner describes the harvesting operations as follows: ".....in Kuttanad, the straw not bearing the expense of transport, is left in large heaps on the fields for which it serves as manure; the stubble always long and mostly covered with mud is considered useless as fodder. The grain is trod out from the ear, a tedious and laborious operation; those performing it lean on a bamboo,

(1) Geographical and statistical memoir of the survey of the Travancore and Cochin States, Volume I

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placed horizontally and elevated about 4 feet. During the period of harvest, Kuttanad displays an animated scene; groups are observed everywhere collected, pursuing their rural labours, each caste separately, and the little canals crowded with boats variously employed in promoting the business of harvest. The women, even of the better classes, take a very large share in those toils: reaping is left almost entirely to them, as in some measure to the females of the lower orders are the previous operations of collecting the manure, transplanting and weeding. The expenses of management are liable to considerable variety. In the neighbourhood of the lake they are higher than the interior: it is not, however, easy to establish the exact amount, but the ordinary calculation would give it at one-fifth of the gross produce viz., one-tenth on the seed, one-tenth on the labour."

95. The above method of cultivation continued without any change for a very long time with alternate successes and failures. The failures became so frequent later on, that several cultivators not being able to meet the costs of cultivation, altogether gave it up, leaving the lands fallow. Cultivation particularly in the 'kari' lands, became a daring adventure for the few financially well-to-do cultivators. Majority of the lands in the village, therefore, remained marshes in which only a particular type of grass fit for feeding the buffaloes alone would grow. Reasons for the failure of cultivation were numerous. The land lying at a lower level than the sea and the surrounding backwaters, saline water inundated the field at all times making paddy cultivation impossible. It was necessary to drain out this saline water and wash the soil with fresh water to remove the salinity before a successful paddy crop could be raised. The old method was, as mentioned by Ward and Conner, to raise embankments around twenty or thirty acres of paddy lands and drain out the water to a neighbouring plot left fallow for this purpose, with the aid of a crude wooden paddle wheel called 'chukram'. This operation was not only tedious and expensive but also inadequate to cope with the work during the high tides

and heavy rains. In order to minimise the work of dewatering, the cultivation season was adjusted to be during the summer, that is, after the end of the monsoon rains and before the following monsoon, but the adoption of this season created other problems. Paddy has to stand in fresh water until the corns start ripening. During the summer, availability of fresh water was scarce. If the field was left dry not only the growth of the plants would be stunted but the acidity of the deep soil would come up to the surface by capillary action, damaging the plants. A third handicap for the cultivation was the particular nature of the soil. The presence of high percentage of organic matter in the soil just below six to nine inches of the surface causes a cycle of chemical reaction producing certain acids and salts injurious to paddy cultivation. The most undesirable among them and unfortunately the most abundantly present is the sulphuric acid. Even though the precise origin of sulphur which gives rise to sulphuric acid is not conclusively proved, it is inferentially attributed to the leached sulphates which find their way to the sea through the rivers. The abnormal sulphur content of the fossil is explained by the fact that in the peaty soil, decomposing woody matter affords the stimulus for increasing bacterial activity. That nature encourages selective genesis of bacteria with relation to the nutrient environment is almost axiomatic in microbiological activity. Thus in the peaty soil the characteristic sulphur bacteria, both aerobic and anaerobic, are encouraged to come into play to the exclusion of the beneficial ammonifying and nitrifying bacteria. Whatever be the cause of origin, the fact remains that the presence of the sulphuric acid is the greatest headache for the cultivator of 'kari' lands. Iron and aluminium salts are also present in an abnormally high percentage. The presence of these salts prevents the plant from absorbing from the soil other nutrients necessary for its growth. The solution for these problems lay in the continued washing of the soil with fresh water and the application of lime and superphosphates as found out by a series of experiments started both by the Agriculture



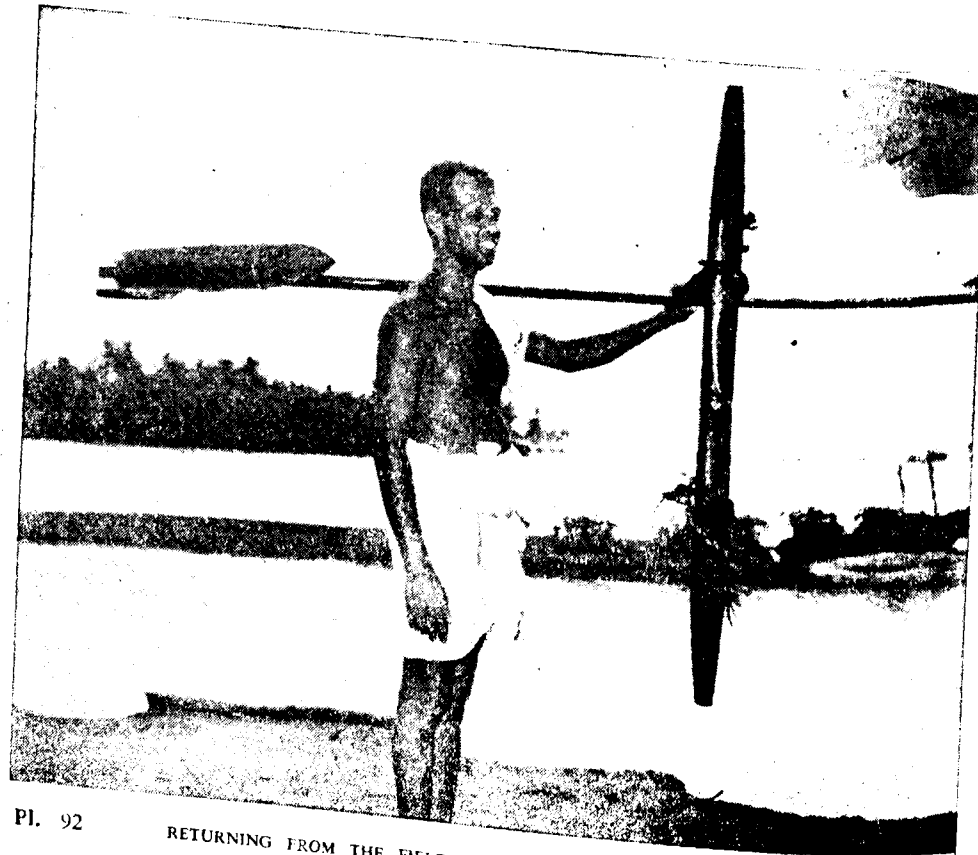
Pl. 90

PLOUGHING IN FLOODED KARI LANDS



Pl. 91

GATHERING THE CLAY FOR BUND CONSTRUCTION



Pl. 92

RETURNING FROM THE FIELD AFTER THE DAY'S PLOUGHING

Page 279

Department and by certain industrious cultivators. The first five years of nineteen fifties saw considerable progress in achieving the above.

96. With the extension of electric lines to this area and the availability of electric pumps it dawned on certain people that these new devices could be made use of to solve the problem of pumping out water from the 'kari' lands. It was also found that the installation of large pumps was more economic than each cultivator trying to construct embankments and install pumps in every small piece of land. To start with some who owned extensive plots where large pumps could be installed without the co-operation of others started the experiment, for it was not possible to unite the cultivators for a new venture whose results had not been established by previous experience. The success of these few enterprising cultivators, however, opened the eyes of the rest who came forward willing to surrender their hostile individuality to co-operative efforts with neighbours. Some constructed large embankments enclosing sufficiently extensive plots for the operation of the pumps. However, a majority of the already impoverished cultivators could not venture upon this new scheme for want of finance. It was at this juncture that the first stage of Kuttanad development scheme was inaugurated in 1950 with a view to improve the cultivation of the area. Under this scheme the Government stepped in to help the cultivators constructing embankments in the 'kari' lands and implementing a scheme for collective pumping. Once the cultivation was set going the construction or repair of the embankments and pumping for the succeeding years were assured. Thus the most important problem of dewatering had been successfully tackled by 1951. The second problem of the availability of fresh water required a change in the season of cultivation. Hitherto sowing took place in November-December and the harvest in April-May which covered the driest months of the year in the west coast. On the other hand, it was found that if the cultivation season was between September and February, fresh water would be available on account of the north-east monsoon.

The south-west monsoon diminishes the salinity of the water and washes the soil. This water could then be pumped out in the month of August and seeds broadcast in September. During the germinating season when the fields should not hold much water there might not be much rain, it being the interval between the two monsoons. Soon the north-east monsoon would break out filling the fields with sufficient fresh water. If required, the water from canals which had lost all its salinity due to the monsoon discharge of the rivers could be let in through sluices into paddy fields. When the water level in the field was always maintained, the capillary action would be prevented, checking the creeping up of the injurious acids. Having solved the two formidable problems of pumping and fresh water the defects of the soil could be rectified by the application of suitable chemical fertilisers. Fortunately, by this time a fertiliser factory came into production in the State turning out superphosphates and other chemicals required for the 'kari' lands. Lime, the application of which was more necessary than other chemicals, was available in plenty in the neighbouring areas. Thus the abandoned paddy cultivation in the 'kari' lands received a new impetus from 1951. The Thottappally Spillway was soon completed further facilitating the drainage of water and stabilising the cultivation. The present method of cultivation followed in the 'kari' lands can be summarised as follows:-

97. After the harvest in February-March the stubble is sold at a low price to the dealers in cattle fodder. They clear the field except for the corners and certain patches here and there where the stubble is decayed or covered with mud. The owners clear the field of the remaining stubble before ploughing the field by about April when the paddy field would have become sufficiently dry. Ploughing is done two or three rounds, using either oxen or buffaloes. The plough is not pressed hard lest the acidic subsoil should turn up and poison the surface soil. The field is then left dry for a short period for aeration but it is not safe to leave it so for long periods because of the capillary action. The south-

west monsoon starting in the month of May fills the paddy fields which, thereafter, remain undisturbed till the month of July. In July the fields are again ploughed twice in waist deep water using buffaloes that paddle in the field with only the head above the surface of the water. Now it is time to start pumping out water as the south-west monsoon is almost over. A few cultivators of a group of fields protected by one outer bund submit a petition to the Pancha Special Officer. By advertisements in the newspapers he convenes a meeting of all the cultivators of that group of fields to form a 'Patasekhara Committee' and auction the right of dewatering the fields. Attendance in this conference is not compulsory, but the decisions are binding on all cultivators. On the formation of the 'Patasekhara Committee' they decide whether the pumping should be done direct or whether it should be done by auction to contractors. The dates for starting the pumping operation, the time by which the paddy fields should be sufficiently dewatered for sowing, the time up to which the pumping operation should be carried out and other connected matters are decided during the conference. Before the pumps are installed, the cultivators should repair the outer bunds. The description of the bund construction given by Ward and Conner gives a graphic picture of the operation which is followed even today without any alteration. The pumping contractor constructs suitable platforms along the outer bunds and installs electric pumps of 25 to 50 horse power. The dewatering operation starts on the decided date in order to make the fields ready for sowing by the month of September. As the water level in the fields goes down the individual cultivators construct the inner bunds and leading channels to drain out the inner fields. The seed to be sown is immersed in water in gunny bags or screw-pine baskets for 24 hours and then kept in a cool place for three days. On the 5th day morning it is poured out of the bags and spread on the ground. The same day or on the eve the field is ploughed once and harrowed in order to loosen the surface soil to receive the seeds. The seeds are broadcast in the afternoon. The seed commonly

used is a salt resistant variety known as 'Adhikara' that can remain under water for a number of days continuously without any damage, which is an essential quality to meet the exigencies of the 'kari' lands. The seed fall per acre is about 10 'paras' in the local measure. Soon after the broadcasting of the seeds bone-meal at the rate of about 2 cwts. per acre is applied in the field. Broadcasting is done keeping about 6" of water in the field but after two or three days the field is completely drained.

98. On the 15th day, after letting in fresh water a mixture of bone-meal and hyperphosphate is applied at the rate of 2 cwts. per acre. The weeding and transplanting operation starts on the 30th day. The water level is slightly raised in order to facilitate the operation. Wherever the plants grow thin new plants are transplanted from thickly growing areas. The operation is mostly done by women workers. Three or four days after the transplantation the field is completely drained and left dry for four or five days. On the 40th day or so water is again let in and a further dose of manure, which may be urea or ammonia according to the nature of the soil, applied. Hereafter, the only remaining work before the harvest is the maintenance of the water level and application of insecticides. The maintenance of the water level is a precarious operation as the bunds occasionally give in due to the pressure of high floods or some other causes such as holes bored by crabs. The soil of the area lacks in the sticking quality due to the high percentage of organic matter, resulting in the natural weakness of the bunds. During heavy rains it is not unlikely that a few feet of the bund is just floated away by water. Such breakages require immediate remedy and therefore the maintenance of the bund is a constant worry. Breakage of the bund at any point results in the damage of crop in a long stretch of areas and this has compelled the cultivators to co-operate unhesitatingly in the bund protection. Whoever sees first the weak or broken bund immediately sets to work to repair it calling all the people in the neighbourhood. But for such co-operation cultivation in the area would have become impossible.

from sowing to harvest watchers live in all huts put up along the bunds and protect the embankments regularly so that they may not be caught unawares. Most of these watchers are Pulayas and Parayas and are employed throughout the year by the owners for the supervision of the bunds and other recurring items of work. They are generally called 'Onapanikar'. The common diseases affecting the plants are stem borer and blast but both of these diseases are well under control now, thanks to the various chemicals supplied by the Agriculture Department.

99. The cost of cultivation may be roughly calculated as follows :-

Dry ploughing during March-April costs Rs. 8 per round for one acre. The worker brings the buffaloes or the oxen and the required agricultural implements. Dry ploughing in most paddy fields is limited to two rounds which, therefore, costs Rs. 16 per acre. Wet ploughing during July costs the same amount under normal conditions. Ploughing on the eve of sowing costs Rs. 7.50 per acre but the harrowing costs double that amount. Immediately before this ploughing and harrowing the weeds and grass growing here and there are removed by sending a few women. This operation costs at the rate of Rs. 5 per acre. Pumping cost per acre for one crop ranges around Rs. 15 and the construction and repairs of bunds cost about Rs. 60. Ten 'paras' of seeds cost Rs. 32.50 at the standard rate and weeding costs Rs. 22 on an average. The manuring and application of insecticides are costly items in spite of all the subsidies received in this behalf. It costs about Rs. 75 per acre for a cultivator. A permanent watcher is appointed for about 300 to 400 acres of land and he is paid at the rate of Re. 1 per day, besides the normal wages for any manual labour done for the repair of bunds etc. On an average this may cost at the rate of Rs. 1.25 per acre for a cultivator. Thus the total cost of cultivation per acre works out to Rs. 265.25. One-fourth of the pumping cost is met by the Government by way of subsidy which is disbursed at a

later period after ascertaining that all the cultivators have paid their dues to the pumping contractor. Deducting this amount the total cost comes down to Rs. 261.50. A normal crop yields about 180 'paras' of paddy per acre excluding the share of the cropper, the cost incurred for drying, winnowing and the transportation of paddy to the granary of the cultivator for all of which payment is made in kind. At the standard rate this will fetch him Rs. 405 resulting in a profit of about Rs. 143 per acre for an owner cultivator. By the sale of the straw the cultivator may further gain about Rs. 20 per acre. If the land is on lease the owner may have to be paid anything between 25 paras to 40 paras per acre, thus reducing the profit of the cultivator proportionately. It may be mentioned here that the costs and gains have been calculated on the basis of the information furnished by the cultivators. Perhaps a slight margin might be left to make up any possible inflation or deflation of the estimates given by them.

The Tools

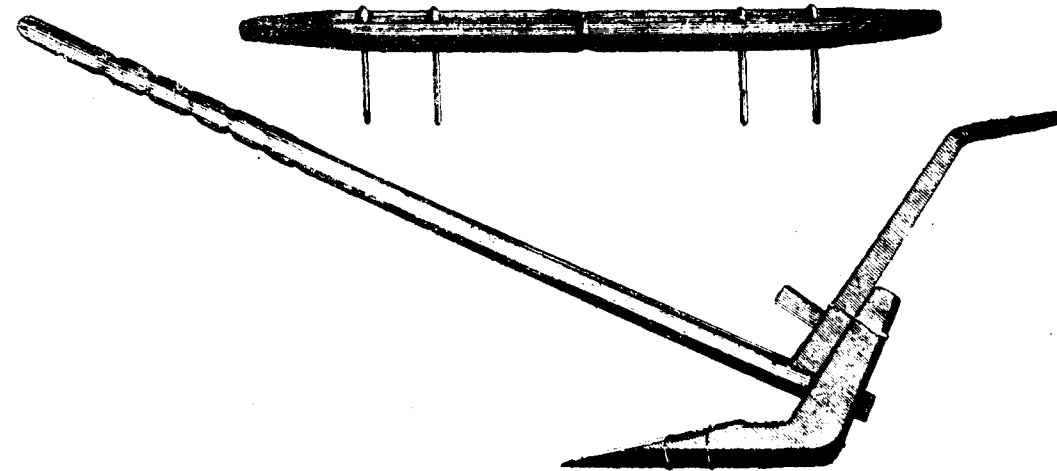
100. The tools and implements used have not changed for ages; they consist of a wooden plough, a wooden yoke, a wooden or iron hoe, a forked harrow, two different types of spades and a special type of sickle. The plough resembles the one illustrated in the monograph on Thazhava.¹ It has a handle and a plough holder fixed to each other by means of a large wooden nail. Both are made of the heart wood of jack tree or some other local tree. The plough blade is a long sharp iron blade, about 3' wide and 18" to 20" long. It may be fixed to the holder by means of iron rings or nails. The long pole for harnessing the plough to the yoke is made of the hard portion of the stem of a palmyra tree (*Caryota urens*). The yoke is made of the same timber used for the handle of the plough. The pins for the yoke can be made from a strong branch of any tree growing in the locality. The same type of plough and yoke are used both for dry and wet ploughing. The hoe is intended to dig up mud for the construction of embankments. The

¹ Part VI E of this series

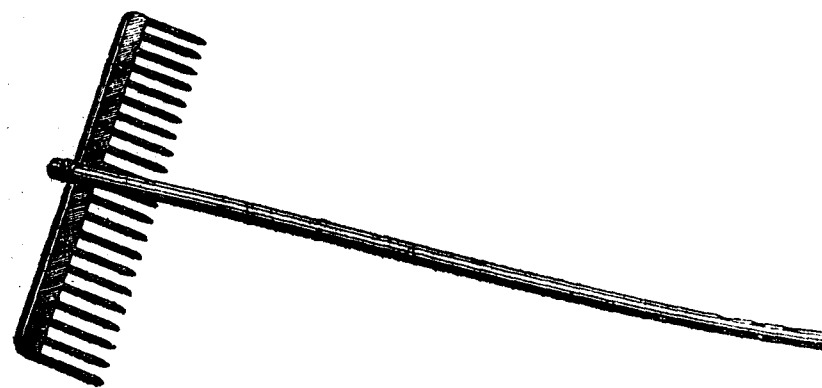
PRAKKAD

iron hoe consists of a flat iron blade with a slightly tapering edge. It is provided with a wooden handle fixed vertically such that both the blade and the handle are in the same line. Instead of the iron hoe a single-piece wooden hoe made from the cocoanut tree is also in use. The forked harrow used in the 'kari' lands is a larger version of the one used in Thazhava. It is made of wood and provided with teeth of iron or palm tree. Both types of spades are exactly the same as those used in Thazhava. The spade with slanting handle

is used to pick the earth whereas the other one is used to scrape the weeds growing on the bunds. The sickle used for the harvesting purpose is provided with a sharp blade of specially tempered steel. While it retains its sharpness for a long time it easily breaks if used to cut hard objects. The blade is almost a semicircle with a pointed end and fixed to a round wooden handle. It is usual for the harvest workers to carry a spare sickle for use in case the other one breaks in the middle of the work.



FLOUGH AND YOKE



FORKED HARROW



Pl. 93

REAPING A RICH HARVEST

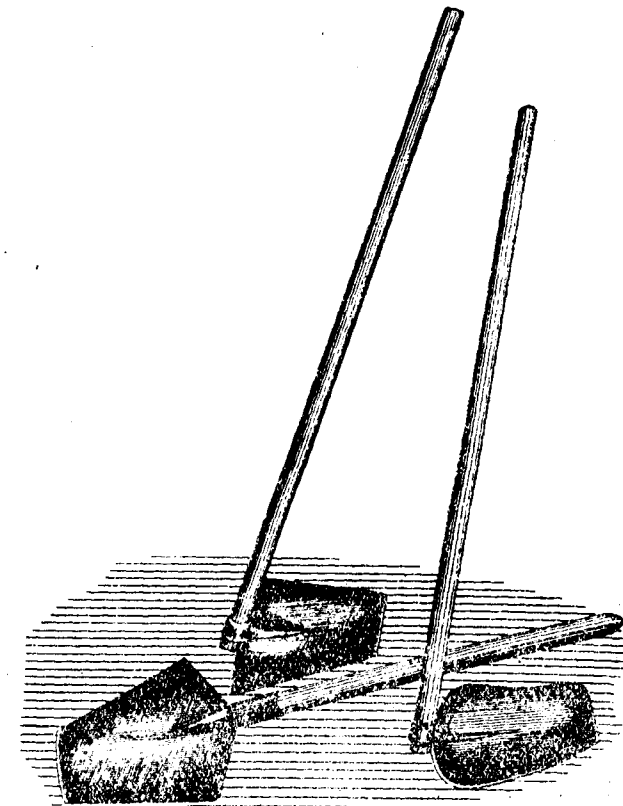


Pl. 94 FEMALE AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS OF KARI LAND Page 282

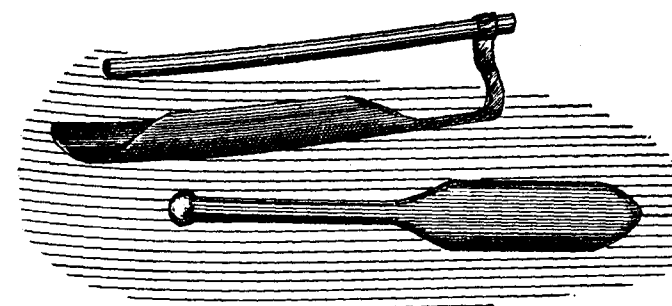


Pl. 95 MALE AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS OF KARI LAND Page 282

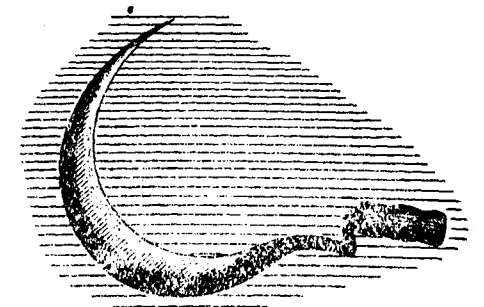
ORGANISATION OF MANPOWER



SPADES AND IRON HOE



ANOTHER TYPE OF SPADE
USED FOR REMOVING THE EARTH AND WOODEN HOE



SICKLE

Organisation of Manpower

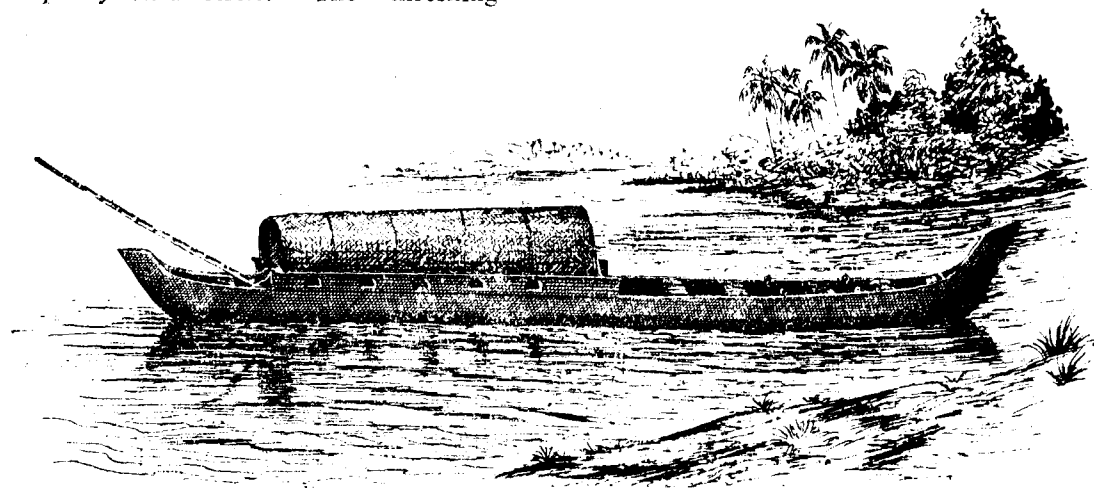
101. Organisation of manpower for the different operations is done in the same way as described by Ward and Conner. Since no village has sufficient number of workers

they have to be brought from the neighbouring areas daily in boats or settled on the side of the paddy fields for the whole period of operation. When agricultural operations are in full swing in Kuttanad area

PRAKKAD

labourers are scarce and therefore the cultivator sends out an agent with country boats to the neighbouring villages. The workers will be brought daily in the morning and returned to their home villages in the evening at the cost of the cultivator. On the other hand, if work is not so plentiful the workers will themselves engage boats and come to the place of work every day. During the harvesting operation it is usual for the workers to construct small sheds along the embankments and stay there overnight. The shed can be constructed with a few cadjan leaves and bamboo poles since it need be only a protection from the sun during the day and a cover in the night, as it is the summer season. The workers will be engaged in harvesting during the day-time and in threshing during most part of the night which makes it impossible for them to return to their homes daily. The ploughing is done on contract basis. The normal working time for ploughing is from 8 a. m. to 12 noon. The harvest work starts at about 7 a.m. and goes on till 2 or 3 p. m. Thereafter, the sheaves are carried from the field to the threshing floor temporarily got ready by the side of the paddy field itself. The threshing

starts only after the entire field belonging to a particular cultivator has been harvested. The next day the workers go for harvest of a neighbouring cultivator and after sunset come back to the threshing floor of the first cultivator for the threshing operation. The threshing floor will be well lit with petromax or electric light at the cost of the cultivator. Long bamboo poles are fixed horizontally at a convenient height on which the worker can lean while treading the sheaves. In olden days the share of the cropper was one sheaf for two days' harvest. Since this method often caused disputes the share of the cropper has been fixed as one-eighth of the produce plus one-fourth of the total share thus received as per the Minimum Wages Act of 1957. Winnowing is done by engaging separate workers. For separating the chaff and the grain the paddy is filled in baskets of the shape of conch shell, held over the head and poured down at a slow rate in the afternoons. The strong wind blowing through the large open fields dispenses with the trouble of fanning. The paddy is dried again in the threshing floor itself and then transported in country boats to the house of the cultivator.



COUNTRY BOAT FOR THE TRANSPORT OF MEN AND MATERIALS

After the Harvest

102. There may be a few corns left in the field after harvest. Old women and child-

ren who are unable to go for regular work scan the fields for these stray corns which they can take themselves. The duck herders



HARVEST IN KARI LAND

Pl. 96



THRESHING IN PROGRESS

Pl. 97

then bring the ducks to feed in the fields for which the owner is given two or three dozens of eggs for every acre of land.

103. The poor cultivators sell the excess paddy immediately after the harvest whereas the large cultivators hold the stock until July-August when it can be sold for a better price. The paddy is mostly purchased by the people engaged in the manufacture of boiled rice. Most of them are local men who do not have cultivation of their own. They purchase the paddy, boil and dry it at their homes and dehusk it at Changanacherry where it is sold.

Animal Husbandry

104. Herding of ducks engaging a few families full-time is the most important animal husbandry operation in the paddy lands of Kuttanad. As the harvest proceeds from one end to the other the duck breeders move from field to field with the birds. For the right of feeding the birds in any field the owner is given a small payment in eggs. Once the ducks are let in, they not only eat the grains left behind but also insects such as earth-worm, leaches and even small crabs. While the destruction of some of these insects is beneficial for the cultivation there are some others among them which help the cultivation directly or indirectly. However, the net result is advantageous to the cultivator besides the small gain he gets. After feeding the birds, in the evening they

are herded into a net enclosure somewhere on the side of the field itself and watched by men during the night. The eggs are sold to local people if there is demand or sent to towns like Alleppey, Changanacherry and Kottayam where they are sure to find good market. The male birds are also sold either locally or in the above towns.

105. Poultry breeding is undertaken on a small scale in the houses of the cultivators since they can be fed on paddy which is inevitably lost around the house and in the paddy fields. However, no interest seems to have been taken in systematic poultry farming.

106. Two households in the surveyed area earn their living by herding of ducks alone. There are 48 households with cows, 15 households with buffaloes, 1 with bulls, 1 with she-buffaloes and 13 with goats. Fowls of indigenous variety are bred in 50 households and improved varieties in 4 households.

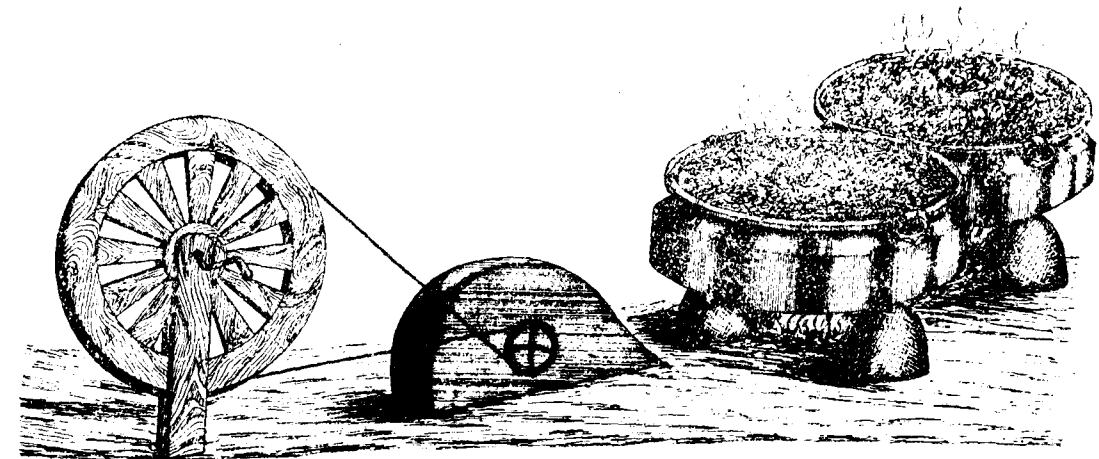
Village Industries

107. The manufacture of boiled rice deserves notice as a characteristic industry of the area complementary to agriculture since it creates a local market for paddy. The occupation is carried on during the summer season immediately following the harvest by the households who have no cultivation of their own. The equipments



Pl. 98

WINNOWING THE PADDY



HEARTH USED FOR BOILING THE PADDY

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required for boiling the paddy consist of large circular copper vessels and large hearths to which bellows are connected. The bellows consist of a paddle wheel mounted on ball-bearings within a metal cover connected to the hearths by a pipe. The wheel can be rotated with a handle, producing movement of air. If the paddle wheel is sufficiently large two hearths can be heated simultaneously by a single arrangement. To gain mechanical advantage the paddle wheel may be rotated with a larger wheel to which it is connected through a belt. The fuel used in the hearth is the paddy husk, which costs nothing additionally but produces high temperature. Each boiler contains 50 paras of paddy which is soaked in water on the eve of boiling. After boiling the paddy for two hours it is spread on large screw-pine mats to dry in the sun. The dried paddy is transported in country boats to the rice mills in Changanacherry where it is milled for the payment of the bran as milling charge. The rice is sold to the wholesale merchants at Changanacherry itself while the husk is transported back home for use as fuel. The mill-owners themselves may arrange the sale of the rice on payment of a small commission. The profit from the industry is nominal but it provides an independent living for the people engaged in it. High financial investment is not required because for a trustworthy neighbour any cultivator may give the paddy on credit on the condition that the price will be paid within a short time after selling the rice. In the surveyed area there are 16 households who solely depend upon this occupation for their livelihood.

Other Occupations

108. Since a detailed description of fishing has been given in the monograph on Kottukal¹ no attempt is made here to describe it again. The peculiarities which differentiate the fishing operation of Prakkad from that of Kottukal consist in the special type of the nets employed, the exclusive use of boats as the fishing craft and limiting the fishing to about ten miles from the coast. Commercial activity is

confined to a few petty shops which deal in the daily requirements of the village such as grains, chillies, sugar, tapioca, edible oils, kerosene, piece-goods etc. At the time of harvest, shops spring up among the new huts constructed in the paddy fields. Fish and stationery goods are also carried about in boats to market them in the small islands. Coconut cultivation does not present any new aspect so as to require a fresh study after what has been said about it in the monograph on the village of Kadakkavoor.²

Family Budget

109. For the purpose of family budget the households in the surveyed area are divided into 3 principal occupational groups, viz., those engaged in cultivation, agricultural labour and miscellaneous occupations. 30 households derive their principal income from paddy cultivation in the 'kari' lands, 63 households subsist mainly on labour in the paddy fields of the village under survey as well as the neighbouring villages and 38 households make their living from diverse occupations such as business, manufacture of boiled rice, animal husbandry, fishing and water transport. The cultivators derive the highest income in the surveyed area while the miscellaneous occupational group and agricultural labourers take the second and third places. The difference in income between the latter two groups is negligible for all practical purposes.

Income

110. Out of the 30 households of the cultivators, 3.33 per cent derive between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50, 16.67 per cent between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75, 6.67 per cent between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 and 73.33 per cent above Rs. 100 per mensem. The average number of equivalent adult males per household in these 4 income groups is 2.30, 4.28, 3.35 and 5.61 respectively and the average number of gainfully employed persons per household 1.00, 1.00, 1.50 and 2.23. Among the agricultural labourers 1.59 per cent earn less than Rs. 25, 46.03 per cent earn between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50, 30.16 per cent between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75, 14.29 per cent

(1) See Part VI F of this series

(2) See Part VI F of this series



Pl. 99

BOILING THE PADDY



Pl. 103

WEAVING SCREW-PINE BASKET - A HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY



Pl. 101

FISHERMEN AT WORK ON THE BEACH OF PRAKKAD

between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 and 7.93 per cent above Rs. 100 per month. The average number of equivalent adult males per household in each of these 5 groups is 0.90, 3.23, 4.26, 5.10 and 7.16 and the average number of gainfully employed persons per household in each group 1.00, 1.69, 2.47, 3.44 and 6.40 respectively. In the miscellaneous occupational group the percentages of households falling within the income of less than Rs. 25, between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50, between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75, between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 and above Rs. 100 are 2.63, 23.69, 39.47, 13.16 and 21.05 respectively, the average number of equivalent adult males per household in the above income groups 1.80, 3.21, 3.65, 4.74 and 6.10 and the average number of gainfully employed persons per household 2.00, 1.44, 1.67, 2.00 and 2.50 respectively. Among the different income groups of the cultivators' households there is no relationship between the number of members and the income, while in the two other occupational groups the income increases with the increasing number of members. The average number of members in a cultivator's household is greater than that in the households of the other two groups. The number of members in a household of each of the latter two groups is almost equal. Except for a small anomaly in the miscellaneous occupational group, the average number of gainfully employed persons per household increases with the income in all the different occupational groups. In the corresponding income groups among the different occupations the average number of gainfully employed persons is the least among cultivators and the largest among agricultural labourers.

111. For the cultivators, naturally 77.69 per cent of the total income is derived from household cultivation. The other sources of income are 4.85 per cent salary or wages, 2.99 per cent household industries, 7.74 per cent household business, 0.12 per cent help from relatives and 6.61 per cent other sources. Benefits from household industry and household business are derived exclusively by the highest income groups of the cultivators. 87.28 per cent of the total income of the agricultural labourers is derived from wages and the rest from

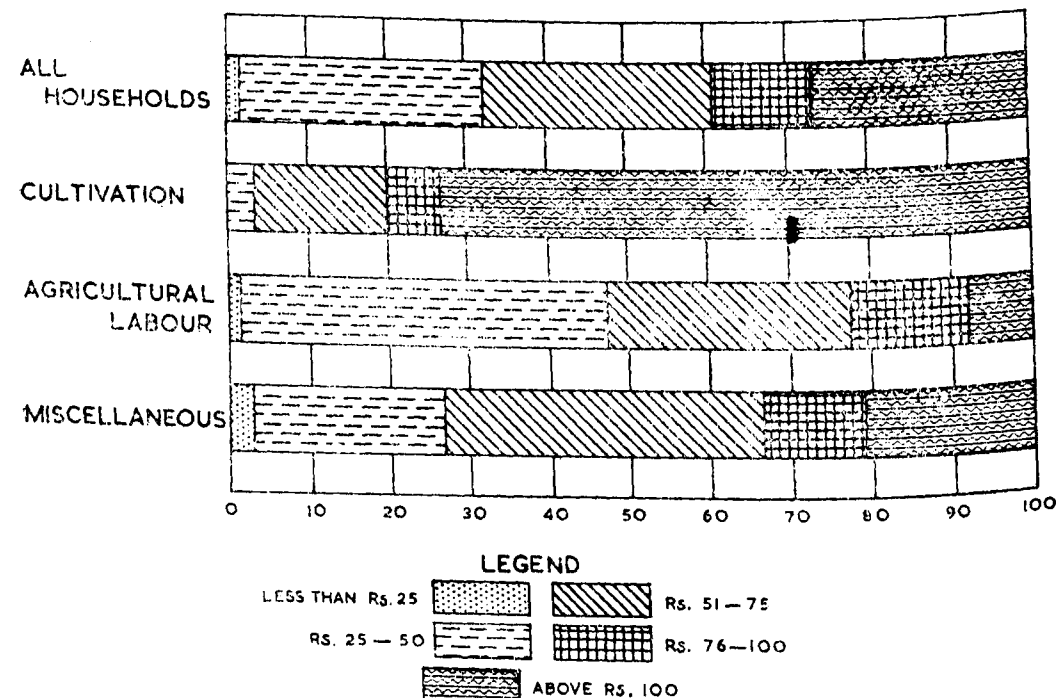
household industry, business and cultivation, rent from lands, help from relatives and unclassified sources. For the miscellaneous occupational group wages, household industry and household business are the most important sources, these three together contributing 80.73 per cent of the total income. The rest of the income is derived from household cultivation, help from relatives and other sources. As against a large majority of cultivators deriving a monthly average income above Rs. 100, 77.78 per cent of the agricultural labourers and 65.79 per cent of the miscellaneous occupational group derive only less than Rs. 75 per month. The four income groups of the cultivators get a monthly average income of Rs. 35.00, Rs. 70.83, Rs. 81.66 and Rs. 288.11 respectively whereas for the five income groups of the agricultural labourers the monthly average income is Rs. 21.58, Rs. 42.55, Rs. 63.40, Rs. 85.73 and Rs. 125.16 and for the miscellaneous occupational group Rs. 15.00, Rs. 46.38, Rs. 65.73, Rs. 89.25 and Rs. 129.34 respectively. There are but slight differences in the average incomes of all except the highest income groups of the different occupational classes. In the highest income group the cultivators derive more than double the income of the agricultural labourers and miscellaneous occupational group. Therefore, considering all the households of the surveyed area together, the highest income group among the cultivators form the richest section, the highest income groups among the agricultural labourers and miscellaneous occupational group form the middle section and all the others form the poor section. Differences in the standard of living are found only on this basis and not on the basis of the occupations. Between the different occupational classes there is great variation in the regularity of the income. The cultivators derive practically the whole of their income after the harvest in March-April whereas the agricultural labourers derive most of their income during the 6 months from September to February, September and October, and January and February being the best months. The miscellaneous occupational group on the other hand

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receives almost a regular income throughout the year. This pattern has some bearing on the standard of living, for the group which derives the entire income in a lump spends more at this period and lives a frugal life at other times whereas those who

derive a regular income live a more balanced life. The number of members in each income group of the different occupational classes and the different sources of income are given in Tables I (a), (b), (c) and II (a), (b), (c) in Appendix-A.

INCOME GROUPS



Average Monthly Income by Occupation

Expenditure

112. The cultivators spend 48.88 per cent, the agricultural labourers 85.28 per cent and miscellaneous occupational group 74.29 per cent of their total expenditure on food alone. Out of this 52.23 per cent in the case of cultivators, 57.82 per cent in respect of agricultural labourers and 57.17 per cent in the case of the miscellaneous occupational group are spent on rice. Since majority of the cultivators produce the rice required for their consumption, in their case this amount represents the commuted value of the rice they use. All the three occupational groups spend only small amounts on other grains. They, however, spend a larger amount on tapioca. The

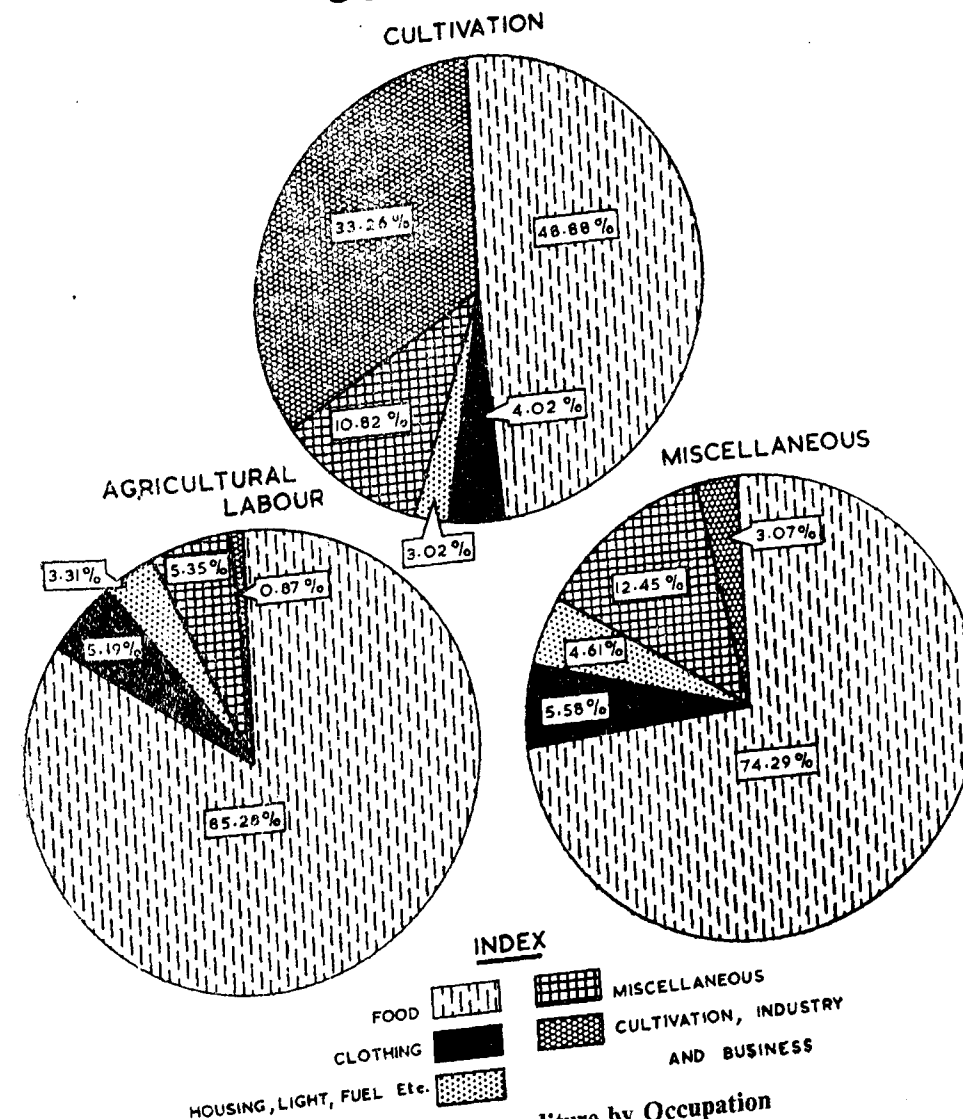
amount spent on tapioca by the agricultural labourers accounts for 10.42 per cent of the expenditure on food while for the miscellaneous occupational group it is 8.06 per cent and for the cultivators 5.38 per cent. Among other vegetables coconut is the most important item on which the cultivators spend 6.97 per cent, the agricultural labourers 4.16 per cent and the miscellaneous occupational group 5.06 per cent of the total expenditure on food. Only the cultivators spend any appreciable amount on meat while all the three occupational groups spend almost the same percentage on fish. The highest income group among the cultivators spend some amount on milk;

FAMILY BUDGET

the others do not seem to use milk at any time, probably for the reason that milk is scarce in the surveyed area. All the occupational classes use oil, particularly coconut oil, for seasoning the dishes. In all occupational groups there are people addicted to drinking but the cultivators spend only a smaller amount on this item than the agricultural labourers and miscellaneous occupational group. The cultivators and miscellaneous occupational group spend

a larger amount on smoking than on chewing while the agricultural labourers spend more on chewing than on smoking. The addiction to chewing in preference to smoking is a common trait among the agricultural labourers throughout the State. On an average the cultivators spend Rs. 20.82, the agricultural labourers Rs. 13.21 and the miscellaneous occupational group Rs. 14.12 on food on an adult equivalent male per month.

OCCUPATIONS



Average Monthly Expenditure by Occupation

113. The cultivators spend 4.02 per cent on clothing while the agricultural labourers spend 5.19 per cent and the miscellaneous occupational group 5.58 per cent on this item. On housing, light, fuel etc., the cultivators and agricultural labourers spend a slightly smaller percentage than the other occupational class. On miscellaneous items the cultivators spend 10.82 per cent, the agricultural labourers 5.35 per cent and the others 12.45 per cent of the total expenditure. Under this item the cultivators have given greater importance for savings schemes, education and treatment than for travelling, dhobi and soap on which also small amounts are spent. The agricultural labourers spend the largest amount under miscellaneous expenditure on dhobi and soap but almost an equally high amount is invested in savings schemes also. Education receives only a small portion from this amount in this group. The miscellaneous occupational group sets apart the largest amount for savings schemes and spends an almost equally large amount on education. The expenditure pattern under the miscellaneous items in this village makes an interesting departure from that of most

surveyed villages of Trivandrum and Quilon districts in that here all occupational groups and all income groups spend a large amount in investment schemes. The cultivators' households spend on household cultivation, industry and business amounts as high as 33.26 per cent of their total expenditure whereas the agricultural labourers spend only 0.87 per cent and miscellaneous occupational group only 3.07 per cent on this head.

114. Taking individual households it is found that 63.33 per cent households among the cultivators, 17.46 per cent households among the agricultural labourers and 39.47 per cent among miscellaneous occupational group present surplus budgets. 33.33 per cent households among the cultivators, 73.02 per cent households among the agricultural labourers and 50.00 per cent households among the miscellaneous occupational group have deficit budgets and remaining households balanced budgets. The distribution of households among the different occupational classes between the surplus, balanced and deficit budgets is given in the following table.

Table XIX

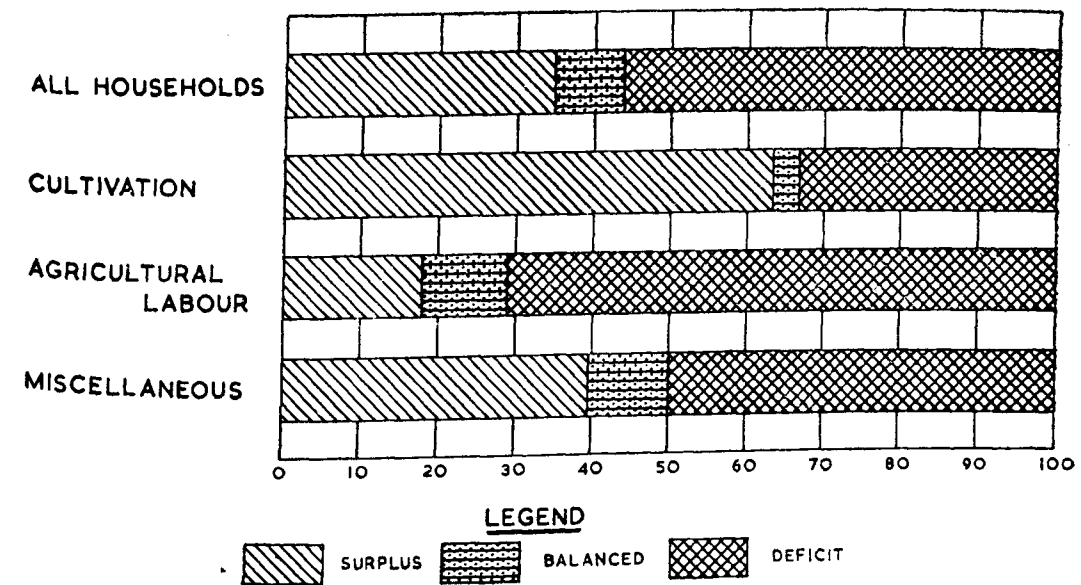
SURPLUS, BALANCED AND DEFICIT BUDGETS

Income group and occupation		Surplus	Balanced	Deficit
Cultivation	Less than Rs. 25	...	...	...
	Rs. 25 - 50	...	...	1
	Rs. 51 - 75	...	1	4
	Rs. 76-100	1	...	1
	Above Rs. 100	18	...	4
	Total	19	1	10
Agricultural labour	Less than Rs. 25	...	...	1
	Rs. 25 - 50	4	4	21
	Rs. 51 - 75	4	1	14
	Rs. 76-100	1	1	7
	Above Rs. 100	2	...	3
	Total	11	6	46
Miscellaneous	Less than Rs. 25	...	...	1
	Rs. 25 - 50	1	1	7
	Rs. 51 - 75	6	2	7
	Rs. 76-100	3	...	2
	Above Rs. 100	5	1	2
	Total	15	4	19

22 households in the deficit group make up the deficit by borrowing, 35 by curtailing certain expenses, 14 by sale of livestock

and 3 by withdrawing a portion of the amount invested in business.

SURPLUS, BALANCED AND DEFICIT BUDGETS



Indebtedness

115. Total indebtedness extends to 42.75 per cent households in the surveyed area. Taking the different income groups it is found that the percentage of indebted households increases with the higher income groups. The average amount of debt also increases from Rs. 90.90 for the Rs. 25-50 income group to Rs. 1,060.19 for the highest income group. Probing into the causes of indebtedness 46.32 per cent of the total amount of debt is found to have been incurred for household cultivation, almost the entire amount being taken as loan from Government. 20 out of 56 indebted households have borrowed money to tide over ordinary wants and 6 households for payment of dowry. Table IV in Appendix A gives more details about the indebtedness of the surveyed households.

Indices of Prosperity

116. During the last 10 years, 18 households in the surveyed area have been able to clear old outstanding debts amounting to a total of Rs. 19,729, 10 households have acquired new properties, 16 households have made cash savings and 12 households have made capital investments in house construction or in some other undertakings. Under the latter three items the families have invested a total of Rs. 49,404 excluding debts incurred for this purpose and the sale proceeds of properties. Compared to the enormous amounts of debt into which a large number of households in the surveyed area have sunk the small savings made by a few families do not indicate much of progress.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Age and Sex Distribution

117. 39.12 per cent of the total population of the surveyed area are in the age-group of 0-14, 34.75 per cent in the age-group of 15-34, 19.49 per cent in the age-group of 35-59 and the remaining in the age-group of 60 and above. While in the total population the number of females is greater than the number of males, in the age-groups of 10 to 14, 20 to 24, 30 to 34, 35 to 44 and 60 and over the males outnumber the females. Females in the

age-group of 15 to 19 and males in the age-group of 35 to 44 exceed their opposite sex by a large margin whereas in the other age-groups the differences are much smaller. In the highest age-group there is not only a comparatively large number of persons but a larger number of males than females contrary to the general trend in the other surveyed centres. The age and sex distribution of the population in the surveyed area are given in the following table.

Table XX

POPULATION BY AGE-GROUP

	Total of all ages	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 and over
Males	345	50	47	37	23	31	30	31	40	31	25
Females	363	56	53	34	44	28	31	28	29	38	22
Total persons	708	106	100	71	67	59	61	59	69	69	47

Age and Marital Status

118. 55.93 per cent people of the surveyed area are never married, 38.56 per cent married, 4.66 per cent widowed and 0.85 per cent divorced or separated. None is married below the age of 15 and there are only 7 females married between 15 and 19. No female above the age of 29 remains unmarried while there are 9 males between 30 and 39 yet to marry. Above 39, there

are no unmarried males also. Among the widowed persons, males are very few in number compared to females and all these males are aged above 44 whereas there are widowed females in younger age-groups. In the category of divorced or separated persons, there are only 6 females. The marital status of the population in the surveyed area is given in the table below.

Table XXI

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Age-group	Total population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	708	345	363	207	189	133	140	5	28	...	6
0-9	206	97	109	97	109	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	71	37	34	37	34	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	67	23	44	23	37	...	7	...	...	...	...
20-24	59	31	28	26	7	5	21	...	...	...	...

(Continued)

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Table XXI—Concl.

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Age-group	Total population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
25-29	61	30	31	15	2	15	27	...	...	...	2
30-34	59	31	28	7	...	24	26	...	1	...	1
35-39	46	24	22	2	...	22	19	...	3	...	...
40-44	23	16	7	...	...	16	5	...	1	...	1
45-49	31	18	13	...	...	16	9	2	3	...	1
50-54	15	3	12	...	...	3	10	...	2	...	...
55-59	23	10	13	...	...	10	11	...	2	...	...
60-64	23	14	9	...	...	13	3	1	6	...	...
65-69	12	6	6	...	...	6	...	...	6	...	...
70 & over	12	5	7	...	...	3	2	2	4	...	1

119. The age of marriage of both the boys and girls has advanced during the life-time of the present generation. In the memory of the present heads of the households marriages used to take place at younger ages in olden days. The statistics collected about youngest age of marriage in the households within the memory of the people living in the surveyed area show that females, though rarely, were married even below the age of 15. Majority of them were married below the age of 20 and only a very small number remained unmarried

above the age of 24. Similarly in the case of males marriages used to take place, at least in small numbers, below the age of 20. Large number of boys got married below the age of 24 unlike at present. Marriages at the younger ages were common in all communities except Anglo-Indians but they were more numerous among the Pulayas, Parayas and Syrian Catholics. The table below gives the youngest age of marriage of males and females that have taken place in the surveyed households during the life-time of the present heads.

Table XXII

YOUNGEST AGE AT MARRIAGE

Community	Age-group									
	10-14		15-19		20-24		25-29		30 and over	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Syrian Catholics	...	1	2	46	29	20	30	1	7	...
Anglo-Indians	...	...	...	...	1	4	1	...	2	...
Ezhuvas	...	1	1	17	12	6	9	...	2	...
Pulayas	...	3	2	17	15	7	8	1	3	...
Parayas	...	...	...	3	2	...	...	...	1	...
Arayas	...	...	...	1	...	2	3	...	...	...
Ganakans	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...
Total	...	5	5	84	59	40	52	2	15	...

Literacy and Education

120. In the surveyed area 37.15 per cent of the people are illiterate, 15.11 per cent are literate without educational standard,

45.48 per cent have passed primary school and 1.98 per cent have passed matriculation or higher secondary. Among the illiterate persons 40.30 per cent are children aged

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below 5, while among the literates without educational standard about half are children between 5 and 10 who still continue their studies in the primary classes. So also, among the people who have completed primary or junior basic, about 30 per cent are still continuing their high school studies. There are only two graduates in the whole of the surveyed area. None has

gone for technical degrees or diplomas or any kind of specialisation. The high percentage of literacy and education of the surveyed area is commendable considering that there are only a few schools in the village and that the children of the surveyed area have to undertake a difficult journey to the school, crossing the paddy fields and canals.

Table XXIII*

EDUCATION						
Age-group	Total	Illiterate	Literate without educational standard	Primary or junior basic	Matric or higher secondary	Graduates and above
All ages	708	263	107	322	14	2
0 - 4	106	106	...	...	...	...
5 - 9	100	45	49	6	...	...
10 - 14	71	5	26	40	...	...
15 - 19	67	9	5	51	2	...
20 - 24	52	7	7	36	7	2
25 - 29	61	13	2	45	1	...
30 - 34	52	15	2	42	...	...
35 - 44	69	15	8	44	2	...
45 - 59	62	25	6	36	2	...
60 and over	47	23	2	22	...	...

*inapplicable items are deleted.

Births and Deaths

121. Except during 1954, 1957, 1958 and 1960 when the number of births per year was below 300, it remained a little above 300 during the remaining years of the last decade. Whereas other villages under survey show an increase in the birth-rates during the decade, Prakkad keeps it at a constant level. No particular reason could be found out for this departure from the general pattern. There is not only no conscious attempt at family planning but a large section of the population is even against it. The death-rate also does not show much variation during the last decade. The birth and death statistics for the entire village is given in the following table since separate figures for the surveyed area have not been collected.

Table XXIV

BIRTH AND DEATH STATISTICS

Period	Births		Deaths
	Still births	Live births	
1951	...	306	90
1952	...	322	77
1953	...	314	83
1954	...	254	95
1955	...	311	105
1956	...	315	102
1957	...	235	120
1958	...	269	78
1959	...	314	88
1960	...	230	86

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Family Structure

122. 64.89 per cent of the families in the surveyed area fall in the category of simple families consisting of husband, wife and children. 13.74 per cent families contain some other unmarried relations also besides the husband, wife and children, say, for example, unmarried brother or sister of the husband or wife or the widowed father or mother. The remaining families which consist of more than one married couple are classified as joint families though not in the sense of a Marumakkathayam joint family. Their present structure can be mainly attributed to the inability of the people to put up new houses. This is evident from the fact that among the joint families of the surveyed area there is a good number of Catholics who never practised the joint family system of olden days.

Table XXV

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Community	Simple	Intermediate	Joint
Syrian Catholics	50	7	11
Anglo-Indians	2	1	1
Ezhuvas	13	2	9
Pulayas	17	6	5
Arayas	2	1	...
Parayas	1	1	1
Ganakans	...	...	1

Immigration and Emigration

123. Only three families, consisting of one Syrian Catholic, one Pulaya and one Ganaka, have come over to the surveyed area during the present generation. All the remaining families have been permanent settlers of the area from time immemorial.

Medical Care

124. Having no hospital within the village, people depend upon the Ayurvedic physicians for ordinary ailments and on the allopathic hospital at Ambalapuzha in cases of serious diseases. The absence of hospital in the village itself and the difficulty of communication during the rainy season act as incentives for neglecting minor diseases. Taking a patient to the hospital from the eastern part of the village or calling a

doctor to one of those homes is an impossible task in the time of floods. These difficulties have affected the attention given to the child-bearing mothers also. Medical consultation, during the period of pregnancy is absent. Only in extreme cases a woman may be taken to hospital for confinement. In the surveyed area only 5 households have ever taken women to hospital for confinement and only 27 households have called a midwife to attend maternity cases. In other cases untrained midwives or elderly women of the household handled the cases. 69 families have returned that they have had some sort of medical consultation by going to the hospital and 52 households by calling a doctor home. By this they mean only treatment on occasions of serious illness and not any regular check up. In the matter of treatment all the households rely on both Ayurvedic and allopathic systems. All people have been vaccinated.

Leisure and Recreation

125. Except for people in the coastal area spending some time on the beach chatting or playing cards there is no other organised way of spending the leisure time. Facilities for games or recreations are not available anywhere in the village. Some people spend the leisure hours reading papers in some tea-shops while some others wander a bit along the main road or the beach. For the children there is a park with recreational equipments in front of the Panchayat Office where in the evening children of the immediate neighbourhood gather. Cinema theatres and other places of entertainments are available only in far away place. From the surveyed area only 23 households go for films at least once in a while.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

126. Before 1st January 1962 two-thirds of the village was under Prakkad Panchayat and the rest under Ambalapuzha Panchayat. With the delimitation of the Panchayat in January 1962 the entire village was brought under Prakkad Panchayat. The Panchayat has a president, a vice-president and a council of 9 elected members. It attends to the maintenance and construction of village roads, street lighting, construction of wells and other public health activities.

So far in the village the Panchayat has constructed only two small bits of roads, one reason for this drawback being the water-logged character of the village. It has constructed two tube-wells and seven ordinary wells, maintains 108 street lights and has installed two radios, one in the Panchayat Office and the other at Thottappally. The annual income of the Panchayat is Rs. 25,000 approximately.

127. Caste or community panchayats of any description whatsoever are absent in the village. In olden days the Arayas had an internal organisation centered around the chief of the community; but all vestiges of authority disappeared from him during the last quarter of a century. The Pulayas and Parayas also had similar organisations to look after the internal administration of those communities, but they too did not survive the social ferment of the last three decades. In the places of these councils and chiefs, State-wide organisations have sprung up in recent times to promote social reforms and to safeguard the interests of the community vis-a-vis other communities.

Co-operative Societies

128. Altogether there are only three co-operative societies in Prakkad. One of them is an Industrial Co-operative Society started originally as a training centre at Thottappally in 1956 by the Ambalapuzha N. E. S. Block. The total membership of this society is 33 and paid-up share capital Rs. 540. In addition, it has received from the Block an industrial development grant of Rs. 900. Both carpentry and smithy are practised here with 12 regular workers and 0.5 horse power lathe. The society produces furniture and iron materials worth about Rs. 7,000 annually.

129. The Poracad Service Co-operative Society, originally started as Kari Land Karshaka Co-operative Society, is the biggest co-operative movement in the area. It has 447 members and a total paid-up share capital of Rs. 15,000. Every year it takes loan to the tune of Rs. 1,00,000 from the District Co-operative Bank for distribution among 'kari' land cultivators. Besides providing credit facilities it also

offers assistance to the cultivators in procuring manures and insecticides both of which are issued on credit. The loans are collected after the harvest. The Society maintains agricultural implements such as sprayers and dusters. In recent years the pumping work in the 'kari' lands is also undertaken by the society in order to reduce the pumping costs by eliminating the contractors.

130. The Poracad Khadi Producers' Industrial Co-operative Society was registered in December 1959 with 204 members and a share-capital of Rs. 325. It has taken about Rs. 15,500 as loan from different sources for giving credit facilities to the members. 24 'Ambarcharkas' and 73 spindles have also been distributed by the society.

Dowry

131. 64 Syrian Catholic households out of a total of 68 and all the Anglo-Indian households in the surveyed area have given or received dowry consisting of both money and ornaments. The remaining 4 households of the Catholics are no exception to this practice but they had either no occasion to give dowry or were too poor to demand or give it. Out of the total households that have partaken in this practice, 44.12 per cent have given or received up to Rs. 500 in cash or ornaments, 16.18 per cent up to Rs. 1,000, 14.71 per cent up to Rs. 1,500, 4.41 per cent up to Rs. 2,000, 2.94 per cent up to Rs. 2,500, 4.41 per cent up to Rs. 3,000 and 13.23 per cent above Rs. 3,000. The amount of dowry is an important consideration for Christians in settling marriage alliances. While family status and other considerations are also to be taken into account, one or more of these factors may be waived for the sake of a handsome dowry. Generally it is given in money and ornaments. Landed properties are given only in very rare cases as when the girl is a heiress without any brothers. No other community of the village approves dowry system in theory but almost all of them give some amounts to the boy on the occasion of marriage, in addition to the share to which his wife is entitled.

CASTE RELATIONSHIP

Table XXVI*

DOWRY

Total No. of households	Name of the community	No. of households which have either given or received dowry	No. of households which have given or received dowry both in cash or property and in ornaments							
			Up to Rs. 100	Up to Rs. 500	Up to Rs. 1,000	Up to Rs. 1,500	Up to Rs. 2,000	Up to Rs. 2,500	Up to Rs. 3,000	Above Rs. 3,000
68	Syrian Catholics	64	...	30	11	10	2	2	3	6
4	Anglo-Indians	4	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	3
24	Ezhuvas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Arayas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1	Ganakans	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
28	Pulayas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Parayas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

*Inapplicable items are deleted

Caste Relationship

132. Untouchability is not practised by anybody although certain social behaviour might indicate that the outlook in this matter has not changed completely. The Goudasaraswath Brahmans even now do not allow the low castes to enter their temples and show some restraint in their contact with the low castes. The Brahmans and Nairs look down upon the Ezhuvas, Arayas, Pulayas and Parayas and cherish a vague feeling that some sort of social hierarchy still exists. Thus while a Nair feels that he is socially superior to an Ezhuva, even though he may not dare to speak so openly, an Ezhuva feels that the Arayas are a lower caste than himself. The Pulayas and Parayas are even below the Arayas. The Christians and Muslims who do not form steps of this hierarchy are conceded a position equal to the high castes. While these classifications on the basis of the caste have still some hold in the village life, economic considerations have started to cut across the castes in recent times. Thus a rich Ezhuva or even an Araya will be conceded, though grudgingly, an equal position with the higher castes, while a poor Nair may not be granted even a place of equality with a richer Araya. The influence of money in the social life is becoming more and more apparent as years go by and may totally replace all other social considerations in the not too distant future.

Clubs, Libraries and Reading Habit

133. Two libraries have been established in the village recently. With the grant they receive from the Panchayat, books, periodicals and newspapers are purchased. People go there mainly to read papers and periodicals and rarely take out books. Periodicals are in Malayalam but among the books there are a few in English also. These libraries serve as an informal club because of the convenience they afford to the young men to gather together and while away the time. There are no other clubs or entertainment centres in the village.

134. 27 households in the surveyed area get down daily newspapers. The percentage of houses getting down daily newspapers is higher in some other areas where communication facilities are better. People from 19 households in the surveyed area have taken part in social uplift work, mainly under the aegis of the N. E. S. Block. Members of 69 households take active part in politics.

Developmental Activities

135. Co-operation in the developmental activities seems to be better here compared to several surveyed villages in other districts. 65.65 per cent households from the surveyed area have taken active part in one way or other in the functions of the N.E.S. Block. 61 households have derived benefits from the demonstrations conducted in agricultural practices while 41 households

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have improved their fortunes by reclamation and consolidation of lands. The large scale use of the chemical manures and pesticides is certainly due to the instructions and demonstrations of the agricultural officers of the Block. In the last decade 41 households in the surveyed area have started using improved seeds, 41 households improved implements and 41 households better manure and insecticides. In other parts of the village also the developmental activities have left some imprints. The Industrial Co-operative Society and Khadi Producers' Co-operative Society owe their origin to the Block. A boat manufacturing unit has been recently started with the help of the N. E. S. Block. Immediately after the inception of the N. E. S. Block some boats were supplied to the fishermen on hire purchase system; but that scheme fell through and the boats are now out of use. Better cultural practices are adopted in the coconut plantations under the influence of the N. E. S. Block.

Family Planning

136. 66 households in the surveyed area

belonging to Syrian Catholic, Anglo-Indian, Pulaya, Ezhuva, Araya, Paraya and Ganakan communities were interviewed to ascertain their views on family planning. 36 households from them were aware of the need and methods of family planning but only 27 of them favoured the programme. These 27 include members of all interviewed communities except Parayas. The Paraya family was not aware of the programme and, therefore, could not give any opinion in the matter. From the 27 families all except three favoured only the method of self-restraint for limiting the number of children, while the three favoured sterilization also. Artificial method of controlling child-birth is considered by most of these to be a shameful practice disapproved by the society. Some of them think that the purchase of contraceptives will expose them to public talk. The Christians, however, object to the artificial method on religious grounds. The nearest family planning clinic is at Alleppey. The following table shows the reaction of the various communities to the family planning programme.

Table XXVII

ATTITUDE TO FAMILY PLANNING

	Syrian Catholics	Anglo-Indians	Pulayas	Ezhuvas	Arayas	Parayas	Ganakans
(1) Total No. of persons interviewed	39	3	11	9	2	1	1
(2) No. of persons aware of family planning programme	26	3	2	3	1	...	1
(3) No. of persons in favour of family planning out of item No. 2	17	3	2	3	1	...	1
(4) No. of persons out of item No. 3 in favour of							
(a) Self restraint only	17	3	1	2	...	...	1
(b) Contraceptives only	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(c) Contraceptives and self-restraint only	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(d) Sterilization	...	...	1	1	1	...	...
(5) No. of persons who were not aware of family planning programme	13	...	9	6	1	1	...
(6) No. of persons out of item No.5 who are in favour of family planning when it was explained to them	3	...	7	4	1	1	...
(7) No. of persons out of item No. 6 in favour of							
(a) Self-restraint	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
(b) No specific view	...	...	7	4	1	1	...

Festivals

137. Two festivals are celebrated in the Venugopala Temple, owned by the Goudasaraswath Brahmans. The one in January-February lasts for 9 days and the other in April-May for 7 days. Goudasaraswath Brahmans of the neighbouring areas gather in the temple during these days. The feasts start with the hoisting of the flag on the first day and every succeeding day small processions are taken out within the compound. Special 'pujas' are held on all these days. The pilgrims who come from distant places are fed in the temple itself. There is no fair or entertainment which is a common feature in every temple festival.

138. Onam is celebrated on a grand scale by all Hindus of the village. The

other Hindu festivals are 'Karkidaka Vavu', 'New moon day' in July-August and Vishu.

139. Two festivals are celebrated in the Catholic Church of which one is that of the Holy Cross on September 14th and the other of St. Sebastian from 23rd to 27th January. These are attended only by the parishioners. Special ceremonies are held in the church in the morning. For the feast of St. Sebastian a procession is taken out to the beach. No fair or other celebrations are held in connection with these. Besides these two feasts the general Christian feasts such as Easter and Christmas are celebrated in the usual way with special ceremonies in the church and sumptuous feasts at home.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Social

140. With the peculiar geographical setting, complete dependence on agriculture and fishing for the livelihood, the formidable problems of public health and communication that have been briefly described in the preceding pages. Prakkad is a typical problem village calling for many-sided attention. Some of these problems may have to remain unsolved for a long time to come due to their very nature while some others can be tackled by a joint effort of the people and the Government. The phenomenal progress achieved by the village in the economic field with the co-operative effort of the Government and the people should necessarily encourage more concerted efforts and throw a halo of hope about their success.

141. The problem of communication, particularly during the monsoon months, is, perhaps, the most outstanding one. As observed in the foregoing portions, during the rainy season the major portion of the village is a vast sheet of water dotted here and there with isolated tiny islands, their inhabitants almost marooned from the mainland. Small native boats alone form their only means of communication. Those who cannot afford even this have to wade waist or even chest deep on foot through water to fetch drinking water, to purchase the daily necessities, to go for work, to get medical aid, in short, to meet all their needs. Though the difficulties which the problem presents are enormous a solution is not easy having regard to the random location of the islands which makes it well nigh impossible to connect them by a single road. Perhaps, a scheme of permanent embankment of the fields for cultivation might result in the secondary benefit of facilitating the linking up of these islands to some extent and hence provide a satisfactory solution. This aspect has been dealt with later in this chapter.

142. The problem of public health created by the geographical conditions of the

village are equally grave, but the solution is not so difficult as in the case of communication. The most pressing need in this field is the supply of drinking water in the eastern part of the village. The western parts are now being served by tube-wells which although not sufficient to satisfy all the requirements of the households in that area at least meet their essential needs like cooking and drinking leaving the people to depend upon other sources for bathing and washing. But the inhabitants of some of the islands are denied even this facility with the result that they often resort to unhygienic sources to meet their requirements. Thus during the monsoon season one can see in several islands a cocoanut leaf tied to the stem of cocoanut tree to collect rain water dripping down along the stem in a pot placed below the tip of the leaf. Provision of drinking water to these islands is, therefore, an urgent need. If wells of fresh water could be had in these islands the problem can be solved more easily than by protected water supply through pipe system from the mainland. However, a probe into the question by the Public Health Engineering Department might prove useful. A hospital in the village is another immediate need. A floating dispensary carrying medicines and a Public Health Unit in a boat used to move about in these places some time ago but it has ceased to appear long since. At present people have not only to cross the water but also to go to Ambalapuzha to reach the nearest hospital. The neglect of maternity cases, the general decline in the health of the people and the self resignation in not seeking medical aid for minor ailments which later on become dangerous killers are directly to be attributed to the absence of a hospital within easy reach. One of the reforms which the public themselves can effect is the construction of better type of latrines in more hygienic locations. The present arrangements pollute the land and

water indiscriminately and multiply the sources of diseases. Cheap type of latrines which are quite hygienic are now being propagated by the N. E. S. Block. Every household or at least the majority of households in the village should be able to construct one such. The opening of a public burial ground with crematorium for the various Hindu communities of the village is another step that may improve the public health conditions. At present most of the Hindu communities cremate or bury their dead in their residential compounds, in the absence of other suitable places for this purpose. With the increasing density of population residential compounds are getting smaller and smaller in size and burial or cremation in these compounds has already become inconvenient.

143. Though the number of houses in the village presents a somewhat consoling picture of housing condition there are numerous allied problems deserving notice. With increasing tempo of sea erosion in the beach the existence of the fishermen's houses is becoming more and more precarious. This problem has already attracted the sympathetic attention of the Government and construction of sea-walls in this area has already been taken up. The construction of colonies like the one already constructed at Thottappally will also ameliorate the housing problems of the poor.

Economic

144. The most important economic resource of the village is agriculture. This includes the cultivation of paddy and cocoanut. Unfortunately the production of cocoanuts has been on the decrease in recent years due to various causes and in all probability it will further go down in the years to come. Among the diseases which contribute to the steady decline in production the most important is the root or yellow leaf disease which has not been successfully brought under control. Spraying the trees with Bordeaux mixture is recommended as an effective prophylactic measure. It may be well worth trying in the village in order to save as many trees as possible. Bud rot can be prevented by the application of Bordeaux paste to the crown and stem-bleeding by scooping off

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the diseased tissues and applying coal-tar. Rhinoceros beetle, red palm weevil and black-headed caterpillar have also to be guarded against. In many plantations the cocoanut trees have passed the prime of their bearing age and require replacement. The ordinary practice is to plant saplings between the old trees so that by the time the old trees fall down, the new ones start production. This results in irregular plantation and in the uninterrupted survival of diseases. A more scientific and profitable method will be to cut down all the trees in the plantation yielding less than a minimum and replant the area systematically with better yielding and good variety saplings. For three or four years the cultivator might lose the small yield which he would have got from the old trees but in the long run this is likely to yield more profit. There is not much scope for the extension of the area under cocoanut. However, if permanent embankments are constructed in the paddy fields they can be planted with cocoanut trees. The trees on such embankments are found to be generally heavy croppers. Besides, they give strength to the embankments interlacing their fibrous root system into it. Better manuring coupled with scientific cultural operations should be able to break through the declining levels of productivity and compensate any shortage of area.

145. The major problems in the paddy cultivation of this village such as bunding, dewatering etc., have been solved in recent years and they no longer worry the cultivators. The production now practically depends upon the proper application of fertilisers in the land. The soil of the area being basically acidic, sufficient application of fertilisers to counter the acidity should be ensured. The extent to which each fertiliser has to be applied has also to be determined in relation to the extent of acidity present. This extent can be correctly assessed without incurring any additional expenditure by providing the soil samples to the Agriculture Department. The Gramsevak and the N. E. S. Block are offering necessary help in taking the soil samples for the purpose. Several cultivators do not make use of these facilities and

indiscriminately use the fertilisers leading to adverse results. The application of lime in large quantities along with the fertiliser is quite essential to counter the high acidity and has constantly been recommended by the Agriculture Department. Lime is, no doubt, applied by the cultivators but seldom according to prescription.

146. The construction of embankments and their periodical repair is a work involving heavy expenditure. The temporary bunds are weak and as such liable to be washed away at any time during the cultivation period. As already mentioned, in order to avoid the calamities resulting from this cultivators have put permanent watch over the bunds. In spite of all the precautions bunds often give way and large areas are flooded causing widespread damage to crops. The only remedy for this problem seems to be the construction of strong permanent embankments. At the beginning of the Kuttanad Development Scheme, the Government actually undertook such work in certain areas. An extension of the scheme to more areas and the recovery of the cost in easy instalments will greatly benefit the people. Considering the fact that a cultivator may have to spend about Rs. 60 to Rs. 75 every year for the protection of embankments of an acre of land, such a permanent embankment seems to be a definitely less expensive proposition in the long run. Planting of cocoanut trees along these embankments as mentioned earlier will give the cultivators a good income which may perhaps be sufficient for his annual payment towards the cost of the bund construction.

147. One section of the village population entirely depend upon fishing. Hence, side by side with the improvement in cultivation there should be improvement in the fishing industry as well to secure a balanced economic development. A detailed

analysis of the problems facing the fishing industry has been made in the Monograph on Kottukal¹ already. The observations made there and the improvements suggested hold good to this place without any modification. In a nutshell, the improvements should consist of the introduction of mechanised boats, use of modern fishing gears and arrangements for the prompt marketing of fish, without middlemen. These could be achieved only by the fishermen organising themselves on co-operative lines. Unfortunately co-operative movement among the fishermen of this area had a disappointing start. The N. E. S. Block had organised a Fishermen Co-operative Society and supplied them with new boats on the understanding that the cost of the boats excluding the grant given by the Block would be repaid by the Fishermen Co-operative Society in regular instalments. The Society soon melted away and the boats still lie on the beach exposed to weather. The dues to the N.E.S. Block have not been paid back and all the efforts of the Block for helping the fishermen ended in good intentions self-defeated. Progress can be achieved in the fishing industry only by a radical change in the approach of the fishermen population to co-operative movement which alone can ultimately save them. Mechanisation of the fishing industry has made greater strides in States like Maharashtra than in Kerala. The reason for the poor progress in Kerala is said to be the unsuitability of indigeneous crafts used here for the installation of engines. Therefore new hulls have to be constructed and this involves not only delay but also greater expenditure. It would be helpful to themselves if those who construct new boats adopt suitable models to adapt for their eventual mechanisation.

APPENDIX A

Table I (a)

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income group	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Total	Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 & above	Females of 12 & above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12			
Cultivation	Less than Rs.25	...	...	...	...	...	3.00	2.30	1.00
	Rs. 25—50	1	...	2.00	1.00	...	5.00	4.28	1.00
	Rs. 51—75	5	1.80	2.20	0.40	0.60	3.50	3.35	1.50
	Rs. 76—100	2	2.00	1.50	...	...	7.01	5.61	2.23
	Above Rs. 100	22	2.50	2.14	1.23	1.14	...	...	...

Table I (b)

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income group	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Total	Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 & above	Females of 12 & above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12			
Agricultural Labour	Less than Rs.25	1	...	1.00	...	...	1.00	0.90	1.00
	Rs. 25—50	29	1.21	1.31	0.86	0.83	4.21	3.23	1.69
	Rs. 51—75	19	1.74	1.89	0.79	0.84	5.26	4.26	2.47
	Rs. 76—100	9	2.00	2.33	1.00	1.00	6.33	5.10	3.44
	Above Rs. 100	5	3.40	3.40	0.60	0.80	8.20	7.16	6.40

Table I (c)

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Occupation	Income group	No. of households	Average No. of persons per household				Total	Average No. of equivalent adult males per household	Average No. of gainfully employed people per household
			Males of 12 & above	Females of 12 & above	Male children below 12	Female children below 12			
Miscellaneous	Less than Rs.25	1	...	2.00	...	...	2.00	1.80	2.00
	Rs. 25—50	9	1.33	1.22	0.67	0.89	4.11	3.21	1.44
	Rs. 51—75	15	1.27	1.60	0.67	1.20	4.74	3.65	1.67
	Rs. 76—100	5	2.20	1.60	0.80	1.40	6.00	4.74	2.00
	Above Rs. 100	8	3.13	2.25	0.63	1.25	7.26	6.10	2.50

(1) See Part VI F of this series

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APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table II (a)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	All households	Households with a monthly income of					
			Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100	
			No. of households	30	...	1	5	2
		Rs.	Per cent	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cultivation	(a) Salary or wages	11.14	4.85	...	10.00	5.00	33.75	10.98
	(b) Industry run by the household	6.86	2.99	...	...	...	...	8.90
	(c) Business run by the household	17.78	7.74	...	...	...	...	24.24
	(d) Cultivation run by the household	178.47	77.69	...	16.67	50.00	45.83	227.08
	(e) Rent from land	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(f) Rent from houses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(g) Pension	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(h) Gifts and presents	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(i) Help from relatives	0.28	0.12	...	8.33	...	...	...
	(j) Other sources	15.18	6.61	...	...	15.83	2.08	16.91
		Total	229.71	100.00	...	35.00	70.83	81.66

Table II (b)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Source of income	All households	Households with a monthly income of					
			Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100	
			No. of households	63	1	29	19	9
		Rs.	Per cent	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Agricultural labour	(a) Salary or wages	53.43	87.28	21.58	38.80	49.67	74.35	121.33
	(b) Industry run by the household	0.65	1.06	...	0.29	1.27	0.92	...
	(c) Business run by the household	0.66	1.08	...	...	2.19	...	...
	(d) Cultivation run by the household	2.55	4.17	...	0.93	4.28	3.70	3.83
	(e) Rent from land	0.08	0.13	...	...	0.26	...	...
	(f) Rent from houses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(g) Pension	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(h) Gifts and presents	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(i) Help from relatives	0.26	0.42	...	0.14	0.66	...	...
	(j) Other sources	3.59	5.86	...	2.39	5.07	6.76	...
	Total	61.22	100.00	21.58	42.55	63.40	85.73	125.16

APPENDIX A

Table II (c)

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD				Households with a monthly income of				
Occupation	Source of income	All households		Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
		No. of households						
		Rs.	Per cent	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
		38		1	9	15	5	8

Table III (a-1)

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE			AND OCCUPATION		Households with a monthly income of				
Occupation	Items of expenditure	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Less than Rs.25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs.100	
				...	1	5	2	22	
	No. of households	30							
		Per house- hold	Per equivalent adult male						
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Cultivation	A. Food Group								
	i. Cereals and pulses								
		55.80	10.88	52.23	...	18.00	33.20	65.23	
	Rice	1.57	0.31	1.47	...	0.50	0.80	1.25	
	Other grains	0.88	0.17	0.82	...	...	0.70	0.50	
	Dhal				...	18.50	34.70	29.25	
	Total	58.25	11.36	54.52	...			68.04	

(Continued)

(Continued)

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APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (a-1)—Contd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	No. of households	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of				
					Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs.100
			30		...	1	5	2	22
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cultivation	ii. Vegetables								
	Potatoes		1.19	0.23	1.11	...	...	0.20	1.58
	Tapioca		5.75	1.12	5.38	...	3.00	4.05	6.38
	Onions		0.35	0.07	0.33	...	0.15	0.20	0.40
	Cocoanuts		7.45	1.45	6.97	...	1.60	3.30	9.07
	Other vegetables		2.53	0.49	2.37	...	...	0.75	3.22
	Total		17.27	3.36	16.16	...	4.75	8.50	20.65
	iii. Meat and Fish								
	Meat		3.88	0.76	3.63	...	...	0.40	5.11
	Fish		4.17	0.81	3.90	...	1.50	1.80	5.02
	Total		8.05	1.57	7.53	...	1.50	2.20	10.13
	iv. Milk		3.77	0.73	3.53	...	...	...	5.14
Cultivation	v. Ghee and Oils		3.50	0.68	3.28	...	1.50	1.70	4.14
	vi. Salt		0.43	0.08	0.40	...	0.25	0.30	0.49
	vii. Condiments								
	Chillies		1.93	0.38	1.81	...	1.00	1.30	2.16
	Tamarind		0.62	0.12	0.58	...	0.25	0.35	0.72
	Other condiments		4.20	0.82	3.93	...	1.50	2.20	4.93
	Total		6.75	1.32	6.32	...	2.75	3.85	7.81
	viii. Sugars		2.88	0.56	2.70	...	...	1.40	3.44
	ix. Coffee and Tea		1.65	0.32	1.54	...	0.50	0.85	1.95
	x. Liquor		1.77	0.35	1.66	...	...	...	2.41
	xi. Tobacco								
	Smoking		1.54	0.30	1.44	...	...	0.20	1.94
Cultivation	Chewing		0.98	0.19	0.92	...	1.00	0.70	1.09
	Total		2.52	0.49	2.36	...	1.00	0.90	3.03
	xii. Other foods including refreshments								
	Pansupari etc.		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total under food		106.84	20.82	100.00	...	30.75	54.40	127.23

(Continued)

APPENDIX A

Table III (a-1)—Concl'd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	No. of households	All households	Households with a monthly income of				
				Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs.100
			30	...	1	5	2	22
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cultivation	B. Clothing		8.78	...	2.08	4.00	5.00	10.55
	C. Housing, light, fuel etc.		6.61	...	1.75	3.02	3.92	7.89
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure							
	i. Education		4.29	18.14	...	0.83	1.00	5.59
	ii. Dhobi or soap		2.32	9.81	...	1.00	1.30	2.66
	iii. Barber		0.32	1.35	...	0.08	0.20	0.36
	iv. Travelling		2.51	10.61	...	...	0.42	3.39
	v. Medical fees and medicines		4.45	18.82	...	...	0.08	6.03
	vi. Religious observances		0.53	2.24	...	...	0.05	0.69
	vii. Amusements		0.08	0.34	...	...	...	0.11
	viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings		6.81	28.80	...	...	0.67	8.76
	ix. Payment of debts		...	...	...	...	...	...
Cultivation	x. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere		1.67	7.06	...	...	...	2.27
	xi. Other items		0.67	2.83	...	...	0.33	0.83
	Total		23.65	100.00	...	1.91	3.63	30.69
				Percentage of total expenditure on cultivation etc.				
	E. Cultivation, Industries and Business							
	i. Cultivation run by the household		72.63	99.90	...	0.42	7.50	96.18
	ii. Industry run by the household		...	...	...	...	...	...
	iii. Business run by the household		0.07	0.10	...	...	...	0.09
	Total		72.70	100.00	...	0.42	7.50	96.27
	F. Grand total of A to E		218.58	...	36.91	72.55	80.16	272.63

APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (b-1)

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS
AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	No. of households	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of				
					Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
					1	29	19	9	5
			Per household	Per equivalent adult male					
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Agricultural Labour	A. Food Group								
	i. <i>Cereals and Pulses</i>								
	Rice	31.17	7.64	57.82	9.50	22.60	32.79	42.78	58.20
	Other grains	1.00	0.25	1.85	...	0.84	1.01	1.33	1.50
	Dhal	0.42	0.10	0.78	0.50	0.27	0.57	0.36	0.90
	Total	32.59	7.99	60.45	10.00	23.71	34.37	44.47	60.60
	ii. <i>Vegetables</i>								
	Potatoes	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Tapioca	5.62	1.38	10.42	1.75	4.03	5.33	8.19	12.00
	Onions	0.21	0.05	0.39	...	0.17	0.25	0.25	0.25
	Cocoanuts	2.24	0.55	4.16	1.00	1.81	2.32	2.67	3.95
	Other vegetables	0.36	0.09	0.67	...	0.16	0.50	0.50	0.76
	Total	8.43	2.07	15.64	2.75	6.17	8.40	11.61	16.96
	iii. <i>Meat and Fish</i>								
	Meat	0.42	0.10	0.78	...	0.30	0.26	0.89	1.00
	Fish	2.00	0.49	3.71	1.00	1.59	1.89	2.61	3.91
	Total	2.42	0.59	4.49	1.00	1.89	2.15	3.50	4.91
	iv. <i>Milk</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	v. <i>Ghee and Oils</i>	1.85	0.45	3.43	1.00	1.57	1.97	2.00	2.90
	vi. <i>Salt</i>	0.37	0.09	0.69	0.15	0.30	0.41	0.44	0.55
	vii. <i>Condiments</i>								
	Chillies	1.31	0.32	2.43	0.50	1.03	1.37	1.67	2.20
	Tamarind	0.34	0.08	0.63	...	...	0.32	0.50	0.60
	Other condiments	1.94	0.48	3.60	0.85	1.52	1.99	2.50	3.40
	Total	3.59	0.88	6.66	1.35	2.55	3.68	4.67	6.20
	viii. <i>Sugars</i>	0.90	0.22	1.67	0.85	0.53	1.03	1.28	1.90
	ix. <i>Coffee and Tea</i>	0.67	0.16	1.24	0.50	0.52	0.67	0.86	1.25
	x. <i>Liquor</i>	1.52	0.37	2.82	...	0.31	1.53	2.89	6.40
	xi. <i>Tobacco</i>								
	Smoking	0.52	0.13	0.96	...	0.32	0.45	0.83	1.50
	Chewing	1.05	0.26	1.95	1.50	0.47	0.92	1.83	3.40
	Total	1.57	0.39	2.91	1.50	0.79	1.37	2.66	4.90
	xii. <i>Other foods including refreshments</i>								
	Pansupari etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total under food	53.91	13.21	100.00	19.10	38.34	55.58	74.38	106.57

(Continued)

APPENDIX A

Table III (b-1)—Concl'd.

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS
AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Items of expenditure	No. of households	All households	Percentage of total expenditure on miscellaneous items	Households with a monthly income of				
					Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs. 100
					1	29	19	9	5
			63						
			Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Agricultural Labour	B. Clothing								
	C. Housing, light, fuel etc.								
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure								
	i. <i>Education</i>	0.30	8.88	...	...	0.22	0.51	0.28	0.03
	ii. <i>Dhobi or soap</i>	1.18	34.91	0.75	0.87	1.24	1.67	1.95	...
	iii. <i>Barber</i>	0.19	5.62	...	0.16	0.18	0.22	0.33	...
	iv. <i>Travelling</i>	0.03	0.89	...	...	0.04	0.09	...	...
	v. <i>Medical fees and medicines</i>	...	...	...	...	0.01	0.01	0.02	...
	vi. <i>Religious observances</i>	0.01	0.30	...	...	...	...	0.03	...
	vii. <i>Amusements</i>	0.01	0.30	...	...	...	...	...	...
	viii. <i>Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings</i>	1.10	32.54	...	0.51	1.36	1.28	3.47	...
	ix. <i>Payment of debts</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	x. <i>Remittances to dependants living elsewhere</i>	...	...	...	...	0.34	0.44	0.93	1.67
	xi. <i>Other items</i>	0.56	16.56	...	...	2.11	3.78	4.52	7.45
	Total	3.38	100.00		0.75				
				Percentage of total expenditure on cultivation etc.					
	E. Cultivation, Industries and Business								
	i. <i>Cultivation run by the household</i>	0.55	100.00	...	...	0.22	1.12	0.09	1.25
	ii. <i>Industry run by the household</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	iii. <i>Business run by the household</i>	...	...	...	...	0.22	1.12	0.09	1.25
	Total	0.55	100.00						
	F. Grand total of A to E	63.21			22.43	44.66	66.08	86.33	124.80

Table III (c-1)

Occupation	Items of expenditure No. of households	All households		Percentage of total expenditure on food	Households with a monthly income of				
		38			Less than Rs.25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs.100
		Per house-hold	Per equivalent adult male		1	9	15	5	8
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Miscellaneous	A. Food Group								
	<i>i. Cereals and Pulses</i>								
	Rice	33.47	8.07	57.17	7.50	23.56	28.47	39.10	53.75
	Other grains	0.97	0.23	1.66	...	0.68	0.93	1.20	1.31
	Dhal	0.48	0.12	0.82	...	0.36	0.38	0.55	0.81
	Total	34.92	8.42	59.65	7.50	24.60	29.78	40.85	55.87
	<i>ii. Vegetables</i>								
	Potatoes	0.28	0.07	0.48	...	...	0.10	0.70	0.69
	Tapioca	4.72	1.14	8.06	2.00	3.89	4.38	5.15	6.38
	Onions	0.23	0.06	0.39	...	0.19	0.24	0.25	0.25
	Cocoanuts	2.96	0.71	5.06	0.50	1.72	2.63	3.50	4.94
	Other vegetables	0.75	0.18	1.28	...	0.33	0.60	1.20	1.31
	Total	8.94	2.16	15.27	2.50	6.13	7.95	10.80	13.57
	<i>iii. Meat and Fish</i>								
	Meat	1.16	0.28	1.98	...	0.44	1.20	1.20	2.00
	Fish	2.17	0.52	3.71	0.75	1.75	2.03	2.20	3.06
	Total	3.33	0.80	5.69	0.75	2.19	3.23	3.40	5.06
	<i>iv. Milk</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	<i>v. Ghee and Oils</i>	2.01	0.48	3.43	0.75	1.67	1.93	2.00	2.69
	<i>vi. Salt</i>	0.38	0.09	0.65	0.15	0.28	0.38	0.50	0.44
	<i>vii. Condiments</i>								
	Chillies	1.44	0.35	2.46	0.50	1.14	1.37	1.70	1.88
	Tamarind	0.41	0.10	0.70	...	0.28	0.38	0.55	0.59
	Other condiments	2.21	0.53	3.78	0.50	1.56	2.17	2.70	2.94
	Total	4.06	0.98	6.94	1.00	2.98	3.92	4.95	5.41
	<i>viii. Sugars</i>	1.36	0.33	2.32	...	0.78	1.17	1.60	2.38
	<i>ix. Coffee and Tea</i>	0.81	0.20	1.38	...	0.47	0.73	0.90	1.38
	<i>x. Liquor</i>	1.21	0.29	2.07	...	...	0.47	2.00	3.63
	<i>xi. Tobacco</i>								
	Smoking	0.90	0.22	1.54	...	0.61	1.03	1.40	0.78
Chewing	0.62	0.15	1.06	...	0.61	0.47	...	1.38	
Total	1.52	0.37	2.60	...	1.22	1.50	1.40	2.16	
<i>xii. Other foods including refreshments</i>									
Pansupari etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total under food	58.54	14.12	100.00	12.65	40.32	51.06	68.40	92.5	

(Continued)

Table III (c-1)—Concl'd.

**AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS
AND OCCUPATION**

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE			AND OCCUPATION		Households with a monthly income of					
Occupation	Items of expenditure	No. of households	All households	Expenditure per household	Percentage of total expenditure on miscellaneous items	Less than	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Above
						Rs. 25	25-50	51-75	76-100	Rs.100
			38			1	9	15	5	8
				Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Miscellaneous	B. Clothing	4.40		0.83	2.54	3.86	4.83	7.66		
	C. Housing, light, fuel etc.	3.63		1.08	2.40	2.78	4.53	6.36		
	D. Miscellaneous expenditure	2.38	24.26	...	0.09	0.22	2.67	9.11		
	i. Education	1.53	15.60	0.50	1.00	1.37	1.90	2.31		
	ii. Dhobi or soap	0.21	2.14	...	0.15	0.17	0.25	0.34		
	iii. Barber	1.11	11.32	...	...	0.75	3.75	1.51		
	iv. Travelling	...	...	...	0.09	0.14	0.17	1.25		
	v. Medical fees and medicines	0.36	3.67	...	0.01	0.07	0.10	0.41		
	vi. Religious observances	0.12	1.22	...	...	...	...	...		
	vii. Amusements	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	viii. Provident fund, kuri and other compulsory savings	2.39	24.37	...	0.72	3.11	3.00	2.85		
	ix. Payment of debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.75	
	x. Remittances to dependants living elsewhere	0.79	8.05	...	...	1.22	...	2.08		
	xi. Other items	0.92	9.37	...	...	...	...	...		
		Total	9.81	100.00	0.50	2.06	7.05	11.84	23.61	
					Percentage of total expenditure on cultivation etc.					
E. Cultivation, Industries and Business										
	i. Cultivation run by the household	1.54	63.64	...	...	0.97	...	5.47		
	ii. Industry run by the household	0.88	36.36	...	...	...	...	4.17		
	iii. Business run by the household	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Total	2.42	100.00	...	...	0.97	...	9.64		
				78.80		15.06	47.32	65.72	89.60	139.86
F. Grand total of A to E										

APPENDIX A—Contd.

Table III (a-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION : CULTIVATION

Items	No. of households	All households	Percentage of total expenditure	Households with a monthly income of				
				Less than Rs.25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs.100
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Expenditure								
A. Food	30	106.84	48.88	...	30.75	54.40	51.77	127.23
B. Clothing		8.78	4.02	...	2.08	4.00	5.00	10.55
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.		6.61	3.02	...	1.75	3.02	3.92	7.89
D. Miscellaneous		23.65	10.82	...	1.91	3.63	6.97	30.69
E. Cultivation, industry and business		72.70	33.26	...	0.42	7.50	12.50	96.27
Total Expenditure		218.58	100.00	...	36.91	72.55	80.16	272.63
II. Income		229.71		...	35.00	70.83	81.66	288.11
III. Expenditure in relation to income		+11.13		...	-1.91	-1.72	+1.50	+15.48

Table III (b-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION : AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Items	No. of households	All households	Percentage of total expenditure	Households with a monthly income of				
				Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs.100
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Expenditure								
A. Food	63	53.91	85.28	19.10	38.34	55.58	74.38	106.57
B. Clothing		3.28	5.19	1.25	2.34	3.44	4.54	6.25
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.		2.09	3.31	1.33	1.65	2.16	2.80	3.28
D. Miscellaneous		3.38	5.35	0.75	2.11	3.78	4.52	7.45
E. Cultivation, industry and business		0.55	0.87	...	0.22	1.12	0.09	1.25
Total Expenditure		63.21	100.00	22.43	44.66	66.08	86.33	124.80
II. Income		61.22		21.58	42.55	63.40	85.73	125.16
III. Expenditure in relation to income		-1.99		-0.85	-2.11	-2.68	-0.60	+0.36

APPENDIX A

Table III (c-2)

ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS AND OCCUPATION : MISCELLANEOUS

Items	No. of households	All households	Percentage of total expenditure	Households with a monthly income of				
				Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Above Rs.100
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Expenditure	38	58.54	74.29	12.65	40.32	51.06	68.40	92.59
A. Food		4.40	5.58	0.83	2.54	3.86	4.83	7.66
B. Clothing		3.63	4.61	1.08	2.40	2.78	4.53	6.36
C. Housing, light, fuel etc.		9.81	12.45	0.50	2.06	7.05	11.84	23.61
D. Miscellaneous		2.42	3.07	...	...	0.97	...	9.64
E. Cultivation, industry and business		78.80	100.00	15.06	47.32	65.72	89.60	139.86
Total Expenditure		76.29		15.00	46.38	65.73	89.25	129.34
II. Income		-2.51		-0.06	-0.94	+0.01	-0.35	-10.52
III. Expenditure in relation to income								

Table IV

INDEBTEDNESS

I. Indebtedness by income groups					II. Indebtedness by causes				
Income groups	Total No. of households	No. of households in debt	Percentage of column 3 to column 2	Average indebtedness for households in debt	Causes	Amount of debt	No. of households in debt	Average for households in debt	Percentage of debts due to causes to the total debt
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5
				Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
Less than Rs. 25	2	...	...	...	(a) Purchase of land	600.00	1	600.00	1.77
Rs. 25-50	39	10	25.64	90.90	(b) House construction or repairs to existing building	3,850.00	5	770.00	11.36
Rs. 51-75	39	12	30.77	203.75	(c) Marriage	2,050.00	2	1,025.00	6.05
Rs. 76-100	16	7	43.75	273.71	(d) Funerals	...	...	...	...
Above Rs.100	35	27	77.14	1,060.19	(e) To give dowry	4,850.00	6	808.33	14.31
					(f) To clear old outstanding debts	1,120.00	2	560.00	3.30
					(g) Sickness	1,225.00	5	245.00	3.61
					(h) Ordinary wants	1,790.00	20	89.50	5.28
					(i) Household cultivation	15,700.00	8	1,962.50	46.32
					(j) Industry run by the household	650.00	3	216.67	1.92
					(k) Business run by the household	1,560.00	4	390.00	4.60
					(l) Education	500.00	1	500.00	1.48

APPENDIX B
SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY
HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of the District..... Name of the Taluk.....
Name of the Village..... Serial Number of the Household.....

I. Composition of the Household

Note on Col. 8

In the case of an unemployed person write 'E.S.' if the person is seeking any employment. If a person is unemployed and is not seeking employment write 'N. W.' and also indicate the reason for not seeking employment by writing within brackets after 'N.W.,' 'S' for sickness, 'O' for old age, 'I' for infancy and 'D' for those who have no special reason for not seeking employment. In respect of persons

in employment describe the nature of work. If one is a Government servant write only Government servant. If a person is employed in an industry belonging to the household write 'H. I.' within brackets after describing the work. If a person is employed in a business belonging to the household write within brackets 'H. B.' after describing the work. If a person is employed in cultivation run by the household write 'H. C.' in the column. In respect of students write 'S. T.' in this column.

Sl. No.	Name (with full name for head and name for others)	Sex	Relationship to Head	Age	Marital status	Educational status	Occupation if any
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

II. Duration of residence

- Has this household or the ancestral one originated in this village or immigrated to this village?
- If immigrated to this village state—
 - how many years ago
 - the place from which migrated
 - the cause of migration

III. Religion

- What is the religion of the household?
- Does the household belong to a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe?
 - And if so, state the Caste or Tribe indicating also whether it is a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe.
- What is the community, caste or sub-caste to which the household belongs?

IV. Diet

Indicate the daily routine of diet of the household under the following heads by scoring off the inapplicable items under 1 to 6 below.

- Breakfast—
 - Kanji
 - Tea or coffee alone
 - Tea or coffee along with other dishes
- Noon meal
- Supper
- Tea or coffee between noon meal and supper
- Tea or coffee with light dishes between noon meal and supper
- Tea or coffee at any other time. State how many times.

What is the staple food of the household? (Name the cereal or other items)
What are the other items of food commonly taken?

(Score off the inapplicable items from the following or add others, if any):—

Pulses
Vegetables
Beef
Bacon
Chicken
Mutton
Other kinds of meat
Milk and milk products
Eggs
Sweets
Spices
Oil
Other items

- Are special preparations made on festive and ceremonial occasions?
- How many such occasions are there in the year?
- What are the items usually prepared on such festive occasions?

What fat or oil is most commonly used for cooking

- Average meal?
- Ceremonial meal?

Are separate utensils used for cooking different kinds of food and for different types of preparations like baking, boiling and frying?

Is the hearth used for cooking of the simple old type or of modern types? Indicate the model.

What is the fuel usually used for cooking?

(Score off the inapplicable items or add others if any)

- Dry leaves
- Firewood
- Coal
- Kerosene
- Saw dust
- Cow-dung cake
- Paddy husk
- Electricity
- Others

ess, Ornaments and Footwear

—These questions need be answered only in respect of clothing used when the

members of the family move out of their houses. The members should be grouped under the respective items shown below. Items may be shown separately for males and females.

1. Males

Shirt, shawl and dhoti up to heels
Shirt and dhoti up to heels without shawl
Shawl and dhoti up to heels
Dhoti from waist to heels only
Dhoti from waist to knee only
Banian and shorts
Banian and pants
Shirt and pants
Shirt and shorts
Full suit
Any other type

2. Females

Full saree
Blouse and dhoti from waist to heels
Dhoti from waist to heels only
Dhoti from waist to knee only with shawl
Dhoti from waist to knee only
Half saree with blouse and dhoti from waist to heels
(Score off the inapplicable items or add new ones.)

3. Are ornaments used

- By adult female members of the household?
- By adult males of the household?
- By children?
- What will be the approximate cost of the ornaments used by the members of the household together?

4. Are footwears used by

- Males?
- Females?
- Children?

5. Is the dress made in the village or got from outside?

6. Does the household use toilet soap or washing soap?

7. Are clothes sent to washermen for cleaning?

8. Living rooms

- How many rooms are there in the household used for sleeping purposes?
- Is there a separate room for sleeping for every couple?

APPENDIX B—Contd.

- (c) Is the house rented or owned?
(d) What is the material of the walls and roof?

VI. Furniture and Miscellaneous goods

NOTE—Score off the inapplicable items and add wherever necessary. The number under each item should also be given.

1. What are the items of furniture in the household?

- (a) Chairs
(b) Tables
(c) Cots
(d) Stools
(e) Benches
(f) Almirahs
(g) Any other items

2. Does the household possess any of the following?

- (a) Lantern
(b) Petromax
(c) Electric light
(d) Battery torchlight
(e) Kerosene stove
(f) Bicycle
(g) Gramophone
(h) Radio set
(i) Car
(j) Bullock cart
(k) Judka

VII. Animals

How many kinds of animals are there in the household? Indicate their numbers under the following heads. Score off the inapplicable items and add other items if any.

1. Cows
2. Bulls
3. Buffaloes
4. She-buffaloes
5. Goats
6. Sheep
7. Pigs
8. Ducks
9. Fowls
(a) Indigenous
(b) White Leghorn
(c) Rhode Island
(d) Black Minorca
(e) Any other breed
10. Any other animal

VIII. Amusements

1. Does the household go for cinemas, and if so, at what intervals?

2. Does the household go for dramas and if so, at what intervals?
3. Does the household participate in other amusements and if so, what are such amusements?

IX. Medical attention

NOTE—Score off the inapplicable items and add if any required.

1. Are the maternity cases of the household usually attended to—

- (a) by taking the woman to the hospital for confinement?
(b) by calling a doctor at home?
(c) by calling a qualified midwife?
(d) by calling an unqualified midwife?
(e) without any assistance?

2. Which, if any, of the following is the system of treatment adopted when the members of the household fall sick?

- (a) Allopathic
(b) Ayurvedic
(c) Homoeopathic
(d) Any other system

3. Is the consultation done by going to a—

- (a) Public hospital or dispensary?
(b) Private hospital or dispensary?
(c) Private physician?
(d) By getting a physician at home?

4. Have the members of the household been vaccinated? If so, at what intervals?

X. Dowry

1. Is dowry usually given in the community of the household?

2. Has the household given or received any dowry?

- (a) If so, up to what amount for one marriage?

- (1) In cash or property?
(2) As ornaments?

- (b) For how many marriages?

- (c) What is the total amount given as dowry for all the marriages together?

- (1) In cash or property?
(2) As ornaments?

- (d) What is the total amount received as dowry for the marriages of the male members of the household?

- (1) In cash or property?
(2) As ornaments?

3. Is the dowry in the community on the increase or decrease?

XI. Occupational particulars

1. Traditional occupation:

- (a) Has the household any traditional occupation and, if so, what?

- (b) Is the traditional occupation being continued now and, if so, whether as the main or subsidiary occupation?

- (c) If the traditional occupation is not being continued, why was it given up?

- (d) If the traditional occupation is continued, is it with any improvements?

- (e) Has the household received any special training in improving the traditional occupation?

- (f) If any special training was received, was it found helpful?

- (g) How many members of the household are engaged in the traditional occupation?

2. Industry run by the household:

- (a) Is the household running any industry?

- (b) Is the industry of the scale of a registered factory?

- (c) What is the nature of the industry?

- (d) How many members of the household are engaged full-time in the industry?

- (e) How many members of the household are engaged part-time in the industry?

- (f) How many hired workers are engaged in the industry?

3. Household business:

- (a) Is the household running any business?

- (b) What is the nature of the business?

- (c) How many members of the household are engaged in the business?

4. Household cultivation:

- (a) Has the household any land whether owned or held under Government or private persons or institutions the cultivation of which is done either by the members of the household or supervision and control of which are done by the household? (This would be restricted to the cultivation of seasonal crops.)

- (b) How many members of the household are engaged full-time in cultivation during the working season?

- (c) How many members of the household

are engaged part-time in cultivation during the working season?

XII. Household Expenditure

(a) Food—

What is the expenditure of the household on the following:—

Monthly Annual

1. Cereals and pulses

- (1) Rice
(2) Other grains
(3) Dhal

2. Vegetables

- (1) Potatoes
(2) Tapioca
(3) Onions
(4) Cocoanuts
(5) Other vegetables

3. Meat etc.

- (1) Beef
(2) Mutton
(3) Chicken, duck, bacon and other kinds of meat
(4) Fish

4. Condiments

- (1) Chillies
(2) Tamarind
(3) Others

5. Ghee and oils

6. Salt

7. Sugar

8. Coffee and tea

9. Liquor

10. Tobacco

- (1) Smoking
(2) Chewing

11. Other Foods

- (a) Refreshments
(b) Pansupari
(c) Others

Total annual expenditure

(b) Clothing—

What is the annual expenditure on clothing?

(c) Housing etc.—

What is the expenditure on the following:—

Monthly Annual

1. Housing (Rent)

2. Fuel

3. Light

Total annual expenditure

(d) Miscellaneous Expenditure—

What is the annual expenditure on the following:—

1. Education
2. Dhoby or soap
3. Barber
4. Travelling
5. Medical fees and medicines
6. Religious observances
7. Amusements
8. Provident Fund, Kuri, Insurance and other compulsory savings
9. Payment of debts
10. Remittance to dependants living elsewhere
11. Any other item

Total annual expenditure

(e) Expenditure on cultivation, industry etc.—

What is the annual expenditure of the household on

1. Cultivation run by the household?
2. Industry run by the household?
3. Business run by the household?

Total annual expenditure

(f) Grand total of (a) to (e)

XIII. Income of the household

What is the annual income of the household under the following items?

- (a) Salary or wages
- (b) Industry run by the household
- (c) Business run by the household
- (d) Cultivation run by the household
- (e) Rent from land
- (f) Rent of houses
- (g) Pension
- (h) Dividends
- (i) Gifts and presents
- (j) Help from relatives etc.
- (k) Other sources

Total

XIV. Is the annual income of the household sufficient to cover the expenditure?

XV. How is the expenditure not covered by the income met? (To be answered only in respect of households the income of which is less than the expenditure.)

XVI. Indebtedness

1. Is the household in debt? If so, what is the extent of debt? How much of this was incurred during the last ten years?
2. What is the extent of debt incurred for the following purposes?

(a) Purchase of land

(b) House construction or repairs to the existing building

(c) Marriages

(d) Funerals

(e) To give dowry

(f) To clear old outstanding debts

(g) Sickness

(h) Ordinary wants

(i) Household cultivation

(j) Industry run by the household

(k) Business run by the household

3. (a) Has the household cleared any debt which existed prior to 10 years and if so how much?
- (b) How was the debt cleared? Is it from the income of the household or by sale of any property or by the liquidation of any other asset or the realisation of any other outstanding credit or by borrowing or from any other source?

XVII. Land

1. Does the household own any land and if so how much?

2. Does the household hold any land direct from Government under a tenure less substantial than full ownership and if so, how much?

3. Does the household hold any land from private persons or institutions and if so, how much?

4. Has the household given out for cultivation any land and if so, how much is it under item:

1

2

3

shown above?

5. Is the household cultivating by its own labour or by hired labour any land covered by items 1 to 3 above and if so, how much under item:

1

2

3

is so cultivated?

6. Why is the rest of the land not given out for cultivation by the household left uncultivated? Are such uncultivated lands cultivable?

XVIII. Wages

1. What does an adult member of the house-

hold get as wages for a day if he is working as—

(a) an agricultural labourer?

(b) an unskilled worker in industry?

(c) an unskilled general worker?

(d) a skilled worker in industry? (Under this item the type of work should also be mentioned)

XIX. General

1. Does the household get down any daily newspaper?

2. Does any member or members of the household work for social uplift? If so, how many?

3. Does any member or members of the household take active part in politics? If so, how many?

4. Does any member or members of the household visit places of public worship and if so, how many and at what intervals?

5. Has the household taken advantage of any item of National Extension Service or Community Project? If so, what is that item?

6. Has any member of the household joined a Co-operative Society? If so, what is the nature of the Society?

7. Has it been possible for the household to secure during the last ten years—

(a) better irrigation facilities?

(b) better types of cattle?

(c) better seeds?

(d) better implements?

(e) better manure?

(f) more land for cultivation?

(g) use of pesticides?

(h) improved methods of cultivation like Japanese cultivation?

or

- (i) adopt land improvement measures like reclamation, soil conservation, consolidation etc. If so, indicate the increase in the yield compared to what it was prior to 10 years in folds as 2 fold, 3 fold etc. In the case of better irrigational facilities state whether any single crop land has been converted into double crop and double crop into triple crop lands and how much land? Also state the

extent of land newly irrigated and brought under cultivation.

8. (a) Has the household been in a position to start any new industry whether large scale or small scale during the last ten years? And if so, what is that industry?
- (b) Was the starting of the industry facilitated by—

(1) Any loan from Government sources?

(2) Any other assistance from Government?

(3) Any assistance from a Co-operative Society?

(4) Any other factor?

State the nature and extent of such facilities?

9. (a) What types of produce are yielded in the cultivation of land by the household?

(b) How much is produced under each item annually?

(c) How much under each item is used by the household and how much sold?

(d) Where are they marketed?

(1) What is the distance to the market?

(2) What is the mode of transport to the market-place?

10. (a) What are the industrial products of the household?

(b) What is the quantity produced annually under each item?

(c) Where are they marketed?

(d) What is the distance to the market?

(e) What is the mode of transport to the market-place?

11. (a) Has the household disposed of any property during the last ten years and if so, how much and for what price?

(b) Has the household acquired any property in the last 10 years and if so, how much and for what price?

(c) Has the household made any savings in money during the last ten years and if so, how much?

(d) Has the household invested any capital in new undertakings or buildings during the last 10 years and if so, how much?

12. (a) Has the Gram Sevak ever come and talked to the head or any member of the household?

(b) Has he demonstrated any of the improved agricultural practices like use of pesticides,

APPENDIX B—Contd.

- use of better seeds, Japanese cultivation etc.? If so, has his advice been followed?
13. (a) Has the household participated in activities or works of community project like building schools, wells, panchayat ghars, youth clubs etc. by contributing land, labour, cash or material etc.? If not, why not?
- (b) Has the household been benefited by the work or activity?
14. (a) Has there been any consanguineous marriage in the household? If so, what was the relationship between the parties to the marriage?
- (b) Has there been any polygamous or polyandrous marriage in the household? If so, state how many wives or husbands?
- (c) What is the youngest age at which marriage has taken place in the household?
(1) in the case of a male?
(2) in the case of a female?
- (d) Has any member of the household married from another community?
If so,
(1) Which is the community?
(2) Is it a sub-caste of the same religion or of a different religion?
What is the name of that religion?

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONNAIRE

- Name of the village
Serial No. of the Household
- I. Family Deity**
1. Does the household worship a family deity?
2. If so, what is the name of deity or object of special worship?
- II. Awareness of untouchability offences**
1. Is the head of the household aware of the prohibition of untouchability under law?
- III. Awareness of changes in the Hindu laws of succession and adoption**
1. Is the head of the household aware of the changes in:—
(a) The Hindu Adoption Act?
(b) The Hindu Succession Act?
2. If the answer is 'Yes' is he able to describe the changes?
- IV. Change of Ownership of land**
1. Has the household suffered loss of land after the death of the previous head of the household?
2. Has the household gained any land after the death of the previous head of the household?
- V. Industry and Tools**
1. Has the household purchased any new tools during the last ten years—
(a) for use in industry?
(b) for use in agriculture?
- VI. Land Reforms**
1. Has the household derived or is likely to derive any benefit by the following legislations and if so, to what extent?
(1) The Kanam Tenancy Act, 1955 (XXV of 1955)
(2) The Travancore-Cochin Prevention of Eviction of Kudikidappukars Act, 1955 (XIII of 1955)—Repealed by the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act
(3) The Edavagai Rights Acquisition Act, 1955 (XXVII of 1955)
(4) The Kerala Stay of Eviction Proceedings Act, 1957 (I of 1957)—Repealed by the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act
(5) The Kerala Compensation for Tenants Improvements Act, 1958 (XXX of 1958)
(6) The Kerala Agrarian Relations Act, 1960 (4 of 1961)
(7) The Jenmikaram Payment Abolition Act, 1960 (3 of 1961)
2. If the answer is 'Yes', describe the benefits.
- VII. Co-operation**
1. Has any of the members of the household joined a Co-operative Society?
2. If the answer is 'Yes' name and nature of the Society.
3. If the answer is 'No' state the reasons for not joining any of the societies.
- VIII. General**
1. Does the household possess mosquito curtains?

FORM TO BE FILLED UP IN THE ENQUIRY INTO THE ATTITUDE
FAMILY PLANNING

Sl. No. of the household	First Couple	Second Couple	Third Couple	Fourth Couple
Name of persons interviewed				
Age				
Sex				
If the husband or wife is in the same household furnish details				
Duration of present marriage				
No. of living children				
Are you aware of the family planning programme?				
Are you in favour of family planning?				
If you are in favour of family planning should it be achieved in your opinion (a) by self-restraint only? (b) or by contraceptives only? (c) or by both? (d) or by sterilization?				
What is the ideal size of the family according to you?				

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GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS

<i>Aravalli</i>	A type of hair dressing	<i>Ashtamangalyam</i>	This consists of eight articles symbolical of marriage or <i>mangalyam</i> , carried usually on a large metal plate during marriages or offerings to goddess Bhagavathi in the temples. These articles are rice, paddy, tender leaves of cocoanut tree, an arrow, a looking glass (metal mirror), a well washed cloth, burning fire (usually a small cocoanut oil or ghee light) and a small round wooden box called <i>cheppu</i> made in a particular form
<i>Alikesini</i>	A type of hair dressing		
<i>Aliyasandana law</i>	A system of inheritance very much similar to Marumakkathayam. Applicable to the old South Kanara district including the present Kasaragod and Hosdurg taluks. Marumakkathayam literally means inheritance through nephews and nieces, and Aliyasandana means much the same.		
<i>Ambalavasi</i>	A group of Hindu high castes, traditionally employed for the services in the temple such as making flower garlands etc.	<i>Ashtamirohini</i>	The birthday of Sree Krishna
<i>Ambar charka</i>	An improved type of spinning wheel with more than one spindle	<i>Ataprathamam</i>	A variety of <i>Payasam</i> in liquid form
<i>Ambazham</i>	<i>Spondias mangifera</i>	<i>Athikirazhy</i>	A variety of paddy
<i>Amrithavalli</i>	A type of hair dressing	<i>Attuparathy</i>	<i>Hybiscus teleaceus</i>
<i>Anandaravan</i>	Next relation, successor or heir	<i>Aval</i>	Beaten rice
<i>Anjili</i>	<i>Artocarpus hirsutus</i>	<i>Aviyal</i>	A popular South Indian vegetarian side dish prepared of a combination of several vegetables
<i>Arikirai</i>	A variety of paddy		
<i>Aripumani</i>	A kind of necklace	<i>Ayila</i>	Mackerel
<i>Aruvakkari</i>	A variety of paddy	<i>Badrakali</i>	A Hindu goddess
<i>Aryan</i>	A variety of paddy	<i>Bali</i>	An offering (chiefly obsequies performed by heirs)
<i>Ashtagandham</i>	Literally meaning eight scented odour generally used to denote eight spices burnt to produce this odour for purposes of worship by Hindus	<i>Bhagavathi</i>	A Hindu goddess
		<i>Bhajanam</i>	Worship of God. Also a course of fasting and

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	prayer practised by Hindus with some objective for a fixed number of days	<i>Devika</i>	A type of hair dressing
<i>Cathanar</i>	Syrian Christian priest	<i>Dhyanamudra</i>	A pose in meditation
<i>Chakram</i>	Also known as Persian Wheel -- A country wheel used for baling in or baling out of water, usually in connection with the cultivation of paddy	<i>Edangazhi</i>	A local measure equivalent to 1.310 litres (80 cubic inches) in former Travancore and with slight variation in capacity in former Malabar and Cochin areas
<i>Chakramudra</i>	A special style in hair dressing	<i>Elappapoochamban</i>	A variety of paddy
<i>Chala</i>	Sardine	<i>Enangan</i>	An unrelated person who takes part in ceremonies like marriage, funeral etc. He has specific function in the ceremonies and a special status
<i>Chandralekha</i>	A special style in hair dressing		
<i>Chantha</i>	Market	<i>Enangathu</i>	do. do.
<i>Chatta</i>	White cotton blouse having a heart-shaped neck and long sleeves worn by Syrian Christian women of the old.	<i>Erisseri</i>	A popular vegetarian side dish, prepared of bananas and elephant-foot yam, sliced and boiled in water with salt and chillies, coconut pulp and cummin seeds. For flavour a little pepper and a few mustard seeds fried in coconut oil and scraped coconut pulp are put in it.
<i>Chatti</i>	Pot or pan (generally earthen)		
<i>Chathurvedi</i>	A special style in hair dressing	<i>Gajrajini</i>	A type of hair dressing
<i>Chenkayama</i>	A variety of paddy	<i>Gandharva</i>	Celestial beings whose chief attributes are personal beauty and proficiency in music
<i>Cheriya Aryan</i>	A variety of paddy		
<i>Chirappu</i>	A temple festival	<i>Homam</i>	One of the ceremonies by which certain things are burnt as an offering to God
<i>Chitteni</i>	A variety of paddy		
<i>Choodamani</i>	A type of hair dressing	<i>Illam</i>	House of Namboothiris. Also clan
<i>Chukram</i>	See <i>Chakram</i>	<i>Jamanthi</i>	Camomile
<i>Chuvannamodan</i>	A variety of paddy		
<i>Chuvannavattan</i>	A variety of paddy		
<i>Darbha</i>	<i>Poa cynosuroides</i> . A kind of long grass used in Hindu religious rites		
<i>Deva</i>	Celestial being		

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<i>Jayanthi</i>	A type of hair dressing
<i>Jenmi</i>	Holder of a <i>jenmom</i> right
<i>Jennivaka</i>	Tenancy less substantial than ownership
<i>Jenmom</i>	Complete ownership of land equivalent to fee-simple
<i>Jvala</i>	Halo
<i>Kadali</i>	<i>Melastoma malabathricum</i>
<i>Kadukkan</i>	Ear-ring of men
<i>Kalakanchi</i>	A type of hair dressing
<i>Kalan</i>	A curry prepared of buttermilk and sliced vegetables especially bananas and elephant-foot yam
	Fencing school
<i>Kalari</i>	A type of hair dressing
<i>Kalpakavalli</i>	A kind of ear-stud
<i>Kammal</i>	A type of hair dressing
<i>Kanakambari</i>	A land tenure. In Travancore area in which the surveyed village falls <i>Kanam</i> means a demise with the following incidents:
<i>Kanam</i>	1. The demise should be of <i>jenmom</i> land
	2. An occupancy right in such land should have been created for a money consideration and
	3. The demise should be subject to payment of <i>michavaram</i> and customary dues and the periodical renewal of the right on payment of renewal fee. The dues

Kandukrishi

to the landlord were later converted into *Jenmikaram*, collected by Government and given to the *jenmis*. By the enactment of the *Jenmikaram* Payment (Abolition) Act, 1960 the obligation to pay *Jenmikaram* was abolished on Government undertaking to compensate the *jenmis*. The tenant has to pay the compensation in instalments to the Government

These were formerly the lands of the Crown. There are two types of demises of *Kandukrishi* lands, *Pattam* and *Thanathu*, the former consisting of those lands for which *pattas* were issued at the time of the land settlement and the latter, those for which no *pattas* were issued. The tenants have no proprietary rights on *Kandukrishi* lands. On the integration of Travancore-Cochin the *Kandukrishi* lands were given over to Government by His Highness the Rajpramukh and thereafter the land became Sirkar lands. Rules have been passed by Government under the Land Assignment Act providing for the registry of these lands in favour of the tenants.

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<i>Kaniyan</i>	on payment of compensation Member of a caste whose main profession is astrology		riage. This custom was prevailing in certain Hindu communities.
<i>Kantasaram</i>	A necklace	<i>Kichati</i>	A sour preparation made out of a combination of buttermilk and cucumber, a popular side-dish
<i>Kappu</i>	A thick metallic bangle		
<i>Karanavan</i>	Head of a <i>Marumakkathayam</i> family	<i>Kizhakkini</i>	East wing of a <i>Nalukett</i> building
<i>Kari</i>	Peaty soil	<i>Kochu Vithu</i>	A variety of paddy
<i>Kariveppila</i>	Leaf of <i>Bergera Koenigii</i>	<i>Kodiyidal</i>	Putting new cloths by near relatives of the deceased on the dead body in certain communities like Nair, Ezhuva, Muslim etc.
<i>Karkadakam</i>	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in July - August	<i>Kodyan</i>	A variety of paddy
<i>Karkadaka Vavu</i>	New moon in the month of <i>Karkadakam</i>	<i>Kolappala</i>	A variety of paddy
<i>Karmam</i>	Religious act	<i>Kolusu</i>	An ornamental metallic bangle
<i>Karutha Modan</i>	A variety of paddy	<i>Koottukari</i>	A dish of miscellaneous assortment of vegetables and some Bengal-gram
<i>Katta</i>	Sheaf of paddy corn		
<i>Kattacherippu</i>	An agricultural implement for breaking the clods and levelling the ploughed field	<i>Kotta</i>	Fort
<i>Kavu</i>	Serpent grove meant for the abode of serpents where serpent worship is carried on by Hindus. Also a small Hindu temple	<i>Kottanadan</i>	A variety of paddy
		<i>Kudamudappu</i>	Breaking of pot, an obsequial ceremony in certain Hindu communities in connection with cremation
<i>Kayal</i>	Literally backwater. <i>Kayal</i> lands are the paddy fields in Kuttanad area which are submerged in water except during the cultivation season	<i>Kudikidappukars</i>	Plural of <i>Kudikidappukaran</i> . A <i>Kudikidappukaran</i> means a person who has no homestead or land, either as owner or as tenant, in his possession to erect a homestead and who has been permitted by a person owning and possessing the land
<i>Kettukalyanam</i>	A ceremony of tying the <i>Tali</i> (marriage badge) on a girl before she attained puberty, but which did not amount to real mar-		

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	with or without obligation to pay rent to have the use and occupation of a portion of such land for the purpose of erecting a homestead or who has been permitted with or without an obligation to pay rent to occupy a hut belonging to such person and situate in the said land but otherwise has no interest in the land. A hut means any dwelling house which has a value not exceeding Rs. 400/- or the monthly rent of which does not exceed four rupees. A <i>Kudikidappukaran</i> cannot be normally evicted.	<i>Makaram</i>	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in January-February
		<i>Makarasamkramam</i>	Passage of the sun from one sign to another, occurring on the first day of <i>Makaram</i>
		<i>Makkathayam</i>	The system of inheritance whereby the children of the deceased inherit the properties
		<i>Mala</i>	Necklace
		<i>Manavara</i>	Bridal chamber
		<i>Maniyan</i>	A variety of paddy
		<i>Mannan</i>	A washerman community
		<i>Mannathi</i>	A woman of the Mannan community
		<i>Manoranjini</i>	A type of hair dressing
		<i>Manthra</i>	A hymn or prayer to God, generally in Sanskrit
<i>Kuduma</i>	Tuft of hair worn on the top of the head as caste mark by Hindus. But this practice is dying out.	<i>Manthrakodi</i>	A wedding veil put over the head of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage in some communities
<i>Kudumi</i>	Same as <i>Kuduma</i>		
<i>Kumudini</i>	A type of hair dressing	<i>Maram</i>	An agricultural implement used in paddy cultivation for levelling the field after ploughing
<i>Kunukku</i>	An ear ornament		
<i>Kurava</i>	A chorus of shout by women announcing an auspicious event	<i>Marumakkathayam</i>	Matriarchal system of inheritance
<i>Kusa</i>	<i>Poacynosuroides</i> -- A grass used in religious rites	<i>Medom</i>	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in April-May
<i>Kuttadan</i>	A variety of paddy	<i>Meenabharani</i>	A Hindu festival in the month of Meenam
<i>Lalitha</i>	A type of hair dressing		
<i>Machampi</i>	Brother-in-law		
<i>Madan</i>	A demon god		

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<i>Meenam</i>	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in March-April		filled above the brim with paddy. It is an auspicious object among Hindus.
<i>Minnalkanni</i>	A type of hair dressing		
<i>Modun</i>	A variety of paddy	<i>Nischayam</i>	Settlement of marriage
<i>Mohini</i>	A type of hair dressing	<i>Olan</i>	A vegetarian side dish prepared of sliced cucumber, pumpkin and peas
<i>Mukhavaram</i>	A triangular ventilator set obliquely at the superior end of the transverse slope of a hipped roof	<i>Onam</i>	The popular festival of Kerala celebrated in the month of <i>Chingom</i> , the season for the chief harvest, commemorating the golden age of Mahabali, a legendary ruler of Kerala who is supposed to revisit Kerala on that day.
<i>Mundakan</i>	A variety of paddy		
<i>Mundu</i>	Dhoti (A cloth)		
<i>Murisum Thudalum</i>	A particular kind of ear ornament worn on the upper ears by Syrian Christian women in olden days	<i>Otti</i>	Mortgage
<i>Muthiamma</i>	A demon god	<i>Pachakkal Tali</i>	A necklace set with green stones
<i>Nadumittom</i>	Inner courtyard of a <i>Nalukett</i>	<i>Padasaram</i>	Anklet
<i>Nagabandhini</i>	A type of hair dressing	<i>Padinjattini</i>	West wing of a <i>Nalukett</i>
<i>Nagapadom</i>	Snake hood—A kind of necklace	<i>Palada</i>	A variety of <i>Payasam</i> in liquid form prepared with bits of cake, milk and sugar
<i>Nagaraaja</i>	A minor god of the Hindu pantheon	<i>Palpayasam</i>	A variety of <i>Payasam</i> in liquid form prepared with rice, milk and sugar
<i>Nagathan</i>	A minor god of the Hindu pantheon	<i>Panayam</i>	Pledge
<i>Nalini</i>	A type of hair dressing	<i>Panchagavyam</i>	The five gifts of the cow; milk, curd, butter, urine, dung
<i>Nalukett</i>	A quadrangular building—the traditional Malayali house with a courtyard in the centre	<i>Pandal</i>	Tent or booth
<i>Nalupanthi</i>	A kind of four-stringed necklace	<i>Pappadam</i>	A kind of crisp thin cake made of flour of black gram
<i>Nirapara</i>	A <i>para</i> is a large bushel 13.1 litres in capacity. It is called <i>Nirapara</i> when it is		

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<i>Para</i>	A large bushel of 13.1 litres in capacity	<i>Priyadarsini</i>	A type of hair dressing
<i>Parippupayasam</i>	A variety of <i>payasam</i> in liquid form prepared with green-gram, cocoanut milk and molasses	<i>Pudava</i>	Dhoti worn by women around the loin
<i>Patchati</i>	A sour preparation made out of vegetables like mango	<i>Pudava-Koda</i>	Presenting <i>pudava</i> to a lady signifying marriage
<i>Pathi</i>	Conduit	<i>Pudamuri</i>	Same as <i>Pudava-Koda</i>
<i>Pattinikanji</i>	Starvation gruel-given after the funeral to the participants of the ceremony. They would have starved after the death until the funeral and hence the term	<i>Puja</i>	See <i>Pooja</i>
		<i>Pulikudi</i>	A ceremony connected with pregnancy
		<i>Pulisseri</i>	A preparation of buttermilk and vegetables
		<i>Pungu</i>	<i>Pongamia glabra</i>
		<i>Punna</i>	Alexandrian laurel
		<i>Puthenkootukar</i>	Jacobite Syrian Christians
		<i>Puvarasu</i>	<i>Thespesia populnea</i>
<i>Pavizhakodi</i>	A special style in hair dressing	<i>Ragini</i>	A type of hair dressing
<i>Pavumundu</i>	Cloth of fine thread	<i>Rajamalari</i>	A type of hair dressing
<i>Payasam</i>	A kind of pudding prepared with rice or other grains, milk and sugar or molasses	<i>Ranjini</i>	A type of hair dressing
	<i>Vateria indicus</i>	<i>Rasam</i>	A type of vegetable soup
<i>Payin</i>		<i>Rowkhai</i>	A kind of blouse worn by Hindu women
<i>Pazhaprathamam</i>	A pudding prepared with banana, cocoanut milk and molasses	<i>Samavarthanam</i>	A ceremony denoting the end of student life for a Brahman
<i>Pindam</i>	A rice-ball offered to the dead	<i>Sambandham</i>	A form of marriage among Nairs
<i>Pindam vaikal</i>	Offering of <i>pindam</i>	<i>Sambar</i>	A curry prepared of vegetables, dhal and tamarind
<i>Pooja</i>	A worship in the prescribed form	<i>Sanchayanam</i>	The ceremony of collecting the bones after cremation
<i>Poojari</i>	Hindu priest	<i>Sanghachoodi</i>	A special type of hair dressing
<i>Poomukam</i>	Entrance hall (Porch)	<i>Sarpa-kavu</i>	Same as <i>kavu</i>
<i>Prathamam</i>	A kind of <i>payasam</i>		
<i>Prathinidhi Mandalam</i>	House of representatives		

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<i>Sarppamanjari</i>	A special type of hair dressing	<i>Thoda</i>	A kind of ear-stud
<i>Sivarathri</i>	A Hindu festival of Siva	<i>Thulasi</i>	<i>Ocimum sanctum</i>
<i>Shradha</i>	An oblation to the manes of deceased ancestors	<i>Upanayanam</i>	A ceremony denoting the commencement of student-life for a Brahman boy
<i>Sujatha</i>	A special type of hair dressing	<i>Upperi</i>	Fried vegetable chips
<i>Sumangali</i>	A type of hair dressing	<i>Uthalam</i>	<i>Cerbera odalam</i>
<i>Suryakanthi</i>	A type of hair dressing	<i>Vadakkini</i>	North wing of <i>Nalukett</i>
<i>Swayamvara</i>	Marriage in which the bride selects the bridegroom	<i>Vaikkari</i>	A mixture of raw rice and cocoanut chips etc. offered to the deceased in a Hindu funeral
<i>Talapoly</i>	Ceremony in which girls stand in a row bearing in their palms lighted lamps, rice, flowers, etc.	<i>Vaikkariyidal</i>	The ceremony of dropping <i>vaikkari</i>
<i>Tali</i>	Marriage badge tied round the neck of the girl at the time of her marriage	<i>Vajrasoochi</i>	A type of hair dressing
<i>Talikettu</i>	Tying the <i>tali</i>	<i>Valkannadi</i>	Brass mirror with a handle
<i>Thandummothiram</i>	A kind of necklace	<i>Varinellu</i>	Wild rice
<i>Thantra</i>	Prescribed movements of hands and limbs for the performance of <i>poojas</i>	<i>Vasanthi</i>	A type of hair dressing
<i>Tharangini</i>	A type of hair dressing	<i>Vayambu</i>	<i>Acorus calamus</i>
<i>Tharaisu</i>	Vacant land	<i>Vayattuponkalayidal</i>	A ceremony of offering to God some rice by pregnant women in certain Hindu communities for safe confinement
<i>Thavazhi</i>	A branch of matriarchal family descended from a female member South wing of <i>Nalukett</i>	<i>Velipparathi</i>	<i>Hybiscus teleaceus</i>
<i>Thekkini</i>	A feast falling in the month of <i>Dhanu</i> (December-January). It is also an asterism.	<i>Veshti</i>	A dhoti with a coloured border
<i>Thiruvathira</i>		<i>Virippu</i>	Dry cultivation
		<i>Vishu</i>	A Hindu feast falling on the first of <i>Medom</i>
		<i>Vydyasala</i>	Ayurvedic dispensary
		<i>Yakshi</i>	An inferior divinity worshipped by people in the lower order

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2 Good Companions Booksellers, Publishers & Sub-Agent .. (Rest.)		20 The Book Depository, 4/1, Madan Street (1st Floor) .. (Rest.)	
3 New Medical Book House, 540, Madan Zampa Road .. (Rest.)		21 Scientific Book Agency, Netaji Subhas Road (Rest.)	
BEAWAR —The Secretary, S.D. College Co-operative Stores Ltd. .. (Rest.)		22 Reliance Trading Co., 17/1 Banku Bhari Ghose Lane, District Howrah (Rest.)	
BELGHARIA —Granthlok, Antiquarian Booksellers & Publishers (24-Parganas), 5/1 Amlica Mukherjee Road .. (Reg.)		23 Indian Book Dist. Co., 6512 Mahatma Gandhi Road .. (Rest.)	
BHAGALPUR —Paper Stationery Stores, D. N. Singh Road .. (Reg.)		CALICUT —Touring Book Stall (Rest.)	
		CHANDIGARH —	
		1 Supdt. Govt. Printing and Stationery, Punjab .. (Reg.)	
		2 Jain Law Agency, Flat No. 8, Sector No. 22 (Reg.)	
		3 Rama News Agency, Bookseller, Sector No. 22 .. (Reg.)	

4 Universal Book Store, Booth 25, Sector 22 D .. (Reg.)
 5 English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22 D .. (Rest.)
 6 Mehta Bros., 15-Z, Sector 22 B .. (Rest.)
 7 Tandan Book Depot, Shopping Centre, Sector 15 .. (Rest.)
 8 Kailash Law Publishers, Sector 22 B .. (Rest.)
CHANDWARA—The Verma Book Depot .. (Rest.)
COCHIN—Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarakav Road .. (Reg.)
CUTTACK—
 1 Press Officer Orissa Sectt. ..
 2 Cuttack Law Times ..
 3 Prabhat K. Mahapatra, Mangalabag, P. B. 35 .. (Reg.)
 4 D. P. Sar & Sons, Mangalabag .. (Rest.)
 5 Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar .. (Rest.)
DEHRA DUN—
 1 Jugat Kishore & Co., Rajpur Road .. (Reg.)
 2 National News Agency, Paltan Bazar .. (Reg.)
 3 Bishan Singh and Mahendra Pal Singh, 31B, Chukhuwalal .. (Reg.)
 4 Utam Pustak Bhandar, Paltan Bazar .. (Rest.)
DELHI—
 1 J. M. Jain & Brothers, Mori Gate .. (Reg.)
 2 Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmere Gate .. (Reg.)
 3 Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmere Gate .. (Reg.)
 4 Bahri Bros., 188, Lajpat Rai Market .. (Reg.)
 5 Bawa Harkishan Dass Bedi (Vijaya General Agencies) P. B. 2027, Ahata Kedara, Chamalian Road .. (Reg.)
 6 Book-Well, 4, Sant Narankari Colony, P. B. 1565 .. (Reg.)
 7 Imperial Publishing Co., 3, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj .. (Reg.)
 8 Metropolitan Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar .. (Reg.)
 9 Publication Centre, Subzimandi .. (Reg.)
 10 Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak .. (Reg.)
 11 Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Daryaganj .. (Reg.)
 12 All India Educational Supply Co., Shri Ram Buildings, Jawahar Nagar .. (Rest.)
 13 Dhanwant Medical & Law Book House, 1522, Lajpat Rai Market .. (Rest.)
 14 University Book House, 15, U.B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar .. (Rest.)
 15 Law Literature House, 2646, Balimaran .. (Rest.)
 16 Summer Brothers, P.O. Birla Lines .. (Rest.)
 17 Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16 Netaji Subhash Marg .. (Reg.)
 18 B. Nath & Bros., 3308, Charkha wala (Chowri Bazar) .. (Rest.)
 19 Rajkamat Prakashan P. Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar .. (Reg.)
 20 Premier Book Co., Printers, Publishers & Booksellers, Nai Sarak .. (Rest.)
 21 Universal Book Traders, 80, Gokhale Market .. (Reg.)
 22 Tech. & Commercial Book Coy., 75, Gokhle Market .. (Rest.)
 23 Saiji Law Publishing Co., 1415, Chabiganj, Kashmere Gate .. (Rest.)
 24 G. M. Ahuja, Booksellers & Stationers, 309, Nehru Bazar .. (Rest.)
 25 Sat Narain & Sons, 3141 Mohd. Ali Bazar, Mori Gate .. (Reg.)
 26 Kitab Mahal (Wholesale Div.) P. Ltd., 28, Faiz Bazar .. (Reg.)
 27 Hindu Sahitya Sansar, Nai Sarak .. (Rest.)
 28 Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Oriental Booksellers & Publishers, P. B. 1165, Nai Sarak .. (Rest.)
 29 K. L. Seth, Suppliers of Law, Commercial Tech. Books, Shanti Nagar, Ganeshpura .. (Rest.)
 30 Adarsh Publishing Service, 5 A/10 Ansari Road .. (Rest.)
DHANBAD—
 1 Ismag Co-operative Stores Ltd., P. O. Indian School of Mines .. (Reg.)
 2 New Sketch Press, Post Box 26 .. (Rest.)
DHARWAR—
 1 The Agricultural College Consumers Co-op. Society .. (Rest.)
 2 Rameshraya Book Depot, Subhas Road .. (Rest.)
 3 Karnataka Sahitya Mandira of Publishers and Booksellers ..
ERNAKULAM—
 1 P. I. & Co., Cloth Bazar Road .. (Rest.)
 2 South India Traders C/o Constitutional Journal .. (Reg.)
ERODE—English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road .. (Reg.)
GAUHATI—Mokshada Pustakalaya .. (Reg.)
GAYA—Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg .. (Reg.)
GHAZIABAD—Jayana Book Agency .. (Rest.)
GORAKHPUR—Vishva Vidyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road .. (Reg.)
GUDUR—The General Manager, The N. D. C. Publishing & Ptg. Society Ltd .. (Rest.)

GUNTUR—Book Lovers Private Ltd, Kadriguda Chowrasta .. (Reg.)
GWALIOR—
 1 Supdt. Printing & Stationery, M. B. ..
 2 Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Laskhar .. (Reg.)
 3 M. C. Daftari, Prop. M. B. Jain & Bros., Booksellers, Sarafa, Laskhar .. (Rest.)
HUBLI—Pervaje's Book House, Koppikar Road .. (Reg.)
HYDERABAD—
 1 Director, Govt. Press ..
 2 The Swaraj Book Depot, Lakdikapul .. (Reg.)
 3 Book Lovers Private Ltd. .. (Rest.)
 4 Labour Law Publications, 873, Sultan Bazar .. (Rest.)
IMPHAL—Tikendra & Sons Bookseller .. (Rest.)
INDORE—
 1 Wadhwa & Co., 56, M. G. Road .. (Reg.)
 2 Swarup Brother's Khajuri Bazar .. (Rest.)
 3 Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Ahilya Pura .. (Rest.)
 4 Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace .. (Rest.)
 5 Navyug Sahitya Sadan, Publishers & Booksellers, 10, Khajuri Bazar .. (Rest.)
JABALPUR—
 1 Modern Book House, 286, Jawaharganj .. (Reg.)
 2 National Book House, 135 Jai Prakash Narain Marg .. (R.)
JAIPUR—
 1 Government Printing and Stationery Department, Rajasthan Bharat Law House, Booksellers & Publishers, Opp. Prem Prakash Cinema .. (Reg.)
 2 Garg Book Co., Tripolia Bazar .. (Reg.)
 3 Vani Mandir, Sawai Mansingh Highway .. (Rest.)
 4 Kalyan Mal & Sons, Tripolia Bazar .. (Reg.)
 5 Popular Book Depot, Chaura Rasta .. (Rest.)
 6 Krishna Book Depot, Chaura Rasta .. (Rest.)
 7 Dominion Law Depot, Shah Building, P. B. No. 23 .. (Rest.)
JAMNAGAR—Swedeshi Vastu Bhandar .. (Reg.)
JAMSHEDPUR—
 1 Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P. B. 78 .. (Reg.)
 2 Gupta Stores, Dhatkidih .. (Reg.)
 3 Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents, Bistapur Market .. (Rest.)
JAWALAPUR—Sahyog Book Depot .. (Rest.)
JHUNJHUNU—
 1 Shashi Kumar Sarat Chand .. (Rest.)
 2 Kapram Prakashan Prasaran, 1/90 Namdha Niwas Azad Marg .. (R.)
JODHPUR—
 1 Dwarka Das Pathi, Wholesale Books and News Agents .. (Reg.)
 2 Kitab-Ghar, Sojati Gate .. (Reg.)
 3 Choppra Brothers, Tripolia Bazar .. (Reg.)
JULLUNDUR—
 1 Hazooria Bros., Mai Hiran Gate .. (Rest.)
 2 Jain General House, Bazar Bansanwala .. (Reg.)
 3 University Publishers Railway Road .. (Rest.)
KANPUR—
 1 Advani & Co., P. Box. 100, The Mall .. (Reg.)
 2 Sahitya Niketan, Shradhanand Park .. (Reg.)
 3 The Universal Book Stall, The Mall .. (Reg.)
 4 Raj Corporation, Raj House, P. B. 200, Chowk .. (Rest.)
KARUR—Shri V. Nagaraja Rao, 26, Srinivasapuram .. (Rest.)
KODARMA—The Bhagwati Press P. O. Jhumri Tilaiya, Dt. Hazaribagh .. (Reg.)
KOLHAPUR—Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road .. (Rest.)
KOTA—Kota Book Depot .. (Rest.)
KUMTA—S. V. Kamat, Booksellers & Stationers (N. Kanara) .. (Reg.)
LUCKNOW—
 1 Soochnd Sahitya Depot (State Book Depot) .. (Reg.)
 2 Balkrishna Book Co. Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
 3 British Book Depot, 84, Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
 4 Ram Advani, Hazratganj, P. B. 154 .. (Reg.)
 5 Universal Publishers (P.) L. d., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)

Eastern Book Co., Lalbagh Road .. (Reg.)
Civil & Military Educational Stores, 106/B Sadar Bazar .. (Rest.)
Acquarium Supply Co., 213, Faizabad Road .. (Rest.)
Law Book Mart, Amin-Ud-Daula Park .. (Rest.)
LUDHIANA—
 1 Lyall Book Depot, Chaura Bazar .. (Reg.)
 2 Mohindra Brothers, Katcheri Road .. (Rest.)
 3 Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Pustak Bazar .. (Rest.)
 4 The Pharmacy News, Pindi Street .. (Rest.)
MADRAS—
 1 Supdt., Govt. Press, Mount Road .. (Reg.)
 2 Account Test Institute, P. O. 760 Egmore .. (Reg.)
 3 C. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane .. (Reg.)
 4 K. Krishnamurthy, Post Box 384 .. (Reg.)
 5 Presidency Book Supplies, 8, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane .. (Reg.)
 6 P. Vardachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street .. (Reg.)
 7 Palani Parchuram, 3, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane .. (Rest.)
 8 NCBH Private Ltd., 199, Mount Road .. (Rest.)
 9 V. Sadanand, The Personal Bookshop, 10, Congress Building, 111, Mount Road .. (Rest.)
MADURAI—
 1 Oriental Book House, 258, West Masi Street .. (Reg.)
 2 Vivekananda Press, 48, West Masi Street .. (Reg.)
MANDYA SUGAR TOWN—K. N. Narimhe Gowda & Sons .. (Rest.)
MANGALORE—U. R. Shenoy Sons, Car Street, P. Box 128 .. (Reg.)
MANJESHWAR—Mukenda Krishna Nayak .. (Rest.)
MATHURA—Rath & Co., Tilohi Building, Bengali Ghat .. (Rest.)
MEERUT—
 1 Prakash Educational Stores, Subhas Bazar .. (Reg.)
 2 Hind Chitra Press, West Kutchery Road .. (Reg.)
 3 Loyal Book Depot, Chhipi Tank .. (Reg.)
 4 Bharat Educational Stores, Chhipi Tank .. (Rest.)
 5 Universal Book Depot, Booksellers & News Agents .. (Rest.)
MONGHYR—Anusandhan, Minerva Press Building .. (Rest.)
MUSSOORIE—
 1 Cambridge Book Depot, The Mal .. (Rest.)
 2 Hind Traders .. (Rest.)
MUZAFFARNAGAR—
 1 Mittal & Co., 85-C, New Mandi .. (Rest.)
 2 B. S. Jain & Co., 71, Abupura .. (Rest.)
MUZAFFARPUR—
 1 Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate .. (Reg.)
 2 Legal Corner, Tikmanio House, Amgola Road .. (Rest.)
 3 Tirhut Book Depot .. (Rest.)
MYSORE—
 1 H. Venkataramiah & Sons, New Statue Circle .. (Reg.)
 2 Peoples Book House, Opp. Jagan Mohan Palace .. (Reg.)
 3 Geeta Book House, Booksellers & Publishers Krishnamurthipuram .. (Rest.)
 4 News Paper House, Lansdowne Building .. (Rest.)
 5 Indian Mercantile Corporation, Toy Palace, Ramvilas .. (Rest.)
NADIAD—R. S. Desay, Station Road .. (Rest.)
NAGPUR—
 1 Supdt., Govt. Press & Book Depot .. (Reg.)
 2 Western Book Depot, Residency Road .. (Rest.)
 3 The Asstt. Secretary, Mineral Industry Association, Mineral House .. (Rest.)
NAINITAL—Coural Book Depot, Bara Bazar .. (Rest.)
NANDED—
 1 Book Centre, College Law General Books, Station Road .. (Rest.)
 2 Hindustan General Stores, Paper & Stationery Merchants P. B. No. 51 .. (Rest.)
 3 Sanjoy Book Agency, Vazirabad .. (Rest.)
NEW DELHI—
 1 Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus .. (Reg.)
 2 Bhawani & Sons, 8 F, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)

3 Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus .. (Reg.)
 4 Empire Book Depot, 278, Aliganj .. (Reg.)
 5 English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus P. O. B. 328 .. (Reg.)
 6 Faqir Chand & Sons, 15-A Khan Market .. (Reg.)
 7 Jain Book Agency, C-3, Prem House, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
 8 Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House .. (Reg.)
 9 Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
 10 Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
 11 Suheja Book Centre, 21/90, Connaught Circus .. (Reg.)
 12 United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus .. (Reg.)
 13 Jayana Book Depot, Chhaparwala Kuan, Karol Bagh .. (Reg.)
 14 Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Dev Nagar .. (Reg.)
 15 Saraswati Book Depot, 15, Lady Harding Road .. (Reg.)
 16 The Secretary, Indian Mat. Society, Lodi Road .. (Reg.)
 17 New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals, Sty. & Novelles, P. B. 96, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
 18 Mehra Brothers, 50-G, Kalkaji .. (Reg.)
 19 Luxmi Book Stores, 42, Janpath .. (Rest.)
 20 Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath .. (Rest.)
 21 People Publishing House (P.) Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road .. (Reg.)
 22 R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh .. (Rest.)
 23 Sharma Bros. 17, New Market, Moti Nagar .. (Rest.)
 24 Aapki Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar .. (Rest.)
 25 Sarvodaya Service, 66A-1, Rohtak Road, P. B. 2521 .. (Rest.)
 26 H. Chandson, P. B. No. 3034 .. (Rest.)
 27 The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23-B/2, Rohtak Road .. (Rest.)
 28 Standard Booksellers & Stationers, Palam Enclave .. (Rest.)
 29 Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Regarpura .. (Rest.)
 30 Sant Ram Booksellers, 16, New Municipal Market Lody Colony .. (Rest.)
PANJIM—
 1 Singhals Book House P. O. B. 70 Near the Church .. (Rest.)
 2 Sagoon Gaydev Dhood, Booksellers, 5-7 Rua, 3 Ide Jameria .. (Rest.)
PATHANKOT—The Krishna Book Depot, Main Bazar .. (Rest.)
PATIALA—
 1 Supdt., Bhupendra State Press .. (Reg.)
 2 Jain & Co., 17, Shahi Nashin Bazar .. (Reg.)
PATNA—
 1 Supdt., Govt. Printing (Bihar) .. (Reg.)
 2 J. N. P. Agarwal & Co., Padri-Ki-Haveli Raghunath Bhawan .. (Reg.)
 3 Luxmi Trading Co., Padri-Ki-Haveli .. (Reg.)
 4 Moti Lal Banarsi Dass, Bankipore .. (Rest.)
 5 Bengal Law House, Chowhatta .. (Rest.)
PITHORAGARH—Maniram Punetha & Sons .. (R.)
PONDICHERY—M/s. Honesty Book House, 9 Rue Duplex .. (R.)
POONA—
 1 Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg.)
 2 Imperial Book Depot, 26B, M. G. Road .. (Reg.)
 3 International Book Service, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg.)
 4 Raka Book Agency, Opp. Natu's Chawl, Near Appa Balwant Chowk .. (Reg.)
 5 Utility Book Depot, 1339, Shivaji Nagar .. (Rest.)
PUDUKOTTAI—Shri P. N. Swaminathan Sivani & Co., East Main Road .. (Rest.)
RAJKOT—Mohan Lal Dossabhai Shah, Booksellers and Sub-Agents .. (Reg.)
RANCHI—
 1 Crown Book Depot, Upper Bazar .. (Reg.)
 2 Pustak Mahal, Upper Bazar .. (Rest.)
REWA—Supdt., Govt. State Imporium V. P. .. (Rest.)
ROURKELA—The Rourkela Review .. (Rest.)
SAHARANPUR—Chandra Bharata Pustak Bhandar, Court Road .. (Reg.)
SECUNDERABAD—Hindustan Diary Publishers, Market Street .. (Rest.)
SILCHAR—Shri Nishitto Sen Nazirpatti .. (Rest.)
SIMLA—
 1 Supdt., Himachal Pradesh Govt. .. (Reg.)
 2 Minerva Book Shop, The Mall .. (Reg.)
 3 The New Book Depot, 79, The Mall .. (Reg.)
SINNAR—Shri N. N. Jakhadi, Agent, Times of India Sinnar (Nasik) .. (Rest.)

SHILLONG—

- 1 The Officer-in-Charge, Assam Govt. B. D.
- 2 Chapla Bookstall, P. B. No. 1 (Rest.)

SONEPAT—United Book Agency (Reg.)

SRINAGAR—The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road (Reg.)

SURAT—Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road (Reg.)

TIRUCHIRAPALLI—

- 1 Kalpana Publishers, Wosiur (Reg.)
- 2 S. Krishnaswami & Co., 35, Subhash Chander Bose Road (Reg.)
- 3 Palaniappa Bros. (Rest.)

TRIVANDRUM—

- 1 International Book Depot, Main Road (Reg.)
- 2 Reddear Press & Book Depot, P. B. No. 4 (Rest.)

TUTICORIN—Shri K. Thiagarajan, 10-C, French Chapel Road (Rest.)

UDAIPUR—

- 1 Jagdish & Co., Inside Surajapole (Rest.)
- 2 Book Centre, Maharana, Bhopal Consumers, Co-op. Society Ltd. (Rest.)

UJJAIN—Manak Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate (Rest.)

VARANASI—

- 1 Students Friends & Co., Lanka (Rest.)
- 2 Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Gopal Mandir Road, P. B. 8 (Reg.)
- 3 Glob Book Centre (Rest.)
- 4 Kohinoo Stores, University Road, Lanka (Reg.)
- 5 B. H. U. Book Depot (Rest.)

VELLORE—A. Venkatasubhan, Law Booksellers (Reg.)

VIJAYAWADA—The Book & Review Centre, Eluru Road, Government (Rest.)

VISAKHAPATNAM—

- 1 Gupta Brothers, Vizia Building (Reg.)
- 2 Book Centre, 11/97, Main Road (Reg.)
- 3 The Secy. Andhra University, General Co-op. Stores Ltd. (Rest.)

VIZIANAGARAM—Sarda & Co. (Rest.)

WARDHA—Swarajeya Bhandar, Bhorji Market (Reg.)

For Local Sale

- 1 Govt. of India Kitab Mahal, Janpath, Opp. India Co-ice House, New Delhi
- 2 Govt. of India Book Depot, 8 Hastings Street, Calcutta
- 3 High Commissioner for India in London, India House, London, W. C. 2.

Railway Bookstall holders

- 1 S/S. A. H. Wheeler & Co., 15, Elgin Road, Allahabad
- 2 Gahlot Bros., K. E. M. Road, Bikaner
- 3 Higginbothams & Co. Ltd., Mount Road, Madras
- 4 M. Gulab Singh & Sons Private Ltd., Mathura Road, New Delhi

Foreign

- 1 S/S. Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kathumandu (Nepal)
- 2 S/S. Aktie Bologat, C. E. Fritzes Kungl. Hovbokhandel, Fredsgation-2 Box 1656, Stockholm-16 (Sweden)
- 3 Verkehrsverlag Stuttgart, Post 730, Gutenbergstra 21, Stuttgart 1245, Stuttgart den (Germany West)

4 Shri Iswar Subramanyam 452, Reversite Driv Apt. 6, New York, 27 NWY

5 The Proprietor, Book Centre, Lakshmi Mansons, 49, The Mall, Lahore (Pakistan).

On S. and R. Basis

- 1 The Head Clerk, Govt. Book Depot, Ahmedabad
- 2 The Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Kapileswar Road, Belgaum
- 3 The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Dhar
- 4 The Asstt. Director, Footwear Extension Centre, Polo Ground No. 1, Jodhpur
- 5 The O. I/C., Extension Centre, Club Road, Muzaffarpur
- 6 The Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Govt. of India, Ministry of Mines & Fuel, Nagpur
- 7 The Asstt. Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad (Gujarat)
- 8 The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5, Finance Road, Poona
- 9 Govt. Printing & Stationery, Rajkot
- 10 The O. I/C. Extension Centre, Industrial Estate, Kokar, Ranchi
- 11 The Director, S. I. S. I. Industrial Extension Centre, Udhna, Surat
- 12 The Registrar of Companies, Narayani Building, 27, Erabourne Road, Calcutta-1
- 13 The Registrar of Companies, Kerala, 50 Feet Road, Ernakulam
- 14 The Registrar of Companies, H. No. 3-5-83, Hyderguda, Hyderabad
- 15 Registrar of Companies, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Shillong
- 16 Registrar of Companies, Sunlight Insurance Building, Ajmeri Gate Extension, New Delhi
- 17 Registrar of Companies, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, Link Road, Jullundur City
- 18 Registrar of Companies, Bihar, Jamal Road, Patna-1
- 19 Registrar of Companies, Raj. & Ajmer; Shri Kamta Prasad House, 1st Floor, 'C' Scheme, Ashok Marg, Jaipur
- 20 The Registrar of Companies, Andhra Bank Building, 6 Linghi Chetty Street P. B. 1530, Madras
- 21 The Registrar of Companies, Mahatma Gandhi Road, West Cott. Bldg. P. B. 334, Kanpur
- 22 The Registrar of Companies, Everest 100, Marine Drive, Bombay
- 23 The Registrar of Companies, 162, Brigade Road, Bangalore
- 24 The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior
- 25 Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad
- 26 Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Chandl, Cuttack
- 27 The Registrar of Companies, Gujarat State, Gujarat Samachar Building, Ahmedabad
- 28 Publication Division, Sale Depot, North Block, New Delhi
- 29 The Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, New Delhi
- 30 The O. I/C., University Employment Bureau, Lucknow
- 31 O. I/C., S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Malda
- 32 O. I/C., S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Habra, Tabaluria, 24-Parganas
- 33 O. I/C., S. I. S. I. Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali Nagar, P. O. Burnipur
- 34 O. I/C., S. I. S. I. Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra 33, North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46
- 35 O. I/C., S. I. S. I. Extension Centre (Footwear), Calcutta
- 36 Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad
- 37 Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna Distt. (A. P.)
- 38 Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Jhabua
- 39 Dy. Director Incharge, S. I. S. I., C/o Chief Civil Admn. Goa, Panjim
- 40 The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur
- 41 The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal Bhavan, Mornia
- 42 The O. I/C., State Information Centre, Hyderabad
- 43 The Registrar of Companies, Pondicherry
- 44 The Asstt. Director of Publicity and Information, Vidhana Sabha (P. B. 271) Bangalore