

# **Socio-cultural Processes and Livelihood Patterns at Tirurangadi- A Micro Historical Study**

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The project team and the Co-coordinator are responsible for all the data provided and arguments made in the course of this report, and the friends mentioned above are in no way responsible for them. Nor does it represent the opinion of Government or any other agency.

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# **Socio-cultural processes and Livelihood Patterns at Tirurangadi- A Micro historical study**

## **Abstract**

The project has aimed at a micro historical study that would throw light on certain trends in the contemporary social and economic life of Tirurangadi, which may be briefly outlined as follows;

- a) Although the region is entirely agrarian, a significant shift from agrarian to non-agrarian mode of livelihood has been observed in the region, which is manifested in the Census and the other relevant information base on the area.
- b) This has resulted in the absolute decline of agriculture in the area. However, there has not been corresponding increase of any of the non-agricultural forms of production, and the only areas that seem to have developed are trade and commerce and construction activities
- c) A large number of households in the area have been subsisting on remittances from abroad. The remittances have also been responsible for the commercial prosperity of the region. However, this prosperity has been founded on flimsy socio-economic base.
- d) Despite this prosperity, a large number of people, especially women are unemployed. This is despite the growth of educational opportunities and health care facilities, and this means that a substantial percentage of the human labor power in the region is unutilized or underutilized.
- e) All these raise the problems of the future course of development of the region, and the debates have been mainly concentrated on how to make the best use of the opportunities provided by globalization. This also seems to be feasible in the background of the remittances by the non-residents. However, there is the question as to how far the market friendly option is sustainable; that is when, agriculture is declining and no industry is emerging, and majority of the human power is unemployed or underemployed, can we depend on market option and remittances from abroad alone?

These observations provided the frame work of the project which was carried out in three stages;

- a) the first was a detailed geographical exploration of the region, through what the research team called 'walking', which involved directly observing all the features of geography, flora and fauna, settlement patterns and cultural spaces;
- b) The second were interviews with the local population, both individually and on a focused group basis, by convening small groups of old and experienced people, called 'karanavakkootams'.
- c) The third was a detailed socio-cultural survey of the region.

Primary and secondary sources on the region were also collected by the research team simultaneously with the above mentioned stages of work.

The findings of our investigation, being included in the report are the following;

- a) The geographical features of the Tirurangadi region have played a major role in the making of the livelihood patterns of the region. The geography is characterized by undulating terrain with uplands, slopes and low lying regions and the Kadalundi River, flowing across the region has played a major role in the making of livelihood. Agriculture in the region was a matter of hard labor, and it involved both land and water management. Large part of the wetlands and parambas were controlled by a few landlords.
- b) Proximity to the coast, the use of Kadalundi River as a means of transport and the existence of coastal ports of trade such as Calicut also promoted trade and commerce in the region. Although the region could not produce enough surplus to support large political powers, it could facilitate local trade. Trade and cultivation along the River also facilitated expansion of settlements in the area.
- c) British rule exacerbated the contradiction between the already existing landlords and small cultivators and laborers. The British rule legally supported the rights of the landlords, introduced their own administrative mechanisms, and also were probably instrumental in creating the antagonism between nayars and Muslims. The conditions of social and economic oppression resulted in social conflict, which also took the form of anti-British revolts.
- d) The decline of landlordism was a result of the widespread upheaval that took place all over Kerala, which had its impact in the region also. This created an economy of small holders, who were made to face the difficulties of sustaining themselves and satisfying the needs created by the livelihood patterns created by a capitalist civilisation. Thus increasing costs of living necessitated a corresponding increase in productivity that would be sustained by remunerative prices of agricultural products, but this did not take place. The farmers were also burdened by the increasing wages of workers and the shortage of skilled agricultural labor, and most of them never used their household labor for agricultural production. This resulted in the decline of agriculture in the region, and both the landholders and workers have looked other livelihood patterns such as Going to Gulf, commerce, construction and other modes of accumulating money. However, this has not resulted in the establishment of any major industry in the area.
- e) The commercial consumerist economy sustained by gulf remittances and the creation of lifestyle and tastes that would sustain commerce came into being. The faith in the market has also created a corresponding increase of religious faith, and a combination of these two has determined the cultural practice of the people in the region.

All these naturally raise the question of the future. At present a future based on agricultural production seems to be out of question, at least for a large number of people in the area. Either they do not consider it a safe option in the light of their own experience, or they are not equipped for it. No other alternative, apart from a continuation of the present mode of sustenance, with its quota of pleasures and uncertainties has emerged. However, any attempt at a long term planning for the future cannot ignore the importance of production based strategies that has sustained the livelihood patterns in the region from a historical and human geographical perspective.

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# **Socio-cultural processes and livelihood Patterns at Tirurangadi-A Micro historical Study**

## **I Introduction**

Tirurangadi Block, the area of the present study, lies in the north-western part of Malappuram District. The area is bounded by the Arabian Sea in the west, Chaliyar River and Chelembra Panchayat, a part of Kondotty Block in the North, Vengara Block on the East, and Tanur in the South. It consists of seven Panchayats, Tirurangadi, Parappanangadi, Vallikkunnu, Munniyur, Thenhippalam, Peruvallur and Nannambra. The region originally composed of six Panchayats, and a seventh Panchayat, Peruvallur, was formed before the Panchayat elections of 2001 by dividing the Thenhippalam Panchayat. The region is intersected by Kadalundi River, which follows a winding course through the Block area before it joins the sea. In fact, the entire Block area forms a part of the Kadalundi river basin, a feature that is significant in any geo-environmental analysis of the region.

Tirurangadi Block is classified in the Census reports as entirely rural. The Block area is about 142.10 sq. km and is densely populated, having an average density of 1764.60 per square km. according to 1991 Census. The population has been traditionally dependent on agriculture, supplemented by fishing, crafts and various kinds of menial labour. Tirurangadi and Parappanangadi have been traditional market centers, and market centers exist in the respective regions today also. The region has a high road density, with about 2 kilometers of road per square km. The appearance of the Railway line by the end of the nineteenth century, a national Highway (NH17) since independence played an important role in the trade and transportation related to the region. Now, the establishment of the

Karippur Airport to the east of the Block area plays an equally important role in the development of trade and mobility of the people today.

The region is partly formed of Pleistocene laterite, and the other parties made of recently formed alluvial soil. The coastal region is sandy and clayey, with the sand and clay lying at a depth of more than 150cm. The elevated region consists of gravelly clay soil, which lies at a depth that is moderate (100-150cm) to very deep (more than 150cm). Since the region is along the coast, it consists of the flat coastal line, and moderately to steeply sloping areas in the interior. Kadalundi River basin of which the region forms part, receives an average rainfall of 2375mm, of which 1506mm is received during the South-West Monsoon and 544mm is received during the North-West Monsoon. The region has a mean temperature of 27.4 degree C, with a maximum of 31.8 and minimum of 23.0. The elevated regions in the area are well drained, but the coastal region is imperfectly well drained to moderately well drained. The area to the south of Calicut, to which this region belongs, has adequate water supply, with a production of about 10,000 to 20,000 liters per hour. The major source of surface water is Kadalundi River, with the numerous streams joining it. Only about two-thirds of the ground water is utilized at present, which means that there is further scope for developing water resources in the area. Soil erosion in the area is from moderate to slight, but erosion of stream banks is detected along Kadalundi River.

Discussions on the development of Tirurangadi, like any other part of Karalla, have proceeded along predictable patterns. Attention has been focused on the lack of industrialization of the area, inadequate development of agriculture, the problems that appear when we compare the so-called human development indices with the indices of economic growth, and so on. Recently, considerable stress has been given to the geological factors in development, as indicated by the watershed development studies,

particularly in rural areas like Tirurangadi. Studies of several watersheds in the region have been conducted, and resource mapping of the entire area has been carried out, which is being used to formulate a perspective development plan for the area. The present study does not attempt to contest any of the methodologies adopted in the development discussions of the region, or any other part of Kerala. It rather attempts to focus upon a factor that has been given inadequate emphasis in most of the discussions, the historical experience of the people of the area studied.

The significance of a historical study can be elaborated on the basis of some of the information on the status of the region taken from land use studies and provisional data available from the 2001 Census. The region forms the lower part of the Kadalundi watershed, and the interior areas form a section of the middle part. According to the land use studies, the middle region consists of about 55% of mixed agricultural horticultural land, about 30% of double cropped paddy lands, 10% waste land with or without scrub and 5% barren rock. In the lower region, about 60% are double cropped paddy lands and the rest are mixed agricultural/horticultural plantations. The data from some of the villages that are part of the region, showing the area percentage, soil unit and the crop suitability (in three grades, S1, S2, and S3,) along with intercrop, is given below.

**Table -1****Area Percentage, Soil Unit and Crop Suitability-Tirurangadi**

Name of the village	Area in hectares	Crop suitability-S1	S2	S3	Intercrop
Vallikkunnu	1345.00	-	Coconut	Areca nut	Vegetables and others
Ariyallur	453.40				Banana
Thenhippalam	1420.24	Coconut, banana	Cashew, Coconut Rubber	-	Mango, banana,
Parappanangadi	890.00				Plantain
Munniyur	224.00	Banana, vegetables and others	Cashew		Plantain, pineapple, Jack,Arecanut, Papaya,Cassawa, nutmeg
Peruvallur	170.39	Cassawa,Arecanut, coconut, Vegetables &others	Cassava		Plantain, pineapple, Cassava, Cocoa, Areca nut, Vegetables, Mango

Source: Kerala State: resource based perspective Plan for 202AD; Kerala Land Use Board, Trivandrum, January 1997, Table G.10

The data is obviously incomplete and gives only indications for some of the crops, other than paddy, that can be cultivated in the area. The question is whether the people in the region are even attempting to cultivate the crops in this fashion. If there has to be optimal utilization of the land, in an admittedly agricultural area, there has to be an optimal workforce doing the job. The latest disaggregated statistics of work force in the area is not available. For the present, we have to look into the aggregate figures for Tirurangadi Taluk, in which the block forms a part. The relevant data is given below:

**Table II**  
**Population of Tirurangadi Taluk**

<b>Population</b>	<b>Total population</b>	<b>Total workers</b>	<b>Cultivators</b>	<b>Agricultural labourers</b>	<b>Household industry</b>	<b>Other workers</b>
Male	300373 (100)	121671 (40.7)	5676 (4.7 of C3)	12426 (10.2)	1595 (1.3)	101974 (83.8)
Female	319006 (100)	12881 (4.0)	306 (2.4 of C3)	1819 (14.1)	466 (3.6)	10290 (79.9)
Total	619379 (100)	134452 (21.7)	5982 (4.5 of C3)	14245 (10.6)	2061 (1.5)	112264 (83.4)

Source: Census of 2001; Provisional Population tables.

The 1991 Census figures show that about 11-15% of the main workers in the area has been cultivators, and about 30% are agricultural labourers. The comparable averages of the work distribution in agriculture for the Taluk are as follows:

**Table III**  
**Work participation in Agriculture - Tirurangadi Taluk**

<b>Population</b>	<b>Main workers</b>	<b>Cultivators</b>	<b>Agricultural labourers</b>
Male	101608(100)	5676(5.59)	12426(12.23)
Female	8732(100)	306(3.50)	1819(20.83)
Total	110340(100)	5982(5.42)	14245(12.91)

Source: Census of 2001: Provisional Population tables

The figures show that the percentage of cultivators and agricultural labourers is very low in the region and it is possible that the percentage has declined during the past one decade. We should compare this with the possibilities for agriculture presented in the land use studies, which shows that the agricultural potential of the region has not been made use of the people in the area. IT should also be noted that the number of non-workers, come to 78.3% of the total population, and the number of women non-workers, come to 96%. Even assuming that there are a number of students and other dependents in the population, the number of non-workers in the region requires serious consideration.

The industrial classification of the main workers is not available from the available estimates of the 2001 census. Hence, we have to use the figures of 1991 census, which is given below:

**Table IV**  
**Industrial Classification of Main Workers -1991**

<b>Industrial workers</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
MPSOH*	4061(8.83)	531(8.95)	4592(8.84)
Constructions	2984(6.49)	55(0.93)	3039(5.85)
Trade and commerce	9540(20.74)	169(2.85)	9709(18.70)
Transport and communication	2943(6.40)	32(0.54)	2975(5.73)
Other services	6069(13.20)	2511(42.32)	8580(16.53)

\*manufacturing, Processing, and Servicing other than the Household Industry

Source: Census of 1991, Detailed tables for Malappuram district.

The classification given here is likely to be retained in the category 'other workers' in the 2001 census. This comes to about 55.95% of the total main workers of the region, and we have already seen that the 'other workers' is about 83.8% of the total workers, and about 79.80% of the main workers. If we assume that the percentage (for the Taluk) represents a tendency for the region, then we can see that there is a rise in the number of other workers, which is not surprising, as we have seen that there was a decline in the number of agricultural workers of the region. But the crucial point is that there has not been a major rise in the number of industries in the region during the past decade. Hence, the shift from agriculture has been to other forms of sundry economic activities, and not to industry. We have seen that construction, trade and transport have occupied a major share of the industrial workers, and it is possible that their number has swelled.

All these show that the tendencies at work are extremely complex. The main trends can be summarized as follows:

1. Despite being a rural region, agricultural production in Tirurangadi does not seem to have resulted in sustainable livelihood patterns. The underutilization of land and resources in the region by a predominantly agro-based population is intriguing.
2. While agriculture appears to have declined, it has not resulted in the expansion of industrial activities in the region. The expansion has concentrated on trade, transport and construction works. The implications of this form of expansion, in the absence of industrialization have to be studied.
3. The category of non- labourers has expanded substantially, a fact attested to by the recent census documents. The implications of this phenomenon can be understood only with reference to the socio-cultural factors that affect the population, including caste, community and gender.

It was visualized from the inception of the study that these problems would require a multi- factor, multi- variable analysis, taking into account the geographical, economic and cultural factors. More importantly, the project was conceived as a historical study, for the following reasons:

- a) Standard discussions on development have concentrated on problems of space, such as geo-environmental factors, resources, infrastructures, nature of production and distribution, management of the resources and enterprises features such as the role of the private and public sector in their analyses and projections. Temporal factors make only a very brief appearance, in the form of variations in statistical indices, diachronical

comparisons, if necessary, or as background information for more detailed analyses on the current situation.

- b) Development has to be conceived as a process, which involves both spatial and temporal change that is, involving geography and history. There has been some awareness recently that geographical factors are significant in any conception of development, which is indicated by the growing number of watershed studies. But historical factors, that stress the role of human activity in the transformation of their environment, production and distribution has not been paid adequate attention in development literature.
- c) This neglect of history is understandable in a conception that discusses land, labour and capital as instrumental variables in the configuration of an economy, or as units in a device of social engineering. Any dynamic conception of development that stresses human agency in developmental process, playing a transformative role will have to discuss the historical conditions in which human beings undertake such a role. This means that essentialist conceptions of treating human beings as a 'resource' or as a category will have to be eschewed. History is the mode of analysis that takes into account the complex, multi-faceted trajectories used by human beings in the production of their material life.
- d) Any study of historical processes will have to liberate itself from reductionist methodologies. The process of livelihood is not simply a factor of the relation of human beings with land, labour, resources or capital; these relations are themselves developing within the totality of complex relationships, in which human beings find themselves. These relationships include the transformation of geographical space and resources, which they have carried out in history, which has been termed

as built environment by some geographers, as well as the nature of social relations built by them. The environment and social relations constructed by human beings can be called culture, in order to distinguish these forms from natural resources. Hence, the mode of production of material life and the socio-cultural relations are intertwined in a complex and yet, dynamic way, and history provides us with the tools for unraveling such relationships.

- e) The stress on social and cultural need not result in another variety of 'sociologist' reductionism. The effort of the historian is not to treat social and cultural aspects as fixed categories, the so-called 'bedrocks' of analysis, but try to unravel the relations among various factors and processes. This 'relational' approach will investigate the trajectories of human practice across space and time and treat development itself as a representation of human practice.

There may be questions as to what all these have to do with the immediate task at hand, that of locating the reasons for the problem of underutilization of agricultural land, as well as the lack of industrialization of the region. It can be shown that the problem exists all over Kerala, where people have been withdrawing from agriculture, and the state has also not been in the forefront of industrialization. It is possible to explain these trends in terms of the existing multifactor approaches, without going into the intricacies of historical reasoning. But the problem appears different when perceived from the point of view of local development, when you have to tackle not a general problem that affects the entire nation or a province, but answer the specific needs of the people living in a region,

where both the physical and cultural resources of the region becomes important. Thus the problem of underutilization of agriculture and absence or retardation of industrialization becomes the question of the livelihood patterns of the people. The problem of livelihood is a historical question, as it links the past, present and the future. Analytical representations of the present and planning for the future will have to take into account the historical experience of the people in the region. Thus history becomes an essential ingredient of any social planning exercise.

The present study is historical, in the sense outlined briefly above, but takes into account the results of various development studies, already completed and ongoing, on similar problems, for the purposes of this study. A word has to be added about the term 'micro-historical'. We would like to differentiate this study from the standard 'local histories', which concentrate on the history of a locality, say, a Panchayat. Although the study concentrates on Tirurangadi Block, for convenience, it is accepted that the people of Tirurangadi have been living and working in wider social milieu that has been the result of world-historical or nation-historical changes. However, tendency to get trapped in larger historical patterns and trajectories to understand the history of a region has affected the methodological rigour of many local studies. Another trap is to stress the indigenous, and to indulge in another glorification exercise of the 'local'. There is also the tendency to use the current fashion of writing 'ethno histories', concentrating on the ethnic composition of the people, their 'customs, manners and ceremonies', as if the answer to their problems lie in the understanding of these artifacts. It is true that we have to understand the specific socio-cultural milieu in which people produce their material life, but reducing their life to custom, ritual and 'folk traditions' seems unwarranted. The only

way seems to be to take the hard, bumpy road of unraveling the complex interrelationships between world history and regional history.

### **Methodological Issues**

The methodological devices used for a micro-historical study addressing the problems outlined above will have to be necessarily complex. The standard methodological devices for historical writing insist that the historian makes use of what he calls as primary and secondary sources, and collects actual artifacts, in the form of material objects, written or inscribed materials, or actual narratives that are produced in the period under study. This would involve the collection of all the materials, available in the archives and private collections, examination of material remains, and information available from secondary materials. This would at best give a chronological account of events, dependent on the nature of the sources and possibly some insight into the general patterns that can be demonstrated from the sources. But how can we get to the central issues under study, the livelihood patterns and the socio-cultural milieu in which people lived and shaped their material life? This would require a re-reading of the existing sources, by not treating them simply as data that are subject to classification, codification and quantification, but also as information that have a qualitative bearing. Moreover, information had to be generated from other sources also. That is, every artifact left by human beings in a particular area, including human memories and varieties of human practice had to be treated as sources. Moreover, interrelations between different type of sources, including memories and practice have to be delineated, which would mean that a hitherto unexplored terrain, such as a place-name or the practice of naming family members, emerge as a 'source'. Keeping these considerations in mind, the project proposal suggested the following methodology:

1. Collection of data. This included

- I) Compilation of archival and secondary materials on the problem;
  - ii) Compilation of the locally available documents, records and private collections;
  - iii) Conducting an on the spot examination of then resources of the region;  
Collection of oral testimonies from the inhabitants of the region, including women;
  - iv) Conducting group discussions among elderly people of the region
2. Analysis. This would involve classification of data under the following headings:
- i) Lived experience and knowledge
  - ii) Form of production, labour and patterns of livelihood.
  - iii) Forms of exchange.
  - iv) Generation of taste
3. Using the results of the analysis, it is proposed to arrive at a general synthesis of the human geographic, economic, historical and cultural patterns that contribute to the making of the livelihood in the region.

The modes of arriving at the synthesis had not been worked out during the initial phases of the study. The realization that conventional tools of historical analysis is insufficient for such an exercise was already clear in the initial stage itself, but how to attempt a more comprehensive form of analysis and synthesis was a problem that the research team had to resolve in actual practice. Hence, it will be useful to have a general idea of the work done by the research team, which was actually an exploration into the possibilities of evolving such a method.

## II

### **History of the field work done by the research team**

There were several options of field research which the research team could use; as they went into the field. First was the conventional method of collection of archival information and other written sources, and supplement it by interviews, surveys of monuments and artifacts, and collection of oral sources like songs, stories, traditions and so on. The second was the method used by many watershed projects, which concentrates on gathering scientific information through field research techniques, statistical enumeration and quantification, and rigorous data analysis. The third was the participatory mode, in which collection of data is done by volunteers who have direct field experience as actual workers and inhabitants in the area, and subjecting the data generated by them to scientific verification. There is a fourth, participant objectivation, in which the people living in the area are themselves trained to conduct research as a part of their social praxis, a method that is only beginning to be used in our context.

The problems we faced in using any of the above devices were many. Our aim has been to understand the forms of livelihood in Tirurangadi *in the present*. Underutilization of cultivable lands, backwardness of industrialization and the rendering of majority of the population as non-workers, are problems of the present. But these problems have to be seen as a part of a process, in which several trajectories can co-exist, and several patterns can be identified in the transition *from past to present*. This perspective sees the past not as something that happened before, but as processes that have been forming, enriching or debilitating the present. For the people of Tirurangadi there are several such happenings in the past that have been central to the life and culture of the present. The Mamburam Mosque and the activities of the Thangal family, Mappila revolts of 19th century, Malabar

rebellion, natural calamities and epidemics of 1920s and 1930s, destitution during the II world war period, and gulf migrations are some such happenings, better described as serialities as they do not necessarily conform themselves to a single linear time-span. While such serialities have to be definitely narrated, but an account of their impact on socio-cultural processes and livelihood patterns is a different question altogether.

The existing primary and secondary sources illuminate some of the happenings of a political or ideological nature mentioned above, but they fail to give sufficient information on some of them, such as the natural calamities and cholera epidemic. General information on the patterns of landholdings, information on different forms of occupation, information on education, health, cultural forms, caste, religion etc., are available, but the information is mainly intended as revenue statistics, information on law and order, activities of the state such as public works, which are definitely important, but insufficient for understanding socio-cultural processes that shape the livelihood patterns. At the same time standard forms of social analyses, such as field surveys, participatory modes and interviews cannot take us much further than a few generations at best. Hence, discovery of the relations between past and the present, in a micro-historical context remains a problem.

A local history movement has been gradually developing in Kerala in recent years. A number of enthusiasts were collecting and publishing historical information on villages, towns and sometimes larger regions. Many such works have provided useful information, but are often mixed with myth and legend, and sometimes guilty of fanciful constructions. Writing local histories were attempted more seriously in the background of the people's planning campaign, and during the last few years a number of local histories have been published. They were mainly attempts at writing histories of Panchayats and sometimes Districts. History of Kasargod District, Histories of Vaniyamkulam (Palakkad) Pilicode (Kasargod), Avinisseri (Trissur), Valayanchirangara (Ernakulam)

Chenganasseri(Kottayam), Kunninmel( Kozhikode) Matikkai( Kasargod) are examples. Vaniyamkulam and matikkai histories are particularly interesting because of their innovative methods of collection of information, and efforts to develop a methodology. However, the existing local histories also have serious methodological problems. Many local histories were conceived as 'local' versions of macro-histories, with emphasis on national or major regional events, rulers or ruling houses, major historical monuments in the area and so on.( In one district, discussion on the local history of the district concentrated on how to prepare a who's who of the major 'leaders' who emerged from the district!). Another version of local history basically narrate the 'cultural heritage' of the locality such as the temples, mosques, churches, festivals, rituals, ethnographic details, much in the pattern of colonial ethnographic writing and Gazetters. The historical chapters of 'Vikasanarekhas' compiled by the Panchayats during the initial stages of the PPC contained material of this kind. A third variety can be called 'folkloristic', which concentrate on local knowledge, traditions and aesthetic expressions, sometimes stressing the indigenous as against the 'great traditions' extolled in macro-histories. There is also the problem of fixing the present boundaries of the Panchayat or the district as historical categories. The Panchayat boundaries have been fixed recently, and so are the District boundaries. The more historical unit is the village, but they are also formed during British times, from the even earlier Desams. These changes in the local boundaries complicate the nature of data collected. Many local histories are not aware of such methodological issues at all, or mix up many methodologies often in an irrational way, thus reducing their authenticity.

However, there are certain interesting insights from the existing local histories, which can be used effectively in understanding the relationship between the past and the present. The first is the knowledge that the inhabitants of a region possess regarding their habitat, resources and immediate environment. This is sometimes called indigenous knowledge or

local knowledge and treated as a category distinct from standard forms of knowledge concerning nature and society. But such a distinction seems unwarranted. Instead, men transform their experiences into tangible knowledge through a process of generalization on the basis of the resources at their command. This process is not simply instinctive or intuitive but involves a synthesis of the knowledge systems appropriated by them, including those of the dominant classes. This can be seen in the calandrical knowledge of the agrarian communities, forms of craft production, and elements of social practice in some of the religious rituals. The existing knowledge in village communities appear in naming places , flora, fauna, and other resources, cultural practice both ‘sacred ‘ and ‘profane’, processes of production, distribution and consumption , care of the body and so on, and the dissemination of such knowledge is primarily oral. The most important feature of such knowledge is that it is based on practice, and philosophical questions do not form the basis of such knowledge. This link between knowledge and practice is important in understanding the past, and the relation between past and present.

The second insight is probably the importance of memory. Memory is the most important link that an ordinary man can have with his or her past, and it is also a way in which humans interpret their past. Such interpretations are sometimes called tradition, which are memories synthesized into institutions. But the more interesting feature is the memory that manifests itself as part of social interaction, which is raw and divergent in its content. Possibilities of using such fragmented social memories have been explored in the elder’s meetings or *karanavakkoottam* that were experimented in the making of local history of Vaniyamkulam and Matikkai.

A third insight lies in the exploration of material culture of the people. The actual material products of human beings have undergone transformation according to changing needs, wants, and tastes, a feature little explored in standard histories. But local histories have drawn attention to this in the process of data collection. This also includes

cultural artifacts also, such as art forms, rituals, sports and games, and even processes of social arbitration. Collection of materials through actual participation in production or reenactment of cultural forms can illuminate the nature and implications of the production of artifacts. Socio-cultural transition in a region is best demonstrated by using the data generated through this process.

All this means that the role of the social scientist as an external, impartial observer, will; not, in all likelihood, yield any knowledge regarding the formation of material life in a given village community. The inner working of material life can only be understood when the researcher decides to be with the people, understands the processes even as s/he participates in social life, a factor that was clearly demonstrated in the making of some of the local histories. Others became either 'ethno-histories' or narratives of 'heritage'. It is from this evaluation of the experience of writing local histories, that the fieldwork for the present project was designed. To put it briefly, this involved the following steps:

- a) The process of familiarization and adaptation of the research team in the field. This was done not through collection and study of secondary published works on Tirurangadi, but *actually walking* the entire field as a team. Walking was conducted with the participation of the local volunteers, who knew the place very well, but went along with the research team, and the team as whole was provided with a general framework of what to look at.
- b) Walking also involved the internalization of the present knowledge and material and cultural practice of the people of Tirurangadi by the research team, and this was done with the help of innumerable unstructured conversations with local people. Conversations were held almost anywhere in the field, such as teashops, reading rooms, bazaars, bus stops, houses, roads and lanes.

- c) Attempts were made to codify the information gathered in the walking through a process of classification and codification.
- d) The next step involved the gathering of information on the needs, wants and tastes of the people, by serving a structured questionnaire in the households, in the standard pattern of a survey. Obviously the effort was not to produce quantitative data, as in a Census. The questionnaire concentrated on the practice of their every day life, in the past and present.
- e) The next step was to conduct karanavakkootam in all the important centers in the field, which were in the form of focused group discussions comprising about 10-15 people. The research team had to moderate the discussions on the basis of the concepts regarding the life and culture of the people which the team had already arrived at, which helped them to codify the content of such discussions.
- f) Collection of primary and secondary data, from archival and other sources, with the object of clarifying, comparing, and verifying the information already thrown up through the earlier steps.

It is now necessary to go through the actual implementation of these steps in more detail.

### **Preparations**

The project entitled 'Socio-cultural processes and livelihood patterns at Tirurangadi' was sanctioned in March 2003, and its MOA came through in April 2003. The initial preparations of the project were two-fold. The first was to get the necessary consent from the field area itself and the second was to recruit a team of local volunteers. Consent from the field area was important as it was not a project demanded by the people of the field area, nor was it operated by any Government agency. The field area consisted of seven Panchayats, Vallikkunnu, Thenhippalam, Peruvallur, Munniyur, Tirurangadi, Parappanangadi and Nannambra. Except Nannambra, the Panchayats were part of the Tirurangadi assembly constituency. Politically six Panchayats are controlled by the UDF

and one is controlled by the LDF. The Block Panchayat was controlled by the UDF. In UDF, Muslim League has been the dominant Party in the area, and in the LDF, the CPI (M) has been dominant. Hence, it was necessary to conduct discussions with political leaders and representatives of all these combinations and obtain their consent and support.

The research team had discussions with the MLA, Sri. Kutty Ahmad kutty, who evinced a keen interest in the project and consistently supported the research team. The research team also conducted discussions with Presidents and members of the Block and Grama Panchayats and sought the help of a large number of important persons of the locality, by conducting meetings in all the Panchayats. The idea of a local history evoked keen interest, though there were varying opinions concerning its methodology. Of particular interest in the initial stages was a day long discussion that we had with the eminent 'local' historian, Sri. K.K.Muhammad Abdul Kareem, from whom we gained several important insights.

The second step was the recruitment of volunteers. At first the research team considered using those who have had some training in the discipline of history. Soon the idea was given up, as we realized that actual field experience of social work, familiarity with livelihood patterns of the people and their problems and ability of communication were essential for a field worker, for our kind of investigation. In fact, most of the students who offered to help as volunteers dropped out and the field workers who stood with the project till the end were those who had experience as preraks and instructors in Literacy campaign, experience in People's Planning Campaign, and others with experience as social workers. Such volunteers were trained for the first phase of the project, in a workshop conducted in the end of April 2003. About 65 volunteers participated in the workshop and about thirty five of the participants have remained with us till the end.

## **Project Diary**

The first phase involved walking the whole project area. In the April workshop, teams for walking in all the Panchayats were constituted and the team leaders were selected. The original idea was to constitute two teams for each Panchayat but the idea did not materialize in the way we expected. Two teams operated in vallikkunnu. In Tirurangadi and Parappanangadi, the volunteers decided to work as single team, dividing into groups whenever necessary. In Nannambra, two groups began to operate, but was combined into one. Peruvallur had only one team, which covered the whole area. Munniyur failed to develop a tangible team, as majority of the original volunteers, who were students, dropped out. The research team intervened and completed walking with the help of the available volunteers. In Thenhippalam, the team was led by a retired teacher and local political activist. With extensive knowledge of the area, and the research team helped him to complete the work along with the available volunteers. In overall terms about 75 volunteers participated in walking, besides the research team. Women formed about half the number of volunteers.

We wanted to complete walking by the end of June, but it could be completed only by the middle of August. As mentioned earlier, we depended for the most part on the volunteers recommended by the Panchayats, who were literacy preraks or other types of volunteers. They were working under the constraints of their own work as well as the frequent workload given to them by the Panchayats. Hence, they could find time only for one or two days a week. This meant that walking took about seven to eight weeks in many Panchayats, and in some Panchayats, it took about twenty walking days to complete stretch. Some panchayats, like Nannambra and Munniyur, lagged behind, and extra effort was required to reconstitute the team and complete walking.

The research team had decided that the following features may be observed in the course of walking;

- a) Place names, its possible origins, and changes in place names, if any;
- b) Extent of the region covered by a place name;
- c) Land formations, like Paramba, vayal, pastures, rocky regions, slopes, low-lying regions and the coastal zone;
- d) Water resources, such as ponds, streams, wells, river streams, and low-lying water pools like challi and kappu;
- e) Nature of cultivation, including floral and faunal wealth, and the changes occurring in the landscape due to changes in cultivation;
- f) Nature of market centers, and the types commodities sold there;
- g) Transport facilities, including roads, and water channels;
- h) Houses, and their varieties, modes of construction, and the facilities;
- i) Religious centers their location and nature;
- j) Cultural centers, including reading rooms, clubs, Anganwadies, and other centers;
- k) Schools and health facilities;
- l) Government buildings and offices of political parties;
- m) Festivals and recreations;
- n) Historical monuments and archeological findings, if any;
- o) Any other feature of social or historical interest within the locality.

It was also decided that in order to facilitate walking, keeping in mind the general directions mentioned above, a locality identified by a place name will be treated as the unit of our walking. The place was used because ward divisions in all the Panchayats have been based on the principle of even distribution of population for electoral or

administrative purposes, and do not represent a viable geographical region. The area covered by a place name is a more homogenous geographical or cultural formation and can be used as the unit of analysis.

It should be mentioned that the incessant rains in June-July did not hamper the enthusiasm for walking, and instead, gave us several insights regarding the nature of the terrain we were traversing. During 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of June we decided to take stock of our work in a workshop to be attended by all those who were directly involved in walking. In the workshop, conducted in Trikkulam UP School at Tirurangadi, We conducted an exercise of consolidation all that we saw and learned while walking. All the teams brought their tour diaries and sat down to consolidate their work in a prescribed format, including all that has been listed above. The teams found that consolidation was not an easy task. Although a wealth of material had been collected while walking it was difficult to arrange them in a prescribed form. Still, the exercise proved challenging and stimulating. The workshop decided to complete the work in another month continuing with the tour diary system, and it was also decided that the teams would sit down and consolidate their work after the walking is over. The walking was completed by August, and then the teams began to consolidate their work. Most of the geographical information, except the information that could be compiled by a mapping process had come in, and we hoped to compile the remaining material from the existing maps

The second phase began in September- October when we went ahead with our proposal for a socio-cultural survey. Since, it was a survey that investigated thau patterns of everyday life, the timing of the survey was important, as our estimate was that the priorities and perceptions of the people on every day issues would change very fast, and we chose the time immediately after Onam to conduct the survey. The research team once again talked to the all the Panchayat members and other leaders on the importance

of the survey. Since it was a sample survey based on qualitative assumptions, we decided to survey one out of every thirty households in the Panchayat, which would come to about 15 -16 households in every ward. According to the 1991 Census, there were 36177 occupied households in the Panchayats, which meant that there were 1206 houses to be surveyed. We proceeded on the assumption and began to work out the details of the survey. However, the perusal of the household assessment registers and electoral rolls maintained in the Panchayats convinced us that the actual number of households is much more, and there has been a major expansion of the number of houses in the past decade. Finally, 1750 houses were surveyed.

Since the survey had to be undertaken quickly within a short time interval we decided to use student volunteers drawn from various colleges. We have already mentioned that the response of the students to the first phase had been lukewarm, but the response to the survey was highly encouraging. We decided to send students in groups, each group covering about 15-20 houses, after giving them training on the modalities of the survey. About three hundred students participated in the survey, which was completed by the third week of October.

The third phase, of karanavakkootams began immediately after the survey, by the third week of December. Karanavakkootams were the only directly historical exercise. We decided to make the karanavars, the old experienced people of each locality to tell their immediate experiences. We decided to follow the method of focused group discussions, in which a viable number of old people about 10-15 would be assembled in a place easily accessible to them. Karanavakkootam was the only exercise for which we directly sought the assistance of the ward members and got a formal invitation sent by the president of each Panchayat. The Panchayat members generally co-operated with the proposal, except in a few places. In some places, the kootams could not be held, as it was

difficult to assemble the old people on the occasion of Ramadan fast, which had started by the end of October. Despite these difficulties, 56 karavakkootams were held in the block area during October- November, and one among them had to be reconvened on the demand of the participants.

In the original scheme of the project, we had planned yet another phase, that of an institutional survey, in which we would study the schools, mosques, Madrasa, Yatheem khanas, temples and other institutions of historical importance. But time was running out, and we had received the message to wind up the project. Hence, we decided to drop the last phase. We also realized that consolidation of what we had collected was not easy. We were banking on the service of a large number of people who did the compilation part effectively, though analysis was a different issue altogether. We also realized that their lack of expertise had an institutional basis. They were being used for a large number of surveys and other forms of voluntary labour, but they had not been any training on the techniques of their work, and they had not been associated at all in any analysis, which would be done by team of 'experts' who might not have been in the field. Our research team is an enthusiastic group, but not an 'expert' team, and we have been treading on unsure paths, using methods which are not legion in a standard creation of a database. We decided to use the rest of the time frame of the project to compile and consolidate our information, and this report is the result. It should be mentioned that the present report does not contain the results of the socio-cultural survey which we have called *jivitharithipathanam* (study of lifestyle), and would incorporate the testimony of the karavakkootams only partially. The report will be heavily based on the first part, that of walking and the primary and secondary sources on the region.

### III

## **Walking Tirurangadi**

### **Preliminaries**

The idea of walking had its origin from the transect walks used in the Panchayat Resource Mapping projects of the Center for Earth Science Studies (CESS) and Integrated Rural technology Centre( IRTC). However, the research team was not using the mode of walking as a means of resource mapping. Instead, we decided to use walking as an exercise in human geography, in order to understand the interaction of the people with their geographical milieu. Mapping process is essential as a means of classifying and codifying these relations, but there is also the process of breaking already existing codes of man and nature relations and understanding them. It was our presupposition that the historical or temporal element in the construction of space appears in the signs that people have themselves used as markers, which takes the form of place-names, field names, names used for production and distribution, names with cultural connotations and so on, which have to be posted in every map. Hence we decided to take a place-name as an indicator, and explore the space indicated by the place-name.

After selecting the place-name, the investigators traversed the area indicated by the place-name. This proved to be an extremely difficult, but equally interesting exercise. In the Government and the local vocabularies, place-names have been replaced by ward names, or names of a post office, bus stop or market so that the original place name has been lost or ignored. In several places there has been official 'naming' in the name of a local leader, religious institution and so on, which has further complicated matters. Such influences were so strong that even some of our investigators were taken in by them. Our effort was to identify the place name as an indicator of the habitat or settlement, a process by which we would be able to identify the historicity of the habitat itself.

## **Geographical spaces**

The habitat naturally occupies a geographical space, which is indicated in the descriptions of the place itself. A large part of the block area consists of laterite and rocky tracts, with red loam soil which is indicated in the names of parambas (loosely translated as 'garden' lands from the British times, but they are really inhabited or acquired vegetation zones) The field area is studded with laterite hills (kunnu) and elevated areas (maadu). The area receives from moderate to high rainfall, and the rainwater on the elevated areas flows down to large pits, bringing along with it mud, silt and organic matter. Such pits are called chaali, and found in several parts of the field area. Further, there are several streams (chaal or thodu) that flow further down and join the river. Siltation and sedimentation of this kind have resulted in the formation of large tracts flattened by flow of water, and this area has been traditionally used for the grain cultivation. Sedimentation has also resulted in the formation of deposits in the interphase between rocky paramba lands and the loamy and sometimes clayey grain fields, which are called pallyal. Such sedimentation appears in the edges of large grain fields themselves, which are called potta. What is interesting is the local descriptions of every habitat contain also the nature of the land formation in which the habitat is located. One additional point should be made. The land use studies have classified the soil erosion in the coastal area as slight and the middle region as moderate. Walking brings out another process in the process of formation of pallyals and pottas, brought by the river and streams, as well as the rainwater channels from elevated regions. The nature of the terrain, with elevated regions and low lying areas, means that even moderate soil erosion from the elevated regions can have a major impact, as the top soil from elevated area gets deposited in the low-lying areas, with serious implications for the nature of production. Walking therefore involves not only enquiries on place-names, but also direct observation of all these geographical features and asking questions about them. It was not difficult to

identify some features of naming. Names of the parambas are either specifically geographical categories such as thirutti, kunnu, maadu, paara (rock) and so on, or are related to habitats or have cultural connotations. Parambas are technically laterite zones with typical red loamy soil mixed with gravel, which normally supports heavy vegetation, particularly fruit trees and plants. The elevated regions or madus are of a mixed kind, some parts are normal parambas, with fertile loamy soil, but the other parts have higher gravel content and do not absorb water easily, and therefore have mainly grass and shrubs. Truly elevated regions are pure laterite rock, which hardly supports any vegetation. There are many madus in region which conform to the description given above, such as nedungottunmadu, Illathumadu, sankaranmadu, Chettiarmadu, chullippara, and the area between Chelari and Vaikkathupatam. There are numbers of rocky regions like Varappara (Peruvallur), Thalappara (Munniyur), and Katakattupara (Thenhippalam) which are indicative and still consist of rocky surfaces. Some of the surfaces where grass and shrubs grow appear to have been used as grazing lands. We find traces of such areas in Theyyalingal in Nannambra and Velimukku in Munniyur. Occasionally we find, water flowing out of the rocky regions, forming a small pool. This pool, called chena (chena-oozing water) has supported habitation on the rocky elevated areas. There are a number of places in the region called chenakkal with the obvious geographical connotation. Chenakkals are found all over the field area, although many original water sources have disappeared or have made way for houses. There are areas called porayas, which are adjacent to a habitation site, but were not themselves inhabited as they were rocky surfaces not habitable. Parachenaporaya in Peruvallur is such a large area.

Parambas with habitat connotation are normally related to households. Nearly all households in the region have a paramba named after them, unless they are migrants, although the paramba itself might be occupied by a different family now. This is also one

possible way of locating original inhabitants and the migrants. Most of the traditional landlord houses have their traditional taravad houses and parambas, such as Thottassiri Panikkar(Thottassiriparamba), Arangat Kurup( Arangat paramba), kaprat Panikkar(Kaprat, which is a place name), Molavanuli nambutiri ( Molavanuli paramba) Muthedath nambutiri ( Muthedath Paramba), Mangat Mussad(Mangattuvalappu) are some of the examples. A number of Muslim landlord houses in parappanangadi also have parambas after their house names, such as vettikkuththi paramba (vettikkuththikkakam), cholakkakath paramba (there are several families in this name) and so on. These parambas may signify the original habitats of the households, that is, the name of the household is the name of the original habitat. Habitats of occupational groups are also identified in parambas or subdivisions of parambas (kandi). Thus we have mannarakkal or mannarkandi, ( inhabited by Mannans), thattarkandi( goldsmiths), kollankandi(blacksmiths), musarikkandi(coppersmiths), thaccarakkal( stonemasons) veluthedath( washermen) asarikkandi( carpenters) and so on. These paramba names are repeated in all the Panchayats, showing that unlike the habitats of the original households, they were brought and settled in the paramba as craft communities, presumably by the landlords and the parambas in which they were settled were identified with them, The names of the parambas do not indicate their present occupants, as they have obviously changed hands. Observations and collection of information while walking showed that a paramba .was not simply a laterite vegetation zone, but a habitat, identified with a particular settlement or household. Parambas formed along side chenas (Kunduchenaparamba), or on rocky surface (Parammal paramba), or on pottas (pottammal paramba) and pallyal show the same process of habitat formation.

The identity of Paramba names and households in Peruvallur Panchayat is given below. Note that Peruvallur Panchayat is recently formed, and a large part of the Panchayat is elevated region or uplands, with parts recently being occupied.

**Table V**

<b>Place name</b>	<b>Land</b>	<b>household</b>	<b>Type of occupation</b>
Olakara	Chempayilmad Patinjare Chempayil	Kulavoor Chempayil	Traditional Janmam
Kollam Chena	Athrappilparamba	Athrappil	Traditional janmam- Contemporary occupation
Do	Erambathilparamba	Erambathil	Land as kanam in adjacent areas
Kadappati	Alakkapparamba	Alakkapparamba	Contemporary occupation
Chengani	Chemprangat paramba	Chemprangat	Traditional occupation Do
Nadukkara	Venkolath paramba	Venkolath	Do
Parampil peetika	Thondikkoduparamba	Thondikkodan	No occupation (absentee landlord?)
Varappara	Ambat kundu	Ambat Thamprakkal	Tradional/contemporary occupation
Siddiqabad	Kolleeriparamba	Kolleeri	Do
Do	Thavayilparamba	Thavayil	Do
Do	Kuthirodathilparamba	Kuthirodathil	Do

Source: Field Diaries of the Research Team, Peruvallur Panchayat.

The list is not exhaustive. Some of the landlord families like Mangalasseri Nambutiri, kappetath Muppil nayar, and Kazhungumthadathil do not have parambas after their family names in the area.

Parambas in their pristine form are micro-vegetation regions, which are multicultural, retaining their biodiversity in spite of being habitat zones. Some parambas in Thenhippalam and Vallikkunnu retain these characteristics even today. The features of these paramba are the following: There are large trees including kanjiram, ayani, jack, mango, bamboo (illi), a number of leafy plants, medicinal plants, and where gingelly, ginger, chama, modan and in some places, horse gram and pulses are planted. Rare forest trees like, sandal, irool, karimaruthu also may be seen in some of the parambas, which demonstrate the affinity of the original parambas with forests. This is not surprising if we

accept the local memories that areas like the north eastern part of Thenhippalam and parts of Peruvallur were forest areas. There is an area named pothankuzhikkadu in Vallikkunnu, which has recently been converted into a number of parambas.

Many such parambas have also groves considered as sacred (kavus) which are normally dense growth of such trees. The presence of kavus in the parambas again demonstrate their growth as habitat zones, as the kavus of this kind are not public shrines, but those associated with a household. In order to demonstrate the links between the kavus and parambas in the framing of habitat zones, a tentative list of kavus associated with parambas in Thenhippalam Panchayat is given below:

**Table VI**

<b>Place name</b>	<b>Paramba</b>	<b>Kavu</b>	<b>Ownership</b>
Olipramkadavu	Thirutti	Alanchira muthappankavu	Community ownership
Katakkattupara	Kalathinkattuparamba	Kalathinkattukavu	Kalathinkattiltharavadu
Do	Parambath	Parambathukavu	Edakkattunayar
Do	Katakkattupurakkal paramba	Katakkattupurakkalkavu	Katakkattupurakkal Mannan
Do	Kannattuparamba	Kannattumandapam	Kannat family
Chenakkalangadi	Pathiyakkal paramba	Tiruattukulam temple	Attukulam family
Do	Mullasseriparamba	Sarppakkavu	Mullasserit taravad
Katakkattupara	Ampalakkandipparamba	Asarikavu	Asaris of Ampalakkandi
Do	Perinchiiriparamba	Vettakkorumakan temple Sarppakkavu	Perinchi Musad
Alungal	Polachotipparamba	Thara/mandapam	Dalit families
Do	Vakkayil paramba	Ancestral shrine	Vakkayil taravadu
Do	Mankavuparamba	Ancestral Thara	Mankavu family
Do	Valiyaparamba	Muthappankavu	The Blacksmiths of valiyaparamba
Do	Pottiveetuparamba	Thara	House of a mannan oracle
Do	Kanniparamba	Family shrine	Kanniparamba family
Villunniyal	Illathuparamba	Dharmadaivathin kavu Sarppakkavu	Kalpalli Illam
Panambra	Nallottil paramba	Shrine	Modappilasserit taravad
Komarappadi	Vettikkuthial Uzhapparamba	Althara	Related to parambathukavu
Do	Alungalparamba	Ayyappankavu	Common
Do	Veekkancheriparamba	Kalari and thara	Veekkancheri
Do	Edaththilparamba	Sarppakkavu	Edathil/P.Kumarankutty

Source: Field diaries: Thenhippalam Panchayat

The list is once again not comprehensive, but it is interesting to note that a number of parambas in a relatively small area have shrines of various kinds, and most of them are, or have been family shrines of those who owned the paramba.

However, such original parambas are fast disappearing. Most of the parambas seen while walking were mainly coconut, areca or plantain gardens, or homesteads, with the minimum necessary vegetation to be used by the households. Most of the parambas have been split into a number of house-sites, generally of an area from ten to twenty cents, and the emergence of so many houses along with courtyards (muttam) and sometimes boundary walls have destroyed a large part of the parambas. Thus the paramba as a micro-vegetation region and a habitat zone is disappearing, and those remaining are being converted into monocultural gardens.

There is also another feature of the transformation of the parambas. All the elevated regions, pasturelands and rocky areas are now replete with buildings and house-sites. The elevated area, called kuroorkunnu, in Thenhippalam, is now the site for the University of Calicut, the uninhabited pastoral and rocky land that separates Thenhippalam and Munniyur Panchayats is the site for the bottling Plant of the Indian Oil Corporation, and a number of buildings and shopping complexes. Housing areas are visible in Kollam chena and parachanapporaya in Peruvallur, which are both rocky areas; and kodakkad in Vallikkunnu, chullikkunnu in Nannambra and Chullippara in Tirurangadi have house-sites right up to the top of the hill so that the original elevated regions have almost disappeared. Major roads intersect such elevated areas, such as the chettiarmad-athanikkal road, chelari-chettippadi road, which have contributed to the 'flattening' of the laterite hills. These intersections have promoted the spread of areas that carry the name of parambas. But they are not habitat zones of the old, but are either monoculture gardens, mainly growing coconut, or simply used as house-sites. The original purposes of some of these areas are retained in the place names. There is a muthirapparamba in the Chettiarmad-athanikkal road, where horse gram used to be grown, and a mylanchivala vu, where henna plant was found in abundance. No horsegram is grown now, and local people say that henna could still be found.

Transformation of the pristine parambas into monoculture gardens and house-sites and the disappearance of the elevated laterite zones have resulted in another phenomenon, visible in the rainy season. Much of the walking was done during the months of May and June, even as the Monsoon was under way, and it was not difficult to observe this. The rain water falling in the elevated regions were slashing down the rocky slopes in large streams and were collecting in the challis. But water reservoirs or chenas in the elevated regions had been filled up to construct houses, and buildings were coming up in many of the challis. A typical example is the Devithayal area in Thenhippalam Panchayat which consists of several madus (nedungottunmadu, Chalimadu, Koyisserimadu, and Thattasserimadu), and several challis (malakkachali, kadayamkulam Challi and Jnarachalli). The elevated region has three kulams (cholakkulam, Thattasserikkulam and Devithayal kulam). One kulam in Thattasserri has been filled up. The challis where water used to collect are being split up and sold by their owners, as the owners are no longer cultivating the area. Fences, often made of stone were coming up around several plots that were newly bought, and as a result, there was no chance for the water coming down in large streams to be deposited in the challis. Sometimes, water gets collected in mud pits (mankuzhis) in the challis, and the surplus water so collected make any cultivation impossible. Otherwise, water is not stored anywhere at all, and as the trees and other vegetation in the madus and parambas are being cut down to make way for monoculture gardens, or simply to meet the demand for timber, there is no facility for the retention of water in the elevated areas. As a result, the entire water in the elevated regions and slopes flows through meandering ways, around various barriers to the low-lying grain fields where, large and deep pools are created, where water is retained for several months, and sometimes for the whole year. The low-lying regions have a number of large challis, Kappuchali between Nannambra and Tirurangadi, and Chernur chali between Thenhippalam and Munniyur, and Valiyachali or Velimukkuchali in Velimukku are best examples. The challis so formed are neither useful as water reservoirs nor used for

cultivation, except for occasional pancha or summer crop, and even that has become impossible in recent years.

This has resulted in a peculiar phenomenon that illustrates the nature of transformation of the geographical space. In majority of the elevated regions and slopes in the block, there is perennial water shortage, even as there is perennial water logging in the low-lying regions. We could see very little evidence of rain water harvesting in the elevated regions, except for some naturally formed mankuzhis or mud-pits. Tapping ground water resources is a difficult process in the elevated regions, most of the wells dug in the area reach a water source after digging about 65-75 feet or more, and sometimes, water is not found even then. As a result, a number of tube wells are dug in the elevated regions for housing complexes. There are a number of Panchayat water supply schemes, but most of the Panchayat wells we saw did not contain water. Water shortage becomes acute during April- May, and although the people and the local political and social activists are aware of the problem, no sustainable solution has been explored, except digging wells. Wells with adequate water supply were mostly in the low-lying regions. There is a Kelankurissi drinking water supply scheme managed by the people of karumbil in Tirurangadi which is functioning effectively. Similar projects do not exist in elevated regions.

There is evidence of water sources, such as tanks and ponds all over the field area. Small ponds could be found associated with many parambas, but we found that most of the ponds have dried up or in the process of drying up and numerous ponds have been filled. Only large tanks or kulams still remain, but their extent has been greatly reduced, mainly due to reclamation and deposits of mud and silt. Nayadikkulam in Chiramangalam, Parappanangadi, Ramarkulam in Athanikkal, Vallikkunnu, are examples of such kulams. The Chira associated with Nannambra temple is in a dilapidated condition. Some of the tanks have been maintained by Panchayats; otherwise they would also have disappeared. Disappearance of kulams means that natural forms of water storage, used by the inhabitants of elevated regions and slopes for their sustenance, are becoming non-existent.

As an illustration of this process, we give below the list of water sources that have been observed as dried up or filled up in the Tirurangadi grama Panchayat

**Table VII**

<b>Place name</b>	<b>Name of the water source</b>	<b>Type of water source</b>	<b>Nature of change</b>
Kariparamba	Manammal	Stream	Filled up
Do	Mankuzhi	Stream	Filled up
Kakkad	Karat kulam	Pond	Dried up
C.K.nagar	Venchali canal	Stream	Dried up
Pantharangadi	Theekkulam	Pond	Filled up
Do	Kurukkanthode	Stream	Dried up
Do	Chirayithode	Stream	Dried up
Do	Maruthalakezhuku	Pond	Filled up
Do	Villadanparamba	Pond	Filled up
Pallippadi	Makkadamba	Pond	Filled up
Chullippara	Mechingappadam	Pond	Filled up
Vadakke mamburam	Palathparamba	Pond	Filled up
Do	Cherathparamba	Pond	Filled up
Do	Cherathkezhuku	Pond	Filled up
Venniyur	Cholamattil	Stream	Dried up

Once again, the list is not exhaustive, and made on the observations while walking. But the interesting feature was that many of the ponds and streams disappeared with the transformation of the parambas which held them.

All this points to the transformation of the pristine parambas and water resources, but the condition of the low-lying regions is equally alarming. The low lying regions are either formed on the banks of Kadalundi River or on both sides of numerous streams that flow into the river. Kizhakkethodu, that flows from the hills near Malappuram, flows virtually parallel to the river on the north and falls into the river near parakkadavu, perunthodu , that has its origins from the Vailathur hill , flows northwards and joins the challi in the large muddy low area called venchalli in which kappuchalli mentioned above appears,

Balathodu that falls into the Kadalundi River near Palathingal, Kundanthodu that flows along Kodakkad and joins the river near Karyad are some of the streams that form the area. The region on the side of the thodus is patam or nilam, and depending on the water logging in the region, they are double crop or single crop lands. Another such stream, called keranallur stream was converted into an artificial canal linking Kadalundi River to a minor stream called poorapparamba puzha or Poorappuzha. A good part of the areas are red loam, but clayey soil appears in the riverside littoral and the areas formed as stream beds. As indicated earlier, the entire riverside and coastal area was covered by riverside alluvium and red sand, making the area suitable for paddy cultivation, and coconut along the coastal areas. However, the mud and silt brought along with the rainwater from the elevated regions appear to have brought about a subtle change in the topsoil, with the loamy content increasing. This phenomenon could be seen in pottas that are formed through prolonged periods of soil erosion in the upstream regions. Entire areas named puthusseripotta and kanjirapotta in Mundiyan kavu, and madaththilpotta in Navajeevan area, both in Vallikkunnu Panchayat, are formations that came into being along the banks of Kadalundi River through soil erosion and sedimentation.

Walking demonstrated the character of the low lying regions and their relation to the surrounding slopes and elevated regions. Walking to low lying regions involves steep descent if there are no road facilities. Hard laterite zones gradually disappear as one descends and we enter red loamy areas mixed with mud and sometimes sand, called as pallyal. All the parambas near the low-lying areas have a pallyal associated with it. Pallyals are also seen as extensions of patams which are adjacent to an elevated region. Pallyal are generally used as house-sites, grain fields and also for growing ancillary crops such as vegetables, plantains, pulses and so on, and now we see all the pallyals filled with coconut and areca, along with plantains. Pallyals were also used as means of storing water. Water flowing down from the slopes was collected in a mud pit (mankuzhi) or a

pond in a pallyal, and the stored water was taken to a grain field by means of ettam and tekkukotta. Such mud pits and ponds have mostly disappeared, as the land has been converted into parambas, and in places where the mud pits are retained, pump houses have been established in their place, in order to take water to the nearby fields and parambas.

Walking by the grain fields in the low lying regions is a marvelous visual experience. They form often a single stretch consisting of several hundred acres. Kizhakkepatam stretches between Chengani, Peruvallur, Neerolpalam, Velimukku and Munniyur on the western side and Pokayur, Olakara, Koduvayur and Mamburam in the east, and stretches as far the Kadalundi River. The patam is known by several names in all these places. The huge Venchali patam stretches from Kakkad near the national highway, between Tirurangadi in the north and Chiramukku, Kaduvallur, Kodinhi, Thirutti before joining another large grain field, Moriyappatam, which reaches the Vailathur hills. Both the fields are several hundred acres in extent, almost the entire Panchayat of Nannambra has the character of islets (thirutti) surrounded by these grain fields. Several parts of Munniyur, Parappanangadi, Tirurangadi and Vallikkunnu have a similar character.

The metaphor of an island is apt during rainy seasons, as the low-lying areas become fully waterlogged, making pedestrian travel absolutely impossible. Most of the roads that cross the low-lying areas have been constructed recently, which meant that at least some areas were totally cut off from the rest of the world at least for a few months a year. There seems to be several reasons for this water-logging. The entire low-lying areas are muddy and marshy, and as a result, collect and retain water, including rain water easily. Secondly the river meanders along the entire area, and deposits mud and silt adding to the muddy character of the region and creating sedimentary deposits (potta). The river also seems to have changed its course not so long before. Thirdly rain water slashing down from the surrounding elevated regions such as Urakam hill, Vailathur hill, Karippur near

Kondotty, Kuroor in Thenhippalam, Kodakkad in Vallikkunnu all fall into these low-lying areas adding to the muddy deposits and water-logging. Finally, there is also evidence that there is influx of saline water (oruvellam) during some months, particularly December and January, which enters Kadalundi River, and comes up to the Anaicut at Mannittanpara.

There have been efforts at tackling the water-logging. The first has been the building of Keranallur thodu (sometimes called the river) during the British times. The thodu is in the form of a large canal and cuts across the 'island' of Kalanthirutti to join another stream, a minor river that flows into the sea called Poorappuzha. The anaicut (cheerpunkal) built across the thodu would be opened to drain out excess water in the Kadalundi River whenever necessary. However, the old thodu could not solve the problem of water-logging and efforts were on to construct a new canal from the sixties which was built and commissioned only last year. Another effort to stop the influx of saline water was the construction of an anaicut at Mannittanpara in the Kadalundi River, between Munniyur and Vallikkunnu Panchayats. However, we could see water-logging in areas like Chernur chali, Venchali, and Velimukkuchali which are low-lying alluvial regions, not directly linked to the river. Water-logging of a similar kind may be seen in a part of Kizhakkepatam in Munniyur, called Pattisseripattam. The field is close to the place where Kizhakkethodu joins the river. Muddy water, along with sediments that come with the river and along kizhakke thodu, gets deposited in the patam during rainy season making it impossible for the field to be cultivated. Sedimentation has resulted in the filling up of the kizhakkethodu which becomes a dry bed during summer. However, there have not been any effort at maintaining the thodu. Other thodus like Balathodu and

Perunthodu have suffered the same fate. Kundanthodu in Vallikkunnu was reconstructed, through a mass popular effort during the People's Planning campaign.

Efforts at containing water-logging do not imply that there is expansion of grain production in the low-lying regions. What we saw was to the contrary. Large areas of the grain fields have already been converted into coconut gardens, and in some places plantains are grown. Some of the areas were left fallow. Kizhakkepatam in Munniyur that can be seen from the National Highway is a major illustration of this transformation. The smaller fields, not susceptible to water-logging were the first to be converted in this way. The normal process of conversion was apparently as follows. The loose muddy soil, often mixed with sand was dug up from the bed of the grain field and small mounds were created, and coconut seeds were planted on the mound. Such converted lands were actually seen in Kuriyappatam in Vallikkunnu Panchayat, Kottanthalappatam in Parappanangadi Panchayat, Vatakkepatam and Thekkepatam in Munniyur Panchayat, Vaikkathupatam bordering on Munniyur and Peruvallur Panchayats and so on. Large areas in Munniyur patam (called Munniyur chali) have been converted into coconut plantations. The most interesting case of such conversions is the area called nedunparambu, on the way from Parakkadavu to Chuzhali, a large area coming to more than hundred acres, where conversions of grain fields have been going on for several decades, which cannot be distinguished from normal parambas except to a trained eye. The soil of the paramba is clearly that of a patam and it was a part of the field called mullankuzhipatam a generation back. The area near Nannambra temple, between Theyyala and Pandimuttam has been converted in to paramba, with no trace of a patam remaining, except in isolated patches. Kizhakke patam in between Muttichira and

Mamburam is rapidly undergoing change. The paddy fields visible to any traveler in the National highway crossing the patam, two decades before have disappeared, and we see coconut and plantain plantations instead. Even the remaining grain fields are rarely cultivated.

As an illustration we reproduce below the transformation observed in the fields in Munniyur Panchayat:

**Table VIII**

Place name	Name of the field	Type of cultivation today
Chelari	Chernur Patam	Part of it is challi, and not cultivable, part of it is coconut
Thayyilakkadavu	Vaikkathpatam	Part of it is coconut Garden
	Valiyani ppatam	Coconut, Areca, plantains
	Nambrathpatam	Garden
Thalappara	Kizhakkeppatam	Coconut, Plantain, and a part is rendered cultivable waste
Kaliyattamukku	Munniyur patam	Coconut Garden
Alunchodu	Thekkeppatam	Garden
	Kuttikkadupatam	Coconut, cultivable waste
	Pattisserippatam	Part uncultivable due to water logging
Kunnathparamba	Kuruvadippatam	] nedunparamba
	Mullankuzhippatam	
Alungal	Cheriyachalli	Partly coconut garden
Velimukku	Valiyachalli	Water-logged, uncultivable
	Kattuvaypatam	Areca

Source: Field Diaries: Munniyur Panchayat

Grain fields near the challis still exist. Grain fields in venchalli, Moriyappatam and kundurppatam are still areas of paddy cultivation. Other paddy areas are Chernur patam in Thenhippalam, and Munniyur, Koyappattam in Thenhippalam, Pappanur patam (chali) in Munniyur, cheriyachali near Velimukku chali, thekkeppatam, and chovveppatam in Thenhippalam and thiruthimmal in Vallikkunnu. Cultivation in such areas have been assisted by Mannittampara anaicut, and the two artificial streams at Keranallur and New cut As mentioned before, the some of the larger challis are still subject to water-logging,. A typical case is that of valiya challi in Velimukku also called Velimukku challi which is subject to perennial water-logging, so that no cultivation has

been going on for several years. The efforts to solve the water-logging problem in Valiyachalli met with technical and social difficulties. A stream called Manthodu, connected the two challis, and a scheme was prepared to take the excess water from Valiya Challi via Manthodu into the river, and the scheme was met with stiff resistance from the cultivators of Cheriya Challi as they argued that the scheme would result in their fields becoming logged. As a result the scheme could not be implemented, and cultivators had encroached the area acquired for the renovation of Manthodu, which made the construction of the thodu itself impossible. Flow of rainwater, indicated earlier brought more water into Valiyachalli, which resulted in the field being transformed into a perennial water pool. .

Along with land conversions, habitations are also spreading in the low-lying regions. Nearly all the pallyals have been converted into house-sites, one example being the Chiramukku- Tirurangadi road, which passes through a Pallyal and houses have come up on both sides of the road. Kottanthalappattam, being converted into a paramba has a number of house- sites, with houses built on what were previously grain fields. Nedunparamba, mentioned earlier, is now filled with houses. Large shopping sites, built on extraordinarily strong foundations are being erected on what were water-logged, muddy areas, in Palathingal. Normally the tendency has been to build houses and other buildings on hard, sometimes, rocky surfaces, but pressure on land appears to have played a role in the conversion of low-lying regions to building sites. Conversions are taking place also on what were previously woody regions. Pothunkuzhikkad in Vallikkunnu is a typical example. The natural vegetation area appears to have been converted into parambas, and now it is a large inhabited area with a number of houses, with the 'woods' hardly seen. Chuzhali close to the river in Munniyur, where the river takes a winding path, and flows along three sides, has been another woody region. It is now converted into a coconut and areca region with houses everywhere.

The transformation is illustrated by the observations from Parappanangadi Panchayat given below:

**Table IX**

<b>Place names</b>	<b>Fields/parambas transformed into house-sites</b>
Chiramangalam	Appichulli Arukandam Thandanpadam
Poorappuzha	Ampatkandi Keezhaymannumpuram
Chettippadi	All parambas and fields except kokkamthodi, kuttalilpatam, karukappatam and Kallingalpatam
Parappanangadi	Vellarikkad paramba Kaithavalappu Narimurikkad Kallumkandiparamba Chakkalaparamba Kodiveedu Thazhekodiveedu Panikkarkandi Unnikandam Chonamkandam Illathilparamba
Chudalaparamba	Kottappuncha

Source: Field Diaries, Parappanangadi Panchayat

The list is not complete, and areas like Neduva and the costal area (Alungal beach) had been heavily populated even earlier.

The 'islands' or thiruttis that are formed within the low-lying water-logged areas are laterite regions where red loamy soil is retained with gravel and rock and have survived mainly as house-sites. Kaduvallur in Nannambra Panchayat surrounded by Venchali is such an island. At present Kaduvallur is a paramba region with hundreds of houses with ponds and surrounded by pallyal, which is also inhabited. Perhaps the largest of the

thiruttis is Kalanthirutti, through which the Keranallur thodu and New cut flow. A part of the thirutti, to the West of the Cut is in Parappanangadi Panchayat and to the East of the cut is in Nannambra Panchayat. The thirutti is a mixture of red loam and mud with the western part containing hard laterite than the East, which is practically a part of the surrounding patam. About hundred houses can be seen in Kalanthirutti. Paddy is cultivated in small strips in the thirutti, and in some areas, plantains, tapioca and pulses are also cultivated. Apart from the two major thodus, there are smaller streams that intersect the thirutti. Near Kalanthirutti, and to the south of it, there are two other thiruttis named Poonthirutti and Kakkathirutti. Poonthirutti is slightly more elevated than kalanthirutti. Part of it has been forested, now being transformed into paramba. Kakkathirutti is a flat laterite surface, where one of the surviving bamboo gardens in the area can be found. To the east of Poonthirutti and Kakkathirutti is thiruttimmal which is separated by a strip of grain field from Kodinji. Thiruttimmal is a large paramba region surrounded by grain fields, which was probably used for grazing but now converted into coconut and areca gardens. Payyoli, to the north of thiruttimmal, is also another grazing area, which has been converted for house-sites and gardens.

Thiruttis are formed because of the changes in the course of Kadalundi River also. Tirutti in Olipramkadavu, now a part of Vallikkunnu Panchayat was formed, according to the local knowledge because the river chose a west ward course and then winded around to join the sea. The land that came up was filled with river mud and silt mixed with sand, and proved to be extremely fertile, and is now studded with paddy fields and coconut gardens. There are several thiruttis in the mouth of kadalundi river, the most significant being Balathirutti, surrounded by the sea on one side and river on all other sides. The thirutti has the character of a land mass formed through sedimentation by the river. Coconut is grown on a large scale in this small island. The muddy areas in the thirutti

have been traditionally used for immersing coconut fibre. The thirutti has also mangrove areas, which were being increasingly removed to make way for coconut gardens.

The coastal area forms a region that has characteristics different from the rest of the field area. The coast forms a long narrow strip bounded in the North and West by Kadalundi River, Newcut thodu in the West, and Poorappuzha in the south. The Kadalundi River once again takes a winding path, around the hilly area called Nirakaithakkotta and flows into the sea to the north of the Vallikkunnu Panchayat. The soil in the coast is a mixture of loam and sand, and the area is subject to constant sea erosion. Mangroves, kaitha, and trees called payan are found in several parts of the coast, which have played a part in reducing sea erosion. Many place names like Nirakaithakotta and Kaithavalappu point to the importance given to these plants by the coastal people. The alluvial soil has encouraged paddy cultivation in parts of the coast, particularly in Parappanangadi and Ariyallur, where the fields have extended right up to the sea. Deposits of mud and silt by the flowing rivers in the coastal areas also might have facilitated the process of alluvial formation near the coast. However, paddy areas in the coast have largely been converted into parambas, rendering the entire coast into a paramba region. The mangroves and other forms of erosion- preventing vegetation which were found in the hedges of the grain fields and in the muddy regions close to the sea are being cut down in the course of conversion into parambas, and house -sites are also spreading along the coast. Bringing coastal area under the regulations of the Coastal Protection Zone has resulted in some control over the removal of mangrove areas. However, substantial part of the mangroves has been removed, and no effort has been made to grow them again, as the areas have been almost entirely converted.

Land conversion in the Coast is shown in the following observations on the Coastal belt of Vallikkunnu Panchayat.

**Table X**

<b>Place name</b>	<b>Conversion into parambas</b>	<b>Conversion into house-sites</b>
Anangadi	Kattungal patam Munnichira patam Korunkuzhipatam Kadalundi patam	Kuttiyil patam Kattungal paramba Munnichira patam Korunkuzhipatam
Navajeevan	Kanjirakuzhipatam Railway chambra	Kanjirakuzhipatam Railway chambray
Anayarangadi	Anayattil patam Thekkepatam Kottayilpatam Vatakkepatam Pandikasalapramba	Anayattilpatam Thekkepetam Vatakkepatam Kottayilpatam Vennakkat thara Chathankai patanna

Source: Field Diaries: Vallikkunnu Panchayat

The Coastal area has been heavily populated from early times. Puthenkadappuram, Ottummal beach and Alungal beach in Parappanangadi, Anangadi in Vallikkunnu are areas inhabited by traditional fishing population. Alungal beach is particularly interesting, as it was the area of the traditional market centre called Angadi or Parappanangadi, a point that we will discuss later. Another coastal market centre is Kadalundi Nagaram, to the north of Anangadi. The existence of a kadalundippatam in the area indicated that the region, now comprising the coastal area of Vallikkunnu, was called Kadalundi. The implications for this have to be discussed separately. The market centers are no longer visible today, and only the fishing villages survive today. The large houses in Alungal beach could be called the relics of the old market centre.

### **Resources**

Walking does not yield reliable indications of the resources of the region, except some of the surface finds to a careful observer. Walking in Tirurangadi was hardly different. Still

one or two features of the observations were significant. One was the existence of an area near Kadalundi River, between Thenhippalam and Vallikkunnu, called Irumpothunkal. It is believed that the area yielded iron ore sufficient to meet the requirements of the local blacksmiths. The perseverance of this tradition seems to be significant. Wells dug in this area and the nearby Paruthikkad very often meet with hard black soil which is very difficult to break, and invariably, water is found underneath this hard area. This soil is supposed to have iron content, and so are the reddish black soils in the thiruttimmal area in Vallikkunnu. Land use studies of the area, record that the northern part of the region, including Vallikkunnu and Thenhippalam as having iron ores. The presence of a number of blacksmiths in the area might also testify to use of the iron ore from the area, although the practice does not survive today.

There have been reports of the discovery of black, hardened wood under the surface which is discovered while a well is dug. Remains of a large tree were discovered while digging a canal near Kalanthurutti, and reports of similar discoveries have been made in Nannambra, Tirurangadi and along Kadalundi River as well as the chilli regions. Another interesting case is that of well very close to the coast supplying fresh water in Ariyallur area, called Mudiya Kinar. The water in the well was supposed to have medicinal properties, and was used by the people. The stories woven around the well merit another discussion, but the presence of fresh water, in whatever form in the coast is interesting. Significance of such reports is not known, but it appears that geological processes were at work in the low-lying regions particularly in the area around Kadalundi River and the coastal sea erosion, withdrawal of the sea from some parts, the river changing its course, and ongoing processes of siltation and sedimentation leading to changes in the topography of the land are some of the most obvious.

## **Communications**

Walking also involves an awareness of the links between one place and another. In a totally natural kind of terrain, without built roads, highways, bridges and other forms of links, walking means not only using an existing way but also finding a way, solving a topographical puzzle. This is a particular problem in a terrain where one has to move from one elevated region, a madu or hill to a slope and then cross a field, challi or even a stream to reach another slope or elevated region. Similarly the parambas or thotikas (which are generally habitation sites) form continuous chains, and we have to move from one paramba to another by crossing the parambas. Similar problems exist in the slopes, where the parambas are found in a terraced form. However, through constant use, pathways are formed between one paramba and another. It is possible that the path might have been part of a paramba, but the right to use it as a public road is accepted by the owner of the paramba. Now that almost all the parambas are separated by fences or compound walls, the paths or nirathth are separated. Nirathth are formed when one paramba is partitioned, when a common nirath is formed for different households in the paramba. Thus it was not difficult to find paths without gravel in elevated parambas and some of the areas where there was a steady descent into the low-lying regions. It was however, interesting to note several such paths could convert themselves into streams during rainy seasons, and the path of the stream cutting through rocky areas could make a nirath during summer. Sometimes it was difficult to follow such stream-paths; either the paths would have fallen into disuse because of the growth of an alternate way, or the erection of a compound wall would make the path disappear altogether

The formation of such paths and lanes in the Peruvallur Panchayat is given below:

**Table XI**

<b>Placename</b>	<b>Paramba/field</b>	<b>Path or lane</b>	<b>Character</b>
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<b>Placename</b>	<b>Paramba/field</b>	<b>Path or lane</b>	<b>Character</b>	
Kakkathadam	Puthurpatam	Puthurpatam	Lane to the field	
	Panjathmad	Panjathmad	Idavazhi	
Illathmad	Illathmad	Cholayilmadu	Do	
		Illathkunudu	Do	
		Thennat	Do	
	Parakkalparamba	Parakkal	Do	
		Neettukuzhi	Lane, there is also a stream	
		Ammancheriparamba	Ammancheri	Lane
			Illathmad-Ammancheri	Footpath
			To vaniyamkulam	Footpath
			To thadathil kundu	Footpath
		Ungungal	To ayyappanchalil	Footpath
To kakkathadam	Footpath			
Patinjattuparamba	Footpath			
Vadakkungaraparamba	Lane			
Eliyetathmad	Lane, footpath			
Chullilakundu	Lane			
Siddiqabad	Vatakkumparamba	Vatakkumparamba	Lane	
		Pazhamkulam	Footpath	
	Thavayil paramba	Mookkathilmad	Lane	
		Thavayil	Lane	
		Kuthirodathil	Lane	
		Kommangat	Lane	
		Thoyangat patam	Lane	
		Polat	Lane	
		Moothamburath	Lane	
		Chembazhimad	Lane	
Varappara	Thalepurathparamba	Thalepurath	Footpath	
	Alungalkandi	Alungalkandi	Footpath	
	Karalilparamba	Karalil	Lane	
		Paramoothidavazhi	Lane	

Placename	Paramba/field	Path or lane	Character
Kadappadi	Mukkutchali	Kuttidavazhi	Lane
		Mukkut idavazhi	Lane
		Koyappa idavazhi	Lane to koyappa
	Alakkaparamba	Alakkapparamba	Lane
	Choyakkat	Choyakkat	Lane, footpath
	Poothamkuttiparamba	To varichal	Lane, footpath
	Mookkathumad	To nadukkara	Lane, footpath
	Kozhakkayilparamba	Kozhakkayil	Footpath
	Kunnathparamba	Kunnathparamba	Footpath
		Mutakkayil	Footpath
chengani	Chamnbrangatparamba	Chembrangat	Lane
	muthappankotta	Kotta	Lane, footpath
Nadukkara	akkarakandiparamba	Akkarakandi	Lane, rocky surface
	kilpara	Kilpara	Lane
	Chundal paramba	Chundalil	Lane
	Keppilat paramba	Keppilat	Lane
Parambilpeetika	Sankaranmad	Sankaranmad	Lane
	Manarambu	Manarambath	Lane along a pallyal
Olakara	Manat mad	Manta	Lane
	Pokkatmad	Pokkat	Lane
	Jnarangat	Jnarangat	Lane
	Karlath	Karlath	Lane
	Chempazhimad	Chempazhil	Lane
	Kurungotam	Kurungotathil	Lane

Source: field Diaries, Peruvallur Panchayat

The above list, though incomplete shows the correspondence between parambas and lanes.

The situation is different in the low-lying areas. There are possibilities of developing roads in the flat surfaces. The loose, loamy and muddy character of the soil prevents the development of hard surfaces that could be used as nirathth or footpath. The character of the grain fields, as has been pointed out are one continuous expanse, and hence, the only way of traveling is through the hedges of various strips (varambu) or through the banks of streams and canals. Even this is impossible during rainy season when there is water-logging. The situation is not much different even after the conversion of the land mass into paramba, as the parambas more or less maintain the natural boundaries of the fields. Hence the only alternative is to construct artificial roads by bringing laterite soil from other parts mostly from the nearby elevated regions. We could see such road construction going on in several parts of the field area. Some of these roads, such as Tirurangadi-chiramukku road, cheruppara- kaduvallur road, pantharangadi-kalanthurutti road, chemmad-kodinji road, Parakkadavu-chuzhali road are practically serving as bridge-roads constructed through fields. Cheruppara-kaduvallur road was originally a dried up stream, now converted into a road. As fields are converted into parambas, and more house-sites are coming up based on this conversion, there is pressure for more roads. Pressure of housing in elevated areas has also increased the pressure for roads in hitherto inaccessible areas.

Interestingly, the remains of some of the old roads are still to be found, and some of them are being renovated. Indications of such roads are found in the frequent references to athanis or resting places in different parts of the field area. There are at least two places, one in Vallikkunnu and another in Kundoor, Nannambra carrying the name Athanikkal. Vallikkunnu athani functioned as an arresting place for people moving from Kadalundi Nagaram to the south and Parappanangadi to the north. Kundoor athani indicated a road from Venniyur to Tanur. Athanis are found in numerous places such as Velimukku, Pappanur, Chelari, Chenakkalangadi, and Alunchodu and along the road from Tanur to

Vallikkunnu and from pantharangadi to Kakkad and further east. Some of the oldest roads appear to have survived even today. The significance of these roads for trade and commerce in the region will be discussed later. The roads seem to have been made to allow a bullock cart to pass by; otherwise they were used by pack-bullocks or men carrying loads. Most of the major roads were built along the old roads.

Water-logging appears to have made land travel difficult, and the only alternative was to use boats. Water transport appears to have been in vogue until recently, and people of the low-lying regions used boats to reach places like Feroke and Calicut, particularly during rainy season. Places like Chiramukku, Kundoor, Kaduvallur, Thirutti, Kodinji, and Thazhechena in Tirurangadi, Pantharangadi, Ullanam, Kunnathaparamba, Chuzhali, and Velimukku have several places called kadavu where boats used to come until recently and Kadalundi River was studded with kadavus throughout the course of the river in the field area. Boat travel is still used by the people of some of the islands such as Balathirutti to reach the mainland. Now bridges have appeared in most of the places, such as the Olipramkadavu Bridge, Mannittampara, Chuzhali-Palathingal Bridge, Kundankadavu Bridge, Parakkadavu Bridge and Panampuzha Bridge and the foot bridge to Balathirutti, which have made travel from one region to other easy. Bridges, like roads, have corresponded to the changing material milieu, a point that has to be discussed at a later stage.

### **Flora and fauna**

Other resources concentrate on biodiversity of the region. Apart from paddy, Coconut, areca nut and plantains, of which mention has been made earlier, the area produces a wide variety of trees and plants. Parambas which were covered while walking had the following trees in general. They were jackfruit, mango, Tamarind, Elanji, Ayani, Erukku, Muringa, kanjiram, Avanakku, sandal, karimaruthu, Ungu, payan, Jnaval, betel nut apart from mangrove and kaitha, which were mentioned earlier. A number of medicinal plants,

such as Amalpori, Neela amari, Ummathinkaya, Avanakku, vellottu, Anakurunthotti, Kurunthotti, vallavanakku.vathamkolli,kunni, anathakara, velipparathi, Henna, Sankupushpam, white and blue have been found in the parambas held by traditional physicians. Pulses like greengram, black gram, horse gram, gingelly, ginger, and sesamum have been cultivated in the area. There are references to the presence of flax and Palmyra. Fishing and sale of fish were widespread along the coast, and testimony from Parappanangadi indicates large catches of prawn. Fish from the region reached far inside Malappuram district. Salt was also made, as shown by the mention of patannas, although these patannas are no longer used for making salt.

It is thus clear that the major resource of the region is the bio-mass, which is extensive and diverse. As an illustration, we give below the list of medicinal herbs in Vallikkunnu Panchayat, which has been collected in an independent survey.

**Table XII**  
**Medicinal herbs in Vallikkunnu Panchayat**

Scientific name	Habitat
<i>Alternanthera Sessilis</i>	Wetlands
<i>Monochoria vaginalis</i>	Shallow ponds
<i>Neregamia alata</i>	Upland weed
<i>Cyperus rotundus</i>	Upland weed
<i>Kyllinga monocephala</i>	Upland in wet places
<i>Pseudarthria viscida</i>	Waysides, wastelands
<i>Heliotropium keralensis</i>	Moist places
<i>Vernonia cineria</i>	Weed
<i>Achyranthus aspera</i>	Wastelands, waysides
<i>Cuculigo orchioides</i>	Wet shady places
<i>Oldenlandia heynii</i>	Roadsides, wastelands
<i>Tridax procumbens</i>	Common weed
<i>Aristolochia indica</i>	Open places
<i>Boerhavia diffusa</i>	Wastelands
<i>Desmodium tritorium</i>	Lowlands and uplands
<i>Andrographis paniculata</i>	Uplands, lowlands

Euphorbia hirta	Uplands, lowlands
Sacciolepis indica	Wet fields
Spilanthus radicans	Low land weed
Cymbopogon citratus	Drier situations
Sida cordata	Waysides, wastelands
Ocimum americanum	Waysides, wastelands
Phyllanthus debilis	Lowlands ,uplands
Eclipta prostrate	Wetlands
Smithia sensitiva	Uplands

Source: vascular plants of Vallikkunnu Grama Panchayat, courtesy, Dr.A.K.Pradeep, Department of Botany, University of Calicut.

Walking involves observation of floral and faunal profile of the region. The transformation of flora in the paramba lands has already been noted. Characteristics of the flora are important. The upland elevated regions were areas of dense vegetation, and remnants of such areas can still be found in Koyappa, Kuroorkunnu (University), Parambathakavu, Mundyankavu in Vallikkunnu, Nirakaitthakotta, Banglavukunnu (close to Kadalundi rail bridge), Kodakkad, Chullippara, Chullikkunnu and elevated areas of kodakkallu (partly Tennala Panchayat) and several parts of Peruvallur Panchayat. The rocky areas in these regions contain hardly any vegetation, or contain varieties of grass used for grazing. Dense vegetation is mostly found on the slopes and hillocks, called madu. The trees found in the maadus, such as chettiarmadu, nedungottinmadu, illathumadu and so on, include karimaruthu, sandal, teak, rosewood, ayani, elanji, ungu, tamarind, jack and mango. The dense vegetation is seen as more or less retained in areas like chettiarmadu and villunnial inside the University campus, although the area is subject to poaching on a large scale. The University Campus and the surrounding areas also have a number of very rare species, indicating the extent of biodiversity in the area. Similar semi-forest regions can be found near some of the kavus or sacred groves, such as chempattatil kavu and kattuvachira in Munniyur, mundyankavu in Vallikkunnu, Nirakaitthakotta, Parappanangadi kovilakam (which is rapidly being

cleared) and old house- sites, such as puliyachcheri in vallikkunnu, mangattillam in Thenhippalam, chempazhi in Peruvallur, and many sites of groups like mannans, thattans and asaris. But in most of the areas the old trees are being increasingly cut down, and either sold to timber contractors or used as building materials. The spread of house-sites also result in increasing de-vegetation, so that large trees have become a rare, though awesome sight.

In order to get a feel of the general biodiversity in the region, a list of rare species found in the Calicut University campus and the surrounding regions is reproduced below.

**Table XIII**

<b>Plant genus</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Location of its finding</b>
Crataeva adansonii	Deciduous tree	Moist fields
Polygala Bolbothrix	Herb	Rocky slopes
Triumfetta Annu	Undershrubs	Roadside near the Campus
Impatiens Balsamina	Herb	Rocky laterite
Caesalpinia Nuga	Climber	Littoral area
Rotala Occultifolia	Small branched annual	Water-logged fields
Ludwigia Odscendens	Weed	Collected from Kadalundi
Catunaregam Uliginosa	Shrub	Wet fields
Mitragyna parvifolia	Tree	Streams or wet fields
Mitragyna tubulosa	Tree	Waterways
Argostemma courtellense	Herb	Wet rocks
Neanotis foetida	Herb	Rocky laterite
Aegiceras majus	Shrub	Littoral (Kadalundi)
Exacum Sessile	Herb	Grassy slopes
Nymphoides Parvifolium	Herb	Shallow ponds
Ipomoca Macrantha	Shrub	Kadalundi river bank
Bacopa floubinda	Herb	Sandy fields, Kadalundi
Dopatnim Junceum	Herb	Shallow ponds
Centranthera Indica	Herb	Kadalundi sandy fields
Utricularia graminifolia	Herb	Laterite slopes
Utricularia Uliginosa	Herb	Swamps
Myristicaceae Malabarina	Tree	Found in Chelari
Helixanthera	Shrubby parasite	Found on tree in campus
Sauropus Quadrangularis	Herb	Rocky laterite

Malaxis Rheedii	Plant	Moist shaded areas
Geodrum densiflorum	Plant	Do
Fumbristylis tetragena	Plant	Shallow pond
Rottbellia Exaltata	Grass	Freshwater ponds and grassy slopes
Pseudanthistria Umbellata	Annual	Kadalundi river bank

Source: K.S.Manilal and V.V.Sivarajan, Flora of Calicut, Dehradun, 1982.

Cash crops, such as coconut, areca, plantains and other fruit crops are spreading everywhere. Coastal areas like Vallikkunnu and Parappanangadi had traditional coconut gardens, and the practice has spread to elevated regions and slopes also. Jack and mango trees survive to a certain extent, but are increasingly cut down. Betel leaves are planted in some areas particularly in Nannambra Panchayat, Palmyra is a rare sight anywhere in the block, but it appears that Palmyra was planted more frequently earlier in the low-lying regions. The spread of coconut is mostly as a monoculture garden crop, and is seen tended carefully in such gardens, along with compound walls, possibly to prevent poaching. However, in more traditional coconut plantations, in areas such as Vallikkunnu, the crop is tended less, and the owner or his laborers appear only for plucking the coconut. In such areas coconuts are found along with leafy trees and bushes. Areca gardens are less than coconut gardens, and we saw a well tended areca garden in chuzhali, near Vallikkadavu. The practice of interspersing coconut with areca is continuing in many areas, but given less importance. A more common crop is plantains, which appears everywhere, particularly in the low-lying regions. Tapioca is grown as a crop in both parambas and low-lying regions, but its spread is relatively less. Cashew is seen in many spaces, particularly in rocky plateaus, and is considered a potential plantation for elevated regions. But there is little effort to grow it as a mono-cultural crop. One effort, by the University inside the campus was given up due to resistance by the environmentalists.

Apart from the large trees, a number of garden plants are either disappearing or have already disappeared. Pepper was not a major garden crop, but was seen along with other crops such as large fruit trees. Now, it is seen only rarely. Ginger was a major crop, found in the slopes and low-lying areas, either as an intermediary crop (idavila) or as a paramba product, but has completely disappeared. This has happened to crops such as chama and horsegram (muthira). The existence of these crops can be surmised in the names of the parambas such as chamakkalayi paramba and muthiraparamba. Gingelly (ellu) continues to be cultivated, but rarely. Modan, or the paddy grown in parambas, has more or less disappeared, except in the elevated regions of Peruvallur Panchayat. Pulses and vegetables were rarely grown even earlier, and the situation is not different today also. This depletion shows the decrease in the multicultural character of the terrain, with serious implications for the nature of production and consumption.

These changes have serious implications for the vegetation cover of the region. A large part of the field area has laterite soil capable of supporting dense vegetation, and the region receives adequate rainfall, but only that natural vegetation is rendered difficult by the spread of house-sites. The large market for timber, sustained to a large extent by the growing demand for timber for construction purposes, has also increased the cutting of trees, alluded to earlier. The rocky surface of elevated regions is also gravelly and does not support substantial vegetation, and the vegetation that we see in such hilltops is the work of centuries. As the vegetation cover is removed, more and more areas have become exposed to rain and sunlight. Exposure to sunlight results in quicker evaporation and makes the soil brittle, so that the laterite rock decomposes into gravel and pebble. The loose soil also hardens into gravel and pebble. This gravel formation prevents the growth of vegetation and also prevents the retention of water. Until recently, the dense vegetation in the slopes prevented soil erosion and facilitated the retention of water. The removal of forest cover and spread of house-sites in the elevated regions has meant that soil erosion

has increased. During rainy season, water slashes down the slope taking the topsoil along with it. Construction of roads and large buildings in the elevated regions has facilitated a process that has resulted in the disappearance of the laterite hills in many places of Kerala. Efforts to combat this seem to be through an afforestation process. Such a process began in the so-called social forestry experiment, by planting acacia and eucalyptus on a large scale. A part of Kalanthirutti is an acacia forest, and so is a part of Kuroorkunnu, including the University Campus. There are complaints that the acacia plantation is adversely affecting the already existing vegetation in the nearby areas. There is an effort, by individual householders to plant shady trees within their plots, and since plots are small efforts are feeble and insufficient to solve the problem. The shade trees planted on both sides of the old roads have been cut down, with the normal excuse of widening the roads.

Thus a complex process is on that is affecting the vegetation balance in the region seriously. First, the multicultural character of the parambas is rapidly giving way to monoculture 'plantation' sites, resulting in the destruction of a number of species and disappearance of forms of cultivation. Second, this has resulted also in the disappearance of thick vegetation cover that existed primarily in the elevated region. There has been systematic reduction of water reservoirs such as ponds and tanks, which has on the one hand, reduced the availability of water in the elevated regions, and on the other, increased the water logging in the low-lying areas. The grain fields in the low-lying areas have also been undergoing change, with a number of paddy fields remaining uncultivated or transformed into parambas. Finally a number of species that have sustained the livelihood patterns have disappeared and house-sites have sprung up in their place. This has curtailed the space needed for the growth of floral wealth, while increasing its demand for the purposes of consumption, as vegetation cover, and for cultural and aesthetic purposes.

Added to this is the change occurring in the faunal wealth in the region. It has been observed that a number of areas probably served as grazing lands for an agrarian population which also did cattle keeping. A number of families still keep cattle, but the grazing lands for the maintenance of cattle have disappeared, and the cattle keepers have to depend on the parambas and available open spaces, and sometimes, even roads. There is a visible decline in the number of bullocks and he- buffaloes, presumably because bullocks are no longer used for agricultural operations, and bullock carts have disappeared. Cows are still maintained by several households, mostly for the production of milk. Sheep and goats are also similarly maintained. Maintenance of cows is feasible as they can be reproduced by artificial insemination. Cattle are bought from the cattle market at Chelari, but the purchase seems to be mainly for milk production and consumption. There is an increase in the maintenance of poultry, which is once again for the purposes of consumption, as eggs, like milk yield a price. The overall impression one gains is that there has been a remarkable change in the maintenance of faunal wealth. Their function in production has practically disappeared, and there is emphasis in their sustenance for consumption, as well as the marketability of their products. A few households keep them as pets; this 'modern' practice is yet to catch up in this area. The trends are seen in the livestock figures from some Panchayats collected while walking

**Table XIV**

**Livestock situation-Tirurangadi**

Panchayat	Cows+	Oxen	Buffaloes	Goats
Tirurangadi	1026	N/A	39	7209
Thenhippalam	3211	848	330	2675
Parappanangadi	1464	158*	59**	2891
Vallikkunnu	568	78	29	668
Munniyur	1235	N/A	65	5564
Nannambra	1098	326	438	2289

\*includes he-buffaloes    \*\* she-buffaloes only + includes both indigenous and hybrid varieties.

The decline in the number of oxen is marked in the case of Parappanangadi than Thenhippalam or Nannambra where some agriculture is still going on. The change is more marked in Parappanangadi when we compare with the figures of 1931, the number of oxen declined from 509 to the present figure, and the number of cows has increased from 371 and goats from 749 respectively.

**Settlements**

Walking is not simply a matter of strolling through gardens, grain fields and grasslands. Walking at present involves walking through graveled or tarred roads, in the midst of a large number of automobiles (sometimes holding your breath), and passing by a large number of houses. Earlier, the pedestrian used to come across a house or settlement after some hours of walking, and he would have the interest and patience to describe them in full, but now we come across a house practically every minute of your walking. Tirurangadi has been, and is a heavily populated area. However, the nature of the terrain had built barriers in the formation of settlements. A house-site requires a reasonably hard soil to erect a foundation, availability of water, areas for the disposal of the waste, and access to the 'public place in the locality, such as a market, public meeting place, a bus

stop, school, and so on. In an agrarian society, the access should be to one's production and market areas, while the emphasis would shift in the present social conditions. Housing in the field area appears to represent these changes.

Rocky plateaus found on elevated regions generally do not appear to have been used for housing, and paddy fields and other low-lying regions proper were also avoided. Majority of the old houses appear on the slopes, mostly on house –sites near an agricultural field. Sites of most of the traditional Taravads and Illams were on the parambas proximate to the agricultural area. Such house-sites would on an elevated terrain, where the water-logging that normally affected the paddy fields themselves will not have any impact. There would be perennial water supply in a tank. There would be adequate floral wealth both for household consumption and for preventing soil erosion, including plants for medicinal purposes. All such houses also had a well, and in some parambas square wells or chathurakkinar also could be seen. A few large houses had their own separate tanks. The toilet facilities in such houses would be normally outside the old building, often at a reasonable distance from the main building. There would be a courtyard used as an extension of the house itself used for activities related to the household. Old houses whether double storied or single storied would be tiled, constructed with laterite stone and plastered. The construction was the same, in spite of differences in ownership. Remains of some nalukettus were seen, particularly in Thenhippalam and Vallikkunnu Panchayats. Some of them have been renovated with repairs. Old houses also had a pathayappura, and a cattle shed or thozhuthu. Some of them also have a thara, or mandapam or sarppakkavu. Cattle sheds are rarely used, except in households who still maintain cattle, and pathayappura has been remodeled for habitation. Some houses have a separate construction of gateway or patippura.

There are other types of old houses, different from the Taravads or Illams. They are large double-storied houses called malikas. Malikas are seen in several parts of

Parappanangadi, particularly in Alungal beach, where the malikas of old landowning and merchant families like the Nahas can still be seen. Malikas are large single structures unlike the nalukettus which do not have auxiliary structures as in an illam and are tiled, made of laterite stone, and plastered with mortar. Like the taravad houses, the malikas are also in a state of dilapidation, unless they are renovated by an enthusiastic owner. There are also a few old buildings called Bungalows, which are evidently of European Construction. The most important Bungalow is the building that inhabited the katchery at Tirurangadi, and the building that was the prison house. There was a Bungalow used by the British who supervised the construction of the railway line in a place called Bungalowkundu in Vallikkundu, and another Bungalow in Thalappara which came into the hands of a Muslim household, named Illikkal.

However, the pattern of a house-site as described earlier has undergone significant changes. The concept of a house within more expansive thodi or house-site with several puras or constructions has become less feasible. The old taravads have been partitioned and all the parts have built their own houses and divided the parambas and fields. Nuclearisation of households has been another factor in the increase of houses and house-sites. Large Muslim households with numerous members are similarly splintered which have also resulted in the emergence of new house-sites. Apart from this there has been the normal expansion of population and the increase of in-migrants, particularly Government servants, college and University employees, schoolteachers and so on. Numerous parambas have been subdivided into a number of house-sites, and some of them have passed through several hands before coming into the hands of the present occupant. This process has resulted in the emergence of a large number of new houses. Changes taking place in social relations have also resulted in changes in the housing pattern. A large number of house-sites have emerged as a result of the kudikidappukar legislation through which a number of agricultural laborers and cultivators received

house-sites. Interestingly a large number of such house-sites were either in otherwise uninhabitable low-lying areas or rocky elevated regions. Most of such house-sites were from 8-10 cents.

The nature and location of the Colonies in the region can be seen in the following observations on the Colonies in Munniyur Panchayat:

**Table XV**

<b>Place name</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Nature of the location</b>	<b>Type of Colony</b>	<b>Inhabitants</b>
Chelari	Mundiyan mad Chelari	Elevated area	Harijan colony	Paraya
		Elevated area, near the road	Kusava colony	Potters
	Puthur paramba	Paramba, slope	Puthur colony	Kanakkar
Padikkal	Michabhoomi	Paramba	Colony	Harijan
	Karaniyilparamba Kummalaparamba	Paramba Rocky area	karaniyilcolony Naduvilappacolony	harijan Kanakkan
Palakkal	Vengasseri	Paramba Elevated area	Vengalasseri colony	Harijan and Muslims Harijan
Kaliyattumukku	Kariyangad	Rocky surface	Kollanpuraya colony	Kanakkan, thiyya and Muslim
Parakkavu	Kalathingalpara	Elevated area	Lakshamveed Colony	Kanakkan
Velimukku	Chenakkalparamba Kavalamkandi	Paramba	Kuppa Harijan colony	Mixed
		Rocky, barren land	Colony Lakshamveedu colony	Harijan

<b>Place name</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Nature of the location</b>	<b>Type of Colony</b>	<b>Inhabitants</b>
Vaikkathupatam	Kummalottilparamba	Slope Dry land	Harijan colony	Mixed Harijan
Muttichira	Chakkingal Veluthedath	Elevated dry land	Harijan colony	
Kunnathparamba	Kunnathparamba	Wetland, mud Paramba	Harijan colony	Kanakkan,pulaya
Chernur	Chernurpatam	Close to the river	Harijan colony	New colony
Chelari parakkadavu	Settlement parakkadavu		harijan	New colony

Source: Field Diaries: Munniyur Panchayat; Munniyur Panchayat Office.

Emergence of an educated middle class in recent times has resulted in a number of them building their own houses, and this pattern has been followed by lower classes also. This is particularly visible in places like Thenhippalam, Tirurangadi and Parappanangadi where such a class of house-sites has emerged around the schools, colleges, Government offices, Judicial Court and other institutions. Thenhippalam, with the University campus, has come to hold a large number of migrant settlers who have bought land built modern houses. University migrants are responsible for clearing much of the forested area in the northern part of Thenhippalam Panchayat. Another feature is the return of the gulf migrants with money, which has also accelerated the housing boom in the area, and substantially increased the speculation in land. All this has resulted in a rapid rise in the number of houses in the area, mainly during the past two decades.

The changes in housing are visible for any pedestrian. In the old settlements such as Tirurangadi, Kundoor, Kodinji, Neduva and Chiramangalam, a number of houses are still traditional tiled houses located in parambas or thodis. But we see terraced houses in reinforced concrete in the same paramba, built by the younger generation. The older

members of the family stay in the old house, while the younger members in the new houses. The old houses in places like Alungal beach are intact, but often without inhabitants. Parappanangadi kovilakam, now without inhabitants, is occupied by a Nambutiri family. Descendants of powerful old families like Chiramangalath mana, Thottassiiri Panikkar, Velimuttath Mussad, Neduvancheri Mussad Attyeri mana, Muthedath mana, Thotuva muthedath mana, various members of the Naha family live in their houses, but the families of Keerangat mana, Kaprat Panikkar, Puzhankadavath Nayar and most of the members of the Muthedath mana have migrated or their houses are in a state of dilapidation. The decline of the old janmi families is visible in the structure of their houses.

However, the rise of middle class job opportunities and a stint in the Gulf have made the fortunes of some of the families to turn around. A typical example of the transformation of housing can be seen in the region of Parakkadavu, which was the abode of the landlord family called Cherumadathil Matari. The family was on the decline after land reforms but revived after several members of the family went to gulf in search of jobs. Now several old malikas of the mataris are being reconstructed as large concrete structures. In Kodinji, the family of Pattassery, one of the early landowning families, has become businessmen in gulf and constructed large houses. Kaithakath family in Muttichira has experienced similar fluctuation of fortunes. However, ancient taravad of the Kizhakkiniyath Naha have become businessmen and centres of political power. They have experienced little fluctuation, although they lost their lands, and are still staying their old taravad houses. Equally interesting is the rise of a large number of families who were labourers or tenant- cultivators, who have become rich after their stint in the Gulf. A large number of large houses in Kodinji, Tirurangadi, and Munniyur belong to such families. The first thing that a gulf returnee or the middle class employee does is to bring

down the old house and erect a concrete structure, often in the same site. This results in the substantial increase of house construction visible throughout the field area.

**Table XVI**

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Occupied households - 1981</b>	<b>Occupied Households -1991</b>	<b>Occupied Households - 2001</b>	<b>%increase 1981-1991</b>	<b>% increase 1991-2001</b>
Vallikkunnu	4438	5604	7521	26.27	34.21
Thenhippalam	5696	7437	5114	30.57	
Peruvallur*		-	4789		33.16**
Munniyur	4116	5546	7477	34.74	34.82
Parappanangadi	5751	7410	9782	28.85	32.01
Nannambra	3241	4161	5404	28.39	29.87
Tirurangadi	4697	6019	7576	28.15	25.87
<b>Total</b>	<b>27939</b>	<b>36177</b>	<b>47663</b>	<b>29.49</b>	<b>31.75</b>

\*A part of Thenhippalam Panchayat during 1991 Census \*\* the figure shows the cumulative increase in Thenhippalam and Peruvallur Panchayats.

Source: Compiled from Census Reports of 1991 and 2001.

The above figures clearly demonstrate the spate of construction activities that have taken place during the past twenty years. The figures show that there is a total increase of 70.6% of houses during the past two decades, which demonstrates the exponential expansion of houses and the transformation of numerous parambas into house-sites.

The new construction activities show a substantial shift in the concept of a house. The earlier concept of the house had brought the entire house-site within the ambience of a house. We enter the precincts of a house as soon as we enter the gate, that is, patippura is an essential feature of the house and not just an entrance point. A modern house is regulated by the Panchayat rules regarding the distance of the house from the road, question of safety, necessity of constructing large structures and restricted geographical space mainly created by high land value. The tendency, therefore, is to make the house

an all-inclusive structure with restricted admission. This means several things. The thodi of the old houses is not affordable any more, and hence, the use value of a thodi in a house-site is replaced by ornamental value of the available space, through the efforts to make as attractive as possible. Removal of vegetation, particularly large trees and replacing them with flowering plants, shade trees and occasional fruit trees such as coconut, removal of the old multi-purpose mud-plastered muttam with concrete courtyard are some of the common traits in a 'modern' house. The cattle shed is replaced by a car park, which is typically symbolic of the changing times. The cattle shed is always separate, at a distance from the house, but the car park is attached to it. The well is retained with a pump set. Drawing of water from the well has disappeared in a modern house, and similarly the practice of bathing and washing near the well is presumably considered unethical. Toilets outside the house are now avoided. Bathing, washing and toilet are all activities taking place inside the house. The modern houses eliminate the verandas and the poomukham of early houses, except for a mini-verandah, where unwelcome or contingent visitors can be met and got rid of. In old houses, there is always the possibility of a pedestrian walking along the road meeting a member of the house in the front verandah, but in the localities which have 'modern houses' you may have to walk long distances without meeting anyone outside the four walls of the house. Most of the new houses are built on small plots of 10-15 cents in extent, and are generally double-storied houses, or with provision for another storey. This means that several parambas are overcrowded with houses. Many houses have toilets outside and inside the house, but the standard double-storied 'modern house' will have all the facilities inside the house. Sewage facilities are available in such houses, but there is very little evidence that compost pits are made to deposit the waste. Hence in older houses waste disposal is not a problem as the thodis can be used for that, but in modern houses waste management could become a problem, particularly when there is overcrowding. We could see quarters

and apartments in a number of places. There is nothing surprising in the erection of apartments near the University campus or other institutions, but 'quarters' could be seen in interior places like nedunparamba, Kunnathuparamba, Parakkavu in Munniyur. In such apartments and 'quarters', waste management can be an additional problem.

Expansion of houses to elevated areas and lows-lying fields has already been noted. Houses in such regions are generally double storied 'modern houses' unless they are colonies or settlements. The practice of every householder is to dig a well in his or her house-site. As we have seen, the elevated areas are afflicted by chronic water shortage, and many households seek to overcome the problem by digging tube wells. We have already seen that natural surface water sources, such as ponds and chenas are getting destroyed, often for setting up new house-sites. As elevated regions are being filled with houses, more wells and tube wells are being dug, and the water is used for household consumption alone. The effect of this practice, particularly in areas of water shortage has to be studied. There is a persistent feeling among the people of the area that digging wells at short distances, particularly tube wells, are contributing to the transformation of water shortage into famine like condition in summer. Some areas experience water shortage even during rainy season.

Houses in the low-lying regions face a different kind of a problem. Construction of houses in the fields and pallyal require raising the ground with laterite soil, and then erecting a solid foundation. Moreover, excess water will have to be removed from the ground. A number of houses in the low-lying regions were constructed on such artificial surfaces. Again, compound walls at some height become absolutely essential to ward off water and mud collecting outside, and often approach roads have to be constructed. Interestingly, this extra expense seems to have been borne by the landowners. In fact filling of grain fields with soil and getting them prepared for building construction appears to be under way in most of the low-lying areas.

The implications of this rapidly spreading construction activity will be examined later. It should be noted that the spread is uneven, across different sections of population. A substantial number of the houses occupied by groups like asaris, kollans, thattans, and in particular houses of mannans, Perumannans, kanakkans, cherumans, and nayadis and a large number of Muslims are small, and majority of them are still tiled. A number of them live in thatched sheds , and we saw a number of them in places like Thayyilakkadavu, Pootherivalappu in Chelari, Chullikkunnu, Chullippara, Kodinji and other areas. Majority of such houses, including thatched sheds, were either near grain fields, or inaccessible rocky areas. There was a whole colony of cherumans in thatched sheds in the Government Poramboke land near Kollam chena in Peruvallur Panchayat. A few houses of occupational castes like thattans and kollans are now in reinforced concrete, but this was because some members of the family are working in the Gulf. Such people appear to have moved away from the rocky regions or muddy fields. A typical case is a family of goldsmiths in Cherumukku in Nannambra who migrated from Thattarkandi in Ullanam and settled in a forest region close to the paddy fields called palarambukadu, became servants of a rich landlord and then shifted to a better house. A number of them have got lands under the land reforms, and some them acquired land after michabhoomisamaram or the struggle for excess land after land ceiling, but there a still a number of people without a legally acquired plot, but surviving because of the sympathy of the local people.

Walking took us to a number of housing colonies. There appears to be three kinds of colonies. One is traditional settlements of certain occupational groups or castes in a particular paramba. Parambas mentions as that of specific caste groups such as mannarakkal paramba, thattarkandi paramba, perunkollan puraya, aasaripparamba etc., belong to this category. In Peruvallur there are such parambas where kanakkans alone stay. There is a paramba in Devathiyal in Thenjippalam in which kuravans live. There is

place in Chelari where pandarams who are traditional pappadam (papad) makers reside. There are several parambas in different panchayats, which inhabit Vilkuruppus who are stone cutters by profession. Thattarkandi paramba in Ullanam, parappanangadi is famous as the home of most of the thattan families in the area. Poonthurutti, in Nannambra is supposed have contained an Asari settlement although no Asari lives there at present. Thus parambas also were traditional conception of the habitat of a caste or occupational group, which is clearly represented in their names, and some of these habitations still exist. Habitations of this kind have houses that represent the financial status of inhabitants. Some of the asari habitats are well to do, while others particularly Mannans, kanakkans and cherumans live in thatched houses or partially thatched and tiled houses. The following is a tentative list of the parambas related to traditional occupational groups in the Nannambra Panchayat

**Table XVII**

<b>Place name</b>	<b>Paramba</b>	<b>Inhabitants-craft group</b>
Cherumukku	Kozhisseriparamba	Vilkkuruppu-stonemasons
Kundoor	Mangattuparamba	Blacksmith-Kollan
	Parammal paramba	Harijan-Cherumar
	Mannaruparamba	Mannan
	Asariparamba- Asarithazham	Carpenter-Asari
Chullikkunnu	Thattante thodu	Goldsmith
	Karuvarathodi	Blacksmith
	Polayan kandam	
	Venthucharuparamba	Harijan-pulaya
Theyyala	Mannarakkal	
	Mannarathara	Mannan
	Veluthedath	Washerman
	Chathangatt	Thiyya
Cheruppara	Karuvarathodi-thazham	Blacksmith
Kottathangadi	Varyathparamba	Vaidyan

Alameen nagar	Koyappayil Paramba Kizhvittilpramba Chakkalaparamba Ponnathparamba Mannarakkal Paramba	Thiyya Kuruppu Oilpresser( now transferred) Ponnath Asari Mannan
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Source: field Diaries, Nannambra Panchayat

Some of these parambas have been completely or partially sold, but the old inhabitants continue to remain in several parambas.

The other two types of colonies are modern creations, and have nothing to do with the habitat formation of the old. One is the scheduled castes colony which is created under the various Harijan Welfare schemes. There are a number of Colonies in different parts of the field area. These colonies are not found in a specific habitat as in the parambas of the traditional occupational groups. We have already pointed out that they are often found in inaccessible or at times inhospitable areas. In majority of the colonies about thirty houses or more are huddled into a small fragment of the Paramba. Very rarely do we find a colony settled in areas with adequate water supply and facilities for waste disposal as in Panachikkal colony near Karyad, Vallikkunnu. Many colonies do not have adequate wells and depend on Panchayat Water supply, which often fails in elevated areas. Some of them also do not have even a proper burial ground.

The condition of the so-called lakshamveed colonies is hardly different. These colonies came up during the seventies, to accommodate those evicted from kudikidappu lands, and were normally erected in Sarkar poramboke lands or lands acquired from the landlords. Lakshamveedu colonies are found, therefore, in lands classified as unoccupied dry, or in strips of land that some landlords have volunteered to provide. The character of the laksham veedu colonies are the same as that of the Harijan colonies, except that the original settlers had houses, made with concrete and roofed occasionally with asbestos sheets. However, water supply and waste disposal, including disposal of the dead, is a

problem in such colonies also. This problem generates local disputes of a serious nature. One such case is that of the colony started for leprosy patients in Parappanangadi. The colony has a harijan colony adjacent to it. People of the leprosy needed a path to carry their dead, which could be built only through the harijan colony. Originally there was a footpath which was used for the purpose, but the demand to widen the road was objected to by the people of the harijan colony, which resulted in clashes in the area, and needed the intervention of the District officials. This kind of problems are not surprising, as the coast is densely populated, and when the colonies were conceived, adequate care was not taken to ensure all the facilities. One should also remember that the colonies are not parambas. The houses do not have courtyards, and have one or two wells made by the Panchayat, and in some colonies some of the inhabitants have made their own wells. Similarly many houses have attempted to fence their plots and transform them to 'modern' exclusive houses. In several colonies, a large number of the inhabitants have sold their houses, so that very few of the original settlers are now left.

More than anything else, housing emerges as the expression of the affluence of the inhabitants and their cultural tastes. However, it is clear that the financially affluent households whether traditional or the newly rich have better choice of cultural tastes than the downtrodden. The numerous mud-plastered and plastered sheds are products of expediency, and do not display their taste. The affluent households try to demonstrate their taste through application of colored tiles on walls, carving their base pillars, or applying multi-colored emulsion paints on their walls, and try such forms as the traditional charupadis and carved and decorated railings. However, a vast majority of the houses display uniformity of taste created by mass production, with very little variation in the interior or style of construction and hence the ostentation and taste has to be limited to the exterior.

## **Market centers**

Observations on the houses have to be extended to buildings in general. Even a normal traveler passing by the National Highway will observe the substantial number of construction activities in the region from University to Kottakkal. A large number of major shopping complexes, and other building complexes have emerged within a few years. These building complexes contain a large number of shops and showrooms, including 'family' restaurants, furniture showrooms, hypermarkets, multipurpose trading centers, markets which specialize in building materials, showrooms which have materials for interior decoration, nurseries, showrooms for various kinds of artwork and so on. It is interesting to note that large number of these shops relate to building and household materials, apart from the 'culture' of restaurants and cool bars. The shopping complexes are semi-rectangular buildings with facilities for car park, a mode of shopping complex construction that had become popular recently. The establishment of such large shopping complexes is not the result of an overall tendency towards urbanization. Instead, mini-urban centers are coming up on both sides of the highway, bordering on essentially rural areas. The places with the characteristic of a larger urban centre are Chemmad in Tirurangadi Panchayat, and the area near Parappanangadi Railway station. They have developed all the characteristics of market towns, although smaller in area, including the rustle and bustle of crowds coming to the large shopping centers in cities.

A list of the larger market centers in the field area is given below. The actual number of market centers would be much more than this, but this would suffice to illustrate some features.

**Table XVIII**

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Placename</b>	<b>Market centre</b>	<b>features</b>
Tirurangadi	Tirurangadi	Chanthappadi	Old weekly chantha, now extinct
	Chemmad	Chemmad	New market centre
	Mamburam	Vatakke Mamburam	Old centre in relation to the mosque
	Kakkad	Kaka	New
	Venniyur	Venniyur	New
	Kariparamba	Kariparamba	New
Parappanangadi	Panthatrangadi	Panthatrangadi	Old
	Parappanangadi	Parappanangadi	New- after the establishment of Railway station
		Putharikkal	Old
		Anchappura	Old
Vallikkunnu	Chettippadi	Chettippadi	Old teru-New bazaar
		Alungal	Old
	Ullanam	Mundiankavu	New
	Palathingal	Palathingal	New
	Anangadi	Anangadi	Old
	Athanikkal	Athanikkal	Old weekly chantha-new bazaar
Thenhippalam		Mundiankavu	New
	Anayarangadi	Anayarangadi	Old
		Kizhayilangadi	Old
		Parambathkavu	Old chantha- now extinct
Munniyur		Devathiyal	Old
	Devathiyal	Kohinoor	New
	Chenakkalangadi	Chenakkalangadi	Old
	Parakkadavu	Parakkadavu	Old
		Alunchodu	New
		Parakkavu	Old
		Thalappara	New
		Velimukku	New
Peruvallur	Velimukku	Alungal	Old
	Palakkal	Panikkottumpadi	New
	Padikkal	Chelari	Old weekly cattle chantha-new bazaar
	Chelari		
		Parambilpeetika	New
Peruvallur	Parambilpeetika	Kadappadi	New
	Kadappadi	Super bazaar	New
	Super	Koomanna	Old

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Placename</b>	<b>Market centre</b>	<b>features</b>
Nannambra	Olakara Kundoor Cherumukku Theyyala Velliyambram  Pandimuttam Kottathangadi	Kunnumpuram Kundoor Cherumukku Theyyalangadi Velliyamburam  Pandimuttam Kottathangadi	Old weekly chantha Old New New Old areca market Now betel Old New

Source: Field Diaries

It is clear that some of the old markets have disappeared or have not developed at all, whereas, some of them, particularly those along major roads and railway stations such as Chelari, Chemmad, Panikkottumpadi, Thalappara, Parappanangadi and Athanikkal have developed. The more important feature is that there has not been any concentration of urban centers in a particular area within the region, but dispersed all over the region.

A walk through the market centers, big and small, gives us interesting insights regarding their features. It is possible to distinguish between the old market centers, which are normally called teru, chantha, and angadi and the new min-urban centers. There are very few terus in the area, puthentheru and pazhayatheru in the chettippadi area in Parappanangadi, which have been inhabited by saliyas, is an example. There was apparently a teru at Chelari. A number of places have been angadis such as kottathangadi (Nannambra), angadi (Parappanangadi), anayarangadi and anangadi (vallikkunnu) chenakkalangadi (Thenhippalam), Tirurangadi, Pantharangadi (Tirurangadi) are examples. There is one area Kadalundi nagaram, which may be included in this category. Chanthas or weekly fairs have also become rare. The cattle fair on Tuesdays at Chelari is probably the most famous surviving fair.

Market places in the area display several interesting features. Market places are found either in the intersecting points of old roads or paths, or close to a ferry or kadavu. Location of many of the angadis provides examples. Tirurangadi, where a major fair

existed until recently, is located in the road from Palathingal/pallippadi to Kakkad. From there a road proceeds to Kundoor athani, and this road intersects another road, from Venniyur to Tanur. Tirurangadi market is also close to Kadalundi River, so that goods brought by means of boats and changatams can also reach there. The original market centre of Parappanangadi, also called angadi, lies close to the sea, closer than the present Parappanangadi. The road from Kadalundi nagaram proceeds via this angadi to Tanur and Tirur, and is called Tipu Sultan Road. The angadi has thus access to both sea route and land route and goods brought through Kadalundi River also reaches there. Kottathangadi lies in the route from Chemmad to Tanur, and there are roads leading to parts of Kodinji from this angadi. Some of the areas where market places have developed appear to have had a large tree such as a pipal or a mango tree, which probably provided an intersecting point, and which also provided the necessary shade for the peddler to take rest and also sell his wares. Koottumoochi in Kodakkad, several places called moochikkal, for example in Peruvallur and pandimuttam in Nannambra point to the existence of mango tree and places like Theyyalinkal, Alinchodu, Alunkadavu, Alungal point to the existence of a papal tree. Such places were not obviously angadis but were resting places which could become centers of exchange. Similarly there are several places with the name athani, where stone platforms for keeping head loads or cartloads and taking rest can still be found. All the athanis are en route to an angadi or along a major road which acted as a trade route. For example there are athanis in Kundoor and pandimuttam along the road to Tanur. There is an athani in Velimukku en route from Kakkad to Chelari. Another athani lies in the road from Kadalundi nagaram to Parappanangadi. These resting places of old have developed into minor market centers. There are of course some places where athanis seem to have existed, such as Vaikkathupadam near Chelari, Pappanur near padikkal and in the route from

Olipramkadavu to kadakkattupara in Thenhippalam, where minor centers do not seem to have developed, but still they are useful in identifying old trade routes.

The following is a list of athanis that have been identified in the field area and the type of operation going on today in the location

**Table XIX**

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Place name</b>	<b>Location of the Athani</b>	<b>Present status</b>
Vallikkunnu	Anayarangadi	Kottakkadavu	Minor market
		Kizhayil	Minor market
		Pallippadi	Not in use
	Navajeevan	Navajeevan	Minor market
		Kuriyappatam	Not in use
	Mundiyan kavu	Kanjirapotta	Not in use
		Native school	Not in use
		Kalariparamba	Not in use
		Olippuram	Not in use
	Athanikkal	Paruthikkad	Minor market
		Athanikkal	Market centre
		Kacherikkunnu	Not in use
	Anangadi	Anangadi	Minor market
		Anappadi	Not in use
Theruvath		Not in use	
Thenhippalam	Olipramkadavu Katakkattupara	Ramakrishna Road	Not in use
		Katakkattupara	Minor market
	Alungal	Elekkattupatam	Not in use
		Cholakulangara	Not in use
Peruvallur	Kakkathadam	Mathapuzha	Not in use
		Kakkathadam	Minor market
	Moochikkal	Moochikkal	Minor market
		Parayil	Not in use
	Super	Irumpankutukku	Minor market
		Chengani	Minor market
		Nadukkara	Minor market
		Olakara	Not in use
Parappanangadi	Ullanam Palathinkal Neduva	Mathancheri	Not in use
		Arakkal	Not in use
		Karinkallathani	Not in use
		Kottanthala	Doubtful identity
		Kovilakam	Not in use
Munniyur	Thayyilakkadavu Chelari	Thayyilakkadavu	Minor market
		Kolappuram	Not in use
		Cherakkode	Not in use

Tirurangadi	Velimukku	Velimukku	Minor market
	Thalappara	Athanikkal paramba	Not in use
	Parakkavu	Lataththilparamba	Not in use
	Pallippadi	Pallippadi	Minor market
	Pantharangadi	Pathinarungal	Minor market
Nannambra	Chemmad	Chemmad	
		panchayat office	Market centre
		Thazhthirikadavu	Not in use
	Kakkad	Kakkad	Market centre
	Kundoor	Kundoor athanikal	Minor market
	Pandimuttam	Chenkallathani- Moochikkal	Not in use
	Pandimuttam	Minor market	
	Theyyala	Kallathani	Not in use

Source: Field Diaries

The list provides interesting features. It should be noted that a large number of the athanis have not developed into market centers. Equally interesting is the point that many market centers did have an athani in the earlier days. This relationship between earlier trade points and new trade centers will have to be explored at a later point.

Market places near kadavus can be found everywhere in the field area, even in areas where no kadavu exists anymore. Most such kadavus are along Kadalundi River, like kottakadavu, olipramkadavu, Iruventhunkal, paruthikkad, mukkkathkadavu, alunkadavu, kundankadavu, karyad, palathinkal, mamburam and other places where boats used to bring goods until recently. After the decline of traffic of goods using boats, the exchange centers near kadavu have declined unless they are supported by a major road nearby. Articles like coconut, coconut fiber, copra, areca, ginger, pepper and other agricultural by-products were the major articles of trade in the kadavus. For example, coconut fiber was taken to Kadalundi for processing, and processed fiber was taken to the market at Calicut. Hay was collected from the fields and was taken to Mooryad in Calicut where it was sold, and similarly areca and betel were taken to various markets. This form of transporting meant that the kadavus were transformed into mini-markets and they

flourished even a generation before. Building ordinary boats was an occupation in some kadavus like mukthakkadavu and palathinkal, and that has also declined.

The following is a list of kadavus in Kadalundi River, which played a significant role in the trade map of the region until recently:

**Table XX**

<b>kadavu</b>	<b>Location in the river</b>	<b>Panchayat</b>
Balathirutti	At the mouth of the river	Vallikkunnu
Kadalundikkadavu	Near the kadalundi bridge	Vallikkunnu
Kottakkadavu	Close to nirakaithakotta	Vallikkunnu
Olipramkadavu	Near thiruthimmal	Thenhippalam
Irumpothingal	Near Paruthikkad	Vallikkunnu
Mukthakkadavu	Opposite to Irumpothingal	Thenhippalam
Alunkadavu	Kadavu close to katakkattupara	Thenhippalam
Mathappuzha	Kadavu close to alungal	Thenhippalam
Karyad kadavu	Near mannittampara	Vallikkunnu and Munniyur
Kundankadavu	River meandering north	Munniyur
Chuzhali	River meandering	Munniyur
Vallikkadavu	To the south of chuzhali	Munniyur
Parakkadavu	River meandering from West to north	Munniyur
Paruthikkad	Near kaliyattumukku	Munniyur
Thayyilakkadavu	Before mannittampara	Munniyur and vallikkunnu
Palathingal	Beginning of the link with Poorappuzha	Parappanangadi and Tirurangadi
Attakulanga ra	Near pallippadi	Tirurangadi
Kannadithadam	Pantherangadi	Tirurangadi
Thazhthirikkadavu	Chemmad	Tirurangadi
Mamburam Idavatikkadavu	Vatakke mamburam	Tirurangadi
Pakkadavu	Mamburam	Tirurangadi
Parakkadavu (chanthakkadavu)	Chanthappadi	Tirurangadi
Poozhikkadavu	Kakkad	Tirurangadi
Panampuzhakkadavu	Between mamburam and kakkad	Tirurangadi

Source: field Diaries

We have excluded the kadavus in Koduvayur which are directly opposite to the kadavus in Tirurangadi. It should be noted that unlike athanis, most of the kadavus are no longer supporting market centers.

Kadavus in the waterlogged areas seem to have been of temporary nature. However, long-distance water routes from velimukku and Nannambra, carrying both merchandise and people in boats to places such as Calicut and Feroke appear to have existed until recently. Small markets appeared near such ferries, and most of them have disappeared today, along with the ferries, after bridges and other land links began to be made. Major kadavus disappeared with the appearance of the bridges, but the market centres have remained. The best example is the market centers of Palathinkal and pallipadi, on either side of the bridge connecting Tirurangadi and Parappanangadi, and the market at Parakkadavu, which has a history much longer than the present bridge. The markets at Poorappuzha, Olipramkadavu, and Thayyilakkadavu can be put in the same category.

The growth of the modern market centers have almost entirely been dictated by the growth of rail and road traffic. The best example of this transformation is the growth of modern Parappanangadi, which is actually in the village of Neduva. The reason was the establishment of the Railway station named Parappanangadi during the beginning of twentieth century. A number of shops began to appear in the present Parappanangadi road, which was originally a minor by-line of the Tipu sultan road. Gradually, Tipu Sultan road was abandoned, and entire commercial activities shifted to the present Parappanangadi town. However, similar transformation has not occurred near Vallikkunnu railway station, which is almost as old as Parappanangadi. Vallikkunnu has remained a rural Panchayat with only minor marketing centers. Another case is the development of Chemmad, where there was only a small market earlier, but now has developed into a commercial center. Access of Chemmad via road with nearly every region in the field area is a possible reason for its growth. This accessibility is indicated by the number of buses and mini-buses passing by Chemmad linking the entire field area and the adjoining parts. Another growing market center is Chelari, which started as a cattle market. A plant of the Indian Oil Corporation was established later, and then there

has been a major transformation in the locality. The location of Chelari in the national highway has assisted its growth. Another market centre is around the University Campus, for obvious reasons. Here also the highway has played a significant role.

All these point to the dispersed character of building construction. Buildings are not constructed in an urban nuclear area, extending outwards. Instead, buildings are constructed anywhere with sufficient road access so that it is not difficult for anyone with a vehicle or using public transport to reach there. Thus we find building construction in a number of places such as Kohinoor, Chelari, padikkal, palakkal, parambilpeetika, kadappadi, alinchodu, kunnathparamba, kakkad, pantharangadi, palathingal, Ullanam, Vallikkunnu railway station, anayarangadi, anangadi, and so on, all of which were small market centers earlier, and now are developing into mini-urban centers. This form of dispersed growth has its advantages, as it helps a large number of people living even in the interior regions to gain access to commodities sold in the market. But the dispersed growth does not solve the problems of use of water, waste disposal, including wastage from shops and restaurants and other problems associated with dense growth of inhabited buildings. It should also be noted that the growth of the mini-market centers are related to the expansion of house-sites, to cater to the needs of the householders. While many of the old markets specialized in some of the items like copra, fish, cattle, areca, coconut products and other commodities, the new market centers are standard market centers dealing in essential commodities and household articles.

Walking took us predominantly through agricultural and commercial areas, but rarely through industrial areas. Industrial concerns of a reasonable dimension were few and far between. They included the IOC bottling plant at Chelari, a public sector undertaking, a tile factory at parakkadavu, run by a workers co-operative, private steel works at Venniyur, a private fiber works at Cheruppara in Nannambra, a tile factory and a shoe company at parambilpeetika, a hollow bricks factory at Ungungal in Peruvallur and a

factory that makes aluminium vessels at Varappara. There are a number of small enterprises, including flour mills, oil mills, and a nail factory at palathinkal and khadi enterprises in Vallikkunnu. But none of them employ more than a handful of workers. The larger factories such as the steel plant in Venniyur, the Khadi enterprise in Vallikkunnu are in the sick list, and the tile factory in parambilpeetika is closed down. The tile factory in parakkadavu is dependent on the production of hollow bricks. We also met a number of workers working in enterprises outside the field area, and many of them are out of work and are forced to seek alternate employment. For example, the closing of Eurospin factory at kakkanchery (in Chelembra Panchayat) has affected several families.

### **Effects of dispersal of settlements**

Dispersal has other features with positive and negative implications. Almost every area with access to roads has also access to electricity, and those areas without proper road access, even if near a mini-urban area, are without electricity supply. The reason is simple. Richer people, including gulf families living in the interior will have created some kind of an access to their houses, which is impossible for a poor inhabitant, as the present rules stipulate that the consumer will have to pay for additional posts to supply electricity to the house. The neighbours will have to grant permission to carry an electric line over their land. All this becomes difficult for poor families and sometimes, the development of a mini-urban centre solves their problem as it multiplies the road access to that locality. Similarly telephone lines have multiplied several times, and the number of land phones has also multiplied. More interesting is the growth of cable TV which operates through these mini-urban centers and has reached even interior areas. Of course, the well-to-do people have set up dish antennas to solve the problem of access to satellite channels. The cultural effects of these changes will be discussed elsewhere.

The equally important feature is that the nature of transformation, now going on everywhere in the field area, has not benefited the poorer classes to any extent. They are either huddled in traditional parambas or 'modern' colonies which are mostly areas that are ecologically deprived, and there is little effort to transform their habitat. Often, the distinction between the large, multistoried, concrete paved gulf house with tiled walls, artificial gardens and sometimes a tube well and the colony where twenty or thirty houses are clustered in the same area, without any of these facilities is drastic. The common point is in the colony there is very little vegetation due to lack of space, and in the gulf house, there is no vegetation because of too much of space is occupied by the house! The tube well and the concrete courtyard of a large house, on the one hand takes away the ground water, and on the other hand, does not allow the surface water to be stored in the region, whereas the nearby colony is dependent on Panchayat water, and has no storage facilities for surface water. Spatial considerations of this kind are thus important criteria to assess the living standards of the people.

### **Religious Public Spaces**

Walking also yielded information on the expansion of public spaces. Public spaces, in the conventional sense, were two. One was the market place, or the space that was capable becoming a potential exchange center, such as junctions, tree shades, athanis, thanneerpandal or ambalam (where fresh water is provided to the travelers) and so on. They were areas where people gathered, where exchange of goods, and information took place. Second public space was the religious one, including kavu, mosque and the temple. They were spaces for prayers, rituals and also for social communication and exchange of goods. Market places have been discussed before. The field area abounds in religious spaces belonging to different communities. The most commonly found are the kavus and mosques. We have already discussed kavus in relation to the 'divine spaces' in the

parambas. The kavu, in pristine form, is a dense growth of trees along with foliages and shrubs, in the middle of which will be heap of laterite stones called chitrakootakkallu, the arrangement of which roughly mimics the hood of a snake. They are the divine spaces of a Taravadu and the members of the family light a tiri (wick) on specific days, and offer milk in a vessel. Such places are called a kotta or nakankotta, if they are found in a dense semi-forest area. Otherwise, when they are located in the house-sites of major taravads, they are called sarpakkavu. This pristine form has obviously no idol except the stone, and in many kavus only the dense growth actually exists. Sometimes there will be a Tara (a platform constructed by stone), made for ancestors and a lamp made of stone (kuthuvilakku), around which there will be open space. Among the dense growth of trees, there will be pipal, pala, arali, kanjiram, erukku,vaka, and there will a number of foliages weaving themselves around the main trees, making the whole growth imposing. Such pristine kavus have been found in Thenhippalam, Vallikkunnu and parts of Nannambra Panchayats. There is a place in Thenhippalam where there is large laterite stone shaped like a large snake hood within a dense semi-forest area, which is perched on a natural waterfall, where a little natural stream falls to a pit about twenty feet below. Such kavus are mainly used by the members of the family owning the land, and maybe their friends and relatives.

There are more elaborate versions of this pristine form, found in inhabited and more populated areas. They consist of a thara or more than one thara and a mandapam. The thara is obviously associated with a deity. Gradually we see that the dense growth of trees is losing its importance, and the attention is also shifting to the tharas. A few trees are left as a token such as pipal, pala or a jack tree but they now become accessories of the thara. Thara can be constructed adjoining the tree, particularly pipal (althara), or a jack tree (pilathara) or separately. Such tharas will have paradevathas (ancestral deities) of the taravad or community. Other deities can be worshipped in a kavu, such as Mundayan,

karimkutti, Gulikan, muththappan, kali, chamundi, rakthachamundi and so on. The original idea seems to be that the thara is itself an embodiment of the deity worshipped, and hence, no idols are still visible. The snake and tree worship seen in the pristine kavus is not prominent, but are replaced by other deities.

Different communities own such kavus. Mundyankavus, found near grain fields are the centre of agricultural laborers. There is a mundyankavu near athanikkal in Vallikkunnu, and another at Ullanam. There is a mudyanal near vellayipattam in between thayyilakkadavu and Chelari and the pipal tree there was cut down recently. Mudyana is the deity in such kavus, and mode of worship probably the simplest, similar to the kavus mentioned earlier. More complicated are the mode of worship in the kavus owned by communities such as Kanakkan, Mannan, Parayan Asari, Thattan and other communities. There are several kavus of Kanakkan, velan and mannan, in which there will be daily and monthly offerings and a festival conducted normally during the makaram or kumbham months. Some kavus conduct a ritual called kalamkari, others thalappoli and invariably all the kavus have their komaram (oracle). Members of the Mannan community normally become the komaram, called choppan. Such komarams are also reputed as medicine-men and magicians. Many such kavus are Bhagavati kavus, Bhagavati being a representation of the ancestral goddess, which may be identified with a wide variety of deities, indicated in standard religious practice. Similarly the male deity muthappan is the paternal ancestor, again identified with a number of standard male deities. Many such kavus have stated the practice of instituting pujas along with the mandalapuja, the vrata period of sabarimala temple.

There are kavus owned by thiyya and nayar families. Choyimadathil and thumpani two major thiyya families in the area, have their kavus. Kooleri is another family with a household kavu. Kalankolliyala and chembattattil kavu in Munniyur are owned by nayars, and nayars have a major role in parambathkavu and ayyappankavu in

Thenhippalam. The festivals and functions in the kavus are broadly similar to the kavus mentioned before, and the kavus have sometimes two komarams a thiyya (aveyan) and a choppan. There will be a third nayar komaram in some of the kavus.

All the kavus do not have such clear cut community identities. In fact, the more important kavus of the area are those which are not simply identified with one community alone, and if they are so identified, they would have some relation with other kavus, or will have a popular appeal beyond their communities. The festivals of the kavus owned by the mannans of katakkattupara and cheenikkanari mannans in Thenhippalam have such an appeal. Parambathkavu in Thenhippalam has a similar appeal and its festival is conducted by different tharas of settlements distributed all around the kavu. This kavu is also associated with Muslims, who hold their privileges.

The following is a list of the Ulsavams (festivals) conducted in the various Kavus in Vallikkunnu Panchayat

**Table XXI**

Placename	Name of the kavu	Festival and date
Anangadi	Korumkuzhiyilkavu	Festival-third Friday of the month of makaram
Anayarangadi	Choyimadathilkavu Nirakaithakotta	Month of meenam Daily pooja from 7.30Am to 10.30 Am- Festival in Kumbham
Kodakkad	Kuzhikkattilambalam Kavukalathil	Offerings on all Fridays Daily offerings
Navajeevan	Pisharikkalkavu	Offerings on Tuesdays and Fridays
Mundyan kavu	Arammal Siva temple	Sivarathri, Thira, Ayyappanvilakku
Athanikkal	Kadukkuzhigurumuthappankavu	Offerings every Tuesday and Saturday
Ariyallur	Ariyallur Siva temple Kandamchira Bhagavati temple Sreekurumba Bhagavati temple	Sivarathri, Thiruvatira, Laksharchana Annual festival First Friday in the month of Kumbham
	Vezhathumkavu	Offerings on Tuesdays

		and Fridays of kumbham month
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Source: Field diaries, Vallikkunnu Panchayat

This is not a complete list, and only refers to some of the major shrines. The temple festivals normally are conducted in the months of makaram, kumbham and mean months, between January and April- May, and in general all the festivals would be over by May well before the Monsoon begins. Generally the last festival of the 'festival season' is the Kozhikkaliyattam in kaliyattakkavu in Munniyur.

There are another set of kavus, found normally along the coast, and also in other places called the sreekurumba Bhagavati kavus. Sreekurumba is the deity of the coastal people, and in the field area, thiyyas have a major say in the various sreekurumba shrines. The interesting feature of the shrines is their association with the Kodungallur Bhagavati temple, as the worshippers of sreekurumba treat Kodungallur Bhagavathi as their tutelary goddess. A large number of people from the area, and from all over Malabar participate in the Aswathi kavutheendal ceremony at kodungallur temple, conducted in the middle of march, and those proceeding to kodungallur worship the sreekurumba shrines also The relationship between sreekurumba shrines and kodungallur will also have to be examined separately.

Probably the most important of the kavus in the area is kaliyattakkavu in Munniyur, where the annual kozhikkaliyattam is becoming well known. The kavu is located in an elevated region in between Munniyur chali and cheriyachali and is actually on a rocky surface which was partly used as a grazing land and partly forest. The kavu consists of actually two shrines, one a thara of Bhagavati and another ganapathi to the north of the Bhagavathi thara. In normal times the thara does not have an idol as in the case of normal thara, but there is a Ganapathi idol, which is standing in a reclining position. The idol of

the Bhagavathi would be kept in the house of the Urala family and will be brought to the kavu and installed only during the commencement of the festival. It will be taken back after the festival is over; a tradition which shows that an idol was not necessary in the conventional concept of a kavu. The festival in the kavu is conducted for 17 days and is usually conducted in April/May. The festival on each day is conducted by a different family of the area. The most important day is the twelfth day, the day of the kozhikkaliyattam, when people from allover the region offer cocks to the Goddess, and these cocks are butchered by those to whom that job is assigned. Another interesting function is the kuthirakettu. People of different desams, and individual sponsors perform this ritual when an effigy bearing the shape of a horse is brought as a procession to the temple. When our walking began in May we saw a number of these horse processions all over the area, which were moving towards kaliyattakkavu. The horse will visit all the nearby kavus before coming to Kaliyattakkavu. The actual festival in kaliyattakkavu begins after performing rituals in three nearby kavus; chathanklari, which is kavu of the asaris associated with the kavu, Mundyankavu, which is the kavu of the cherumans, and kalankolliyala which is a kavu of the nayars. There is tank nearby called payangakulam, which has also sacred connections.

The following is the list of the families who had the right to perform Kaliyattam in the seventeen days of festival in kaliyattakkavu.

**Table XXII**

Day of Kaliyattam	Name of the family	Present holder
Day one	Kavatiyar	Mekkat gopinayar
Day two	Chiramangalam Mana	Asari Karuppan
Day three	Pozhankadavath nayar	Vakkayil Chanthunayar
Day Four	Punnasserinayar	Punnasserinayar
Day five	Appaserimanakkal nayar	Sundaran Edadi nayar
Day Six	Malleppunayar	Malleppunayar
Day seven	Chenavurmadathilnayar	Chenavur madathil nayar
Day eight	Parappanattu kovilakam	To be met from the nercha(nerchakanakku)
Day nine	Chiramangalam mana	Chiramangalam mana

Day ten	Pakitiyil Kuttipparambath Nayar	Athenkatt Balan nayar
Day eleven	Pangat Panikkar	Velivellinayar-Account of the ancestors ( Kozhikkaliyattam)
Day twelve	Parappanatt Kovilakam-rights for Mambram Thangal	velivelli nayar
Day thirteen	Chamakkalayi nayar	nerchakanakku
Day fourteen	Muthirakkalayil nayar	Pulicheri manunayar( Theyyan Nayar)
Day fifteen	Parappanattukovilakam	Nerchakanakku
Day sixteen	Puthiyottil Nayar	Puthiyottil nayar
Day seventeen	Kaloor Chempazhinayar	Puthiyottilnayar

Source: Field Diaries: Munniyur Panchayat

The historical and cultural implications of these rights, as well as the rights enjoyed by other castes, such as Mannans, Cherumans, Pulayas, and Tiyyans in the Kavu will be discussed in more detail later.

The Uralan of the kavu belongs to the landlord family of velivalli nayars, and the priest is Chiramangalath Brahmadathan nambutirippad. But the Brahmanas have very little role in the actual conduct of temple offerings, authority rests with a few nayar families, in particular chempattattil nayar, who is the nayar komaram in the kavu. Other rights are held by five thiyya families, who are thandans and kaikkaran, three perumannan families. Perumannan families are also komarams in the kavu, the tiyya families who have the rights are, Konnakkal Thandan, Nituvil Thandan, Panachikkal thandan, Chirakkal Thandan and a kaikkaran. The three Peruvannan families are Vatakke purakkal, Kizhajakkepurakkal and Patinjarepurakkal. Apart from these, there are cherumans and parayans who have rights over the temple. Although Muslims have no direct rights, there is a powerful tradition that Taramal tangal of mamburam, the powerful Muslim religious leader in the area sanctioned the conduct of kaliyattam in the kavu, and in fact was present in a nearby Muslim house to watch the proceedings. This practice and the order of privileges (avakasams) in the kavu showed that a syncretic cultural tradition prevailed

in the affairs of the kavu. Interestingly, no one could enter the muttam of the thara (which has been surrounded by a wall and conceived as the 'sanctum sanctorum) except the priests belonging to various castes and even the uralan could enter the enclosed area only once, during the day of the Kozhikkaliyattam. The historical and cultural implications of the privileges in the kavu and the festival will be discussed later.

Another feature of the kavus is also important. We have seen the presence of Ganapathi in Kaliyattakkavu. Ganapathi appears in a similar reclining position in other Bhagavathi kavus also. Vettakkorumakan or Subrahmanyam, Sivan, Ayyappan or Sastha are worshipped in other kavus worshipped or patronized by nayars and other savarna groups. There is the practice of 'bringing 'deities from other places and installing them in the local kavu. Thus kodungallur Devi has been installed in kavus of the thiyyas. In the Ayyappankavu at Neduva, Bhagavathi of Nirakaithakotta has been 'brought' and installed. The Mookambika shrine also in Neduva, patronized by the Parappanad kovilakam, has Mookambika Bhagavathi installed there, brought by a member of the Parappanad family, who went to the original Mookambika temple for Bhajanam. There are also numerous ayyappankavus where Sastha is the deity. Thalappoli and Ezhunnallath (ritual procession of the deity is practiced in several kavus. The distinction between such practices and the practices of the pristine kavus is clear from kaliyattakkavu itself, where thalappoli is the function of the nayars and other upper castes, and kuthirakettu is performed by the lower castes, including the thiyyas. Nayars perform their functions in the northern side of the temple and the other castes from the southern side. Significance of this also may have to be examined later.

Mosques are the most frequent religious structures in the area, other than kavus. Since the kavus because of their nature are not always visible, the visibility of the mosques is most marked in the field area. There are two types of mosques; one the srambis or niskarapallis, which are meant only for the purpose of prayer., and the second masjids, where apart from prayer, other rituals and observances are conducted, and are provided

with khabr. Srambis are seen virtually all over the place. They are small buildings, which consist of nothing but a prayer hall, with the necessary water supply for the oblations. Masjids are large structures, and their construction is becoming more ornate with the construction of minarets and dome, elaborate furnishings, and several layers of balconies to accommodate more people. Some families have their private mosques also.

The following is a list of mosques compiled while walking, from Tirurangadi Panchayat.,

The list need not be exhaustive.

**Table XXIII**

Place name	Mosque location
Pallippadi	Pallippadi
Attakulangara	Attakulangara
Pantharangadi	Pantharangadi
	Parappuram
	Pathinarungal
	Kannadithadam( branch)
Kariparamba	Kariparamba
	Kottuvalakkad
Chemmad	Chemmad
	Kodinji Road
Vatakke Mamburam	Cherath
C.K.Nagar	C.K.nagar and another three Mosques
Vellilakkad	Natuvileppalli
	Chenakkale palli
	Vellilakkad
Tirurangadi	Kizhakkepalli
	Puthiyapalli( Juma masjid)
	Mosque with yatheem khana
Kakkad	Kakkad
Karumbil	Karumbil
	Kachadi
Chullippara	Chullippara

Source: Field Diaries, Tirurangadi Panchayat

The list demonstrates that unlike the kavus, which can be personal property, need not have a proper distribution, the mosques are distributed evenly across all the inhabited areas, and most of them are managed commonly, by the respective Sunni or Mujahid organizations. The implications of this form of distribution have to be discussed separately.

Some of the mosques in the field area are relatively old. Probably the most famous among them is the Mamburam mosque. The mosque itself is located in Mamburam in Abdurahman nagar Panchayat, on the northern side of Kadalundi River. The residence of Taramal Thangal, the famous religious leader of 19<sup>th</sup> century, is also located in the same panchayat. The river flows through a small creek in this area, and takes a winding path, and there is a bridge that connects the mosque with Tirurangadi Panchayat. The part of Mamburam in Tirurangadi is a thickly populated housing area. The mosque itself is a traditional structure in the kerala style without any outside ornamentation. The most important feature of Mamburam is the makham where hundreds of people from all communities present their grievances and obtain advice, and in some cases, medicinal and magical treatment. The makham is another example of the religious syncretism and is attended by people, particularly from the downtrodden communities. The other mosques in Tirurangadi are the famous kizhakke palli and another mosque, called naduvile palli. Kizhakkepalli is an imposing traditional structure with a large compound, located in the middle of a large and dense housing area, bounded by the pallippadi-kakkad road on the one side and the river on the other. Naduvilpalli is smaller than kizhakkepalli. The houses around kizhakkeppalli are also of traditional architecture and have an 'agrahara' form with their doors leading to the street, showing their antiquity, but they are now being restructured. Proximity of these mosques to the river is an obvious method to resolve the problem of water supply.

Other old mosques include kunduchenappalli or Valiya jumaat palli, now in palakkal, Muttichirappalli, on the road from Thalappara to parakkadavu, Kundoor palli in Kundoor in Nannambra, and Jumaaat palli in Kodinji. There is another old mosque in alungal beach and another mosque, not far away from the present one, is believed to have been washed away by the sea. The mosques in kunduchena, Muttichira and Kodinji were built

by the early half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, and Kundoor palli was built slightly later. Muttichira was apparently blessed by Sayyid Alawi Thangal of Mamburam, and it is believed that the same Thangal laid the foundation of Kunduchenappalli. Thangal is related to kodinjippalli also and did not have any connection with Kundoor palli. Kodinjippalli, situated near the large patam that connects venchali with moriyappatam is a large traditional structure, which has been renovated recently, but the old prayer hall (mihrab) has been retained. The most important function of the mosque is the practice of satyam cheyyal, by which a person takes an oath in the mosque, and any false oath is believed to incur divine retribution. People of all communities come for this ritual, and until recently, several disputes and cases of theft and treachery were arbitrated and settled in the mosque. People coming for getting their problems settled used to make voluntary donations earlier. Now, the Management of the mosque charges a fee for this practice.

Muttichirappalli has a more 'Islamic' architectural form, with minarets and dome and has been renovated recently. The mosque became famous because of the conflict of a group of Muslims with a local landlord, Thottassiiri Thachchu Panikkar, in 1841 and the intervention of the British on behalf of the landlord, in which eleven mappilas were shot dead. They are called Muttichira shahids (shuhadakkal) or warriors who died for the sake of Islam. The Shahids are now venerated and given saintly status, and nerchas are conducted in their name. The nerchappettis of shahids are maintained in several other mosques and also in individual houses. The dead bodies of the shahids were dragged by the British soldiers and thrown into a pit (kalluvettankuzhi) and they were recovered later and buried in the khabr in the mosque. All this has resulted in the growth of several myths on the shahids, and it is believed even now that the souls of the shahids demand vengeance on the perpetrators of evil to them.

The standards adopted for choosing the sites for early mosques is interesting. Mosques were constructed were normally near major routes where there is a source of water supply. Valiya jumaaat palli was constructed near a water source called kunduchena. Although the chena has disappeared and replaced by an artificial pond, the name kunduchenapparamba is still retained. There is another mosque in kollamchena another similar water source in a rocky area, in Peruvallur. Two mosques were constructed in a place called chenakkal near alunchodu. Chenakkalangadi in Thenhippalam also has a mosque. This necessity of water supply for performing the necessary oblations before prayer, and also for the necessary cleaning for toilet forced the establishment of mosques near chenas, in a similar way as the role of the ambalakkulam for the temple This also meant that mosques could not be constructed in inaccessible regions without a public water source, like a tank or a stream, and hence the presence of a settlement need not alone signify the existence of a mosque, particularly in early times, when the provision for artificial water supply was limited. Conversely, the presence of a mosque can act as a centrifugal force, bringing a large number of families near the site.

Recent years have witnessed an exponential growth in the number of mosques in the field area. With the expansion of angadis and mini-market areas, almost all the junctions have a mosque and similarly most of the housing areas have at least a Srambi. The 'modern' mosques have given up Kerala architecture altogether, and are either concrete buildings or dome and minaret structures in the Arab style. The architectural style is ostentatious and ornamental, demonstrating the wealth of those who construct them. Since mosques have to be constructed everywhere, artificial ponds, tanks and wells are constructed with pump sets and other facilities. We have a situation in which there is no need for Muslim to make a long journey to reach a mosque, particularly for the essential juma prayer on Fridays. Instead, he can always close down his shop and leave his office to attend the prayer. It is a wonderful sight in busy areas like Chemmad, to watch shutters of all the

shops being brought down within a few minutes and everyone rushing to the nearby mosque. Thus the mosque is being brought near the workplace and the house, with very important implications for the lifestyle of an ordinary Muslim.

Another tendency is also obvious, the growth of sectarianism among the Muslims. The growth of the Sunni and Mujahid groups and their subsequent splits has resulted in each group trying to assert itself through the construction of mosques. The sectarianism has been another reason for the exponential growth of mosques. For example, Chiramukku West in Nannambra has three mosques adjacent to each other in a small junction, two belonging to two Sunni groups and one belonging to the Mujahid group. The Sunni factions have built two mosques close to each other in the same area in alunchodu, Munniyur. The rivalry between two factions has resulted in many acrimonious situations and open conflicts. When we walked through the area, one faction was conducting a meeting in which invectives were being flung at the other faction. Such rivalry has resulted in increasing the ostentation of the mosques being built, a feature whose social and economic implications require careful consideration.

Corresponding to the spread of the mosques is the spread of the Madrasas. Madrasa education for children has become an unavoidable compulsive act, and there are madrasas adjoining every mosque and there are independent madrasas also. Early Madrasas were conducted in sheds or old dilapidated halls, but such madrasas have become rare, although some of the old halls remain. Many madrasas have shifted to double-storied buildings, with the same facilities as the modern school. The factionalism among the Sunnis is more clearly demonstrated in the case of the Madrasas, as the rival factions have their own Madrasa education Boards, and once a Madrasa is established or even planned, there is race to affiliate then to one of the education boards, a process that would ensure their commitment to one of the factions.

The following is a tentative list of the Madrasas run by different groups in Nannambra Panchayat:

**Table XXIV**

<b>Place name</b>	<b>Madrasa</b>
Cheruppara	Madrasathul anwar Sunni education centre
Kodinji	Hayatul Islam Madrasa
Thattathala	Hidayathul Islam Madrasa
Velliyamburam	Hayatul Islam madrasa Sunni Madrasa
Theyyala	Madrasaul Ulema madrasa
Al ameennagar	Madrasa ( kizhiyanparamba)
Chullikkunnu	Mankatakutti madrasa Panakkathayam madrasa
Cherumukku	Maniyoth paramba madrasa Three madrasas in cherumukku West
Kundoor	Munawar Islam madrasa Munawar islam Sunni madrasa Thottipparamba Madrasa

Field Diaries: Nannambra Panchayat

The distribution of the Madrasas follows the pattern that we observed in the case of Mosques. Nearly every habitation site is provided with a Madrasa. Sometimes, due to group factionalism, there are more than one Madrasa in the same habitation site.

The role of the Mosque and the madrasa as public spaces is clearly demonstrable in the entire field area. It was not difficult to find a number of people, particularly old people, near the mosque and the madrasa in the course of our walking, and we could interact with a number of them in such spaces. Many of the 'karanavakkootams', about which we shall discuss later, were conducted either in madrasa or in a house or hall near the mosque, as the organizers assured us that no old man who has come for the 'asar' prayer will leave the vicinity of mosque until he has completed the magrib prayer in the evening. That leaves for them two to three hours of solid interactive sessions, which even a political organization cannot dream of today. It is not surprising that the Mosque and the madrasa, and all that is related to them, has become central to the concept of the public space among the Muslims today.

Larger temples are fewer in number in the entire field area. The larger temples are conventionally called devaswams, with lands and other properties of their own. These temples are, Nirakaithakkotta temple and Ariyallur Siva temple in Vallikkunnu, Koyappa temple in Thenhippalam, Velimukku Subrahmanya temple, Pappanur temple and Kattuvachira temple in Munniyur, Siva temple at Trikkulam, Siva temple at Ullanam, Kaloor temple, and Siva temple at Nannambra are some of the major temples in the area. With the exception of Velimukku and Koyappa temples, all others have been devaswams and had lands of their own. The largest of the devaswams was possibly Trikkulam Siva temple, the uralan of which was the Zamorin of Calicut, and a substantial share of the Trikkulam amsam, now part of Tirurangadi was in the hands of the Devaswam. Ariyallur temple was controlled by Nilambur Raja. Nirakaithakotta was controlled by the zamorin. Among the other temples, the Uralan of Pappanur Siva temple was Velimuttath Mussad, Ullanam Devaswam was Chiramangalath mana and that of kattuvachira temple was Thottassiri panikkar. Nannmbra temple was controlled by Muthedath mana. Velimukku temple was a mukkalvattam, in which Chiramangalath mana had some interests. Koyappa temple was only a local temple controlled by local landlord families. It appears from the above that temples with powerful landlord families or kovilakam as uralar were devaswams and others were simply developed forms of kavus, such as velimukku temple. Interestingly, among the major temples, Siva and Bhagavathi temples seem to predominate. Nirakaithakotta is a bhagavathi temple of the classical mould and apparently downtrodden groups like the thiyyas and mannans had rights in the temple. There is also a story that originally the deity of the temple was the tutelary deity of parappanad kovilakam and later the Devi was brought and installed in the present Ayyappankavu at neduva. Nirakaithakotta temple itself is one the highest locations in the field area. The temple is located in a picturesque environment, with a tank and a mini – forest area nearby, and on further ascending, we find elevated rocky region on the top of

which there is a minor shrine called jananikotta or mekkotta. Kadalundi River takes a path flowing through three sides of this elevated area, providing a natural barrier to the entire area. Daily poojas and other rituals like gurusu are conducted in the minor shrine also. The character of the temple along with the existence of the minor shrine indicates that the temple is probably a developed form of an earlier center of worship, a point that needs to be investigated in more detail.

Kattuvachira is another bhagavathi temple which has not had a Brahmanical urayma and now the temple is in the hands of a popular committee, in which a major role is played by the thiyya family of thumpanis. Kaloor is another bhagavathi temple. These bhagavathi temples and the Velimukku temple also seem to be developed forms of earlier shrines patronized by landowning groups. This predominance of Bhagavathi and Siva temples and the possibility that they were possibly developed forms of earlier shrines is another point to be investigated. Another significant point seems to be that compared to smaller kavus, there are no major festivals taking place in of the major shrines, the possible exception being nirakaithakotta. Other temples conduct festivals that are routine in other parts. The participation of the people is more in the case of kavu, where the pattu, thira, and other forms attract large crowds.

There are some shrines which cannot be categorized easily, but will have to be mentioned. The two Ganapathi temples in Neduva are temples of the saliyas who live in pazhayatheru and puthen theru respectively. They are titular deities of the terus, who are supposed to be pleased for the well-being of the terus. The members of the teru have formed committees for the running of daily poojas and festivals in the temple, and this forms a major feature of the cultural life of the terus. Another interesting place is the Pisharikkal kavu on the bank of Kadalundi River and lying on eastern side of kadalundi Rail Bridge, which is in a state of abandonment. Recently the shrine has been rebuilt. The original shrine seems to have been facing the river so that people from the river and

possibly the sea could enter and worship there and offer clay figurines of dogs and other animals to the deity. A large number of figurines were lying scattered around in the area. The thara and manadapam of the kavu also have a number of figurines carved on to them. Near Urakath house in kundoor-theyyala road, a few idols and pieces of an abandoned kavu was discovered while digging a well. The idol believed to be that of bhagavathi has been kept in the urakath house.

The religious spaces outlined above still remain significant in the daily life of the people of the region. As mentioned above, a number of mosques have been constructed in recent times, and a number of temples and kavus have been renovated or in the process of renovation. Our walking showed that a few churches have also been built such as the St. Joseph's church, Orthodox Church and Marthoma church as well as the Chavara cultural center all in the Thenhippalam Panchayat ( Chavara Centre is technically in Chelembra Panchayat). There is an older Basel mission church in Parappanagadi. All these together imply the existence of a sacred landscape which is fairly well-knit and able to play a significant role in the daily life of the inhabitants of the area.

### **Secular Public Spaces**

The public spaces are not purely religious ritual spaces alone. Market centers have been the abodes of other forms of 'secular' public organizations, the evidence for which could be seen everywhere in the field area. Apart from that there are a number of educational and health institutions and also a number of cultural centers. The schools are probably the most significant among them. There is very little evidence today of traditional learning centers. There is some evidence that ezhuthupallis existed in areas like Thenhippalam and Vallikkunnu. For example, the family named Modappilassery used to run an Ezhuthupalli in a place called Ankaparamba, which has grown into the present Lower Primary school at Koyappa in Thenhippalam. Kalaritharas survive in some of the

tharavads and also in some kavus controlled by the group called vilkuruppus who had association with kalari form of martial training earlier. But there is no kalari training in the region any more. The entire field area has lower and upper primary schools in the main habitation areas, and some of them date back by nearly a century. Native Upper Primary school in athanikkal, Vallikkunnu, Government Upper primary school, Tirurangadi, Government U.P.school, Trikkulam, L.P school Neduva or Kovilakam School are some of the early schools in the area. Since 1921, there have been a string of Mappila schools all over the field area, such as the schools at Padikkal, Kundoor, Kottathangadi, Parappanangadi, Koomanna, Parambilpeetika, and Chenakkalangadi and so on. However, the number of high schools is relatively few. There is only one such school in Nannambra Panchayat, the Thattathala Higher Secondary school. There are Government High schools at Tirurangadi, Chelari, Calicut University and Peruvallur and two private schools in Vallikkunnu, one each at Thenhippalam, Munniyur, Tirurangadi, Parappanangadi and Nannambra. A few unaided schools have come up in Munniyur and Tirurangadi. There is one Arts and science in the area, at Tirurangadi, besides a number of Co-operative colleges at Chemmad, Parappanangadi and Chenakkal near University. Private 'parallel' colleges are many more. There is one Government polytechnic at Chelari. The field area also contains a number of Islamic educational institutions. The most important among them is the Arabic College in association with Tirurangadi Yatheemkhana. There are also other Islamic colleges including a private Islamic women's college in Thenhippalam.

The following is list of authorized modern educational institutions in the area as of 2001:

**Table XXV**

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>LP school</b>	<b>UP school</b>	<b>HS&amp;HSS</b>	<b>College</b>	<b>Others</b>
Tirurangadi	12	6	3	1	2 ( TTI, Arabic College), 5 parallel Colleges

Thenhippalam	10*	6	3	1**	University campus
Parappanangadi	10	3	2	-	-
Vallikkunnu	6	5	2		
Munniyur	5	6	3	-	1( polytechnic)
Nannambra	7	4	1	-	-
Total	50	30	14	2	-

\*Includes the present Thenhippalam and Peruvallur Panchayats. \*\* Engineering College

It should be noted that the number of educational institutions in the area, does not indicate the actual number of students in the area, as a number of students, particularly from Thenhippalam and Vallikkunnu Panchayats make use of the facilities in Feroke and Calicut. Many students also go outside their respective Panchayats to study in the neighboring areas. It should however, be noted that except for a parallel college, there are no institutions exclusively devoted for girls in the area.

The rapid spread of 'modern' educational institutions signifies a major expansion of public spaces. This includes not only what is taught in the school or college, but also the growth of teachers, students, management agencies, arts and sports, student organizations and other accessories such as bookshops , fancy stores, restaurants and so on. The students participate in various activities like scouts and guides, National Cadet Corps and national service scheme in the schools and colleges besides the number of political organizations. Most of the minor market centers had offices of organizations like Sunni Students federation, Samantha Kerala Sunni Student Federation run by the rival Sunni Groups, their youth wings, Muslim Students federation the Student wing of Muslim League and its youth wing. Another presence was in the number of clubs and organizations in which the students and youth played a significant role. . Nearly every major angadi had a youth club, where the youth at least gathered to play caroms and watch TV. These clubs become active for keralotsavam, the Panchayat level arts festival

and for sports meets. Some of them like media center in Palathinkal, Kairali in Chiramukku, Maneesha and Sahridaya in University Chenakkal are more active holding seminars and discussions, besides participating in the Keralolsavam at the state level.

Spread of education also means the growth of reading, as shown by the spread of libraries and reading rooms. All Panchayats have their Samskarika Nilayams, which have their libraries and reading rooms. There are some libraries and reading rooms set up under the initiative of the local people, and some of them are running quite well. Sobhana in Mundyankavu near Athanikkal, Navachethana in Vaikkathupatam, Muhammad Smarakavayanasala in Parappanangadi, Navajeevan vayanasala in Vallikkunnu are examples of such libraries. But there were several reading rooms and libraries which seemed to be functioning in dilapidated condition, although they are fairly old. There were very few libraries in which the young people have been taking initiative, media center in Palathinkal being one example. We saw a few Islamic libraries and reading rooms, set up by organizations like the Muslim youth league. Interestingly, there were no spaces in the entire field area which sold standard Malayalam books, except textbooks. Even the University book centre in the campus sold mainly notebooks and textbooks and had only a very limited collection of standard books.

The following is a tentative list of the libraries and Arts and sports facilities in different Panchayats:

**Table XXVI**

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Libraries*</b>	<b>Arts and sports Clubs</b>
Tirurangadi	9	24
Thenhippalam	7	N/A
Peruvallur	2	18
Parappanangadi	4	14
Vallikkunnu	11	27
Munniyur	4	20

Nannambra	2	20
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\* indicates only general reading rooms and libraries. Besides, there are a few 'Islamic' libraries in Panchayats.

Source: Field Diaries

However, almost every mini-market centre had a video cassette and CD library, and all the CD libraries were having good business. These libraries give cassettes and CDs on loan for one or two days on small fee of Rs.20 and stock nearly all the latest cassettes and CDs, some of them pirated ones. All the major market centers, like Parappanangadi, Tirurangadi and University have computer training centers, which attract probably more students in their spare time than libraries. Some centers like TACT before PSMO College, and C-NET in Parappanangadi attract a large number of students. With the introduction of Akshaya computer scheme, all the mini-market centers have computer training programmes. The spread of VCD libraries and computer centers generate new cultural tastes other than those created by books, the nature of which requires careful examination. It is however clear that young people are more visible in the area of electronics and IT than in the area of reading rooms and libraries.

Walking took us to several hospitals and health centers. In fact the health practices followed in the region were more diverse than education. There is one Government Hospital at Tirurangadi and all the Panchayats had Community Health Centers and Public Health Centers including the University Health center which has recently been thrown open to the public. There is one major private Hospital, the M.K.Haji hospital at Tirurangadi, and several small hospitals such as Chelari hospital. Apart from these hospitals there are a large number of private practitioners. The interesting feature of the area is that there are a number of practitioners of traditional medicine (nattuvaidyam) in several parts of the field area, some of them owning their medical shops and pharmacies. Almost all areas have agencies of various Aryavaidyasalas, apart from independent practitioners of ayurveda, some trained in colleges and some untrained. Some Thangals

practice a combination of traditional medicine and magic, such as Thurab thangal of Parakkadavu. There are Thangals in Tirurangadi who practice similar varieties of medicine and one thangal has set up a medical shop in Chemmad. There are several homeo clinics in the area, prasanthi in Padikkal being one of the more famous ones. Some practice a combination of various forms. Two such centers at present exist in Munniyur. There is a clinic of natural healing named Sanjeevani in Thenhippalam

The following is a tentative list of the health facilities in the field area:

**Table XXVII**

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Modern Medicine</b>	<b>Ayurveda</b>	<b>PHC, CHC,FWC,IPP</b>	<b>Others</b>
Tirurangadi	7	3	3	-
Thenhippalam	-	1	11	1
Parappanangadi	-	-	8	1
Vallikkunnu	-	1	9	
Munniyur	1	1	7	3
Nannambra	1	1	1	-

Source: Field Diaries

Observation of health centers and clinics shows that unlike modern education, the spread of modern health practices has been uneven. There are several areas in the field where there are no practitioners of modern medicine, and some areas have not produced a single doctor. Many people still depend on Aryavaidyasalas and local remedies, and reach clinics on emergencies. Most of the people depend on primary health centers, which are normally ill-equipped. Somewhat well to do people go to M.K.Haji hospital and the hospitals in Ramanattukara and Feroke and the rich go to the elite hospitals in Calicut and other nearby towns. Women generally depend on health centers or indigenous remedies. At the same time, health clubs for women have appeared in places like Kohinoor, near University. It appears that the social distinctions and cultural practices are most apparent in the case of health.

The response to education and health can be linked with the transformation taking place in the spatial and social features discussed above. Educational institutions that developed in the earlier phase were distributed all over the field area. In a number of cases, othupallis run by Musaliars and kudippallikkutams were converted into primary schools. Bringing children into schools was an arduous process, and the teachers took the initiative in talking to the parents and getting them into schools. The high schools were also the result of the social pressure generated by the large number of students coming out of the primary school system, and the need to generate an educated group fit for the newly emerging job opportunities was the major concern. Some of the schools were started by enterprising individuals and elite groups, schools like Sooppykkutty Naha School in Parappanangadi, Oriental school in Tirurangadi and Madhavananda School in Ariyallur have such a background. Government schools in different parts of the field were the result of popular pressure. Popular pressure for a Government school exists in some of the areas such as Parappanangadi, where the downtrodden people are unable to continue their education because of the rising costs. There is a significant change in the emergence of schools in recent years. Schools are started by groups or individuals with sufficient money to invest, and they attract students to their fold through clever campaigns, giving attention to the factors appealing to the middle class parents, such as discipline, rigorous teaching methods, good, ventilated classrooms, school buses and so on. Such schools appear not far away from mini-marketing centers, do not bother about the proximity of other schools, and do not necessarily cater to the neighborhood. Crescent school in Munniyur and Kutbuzzaman School in Chemmad are examples of such schools. Unaided schools are not simply new schools but they are new spatial and cultural entities. The same feature can be seen in the health centers also. Earlier, apart from the traditional physicians, there were registered medical practitioners and apothecaries, who were

mostly retained in area because of the demand from the local people. A local Vaidyar was a social figure who knew the generic and the social profile of the patient. Similarly the resources of the medical practitioner may be limited, but he knew his patient. As the doctors and other agencies began to build larger hospitals, this relationship between the health practitioner and the people was lost, and was replaced by the formal doctor-patient relationship. This is seen in the attitude of the people towards a particular hospital where the leading doctor was manhandled by the people for prescribing wrong medicine. The Government Health centers are no better, as many centers lack doctors, and even if they are available, they are not part of the society.

There are other accessories to education and health which did not exist earlier. One is the Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS) and other Indian Population Project (IPP). All the Anganwadis in the area are under the ICDS project. The Anganwadis are mostly located near the colonies and other heavily inhabited areas, and almost all of them work under extremely unsatisfactory conditions. Most of the Anganwadis are in sheds with mud-floors, and children do not have adequate space to play. Aayas often do not have space to cook the food for the children and feed them. There is a teacher and aya in each Anganwadi, and majority of the teachers and aayas live nearby, or are from nearby villages. Despite these obvious handicaps, most of the Anganwadis have about 20-30 children, and some even more. Anganwadi workers, apart from their normal responsibilities are also used for several surveys and other forms of enumeration, which means that they are directly linked with the local people in various ways, and some of them also manage to get considerable local support for running of the Anganwadis. This local support naturally is not elite support, and hence the resources they are able to manage remains meagre. IPP project works along with the health centers and rural dispensaries and is meant to inculcate reproductive literacy among the people. How far

they are able to do it, is another question. But the IPP project seems to have converted the rural health centers into centers for contraception and gynecological practices. The perks of the State Literacy Mission authority is another group. All the Panchayats have a number of Saksharatha Kendras, with a prerak, assistant prerak in each centre, assisted by a number of voluntary workers, and the most important is the agency called chalanam being organized by Rabiya, a handicapped neo-literate from Vellanikkad in Tirurangadi. Chalanam has centers all over the field area. Most of the Saksharatha Kendras are facing serious difficulties because of lack of adequate support from the Government, but despite these difficulties many Saksharatha preraks continue to run the centers and conduct adult education. They are doing yeoman service for a number of social activities, particularly in the Panchayat level programmes.

Probably inspired by the success of the literacy activities, the present Government introduced the Akshaya Computer Literacy project, for imparting computer literacy to at least one member in every family. The coordinators of the Akshaya project in the field area are those with experience in Literacy projects, and they are enlisting a number of young people who have had computer training for taking classes in various centers. Since the emphasis is to get at least one computer literate from each household, a number of old men and women are being enlisted as students. The actual impact of this programme is yet to be studied.

Probably more interesting is the emergence of a number of self-help groups under the CDS programme (kutumbasree) of the Kerala Government. We were able to see the functioning of self-help groups in different parts of the field area. Even as we were walking through the area, Munniyur Panchayat was recruiting the maximum number of women into self-help groups. There are about forty eight self help groups registered in Munniyur Panchayat alone, and other Panchayats have also a number of self help groups. Many of these groups seemed to be functioning as credit units, and become active

primarily when the amount from the CDS is disbursed. However, some units have started their own self –employment schemes with the help of the amount received and their regular collections. Our walking did not focus upon a detailed investigation of all the self help groups, but the preliminary impression we received was that most of the SHGs were being functioned for the disbursal of credit. Those who are involved in production are mainly concerned with food products of various types. Pickles, dried fruits and vegetables including chillies, papads, sweets, savories and similar food products were the most widespread activity. We saw one mulberry farm including the rearing of silkworms by a group in Thayyilakkadavu, and they are planting mulberry in a strip of land in the Chernur patam. The women were trained by SILK. Making garments appeared to be another major activity of Kutumbasree, but there was no evidence that women were encouraged to engage in other enterprises which required more investment and more skills. There is also the problem of a proper marketing network for their products. Women themselves were forced to sell their products through house to house campaigns, with very little institutional support of any kind. There are also instances where kutumbasree campaigners received hostile receptions from households. There is one instance when a kutumbasree campaigner was told by the householder (a man) that he would divorce his wife if the campaigner came there again to enlist her!

It should, however, be noted that literacy project, computer literacy, Anganwadis and kutumbasree have been instrumental in bringing to the public space a large number of women, particularly from the downtrodden households. It is true that their earnings are meagre and their sustenance in the occupation uncertain, but the amount of confidence they have acquired in managing their own affairs and participating in public activities is clearly visible. It is not surprising that many of the public campaigns at the local level organized by the Panchayats have been undertaken by women. However, similar kind of

enthusiasm was not shown by middle class women, who were confined to their households, and were very reticent in answering queries from outside. However, this reticence was not shown by old women. Majority of them had been working women. Many of them still work as agricultural laborers and daily wage laborers. They showed considerable awareness of the changes taking place in their surroundings and were familiar with all the political and social incidents. Old women of some of the elite families also showed similar awareness and were extremely good informants.

Political and social organizations conformed to the standard pattern elsewhere in the state. Nearly all the major places and mini-market centers had offices of political parties. Muslim League had the largest number of offices, spread in all the areas, followed by the CPI (M) and Congress (I). We saw a few offices of the INL. Other parties were practically non-existent, although CPI and BJP had members in several Panchayats. Probably the more widespread offices belonged to the Sunni and Mujahid organizations. Nearly every angadi had an office of the SSF, SYS, SKSSF, MSM, ISM and the sectarian organizations. Flags and posters of the above organizations, and a number of others, including SIO, Solidarity, NDF and CPI (ML) Red Flag were seen in many major angadis. There were also posters of organizations which emerge locally on specific issues, one example being the posters of a janakeeyavedi which protested against the corruption in the Kodinji mosque. Among the organizations there seemed to be a predominance of the symbols and posters of religious and sectarian organizations. Compared to the Muslim organizations the boards and posters of 'Hindu' organisations were fewer, although there were a few epigraphs of VHP and RSS. The more prominent are the notices and boards of different temples and festivals, which were flashily displayed in multi-colour boards.

The spread of the political organizations cannot be gauged from their offices and signboards alone. In the present political structure, the Panchayat offices also function as

the centre of politics. Nearly all the major political functionaries at the Panchayat level are either Panchayat members or members of various subcommittees or other bodies constituted by the Panchayats, and hence, they are visible in the Panchayat or ward level activities. Since one- third of the ward members are women, their participation in the Panchayat activities have increased. However, visits to Panchayats showed that the members are concerned with implementation of the programmes rather than conscious planning and political debates centered around the course that Panchayat activities should take. It is not that insightful projects have not come up, but they are few and depended totally on the initiative of a few members.

Co-operative societies have come play a significant in the political schemes at the local level. There are a number of co-operative banks in the field area, one each at least in a Panchayat. The elections to the banks are acrimoniously contested, and indicative of the dominance of the political parties in the area. Not surprisingly majority of the banks are under the control of the Muslim League. Similarly a substantial number of other co-operative institutions are also under the control of political parties, and again, they also prove to be providers of occupations to a number of people under political patronage. The role that co-operative sector of this kind plays in the local economy is another point of investigation.

We now give a list of the co-operative societies in the region.

**Table XXVIII**

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Banks</b>	<b>Producer Co-operative</b>	<b>Consumer co-operatives</b>	<b>Others</b>
Tirurangadi	Service co-operative Bank SC/ST Service			DWCRA unit Pantharangadi Tirurangadi co-operative education society
Thenhippalam	co-operative society Thenhippalam Service Co-operative Bank	Milk producers Co-operative society, Katakattupara	C.U. Central Co-operative store C.U. Co-	C.U. Women's

Peruvallur	SC co-operative society Calicut University Housing Co-operative society C.U.Co-operative credit society Peruvallur Service co-operative bank Velimukku service co-operative bank	Thenhippalam Coir-producers co-operative	operative store	co-operative society
Munniyur		Tile workers co-operative society Milk producer's Co-operative society Munniyur Rural industries co-operative society		Munniyur labour contract society
Nannambra	Nannambra Service co-operative bank Service Co-operative bank	Tirurangadi taluk inland fisheries co-operative society		
Parappanangadi	SC Co-operative Women's co-operative Tirur taluk rural housing co-operative	Central milk producers co-operative Fish workers welfare society(4) Harijan craftsmen's co-operative Harijan rural industries co-operative Ullanam milk producers co-operative Rachana vanitha	BEM HS SNMHS Government school teachers co-operative	Taluk Co-operative education society

Vallikkunnu	Service co-operative bank Ariyallur service co-operative bank Thiruthi aikyananaya sahakaranasangham	readymade industrial co-operative Motor transport co-operative Weaver's co-operative Vallikkunnu coir industrial co-operative Kizhayil coir co-operative Kadalundi nagaram coir co-operative Kodakkad oil pressing co-operative Tile workers co-operative		
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Source: Offices of various Panchayats

### Artistic Traditions

Walking took us to a number of individuals and groups with creative talents. We have already noted the number of clubs found mostly in mini-market centers. There were several others working in rented buildings or even thatched sheds who were conducting cultural activities on their own. In Nannambra we met experts of the parisamuttukali, an art form now becoming extinct. There is a place in Nannambra called pakitakalikkunnu, which was famous for the traditional form dicing called pakitakali. Several persons who live there are experts in pakitakali. C.K.Nagar in Tirurangadi is a centre of the old practice of vayppattu sung along with marriage. C.K Nagar is a place for male singers while kodinji is a place for female singers. However, the female singers in Kodinji are at present too old or have expired. The younger generation is not taking to traditional vayppattu in a big way. Kolkkali, the martial dance form among the Mappilas is also suffering the same fate. Tirurangadi was a centre of this art form, and there professional

kolkali gurukkal in the area. Now kolkali is surviving as a stage art rather than a martial dance, and the generation of professional kolkali players is fast disappearing. Duff Mutt, another mappila art form has not been traditionally popular in the area, and is now another stage item. There are several standard mappilapattu singers in the area, and also very good composers. They could even convert contemporary events in the traditional lyrical form, for example in the forms of song called chinth and kessupattu. The tradition of Islamic songs in honour of religious heroes, called mala seem to have continued to the present, as in the composition named kudrat mala.

Thottam singing in kavus is another traditional ritual art form. Each bhagavathi has her specific thottams sung for her, and they are the prerogative of specific families. The rituals in a kavu owned by urakath house in Kundoor was discontinued, because the perumannan who could sing the thottam had died and no one in the family could sing it. Kaliyattakkavu has several songs and thottam and the perumannans and the cherumans could sing them. Pattulsavam which involves the thottam singing is major ritual in all the kavus. When agriculture was flourishing singing during the time of sowing (Nateel pattu) and reaping (Koythupattu) were popular. It has not totally disappeared, and we could actually watch and hear the nateel pattu of women on the way from Thayyilakkadavu to Pappannur. Of course, the younger generation were less familiar with these songs.

Older generation could remember the practice of oppana singing and dancing for marriages, but we could not meet any actual singer. Like all other forms of art, the younger generation could identify oppana only as a stage item in youth festivals. There was no tradition of performing stage plays, and hence we could not meet any stage actor of the older generation. Public performances were apparently of the ritual kind, as, for example, there was no dearth in the number of people who had become komarams, particularly from the perumannan and Thiyya castes.

With the growth of the electronic media and the cassette industry, artistic tastes seem to have undergone a major transformation. There appears to be a major upsurge of the mappilappattu cassettes, and also Malayalam ghazal singing, apart from the standard film songs. Parody songs and 'modern' folk songs are also much enjoyed. The spread of the cassette industry has resulted in a new generation of singers, who do not necessarily perform on the stage, but are heard and enjoyed nevertheless. There is a massive input of such cassettes from the Gulf areas. Another 'modern' source of enjoyment is a local cable channel named CITY TV which is operating from Tirurangadi. Local talent particularly in singing and dance gets a chance to demonstrate their skills through this network. A few stage shows, now popularized by the cine and TV stars have also been conducted in the area recently, which have attracted large audiences. Such shows seem to be controlling the taste of the younger generation, in particular.

An interesting outcome of the changes in taste is the growth of a large number of centers for training children in dance, music and fine arts. A large number of such centers exist in middle class localities such as the University area, where there is also the tendency to bring experts from other parts like Calicut city to give training to children. With the spread of school, and college youth festivals, and 'fests' of various colleges conducted even by parallel colleges the number of training centers and teachers have increased substantially. Nearly everyone with some training in fine arts appears to be engaged in training someone else. Some of the arts clubs are also engaged in training students for various programmes and conducting regular classes. This tendency has resulted in growth of large scale establishments, like kalagramam in Parappanangadi. This form of training has resulted in the mass production of artists, but how many of them take up art as a profession, except teaching it, is another matter.

Interest in sports also seems to be undergoing transformation. Earlier generation talks about kalapoottu that is bullock-racing, which used to be a craze in several parts of the

field area. There are kalapoottu kandams in Vallikkunnu and Munniyur Panchayats, exclusively devoted to bullockracing. Along with that there has been mention of natanpanthu (traditional version of football) thalappanthu, Kara (a kind of hockey) among the sports. Later football and volleyball gained popularity. Volleyball seems to have lost its popularity, and major volleyball teams, like the one assembled by Shobhana library in Vallikkunnu have disappeared. Football remains popular, as shown by the interest for sevens tournaments. The number of proper ground and stadia are few in the field area, and most of the tournaments and regular games are conducted in fields and open old grazing lands. The absence of cultivation has apparently facilitated the conduct of tournaments in what used to be paddy fields. There is a 'stadium' in Alungal in Thenhippalam Panchayat, used for football. At present fields are used mostly for cricket. No facilities for athletics were found all over the field area, except for school grounds.

However, the concept of leisure appears to be gaining ground. This is apparent in the facilities for tourism. One typical example is the N.C.Garden, built in the coastal area in Vallikkunnu, developing as a tourist center with cottages, parks and so on. The New cut area in Parappanangadi is sought to be developed as tourist center, and they have set up a ferry for boating already. There are discussions on the conversion of Velimukkuchalli into a tourist spot, with facilities for the traditional sport, called Meennayattu (literally, 'fish-hunting'). Of course, the haven for all tourism promoters is the area between Kadalundi and Vallikkunnu, which includes several thiruttis, including balathirutti and famous for migrating birds. However, boating, which was one of the normal forms of transport in early days, has more or less disappeared, and the boats are remaining idle, and now it is sought to be revived as leisure time activity. Similarly, water logging in the challis has been a major problem faced by the people, and now the same challis are sought to be converted into pools for water-sport. Similarly ritual centers like kaliyattakkavu and nirakaithakotta are gradually becoming tourist attractions.

## **Ancient remains**

Walking also took us to several areas which were possibly habitation sites earlier. The area around Velimukku and Palakkal had yielded a number of burial urns discovered while digging for wells. Similarly sankaranmadu in Parambil peetika, Peruvallur also yielded a number of burial urns. A paramba near kundankadavu had two laterite caves supported by stone pillars, one of them now filled with waste and the other has disappeared. A paramba near Komarappadi in Thenhippalam yielded a stone jar, probably a burial jar. Another interesting site is cave named kalkkuzhi (kakkuzhi) in chullikkunnu in Nannambra, which is a natural formation but apparently inhabited. Another series of sites appear in Pantharangadi in Tirurangadi where a number of burial urns or nannangadis were discovered in the parambas near Kadalundi River. A more careful investigation is definitely bound to yield more results.

Interesting geographical formations are also seen. Probably the most interesting is the fresh water source, near the seashore in Vallikkunnu, called mudiyakinar. The well was said to be 'divine' at one time, and numerous people had assembled there to drink the water and get the water sprinkled on them, and is said to have medicinal properties. But the presence of a fresh water source so near the sea shore is interesting, where the water is bound to be saline. The second is discovery of the debris of fallen trees while digging wells and a large tree had to be removed while digging the canal from Kadalundi River to Poorappuzha. The presence of such trees indicates possibly a forest area, there is the legend that a part of this area was destroyed by fire, a legend that is preserved in the name of the field, venchalli or burned challi. Digging for wells in places like Paruthikkad and Irumpothunkal in Vallikkunnu has resulted in the discovery of black, hardened rock at some depth, believed to have iron content, and also believed to remain of floral wealth of a bygone era. There are also several places where hidden pathways of the old are

reported, such as mullanmada in Vallikkunnu, which is supposed to have been the starting point of an underground channel (thurankappatha) leading to nirakaithakotta, a cave in parakkadavu which is supposed to have been built during the invasion of Tipu Sultan, and another way from Venniyur to Tanur which was used as the way through which the foot soldiers of Tipu made the quick entry into Tanur. There is a kotta and kottapparamba in Chemmad, indicating a fort used by Tipu, a lakidiparamba near Poorappuzha, probably indicating a wooden fort, which might have existed. The area is abound in places relating to Malabar rebellion, including the kalkuzhi where the Muttyara shahids were originally thrown into, several wells where the dead bodies, either murdered or were victims of plunder and police terror, were thrown into. These indications in themselves require careful study.

## **Conclusion**

Walking took the longest amount of time in the project, and stretched from May to august. During the course of walking, the research team interacted with a large number of people, which illuminated the nature of livelihood patterns of the people of Tirurangadi and the diverse influences on them. Walking demonstrated to the research team the following features of the changes that were taking place in the field area.

- 1) The landscape of Tirurangadi has enabled to support a primarily agrarian population, who sustained themselves on the parambas and fields of the region. In the past few decades the landscape has been undergoing major changes, in which probably the most important feature is the effacement of the distinction between paramba and fields, the the gradual elimination of the distinctions between elevated regions , slopes and low-lying regions. The substantial expansion of the house-sites has meant a reduction of the absolute surface available for production. This has

resulted in the filling up of the fields and flattening of elevated surfaces. This has also meant the transformation of the flora and fauna available in the region.

- 2) It is clear that wetland agriculture in the region has been on the decline. Although there has been substantial conversion of the paddy fields into parambas, there is very little to show that an economy based on cash crop cultivation has been prospering. While there has been expansion of cash crop cultivation, agro-based industries have been declining, which means that cash crop production has been susceptible to the market fluctuations.
- 3) The industrial climate of the region has been dismal. Our walking took us to a number of marketing centers, but not many industrial centers. The industrial centers that had been established were reported sick or were closed down. There have not been any new industrial projects for the area also.
- 4) There has been a substantial expansion of the market centers in the region, and also expansion of roads and other means of communication. This expansion shows that there is considerable amount of money capital in the area, point that is confirmed by the substantial expansion of houses.
- 5) There has also been expansion of the secular public space through modern education, health facilities, communications, entertainments and leisure, and there has also been corresponding presence of religious spaces also in the form of institutions and organizations.

These observations will have to be examined historically, in terms of the transformation of livelihood patterns in the given space across time. Such an exercise will give insight into the socio-cultural processes taking place in the region, and make the testimony of the local people to our queries intelligible. We now propose to undertake such an exercise in the next part.

## IV

### **Tirurangadi-Historical and Cultural Setting**

Walking has given us a panoramic view of the living conditions of Tirurangadi. Now we have to go deeper into the processes that have played a role in shaping the living conditions, for which we cannot depend entirely on oral testimony. A general awareness of the history and culture of the region from the available secondary sources becomes necessary in order to make sense of the oral testimony. This interlude is essential as people converse with reference to their specific conditions, in a language that represents these conditions. Hence it is necessary to understand the milieu before trying to make sense of the oral testimony that has been gathered from the interviews, and from karanavakkootams.

#### **Historical relevance of Kadalundi**

The available sources on the early History of Tirurangadi are few, and one has to make use of the scattered information from different sources on Eranad and the kingdom of the Samutiri. The earliest information on the region appears to concentrate on the coastal village of Kadalundi, now a part of Kozhikode District, but it is possible that the name was applied to the southern part of the deltaic region of Kadalundi River, now a part of Vallikkunnu Panchayat. The area is called Kadalundi nagaram, nagaram being a standard term for a merchant settlement in early times. There is also a kadalundipattam near the nagaram, showing that the term probably had a wider spatial connotation. Kadalundi is probably the popular abbreviation of kadal+thundi, thundi (or thundu) being a fragment of land that stretched into the sea. It may be noted in passing that the term is close to thondu, which also means a fragment, which denoted an ancient port town thondi in the West coast. Such linguistic affinities may not signify much, but it is worth undertaking a

more detailed archeological and geological investigation into the area, which appears to have had commercial significance.

Apart from the mainland Kadalundi there are a number of thiruttis in the azhimukham, and the river takes several twists and turns around several land formations before it finally joins the sea. One of these formations might have become the earlier habitat. And later the entire area came to be called Kadalundi. The tradition among the local people that the original Kadalundi was the nagaram to the south of the river, and the central area shifted to the north of the river only recently, after the coming railway station and the bridge will have to be taken seriously. Unfortunately, unlike Musiri or Kodungallur which had a long historical and cultural tradition and hence has attracted the attention of archeologists and historians alike, Thondi has just remained a name found in the early Tamil songs and roman notices, which has since disappeared. The historian and the archeologist are yet to make a serious study of the region.

A few geological features of the area seem to be significant in this context. Geologists have shown that the coastal area and a part of the interior region mainly consist of riverside alluvial soil that has been formed recently. (Resource based perspective plan for 2020AD, Karalla Land Use Board, 1997). The sea appears to have advanced and receded several times, and the river has also changed its course. Discovery of river sand and seashells and other objects while digging wells may signify the early layers left by such advance and withdrawal. Hence it is not impossible to visualize a coastal formation different from that of today and the existence of a port that was located at the confluence of the river and the sea, of which Kadalundi Nagaram is the area that has remained today. Perhaps the thiruttis that we see today were also part of the same formation.

Another feature also appears to be significant. Adjacent to Kadalundi and in between the rivers of Chaliyar and Kadalundi, there appears to be a number of places where early terus or market centers may be located. Thus we have Idimuzhiikkal, Pallikkal

(randuteru) and Chelari as examples of early terus (Namboothiri, 1987). Along with this there are a number of kadavus, which we have observed while walking. These terus and kadavus are related to Kadalundi as natural coastal trading centre. Immersing of Coconut fiber from all over the banks of Kadalundi River was done in the Balathirutti Island. The significance of the continuation of Kadalundi nagaram is probably related to this.

Thondi was the residence of some of the early Chera rulers, according to the early Tamil poems. There is no direct evidence of such a habitat in the area. However, the area has interesting geographical features. While, Kadalundi nagaram itself is the low-lying region, there are two hillocks to the north and surrounding it. One is near the Kadalundi Bridge, named Bunglowkunnu, and the other is Kottakkunnu, where the Nirakaitthakotta temple is located. Kadalundi River makes a path in between these hillocks. These hillocks can provide the habitat for early chiefs, given our knowledge, that chiefs generally selected such hillocks as residence. Thondi was 'bounded by groves of coconut trees bearing heavy bunches of fruits, a wide expanse of rice fields, verdant hills, bright sandy tracts and a salt river whose glassy waters are covered with flowers of brilliant colours' (Purananuru,17). The description can suit anywhere in the Kerala Coast, but the reference to salt water seems significant. Kadalundi River becomes saline during the period from December-January, which has been the perennial problem for the farmers in the area. The problem is particularly felt in Vallikkunnu Panchayat at the mouth of the River.

Another indication for the location of Thondi is the absence of sandbanks in the region reported by the Roman writer, Pliny. Kadalundi does not have a sand bank, unlike all the other ports in the region, which do have sandbanks nearby or adjacent to the port. However, all these identifications are at best tentative and only a serious archeological exploration of the region will provide the answer.

Kadalundi River was apparently significant in ancient times. As pointed out in our report of walking, numerous ancient remains, particularly urn burials have been reported from different parts of the Kadalundi River bank, from the mouth of the River, Olipramkadavu, Irumpothikal, Pantharangadi and other parts. It is possible that a serious exploration will come up with more evidence. Unfortunately, no such exploration has been carried out so far, and a map of archeological sites given in a recent cultural history of Kerala (Gurukkal and Varier, 1999; 107) does not refer to a single site in the region.

We have no direct means to determine the reasons for the decline of Thondi (if, of course, we assume that the region of Kadalundi nagaram inhabited the ancient port). Uncertain character of the coastal formation, rise of more reliable ports at Pantalayini, and later at Calicut, lack of political patronage or probably all of them might have caused the decline. It is also possible that Thondi never developed into levels reached by Musiri, commercially or politically. Medieval trade and politics of the region revolved around Calicut, Beypore and later Chalam, and Kadalundi could never acquire prominence. During the Mysorean invasion, Feroke on the banks of Chaliyar came into importance, and still Kadalundi was ignored.

### **Process of Settlement**

The reasons for the neglect of Kadalundi could be clarified only with the help of additional information on the region. There is very little information on the region from the age of the Perumals, and the information is concentrated on the nearby Eralanadu and Edattaranadu, which, as far as one can gather, did not include the present Tirurangadi region. No inscription of the Perumal period has been discovered from the region, the near place from where an inscription has been discovered is Indianur near Kottakkal. (Narayanan, 1996; A63). This absence is interesting as we find inscriptions from Ramanattukara and Panniyankara. It is possible that the region from Kottakkal to Ramanattukara had not become a separate nadu formation during the Perumal period.

However, the first indication a political formation in the region was the emergence of Parappanad. Keralolppatti legend on the origin of Samuthiri refers to a Parappukoyil, which may be the same as the later Parappanad kovilakam. However, the region around Beypore was called Northern Parappanad in British records, and it is possible that the original Parappanad family was settled in Beypore. Later the family or a branch of the family shifted to the present location at Neduva in Parappanangadi.

When did this settlement occur? We have no clear indication of this from any written sources apart from a few legends, which links the family with Nirakaithakotta. It is also stated in a legend that the Bhagavati of Mukambika Temple was also 'brought' from pisharikkavu in near kadalundi bridge. The legends linking the family to Nirakaithakotta and Pisharikavu probably hint at a migration from the mouth of Kadalundi River, or rather from the location of Thondi. The region from Nirakaithakotta to Purappuzha is traditionally the old Parappanad. Beypore is Northern Parappanad and Chaliyam in between the two regions belonged to the Vettath Raja. The more interesting feature of the entire Tirurangadi region is the presence, from the British records, of several subordinates and military leaders under the Samuthiri as landlords in the area, including Thinayancheri Ilayath, Dharmoth Panikkar, 'Ayyayiraprabhu karthav', and members of the Samuthiri family, such as the thampuratti(princess) of Ambadi Kovilakam, Thampuratti of Kizhakke Kovilakam and Samuthiri Raja himself. Lands were also held by Vettath kovil Eradi and his family. Thacharakkavil Eradi (Nilambur Raja) held lands in Ariyallur; Kadathanad Raja also held lands in Parappanagadi. This is apart from the lands held by Nambutiri Illams and Devaswams.

Among these families only Ayyayiraprabhu karthav seems to have belonged to the area, and was a military leader in charge of providing 'five thousand forces to the Samuthiri. Others did not belong to the area. Then how did they come to acquire the lands in the area? The area was apparently occupied by Samuthiri and distributed among the

subordinates and other nayars. The migration of Parappanad family, a subordinate to the Samuthiri was also presumably a result of this occupation. There is no evidence that there was a Swarupam or ruling house existing previously to the occupation of the Samuthiri. Instead, the only term that has come down to us is the term Cheranad, an obscure term that does not seem to appear prominently in the early documents. The meaning of the term is also obscure. The term could be cher-nad or marshy region or cheral-nadu or nadu which was attached to eranadu (chernna- belonged to). It is likely that the latter meaning was probably used, but it should be remembered that a part of the Tirurangadi, the low-lying areas was indeed marshy, and as we have seen, the coastal area was subject to changes, through changes in the course of the river, and more probably, the activities of the sea. We have pointed out that the terrain is undulating and partly rocky, which along with the marshy character of the lowlands made the region less attractive to the early chiefs in search of areas which generate a steady surplus. It was probably these geographical features of the region that prevented the area from developing a political entity of any kind, until Samuthiris occupied the region as an already powerful swarupam. When did Samuthiri come to occupy the region is another matter. According to legendary information, the first serious campaign of the Samuthiri to the south was to capture Tirunavaya and an army under the nayars and a naval force under the kozhikkottu koya moved to Tirunavaya capturing the nadus and nagarams on the way (Krishna Ayyar 1938, 1999; 92). The names of these nadus are not specified, Cheranad might have been a part of them, so also Kadalundi nagaram.

### **Rise of a Hierarchical Social Order**

The expansion of cultivation in the region is also a matter on which we have no direct information. Construction of temples along the Kadalundi River probably facilitated the expansion of cultivation, as shown by the existence of Trikkulam, Ullanam, Pappanur,

Ariyallur and Nirakaithakotta temples, all of them in the riverside alluvial regions and holding considerable areas of paddy lands until recently. It is also not surprising that they were held both by Kovilakams, such as Samuthiri raja holding Trikkulam devaswam, and Tacharakkavil Eradi holding Ariyallur temple, and by Nambuthiri families, such as Chiramangalath mana holding Ullanam devaswam and Velimattath Mussad and Pappanur nambi holding Urayma over Pappanur Devaswam. This shows the standard pattern of occupation of the river valleys seen in other parts of Kerala, through Brahmana households and Kovilakams. The existence of garden crops and substantial areas cultivating modan until recently, may indicate that paramba cultivation in the elevated regions might have developed even before the occupation of the river valleys, which obviously required better knowledge of the seasons and sophisticated water management systems, in which the Brahmanas might have played a significant role.

Another possibility has also to be discussed. The lands held by the Vettam royal family and Alvancheri thamprakkal might indicate an expansion from the south. Families like Moothedath mana, Thekkiniyedath Keerangat mana have relationship with the south rather than with the north. Kalpakancheri, the Head of the Panniyur kur, does not appear to own any land in the area. Even as the British occupied the region, parts of the area were controlled by Vettathnad. Hence, it is possible that when the Samuthiri occupied the land or even before that, parts of the area were occupied by migrants from the south. However, one important qualification to the account of the process of migrations will to be added. From the available information, only the Kovilakams, Nambutiris and some of the nayars migrated as land holders, and very few of them except Parappanad Thamburans, and possibly two or three Nambutiri illams seem to have migrated. The ancient remains, mentioned earlier, probably indicate an indigenous population, and the migrations resulted in the growth of a hierarchical agrarian and social order, and

incorporation of the area, into the political formations of the Samutiri, Vettathnad and Parappanadu.

### **Growth of Trade**

The growth of trade on the area is another vexed question. Obviously, the crucial role seems to have played by the river itself, which originates from Karuvarakundu area in two streams (Velliar and Olippram River), joins together into one river before coming to the region under discussion. The river obviously acted as the link as well as the boundary between Ernad and Valluvanad at crucial points such as Melattur, Anakkayam, Malappuram, Parappur and Urakam before it enters Cheranad. The river also offers trading facilities cutting across the two nadus, which might have been utilized by the early traders, who brought their goods in boats and changadams along the river. Goods were brought to kadalundi nagaram and then were taken to Chalam, Beypore or Calicut. Another major trade route was along the coast, linking Calicut, Beypore, Chalam, Kadalundi, Parappanangadi, Tanur, Tirur, Purattur and Ponnani. This was operated by the Marakkars of Calicut and Ponnani as well as the Koyas. Some of the Marakkar families settled along the coast. The conversion of fishermen into Puthia Islam (new Islam-Puisalan in the local tongue), facilitated by the Samuthiris also might have facilitated the coastal trade (apart from building the naval force under the Koyas). Until recently, puislams formed a sizable section of the Muslims in Vallikkunnu and Parappanangadi.

Parappanangadi gives another indication of an early settlement of the Muslims that has to be further investigated. We have seen that the area of Alungal beach contains a large number of old houses and the mosques of the area are built in the Kerala architectural style. The old trading centre is also located there. There are numerous old Muslim taravads in the area, which are called akams. British documents show that these taravads were major landlords in the area, and held lands in the entire Tirurangadi region. They

included families such as kizhakkiniyakath, Eramakkakath, Karthamakkakath, Puthiyalalakkath, Naduvil Puthiyakath, Vatakke Cholakkakath, Thekke cholakkakath, Avaran marakkarakath, Vettikkuththintakath and so on. Among them kizhakkiniyakath or the Naha family, which still survive as the political and social leaders of Parappanangadi, were among the largest landlords of the area, having lands in the entire coastal area and even in the interior. Some of them also were called Marakkar, which indicated their status as sailors, and probably was a title which they inherited. These families were among the early settlers of the area, and probably was a settlement of the sailors and merchants which later developed into landlords, while retaining their trading concerns. The growth of Parappanangadi as a settlement was probably around the growth of these akams. The akams of Parappanangadi appears to be comparable to the akams of Kuttichira in Calicut, which are equally very old.

The coastal trade in the West Coast of Malappuram District was based on the two nodal centers, Calicut and Beypore in the north and Ponnani in the south. The rise of Calicut was clearly in the background of the rapidly growing Arab trade, and the patronage given to it by the samuthiris. The rise of Ponnani was probably as linkage to the Tirunavaya, the center of the Mamankam festival. Ponnani was also the place where Samuthiri resided occasionally. The coming of the Mukhdoom family, who were the spiritual leaders of the Muslims, and the establishment of old mosque and Darga in the area, was also significant. The growth of Ponnani as a religious center with trading connections and Calicut as trading center meant that the Malappuram coast, including the Tirurangadi region was coming under the influence of the twin nodal points, spiritual and commercial.

The establishment of close linkages in the area is indicated by the development of land routes. The movement of Samuthiri's armies to Tirunavaya might indicate an already existing land route, or the establishment of one. Old people in the area remember a land

route that extended from Olipramkadavu on Kadalundi River, not far away from Kadalundi and Chaliyam, to Tirunavaya. Some of the athanis, now no longer in use, might have been along that route. The athani at Ramakrishna Road near Olipramkadavu is an example. Another route is the Tipu Sultan road, already indicated, which extended from kottakkadavu along the coast to Ponnani. Tipu Sultan obviously used that already existed and is still the shortest route to Bharatappuzha. A third route followed the route to Tirunavaya to some distance and then branched to the east either at the present Thalappara or Kakkad (possibly the latter) and proceeded to Kottakkal (Venkitakkotta of the earlier records, where a branch of the Samuthiri family lived) and then proceeded to the Valluvanad region. It is possible that all these routes were constantly in use, mainly for the movement of Samuthiri, along with his troops to the Mamankam every twelve years, movement of Samuthiri from Ponnani to Calicut, and for the occasional movements of soldiers and subordinates, for warfare. Members of the Samuthiri family also used these routes, as they were spread out in different parts of the region. And finally, the same routes were also used by the merchants.

### **Expansion of landholdings**

The growth of settlements in the region will have to be looked at from this background. It is possible that the Modan and Paramba cultivators of the elevated regions were the original settlers in the area. They mostly belonged to the Thiyya, Mannan and Kanakkan groups, and along with them a few nayar families also might have lived here, who were landholders, and were recruited into the army of the Samuthiri. One of the settlements of soldiers mentioned in the legends, Keranallur, occurs in this area. The landscape of kavus and shrines belonging to the Thiyyas, Mannans and Nayars, mentioned earlier, and the several references to Tharas of Nayars indicate the early settlements. The festival at Parambathkavu, where the thara of Ayyayira prabhu karthavu was located, was

conducted by five tharas, kuroorthara, chovvayilthara, elannummal thara, koyappathara, and thiruthithara,. These tharas were probably settlements of the nayars under Ayyayiraprabhukarthavu. Apart from it, there are indications of kalaries distributed in the area, and the existence of settlements of vilkuruppus who were originally instructors in the kalaries. There is an ankapparamba in koyappa, Thenhippalam, which may signify the paramba, where ankam or duel was fought. There is an Ankathilparamba in Parappanangadi also. It is however possible that the spread of the tharas and kalaries might have been after the occupation of the Samuthiri. One should also note the presence of Thamme Panikkar and Thinayancheri Ilayath, the two major confidants of the Samuthiri, in the region as landlords. All this indicates the transformation of an area under the political occupation of a sovereign power. Interestingly, the spread of the nayar families are in the Thenhippalam, Koyappa, Velimukku, Ariyallur and Olakara areas, and these along with Parappanangadi and Neduva might have formed the core of the original settlements. Vallikkunnu was a natural extension of Kadalundi Nagaram, and the area around Nirakaithakotta was also probably an original settlement.

What about the other areas? Unlike the areas mentioned above, where the landholdings are dispersed, and a large number of landholders from medium to big appear, the other areas are either estates of large landlords or areas where there are a large number of small to medium settlements. Nannambra, for example, is an estate of Muthedath mana, and Enavur and Keranallur are areas under Mangalasseru mana. Trikkulam is held by the Samuthiri who is the Uralan of Trikkulam devaswam. And area is shared by Keerangat mana. A large part of Ullanam is under the Ullanam devaswam under the Urayma of Chiramangalam mana. We have seen the role of the Naha family in Parappanangadi, who appear to hold large parts of Kodakkad and Munniyur also. There are a few powerful nayar families around Kakkad, such as Kaprat Panikkar and Kappetath Muppil nayar. Were they original settlers in the area? It is possible that the nayar families were part of

the political expansion of the Samuthiries, but the Nambuthiri families were hardly so. They migrated probably from the banks of Bharatappuzha. The Muthedath mana, and the family of Thotuva Muthedath Atithirippad, another landlord family in Neduva were such migrants. It is possible that their migration was linked with the integration of the region and the establishment of the routes mentioned above. The same routes might have resulted in the spread of the Nayar families also. For example, the senior heir of Kaprat family now stays with a kin family at Palghat, and visits her parental house only occasionally. Such linkages probably indicate the migration of tharavads.

### **Parappanad kovilakam**

The establishment of the Parappanad family in Neduva also appears to have brought the settlement of nayar families in the region. Families like Valliyil, Vennaikkatt Muttayil and Vennaikkatt Thalasseri, Chakkamchattil and others are the result of the growth of Parappanad. Unlike the families that settled under the Samuthiri, there is no evidence of a powerful martial tradition with nayar tharas, although some families appear to have maintained kalaries. This was possibly because of the subordinate status of Parappanad kovilakam, who had customary and judicial power over his territories, but little else. The major Nayar families under the Parappanattu kovilakam is indicated by the delegation of rights to hold Navarathri festival in the Mookambika temple , the official deity of the Kovilakam These families are Pattarambil, Vennaikkatu Thalasseri, Thadaththil, Kolappuram, Kozhisseri, Vennaikkattu Muttayil and Valliyil Koloth, besides Nambuthiri madam (thotuva Muthedath), The Thamburatti, and the Raja. The available documents also show that these seven families held most of the fields and parambas in Neduva, the core area of Parappanad.

These migrations were followed or accompanied by the migrations of Muslim households. The details of landholdings in Trikkulam, Tirurangadi, Kodakkad and other

areas show the presence of the Nahas, and other akams of Parappanangadi. Exactly when the akams were migrating is difficult to judge. A number of lands and fields in Munniyur, Velimukku and Tirurangadi were reported as the janmam of parappanangadikkar, who were either the Naha family or the other akams of Parappanangadi. There are other powerful Muslim families such as Melevittil and Achamvittil, who also were holding lands all over the region. Such families do not seem to have belonged to the Akams, and their origins need further investigation. There are nayar and Muslim families with the same family name, Achamveettil, and according to local tradition the Muslim family are converts. However, conversion need not be the only way for the formation of powerful Muslim families.

### **Expansion of Muslim population**

If the presence of the nayars and nambuthiries were due to the political integration of the region, either under the Samuthiri or under parappanad kovilakam and the subsequent agricultural expansion, what was the expansion of the Muslims due to? There is the possibility that Muslims were also lured by land, and spread along the Kadalundi river basin. There is the more serious likelihood that they were attracted by the possibilities of procuring coconut, areca, ginger, pepper and other commodities from the areas along Kadalundi River and transporting them to the coastal marts, such as parappanangadi, Kadalundi nagaram, Chaliyam and Calicut. The British records indicate that a large number of the paramba lands along the banks of Kadalundi River were occupied by Muslims, showing that they had taken to cultivation of cash crops, apart from procurement, transportation and sale of such commodities. The spread of the kadavus, noticed realier, also indicate the expansion of procurement. It is possible that many of the procurers also became cultivators of such crops, and hence settled along the river bank. As Calicut grew into a major international trade center, the goods were procured from all

over the nearby areas and brought to Calicut, and it is possible that it is these opportunities that facilitated the internal migration of the Mappilas.

It is obvious that the existing land routes and river route assisted this process. The growth of bazaars is a process linked with this expansion. We have already seen the importance of angadis and kadavus in the process of trade. The cattle market at Chelari feeds the agricultural population, as it supplies the agriculturist with the necessary instrument of production, whereas the market at Tirurangadi dealt with agricultural products, which could be sold internally as well as procured, transported via land and the river and brought to the major marts. The chantha at Tirurangadi, in the popular memory was the largest market in the entire area, and attracted people from all the surrounding regions and even from the faraway places. Old people still remember that the din created from the market could be heard even at a distance. The market also brought merchants, middlemen, and their workers and made them settle there, and such settled streets can even now be found there. Thus the spread of commercial production and trade resulted in the growth of the market center called Tirurangadi, which had acquired importance by the beginning of the British rule.

This spread of commercial cultivation also meant the conversion of the modan lands into parambas into lands growing coconut, areca, pepper, ginger and other crops, rather than subsistence crops including jack, mango, and root crops. This conversion might have gone well into the British period. This also resulted in the growth of several minor market centers, such as Velimukku, Kadappadi, Kottathangadi, Velliampuram, Parambilpeetika, Chenakkalangadi and so on. These market centers facilitated the further migration of the Muslims into the interior as traders and cultivators. This is indicated by the memories of the old people that some of the major families from kodinji region, such as Palakkad and Pattassery were migrants from Parappanangadi and were not native to kodinji. They also

mention migrations from Tanur, Vailathur and other areas. The British records refer to parappanangadikkaran, Thanurkkaran etc showing such migrations into the British period.

There is nothing to indicate that all such migrants were landholders and traders. A number of kammala families were brought and settled as necessary assistance to agricultural activities by the landlords. Many Kammala families could remember the migration of their ancestors from nearby areas such as Valanchery, Tirur, Kuttippuram and other areas. Similarly menial laborers, including pulayas and parayas were brought and settled. Muslim families accompanying the landlords and traders in search of opportunities might have been converted to laborers or tenants in the fields of the landlords. These are apart from the conversion of the local people as laborers and tenants of the landlords, either by force or persuasion.

There are indications of conversions to Islam as a part of this process. People's memories clearly indicate the process of conversion. However, there is nothing to show that forced conversions were practiced as a routine. We shall discuss the cultural features of the conversions later. There are indications that the laborers and tenants under a powerful Muslim landlord were converted to Islam. There are memories of such conversions, for example from Kaduvallur, Chiramukku, and Parakkadavu. However, conversions do not seem to have altered the material life of the people, and the converted people continued to be laborers and tenants.

### **Eighteenth Century**

The process of expansion of cultivation, trade, migration and settlement lasted several centuries. The occupation of the areas around Kadalundi River, conversion of the water-logged areas into paddy fields, and the spread of cultivation of cash crops, brought into being the Cheranad that came under the British during the end of eighteenth Century. As

we saw earlier, the area was politically under the Samuthiri and economically subject to the dominance of Calicut. However, the dominance of Calicut was declining by the beginning of eighteenth century, through a process that has been discussed by historians such as Ashin Dasgupta. (Dasgupta, 1967). Marts such as Parappanangadi were becoming powerful, and along with other centers such as Chiliasm and Tanner, apparently formed a trade network along the coast. Kadalundi River became a busy zone both for movement of the people and transport of commodities. This process seems to have encouraged further migrations, including Muslims and also Tamil Chettiars and Saliyas There are several stories of Chettiars coming and settling in the area, primarily as cloth merchants. There is a Chettiarmad near the University and Chettippadi in Parappanangadi. We do not know much about the first, and Chettippadi was built by chettiars who came and settled as cloth traders. Close to the market at Chettippadi there are two weaver's streets, the Pazhaya theru and the Puthen theru, which are occupied by the descendants of migrant Saliya settlers. There is a field in Pandimuttam in Nannambra, which was apparently owned by a Chettiar. These migrations and settlements show that the area was steadily growing into a commercial centre, a process in which Muslims played the major role, but others were gradually following suit.

### **The Thangals of Mamburam**

It is in this context that we have to understand the changed that were taking place on the eve of the British conquest. One significant event, though little noticed at the time was the migration of the family of Sayyid Sheikh Jifri from Hadramaut in Yemen. The family was apparently, one of the Sayyid families that made their way to Calicut and Quilandy from Yemen. The family called Ba Alawi, first landed in Calicut, and after a short stay there, moved to Mamburam on the banks of Kadalundi River, and not far away from the market center of Tirurangadi during the first half of eighteenth century. Mamburam

appears to have been relatively less known at that time. Vanjeri Granthavari refers to the kavalpalam or protection dues from Mamburam Taramal to Triikandiyur temple, which may indicate that the area was under Triikandiyur Devaswam (Narayanan (ed), 1987, Doc.I-C). The reason for the decision of the Ba Alawis to take up residence in Mamburam is hard to obtain from the existing evidence. Jamaluddin maqdam of Ponnani, called by the people as 'Arabi Thangal' appears to have invited Sayyid Hassan Jifri to settle at Mamburam. Jifri stayed at valiyakkathodi given by Kammu Molla, the Mutavalli of Tirurangadi Juma masjid. Jifri then married Kammu Molla's daughter, and set up residence at Mamburam Taramal in the northern bank of Kadalundi River.

What led to this settlement? Two factors may be important. One is that Calicut, as we have noticed was on a process of decline and had come under the influence of the English factors operating from Thalassery, and the family was already familiar with the role of the Europeans in fields of trade and proselytisation. Secondly, Calicut Muslims already had their spiritual leaders in the Qazi and Musaliyar, who had their rights and privileges traditionally sanctioned. Hence, it is possible that the family decided to take up their residence in the newly growing region of Tirurangadi, with a dense Muslim population and commercial activities that were rapidly developing. It is clear that Sayyid Hasan was interested in transforming Mamburam into a spiritual centre, as the institution of blessing , for which Mamburam is famous, was instituted by Sayyid Hasan. It should be noted that another of the Sayyids, Ali Shihabuddin took up his residence in Panekkad also on the banks of Kadalundi River in eighteenth century. Apart from the cultural importance of this migration, which we will take up shortly, the settlement of the Sayyid family at Mamburam illustrated the growing importance of Tirurangadi.

Sayyid Sheikh Jifri and his successor, Sayyid Hasan Jifri, were able to make a name as pious Muslims, proselytizers, intellectuals, who also had the quality as healers. Their impact among the local population is shown by the construction of the Mamburam

mosque, which became famous very quickly as a holy center. Apart from the mosque at Ponnani, the region never had a major mosque which also acted as the holy center, and the presence of the Jifri family, who claimed their descent from the prophet, was a direct inspiration for the religious as well as cultural activities in the region. Thus apart from the 'Arabi Thangal' of Ponnani, Muslims of the region came to have another Thangal as their spiritual leader.

The role of the Hadramaut Sayyids became more important with the emergence of the first serious schismatic conflict among the Malabar Muslims, which has been called Ponnani- Kondotty kuditarkam. Simultaneous with the establishment of Jifri family in Mamburam, a mendicant named Mohammed Shah, who a native of Kardan near Mumbai settled in Kondotty, on the way from Calicut to Manjeri. Some say he was a migrant from Persia, of Shia origin. Mohammed Shah also built a mosque at Kondotty, and introduced practices that were alien to the Muslims in Kerala, such as the observance of the Muharram. The Thangals of Ponnani, who were the custodians of orthodox Sunni Islam in Malabar, promptly denounced the Thangal of Kondotty as a Shia and as an apostate, which resulted in the controversy between Ponnani and Kondotty. The controversy was raging among the Muslim intellectuals and Ulema, and the position of the Jifris of Mamburam, who claimed direct descent from the prophet, became crucial. The Jifris threw in their lot with the Ponnani faction, which considerably enhanced their prestige with the Sunni Muslim population in Kerala.

The migration of the Sayyids, as well as the 'apostate' Kondotty Thangal, into the interior areas corresponds to another pattern, that of the expansion of the Muslim population into the interior. We have already seen the process in the case of Tirurangadi. We have seen that Muslims in Calicut and Ponnani were already under the ritual and spiritual control of the Thangals and Qazis, and Parappanangadi had its mosques and Ulema families such as Khaliyarakath. But the situation in the newly growing migrant settlements was different.

They were settlements of cultivators and traders surrounded by powerful groups of Nayars and Nambuthiris, with their customary privileges. Their settlements were not tolerated by the well entrenched customary nobility either. Clashes at Malappuram and Omanur during early eighteenth century in which several Muslims lost their lives represented the hidden tensions. And hence, they required an ideological leadership, which could not be provided by the conventional Musaliyars, who were little better than village oracles and shamans, and the Thangals provided the intellectual leadership they required. The Thangals explained and interpreted the Qur-An and Hadith for them, prescribed their duties and obligations as Muslims and instilled in them the value of becoming a Shahid for Islam. Hence, they have been rightly called the 'traditional intellectuals' (Panikkar, 1989) who were the spiritual leaders of a mobile group attempting to find their moorings in a still medieval social milieu.

### **The Mysore Invasions**

But the medieval milieu rapidly underwent convulsions during the later half of eighteenth century. The first was the Mysorean invasions, which, among other things, uprooted the authority and privileges of the Kovilakams. Although the stories of 'large-scale' migrations of the 'Hindus' is grossly exaggerated, there is no doubt that some of the royal households, such as the Parappanad Kovilakam, and members of the Samuthiri family escaped to Thiruvitankur, along with their immediate attendants. Some of the major landlord families also might have accompanied them. Apart from them there was no mass exodus to Tiruvitankur. In fact, there was very little direct resistance from the people anywhere in a place filled with kalaries and martially trained soldiers. The soldiers might perhaps have found the professional army of the Hyder and Tipu with their cavalry, trained foot-soldiers and rapid marching techniques, too hot to handle. The important point seems to be that the settlement introduced by the Mysorean rulers, which fixed the

jama to be realized by the Government on every landlord, from the pattam collected by him, was the first attack on the privileges so far enjoyed by the landlords, through which the landlords were brought on par with the other landowners as tax-paying farmers. The revenue imposed was both unsystematic and unequal (Logan, 1951; 701). There is no evidence that the land settlement introduced by Tipu was meant to favor the Muslims against the other landlords. But the Muslims might have welcomed Mysorean reforms as they worked against the customary privileges of the landlords, which had so far been working against them. However, when the Mysorean reforms harmed their own customary privileges, the Muslims revolted against Mysore.

During Mysorean occupation, the representatives of the Mysore rulers were using a fort at Tirurangadi. The location of the fort with the name kottapparamba still exists at Trikkulam. The choice of the fort was obviously inspired by the fact that it had access to several major routes and the river, and there was an old path that connected the area with Parappanangadi, after crossing the Kadalundi River. It is not surprising that the British also built their Catchery not very far away from this fort. But on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1782, the British were engaged in a major battle with the Mysore soldiers in the fort. The British army under Col. Humberstone encountered the Mysore army led by Mukhdum Ali, with about seven thousand men. Mukhdum Ali, was, to the British records in an 'injudicious' position with the Kadalundi river 'at the rear'. Humberstone was able to drive the right wing of the army into the river and killed about three hundred soldiers, including Mukhdum Ali (Logan, 1951; 433). Obviously, Mukhdum Ali was unable to use the 'deep and difficult river' as a possible way of escape. The records do not mention that the local Muslims were supporting Mukhdum Ali's army.

The second engagement between the Mysore and the British fought in the same field on December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1790. This time the Mysore army was stronger led by Martab Khan and Hussain Ali Khan. The army was 9000 strong and supported by 4000 Mappila Muslims.

The British army was led by Col.Hartley. Martab Khan was routed and Husain Ali khan, cut off from joining Martab Khan was forced to retreat to the Tirurangadi Fort. The British army surrounded the fort and Husain Ali Khan surrendered with 900 of his men (Logan, 1951; 469-70). This was one of the crucial battles that sealed the Mysorean's fate in Malabar, and facilitated the transfer of the area to the British, which took place in 1792. The equally interesting feature is that despite the defeat on the first occasion, the Mysoreans did not surrender the fort or shift to another 'safer' place.

Another interesting feature of this episode is the participation of the Mappilas. The British account does not mention who mobilized them to support Mysore and what was the role that they played in the battle with Hartley. While the rebellions by Hydros Kutty Mooppan and Athan Gurukkal, were more in the character of individual actions, the mobilization of Mappilas at Tirurangadi was the first collective action against the British, though in support of Mysore. No Mappila is mentioned as participating in the battle between Makhdum Ali and Humberstone. Was it that the Mappilas, or whoever led them, were aware of the prospect of a British conquest if Mysore lost the battle? Or was it a simple expression of religious solidarity, or at best, a story cooked up by the British to demonstrate the existence of such solidarity? The latter position seems to be difficult to accept as the Mappilas do not show any consistency in demonstrating such solidarity in all the battles between British and Mysore forces in Malabar. The more likely answer is that the participation of the Mappilas was a local phenomenon more related to the defense of the fort. Their source of inspiration is a point that requires further investigation. But the battle appears to signify on the one hand, the downfall of Mysore, and on the other, the emergence of Mappilas as a collectivity.

### **The British rule**

British rule brought about complex changes in the region. The most obvious among the changes was the transformation of political authority. Before the British conquest, the region was part of several nadus. The regions of Olakara and Trikkulam were part of Cheranad. Vallikkunnu, Neduva, Parappanangadi, Thenhippalam and Nannambra were part of Southern Parappanadu. Places like Velimukku and Kodakkad are not mentioned at all. Obviously they were part of other desams. Tirurangadi is also not mentioned as a separate area, and was a part of Trikkulam. The region was treated as under the nominal rule of the Samuthiri, but southern Parappanad was under the Parappukoyil and Cheranad, under the Vettath Raja. The nadus were taken out of the control of these rajas as well as the Samuthiri.

There were early rebellions against the British rule during the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century. In order to put down the rebellions, the British recruited Nair corps in 1802 against the Mappilas. The records state that majority of the landlords also were Hindus and among the 103 landlords summoned by Thomas warden only eight were Mappilas. (Sattar, 1999; 105) The seeds of the later revolts could be found here itself.

The survey of Ward and Conner (Ward and Conner, 1831) describes Cheranad as the region bounded by Calicut and Beypore river in the north, Ernad and Urakathmala in the north East, Valluvanad in the East, Vettathnad in the South and South-East, and a seacoast of 12miles in the West, covering an area of about 165  $\frac{3}{4}$  square miles 37 square miles of the area was covered by wetland agriculture, and the interior areas were 'high flats with extensive valleys between them'. The flat lands in the west were covered by 'dense groves of Coconut, jack and other productive trees'. According to the estimates of population made in 1827, the area had a density of population of about 400 per square mile, with the highest density in the coastal area. Kadalundi river was 'navigable all the way' and 'there are large streams having their sources in OOrutimallay(Urakathumala) and valathur, meandering through the cultivated valleys join the river at alternate

distances, are too numerous to be described.'(Ibid; 127). The area had a population of 66,267 in 1827, in which half were Muslims. The British had listed 42 castes, including pulayas , cherumas and paniyas in the area. The area produced coarse clothes, coir, oil, jaggery, arrack from toddy (coco nut), and had two places of iron smelting. According to Ward and Conner, tigers, Cheetahs, wild hog, elk and deer roamed around in the North-Eastern part of the area.

Ward and Conner also give the following list of villages that were part of Cheranad and Vettathnad that were part of the region

**Cheranad**

Olakara  
Mampooram  
Tiruvanangadi  
Trikkandiyur  
Kakkad  
Kalakurichy  
Veniyur  
Thenhippalam  
Velimukku  
Puthur  
Vallikkunnu  
Kodakad  
Ullanam  
Munniyur  
Parappanangadi  
Neduva  
Ariyallur

**Vettathnad**

Nannambra  
Kundoor  
Tirutti  
Kaduvallur  
Cherumukku

Trikkandiyur is possibly a wrong identification for Trikkulam in Tirurangadi.

There was another change which was equally important. After the Mysore invasions, the privileges of the customary landlords were restored, with one significant variation that they were now treated as taxpaying landowners, and a share of the total yield was collected as the share of the Government from them. They were divested of all their political responsibilities, and they were also instructed not to collect their customary privileges, such as kashchas during the time of Onam and Vishu. At the same time, as taxpaying farmers, they were given proprietary rights over their holdings, including the right to fix the rent, renew and evict the tenants if necessary. Thus, the customary lords were transformed into proprietary landholders. We find that all the earlier lords were now confirmed as landholders under the British legal system. Thus we find Samuthiri Raja, Raja of Parappanad, Vettath Raja, princesses of Ampadi Kovilakam, Kizhakke Kovilakam, Nilambur Raja, various devaswams, Nambuthiri Illams and nayar taravads, recognized as landlords under the British system. This is confirmed by the stipulation that

the Rajas of Beypore, Parappanad and Vettathnad were required to pay their revenues through the Samuthiri (Logan 1951; 480)

The system of revenue was now being managed by a Pravarthyar or Adhikari, a Menon in charge of the accounts and the Kolkar or assistant in all the Desams. These desams were organized into hobilies and were further organized into taluks. A large part of the region under discussion was organized as Parappanad taluk in 1801. Later, Parappanad and Cheranad were included in Eranad taluk. The new system appears to have created a number of new power centers at the local level. The most important among them was the adhikari, who had all the information on the extent of lands, yield, nature of the tenure and the amount collected as taxes, including the reduction given on special occasions. The catcheries or the offices where the accounts are kept became the centers of power. There are several places in the region where catcheries flourished, such as katcherikkunnu in Vallikkunnu and catchery of Tirurangadi, now in Chemmad.. Memories of the people on British period hover around the adhikaris. Invariably adhikaris are sources of power and terror. Majority of them were corrupt and oppressive. Memories of people in the region refer to Kunhali adhikari of Munniyur, Kunhikkanna Menon and Kumaran Nair of Velimukku, Moosakkutty of Tirurangadi as some of the famous or infamous adhikaris. Among them only Kumaran Nair is fondly remembered. Information shows that a large number of the adhikaris came from the landlord families themselves or were related to them in some form. Kaprat Krishna Panikkar, murdered by the mappilas in the Cherur incident, was an Adhikari.

Apart from the adhikaris, another center of power apparently emerged. They were kanam holders of the major janmis who functioned as collectors of rent or karyasthas. In the conventional literature, the Karyasthan is a man who shadows the janmis carrying the betel box or umbrella, but he was a source of terror for the tenants. Thus Poozhikkal and

Vilakkiri families acted as the karyasthas of Muthedath Nambuthiri, Pothayi nayar family acted as the karyasthas of Ayyayiraprabhu karthav, and Athikkal achhu ( than?) the karyasthan of Thottassiri Panikkar comes to play a major role in the Muttyara incident that will be discussed later. Absentee landlords, like Nilambur Raja, Samuthiri, Vettath Raja and Alvancheri Thamprakkal carried out their operations entirely through their karyasthas. Though not directly mentioned in any records, several landlords also employed armed gangs to force the tenants to pay up their dues. Kaprat family apparently maintained such a gang, which included Charmer and Muslims.

Thus the customary relations were replaced by another set of rules, maintained by the accounts of the Adhockery and Menno, and those maintained in the catcheries as well as the Karyasthas of the large landowners. The customary legal system was abolished, and was replaced by the judicial system of the British. While Tirurangadi became the catchery, a local court was established at Parappanangadi and they became the legal centers of the region. Moreover, there was the political establishment at Calicut, ready to act whenever the need arose. Thus the medieval milieu was totally destroyed. The old landlords and tenants remained, but the landlord-tenant relations came to be defined under the new system.

The impact that the new political and legal system had over the processes of production and exchange are significant in understanding the nature of the social and economic change. Paddy cultivation, of the kadalundi riverside areas, and in the various large patams found in the low-lying areas, continued in the old form. They were basically conceived in the revenue system as areas that yielded steady revenue, and as long as the yield was calculated and the revenue fixed, there was nothing more to be done about them. The effort of the landlord was to maximize the collection of so that he will be able to pay the share to the Government and to keep his own share. Maximization of the share

to the landlord was only possible only by transforming the tenant to tenant at will and to increase the burden of the laborers. Arbitrary practices, such as forced labor by the downtrodden groups, evictions and the issuing of melcharth became common, which has been attested by the memory of the local people. Instances of forced labor were told by the people of Vallikkunnu, which included the gruesome case of a laborer being applied the yoke on his shoulders for ploughing, by a landlord named sankaranpillani nayar instead of the bullock that could not be brought to the field, as it fell sick. These forms of forced appropriation of labor and surplus product became the features of land relations, particularly in the case of paddy production.

The situation was somewhat different in the case of production in the paramba lands. The concentration of landholdings was less in the case of paramba lands. Much of the cultivation in the paramba lands were for subsistence, but the production of certain crops like coconut and in some places areca, apparently expanded. Immersion of coconut fiber in the kuzhis prepared for the purpose, manual preparation of coir, particularly by women, existed all along the banks of Kadalundi River, and the delta of the river was particularly known for its coir works. The use of hemp to make threads has been attested in the memory of the people of Vallikkunnu. Ginger was grown all over the region, and was collected and sold in the markets. Betel leaves and a preparation of areca nut, called kali atakka was also sold. Unlike the janmis, the smaller paramba holders were apparently more enterprising, and their surplus produce was brought to the local markets and to bigger markets such as Calicut, Feroke, Tanur and Tirur.

Was there any possibility for the expansion of the paramba cultivation? Since the expansion was taking place mainly on the commercial crops, their sustenance depends upon the expansion of the market. We have seen that in the medieval milieu, there was no restriction on trade, if the traders paid their due chungam and other duties to the rulers. After the British took over the administration a very important treaty was signed between

the Samuthiri and the East India Company that the British will be the main procurers of commodities from the area, and the Samuthiri will give up the collection of various duties. (Logan 1879; 190-2) The abolition of chungams in various places facilitated the movement of goods, and at the same time, British decided on the nature of the goods to be bought. For example, the British demand for coir products resulted in the increase of coconut cultivation and manufacture of coir along kadalundi river basin, but the British did not show the same interest in the case of pepper and ginger, which were the prime export commodities in the earlier period, and we find a decline of cultivation of pepper and ginger. Calicut was famous for its export of calico and we have seen the establishment of the saliya therus in Neduva, but the British were no longer interested in clothes being brought to Calicut as they could be procured directly from Tamil nadu, and the saliya therus began to decline. The Chettiars who traded in cloth became petty traders who met the needs of local consumption. Intermediate crops like gingelly and chama declined, possibly because the entire available paramba lands were being utilized for Coconut and areca, and new crops like tapioca were introduced. An interesting feature was the expansion of plantain cultivation, which probably indicated a change in the food consumption habits, and had ecological implications as well. Rubber, which was introduced into during early twentieth century never found favor with the farmers of the region, probably because of the nature of the terrain. Another new species introduced was cashew, which was planted on the rocky areas, but never on a large scale.

All this shows that with the exception of coconut, areca and betel vines to a certain extent, no other 'cash crop' was introduced into the region on any substantial scale. No plantation crop was ever introduced. Thus apart from paddy, any possibility of an economic regeneration depended on the coconut gardens of the area. There were of course, a large chunk of forest wood and medicinal plants, but they were waste, except as timber, from the point of view of the British commercial calculations, and they began to

be replaced by other cash crops primarily coconut and areca. On the coast there were a few Palmyra trees. Ginger, gingelly and other intermediate crops were grown for local consumption, and at the best sale in Calicut. This meant that under the British rule, the biodiversity of the region could be said to have declined.

What about the prospects of Coconut and areca? We have already seen the demand for fiber products. Coir making was a labor intensive cottage industry, performed on the households, and they used the natural facilities available in the region for immersing fiber. There is a place called Brahma swam in Thenhippalam which was earlier a paddy field, but abandoned because of the problems of water-logging and used for the immersing of fiber. Another area is Balathirutti in Kadalundi River, where the entire population used to live by immersing. But this form of cottage industry never progressed to the level of even a manufactory, and remained as a form of subsistence. There were contractors who collected the finished fiber product and sold in the marts of Calicut and Beypore. The water transport in the area, of which we mentioned in our discussion on walking, helped the transport of fiber products, which was collected from every kadavu. But the other possibility of coconut and Palmyra, toddy tapping was never seriously followed. Apparently the Thiyya community of the region did tap Coconut and Palmyra trees, but they ran into cultural problems. Liquor was strictly forbidden among the Muslims, toddy included in it. The upper caste and lord families also did not consume toddy (except surreptitiously, of course), which meant that toddy could be used for household consumption among the tappers and other laborers, and hence, cannot grow into a major industry as in other parts of Kerala. Otherwise, the toddy had to be transported and taken to distant areas, which is not feasible and very costly in the case of toddy. Arrack was also distilled and sold, primarily by women, and once again, cultural prohibitions resulted in its gradual decline. Betel and areca, apart from their medicinal value, depended on another cultural trait, the habit of betel chewing among the people.

Betel chewing was ritually encouraged by the Nambuthiris and members of the royal family and became popular among other groups also, and we shall see that this habit created a riot in the region. But the betel and areca never went beyond status of a household consumption item. There is some evidence that betel and areca of the region was popular and was taken to faraway areas, but as pointed out earlier, could never become more than a household product.

Thus we can see that the prospects of a rapid expansion of the paramba cultivation as a commercially viable proposition were limited. We have already seen the difficulties currently experienced in paddy cultivation. The problems must have been double fold in the British times, particularly as there was no measure to prevent the inflow of saline water into the river and water logging in the low-lying areas. Excess water had to be removed by using thekkukotta and chakram in certain areas, or had to be removed manually. This meant that very few lands yielded three crops, and most of the fields yielded only one crop. There was an attempt to build a thodu connecting Kadalundi river with Bharatapuzha, in the manner of Connolly canal in Calicut, which was abandoned. The Keranallur thodu that linked Kadalundi River and Poorappuzha in the model of Connolly Canal in Calicut did not appear to have improved matter very much. Hence, paddy cultivation involved very hard labor in hostile circumstances, and there very little incentive from the landlords for making cultivation productive. Thus, although endowed with fertile riverside and coastal alluvial soil, agriculture remained a subsistence level activity.

The area did not prove to be rich in minerals either, that would have supported the commercial aspirations of the new regime. Iron was reported in the Kadalundi river basin, but was not considered useful for industrial production. There were a few Oothalas or iron smelting devices in the area but less in number compared to the nearby Manjeri and Perinthalmanna. Iron smelting centers existed in the northern part of the region, but

there was no effort to convert them into manufactories or factories producing iron tools. Much of the iron smelting was probably concentrated on the production of swords and knives, and the decline of kalaries and the ban on the carrying knives imposed in the wake of the Mappila revolts must have seriously affected the iron industries. As we have seen earlier, the craftsmen of the area were mainly treated as accessories to an agrarian society and were settled as such and hence, there very little opportunities for them to develop into independent producers. Hence, we can see that British rule did not change the livelihood patterns in the area very much.

The population and livelihood patterns of the field area according to 1871 Census is reproduced below:

**Table XXIX**  
**Population and Livelihood patterns of Tirurangadi**

Village	Olakara	Tirukulam	Parappanangadi	Neduva	Vallikkunnu	Thenhippalam	Munniyur	Nannambra
Area acres	5005	3895	745	3918	4234	9077	7680	4552
Area under cultivation	1505 (30.07)	1382 (35.48)	614 (85.42)	2601 (66.39)	2861 (67.57)	3844 (42.35)	976 (12.71)	(67.83)
Population	5707	8336	3825	5890	7362	8814	2912	8534
Govt. services	1	6	2	7	4	1	3	2
Military	-	16	-	11	2	-	-	-
Learned	8	16	3	27	28	64	26	24
Minor professionals	1	8	2	20	11	9	3	6
Personal services	8	34	8	86	50	48	24	4
Traders	52	365	333	109	77	158	21	63
Conveyers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cultivator	408	733	93	386	578	845	107	1013

s								
Dress	1	37	-	85	8	8	2	2
Food	-	2	5	3	100	1	-	-
Metals	2	8	1	28	10	7	4	13
Constructi on	18	39	2	67	40	78	29	37
Books	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Household goods	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Combustib les	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-
Property dealers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Laborers	1028	927	541	771	1067	1416	585	1077
Unproduct ive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Total	1527	2195	991	1583	1975	2636	804	2271
Females and male children under10ye ars	4180	6141	2834	4508	5387	6178	2108	6263

Source: Census of 1871, Kerala State Archives, Calicut

The above table shows certain patterns. The number of traders appears to be concentrated in the villages of Tirukulam and Parappanangadi, while areas like Olakara, Vallikkunnu and Nannambra seem to be agrarian. Neduva and Thenhippalam are also rural, but have a higher trading population than the other rural areas. People who are engaged in industries of some kind appear to be very small. The percentage of lands under cultivation in each village appears to vary. The figures given in the table show that the coastal region of Vallikkunnu, Parappanangadi, Neduva and the Low-lying alluvial region of Nannambra

are extensively cultivated. The elevated regions were less cultivated, the lowest rate being in Munniyur.

However, one important shift was taking place. The introduction of the railroad through the area, (often called the agency of 'development' of Malabar) introduced a subtle, but important shift in the nature of transport and communications in the area. Earlier, trade in the area involved goods to goods exchange that involved the kadavus, athanis and major angadis. This exchange facilitated local exchange, which was cost effective, as the producer could carry his product to the nearby kadavu or angadi. Chettiars and other merchants, carrying their goods on bullock loads or in carts, sold or exchanged their goods in such locations. Oral testimony invariably indicates local exchange did not use money as the medium for majority of the goods. People remember the exchange of gingelly or coconut for rice or fish. This form of exchange often provided for the needs of the local population. However, the railroad was constructed and the traffic of goods from one major mart to the other became a lot easier. However, railway stations are not athanis or kadavus, and hence they did not directly facilitate local exchange. Goods were brought to Calicut and distributed in the local areas through middlemen. Local exchange particularly that of the hawker-peddler variety began to decline, as exchange began to concentrate on the major centers along the railroad, such as Tirur, Tanur, Parappanangadi and Feroke and Calicut. Kadavus and angadis were used as points from where goods were transported to Calicut and goods from Calicut were brought. Thus a new type of market centers appeared in the main railroad market places such as Calicut. Obviously exchange in this new form was dependent totally on commercial calculations prevalent in such centers, a process by which the country was increasingly being integrated with the town, without the accompanying urbanization. Coconut products, areca, betel, timber, ginger, hay and other such products were being carried to places like Kallai, Mooryad and Feroke and transferred to the middlemen and merchants there, and the money that

they received was being used to buy the products available in the market there, brought obviously through the railroads. This also meant that once the goods brought from the rural areas were no longer in demand, the kadavus and the rural Chanthas had to decline. The picture drawn so far has been one of stagnation, and the picture may have been a little overdrawn and require further examination. It is possible to draw one conclusion from the above observations. The agrarian change brought about by the British resulted in siphoning off about one-third of the produce as revenue by the British, and their economic policies in general resulted in the decline of local trade and exchange, and facilitated the appropriation of the local products by the growing urban centers such as Calicut under the regulatory devices of British Colonialism. If there has been expansion of cultivation and increase in agricultural production, that was compensated by the new forms of exploitation by the Colonial State. The lot of the ordinary people was possibly in the medieval milieu, but that misery continued and even exacerbated under the Colonial era. It is in this background that we have to examine social and political changes taking place in the Tirurangadi region during this period.

### **Land relations**

As we saw earlier, the landlords that established themselves in the medieval milieu continued as a powerful group of landed proprietors under the 'rule of property' by the British. This meant that despite the legal specifications introduced by the British, a large part of the customary privileges enjoyed by the lords continued unabated, and they might have extracted the same dues and exercised the same privileges in the rural areas. During the end of eighteenth century itself, there is a complaint by the settlers of Puthen theru and Pazhayatheru in Parappanangadi that the raja of Parappanad was collecting dues for Onam and vishu, although such a practice was forbidden by the Government (Logan, 1879; 342). The saliyas of the two therus were organized, and this is an indication that

these privileges were used against less organized groups. Oral testimony states among the down trodden groups every marriage had to get the sanction of the Lord, and in some cases , the Lord demanded cohabitation with the bride ( although one cannot be sure of the reliability of information). But the standard practices of collection of pattam and varam, and also the practice of the customary kashcha and Purushantiram seems to have continued although such practices did not have legal sanction. Apart from this were the exactions of the new group of officers such as Adhikari and Menon as well as the karyasthas of the major landlords. The role of adhikari was particularly important. In the medieval milieu, the exactions were customary, and if at all accounts were written, they lay in the household of the janmi. Now all the accounts including the revenue accounts and, in particular, the accounts of arrears were with the Adhikari. Adhikari was he arbitrator of local disputes, and only if he failed was the matter taken to the Court. But as the adhikaris came from the landlord families themselves, the dispute settlement was likely to be in favor of the landlord. Muslim adhikaris were very few (Kunhali adhikari and Moosakkutty adhikari, mentioned above, being examples). Adhikaris were the arms of the state as well as the landlord

The situation in the region can be illustrated by the following information on the Ernad taluk during the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> Century:

**Table XXX**

A: Land, landholdings and labor

<b>Total area(100 acres)</b>	<b>Arable land as %ge of total land</b>	<b>Area of arable land</b>	<b>%ge of arable land occupied</b>	<b>Total occupied land</b>	<b>%ge of occupied land cultivated</b>
6185	61	3742	46	1734	100

B: Distribution of labor

Total No. of holdings	Total population	Landholders	%ge	Subtenants	%ge	Agr. labourers	%ge	Others	%ge
23220	357142	5762	2	34441	10	72824	20	244115	68

C: Food grain production in representative years

Paddy	maize	Ragi	Samai	Horse gram	Other pulses	Gingelly	Other seeds	Miscellaneous	Total	Area cropped more than once	Total area cultivated
107070	53	4589	6436	504	1603	7724	509	92372	220860	47988	172872

D: Agricultural stock

Bullocks	He-buffaloes	cows	Bulls & Heifers Under 4years	She-buffaloes	Young buffaloes	Sheep & goats	Horses & ponies	Mules & donkeys	carts	ploughs	bo
57175	6950	37339	37187	3875	1616	21723	97	13	1026	31192	71

Source: Statistics of Malabar, 1906; Kerala State Archives, Calicut

The above information shows that only less than half of the arable area in Ernad was occupied and cultivated. Out of the total population of the Taluk, only 2% held almost all the lands cultivated, and about thirty percent were either tenants or laborers. It should be noted that a substantial part of the population classified as 'others' were dependents on the occupational groups. For example, for the entire Malabar District 1901 Census demonstrated that only 46.6% of the population actually labored and the rest were dependents. In the case of the predominantly agricultural Ernad, the number of agricultural population including the dependents is likely to be more than the District average of 62.2%. This means that the entire working population other than agriculture including dependents is likely to be about one-third of the total population. The figures on cultivation and the livestock again show the agrarian character of the Ernad society. This only shows that trade and industrial activities only remained secondary, and it was

the great disparities in the agrarian economy that was central to the social formation of the region. These disparities appear to have been aggravated by the two famines reported in the region during 1865-6 and 1876-8.

One more feature of the social configuration is also important. As we have seen, about half of the population was already Muslims during the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Population figures towards the 19<sup>th</sup> century demonstrate the following composition:

Table XXXI

Village	Olakara	Tirukulam	Parappanangadi	Neduva	Vallikkunnu	Thenhippalam	Munniyur	Nannambra
Area in acres	5005	3895	745	3918	4234	9077	7680	4552
Households	1179	1744	775	1119	1382	1809	520	1681
Total Hindus	2134	1969	1131	4092	5594	5792	2592	2895
Brahmans	2	1	-	49	51	25	14	27
Kshatriyas	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Chettis	-	5	8	3	-	-	-	-
Vellalas (Nayars)	262	459	112	913	1238	1366	543	624
Other forward castes	35	26	11	138	155	202	-	25
Idaiyar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kammalas	159	198	14	282	195	263	120	250
Kanakkan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kaikkolan	5	6	-	295	26	32	11	4-
Vanian	51	41	--	16	46	326	1	--
Karuvan	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-
Satani	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
Sembadavan	-	41	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shanan (thiyya)	662	541	942	1754	2915	1932	1330	1029
Ambattan	9	-	-	18	23	52	10	-
Vannan	106	53	18	115	76	227	27	95
Others	8	-	-	-	44	7	-	-
Pariah	835	599	20	507	830	1291	536	841
Mappila	3573	6349	1658	1786	1391	3062	298	5630
Arabis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sheik	-	-	-	4	-	-	22	-
Syed	-	18	5	-	5	-	-	-
Pathan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other mohammedans	-	-	1031	8	367	-	-	9
Total Muslim	3573	6367	2694	1799	1763	3062	320	5639

Source: Census of 1871; Kerala State Archives, Calicut

These figures show interesting features. They show that the number of forward castes is comparatively less in most of the areas and form only a small minority of the population.

A rearrangement of the above table will bring out another crucial feature of the region.

**Table XXXII**  
**Social Distribution of Population**

Village	Olakara	Tirukulam	Parappanangadi	Neduva	Vallikkunnu	Thenhippalam	Munniyur	Nannambra
Total population	5707	8336	3825	5890	7362	8814	2912	8534
Total forward castes	299 (5.24)	491 (5.89)	131 (3.42)	1051 (17.84)	1444 (19.61)	1593 (18.37)	557 (19.13)	676 (7.92)
Other Hindus	1835 (32.15)	1478 (17.73)	1000 (26.14)	3041 (51.63)	4151 (56.38)	4159 (47.19)	2035 (69.88)	2219 (26.00)
Total Muslims	3573 (62.61)	6367 (76.38)	2694 (70.43)	1798 (30.53)	1763 (23.95)	3062 (34.74)	320 (10.99)	5639 (66.08)
Total of Muslims & other Hindus	5408 (94.76)	7845 (94.11)	3694 (96.58)	4839 (82.16)	5914 (80.33)	7221 (81.93)	2355 (80.87)	7858 (92.08)

The results from this exercise are interesting. In four of the villages, Muslims form the majority of the population, and if we combine the backward castes along with Muslims they form an absolute majority of the population in all the villages. Probably, the most striking case is that of Munniyur, where Muslims formed a small minority, but when combined with the backward castes, they formed an absolute majority. Note also that the forward castes composed a population of less than 20% in all the villages.

It is difficult to trace the transition in population in the subsequent censuses because disaggregated information of the kind referred to above is not available. Moreover, the villages of 1871 census have been further divided and reorganized which make detailed analyses difficult. The following data from the 1921 Census shows the religion-wise distribution of the population in the field area:

**Table XXXIII**

Village	Houses	Total population	Hindu	Muslim	Others
Ariyallur	515	2689	2356(87.62)	341(12.68)	2(0.07)
Kodinji	589	2954	491(16.62)	2463(83.38)	-
Munniyur	957	4948	1118(22.59)	3830(77.41)	-

Nannambra	881	4481	1432(31.96)	3049(68.04)	-
Neduva	1088	5789	4060(70.13)	1709(29.52)	20 (0.35)
Olakara	587	3050	1092(35.80)	1958(64.20)	-
Parappanangadi	907	5318	1063(19.99)	4251(79.94)	4(0.08)
Peruvallur	659	3385	1094(32.32)	2291(67.68)	-
Thenhippalam	1111	6071	3659(60.27)	2412(39.73)	-
Tirurangadi	1081	5350	653(12.21)	4697(87.79)	
Trikkulam	1024	5223	1599(30.61)	3622((69.35)	2(0.04)
Ullanam	563	2745	1041(37.92)	1704((62.08)	-
Vallikkunnu	927	5336	3523(66.02)	1813(33.98)	-
Velimukku	1166	6127	2861(46.69)	3266(53.31)	-

Source: Census of 1921; Kerala State Archives, Calicut

It can be seen that except for Neduva, Ariyallur, Vallikkunnu and Thenhippalam, Muslims were in a majority in all the other villages, and if we apply the criterion used in tableXXX, it is well possible that the forward castes would be in the same position as in 1871. This means that the composition of population did not change in this period. This has to be contrasted with the composition of land holdings during this period. In order to understand the nature of land holdings and forms of labor it is necessary to take up the information on some of the desams in the field area.

The following is the information available on Trikkulam Desam, which formed a part of the old Trikkulam Amsam, and now a part of Tirurangadi Panchayat from the revenue settlement records of 1905. The area was bound by the Kadalundi River on the one side and the low-lying challis on the other.

**Table XXXIV**

**A: Classification of lands (in acres and cents)**

Wetland	garden	Occupied dry	Unoccupied Dry	Unassessed	Inam	Poramboke	Total
1068-52	750-99	226-22*	151-53	20-51**	10-12	133-32	2361-21

- includes 12cents of Govt.land \*\*Unregistered lands

**B: Population of the Desam**

Years of Census	No. of Inhabited houses	Total population			Religion			Occupation				Population Per 100 acres of occupied land
		Male	female	total	Hindu	Muslim	other	landholder	laborer	weaver	other	
1891	901	2494	2518	5012	1564	3435	13	1891	1465	24	1682	244
1901	931	2548	2571	5119	1569	3547	3	695	895	-	3529	44250

**C: Private Janmam ryotwar holdings during the settlement year**

Ryotwars holding					Extent in acres	Percentage of total landholdings	Assessment
	single	joint	Total	%geof total holdings			
Rs.1 and less	219	20	239	35.04	98-60	4.82	Re.129-13
1 to 10 rupees	356	36	392	57.48	581-51	28.43	1225-10
10 to 30rupees	36	3	39	5.72	293-63	14.35	605-6
30 to .50 rupees	3	2	5	0.73	87-69	4.29	198-6
.50 to.100 rupees	3	-	3	0.44	107-11	5.24	216-13
100 to 250rupees	1	1	2	0.29	155-24	7.59	306-3
250 to 500 rupees	1	-	1	0.15	117-35	5.74	255-2
500 to 1000							

rupees above 1000acres	- 1	- -	- 1	0.15	- 604-48 -	29.55	- 1315-1
Total	620	62	682	100	2045- 61	100	4252-6

Source: Settlement records, Malabar District, 1905, Kerala State Archives, Calicut

The above figures based on the original table in the settlement records, demonstrate the position of landholdings clearly. Just two landholders own about 35.29% of the total landholdings, and 92.52% hold less than one third of the total holdings. One should remember that the settlement records treated each member of a family having separate holdings as a separate landholder. Given that there were only 931 households in Trikkulam, the actual number of households holding lands is likely to be smaller. The population statistics show that only 13.58% of the total population is listed as landholders, and among about twelve hold about 52.4% of the cultivated land. These figures clearly demonstrate the extent of concentration of land holdings in Trikkulam

One may argue that Trikkulam does not signify the pattern of land holdings in the region, as it has Trikkulam Devaswam, one of the largest single landholders in the region. Hence

it would be useful to compare Trikkulam with the coastal Parappanangadi desam, which does not have a similar land concentration

**Table XXXV**

A: Classification of land (in acres and cents)

Wetland	Garden	Occupied Dry	Unoccupied Dry	Unassessed	Inam	Poramboke	Total
145-47	627-32*	54-12**	24-11***	17-44	-	19-70	888-16

\* 2acres 59cents Govt land \*\* 12cents Govt land \*\*\*15acres and 60cents Govt.land

B: Classification of population

Census year	Inhabited houses	Population			Religion			Occupation				Population Per100acre
		male	female	total	Hindu	Muslim	Others	Land holders	Labor Ers	Weavers	others	
1891	789	2654	2565	5219	1386	3883	-	897	768	2	3552	631
1901	855	2770	2690	5460	1315	4142	3	190	164	1	5105	660

C: Private Janmam Ryotwar holdings

Landholders paying	Number of holders				Extent of land		Assessment
	single	Joint	total	%ge	Extent	%ge of total	
Re.1 and less	58	6	64	24.33	13-8	1.59	15-6
Re1to 10	108	13	121	46.00	142-99	17.35	565-5
Re10to30	43	10	53	20.15	226-78	27.52	927-12
Re30 to 50	10	1	11	4.18	94-12	11.42	412-4
Re 50 to 100	7	2	9	3.42	163-95	19.89	669-3
Re100to 250	5	-	5	1.90	183-28	22.24	773-10
Re250 to 500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Re500 to1000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Above1000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	231	32	263	100	824-20	100	3368-13

The area does not have large landlords like Trikkulam. At the same time, it should be noted that 70.33% of the landholders held 18.94% of the land, and 9.5% of the landholders held 53.55% of the lands. Obviously concentration of land holdings existed in Parappanangadi also. The information on population shows that only 190 persons are shown as landholders, which might have included dependents also. Hence, a few families

in Parappanangadi held most of the 263 holdings, which is confirmed by the details of landholders in the settlement records. These families are the akams mentioned earlier, and few other Muslim and nayar families.

We are taking up the case of Munniyur Desam, another area that consists of both elevated regions and at the same time bounded by Kadalundi River. Munniyur was sparsely occupied during 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**Table XXXVI**

A: Classification of Land (in acres and cents)

Wetland	Garden	Occupied Dry	Unoccupied Dry	Unassessed	Inam	Poramboke	Total
678-96	883-10	413-19	214-85	58-55	-	135-53	2384-18

B; Classification of Population

Census year	Inhabited households	Population			Religion			occupation				Population per acre Of occupied land
		male	female	total	Hindu	Muslim	other	Land holders	Labou rers	W Ea Weavers	others	
1891	792	2163	2151	4314	1303	3011	-	1785	1585	8	936	218
1901	878	2240	2306	4546	1195	3351	-	784	915	-	2847	230

C: Private Ryotwar Holdings and assessment

Landholders paying	Number of holdings				Extent of land		Assessment
	single	Joint	Total	%ge of grand total	Extent	%ge of grand total	
Re1 and less	255	52	307	30.21	169-95	8.60	187-11
Re1 to 10	349	46	445	52.72	747-25	37.83	1376-12
Rs10 to30	51	17	68	8.06	474-32	24.01	1176-3
Rs.30to50	14	1	15	1.78	216-19	10.94	605-4
Rs.50 to 100	6	1	7	0.83	182-40	9.23	461-5
Rs100 to 250	1	1	2	0.24	185-14	9.37	409-9
Rs250 to500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rs.500 to1000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Above Rs.1000	-	=	-	-	-	-	-
Total	676	168	844	100	1975-25	100	4216-12

Unlike Trikkulam, Munniyur also did not have very large landlords. About 752 of the total landholdings, coming to about 82.93 percent hold 46.43percent of the land. There are only two landholders who can be classified as landlords and they hold less than ten percent. Hence, the concentration of land is the least in Munniyur. The average extent of small holdings comes to 1.22 acres, more than Trikkulam and Parappanangadi. It should also be noted that the population density is low here. Garden land is more in extent than wetland and there is a fairly large share of dry land, both occupied and unoccupied.

What is the reason for the absence of large holdings in some areas? In the three cases cited above, wetlands are more than garden lands only in Trikkulam Desam, and in the other two desams, the garden lands predominate. However, this feature cannot be held to be the single factor that affects land concentration. It is clear that more than individual landholders, the large entities such as Devaswams, such as Trikkulam Devaswam in the case of Trikkulam, and landlords directly related to political power, such as Ayyayirabhukarthavu in the case of Thenhippalam appear to have held more lands than others. Similarly, Ullanam Devaswam, controlled by Chiramangalam mana, and Nirakaithakotta Devaswam in Vallikkunnu were landlords who paid more than 1000 rupees a year as assessment, whereas Ayyayirabhukartavu in Thenhippalam and Thottassiri Panikkar in Velimukku were not among them

The pattern of concentration of land in the region can be illustrated through taking the data from another five Desams. Among the five Desams, wetlands are dominant in Ullanam and Kodinji Desams, and garden lands in Thenhippalam, Vallikkunnu and Velimukku Desams.

**Table XXXVII**

Desam	Total Assessed Land(in acres and cents)	Wetland (%ge)	Garden land (%ge)	Number of holders Paying Re<1-10	Extent Of Lands They held	Average Holding of one land holder	Number of holders Paying Rs.250->1000	Extent of lands They held	Average Holding Of One Land holder
Ullanam	1852-96	1121-11 (60.50)	606-58 (32.74)	262 (77.51)	367-74 (19.85)	1-40	2(0.59)	627-36(33.86)	313-68
Thenhippalam	2482-69	718-42 (28.94)	1180-53 (47-55)	157 (73.36)	335-94 (13.53)	2-13	5(2.34)	1187-47 (47.83)	237-49
Velimukku	2265-70	780-82 (34.46)	1003-86 (44.31)	315 (86.54)	545-40 (24.07)	1.73	2(0.55)	553-62 (24.43)	276.81
Vallikkunnu	1859-02	625-38 (33.64)	977-67 (52.59)	143 (63.84)	236-24 (12.71)	1.65	2((0.89)	533-83 (28.72)	266.92
Kodinji	1477-25	946-24 (64.05)	498-95 (33.78)	635 (92.03)	707-95 (47.92)	1.11	2((0.29)	327-78 (22.19)	163.89

. Source: Compiled from settlement records, KSA, Calicut

The above figures show that the pattern of concentration is similar in all the Desams, although the actual percentage of lands held by major landlords may vary. But one feature can be noted. In Desams where wetlands are more than garden lands, the average holding of a small farmer is lower than the areas where garden lands are dominant, pattern that we saw in the case of Trikkulam and Peruvallur also. The significance of this feature will require further comparisons between garden and wetlands.

The observations made above show that there was substantial disparity between the small landholder and the large landlord in the entire area, and if we take the entire population, the large landlords formed often a microscopic minority. The available data in the settlement records also demonstrate that a handful of Nambutiri, kovilakam and nayar families, and few Muslim households held a sizeable share of the lands, and most of the population were either small landholders or laborers. In terms of the social composition of the population, majority of the population, consisting of the Muslims and lower castes also were at the bottom of the economic pyramid of the region.

### **Social and Ideological role of the Ba alawis**

It is in the background the rise of the Ba alawis of Mamburam will have to be examined. As we have seen Ba alawis had already become the spiritual leaders of the people of Tirurangadi even before the coming of the British rule. In the medieval milieu the autonomy of such leaders was not questioned, but the new institutions like the catchery, the police station, the court and the jail, the office of the sub registrar of assurances along with the new revenue collection mechanisms provided a new challenge. It is not surprising that the Ba alawis, called Taramal Thangals, would try to uphold their customary privileges, but there is no evidence that there was any open confrontation between the Thangals and the Colonial State in the early phase. It should be remembered that in the early wave of rebellions against the British Mappila leaders like Unnimmuttamooppan and Chemban poker against the British and that Pokker surrendered, and the Ba alawis or any of the other Thangals did not intervene in the rebellion at all. One should also note that Chemban Pokker probably belonged to the Tirurangadi region and served as a daroga under the British. The Chembans are still one of the powerful families in the area. It is possible that Sayyid alawi was in the process of establishing as the spiritual leader, which would offset the 'secular' authority of the British and establish him as the final arbitrator, adviser and healer. The Makham built by Sayyid Alawi (1750-1844) in Mamburam was the beginning of consolidation of this process. This process was apparently facilitated by the establishment of a number of mosques in the area. The historians of Sayyid Alawi credit him with the foundation of four mosques; Vatakkeppalli at Tanur, Otungat chenakkalpalli at Munniyur, Muttiara Mosque and the mosque at Ponmundam. Local traditions associate Sayyid alawi with other mosques, as having laid the foundation of Kunduchena valiya jumaat mosque at Velimukku and involved in the erection of the Jumaat mosque at kodinji. It is clear that one of the projects of Sayyid alawi was to establish mosques in all the Muslim centers in the region, so that brought into a spiritual network of which Mamburam was to be the

centre. Along with the mosques, there arose a string of Othupallis, where instruction was given in the Qur-An.

Another interesting feature of the activity of the Ba alawis should be noted. It was the patronage given by the Thangals to kavus or the local shrines. A typical example of such patronage was to the shrine of kaliyattakkavu, where the practice of kozhikkaliyattam was sanctioned by Thangal. The Thangal is believed to have watched the proceedings of the festival by being at the house of a local landlord, Kaithakath Moideen. There is a kavu at Ullanam in Parappanangadi, where the annual festival commences paying a ritual offering to the Thangal of Mamburam. The Thangal used to arbitrate the cases of not only the Mappilas but other groups also, a practice that is continued in a ritual form in the Makham at Mamburam. Obviously the same patronage or friendship is not extended to the Devaswams under the large landlords. It appears that the Thangal maintained a cordial relationship Kaprat Krishna Panikkar.

Exact what made Sayyid Alawi a major enemy in the eyes of the British? There is no direct involvement of the Thangals in any of the actions against the British that took place in Tirurangadi or other areas. However, it is clear that the British believed him to be troublemaker. Taramal Thangal was thought by the British to be the force behind the revolt of Manjeri Athan kurukkal in 1817. There are two apparent reasons for this belief. One is a statement attributed to him that killing an oppressor Janmi is not a sin. (Logan 1951; 691)The second is that Mappilas used to seek his benediction before embarking on their rebellious activities. Although Sayyid Alawi denied vehemently that he had anything to do with the deeds of his followers, the British were not prepared to take him at his face value. The British attitude was apparently based on the reading that Sayyid alawi as the spiritual leader and social arbitrator had to know and give sanction to the deeds of his followers. Moreover, sayyid Alawi refused to meet the British and refused to have anything to do with the British officials. Whether this conformed to the reality or

not, it clear that according the British, Sayyid Alawi had emerged as an alternate power center, that would seriously undermine the power structure developed by them. This belief is shown in the effort by the British to bring Sayyid Alawi before the Magistrate, James Vaughan on the question of the kurukkal revolt. The move was given up as the British had reasons to believe that ‘any attempt to seize the Thangal by force would be attended with the most dreadful consequences, a general rise of the population...and the police chiefly consisting of nayars, a caste most hostile to the other, the flames would rise to the most alarming heights’ (Malabar District records, 1817)

Asaifal Bathar, a collection of fatwas by Sayyid Alawi, published by his son, Sayyid Fasl from Egypt in 1856-7, indicates the structure of Sayyid Alawi’s thinking. He clearly treated the British as the infidels, and exhorted for jihad against the British in which all including old, women and children should participate. Sayyid alawi’s objections were mainly against Christianity. He believed that those Muslims who praised the British rule are fools, and by following all the vices of the ‘kuffar’ they will become one among them. He also believed that Muslims would get justice from the British courts. He condemned those Muslims who approached the Christian Courts as apostates (murtad) and debauchees (fasiq). It is clear that Sayyid alawi was arguing for an alternate Islamic legal system that would replace the British law. However, while the opposition of Sayyid alawi was to British, there is nothing to show that Sayyid Alawi fanned the same kind of hostility towards the Nayars and other local non-Muslims and local tradition gives instances to the contrary, as in the case of his patronage to Kaliyattakkavu.

This impression was augmented, when Sayyid Fasl, an intellectual educated in Cairo, and aware of the international political trends, took over and set up the Jarum in the memory of his father, visited by hundreds of devotees from all over Malabar. The activities of Sayyid Fasl, in his short tenure from 1849 to 1852 were considered by the

British as the most dangerous to their interests. This was also the period when the Mappila Revolts spread to different parts of Malabar. The British officers of Malabar mounted pressure on the Madras Government to order the deportation of Sayyid Fasl, and the officers finally persuaded him, along with his family to leave Malabar. His later history, in which he became a minister in the Government at Cairo, does not interest us at present.

Memories concerning Sayyid Alawi and Sayyid Fazl are interesting in this context. Memories concentrate on Sayyid Alawi rather than Sayyid Fasl. Sayyid Alawi appears in the memories as a venerable old man with almost supernatural powers and healing capacities. There is the story of two Muslims who tried to defy the instructions of Sayyid Alawi and were converted into stones. There are also references to supernatural appearances by Sayyid Alawi, including an appearance as an armed soldier against the British soldiers who went to capture the murderers of Kaprat Panikkar (although Sayyid Alawi denied that he was ever there). Later, when Cholera began to consume lives in the region, flags blessed at the Mamburam mosque were planted everywhere to prevent Cholera. Whether Cholera was actually prevented is another matter, but it was a tribute to the supernatural healing powers of the Thangal, which the mosque was supposed to retain. Thus it is the memories of Thangal as a lawgiver, healer and defender of Islam with supernatural powers that are retained in the memories of Sayyid Alawi. Interestingly, Pookoya Thangal, as Sayyid Fasl was called by the people, is a more shadowy figure, probably he was less known to the people, and he had a relatively short tenure, and the memories indicate him as more virulently anti-British than his father. Sayyid Fasl also apparently advocated a more purist Islamic faith. He criticized practices like kissing the hand, prostrating before the Shaikh etc. He decreed that Mappilas should not accept left over food from the Hindus. Mappilas should not plough on Fridays and also should not use the honorific plural while addressing Nayars. The Dikr and rathib of

Sayyid Fasl were also famous. Sayyid Fasl also encouraged conversions from Cherumar, Pulayar, Vettuvar and Mukkuvar and they formed the principal supporters of Sayyid Fasl

Such memories give hints regarding the actual role of the Thangals. We have seen how the Thangals came to occupy the role of spiritual leaders of a group of migrants and settlers, who were forced to contend with the customary privileges and rights of the landlords. The activities of Sayyid Alawi and his presumed role in the various Mappila revolts show that they were primarily aimed at giving sanction, by the invocation to the Islamic law, the efforts of the Mappilas to retain their autonomous space against the customary privileges as well as the legal system of the British. At the same time he was not defying the British legal system himself by inciting rebellious activities. The first role was ordained to him as a spiritual leader, which he was bound to fulfill, while not subverting any of the existing legal norms. This building of autonomous space was not to be done through alienating other social groups as collectivities with their own spaces.

### **Mappila revolts**

This is shown through the two instances of Mappila revolts that are recorded in this region. The first was the Cherur Revolt, following the murder of Kaprat Krishna Panikkar, a powerful landlord and Adhikari. In 1843, a complaint was made by the Applies of Tirurangadi village that Panikkar had dishonored the Mappilas by forcing a lower class Hindu woman convert to apostatize from Islam. According to the complaint, six persons of Venniyur, in Tirurangadi became Muslims in the presence of Thangal and took the names of Husain, Sahil, Ahmed, Khadeeja, Aysha and Aleena. Kaprat Panikkar summoned the converts and threatened to punish them if they returned to their old faith, but they refused to budge. One among them wearing a blouse and standing very near to panikkar, addressed him 'you'. Since she came within 12 paces from Panikkar without

removing the blouse, Panikkar had her blouse and shoes forcibly removed. The people of Tirurangadi express their protest by refusing to pay taxes. Although Panikkar was removed from his position as adhikari, clashes between Government forces and Mappilas continued and one Nair taluk peon was killed. On October 19, 1843, Kunnancheri Ali Attan and five others murdered Panikkar. They fled to a house of Kuttippurath Nayar at Cherur with the intention of killing him as he had withheld the wages of one of the rebels, and vowed to fight until their death. The British went to capture them, and seven men (they were joined by a seventh) rushed at the British soldier and were killed. Those killed included, apart from Ali Attan, Puvadan Mohiyuddeen, Punattakkappuram Moideen, Punthirutti Ismail, Pattarkadavu Husain, Moosakkutty and Chokkad Bukhari. One Subedit named Kasim and three British soldiers were killed by the Mappilas. The Khabr of the Cherur martyrs became a sacred spot, and Ali Musaliar the leader of Malabar rebellion visited the tomb at Cherur to offer his prayers before starting the open rebellion against the British.

The Cherur revolt is actually several things rolled into one. It signifies the sense of freedom from medieval custom felt by those converted to Islam; appoint that angered the adhikari who was also a medieval landlord. Breaking the theendappad, and refusal to use the honorific language by the converted woman, shows the open flouting of the medieval custom. It should be noticed that although Krishna Panikkar was removed from the post of adhikari, he was not punished for the offense committed against the woman. The murder of Panikkar by Ali attan and others was on the one hand, thus becomes an act of customary retaliation. According to one tradition , the murderers were merchants who happened to be boarding nearby , and had their grievances against the Adhikari (According to one informant who is not necessarily biased, the assailants were a group of merchants engaged in smuggling sugar, and whose activities were curbed by the British). After the murder was done, then the assailants followed the jihad tradition of fighting

unto death, presumably because they believed that their case was a lost one. Probably the most interesting point is the conversion itself, in front of the Thangal, showing that the oppressed castes were using conversion as an act of defiance, and Thangal was actually encouraging such acts, as an act of proselytisation and also against the Janmis. Sayyid Fasl continued this anti-landlord stance and encouraged conversions in a big way.

Cherur revolt took place in October 1843. Another incident that took place earlier in 1841 was at Muttiara near Thalappara. The revolt centered on the murder of another landlord, Thottassiiri Thachu Panikkar. The incidents began when Panikkar complained that a person, named Naganar Moideen started a shop and a schoolroom in the waste land held by Panikkar without obtaining the due permission. Moideen denied this and refused to move out, although it was found later that they had held the land from Panikkar first under mortgage and afterwards on full purchase. Panikkar sent his people to capture Moideen. Apparently, Panikkar was acting according to the information given by his karyasthan, Athikkal Achchu (athenkatt Achchu? There is no family with the name athikkal in the area today). Panikkar and people went to the Muttiara mosque, and disturbed the devotees who were assembled for their Friday noon prayer in the month of Ramadan. There is another version also, that Panikkar was traveling in his cart, chewing betel and spat his chew out, and the spit fell on an assembly holding their noon prayer. Moideen was dragged out of the mosque and was bound. Whatever may be the reason; a group of Mappilas, relatives of Moideen pounced on Panikkar and the peon and killed them. On November 13, 1841, a posse of British soldiers was sent out to capture the Mappilas who were hiding in the mosque. When the British soldiers advanced the Mappilas rushed out to meet them and eleven Mappilas were killed, that included Kaithakath Moideenkutty, who was one of the principal functionaries of the mosque. The soldiers seized the bodies, refused to hand them over to the Muslims for the due burial, and threw the bodies into stone pit. Later, on November 17th, about 200 mappilas forcibly

carried off the bodies and buried them in the khabr on the Western side of the mosque. A wall was built around the tomb, and lights were burnt, and offerings were made to their memories. Just as the case of Cherur martyrs, the martyrs of Muttyara were the source of another legend. The British refusal to give them a proper burial angered the martyrs, and they are still believed to be hovering around, demanding vengeance upon the infidels.

People in the area do not remember any Naganar Moideen, and no family of that name exists today in the area. It is possible that Moideen was a migrant who came with the intention of setting up a shop. It is possible that the land was held under customary rights by Panikkar. However, it should be mentioned that Moideen may not have been breaking the proprietary rights sanctioned by the British, as there are documents to the effect that his holding the land was lawful. Panikkar committed a graver breach of privilege from the Muslim perspective, that of disturbing their Ramadan Juma prayer, the punishment of which is death. The next act is that of becoming shahids in defense of their faith, as they knew that they were offenders in the British legal perspective. T.L.Strange had pointed out that if the Mappilas had any complaint against the landlord, they should have gone to the taluk catchery. Apparently, they had little faith in the British administration. What is interesting is that Thachu panikkar also did not have much faith in the administration, probably because he was aware that he did not really have a case in the British legal perspective. Panikkar decided to take law into his hands, and met with disaster. It should also be noted the incident took place soon after the founding of the Muttyara mosque, and a member of the founding family, Kaithakath Moideenkutty was among those killed, and therefore, the sanctity of the newly built mosque also was probably an issue. Sayyid Alawi did not have even the role he had in the Cherur incident, and apparently appealed to the Muslims to maintain peace. This is also interesting, as the Thangal used to visit Muttyara, and was close to Kaithakath family, of which one member was killed.

Another issue that was noticed by the British, and was attributed, though indirectly to the influence of the Mamburam thangals, was the practice of halilakkam. Hal referred to a state of frenzy reached by the devotee when he loses contact with matters of the living world and lives a life of prayer, Dikr (ritual singing and lamentation) and ratib (modes of self-torture). According to the British documents the practice was started a Thangal with long hair, called Arabi Thangal who was a confidant of the Tharamal Thangals. According to the story narrated by Logan (Logan 1951; 557-60) the first man to have halilakkam was Alathamkuzhiyil Moideen, a farm laborer in Kodinji. As he went to morning work he was met by a stranger, and he advised him to give up his work and lead a life of prayer. When the laborer asked the stranger how he would meet his daily needs, the stranger told him that that would be taken care of by the date palm in his house. Moideen went back to his house and led a life of prayer. After this, a number of people appear to have had halilakkams. Although there is nothing to show that the halilakkams were directly leading to the Mappila revolts, the British officials tried to connect these two on the assumption that the devotee in a state of frenzy could be made to do anything, including murder.

It appears that the cases of Halilakkams and the stories of the supernatural powers of the Thangals that spread all over the region did play a role in the development of the collective consciousness of the Mappilas. We have already referred to the fatwas of Sayyid alawi collected in asaifal bathar, and the equally powerful admonitions against the Janmis and the British by Sayyid Fasl. But it appears that these statements have to be perceived in the given social context in which the Thangals lived and worked. They lived at a time when the customary privileges were breaking down under the impact of the British rule and the changes taking place in the medieval social milieu. As spiritual leaders of the Muslims in a region where they have to bear the brunt of the oppression by landlords and a hostile state, the Thangals had to play their role to ensure their

autonomous spaces. Spiritual work through founding of mosques, social work through their fatwas and healing practices and proselytisation work through conversions of the oppressed castes were means by which they were trying to perform their role. However, they neither tried to nor were able to stand in the way of the oppressed Mappilas who were trying to find their ways of protest through the ritual practices and belief patterns of their own religion. It should be noted the first halilakkam took place when a Muslim laborer refused to report for work. And the halilakkam also implied that he could labor in his own fields, with his resources. The hidden transcript of halilakkam as a form of protest needs careful consideration, and it is this element that was apparently noted by the British officials.

The impact of the legend of Thangals and their miraculous deeds finds expression in the murder of Connolly the collector of Malabar in his official residence at West hill on 12<sup>th</sup> September 1855. The murderers were four Mappilas who escaped from jail, named Valassery Emalu, Puliyakunnath Thenu, Chemban Moideenkutti and Veluthedathparambil Moideen and a boy named Ossan Hyderman. Before they went ahead with their task, they went to Mamburam, prayed in the Jarum of the Mamburam Thangal, and confided their intention to Tharamal Kunhikkoya, one of the members of the family. The ritual importance of the jarum is demonstrated here. It is the same ritual importance which persuaded the Mappilas of Mattannur to make their trip to Mamburam before proceeding to Murder Kallattil yajamanan. Thus, more than the physical deeds of the Thangals, including their fatwas, it is their spiritual eminence and their attributed supernatural power that made Mamburam the holy place of the Mappilas, particularly when they embarked on any rebellious act against the British. It is in this sense, rather than their intellectual protest against the British rule, that the Mamburam Thangals are remembered in this region.

The impact of the Thangal legend was further demonstrated when the decision to deport Sayyid Fasl was taken by the British Government, after the spate of Mappila revolts from 1849 to 1852. Sayyid Fasl had testified before the British that he did not encourage fanaticism or rebellion against the Government, and that he was obliged to receive and bless the masses who came to his residence to do him reverence. It was his misfortune if *any evil-intentioned people, who received his blessing, committed any atrocity, which in their perverted minds was considered a service to God.* It is clear from the statement of Spayed Fasl and the acts of the Mappilas during the period of the Thangals and after their deportation that praying at the tomb of Sayyid Alawi and receiving blessings was considered the necessary sanction to do their acts, and we have seen that the murderers of Connolly also prayed at the tomb of the Thangal. The news of deportation had attracted tens and thousands of people to the residence of the Thangal, and apparently any action by the crowd was prevented because Sayyid Fasl and his family had decided to leave. About 8000 people had assembled at Parappanangadi, from where Sayyid Fasl took his boat for the journey to Egypt, where he was to spend the rest of his life. On March 19, 1852 Sayyid Fasl set sail for Arabia. This obviously led to the belief among the people that Thangal had departed, and not deported.

The British had accused the Thangals of fanning fanaticism, and modern Historians have pointed out in various ways the central role of the Thangals in the Mappila revolts, but the revolts themselves will have to be understood from the material conditions outlined before. The two incidents from the region outlined above in detail, and the numerous other incidents are related to the miserable conditions in which not only the Muslims, but also the downtrodden castes lived in, and it is clear that the landlords were seen as the perpetrators of social and economic oppression and they were abetted by the machinery of the British. As in the case of Kaprat Panikkar, these two agencies were combined into

one. The Thangals were seen as the agency which theoretically legitimized the revolt, whether they were actually involved in it or not. The British legal system was in a quandary as to how to lead with such a situation. Finding incriminating evidence against the Thangals for aiding and abetting the revolts was impossible. As Sayyid Fasl explained, it was the spiritual duty of the Thangals to bless those who revered them, and blessing is not a crime. It should also be noted that while thousands of people gathered to seek the blessings of Thangals, the number of people who were involved in a direct act of rebellion were only a small minority among them. The Thangals also encouraged conversions from lower castes, and patronized their kavus and ceremonies. Such activities, and also the Fatwas they issued show that the Thangals were probably more interested in developing alternate legal institutions to the British legal system, which had the spiritual sanction of Islam, rather than fanning direct rebellions. This is shown by two instances. Sayyid Fasl's children were threatened by one Chathu Menon, a drunkard and the head Gomastah of the Catchery of Tirurangadi. About 300 Mappilas assembled before the police station and demanded the apprehension of the guilty. They also demanded that the guilty may be handed over to them. Chathumenon was brought before Thangal, who gave good advice and sent him away. Another case is that certain Mappilas approached the Gasholder of Vettathunad and told him that they prefer to settle a dispute over a cow in the presence of the Thangal than in the presence of the Tahsildar. But such an approach was not always feasible in practice, and it was probably the myth of the Thangals, whose supposed supernatural deeds captured the faith and imagination of the Mappilas and emboldened them to undertake hazardous deeds. Thus the rebels used the spiritual sanction of the blessings of the Thangals, as well as the myth of the Thangals to create a state of insurgency, which figures prominently in the records of the British, and was behind the murder of Connolly.

The Mappila revolts in the area abated because after the murder of Connolly and the appointment of the Strange Commission, the British imposed the virtual reign of terror in the region. The Malabar Special Police was set up which first functioned from the West hill Barracks and then functioned from Kozhichena near the field area, before being shifted to Malappuram. The presence of the Special police had a terrifying impact on the population. The use of weapons like Ayutha katty and Pisan Katty were banned. A virtual man-hunt was organized for all those aided or abetted the criminals wanted for the murder of Connolly, and collective fines were imposed on the cultivators of Desams which were suspected of protecting the murderers. 719 Mappilas of 19 villages were fined. 174 persons from Koduvayoor village near the field area were fined. The proceeds of the fines collected were given to the widow of Connolly. It was clear that the entire people were made to pay for the murder of a British official. Mappilas who were apprehended for the murder and other acts were deported to Botany Bay, Australia, Andamans and Arabia. The Strange Commission also recommended the suppression of fanatical outrages and restriction of the construction of mosques. Apart from all these there was no change in the British power structure, which was made clear in unmistakable terms when the recommendations of Malabar special commission report by Logan was rejected by the Government.

Another feature is also important. The deportation of Sayyid Fazl evoked very little protests from other 'traditional' intellectuals. Apparently, the effort of Mamburam Thangals, despite the popularity that it generated was an isolated phenomenon and was not supported by the entire Ulema. When Sayyid Fasl and his family departed, their properties were left with a few relatives including the related family of Puthiya Malikakkal of Calicut. But these related families were mainly interested in preserving and expanding their properties. After the death of Abdullakkoya Thangal to whom Sayyid Fasl entrusted his properties, the infighting among the relatives came into the

open. Sayyid Fasl's son Sayyid Hyder Begh invalidated Khan Bahadur Muthukkoya, who claimed the properties and made Sayyid Jifri Pookkoya Thangal the new Mukhtiar holder. Muthukkoya refused to vacate, and this resulted in a civil suit between Pookkoya Thangal and Muthukkoya. The anti-British stance of Mamburam Thangals also underwent a change with the pro-British position of Muthukkoya and his son Attakkoya Thangal, who were given the title 'Khan Bahadur' by the British Government. The position of the other major Sayyid families was hardly different. Thus the spiritual leadership of the Sayyid families, to the extent that it existed, disappeared during the later half of 19th Century, precisely during the time when repressive measures on the Mappilas were mounting.

### **Social changes during the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century**

The end of 19<sup>th</sup> century also witnessed the emergence of other significant tendencies. One was the establishment of the first printing press in the area, named Amirul Islam Litho press at Tirurangadi. The idea of a press came from a worker who had some experience in a press at Calicut, and finally the press was established by Chalilakath Kunhahammed Haji, who was one among the new generation of Muslims who had 'modern' education. The press, which was renamed C.H.Mohammed and sons, exists even now. The press heralded another tendency. The traditional literature of the Mappila Muslims were copied and printed and this literature was in a mixed language called Arabi Malayalam, which was in fact a mixture of Arabic and the oral language of Mappila Muslims that contained Malayalam and Tamil words and expressions. By the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, writings in Malayalam also began to be printed, like the works of Canaille Marti Thangal. A literate culture gradually began to emerge among the Mappilas, in which Tirurangadi played a central role.

Social and cultural changes were taking place among the other groups also. The traditional nayar taravads were gradually transforming under the impact of the Colonial property system. Litigations were increasing, and properties were being partitioned among different members or segments of the family. This tendency is represented in the settlement documents of 1906, when different members of the same nayar taravad are holding different areas independently. Taravads also underwent segmentation. For example, the family of Attukalaththil, a major family in Thenhippalam was divided into three segments. The family of Vennaikkattu was divided into two segments. The large Muslim families were segmented by convention. For example, the holdings of the Naha family were under a large number of members. The partition litigations obviously raised a number of issues including the structure of the matrilineal joint family. It is not intended to go into the question in detail, but Oyyarath Chandu Menon, one of the principal players in the debate, and also the first great novelist in Malayalam was a judge in the Parappanangadi Court, and lived near the Mookambika temple at Neduva, presumably in the midst of his own clients. It was not probably hard to find the prototypes of Panchu menons and Suri nambuthirippads in the vicinity of Neduva.

The third and significant development was the building of the railroad mentioned earlier. The first segment of the railroad from Madras to Calicut was constructed from Tanur to Calicut in the Tururangadi region. The construction of the railroad brought British engineers and technicians and a number of local people from Vallikkunnu and parappanangadi were employed as menial laborers, and some of them joined the railway service. Probably railway labor was the first form wage labor in the proper sense that was introduced here. Railway also brought other accessory occupations. One was the making of wooden railings that were used in the railroads. Numerous household saw mills were working, which made the wooden railings that were used in other parts also.

The railroad also brought about changes in the nature of in-migration and out-migration of the people. When Sayyid Fasl and his family migrated to West Asia, he took the ship from Calicut. The sea route was the only route available to travelers to other parts of the world. The same route seems to have been used by migrants to Ceylon also. With the coming of the railroad, travel to Madras became easier and from Madras people reached places like Rangoon, Singapore and Malaya. Another route was through Mangalore. Once people reached Mangalore it was possible to go to different parts of Karnataka and Maharashtra up to Bombay. Such migrations rapidly increased during early 20<sup>th</sup> century. During the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was an effort to transform the form of education given through Othupallis. During 1871-2, there was an initial effort to use the Mullas of the Othupallis to give elementary instruction in vernacular language. But that experiment did not succeed. After the formation of Malabar district board in 1884, District board schools came into being. One such school was set up at Ariyallur, which exists even today as a Government UP school. There were Board Schools for Mappilas as well as Hindus in Vallikkunnu founded in 1920, besides a labor school. Schools started coming up gradually by the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Basel Evangelical Mission set up a school in Parappanangadi in 1904, and Government Upper primary schools were set up immediately after. In Koyappa Desam, an old Ezhuthupalli was converted into a primary school in 1915. In Munniyur, a school was set up in Mannaraparamba In 1921. Soon after Malabar rebellion, one of the rebels who was arrested and released, named Marakkar Musaliar started an Othupalli which was converted into a school. At first there was reticence among the people to send their children to schools. The primary reason seems to be that people were not convinced of the relevance of sending their children to schools. Oral testimonies by retired teachers point to the difficulties that they experienced for getting children to attend school. The system of Mappila schools also developed after the

Malabar rebellion from 1926, and a large number of schools in the field area are Mappila schools.

The revenue settlement of the region during 1906 was another significant event. The settlement brought about little change in the land relations as such, but helped to locate the position of all landholders in the area. The settlement demonstrated that vast majority of the wetlands and parambas in the region were being controlled by a small minority of the landlords. In one sense, the settlement was even misleading. As land statistics were being compiled on the basis of desams, it is possible to estimate concentration of land holdings in each desam. It should be noted that several families held lands in several desams, which altogether made a substantial share of the total lands in the area. As pointed out earlier, different members of the same family are treated as different landowners. Hence, the settlement figures do not present a clear picture of the extent of concentration of land, but they are sufficient to show the substantial differentiation of land holdings and the predominance of small holders, holding lands up to 10 acres in the region. The statistics do not give information on the tenant cultivators, but the number can be roughly estimated from the population figures. From the figures it can be surmised that a vast majority of the people were at the subsistence level or even below it. Another indication of the condition of the people is the information on the wages. For the laborers, the wages were originally paid in kind and then in cash. The wages for planting, harvesting and husking was about  $\frac{2}{10}$  of a seer of paddy or its cash equivalent. Wages for agricultural work varied from 4 annas to 12 annas a day, the latter paid for the skilled labor of ploughing. We should remember that in a large number of the fields only one crop was produced and fields yielding three crops were few. Hence, the laborers always underwent the risk of remaining jobless of a considerable period of time in a year. Old landowning families testified that there was no dearth of labor either for planting or harvesting, ready to do any kind of work, including, laboring in inhospitable water-

logged areas. Old working women also testified that they used to walk long distances and go for agricultural work in Cherur, Vengara, Ponnundam, Pariyapuram and other places outside the field area. Tenants holding pancha lands were also in a similar condition as the lands remained water-logged for the rest of the season. This meant that those settled in parambas had to make their livelihood with the yield from the paramba, which remained a safe option, although the income may not have been substantial.

The traders did a little better than the cultivators. The old land routes and the river route had not disappeared, and the appearance of the railroad, enabled them to travel longer distances. Hence the merchants who operated from the angadis and the middlemen-procurers who moved from kadavu to kadavu or from athani to athani could earn a decent livelihood. But as we have seen earlier, that depended on the market for the agricultural products in the area, and the nature of competition. Malabar fiber could never compete with its counterpart from Tiruvitankur as an export commodity, and therefore, its capacity to find markets was limited, which mean that the coir producers, and merchants in the area, could not prosper beyond a certain level. This was the same with other commodities also. Timber and hay appear to have made some progress as timber was brought to kallai and hay to moorad in calicut, and we find the the emergence of powerful timber merchants such as Patinjarepeetikakkal Rayinhaji and his son Moidu Haji, who was one of the first to buy a motor car in the area.

With the growth of the rail road and the market centers induced by the impact of capitalism, a new type of merchant emerged who began to replace the peddler, the middleman and the trader in the angadi. They were people who gave up the 'multi-purpose trading' of the earlier generation and invested in commodities that had the highest exchange value in the given context. Rayin haji and Moidu haji were examples of the new types of merchants. Similarly there were people who dealt in areca, betel, sugar, oil, clothes, and other necessary commodities, which they procured from different major

trading centers and sold in the local area. The growth of this form of trading laid the foundation of all the existing angadis. These traders also formed the 'new rich', which included people like Munnukandathil Kunhahammed Haji (M.K.Haji) in Tirurangadi. The development of the new trading class shows the extension of the operation of the new market forces, and the generation of new tastes, which will be discussed later.

## **Malabar Rebellion in Tirurangadi**

It is in the background of these general changes that we have to discuss the incidents of the Malabar rebellion at Tirurangadi. The causes and course of the Malabar rebellion has been adequately documented and analyzed elsewhere that it is unnecessary to repeat them in this context.(Dale,1980; Dhanagre1983; Panikkar 1989;Wood 1987)The question that we address here is the reason why Tirurangadi became the 'nerve centre' of the rebellion. The answer seems to lie in the trends discussed above. The British had already made Tiruranagdi one of their operative centers, with the Katchery, police station and jail located there and a Munsiff Court at Parappanangadi not far away. The old Kakkad-Parappanangadi road provided the link that connected all these places. Old people of the area remember the jutka carts drawn by horses in which the 'sahibs' and their 'madams' used to travel, and one old man remembered the awe with which they, as children used to gape at these carts. The alien 'saheb' presence was very much there in Tirurangadi. The old people also remembered the story of building Panampuzha Bridge that linked Kooriyad with Kakkad. According to the story, the bridge was made at the request of the wife of a British officer who was killed by the insurgents (according to tradition, this officer was Connolly and the widow believed that if there was a bridge across Kadalundi River, her husband would have been able to evade the assailants. But as we have seen, Connolly was killed in West hill and not near Panampuzha Bridge and hence, the story must have been built around another British officer who was killed during the rebellion). However, the presence of the British was there earlier also, but then there was Mamburam Thangal as the alternative power centre.

Tirurangadi was also the Centre of the indigenous Mappila cultural tradition. As we have seen a number of Arabi Malayalam works were being printed and were in circulation, which included the Asaif-al bathar, which might have attracted the new literate groups

also. Stories and memories of the Tharamal Thangal family were also popular, and the story of the Cherur rising was made popular through a song called Cherur Chinth. These stories and memories might have helped generate a very strong anti-British sentiment among the people, and this sentiment had very strong cultural roots, assisted by the use of print. The Makham at Mamburam continued to attract a large number of people, and despite the disputes among the maliyakkal family, the people continued to take the anti-British and possibly anti-landlord message of the Thangal tradition seriously

The traditional intellectuals had disappeared or became British supporters, as indicated earlier, but a new generation of Ulema drawn from the local, ordinary people was emerging. The most important among them was Ali Musaliar, a native of Nellikkuth in Eranad, who became the Musaliar of Tirurangadi mosque in 1907. He was a descendant of the Mukhdoom of Ponnani from the mother's side, was educated at Ponnani, and had a seven year's stint at Mecca, before he took charge in Tirurangadi. From the perspective of the Sunni traditions among the Mappilas, Ali Musaliar was eminently qualified to become their spiritual leader. Moreover, he had lost his relatives in two earlier uprisings, in 1894 and 1896. Another was Thayyil Mohammedkutty Moulavi, who became active in the Khilafat movement. There were others, like K.M.Moulavi who became prominent since the rebellion. Among them, Ali Musaliar earned widespread respect as a theologian, who also maintained very close links with the local population. This meant that once again a spiritual and social leadership emerged among the Mappilas.

We have already seen that the conditions of livelihood in the entire area were miserable. We have seen that majority of the people were subsistence farmers and laborers. WE have no direct indications regarding the condition of the people after the war, but there is some evidence from the period since 1905 that the prices of some of the important products of the area were declining. The relevant figures for Tirurangadi are given below:

**Table XXXVIII**  
**Number of Seers per rupee**

Fasli	Rice (second sort)	Paddy(second sort)	Horse gram	Salt
1313	10.2	16.9	11.6	..
1314	10.3	16.6	12.8	12.9
1315	8.38	14.05	13.31	15.95
1316	7.2	12.4	10.5	16.3
1317	6.9	12.0	11.7	16.9
1318	6.6	11.5	10.8	19.8
1319	8.4	13.6	9.8	16.7
1320	10.9	14.0	11.8	18.5
1321	7.6	12.1	11.7	20.3
1322	6.7	11.2	10.2	20.2

Source: Innes and Evans, Statistical appendix for Malabar District Gazetteer, Madras, 1915 Table XVIII

The table clearly shows that the rice and paddy prices, and that of horse gram were increasing in the immediate decade before the war, and the rise in prices continued after the war also (Panikkar 1989: 38-9). The rise in prices favored the landlords and other large cultivators who had surplus to sell and made the condition of the subsistence farmer and laborer miserable.

People do not remember the conditions in the immediate post-war period, but they remember prolonged periods of misery, in which they were forced to live by grass and tuber crops. As already pointed out, the condition of the merchants was better and the rise in prices also might have helped them, and they played little role in the rebellion. Memories of rebellion were vivid in the rural areas like Kundoor, Kodinji, Tirurangadi, Munniyur, Ullanam and Palathingal, and less vivid in Neduva and Parappanangadi town. Naturally, those who suffered also remembered the most.

Finally there are the political results of the First World War. It is not impossible that even as the slogan of Khilafat was raised, the people of Tirurangadi knew about the implications of the slogan. They may not have known the details, but they knew the 'Caliphs' in Turkey were removed by the British, and his kingdom dismembered, and that it was the duty of the Muslims to help restore the Caliphate by fighting against the British. Those who are familiar with the Friday gatherings in all mosques and their discussions inside and outside the prayer hall will not be surprised how the information was passed on. When Turkey entered the war against the British, the Muslims of Eranad had hopes of German Turkish victory, and at the same time the entire Eranad was outwardly quiet (Wood 1987:134-6). It is not surprising that when Turkey was defeated and dismembered under the Sevres treaty, it aroused the already existing anti-British sentiments. Moulavis and other educated men within the Muslims became the agencies for the spread of this sentiment and Khilafat committees sprouted everywhere.

Tirurangadi Kizhakke palli was a very large structure, and Ali Musaliar, an extremely respected and knowledgeable Musaliyar. Message was passed from such congregations at the mosques to the nearby bazaars, and it was matter of time before they reached the households. The most important role was played by chanthas like the Tirurangadi chantha the largest chantha of the entire region and not far away from the mosque. As we have seen, the chantha was in a junction that connected Tirurangadi with a number of places, where a large number of people used to gather. It was easy for information to be passed on. Such messages were on the growth of the Khilafat and the repression of the movement by the British. In Calicut, prohibitory orders were issued on a meeting at Kadappuram, and the Khilafat leader, Yakub Hasan was arrested along with the local Congress leaders. A meeting was to be held at Parappanangadi, which was also prohibited. Orders were issued banning meetings and demonstrations in all the nearby towns. It was clear that the British were out to suppress the entire movement.

It is not surprising that the repressive measures of the British, in particular the arrest of Yakub Hassan evoked considerable resentment in the area. Khilafat movement had spread to all the areas, and Tirurangadi was a strong centre of the Khilafatis, with Ali Musaliar endorsing the Khilafat cause as well as supporting Congress. The simmering resentment broke out as rebellion with the incident at Pukkottur on August 1, 1920, when Kalathinkal Mohammed, the secretary of the Khilafat Committee at Pukkottur was booked for theft on the complaint of Nilambur Raja. In the spontaneous uprising that followed people of Tirurangadi also participated. Although the people who participated in the Pookottur incident came from all over South Malabar, the British decided that the nerve centre of the operation was Tirurangadi. The actual reason for this conclusion is unclear. There were no reports that the activities of the Khilafat committees were planned or supervised from Tirurangadi. Instead, they came to this conclusion on the basis of the prestige that Ali Musaliar enjoyed, and probably under the impression that Mappilas could not be mobilized on such a large scale without the explicit sanction or leadership of spiritual leaders like him. We have seen the British forming the same conclusion in the case of Tharamal Thangals. Thus the British decided to arrest Ali Mealier and a party of about 200 soldiers and policemen, surrounded Tirurangadi mosque, the Khilafat Office and some Muslim houses during the early hours of 20<sup>th</sup> August 1920. Ali Musaliar was taken unawares by this move of the police and military and later he testified that he saw policemen entering the mosque in their uniforms and with their boots on. They could not get Ali Musaliar but three others were arrested from the Khilafat office. The news of the policemen desecrating the mosque and attempting to arrest Ali Musaliar spread far and wide, by the devotees assembled for namaz in the mosque, and also by the crowds that had assembled in the Tirurangadi chantha nearby (as it was a chantha day). Crowds assembled from different parts, in front of the mosque during day time, and another mob led by Kunhikader started from Tanur. The British police stopped them on the way, and

the mob had apparently been persuaded by K.M.Moulavi to return to Tanur when the police opened fire on them, without any warning or call to disperse. Nine people were killed and 40 were injured. Meanwhile, the crowd before Tirurangadi mosque kept their peace until 2pm, and they were persuaded by Ali Musaliar initially and later by Thayer Mohammed kutty Moulavi to remain calm as they were being confronted by the British soldiers. As per the instructions of Ali Musaliar, three were to be sent to negotiate with the British, and the entire crowd followed them. According to informants (T.V.Mohammed and Lavakkutty who were in the crowd and Achuthan Nair, a constable) the British officer asked them what they wanted, they replied that they only wanted the release of their friends, the official told them to wait for some more time. As these parleys were going on, a few volleys were fired at the crowd from 'behind the official'. The crowd got infuriated and retaliated and killed Sergeant Duncan Rowley immediately with sticks and knives. Another Englishman named Johnstone, and a constable was killed in the melee. In the firing that ensued about 20 among the crowd were killed and thirty wounded.

The incidents at Kizhakkappalli sparked off the rebellion all over South Malabar. Tirurangadi itself became a centre for armed resistance, and procession of armed volunteers became a regular feature every Friday. It has been argued that Ali Musaliar himself was preparing for armed conflict as shown by his visit to the martyrs tomb at Cherur along with armed volunteers on June 2, 1920. After the rebellion broke out Ali Musaliar declared Tirurangadi as a Khilafat kingdom, and declared himself as its Emir and Kunhalavi as the Prime Minister. But Ali Musaliar apparently knew that his Khilafat kingdom was a lost cause. The British army had another encounter with Ali Musaliar and his followers on August 31<sup>st</sup>. In the encounter, Kunhalavi and a few others were killed and Al Musaliar along with his remaining followers, surrendered to the army. Lavakkutty

escaped. Ali Musaliar was sentenced to death and was executed by a firing squad at Coimbatore.

The arrest of Ali Musaliar seems to have brought about a sudden downswing in the tide of the rebellion at Tirurangadi. While rebellion was continuing in the interior regions Tirurangadi seems to have been relatively quiet. Popular memories indicate a period of repression, in which the British army and police were raiding nearly all the localities searching for rebels. Popular memories also indicate that the railway line from Tanur to Kadalundi was breached, and bridges were broken, preventing any vehicular traffic, and the telegraph lines were cut. Trees were cut and thrown along the roads through which the troops would march, and stone barricades were also made. Most importantly, women and children were removed from the area, and were brought to safer areas such as Olakara, Pokayur, Koduvayur and other places, and old people remember that women and children were taken in groups protected by the rebel volunteers, and they walked like refugees carrying their belongings in bags to their new abodes. One of the informants remembered that his family was taken from Tirurangadi along with others in a group, and when the group reached Kakkad, they were stopped by a man in a military dress carrying a sword who told them to take different route as a British platoon was coming that way. The man in the military dress was Lavakkutty. Old people also remembered that British soldiers and policemen were combing the area looking for militants and were harassing even innocent people in the process. These combing operations were not only limited to Tirurangadi but extended to the entire region. People remembered the presence of the British army near Kaliyattakkavu, where they went in search of a fugitive militant named Puttiyakkadan Yahu, and ransacked numerous houses. Two militants from kunnathuparambu in Munniyur, Kuttyhassan haji and Kunnummal Ahammad, were similarly hunted for. Ahammad was apparently picked up from Munniyur, and was later tried and executed. Kuttyhassan escaped to Kodinji where he was in hiding along with a

friend and fellow militant, Pookunhi Thangal. When Pookunhi Thangal was captured, he spilled the information regarding the hideout of Kuttyhassan. Hassan was captured and was executed. There were also cases of wrong identifications. People of palathinkal told the story of a religious man, Marakkar Musaliar, who was arrested for having aided the rebels. Although the British could not prove the charges against him, he was kept in jail for some years and later released.

Popular memories signified a period of anarchy and lawlessness in the period immediately following the rebellion. Women and children who were removed from the area did not return for several months, even though, and probably because the area was fully controlled by the British forces. Memories of the people testified to widespread violence, and robbery. In the course of our walking, we visited several old houses that were attacked and plundered, which included houses belonging to all religious groups. Sword marks apparently left by the miscreants while attacking a house near Poorappuzha are still visible. The plundering groups probably were Mappilas, but people preferred to call them 'robbers' (kollakkar), rather than militants (lahalakkar). Some might have started as rebels, and then degenerated into plunderers. Lavakkutty, the close confidant of Ali Musaliar, was probably one who made the transition. Another person was Abdullakkutty or Outhakkutty, who became some kind of a folk hero because of his militant and plundering exploits.

Plunderers turned their attention to rich houses, and probably were inspired by communal considerations. However, the term communalism; cannot be applied in the sense in which it is applied today. It should be remembered that a vast majority of Mappilas who participated in the rebellion were tenant cultivators, small merchants and middlemen, and the majority of the powerful houses in the area, particularly in the paddy cultivating areas belonged to the Nayars and other savarna groups. Antipathy to the nayars as karyasthas as collectors of rent, accountant and custodians of law of both the lord and state was

widespread in the region. We should also remember that burning the katchery at Tirurangadi, where all the revenue accounts were kept, was an act of retaliation against peasant oppression (even though there is a theory that that relative of the Mamburam Thangal, Khanbahadur Attakkoya was behind the burning, as he wanted to destroy certain crucial documents related to the properties of Mamburam Thangal). In the period immediately after the state suppression of the rebellion, when normal livelihood patterns had not been restored, it is not surprising that lawlessness ensued, which was probably directed by personal animosity and religious passions. It should also be remembered that even Muslim houses were not spared from plunder. There were instances in which the Muslims and Hindus of a certain village jointly decided to resist the incursion of the looters (Panikkar, 1990; 359). The letter by Mohammad Abdurahiman to the Central Khilafat Committee at Mumbai pointed out that he has 'reliable information to the effect that the Muslims attack against the Hindus have been leveled not only for the only reason that the Hindus help the police in arresting them, but also that they commit rape and loot in Muslim houses in the absence of men from home' (Ibid 361) Some areas like Kodinji-Tanur road had acquired some notoriety as being infested by robber gangs. However, the major robber gang' identified by the British operated from Vengara and Urakam, and came down to Kuriyad and Kakkad. One such gang was arrested from Venniyur.

### **Aftermath of Rebellion**

People do not remember any serious relief operation immediately after the rebellion, either by political parties such as the Congress or the philanthropic agencies in the area. After the kilowatt committees and their activities had been wiped out and Ali Musaliar kept in prison and then executed, the people of the area were without any leadership or organizing strength. The number of people who were arrested were either executed, or languished in jail for several years before released, or were being sent to Andamans.

Members of the landlord and Karyastha families escaped to Palghat and Trissur, taking along with them stories of the atrocities committed by the Mappilas, and not necessarily the stories of the state repression on them. The relief operations conducted by the State were also scanty. Much of the relief work appears to have been done voluntarily by households who sought to protect the fleeing families. Otherwise, the most serious attempt at relief operation was done by the DMRT (Deodhar Malabar Relief Trust) and Gandhians like V.R.Nayanar some years afterwards, which also was of a limited nature, at least in this area. There was a relief camp at Kakkad by the Gandhians, and the camp did not give relief to the Mappila families affected by State oppression and lawlessness. A camp of a similar kind with emphasis on afflicted Mappila families was started at Tirurangadi, which later grew into the Tirurangadi Yatheem Khana, established in 1943. Political activity at Tirurangadi was at low ebb during the period after the rebellion. As we have seen earlier, the traditional leadership of the area had disappeared with the execution of Ali Musaliar. Other influential leaders like K.M.Moulavi had fled to Kodungallur. Mohammed Abdurahiman, another influential Congress leader, concentrated his activities in Calicut, and became the editor of a newspaper, Al Ameen. Numerous powerful Muslim families of the area were not either sympathetic to the rebellion or did not participate in it any form, and probably maintained a cordial relationship with the British. There were also some not so rich Muslims, who were considered British 'agents', an example being Nalletath Kunhahmad, called 'Khan Sahib', from the title awarded to him by the British. Khan Sahib seems to have lived an affluent life because of the privileges given to him by the British, but died miserably. Congress failed to make any dent in the region, except among a few rich Nayar families (a number of them migrated to Calicut after the rebellion). With the Khilafat debacle, the Muslims treated the Congress as betrayers to their cause, and a number of Muslims, who professed their sympathies to the Congress, became inactive. The suspension of the non-

cooperation movement and the subsequent ‘withdrawal’ of the Congress from mass activities did not help their cause.

The social and economic conditions in the region continued to be dismal. The rebellion and the ensuing state repression and lawlessness resulted in instable social and economic conditions in the region. The landlord-tenant relations did not undergo any change during the decade after the rebellion, and the landlords, who fled the region in the course of the rebellion, returned once the political conditions returned to the normal, or in any case retained their landed property and other assets in the region. Thus the misery of the people was augmented by the losses and casualties they sustained during the rebellion and immediately after. However, this did not result in any further rebellious activity in the area, and we have to locate the reasons for this silence.

In order to understand the nature of changes that had taken place after 1921, we reproduce below the data from the resettlement survey in 1935 for the three Desams, Trikkulam, Parappanangadi and Peruvallur.

**Table XXXIX**

A: Classification of Land (acres and cents)

assessment	Wetland	garden	Dry	Total	Unassessed	Inam	Poramboke	Total
Revenue A/c	1081-22	765-55	374-63	2221-40	10-0	9-81	117-7	2367-28
Resettlement	1098-68	962-37	160-51	2221-56	18-80	9-81	117-7	2367-24

B: Classification of population (as per 1931 census)

No. of inhabited houses	Total population			Religion			Population per100acres of	
	male	female	total	Hindu	Muslim	others	Cultivable land	Occupied land
1132	2456	3088	6044	1960	4065	19	221	227

C: Ryotwar holdings and assessment

Assessed to	Number of holdings				Extent				Assessment		
	single	joint	total	%ge of Grand total	Single	Joint	total	%ge of grand total	Single	joint	Total
Re1 and less	334	141	475	38.40	108-82	54-22	163-4	7.56	179-0	81-0	260-0
Re1 to 10	485	209	694	56.10	591-8	246-20	837-28	38.82	1477-3	650-7	2127-10
Rs10 to30	41	12	53	4.28	260-21	53-17	313-38	14.53	646-8	162-5	808-13
Rs.30 to 50	7	-	7	0.57	110-10	-	110-10	5.10	261-9	-	261-9
Rs50 to 100	4	-	4	0.32	86-83	-	86-83	4.03	261-1	-	261-1
Rs 100 to250	1	-	1	0.08	50-76	-	50-76	2.35	116-2	-	116-2
Rs250 to500	2	-	2	0.16	290-93	-	290-93	13.49	706-0	-	706-0
Rs.500 to1000	1	-	1	0.08	304-48	-	304-48	14.12	796-9	-	796-9
Above Rs1000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	875	362	1237*	1803-21	353-59	2156-80	4444-10	893-12	5338-6		

- Excludes 14 holdings in unoccupied dry lands and outside assessment

The shift in the nature of landholdings in Trikkulam can be located by comparing the resettlement figures with that of the 1905 survey figures

**Table XL**

Survey	Total No. of holdings	No. of holdings paying Rs>1 -10		No of holdings paying <100- <1000		Total extent	Extent of holdings Paying>1 -10		Extent of holdings Paying<100- <1000	
		Number	%ge of Total	Number	%ge of Total		Extent	%ge of Total	Extent	%ge of total
1905	682	631	92.52	4	0.58	2045-61	680-11	33.25	877-07	42.88
1935	1237	1169	94.50	4	0.32	2156-80	900-32	41.74	649-17	30.10

The results given above are interesting in several respects. There is clearly an increase of the number of holdings, and the maximum increase has been in the number of small holdings. It is clear that there is an absolute decline in the extent of land held by the landlords, and given the fact that the extent of land in the two assessments has increased only by about 111 acres (+0.52 percent) over 1905 survey it is clear that the increase in the number of small holdings is due to the redistribution of the land held by landlords on the basis of the tenancy legislation of 1930. It should also be noted that despite the provisions of the tenancy legislation, the large landlords still managed to retain a substantial share of land. On the other hand, the average size of the landholdings of the small holders declined, from 1.07 acres in 1905 to 0.77 acres in 1935. The average holdings of the middle level farmers also declined from 10.39 acres to 7.97 acres. One more feature of the settlement has to be noted. There has been a drastic decline of dry lands and increase of gardens in the data and the disappearance of the category unoccupied dry. The implications of these changes will be taken up later.

Now we shall compare the results given above with the data from Parappanangadi Amsam.

**Table XLI**

**A: Classification of land (in acres and cents)**

Land area	Wetland	Garden	Dry	Total	Unassessed	Inam	Poramboke	Grand Total
RevenueA/c	144-52	604-86	56-94 26-10	805-42 802-62	13-83	-	19-87	839-12 839-12
Resettlement	144-71	631-81			13-62	-	22-88	

**B: Classification of population (as per 1931 census)**

No. of inhabited households	Total population			Religion			Population per100 acres of	
	Male	female	Total	Hindu	Muslim	other	Cultivated land	Occupied land
976	3061	3021	6082	1138	4941	3	757	758

**C: Ryotwar holdings and assessment**

Holdings assessed at	Number of holdings				Extent of land				Assessment		
	single	joint	Total	%ge of grand total	single	joint	total	%ge of grand total	single	joint	Total
Re1 and less	61	34	95	25.13	10-85	4-57	15-42	1.92	20-6	9-10	30-0
Re1to10	120	64	184	48.68	113-63	60-6	173-69	21.65	530-7	294-11	825-2
Rs10to30	51	19	70	18.52	167-42	60-20	227-62	28.37	829-30	320-9	1157-12
Rs30to50	13	4	17	4.50	94-32	29-70	124-2	15.46	526-11	58-1	677-1
Rs.50to100	7	1	8	2.12	116-33	11-36	127-69	15.92	535-4	184-13	593-5
Rs.100to250	3	1	4	1.06	99-43	34-35	133-78	16.68	479-9	-	664-6
Rs.250 to 500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rs.500 to1000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Above 1000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	255	123	378*	100	601-98	200-24	802-22	100	2921-8	1026-2	3947-10

\* One holding in unoccupied dry land

Now, we compare the above information with the corresponding information from 1905 survey records.

**Table LXII**

Survey	Total no. of holdings	No. of holdings paying >1 to RS.10		No. of holdings paying <Rs100- <Rs.1000		Total extent	Total extent of holdings paying >1 to RS.10		Total extent of holdings paying <Rs.100 to <Rs.1000	
		Number	%ge of Grand total	Number	%ge of grand total		Extent	%ge of grand total	Extent	%ge of grand total
1905	263	185	70.33	5	1.90	824-20	156-07	18.94	183-28	22.24
1935	378	279	73.81	4	1.06	802-22	189-11	23.57	133-78	16.68

The information given above seems to confirm the pattern seen in Trikkulam. The number of landlords and the extent of lands held by them appear to have declined, and there is a major increase in the number of small holdings. The total area of assessed land has declined, but the decline is once again marginal (-2, 67%), which means that lands of landlords have been redistributed. However, this does not seem to have benefited the small holders, as their average holdings decreased from 0.84 acres to 0.68 acres. The lands held by middle level farmers also declined from an average of 6.64 acres in 1905 to 5.05 acres in 1935. The possible conversion of dry land to garden land seen in the case of Trikkulam is also observed here

Now we come to our third example, that of Munniyur. We shall see whether the same trends are repeated in the case of Munniyur also

**Table XLIII**

A: Classification of Land (in acres and cents)

Assessment	Wetland	Garden	Dry	Total	Unassessed	Inam	Poramboke	Grand Total
RevenueA/c	699-38	895-38	618-61	2213-37	56-96	-	146-34	2416-67
Resettlement	720-62	1080-54	412-45	2213-61	56-96	-	146-10	2416-67

B: Classification of population (as per 1931 census)

No. of occupied houses	Total population			Religion			Population per 100 acres of	
	male	female	total	Hindu	Muslim	Others	Cultivated land	Occupied land
1067	2844	2919	5763	1320	4443	-	260	271

C: Ryotwar holdings and assessment

Assessed at	Number of holdings				Extent of lands				Assessment		
	single	joint	total	%ge of grand total	single	joint	total	%ge of grand total	single	joint	Total
Re 1 and less	269	169	438	35.90	119-50	82-24	201-74	9.48	154-2	107-1	261-3
Re1to10	418	263	681	55.82	615-74	345-5	960-79	45.17	1379-2	391-12	2108-9
Rs10 to 30	51	24	75	6.15	248-59	113-46	362-05	17.02	776-7	141-1	1168-3
Rs30to50	10	4	14	1.15	105-74	40-73	146-47	6.89	370-12	-	511-13
Rs50 to100	7	2	9	0.74	160-16	47-93	208-9	9.78	454-14	300-11	611-5
Rs100 to250	2	-	2	0.16	149-26	-	26	7.02	338-15	-	338-15
Rs250 to500	-	1	1	0.08	-	98-65	-	4.64	-	-	300-11
Rs500 to1000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Above Rs.1000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	757	463	1220*	100	1398-99	728-6	2127-05	100	3474-4	1916-7	5300-11

\*excludes 19holdings in unoccupied dry lands

The information given above can now be compared with the 1905 survey of Munniyur.

**Table LXIV**

Survey	Total No. of holdings	No. of holdings paying >Re1 toRs.10		No. of holdings paying <Rs100 to <Rs.1000		Total extent	Extent of land paying>Re.1 toRs.10		Extent of Land paying<rs.100 to <Rs.1000	
		Number	%ge	Number	%ge		Extent	%ge	Extent	%ge
1905	844	752	89.10	9	1.07	1975-25	917-20	46.43	367-54	18.59
1935	1220	1119	91.72	12	0.98	2127-25	1162-53	54.65	357-00	16.78

Thus, it can be seen that Munniyur conforms to the Pattern that we saw in the case of Trikkulam and Parappanangadi, that has been a sizable increase in the number and extent of small holdings and a decline in the extent of large holdings. However, unlike the other two areas, Munniyur does seem to have other features also. One is that there appears to be a significant increase in the actual cultivable land, by about 7.68%. Although the total area of large holders declined, there was a new entry into the group paying an assessment between Rs.250to 500, which did not exist in the 1905 census. Similarly the lands assessed as Dry lands declined in the resettlement and there has been a corresponding expansion of garden lands. At the same time, the average extent of small holdings declined from1.22 acres to 1.04 acres.

The three Desams that has been analyzed above are presently in three Panchayats, Trikkulam and Munniyur are on two banks of the Kadalundi River and Parappanangadi is by the Sea. Despite the differences in location, geography and the extent of land concentration, they display similar tendencies. Provisions in Malabar tenancy act of 1930 in favor of the tenants, resulted in a major redistribution of the lands of the major

landlords among the cultivators, the effects of which has been particularly shown in Trikkulam. The holdings of the big landlords declined, but landlordism was not destroyed by the new legislation. There was a substantial increase of small holdings, but whether the small cultivators were benefited in the process is another matter. A net result seems to be a decline in the average extent of small holdings. The extent of paddy fields did not increase substantially, or remained more or less stagnant, but there appears to have been an increase in the Garden lands, presumably by converting lands classified as occupied dry earlier.

The actual extent of resources in the hands of the landholders and cultivators can be measured by the variety of crops cultivated in different lands, and the resettlement survey gave attention to such details. We reproduce below the information on the extent of lands under production in the three Desams given above, along with a few others to understand the variations.

**Table LXV**

Crop	Variety	Trikkulam Desam	Parappanangadi	Munniyur	Thenhippalam	Nannambra
Cereals	Paddy-Single crop	1054-50	220-10	754-95	773-85	805-57
	Paddy double crop	37-52	-	24-32	449-0	342-82
	Ragi	1-0	3-0	30-0	6-0	35-0
	Samai	24-60	-	80-0	50-0	40-0
Pulses	Horse gram	2-0	30-0	20-0	-	10-0
	Black gram	2-0	-	-	-	11-0
	Red gram or dhal	-	-	53-87	-	22-43
	Green gram	-	-	-	4-0	-
Oil seeds	Gingelly	10-0	-	225-0	93-0	5-0
	Coconut	410-0	535-30	351-75	881-0	470-45
Condiment and spices	Pepper	34-20	2-0	47-0	25-0	40-0
	Ginger	24-0	3-0	52-0	50-0	15-0
	chillies	-	2-0	4-0	-	17-0
	others	19-0	-	-	-	-

Crop	Variety	Trikkulam Desam	Parappanangadi	Munniyur	Thenhippalam	Nannambra
Sugar	Palmyra	-	2-0	4-0	17-13	24-0
Drugs and narcotics	Areca nut	141-73	12-0	250-0	384-0	174-0
	Betel vines	-	1-0	10-0	25-0	62-0
Fruits and vegetables	Vegetables	40-0	-	65-0	15-0	4-0
	Plantains	35-20	12-0	140-0	111-85	24-0
	Jack	158-33	12-0	84-40	462-57	201-0
	Mangoes	25-26	12-0	60-0	269-0	135-0
	Others	-	-	20-0	28-0	
Miscellaneous non-food crops	Babul and casuarinas	-	2-70	-	-	-
	Bamboos and thatching grass	-	-	-	20-0	5-0
	Others	136-59	25-81	32-50	93-4	20-0
Total area	Single crop	2118-41	874-91	2314-47	3327-49	2120-45
	Double crop	37-52	-	24-32	449-0	342-82

Source: Resettlement statistics, 1935: Kerala State Archives, Calicut

The above table shows that apart from staple products like paddy, Coconut and areca nut, a variety of other crops like, pepper, ginger, betelvine, various pulses, sama and ragi were grown in different parts of the region. The testimonies given by the people also show that people were sensitive to the variations of the terrain and the soil in the choice of the crop. This is shown by the choice of paddy in the alluvial Trikkulam and the preference of paramba products in Munniyur and Thenhippalam, where red loam soil predominates. Nannambra where alluvial soil and red loam are evenly distributed, show a similar distribution in the choice of the crops also. The coastal Parappanangadi predominates in coastal production, and there are also a number of miscellaneous non-food trees and shrubs found in the coastal area. The interesting feature is the growth of Palmyra that produces sugar, and more importantly toddy. The evidence shows that the area remained essentially multi-cropping, with a general edge for paramba products on which a large number of small farmers depended on. This corresponds with the results of

the comparison of 1905 and 1935 surveys, which showed that the actual paddy cropping areas did not increase substantially, while the parambas expanded by converting dry lands.

Although we have information on the extent of the holdings, there is no clear information on the nature of the use of land. One interesting indication is given by the available information on the livestock of the region. As an illustration, the figures of livestock for three desams during the beginning of twentieth century and 1929-30 are given below. Note that the agricultural stock included the number of carts and ploughs.

**Table XLVI**

Agricultural stock	Vallikkunnu		Thenhippalam		Olakara	
	1900	1930	1900	1930	1900	1930
Bullocks and He- Buffaloes	1684	445	1310	875	1068	452
Cows	834	607	365	545	688	323
She- Buffaloes	-	7	3	28	20	21
Young Stock	575	371	248	376	572	178
Sheep and Goats	98	552	322	855	254	783
Ploughs	464	243	N/A	476	612	233

Source: compiled from surveys of 1905 and 1935; Kerala state archives, Calicut

The figures are interesting in several respects. One is the decline in the number of bullocks and he-buffaloes in the three Desams. There is a corresponding decline of cows, with the exception of Thenhippalam, where the number of cows appears to be increasing. There is an absolute increase of sheep and goats everywhere. Finally there is a decline in the number of ploughs. Decline of bullocks together with the decline of ploughmen may signify an absolute decline in the number of ploughmen also, which signifies the decline of wetland agriculture. It is possible that the number of smallholders is not cultivating their lands and taking the maximum number of crops, or is shifting to paramba

cultivation which does not require bullocks and ploughs. Cows and she-buffaloes can be maintained for milk and meat by Paramba holders also. More importantly, the rise in the tending of sheep and goats again signifies the use of livestock not based on wetland agriculture. The conversion of dry lands into Parambas, noted earlier, meant that the livestock are not provided with adequate grazing lands, which might have affected their productivity and maintenance more troublesome. Although the resettlement figures do not clearly demonstrate it, paddy cultivation was apparently going into a phase of stagnation, a point that requires further investigation.

The above results throw light into the basic features of the social and economic condition of the people during the decades that followed the rebellion. We have already seen that the rise in paddy and rice prices during the decades preceding and after the First World War facilitated the immiserisation of the people, and we see now that the tenancy legislation of 1930 and the changes in the patterns of ownership and production did not alleviate the problems that the cultivators and laborers of the region faced. The larger landlords and merchants still survived without difficulty and the small landholders probably found it difficult to make both ends meet. The rise in the cultivation of parambas, the conversion of dry lands and efforts to raise that yielded marketable products such as milk and meat, and later eggs, were the results of this struggle for livelihood. It is this process that might have facilitated the occupation of elevated regions in areas like Thenhippalam, Peruvallur and Munniyur.

Apart from the factors discussed above, the general trends all over India subsequent to the economic depression also had its toll on the people of the region. We have already seen that the price trends in the region generally benefited the upper strata in society. The available information shows that throughout the post-First World War period the prices were fluctuating but never regained the pre-war trends, to fall during the beginning of the thirties in the wake of the depression.

The available trends from Tirurangadi is given in the following table

**Table XLVII**  
**Price in seers per rupee**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Rice second sort</b>	<b>Paddy first sort</b>	<b>Paddy second sort</b>	<b>horse gram</b>	<b>Salt</b>
1916-7	6.7	-	11.5	10.4	15.5
1917-8	6.2	-	10.3	8.6	11.4
1918-9	4.4	-	7.6	5.8	13.4
1919-20	3.7	-	6.3	4.6	15.0
1920-1	5.6	-	8.1	5.0	15.2
1921-2	4.7	-	7.8	4.9	11.9
1922-3	4.9	-	9.2	5.9	10.5
1923-4	5.46	17.14	10.54	8.54	8.78
1924-5	4.81	-	7.68	5.55	14.33
1925-6	5.05	8.05	8.61	6.80	14.12
1926-7	5.0	-	7.9	6.9	12.8
1927-8	4.7	-	8.7	5.0	12.8
1928-9	5.1	-	9.0	5.3	13.2
1929-30	5.4	10.8	8.8	7.0	14.2
1930-1	7.1	10.7	13.5	8.5	14.2

Source: Innes and Evans, Malabar District Gazetteer, Madrs, 1951, Vo.II, Statistical appendix

In the case of Tirurangadi, even the rise in prices was marginal and it never reached the levels during the beginning of the century. The price situation, along with the expansion of small holdings mentioned earlier made the plight of the cultivator difficult. One should also remember that there was very little effort to implement measures to improve productivity, except or the physical expansion of cultivable areas. As we have seen, this was indeed attempted but there were inbuilt limitations for the process as the undulating rocky terrain prevented major expansion.

All these meant that livelihood was becoming a major point of concern, a problem that the people of Tirurangadi were required to solve during the decades after the rebellion.

### **Out-migrations**

These solutions have not been documented anywhere, but they lay scattered in the memories of the people, and they can be used as leads for further investigations. Another solution seems to have been migrations. Old people remember people who traveled to far away places in search of a livelihood. The earliest generation, as indicated before, went to Rangoon, Penang and other places. People who made a livelihood never returned, and the others returned with whatever money they were able to make there. After the rebellion and the deportation of the rebels to Andamans, Andaman Island was a major attraction for a number of people, and the relatives of the Andaman settlers left to build Malayali settlements in the Andamans, some of them bearing malayali names, such as Tirurangadi. Some of them returned, but a number of them continue to live there and visit their homeland only occasionally. The establishment of estates at Nilambur resulted in the recruitment of a number of people as plantation laborers. They left their households to do wage labor in the estates, and some of them became teashop owners and small traders in the estate areas. When the migration to Waynad gathered strength from the thirties, Mappilas in the region appear to have gone there as laborers and this migration continued

until recently. A third form migration was to places like Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra. A number of people went to Madras, Tirunelveli, Tiruppur, Salem, Erode and Coimbatore, all along the railroad from Calicut to Madras. WE have already seen the early recruitment as railway labourers. They went there mainly as hotel laborers, teashop keepers and small traders, and the number of industrial laborers was very few. People went to Shimoga, Mysore, Bangalore, Hasan and other places mainly as bakery workers, and the migration of Bakery workers was up to Kolhapur, Pune and Mumbai. Yet another form of temporary migration is also mentioned. The Hajj was a very important event in the life of a Muslim, and in early days, going for Hajj was an arduous and risky affair. Many people going for hajj used to stay in Mecca itself, evading the notice of emigration authorities. They used to do all kinds of odd jobs, the most prestigious being sweeping the roads through which the pilgrims made their journey, and returned after one or two years, with adequate amount of money. Perhaps the earliest accounts of the life and opportunities in Arabia were given by them.

Such migrations never involved the migration of the whole families. Only the male members migrated, leaving the entire families in their parental homes. The migrations were taking place at a very young age, some times even less than ten or twelve years, when children either ran away from home or taken by some of their relatives to work in the new places. This also probably explains the unskilled character of the labor, such as a helping hand in a hotel or bakery. In the initial years most of them worked without any wages, but only for food and shelter. All of them learnt the trade in the place to which they migrated. Lack of formal education is another reason why they never acquired any skills. Most of the migrants returned after several years, mainly to get married and leave again. This form of migration was clearly a solution to the miserable condition of their existence, and as one of the informants testified, it was hunger that drove the children

away from their homes. They were also among a large number of children brought up in the same household, and often suffered neglect as their parents could never find the means to feed so many children. As the households stayed back in the native place itself, their original position in the social hierarchy, as tenants, laborers, traders or whatever, was not disturbed. The income coming from outside became an additional remittance, that helped the household to tide over real periods of crisis.

### **Other forms of Labor**

Another solution was obviously making use of the opportunities provided by the emerging capitalist society. We have already seen the growth of modern traders in the area. For the ordinary people the other serious option was the cultivation of cash crops, the main features of which was also outlined earlier. The available information shows that a number of people took up minor trading of various kinds, and also were starting retail shops by bringing their goods from major wholesale centers such as Valiangadi in Calicut. The possibility of being absorbed into industrial labor was another major option. We have already seen the early recruitment into railways. As the tile factories came up in Feroke and Cheruvannur, a number of people from places like Vallikkunnu and Thenhippalam became laborers there. In the background of the economic crisis of the thirties, such opportunities were also few and far between. There was no major industrial establishment developing in Tirurangadi region itself. The first industrial concern was the tile factory that was established during the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century by a certain Natarajan Chettiar at Parakkadavu, and this factory had an interesting history which we will examine later. However, the available population statistics shows another feature, that the number of people without any specific occupation was also large. According to the 1931 census, for every 1000 persons in the Malabar District, there were 355 earners, 33 working dependents and 612 non-working dependents.(Census report,1931). The situation in Tirurangadi corresponded to the general pattern. The structure of the households, and very strong bonds that existed within the households, helped contain the growth of visible forms of unemployment, and it is this feature that resulted in the

category of ‘dependents’. The employment of the head of the family could be deemed to be the occupation of the entire family, unless the family has gone through the process of partition. As we have seen, the process of partition was prominent among the landlord families, and the ordinary families never had the means to go in for a partition suit. Hence the families had to survive with limited resources under their command, which increased their misery and resulted in conditions which we discussed in the context of out-migrations. In the case of the Muslims, the implementation of the Mappila Marumakkathayam Act in 1933 had very little influence in this area, as very few of the families had adopted matrilineal system. However, all the families maintained strong links among themselves, even though their economic status and social standing may be different. The Cultural implications of this process will have to be discussed later.

We reproduce below the occupational profile of Malabar from the 1931 Census:

**Table XLVIII**

<b>Category</b>	<b>male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
Total earners	853567	400032	1253599
Total working dependents	8970	109808	118778
Total non-working dependents	853601	1307966	2161567
Total earners with subsidiary occupation	43262	14425	57687
Total population	1716138	1817806	3533944

The figures indicate that majority of the dependents were women, although we also find that a substantial number of women were working as well.

### **Literacy and education**

Another solution was that of looking for means of upward social mobility using the living patterns of modern society. Education was the obvious stepping stone to such a process. The rebellion had convinced the British Government that one of the major reasons for the ‘outbreak’ was lack of education, particularly among the Mappilas. The solution was the

opening of a number of 'Mappila' schools all over the region. There were already a number of othupallis for Muslim children, run by various Musaliars, and many of these othupallis were converted into Mappila schools, or even as ordinary primary schools. So far there has not been any systematic examination of the growth of the Mappila schools. Many of the schools seem to have had a precarious existence in the beginning. One of the informants from Kundoor, a retired school teacher, remembered that, when he came from Tirurangadi after being appointed as a teacher in Kundoor School (Naduveetil School) in the forties. The school, started in 1926, was practically without children, and it required considerable campaigning and convincing before children could be brought to school. The story of Peruvallur High School (now higher secondary school) was similar. The early generation of teachers, mostly non-residents, intervened in the local issues and politics, settled local disputes, and thus earned the respect of the local people, which was a crucial inspiration in sending the children to school. The people of Peruvallur fondly remember Koran master, who played such a role. Another interesting case is the growth of a school at Palathinkal, which started as an othupalli by Marakkar Musaliar, who had been arrested in connection with the rebellion. Musaliar taught the children Malayalam letters and gave them elementary instruction. The othupalli survived by the elementary instruction had to be discontinued as Musaliar became old and could not carry on with the task. With the separation of the Othupallis from schools, some of the local people who received instruction from Musaliar started the elementary school, which has continued since. Many schools in the area have a similar origin.

The following information compiles the patterns of population, religion and literacy in Malabar, according to 1931 census (We rely upon the figures regarding Malabar to present a general pattern within which the people of Tirurangadi were striving)

#### **Table XLIX**

### Literacy rate per 10,000 people

Category	Hindu-total	Brahman	nayar	Cheruman	parayan	Muslim	Christian
Male	2661	758	552	13	42	1421	4817
Female	824	345	214	3	2	115	3292

It is clear that in an area where Muslim and the backward castes were the majority such as Tirurangadi, the rate of illiteracy and backwardness in formal education was much more than even the standard situation in Malabar. However, we should note that illiteracy does not mean lack of resources in terms of knowledge and experience, which helped them to sustain their means of livelihood in the pre-modern milieu. However, as we have seen, the conditions that developed in the early decades of twentieth century resulted in the quest for alternate means of livelihood where modern education provided a new ray of hope.

The spread of education in the area was against heavy odds. Many schools started as one teacher schools, run by enthusiastic persons who were running othupallis and kutippallikkutams earlier. More people were willing to start schools during the early decades of twentieth century. But there was the problem of appointment of trained teachers. The only training centre in the vicinity was at Malappuram, which could be reached only with ten to twelve kilometers of walking. Only those with extraordinary enthusiasm could walk to Malappuram daily in order to become trained teachers, or they would have to stay out of their homes. Not surprisingly, the first teachers came from families which had valued learning in some form, either through religious instruction or were nattasans (indigenous instructors), or from richer families with some access to learning. The informants who were retired teachers were proud to insist that they belonged to a family of teachers. There appears to have been some resistance against schooling earlier, primarily due to the reason that 'learning' in those times meant

religious instruction apart from learning a trade, and these two could be learnt in the centers of religious instruction and in the workplaces. The standard discussions of the history of South Malabar talked of the resistance against Malayalam as ‘aryanezhuthu’, but the local informants insisted that there was no resistance to their knowledge, but only that people were not convinced of the relevance of modern school education, and the benefits that their children would gain from attending the school. Sending children to school meant losing a hand in the field or workplace, which parents could not afford. Now in the background of absence of work and increase of dependents it is not surprising that some parents thought of sending their children to school as a means of opening a new way of life. Sending girls to schools was unthinkable, not only from the perspective of social and religious restrictions, but also from the general perspective regarding the role of women as additional household laborers and procreating agents, and girls as those cared for the younger children when the parents were busy elsewhere.

This meant that majority of the population did not receive any education at all, or received education only up to primary level. A substantial number of the older generation even today has only reached up to this level. Those who managed to complete middle school went on to complete their training and became teachers, or joined the Government service. There were no high schools in the area, and one major school nearby was Umbichi High school at Chaliyam, which could be reached only after walking a long distance and using the boat to cross the river. Majority of those who completed middle schools, even from richer families did not think it worth taking the risk. Of course, the landlord families sent their children to Calicut, and very few of them returned to the villages. By the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century, new High schools began to emerge, mainly a string of Government schools, which gradually brought higher education into the area. There was also an oriental Arabic school, meant for giving education in Arabic, in the unaided sector.

## **Health practices**

Health care of the people underwent similar changes. Modern doctors were virtually absent in the region even during the turn of the century. Health care was basically the prerogative of the practitioners of indigenous medicine, who belonged to mannan or velan and Izhava castes, and Muslim Thangals. Majority of the spiritual leaders among the Muslims earned their popular influence as healers. Several of these families practiced indigenous medicine or nattuvaidyam as a hereditary profession, and some of them practiced magic healing also, which included exorcising 'demons', and tying 'protective' bands after chanting the required hymns. Some of the exorcist families survive even today. One informant claimed to be practicing this, but he refused to divulge the mode of his practice. Many Thangals were practicing healing with the help of ayats of khur-an written on leaf, with the help of a specific powder mixed with oil, which was supposed to be having extraordinary healing properties. One Musaliar of Kundoor mosque, named Karuthayin Musaliar, practiced magical healing on a wide scale. He seems to have caused the delivery of a pregnant woman with the help of a 'pathiri' and tea from a long distance, even without seeing the woman! He is claimed to have healed by giving patients ayats of Khur-an written on leaves. The mosque now has a jarum in his name. Similarly, there were extremely popular and influential nattuvaidyans families, which survive to this day.

The nattuvaidyans were generally trained in a place called vaidyarangadi near Kondotty, where a number of traditional healer families exist even today. The biodiversity of the region were particularly useful, as the area contained a large number of herbal plants that could be used for healing practices. Nattuvaidyans were particularly adept at the herbal lore, and another advantage they had was they were also social activists and oracles in the local kavus, so that they were familiar, through their practice, with the social and genetic

profile of the people they were dealing with. This was probably the major reason for the social acceptance of the healers, although their practice was not 'scientific' in the modern sense. Many healers were remembered for their deftness or 'kaipunyam', which is different from 'expertise' in the modern sense. The sustenance of the healing traditions in the area requires further examination.

Modern medicine entered the area only slowly. First came a few registered medical practitioners. When the Public Health Department was organized in 1925, the practice of collecting vital statistics, and sending health visitors for vaccination purposes began. There was no hospital in the area, and people had to travel to Calicut for being attended in Hospital for women and children there, or to the Police Hospital at Malappuram. Another institution that came up was the Aryavaidyasala at Kottakkal, founded in 1900. Although not practicing modern medicine, the Aryavaidyasala provided better facilities for advanced treatment. Development of modern healthcare facilities in the region itself began only during the second half of twentieth Century

### **Communications**

We have referred to the indications on the older pathways and roads that connected various parts of the field area. During the time of the rebellion there was only one pucca road crossing the area from Malappuram to Chaliyam, which came via Urakam ,Vengara, kuriyad, crossed panampuzha river , turned to Tirurangadi from kakkad, proceeded straight to pallippadi, reached parappanangadi after crossing the river and then turned north to reach the Chaliyam. This was the road used by troops and policemen moving from Malappuram. The first bridge at Panampuzha was built after the rebellion and the second bridge at Palathinkal much later. There was, of course, the railroad, which provided the major link with outside world, and the importance of the link was demonstrated in a gruesome manner during the rebellion, in the infamous ' wagon tragedy'. Otherwise the area had a number pf non- metalled paths, such as the one from

Feroke to Parakkadavu (along which the National Highway was constructed), Chettippadi to Poorappuzha, and from Tanur to Chemmad. The introduction of the modern motor traffic necessitated the construction of metal roads. We have already seen the first car used by M.K.Haji in Tirurangadi. People remember the first bus introduced in the area, a vehicle with a 'nose', driven by a coal engine, creating sufficient noise to bring potential passengers from their houses. People also remember the first driver in the area, a man named palla ('pot-bellied') alavi, who was known as an 'expert driver' able to take his vehicle along non-metalled bumpy surfaces, which would be transformed into slushy pools during rainy seasons. Palla alavi, as well as other early drivers were respectable individuals, who had access to respectable homes in the area, as they were the first people to use the bus. The drivers were also sources of information as they visited the nearby town every day with a daily quota of respectable folk, and had the opportunity to gather 'news' from the town. Later, a regular bus service began to operate from Calicut to parakkadavu. However, regular bus traffic began to develop only much later that too only after the Panampuzha Bridge, and then Parakkadavu Bridge linking Munniyur to Chemmad was constructed. People from Thenhippalam and Munniyur did not go to Tirurangadi except on special occasions to settle Government matters, as the katchery was located there, and this traffic substantially increased when bridges were built across Kadalundi River.

### **Other changes**

Other 'modern' facilities did not appear on a wide scale in Tirurangadi in the immediate post-rebellion period. There was a post office and a sub-registrar's office at Tirurangadi, a munsiff's court at Parappanangadi. There is evidence for an attempt to create a waterway (or a canal?) connecting Kadalundi and Ponnani Rivers, which was apparently, completed around 1857, the part constructed remains to this day under the name

Keranallur thodu or Connolly thodu. Obviously, all these were instruments of the British rule. There is no evidence for electricity or other facilities in the area, which developed only recently. This meant that the development of 'modern' infrastructures have been comparatively slow during the immediate post-rebellion period, and began to pick up only towards the later half of twentieth century. The informants generally regarded the formation of the Kerala state in 1956 as the turning point in the creation of 'modern facilities' in the region.

This means that livelihood patterns of the people did not substantially change during the post- rebellion period. This does not mean that nothing changed, and the society was stagnant. In the resurvey of lands conducted during 1935, although most of the old landlords continued, a new set of landholders appeared, most of them Muslims. For example in the Trikkulam amsam, the kottayamparambath family who were one of the most powerful landlords during the 1905 survey, apparently disappeared, or reduced to minor landholders. In Parappanangadi, new landholders, such as a Keyi family, presumably from Thalassery, and a Sheik Mohammed labbai, appear. Labbai appears to hold in lands in other parts also. We have seen the increase of small holders, and a number of middle level landholders appear in the records, who might have been kanakkar or even Verumpattam holders in the earlier land relations. It should be mentioned that the testimonies of number of landholders today date their holdings back to the 1930s, if they are not pointing to the land reforms after 1956. These features point to the emergence of a new set of landholders in this period. The testimonies also point to the early days of misery, showing that the prospects of these new landholders were far from certain.

We have also seen that a shift to paramba cultivation was taking place. There is no indication that organized cash crop farming and the transformation of land as a commodity began to dominate the land relations. Moreover, there is also no indication that the condition of the verumpattam holders and the laborers changed substantially. The

growth of coir processing might have improved the condition of laborers working in the area. But, as pointed out earlier, coir processing rarely progressed beyond a household enterprise, and hence, the social mobility of the coir workers was not sufficient to bring about the change that took place in, for example, in the Alappuzha region.

### **Other calamities**

Other handicaps also emerged during the post-rebellion period. About ten years after the rebellion, the area was hit by a cyclone, one of the few to hit the Kerala Coast during recent times. The cyclone was sufficiently ferocious, as it destroyed considerable property, but according to memory of people, claimed no lives. People remember being woken up in the night by the thundering hiss of the cyclone, which uprooted a number of trees in the parambas; destroyed buildings and the sea lashed up and devoured a substantial part of the coastal area. Although no lives were lost, it took quite a while for the people to recover the losses sustained during the cyclone. The cyclone seems to have reinforced the belief patterns among the people, as some of them sincerely believed that they were protected from the cyclone by divine intervention, and the loss of property was the punishment they received for their sins.

During 1940s there was a major bout of cholera. Cholera and other epidemics were not new to the area, as there were other attacks of the epidemic during 19<sup>th</sup> century. But the cholera was the most ferocious in the memory and traditions of the people of the region. People remembered entire areas in Tirurangadi, Parappanangadi and Nannambra filled with corpses, and the impact of the attack on other parts also was equally severe. In many areas corpses were lying about with no one to attend to them and people dreaded coming anywhere near them. In many places people evacuated en masse to interior parts. However, there were bold people in several areas who undertook to bury the corpses single handedly. In Palathinkal, there was a grameena yuvasangham who undertook the

job of burying the corpses. The informants testified that no official help reached anywhere, no preventive care facilities were instituted anywhere. People appeared to have sought the help of magical healers. One magical device was the hoisting of flags that were offered and blessed in the jarum of Mamburam Thangal in different localities. It was believed that the flags had the capacity to stop Cholera from spreading into their regions. Whether the flags had any such capacity, is another matter, but some of the informants did insist that spread of Cholera indeed stopped after the hoisting of the flags. The flags did not end the misery of the people in the area. Together with Cholera, the region became a victim of famine conditions. Partly the conditions were part of the overall conditions of shortage experienced during the Second World War. In the case of the people of Tirurangadi, they had already been impoverished in the circumstances discussed above, and their misery was exacerbated during the war. Studies on the economic trends of the thirties show that the money income of the cultivator had reduced by half, and many of them were reduced to indebtedness in their efforts to meet their livelihood and to pay their taxes to the Government and rent to the landlords. The Malabar tenancy committee was appointed in 1939 to look into the problem of the rural indebtedness and the problems of the tenants. The Tenancy Committee Report could not take effect and there was the complaint that the report gave no serious recommendation to solve the problems of the Verumpattakkar. During the Second World War, the prices again soared, and the cultivators and small farmers were being rendered destitute. People remembered a time when they had nothing to eat other than roots and grass, nothing to drink except water. They lived a semi-nomadic kind of existence in which every day people left their homes searching for articles which would satisfy their hunger and come back with the barest needs. Even the prices of the normally available commodities in the market soared. Normally people procured such commodities through a kind of barter exchange, by exchanging the products from the parambas with

commodities such as oil, sugar, clothes and tea, now forbidding prices did not allow such exchange, as the merchants insisted on the payment of full price in cash. Only those cultivators and small landholders with surplus produce could do so either, which was beyond the reach of the ordinary laborers and tenant cultivators. Even essentials like kerosene became rare commodities and were available only in the black market. Of course, merchants, who acted as the middlemen for such commodities prospered; but the general condition of the people became much worse. The landlord families were generally well off, but they also apparently began to feel the pinch of the conditions. Migrations from the area, which was discussed earlier was also a result of these conditions.

The available histories of agrarian struggles in Kerala show that major acts of agrarian resistance, such as those of North Malabar, took place under these conditions. But no such movements developed in South Malabar, particularly Eranad Taluk, the scene of Malabar rebellion. It is not easy to identify the reasons for such inactivity. The normal reasons identified in the standard literature on the subject are the growth of Muslim Politics which prevented the growth of class identities as in the case of north Malabar, and the general weakness of the nationalist and radical politics in the area. The two reasons seem to be complementary to each other, and the point to the emergence of a political culture different from that of other parts. This is not the space to go into the details of the political transformation of south Malabar, but some trajectories relevant to Tirurangadi may be considered.

### **Political trends in the post-rebellion period**

The political trends in the region subsequent to the rebellion, up to and immediately following the state formation of 1956 appear to have proceeded along two directions. One was the growth of nationalist activity and the emergence of radical politics, and the

second the emergence of the Muslim league which developed as the single most powerful force of the area. However, during the years following the rebellion, the situation was amorphous. The leadership of 'traditional' intellectuals, which seemed to be reviving under Ali Musaliar, disappeared. The traditional Ulema were never in full support of the rebellion and afterwards seemed to withdraw to fulfill their religious functions. A new 'modernist' leadership was emerging drawn from the middle classes that received modern education and they formed the Muslim Aikya Sangham. We have seen the slow process of the development of 'modernity' in the region, and it is not surprising that the Aikya sangham did not receive immediate support in the area. It is possible that only a small minority even knew about the Aikyasangham. The Ulema who survived the rebellion, either fled to other places, or lived a relatively obscure life. The single influential Muslim leader in the area, was apparently Mohammed Abdurahiman, a Congressman, who later sided with the Congress socialist party and became the president of the KPCC. Most of the Congress loyalists of the older generation in the area fondly remember Abdurrahman, and how meetings addressed by him attracted very large audiences from all parts of the region. The older Congressmen from Peruvallur, koduvayur, Olakara, Munniyur and Parappanangadi attribute their links with the Congress to Abdurrahman. However, Abdurrahman was not popular with the elite groups among Islam, a fact demonstrated by his defeat in the hands of Sattar Sait in the 1937 elections to the Madras Legislative Assembly.

The reasons for the unpopularity seem to have been twofold. First was that Abdurrahman was opposing the capitalist and commercial tendencies among the Muslims by using the scriptural testimony of Islam itself. This is shown in the controversy between Abdurahiman and K.M. Moulavi on the question of the foundation of an 'Islamic bank' at mathilakam under the initiative of K.M.Moulavi. Abdurrahman criticized the move by pointing out that starting a bank involves transactions of interest payments, which is

against the tenets of Islam. Abdurrahman also was sympathetic to the plight of the small holders, tenant cultivators and laborers which made him side with the Congress socialists, which also was not a major agenda for the Muslim elite. The third and the most crucial, seems to have been his uncompromising anti- British position, which was not favored by the elite. As we have seen, The Muslim was at best ambivalent in their approach towards the British even after proven acts of state terrorism to crush the rebellion. Abdurrahman was opposed to the communal tendencies that developed among the rebels, but he equally condemned the British repression. There appears to have been a fourth reason also. Abdurrahman campaigned for the restoration of the properties of Tharamal Thangal of Mamburam to the successor of Sayyid Fasl. He formed a committee for the purpose, named Mamburam restoration Committee in 1933. The committee petitioned to the British Government to restore the properties to the legitimate owner and allow him to be domiciled in Mamburam. However, the holders of the properties of the Thangal, led by Khanbahadur Attakkoya, objected to the visit of Sayyid Ali. Sayyid Ali reached Madras from Srilanka and from there proceeded to Parappanangadi. According to the local informants, Mussakkutty adhikari, who agreed to receive him at the station, could not do so, as he passed away just before the scheduled time. Abdurrahman, Kunhikoyamuttynaha and others waited to receive Sayyid Ali at Parappanangadi. Sayyid Ali wanted to go to Mamburam, but Abdurrahman persuaded him to proceed to Calicut and petition the authorities. The petition of Sayyid Ali was rejected by the authorities and refused him permission to enter the territory. As a result, Sayyid Ali was taken to the French territory of Mahe, where was put up with a friend of Abdurrahman. The Collector issued a proclamation denying permission to Sayyid Ali. In this issue, the elite, led by Khan Bahadur Attakkoyathangal were against Abdurrahman. It should also be noted that Abdurrahman was defeated by Khanbahadur Attakkoya in the election to the Vice-president ship of Malabar District Board.

The incident of Sayyid Ali is revealing in many ways. It is obvious that Mohammed Abdurrahman was using the issue as a major rallying point among the Muslims, because of the influence of the Thangal tradition among the people, particularly in Tirurangadi and Koduvayur (Mamburam was part of Koduvayur, an area to which Abdurrahman had connections), and its potential subversive impact on the British rule. Probably he expected that the Thangal tradition would rally the Mappilas against the British. But the Ulema and the elite who would have been rallied by the Thangal tradition did not do so, and they tried to resist the entry of Sayyid Ali into Malabar. This is also not surprising, as we have seen that the Ulema were not serious about maintaining the Thangal tradition, and did not support the case of the direct descendants of Sayyid Fasl. Thangal tradition stayed with the people, but they were powerless against the Ulema, unless they were rallied by an equally powerful spiritual leader, such as Ali Musaliar. Secondly, there was no reason why they should be mobilized by a property dispute within an Ulema family, because by then the case of Sayyid Ali had acquired that colour. Despite the earnest efforts by Abdurrahman, there was no mass enthusiasm on the question of Sayyid Ali, or at least, it was never articulated in a mass action. This meant that whatever might have been the impact of the thangal tradition, its potential anti-British role had abated. It also indicated that the influence of the ulema per se, whether they were anti-British or not, was increasing. It should also be noted that despite the personal influence of Mohammed Abdurrahman, he could not develop a powerful group of activists in the area, who could carry forward the work of the Congress or CSP. Apparently, Abdurrahman also tried to convince the Ulema that it would be wise for them to join the National movement and the Congress, but that also did not find their favor.

Nationalist politics in its radical form did make an impact in certain parts of the region. Its impact was very clear in Vallikkunnu. Vallikkunnu was an area where the landlord –

tenant conflict was acutely represented. It was also an area which had better educational opportunities, being provided with more schools and had access to the opportunities in Calicut. Even a cursory examination of the population of Vallikkunnu shows that most of the families had relatives or other forms of close links with Calicut, and hence they shared the cultural features with Calicut. The Congress activity reached Vallikkunnu through the educated youth, from where it spread to the adjacent Thenhippalam. K.Madhavanar, the one of the early secretaries of the KPCC, and the joint Secretary of the All India Peace Council was the most important. The congress committee was formed in Vallikkunnu in 1929 and was reconstituted in 1930. The conditions of misery and destitution outlined above, and the resulting intensification of the landlord –tenant conflict in the area made a number of them shift to radical politics and eventually to Communist Party. Pannatt Kunhiraman nair (who passed away while this report was being prepared), Puthiyattil Kesavan nair, Perunthani Thumpan, and U. Kandankutty were among the early communists in the area, and under their influence Vallikkunnu has developed into a packet with a very strong Left influence. Thenhippalam and Peruvallur also witnessed Communist activity although not to the same scale. There the communists were mainly instrumental in organizing resistance against some of the major landlords such as Mangalasseri mana, Vellimattath Mussad and Neduvancheri Mussad. Parappanangadi also witnessed Communist activity, and drew in its ranks a member of the powerful Janmi family of Chiramangalam mana, Yajnamurti namputirippad, and a member of the powerful Naha family, Koyakunju Naha. However, Communists did not succeed in organizing any major struggles of the scale of North Malabar in the crucial period of the forties and fifties. The reason appears to be that the Communists were unable to develop a powerful organization that would undertake such struggles but depended on the personal abilities of a few active workers. Communists were also unable to develop a powerful group in the crucial areas of Tirurangadi, where the miseries of the

people were the most manifest. After the establishment of the tile factory in Parakkadavu, the Communists organized an effective Trade Union there, which was able to negotiate with the owner and take over the factory as the original concern was running at a loss and the owner was threatening to close it down. Still, the factory is being run under the management of the workers.

### **Emergence of Muslim Politics**

Two factors played a significant role in the decision making of the majority Muslim population. The first was the formation of the Muslim League in 1937. It has been argued that the Muslim league was the natural continuation of the Muslim aikya sangham, particularly as K.M.Seethisaheb and K.M.Moulavi who were involved in the formation of the Aikya sangham were involved in founding Muslim League also However, the more interesting feature is the involvement of a number of elite Muslims who were not involved in the Aikya sangham , such as Arakkal Sulaiman Ali raja, who was the founding president, C.P.Cheriyammamkeyi and Sattar Sait. The exact circumstances which led them to decide on a political organization for the Muslims are yet to be investigated. It is clear that the original founders of the Muslim League were those who were not in favour of the Congress movement from the very beginning or were people who had been earlier with the Congress and later became inactive. It should also be noted that the Muslim league came into being when the Congress, along with its right and left-wing factions had substantially increased their popular influence, and a leader, like Abdurrahman, as noted earlier, was becoming extremely popular. There was a possibility that the Muslim population would be won over by the Nationalists and radicals, which the Muslim elite did not want. .There was a second possible reason. The ambivalent attitude of the Congress towards the Malabar rebellion, and their ineptitude in intervening in the relief and rehabilitation work in Eranad, had alienated the Muslims from Congress

as an organization, and with the exception of the Communists, who took up the cause of the tenants and agricultural laborers, no other section of the Nationalists took up the problems that affected the livelihood of the Muslims. The death of K.Madhavan nair and the arrest and prolonged prison tenure of M.P.Narayana Menon had robbed the Congress of two possible links with the Muslim population. The older generation of the league workers testified that nearly all of them or their family members had belonged to the Congress, but they left it as the Congress leadership did not attend to any of their problems. This alienation of the ordinary Muslim from the Congress was successfully utilized by the Muslim elite leadership to provide a firm popular basis for the new Party. Apart from these, there were possibly other reasons also. The Moplah outrages Act, the repressive legislation that was in force more than half a century was repealed through the resolution passed by the newly elected Madras Legislative assembly, for which the notice had been moved by C.P.Cheriyammukkeyi. During the same year, in an interesting turn around of the earlier positions, a signature week (November 5-12 1937) was conducted for the return of Sayyid Fasl's children to Malabar, and the signatures were submitted to Yakkub Hasan. These two moves showed that foundations of a new Muslim politics were emerging, which had a historical legacy.

There was an equally important feature that laid the basis for the Muslim politics. This involved the assumption of a new role by the Ulema, not as anti-British or anti-landlord agitators, but as organizers of the Kerala Muslim as a religious entity. Again the exact reasons for this new posture require further investigation. It is possible that the shift was the result of the changes that were taking place in the livelihood patterns. As we have seen the Malabar tenancy act induced the growth of small holdings. A cursory examination of the small holdings showed that Muslims held majority of them. An

indication of this is shown by the following information that can be gathered from Trikkulam Desam

**Table L**

<b>Year</b>	<b>No. of Muslim landholders</b>	<b>No. of non-Muslims</b>	<b>total</b>
1905	232	58	290
1935	269	70	339

This does not demonstrate the actual distribution of the landholdings, which, even in 1935 might have favored the non-Muslims, as all the major landlords in Trikkulam, such as Samuthiri raja, Thekkiniyakath Keerangat Mana, Chandanarambath, Panthavur, Vennaikkattu Muttayil and others were still intact, only kottayamburath Nayars had disappeared or declined. But these figures indicate the concerns of the emerging Muslim League, which had to pay attention to the plight of the small holders. It should be remembered that the Muslim league primarily emerged from the middle class, and were to protect the interests of the merchants and the larger landholders also, who were also being affected by the changing economic trends. It is not surprising that the plight of the verumpattakkar and laborers assumed the lowest priority.

We have already identified another feature of the region, that the Muslims and the backward classes together formed the vast majority of the population, who also formed the bulk of the cultivators and Laborers. We have already seen that The Mamburam Thangals probably attempted a further strengthening of the solidarity of these groups, by patronizing kavus of the backward classes and encouraging their conversions to Islam. WE have no clear indication regarding conversions, and the population statistics have shown that places like Parappanangadi, Tirurangadi and Nannambra always had sizable

Muslim population. However, the Census of 1931 may give us certain indications regarding the nature of political trends.

**Table LI**

<b>Village</b>	<b>Total population</b>	<b>Depressed Castes</b>	<b>Other Hindus</b>	<b>Total Hindus</b>	<b>Muslims</b>	<b>Others</b>
Ariyallur	3145	297	2441	2738	407	-
Kodinji	3417	103	428	531	2886	-
Munniyur	5763	299	1021	1320	4443	-
Nannambra	5110	279	1317	1596	3514	-
Neduva	6603	451	4104	4555	2025	23
Olakara	3352	344	748	1092	2260	-
Parappanangadi	6082	48	1090	1138	4941	3
Peruvallur	3673	373	756	1129	2544	-
Thenhippalam	6807	604	3428	4092	2715	-
Tirurangadi	6768	78	710	848	5920	-
Trikkulam	6044	301	1659	1960	4065	19
Ullanam	3265	386	802	1188	2076	1
Vallikkunnu	6782	521	3918	4429	2353	-
Velimukku	7054	500	2676	3186	3868	-

.Source: Compiled from 1931 census.

It should be noted that the depressed caste population is the least in areas which has a very large Muslim concentration, like Parappanangadi and Tirurangadi, and increase in the number of depressed castes corresponds to the number of total number of Hindus. The depressed castes along with backward castes such as the Thiyyas formed a sizable section of the laborers and tenant cultivators. The marginality of the depressed caste population in places like Tirurangadi meant that they could not become a powerful social force in such areas and combine with tenant cultivators in the way they seems to have done in Vallikkunnu, and even Thenhippalam. The Muslim politics could always use their majority and the fact that a large number of them were small and middle landholders and merchants to advantage to develop their political culture. The class composition of the region thus resulted in the making of the brand of identity politics that the region and south Malabar as a whole came to be identified with. It is clear that the insurgent approach that was part of the Thangal tradition is being given up

in favor of a compromise with the developing capitalist-colonial system, at the same time strengthening the inner cultural resources. This was also necessary in the background of the struggle for survival by a substantial population and small and middle farmers, laborers and merchants. The only other alternative option would have been to join the Congress Socialist politics developing at that time, but that option was already closed by the elite leadership. The anti-western rhetoric of the purist organizations like Muslim brotherhood was not being adopted here by majority of the Ulema, although the influence of a wahhabist purification movement did exist. It is from these concerns that a Samastha kerala Jum-iiyathul Ulema was formed in 1936. The activities of the Samastha were extremely significant in the context in which the average Muslim lived. One involved the establishment and renovation of mosques, which would provide the religious and cultural centre of the Muslims. The second was the establishment of yatheem khanas, which provided refuge for the orphans and destitute people, and the third was the promotion of Madras education. The invocation of the institution of zakat by the Ulema meant that they would receive liberal donations from the richer class for their endeavors. Tirurangadi is probably the best example for the development of these institutions as shown by the Tirurangadi yatheem Khana, madrasa and the mosque.

The Yatheem Khanas were the obvious solution of the problem of destitution and misery of the ordinary Mappila from an Islamic perspective, which would counteract an insurgent or even a possible revolutionary disposition. The development of Madrasa education appears to have been motivated by other considerations. The Government prohibited the functioning of elementary schools and othupallis together, and as a result, schools had to be run separately. With the expansion of the schools under the grant-in aid scheme, the othupallis which were run under the initiative of enterprising Musaliars were under threat, as they lacked the necessary institutional mechanisms that would ensure their survival. One method was to transform them along with mosques and yatheem

khanas into Wakf properties, run by endowments. The Wakf Act of 1954, passed by the Government of India legalized the Wakf properties. With the spread of modern education, the ulema also became concerned about the future of religious education. This persuaded the Ulema to reconstitute madrasa education under a formal structure, conducted on a regular basis with a syllabus, and to appoint qualified teachers for the purpose. Thus Madrasas began to be established along with every mosque in an independent building with facilities similar to that of an ordinary school. For developing trained teachers, Arabic schools had to be established, the oriental school in Tirurangadi being an early example (Now this has been converted into an ordinary school, with Arabic being taught at every level). Later, separate Arabic colleges came into existence, which trained the students in Afsal-al-Ulema. The Arabic college that exists along with the Tirurangadi Yatheem khana is an excellent example. The spread of Madrasa education and the Arabic colleges ensured the growth of a parallel educational network along with the spread of modern 'secular' education. The Madrasa education came to acquire a compulsory character, imparted to all children irrespective of whether they received formal school education or not. While school education was managed by multiple agencies including the Government, the Madrasa education was run on a strict neighborhood basis, and the common syllabus prepared by an education board specially constituted for the purpose. Madrasa education later came to be accepted as formal learning when Arabic Colleges were recognized by the Universities, thus making Afsal al Ulema a standard course and Madrasa teaching a standard profession, thus legitimizing the parallel religious instruction.

Thus the mosque became the central religious and social institution for the Muslims, and the management of the mosques and the institutions attached to it the exclusive domain of the neighborhood. It is not surprising that the neighbourhood came to be institutionalized, as the neighbourhoods were organized into mahals and the activities of the Mahals

regulated by the Mahal Committee. The spread of these organizations indicated the powerful influence of the mosque as an entity that had a powerful influence over the entire Muslims from birth to death. It is not surprising that the internecine politics among the ulema became central to the social transactions among the Muslims. While majority among the Muslims accepted the traditional Sunni faith, a revisionist purist tradition also appeared which was formalized into an organization named Kerala Nadwat-al – Mujahideen in 1950. The differences between Sunnis and the revisionists resulted acrimonious debates, and establishment of separate mosques following their own ritual practices.

The emergence of the Muslim League and the organization of the Ulema may be seen as complementary developments. The development of the ulema and the institutions that they created a powerful arbitrating mechanism that would resolve potential conflict among the different classes among Muslims, and also alleviate the miseries of the people to the level possible. Since the institutions were based on a powerful religious tradition that would help to ward off potential secular, liberal or rationalist tendencies. Hence the potential dangers of modern education, and modernity in general, could be contained, without affecting the new opportunities, in terms of employment or business, which would accrue from it. Muslim league would function as the political arm of the emerging community formation, defending the new formation in its entirety, and bargaining for new spaces, such as new institutions, infrastructures or enterprises, that would preserve and enhance the capabilities of the new formation. Looked at from this point of view it is easy to see how Muslim politics succeeded in the region. It is also obvious why political leaders like Mohammed Abdurrahman, ever sympathetic to the problems of the Muslim masses, failed as he would not have been able to tackle the emerging power of the Ulema. It is also easy to see that the Muslim League, as a pure political dispensation, would not have been able to consolidate without the new institutions that came into being.

The impact of the new political formation and institutions was not immediately visible. The condition of the people remained miserable and they were oppressed by landlordism as well as the socio-economic effects of war. However, one change was visible, that of the emergence of new social groups. A new group of merchants were prospering in the war conditions, making use of the scarcity of essential commodities and soaring prices, and also by entering into arrangements with the merchants in Calicut, Coimbatore and other places. The rise of these merchants was important culturally also, as they financed the madrasas and yatheem khanas that were being set up. An educated elite was gradually developing, who studied in Calicut and other nearby towns, bringing along with them new ideas, both religious and secular. People were migrating to other parts of India and outside in search of opportunities, and they were beginning to bring their savings. A number of people also joined the army during war time, and they stood the chance of getting opportunities as ex-servicemen.

### **Early years of Independence**

India's independence was greeted with a lot of enthusiasm, while partition created its own tremors in the region. People shouted slogans for Pakistan, and when the opportunity came for migration, some people migrated. According to one informant, about 200 people migrated from the area of Kundoor. Apparently, the cause of the migration was the search for better livelihood and opportunities, rather than any national and religious feeling. It was not the well to do people who were migrating, and many of them returned, when they found that the opportunities were limited there and also because they were forced to be separated from their families who were Indian citizens. The fact that the families were left here in many cases showed that they were looking for better opportunities. One ex-serviceman remembered that he was serving in Karachi when India became independent. Those in the service were given the choice of citizenship in

Pakistan or India, and he chose India. Another man serving in Karachi chose Pakistan, but changed his mind as he wanted to rejoin his family. However, as soon as he reached home, he was identified as a Pakistani citizen and was deported. When he returned, Pakistan refused to take him back, and finally he was forced to settle in Bahrain. He regained Indian citizenship after several years through prolonged negotiations. There are several people going through similar problems in this area.

Early years of independence also brought no cheer to the region, in terms of their economic conditions. However, other signs of transformation were becoming visible. More schools were being established in different parts of the region, by the Malabar District board and by private individuals. Roads and bridges were being built and buses and other motor vehicles began to operate. The growth of democratic struggles all over Kerala had resulted in the confidence that the days of landlordism were numbered, and all political parties working in the region did not oppose the new sentiment. Several landlords of the region had already settled in Calicut or nearby areas, such as Pootheri family, Kozhippurath Madhava Menon and others. The prevailing sentiment was strengthened by the election of a Government led by Sri. E.M.S. Nambudirippad, during 1957.

The available information from 1951 census and other documents help us understand the general characteristics of the region during the eve of Kerala state formation. The following information on Eranad Taluk including the region will give us an idea of the livelihood patterns in the fifties.

### **Table LII**

#### **Livelihood classes and educational standards –Eranad taluk -1951**

A: Total population and  
Agricultural classes

Education	Total population		Cultivators of Land-fully or Partly owned		Cultivators Wholly or mainly unowned		Cultivators-laborers		Non-cultivating owners	
	male	female	male	female	Male	female	male	female	male	female
Literate	89996	40184	8555	5135	23373	11431	17967	6172	2297	1954
Middle school	4051	1486	477	270	749	226	246	83	200	81
SSLC	1410	310	237	52	226	38	18	6	105	31
Intermediate	128	27	27	8	8	1	2	-	41	-
Graduate	119	10	11	1	5	-	-	-	24	-
Postgraduate	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Teachers	547	105	53	6	59	3	11	-	9	-
Engineer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Veterinary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commerce	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Law	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Medical	18	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Other	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	96158	42128	9361	5477	24420	11614	18244	6261	2678	2066
Illiterate	205230	270767	11486	15866	42085	54400	81326	101954	1930	3318

#### B: Non –Agricultural Classes

Educational standards	Producers other than cultivators		Commerce		Transport and communication		Others and miscellaneous	
	male	female	male	Female	Male	Female	Male	female
Literate	13414	2076	9472	3679	2127	474	12791	9263
Middle school	203	76	257	75	110	40	1819	641
SSLC	79	4	127	19	26	1	592	154
Intermediate	-	-	10	1	-	-	40	17
Graduate	11	-	7	-	-	-	61	9
Postgraduate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teaching	7	-	8	3	-	-	400	93
Engineer	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
veterinary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commerce-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Law	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Medical	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	5
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Total	13704	2156	9881	3777	2263	515	15727	10182

Illiterate	26533	40533	13796	19590	5554	6916	22400	28270
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Source: Census of Madras and Coorg, 1951, Vol II; Tables

The above tables though not specifically on the region but comprises the entire taluk in which the region forms a part, provides interesting trends. It shows that the agricultural population remains illiterate or barely literate, a few going to the middle school level, those who have passed SSLC and reached higher levels, particularly teaching, are gradually moving out of agriculture. Majority of those who are involved in commerce and other forms of production are illiterate, and the rest, barring a few are barely literate. Whether illiteracy involves absence of practical knowledge is a question that we may well ask. There are hardly any 'modern' professional classes in the area, except teachers. What happens when education goes up in the area and a modern professional class emerges is another matter that requires examination.

The detailed analysis of the evidence shows that the region was still almost entirely agricultural, despite the trends of commercialization indicated earlier. A vast majority of the people were either agricultural laborers or small –scale cultivators, followed by the various artisan groups. There were a minimum number of landlords, who held majority of the lands among themselves. People who worked in the service sector were relatively few. There are two interesting features of employment during this period. One is that the number of people employed as daily wage labor was much less than the people employed in household industries (the so-called unorganized sector). There were no large scale industries in Eranad in 1951. The following is the number of cottage and small scale industries in Ernad taluk in 1951.

**Table LIII**

<b>Type if industry</b>	<b>Establishment</b>	<b>Personal employment</b>
Cotton spinning, sizing, weaving	463	1756
Rope making	7	27
Mat weaving	3	13
Dairy products	-	-
Fish preservation	11	66
Vegetable oil pressing	82	202
Beedi	238	755
Umbrella making	1	22
Cobblers and footwear	11	27
Leather works	-	-
Copper, brass, bellmetal	24	69
Boat making	-	-
Coach building, transport equipment	1	2
Soap manufacture	-	-
pottery	169	580
Basket making	59	183
Furniture making	-	-

others	12	37
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Source: Census of 1951, Annexure IV, cottage and small scale industries, 1951

The figures given here may not be accurate. For example, boats used to be made in mukkathkadavu in Thenhippalam until recently which is not reported in the Census. It is also interesting to note that soap manufacture and furniture making were reported as absent and there was a high incidence of production of beedis attested to by the local informants also. The high incidence of manufacture of pottery is attested to by the still surviving potters' colonies. However, manufacture of iron products of which there is considerable evidence is not listed as a cottage industry. In all these products, personal household employment predominates.

Secondly, the participation of women in the labor process was higher than what it is today. Unfortunately we have no direct evidence from the census of 1951, because of the practice of compiling statistics of sex-wise population by including the 'dependents' in the figures, and hence, we have to depend on the testimony of the old people of the region who attested to the substantial women's participation particularly in agricultural labor and household industry. The increased number of participation of women shows another feature also. The labor participation was irrespective of factors of religion. The evidence also shows that most of the people were in a stage not far above subsistence level, except, of course, the landlords and the merchant classes. In the memory of the people, majority of the roads seen today were still cart-tracks. Very few houses were electrified, and those who owned cars and built concrete houses were very few. Cinema houses and other entertainment places were generally unknown. Those who wanted higher education had to go to Calicut or to Farook College. The area had no industry worth the name. There were also a few oil mills and saw mills in different parts of the region. There was the tile factory in Parakkadavu, and a few iron works were coming up

in Venniyur. There were also a few match companies, such as Malabar “tiger” matches in Tirurangadi.

### **Tirurangadi since 1956**

The above account has brought us to the formation of Kerala state. It remains for us to give an account of the changes that have taken place since 1956, before undertaking an analysis of the contemporary issues. Land reforms in Kerala, initiated by the first Communist Ministry in Kerala and completed during the seventies, brought about sweeping changes in the social relations. It was probably the single most important factor in the transformation of the region as well as the problems that it is facing today. During the period of land reforms, the power of all the landlords disappeared. Nambutiri Illams like, Thekkiniyath Keerangat and Muthedath shifted to Thrissur, and other Illams like Chiramangalath, Thotuva Muthedath, Attayur, Edamarath and Mangalassery remained in the region, although they lost practically everything during land reform. Devaswama also lost their lands. It is clear that those households dependent on the paddy fields suffered the most. The nayar households, who had considerable paramba lands also, suffered through partition of their property. There were cases of households who divided themselves into forty different segments, and thus reduced to small holders. Large landlords like Puzhankadavath, Attukalathil, Arangat kurup, have been reduced to small holders, and only the large taravad of Mangat Mussad remains, without occupants. Neduvancheri Mussad, another earlier landlord, is now a newspaper agent and Attayur Nambutiri is a retired schoolmaster. So is Edamana nambutiri, who is also involved in the management of the school (CBHS).Puzhikkal family in Nannambra is now partitioned, and the main branch now owns only a few acres of paramba land. Mulavanuli Illam in Nannambra has disappeared although the paramba in the name remains. Thottassiiri Panikkars have been reduced to owners of a small paramba, managed by a woman, and

Kaprat family has left the place, and the large tharavad house remains. Similarly the tharavad house of Kulavoor Chempazhi nayars, another large landlord family can be seen, but they are reduced to minor landholders.

There are a few remains of landlord culture also. The kalarithara of Kathiniiri, related to Thottassiiri Panikkar can be seen, but the kalari is not used. Kattuvachira temple, where Thottassiri held their Urayma, is now run by a popular committee. Ullanam and Pappanur Devaswams, run by landlord families such as Chiramagalam Mana and Velimuttath Mussad, also are run by Committees. Many of the festivals run by landlord families are no longer conducted, although there have been attempts to revive them recently. The families of artisans, brought and settled by the landlord families, are now without employment, or are forced to subsist on other means.

Land reforms did affect the major Muslim families also. Kizhakkiniyakath Nahas, the largest landlord family of the area, have lost almost all their paddy fields in the process of land reform, and so were families like Achampattu, melevittil, Puthiya nalakath, Naduvil puthiyakath, Eramakkakath and so on. However, majority of the Muslims had paramba lands, and different members of the same family had their holdings registered as individual property, and hence, as family collectives did not lose as much as the Nambutiris and Nayars. It should be remembered that the Muslim personal law permitted women to retain their individual property, and in the settlements of 1905 and 1935, a large number of women, belonging to the large landlord families were holding property. This system allowed a large number of Muslim households to retain a substantial share of the lands, provided the individual segments did not cross the land ceiling regulations.

At the same time a substantially large number of land transactions were taking place. A casual examination of the owners of parambas bearing the names of identifiable landholding families showed that they were transferred several times before coming to

the present owner, that is, such families were selling or transferring those lands from the 60s and 70s. The spree of land transactions from the 60s might have been to evade the impact of land reforms, but it also meant that land was becoming a commodity. Commodification of land was also facilitated by the growth of large market centers, such as Chemmad, and the establishment of large institutions such as the University, PSMO College, IOC at Chelari and MK Haji Hospital

1971 census, compiled towards the completion of the process of land reforms, gives the following information on the agricultural scene:

**Table LIV**

Village	Cultivators		Agricultural laborers		Livestock and primary processes		total	
	Male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
Vallikkunnu	251	18	675	80	701	6	1627	104
Thenhippalam	486	16	1034	124	50	-	1570	140
Ariyallur	275	6	641	188	81	11	997	205
Mooniyur	1138	22	1575	316	35	1	2748	339
Nannambra	930	16	1439	419	26	-	2395	435
Peruvallur	728	18	1382	230	32	-	2142	248
Parappanangadi	501	54	1198	181	1633	12	3332	247
Tirurangadi	606	24	1336	208	62	-	2004	232
Total	4915	174	9280	1746	2620	30	16815	1982

Source: Census handbook, Malappuram, 1971

The statistics clearly show that the agricultural population is now clearly divided into two classes, the owners and laborers, besides the other primary producers, in which fishermen of Parappanangadi and Vallikkunnu predominate.

We now give the information on non-agricultural occupations in the area:(see table LV)

The data given in table LV shows that transition from household industry to large scale manufacture has been slow, but was taking place, but the growth of trade and commerce and other services was more rapid. New sectors like construction and transport and communication were emerging, presumably as accessories to trade and commerce. Another change is also clear. While household industry employed a number of women almost equal to men, but the new sectors do not employ very few or no women at all, with the exception of services, and they do not absorb women into the labor force in the same way as agriculture and household industry did.

It is now useful to compare the agricultural (which can now be defined as the primary sector) with the non-agricultural population in the region:

**Table LVI**

(%Ge of total male and female population given in brackets)

Village	Total workers		Agricultural classes		Non-agricultural classes		Non-workers	
	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
Vallikkunnu	3003 (42.61)	330 (4.51)	1627 (23.09)	104 (1.42)	1376 (19.53)	226 (3.09)	4044 (57.39)	6991 (95.49)
Thenhippalam	2705 (41.84)	360 (5.46)	1570 (24.28)	140 (2.12)	1135 (17.56)	220 (3.34)	3760 (58.16)	6231 (94.54)
Ariyallur	2056 (43.12)	371 (7.24)	997 (20.91)	205 (4.00)	1059 (22.21)	166 (3.24)	2712 (56.88)	4752 (92.76)
Munniyur	4682	512	2748	339	1934	173	5967	10903

	(43.97)	(4.49)	(25.81)	(2.97)	(18.16)	(1.52)	(56.03)	(95.51)
Peruvallur	3270 (45.83)	383 (5.22)	2142 (30.02)	248 (3.38)	1128 (15.81)	135 (1.84)	3865 (54.17)	6953 (94.78)
Parappanangadi	6971 (45.17)	641 ((3.95)	3332 ((21.59)	247 ((1.52)	3639 (23.58)	394 (2.43)	8462 (54.83)	15588 (96.05)
Nannambra	3315 (41.86)	509 ((5.76)	2395 (30.24)	435 ((4.92)	920 (11.62)	74 (0.84)	4604 ((58.14)	8324 (94.24)
Tirurangadi	4832 (39.66)	514 (3.80)	2004 (16.45)	232 (1.72)	2828 (23.21)	282 (2.09)	7353 (60.35)	12995 (96.20)
Total	30834 (43.06)	3620 (4.74)	16815 (23.48)	1950 (2.55)	14019 (19.58)	1670 (2.19)	40767 (56.94)	72737 (95.26)

Source: compiled from District census handbook Malappuram District, 1971

The table shows that among the workers, agricultural workers, including farmers and laborers continue to be the majority although the other classes are rapidly catching up. They had overtaken the population based on agriculture in Tirurangadi, Parappanangadi and Ariyallur, where the major advances were in the fields of trade and commerce, transport and communications and other services, rather than industries. The figures also show that women were already marginal force in the workforce, coming to only 4.74% of all the women in the area.

### **Agricultural production**

The land reforms had interesting consequences in the agricultural production of the area. The available information and the experience of the local people showed that a large number of small landholders and tenant-cultivators were beneficiaries of land reforms. Majority of the present landholders got their holdings, in which they were staying for generations, confirmed in their name. Large paddy field clusters, like venchalipatam, kizhakke patam and other patams were distributed among a number of holders. This seems to have opened up large possibilities, along with new challenges. The old landlords

were satisfied with the income they were receiving from individual fields because of the extent of resources under their command. We have seen that the lot of the tenant cultivator and laborer was extremely miserable. The land reforms changed all that. The holders of legal rights over the land now received the land as their personal property, and it was up to them to make a living out of their holdings. This resulted in the growth of an entirely small holder economy which can be seen in the latest figures on holdings in Tirurangadi Block given below They were facing a host of problems in their effort to develop a new livelihood pattern.

**Table LVII**

Number and area of Individual operational holdings 1995-6(in acres)

Block	>0-0.2		0.2-0.5		0.5-1.0		1.0-2.0		2.0-4.0		4.0-10.0		10.0& above		total	
	Holdings	Area	Holdings	Area	Holdings	Area										
Tirurangadi	2385	34	36731	4060	1754	1200	721	893	148	388	25	94	0	0	41764	6669

The above table shows the transition to small holdings in the area. It also shows all the major patasekharams and challis and major parambas are fragmented as small holdings, and that any effort of improvement of cultivation or increase of productivity affects the small holders as whole, rather than felt as the concern of a few landlords.

The first was, of course, the hostile natural conditions in many areas. We have already seen that large areas in the region were water-logged, and only a few lands yielded all the three crops. Most of the lands yielded Mundagan or puncha. Mundagan normally required preparation of land by removing additional water from the fields, and more importantly, there was the problem of entry of saline water from the sea, which large areas in cultivable. Earlier, landlords, solved the problem water logging by concentrating

their labor resources in the area where there was excess water, and that saline water by shifting the cultivation from such areas. However, this was not possible for the new set of landowning farmers. They had to invest additional money and for preventing water logging. Some of the richer farmers in venchali, kizhakke patam and other fields apparently brought labor resources from different areas to do the work. Those who did not have the resources had to meet the problem with household labor. Apart from this, because of the nature of the terrain and water resources, most of the area has not come under irrigation. As per 1971 Census figures, only 8.77% of the total cultivated land was irrigated. However, the major requirement of the area was not as much irrigation canals as an effective system of management for the available water supply, including streams and the river, which was not forthcoming.

The problem of salination in the long run was beyond the ability of the farmers, and attracted Government intervention. The irrigation department set up many canal and irrigation schemes in the area, such as the venchali lift irrigation scheme and the Trikkulam lift irrigation scheme. Schemes in the area, mostly that of repairing existing thodus and transforming them into canals with bunds (Cheerpu) for preventing the entry of excess water of saline water. Such cheerpus can be found at Chernur patam on the borders of Munniyur and Thenhippalam, another one in the place called Brahmaswam in Thenhippalam. The biggest cheerpu of this kind is in the Keranallur thodu in between Parappanangadi and Nannambra to let out excess water in the area. The largest of such works is the Anaicut at Mannittampara in Kadalundi River commissioned by the EMS ministry in the sixties which was built mainly for solving the problem of the heavy salination in the area. Old farmers testified that the Anaicut did solve the problem of the entry of saline water and promoted cultivation in the nearby areas. However, the problem of salination continued in the areas up to the Anaicut, for example, in places like Olipramkadavu and Vallikkunnu, which affected the productivity of the soil.

Productivity of the soil was the next important concern. As we have seen earlier, double crop lands were not substantial in the area. However, the nature of the soil, mainly riverside alluvium, ensured that generally lands would yield ten to twelve times the seed capacity. This would provide for the subsistence, besides the pattom and revenue requirements. The dietary practices of the area never exclusively depended on paddy (only a few landlord families were vegetarians), crops like chama, modan and fruits, roots and vegetables, along with fish, poultry and beef (the last two on festive occasions) answered the dietary needs of the ordinary farmers. We have seen how they survived in near-famine conditions. As they became the landowners, they had to meet the requirements of the household from their lands, and any improvement of their conditions was possible only by increasing the number of crops or by increasing the productivity of the soil. Meeting the large number of 'modern' needs, like sending their children to school, paying for their healthcare in a modern hospital or doctor, buying the household necessities by paying money (we saw the existence of the local barter system earlier), using a bus for transport, let alone buying a bicycle or scooter, construction or repair of their houses, and all the other requirements for improving the 'standard of living,' needed additional income which had to come from their lands.

According to agricultural 'experts' of the Government, the problem lay with their methods of farming. The Census of 1971 refers to the whole area as 'rice and tapioca' area. As we have seen tapioca appears just as one of the crops in the early settlement documents and never as a staple. The experts appear to have ignored the fact that the area yielded a number of paramba products such as ginger, gingelly, betel, pulses, vegetables, apart from coconut and areca nut. The most important products were paddy and coconut. Paddy cultivation was done with locally available paddy seeds such as Aryan, thavalakkannan, kuttayatan, vellari, chitteni, nakara, nayaruvithu, kotiyar in the lower areas, cheera, thekkancheera, palliyaran, thonnuran in the slightly elevated areas. Seeds

like thekkan, otiyan, nayaran, vellari, and kutyatan were sown for mundakan crop, and thekkancheera, thonnuran, pannaran and nakara were sown for puncha. The choice of the seed depended on the actual conditions like the amount of rainfall, the actual quantity of water and manure in the field, the level of salination. Thus the variety of seeds gave the farmer a number of options, given the natural conditions, to maintain an optimum level of production. But, as the demand for increasing the productivity of soil mounted, the farmers began to look for methods to achieve it. It became particularly necessary for the small producer, as increased productivity was the only method before him to generate a surplus that he could sell in the market. We have already seen that even when the prices of grains rose in earlier times the small holder could never make use of it, as he never had the surplus production that could reach the market. It was in this context that the high yielding variety of seeds popularized by the Agriculture Department through the NES Blocks became popular.

The HYV seeds such as IR-8 were used by the farmers from the sixties, with remarkable effects. The old farmers remembered that there was a major upsurge in cultivation during the late sixties, due to the new variety of seeds, effects of Manittampara Anaicut and the new irrigation schemes, and also due to the application of chemical fertilizers on an already fertile soil. The success of the first innovators with seed and fertilizers encouraged other farmers to take up modern cultivation methods. The surplus produce can then be sold in the market for purchasing other necessities or investing in cultivation itself. Similarly, paramba lands were used for cultivating marketable varieties like coconut, for which modern fertilizers could be used, and those which yielded less income from the market, or were not promoted in any form by the Government, like ginger and gingelly fell out of favor. There was also the disposition among the cultivators that 'those readily available in the market cheaply need not be produced'. Difference in cultural tastes also might have influenced production. For example, the spread of wheat

and maida through the ration shops, after the import of 'American flour' under the PL-480 scheme, and later the flooding of wheat in south Indian markets after the surplus wheat production in the North under 'Green revolution' strategies, resulted in changes in the dietary tastes, such as the spread of chapatti and porotta, which should again be procured in the market, even if they are ration shops. The growth of the porotta culture meant less dependence on rice. The shift from cooked rice to Biryani for feasts and celebrations also meant the increase of necessary food items procured from the market. Changes in the dietary habits in this form increased in the dependence on the market, which meant that the cultivators were forced to increase the production in the parambas and fields which could be sold to purchase these consumables. As the dependence on the market increased, the need to increase production in some form also increased.

Agricultural production in this form seems to have run into problems from the beginning. The production seems to have been linked to prices, and farmers were motivated by the rise in the paddy prices. However, one old farmer complained that the compulsory procurement of paddy in the sixties resulted in losses for the farmers as the market price of paddy was far higher than the price given by the Government under the levy system. Agricultural prices rose from 1969 to 1975. After that there was a slight fall, and again began to rise during the end of the seventies. Since then, the prices of agricultural products have been fluctuating, which have considerably affected the choices of the farmers. The farmers also pointed out that the shift from traditional farming methods to the modern increased the costs of production particularly when chemical fertilizers were applied. Chemical fertilizers implied that traditional manures, such as cow dung and leafy plants were no longer used, and hence, such trees need not be grown. Such areas also may be used for cultivation. The rise in prices and the experience of bumper crops in the seventies resulted in the intensification of cultivation, which also indicated more investments. Tractors were apparently not very popular in the beginning, but later they

began to be used, primary because 'ploughing became costly' that is; they were not available as cheap labor and expert ploughmen became rare. Tillers are even now very rare.

Almost all farmers testified that although the first few crops using the modern farming methods were extremely productive, later the yield began to decline. According to the farmers 'fertility of the soil' began to decline, and soil itself became 'poisonous' so that no fertilizer could make any impact. We have clearly seen that the paddy areas were already fertile, the problem was intensive water-logging and salination, The Anaicut seems to have reduced the salination to a certain extent, but the problem of water-logging remained. Farmers pointed out that the area around Keranallur thodu would be completely submerged during rainy season so that people would have to be shifted to safe places. This resulted in the quest for a more permanent solution for water-logging, and the project was formulated for a new water channel that linked Kadalundi River with poorapparambu puzha, parallel to the Keranallur thodu. The project was approved by the EMS ministry of 1967, in which Moideen kutty Haji the then MLA of Tirurangadi played a major role, work began, and was abandoned a few years later, apparently because a few engineers reported that the project was not feasible. So water-logging continued to be a problem. This meant that farmers were forced to intensify production in areas without water-logging, and continuous production without the normal crop rotation procedures to retain the fertility of the soil might have resulted in the decline of fertility complained by the farmers. All the farmers stated that the HYV seeds were no longer HYV after a few years, and what the Block officers did was to replace them with other seeds, which would suffer the same fate within a few years. It is also possible that 'decline in fertility' simply referred to the fact that production did not meet the expectations of the farmers. They argued that in the absence of continuous rise in productivity, agricultural production would not be cost-effective, as the increased cost of production would mean that

additional amounts will have to be realized from the product, which would again imply that prices will have to remain high. Decline in fertility and decline in prices would mean that paddy cultivation will not be cost-effective.

Another complaint raised by the farmers was that of the high wages of agricultural labor. The traditional farmers remembered that labor was ready at hand for all the stages of agricultural operation, and the wages were very low. After the land reforms majority of the laborers received eight to ten cents of land as settlers in the lands. In some areas, like Pootheri valappu in Chelari, numerous families of laborers came and settled as a part of the land grab agitation. We have already seen that laborers were either at subsistence or below subsistence levels in meeting their livelihood needs, but the land reforms changed all that. Land reforms did not give the laborers lands for cultivation, but only gave them their habitat, which meant that their livelihood remained an open issue. These laborers had to survive in a domain of rising prices, rising costs of living, creation of new needs like education, health care, household needs, new tastes and so on, for which they needed money. The rising standards of living, better bargaining abilities of the agricultural labor movement, and the increasing demand for labor due to the intensification of cultivation resulted in forcing up the wages also. As the number of schools increased, child labor, which was employed on a large scale, declined and some of the labor power never came back as agricultural labor as it was diverted to non-agricultural labor or as services. Moreover, the living standard of the landowners themselves increased, and as a result, household labor of the landowner was never employed in agriculture. All this resulted in further hiking the wages of agricultural labor. It is not surprising that agriculturists with small holdings were forced to invest more in land and in labor and were also forced to depend on the uncertainties of the market to acquire profit. However, it should also be added that, for those farmers who did not think that agriculture should be undertaken purely for profit alone and are willing to employ their household labor has had no

problems in continuing as farmers, and so are larger farmers who are prepared to invest sufficiently on land and labor. In the course of our investigations we came across both these varieties of farmers. But the large majority of farmers were those who sincerely believed that agriculture is not remunerative, primarily because of the high costs of labor and uncertainties of the market.

From the end of the seventies, another trend began to set in, the tendency to move away from paddy cultivation. The process was obviously determined by the tendencies in agricultural prices, which showed that profit motive came to dominate agricultural production. Unlike paddy, coconut had continued to earn remunerative prices, and as a result there was a substantial shift to coconut in the area. Coconut was already being cultivated on a large scale in the paramba lands, and now a number of new landholders began to shift to Coconut. Interestingly, the low-lying regions that are normally water-logged were made suitable for coconut cultivation by raising the ground, and in areas like Vallikkunnu, the salinity of the soil was an additional advantage for planting coconut. This showed that the farmers were willing to invest, provided there was a clear prospect for remunerative prices. However, it should be noted that the rise of coconut did not result in the corresponding increase in the work on coconut fiber, which appears to have declined in the same period. However, there has been an increase of oil mills, and a number of minor 'copra fields'. Mostly, coconut appears to have been collected by middlemen and taken to larger angadis. Other similar ventures were in plantains, and areca. Plantain is a direct food product that has been sold inside and outside the region, and areca is normally taken to major angadis like Calicut.

The impact of this tendency is already visible. As low-lying areas have been reclaimed for coconut production, the topsoil has undergone a clear change. In the Coconut areas the topsoil remains 'in state' and is fed by salt and urea necessary for the growth of coconut trees and the actual water content is kept lower than a paddy field. When a paddy

field is transformed, the same process has to be done in order to prepare the ground ( thadam) for planting coconut. This has resulted in the transformation of the field so that paddy cannot be grown there any more, without a substantial 'reclamation'. In the nearby fields also, the requisite water supply cannot be maintained because of the lack of proper drainage, and they are left fallow soon to be transformed into another coconut or plantain garden. There are also a number of places where coconut gardens have been set up in between paddy fields, which have affected seriously the water supply and drainage in the nearby fields, rendering them less productive or useless. These problems have once again increased the cost of production in paddy and a number of tracts in the low-lying regions have been lying fallow for several years.

The impact of the market forces in cultivation has also meant that the shift from paddy cultivation has not resulted in the development of other paramba products, such as pepper and ginger. Ginger cultivation, which was widespread in the slopes, has been eliminated, and pepper is not seen at all. The demand for timber in the construction works, and the price that rare timber fetches in the market has resulted in the virtual denudation of the paramba lands, and such trees have all been replaced by coconut, if the land has not been used for construction. This has meant that when coconut also fails to become remunerative (as was the case a few years before); the cultivator in the area has nothing else to bank on.

However, a few interesting features in the field of cultivation should also be mentioned. The department of agriculture promoted the concept of patasekharasamitis, being implemented through Krishibhavans. In majority of the Panchayats the samitis have been lying idle, primarily because of the indifference of the farmers, and which are assembled only in the context of distribution of subsidies. A few such samities in Tirurangadi appear to be functioning well as a few farmers in the area have taken initiative. Similarly, there are also keravikasanamitis, which are functioning in some places. The second feature is

the gradual spread of rented holdings in the area. This is obviously because the original landholders are no longer engaged or interested in cultivation, and others in search of a livelihood are carrying out agriculture in such areas. In a few cases, the fields are allowed to be cultivated without rent. Paddy fields, coconut groves, and plantain gardens are rented out in this fashion. Rent assumes two forms. One is the payment of ground rent, corresponding to the extent and fertility of the land before the land is occupied, and this ground rent is paid annually. There is another form of rent in produce or its equivalent which is collected after the yield is taken. Of course, both the rents strictly by contract, and do not involve any other obligations either on the part of the landholder or cultivator. The cultivators paying rent of any kind are basically subsistence farmers, cultivating for a livelihood rather than for profit.

### **Agro-based labor and craft groups**

Another interesting feature is that despite the shift from paddy cultivation to cash crops, there has not been any significant development of agro-based industries. As has been pointed out coir production has declined and there is only one fiber processing unit at Cheruppara in Nannambra, in the region. Coir making exists in Munniyur, Thenhippalam and Vallikkunnu, but despite the growth of coconut production, there has not been any change in the technical aspects of production and the number of people subsisting in coir has declined. Probably the largest group subsisting on Coir is in Balathirutti but they are shifting to other professions, or are without employment as they are professionals who are not trained to do anything else. Small scale fiber work exists in parts of Thenhippalam, such as Brahmaswam, Alunkadavu and Mukkathkadavu. Cashew is planted in some places but there is no industry of any kind based on it. Thus agricultural transformation may have resulted in the formation in a group of farmers who have

accumulated profit in absolute terms, but the profit accrued has not been converted into any other form of productive investment in the region.

The transformation of agriculture has had another effect. A number of craft groups had subsisted on agricultural production, such as the blacksmith, carpenter, potter, stonemason, basket making, mat making, muram making are some such professions. The decline of traditional agriculture has rendered these communities jobless. Farmers do not require their products any more, and the value of their products for household purposes does not exist, as they are being replaced by cheaper products made in industrials. For example, nails were made by blacksmiths from the iron becoming waste, and there is a nail 'factory' where machine produces nails of any kind. Similarly industrials make knives, and other iron implements which are available in the market at a cheaper rate than what the blacksmith can produce. Quality and durability of a product is replaced by the quickness at which the product is made available, and the cheap cost. Basket making is on the way out, as it has been replaced plastic bags, and pottery has been replaced by metal vessels. The role of the carpenter and stoneworker has become concentrated mainly on construction work. The implications of construction work and household consumption will be taken up later. As household consumption has become fully based on the market, the role of the local producer has decreased, which means that former ancillary occupations of an agrarian society have been rendered redundant. Professionals in such occupations have been forced to make a living in curious ways. For example, swords used in some of the communal clashes that took place recently were reportedly made in this region. The only other agricultural ancillary occupation that has survived is animal husbandry. Cows, she –buffaloes and goats are bought in many houses and are kept for milk and meat. There are also five co-operative societies of milk producers. We should note that dairy products were totally missing in Eranad in 1951. Poultry forms have also developed, and numerous households have been maintaining poultry on a small scale, and

animal husbandry of this kind has received Government support from the end of the seventies.

Another effect of the transformation of agriculture is also worth noting. We have seen that there has been a major women's participation in the labor process, particularly in agriculture. With the transformation of agriculture and the introduction of technology in sowing and harvesting resulted in the withdrawal of women from the labor process. The figures which we quoted from 1971 Census demonstrate this process. As agricultural fields are being transformed into coconut gardens, and other fields are lying fallow, women do not get any work in the agricultural field at all, except in some of the low-lying regions where paddy cultivation is still retained. Even there, they are being gradually marginalized as devices like threshing machine have come into use. The shift becomes very clear if we rearrange the information on women in the following manner.

**Table LVIII**

<b>Village</b>	<b>Agriculture &amp; household industry</b>	<b>Other industries</b>	<b>Other services</b>
Vallikkunnu	218	68	44
Thenhippalam	172	75	113
Ariyallur	278	18	75
Munniyur	418	6	88
Peruvallur	328	18	37
Parappanangadi	319	69	253
Nannambra	442	8	59
Tirurangadi	278	36	200
Total	2453	298	869

We find that about two-thirds of the women workers were in agriculture and household industry, and those who are not employed in it as such are employed in various services. The shift towards various other professions which were becoming prominent in the region is marginal. This means that with the decline of agriculture and household industry, unless they are employed in various services, there very little chance for women to find work in the normal case. The ability to find employment in services also would depend on the educational standards of women, and those who are deprived of educational opportunities would be unable to find work.

### **Industries**

The list of industries in the region makes interesting reading. There is LPG bottling plant by the Indian Oil Corporation at Chelari, a tile factory, now producing mainly hollow bricks at Parakkadavu, a steel plant at Venniyur and among others, a long list that includes engineering works, furniture works, wood industries, clay, ceramics, coir, saw mill, flour mill, oil mill, printing press, crusher, welding, soap, ice factory, Aluminum works, Ayurveda medicine, tyre resoling, copra, fishing engine repair, shoemaking, seafood processing , fiber works, khadi spinning, iron and steel works apart from many traditional industries mentioned above. There are also a number of bakeries and other food products. We have seen that Beedi making existed, but is gradually disappearing. Making of fishing nets with flax was another industry, which also seems to have disappeared. Making of toddy from Palmyra and coconut, as well as arrack also existed, but they also have more or less disappeared, except by some households. The list does not contain any large scale industry, and most of them employ 20-30 laborers at the maximum. The Bottling plant employs about 150 laborers, and tile factory at Parakkadavu about 100. Some of the industries, like iron and steel at Venniyur, and tiles industry at Parambilpeetika either are to be closed down or never got going. N.C.Garden in Vallikkunnu represents a new variety of industry, that of tourism.

So it is clear that although land reforms were effective in the region, there has not been any industrialization worth the name. The exact reason for this would require further examination which will be taken up shortly. One or two features are evident. The expansion of coconut cultivation, with the stagnation in the industries based on coconut products, is not specific to the region. As we have seen organized industrial production of coconut products were absent even earlier, and it never picked up afterwards. Fiber production as an occupation was affected by the regulations on the Coastal Protection Zone, which banned work on fiber in the Kadalundi river basin, which affected coir production all over the region, as all the producers used to transport their fiber to Kadalundi. This practice has now stopped entirely. The clayey soil found in several parts provide raw material for ceramic industry, but this also never picked up, because of the import of machine tiles from other parts. The shift of housing to reinforced concrete and the preference for fancy tiles also resulted in the stagnation in tile industry, and there was no effort to further invest in the industry, which is now concentrated in Feroke. Iron and steel was apparently affected by the use of low quality iron, and mostly by the dependence of the consumer on iron and other metal products in Coimbatore, with which the local producers are unable to compete. Although iron has been reported from Thenhippalam and Vallikkunnu Panchayats, no systematic attempts at exploring the area and determining the quality of iron has been conducted. The region also does not provide the necessary resources for any other industry and only area that appears to be developing is the construction works.

According the existing information there are large and medium industries in the area. There are about 290 small-scale industries in the area, employing 391 persons. There are also 95 small scale industrial Units (SSI units) run under various Government schemes. These units are functioning in the following areas:

Table LIX

Agro based	Rubber	Cement	plastic	Forest	Animal Husbandry	Textiles	chemical	Engi neering	Electr onics	Min erals	building	others
26	3	0	1	23	0	8	1	16	3	0	10	49

### Trade and commerce

Although industrialization is weak in the region, there is a substantial expansion of trade. The growth of several large and mini-urban centers in the region, which we mentioned earlier, is the result of the expansion of trade. The expansion of population subsisting on trade was seen in the population figures also. We have already seen that Parappanangadi, Tirurangadi and Kadalundi Nagaram were traditional trading centers with Tirurangadi chantha being one of the premier chanthas in South Malabar. This primacy appears to have continued into recent times also, with two major changes, the old Tirurangadi chantha declined and chemmad began to develop, and the marketing centre in the old Parappanangadi gradually shifted to Neduva. This shift was apparently the result of the growth of road and rail links in the region, which has been discussed before. The factors that facilitated the dependence of the population on the market, discussed above also facilitated the growth of new trading centers. These trading centers that started growing from the seventies include large 'departmental stores', hypermarkets and several margin free markets, numerous shopping complexes which include a number of stores, textile centers, video-VCD-DVD libraries, computer centers that include internet cafes, apart from a number of computer technology centers, parallel colleges and other technical institutes. The 'family' restaurants have appeared everywhere, and old teashops have been replaced by bakery and cool bars, Ice cream stalls and fast food centers. There are a number of large lodging house in Chemmad, Parappanangadi, Chelari and near University Campus. There are also interior decoration showrooms, hardware shops, paint

stores, TV showrooms and repair shops and here is one place for artwork in houses and numerous furniture marts. Furniture business was again completely absent in 1951. Thus it is clear that practically everything that can be found in major urban centre are available in the region, and Chemmad has practically become the trade centre for a very large area from Edarikkode to Vallikkunnu. This growth of trade has meant that a number of people are employed, or are doing their own business in the market centers in jobs ranging from head load labor to managing and running big restaurants and stores. The capital developing in the area has thus concentrated on commerce rather than industry.

**Table LX**

**Population in trade and commerce 1971-1991**

Panchayat	1971 Census			1991 Census			%ge variation
	Male	Female	Total	male	female	Total	
Tirurangadi	983	1	984	2124	17	2141	117.58
Thenhippalam	682	1	683	1423	40	1463	114.20
Parappanangadi	1148	24	1172	2257	56	2313	97.35
Vallikkunnu	718	12	730	1115	41	1156	58.36
Munniyur	766	1	767	1639	12	1651	111.25
Nannambra	321	-	321	982	3	985	206.85

All the areas have expanded substantially in terms of trade and commerce. The growth of Thenhippalam and Munniyur appears to be due to the development of the University and the choice of the National Highway. Vallikkunnu was comparatively less prone to commercialization. It should be noted that there has also been a tendency for the more agrarian regions to commercialize faster when compared to traditional commercial centers like Tirurangadi and Parappanangadi. This bears out the observation made earlier on the dispersal of mini-urban centers.

## **Construction activities**

It is easy to see that a large amount of commercial activities have concentrated in the areas of building construction, household articles and various kinds of education and training. Trade in building materials are obviously related to the large amount of construction activities going on in the area, in the form of shopping complexes, multistoried 'towers' to two storied palatial houses being built everywhere. We will be able to get nearly everything required for the construction of a building, from stones, hollow bricks, tiles, cement, red oxide, marble, mosaic, equipment for interior decoration, paints, furniture, electrical equipments and household goods in the same area, and there is very little need to go to Calicut or any nearby city for the purchase of these items. Construction work has also been resulting in the growth of number of professions, stone cutting, sand mining, plumbing, electrification work, laying the foundation of a building, building the walls, concrete work, digging wells and also accessory work like laying gardens, nurseries, and also production and sales of showy plants like crotons, ferns, orchids, and anthurium. The vast majority of the labor force in the area has shifted to construction labor. Our observations regarding colonies showed that most of the families which did agricultural labor earlier have now shifted to construction labor. The reasons given for the shift was very simple. Agricultural labor fetches the daily wages of Rs. 125 to Rs. 150 per day, and is mainly seasonal labor, whereas the construction worker gets a daily wage of Rs.175 to Rs.200 and gets work almost every day. The construction work also fits the existing pattern of production and consumption. Agricultural worker can get his regular wages only after hard bargaining, as the farmer tries to reduce the costs continuously. But the person who constructs the building is not bothered as much about the costs but the speed and efficiency with which the work is carried out. Construction work is not a lifetime activity except for the building contractor and laborer. For the others who construct a house, they will do it once in a life time, is a use value, and hence

are prepared to spend on the work. There is a building plan already prepared which regulates their expenditure anyway. Construction work is also a respectable 'industrial labor'.

We compare the growth of construction labor in the table below:

**Table LXI**

Panchayat	Census of 1971			Census of 1991			%ge variation
	Male	Female	total	male	female	total	
Tirurangadi	61	-	61	513	1	514	742.62
Thenhippalam	62	-	31	441	11	452	629.03
Parappanangadi	108	1	109	741	15	756	593.58
Vallikkunnu	97	-	97	617	10	627	546.39
Munniyur	68	1	69	501	16	517	649.28
Nannambra	25	-	25	171	2	173	592.00
total	421	2	423	2984	55	3039	618.44

The phenomenal growth of construction labor underscores the impact of construction activity on the economy as a whole. The growth also implies another important feature, that while the construction laborers of old belonged to the carpenters, stonemasons and other auxiliary workers, the new construction worker is a new category altogether, who is becoming skilled in the process of work itself.

But can the dependence on construction labor be a sustainable livelihood pattern? The boom on construction work in the area appears to be guided by the remittance from the gulf, of which we will discuss later, and the loans from the banks and other funding agencies. Establishment of the Calicut University in the area, provided the first fillip to construction activities as a number of buildings were constructed inside and outside the campus, in places such as Kohinoor, Chenakkal, Villunniyal, manakkulathuparamba and Komarappadi. The growth of PSMO College, Tirurangadi Yatheem khana and the Arabic college in Tirurangadi resulted in another spate of building activity. Now building complexes and flats are coming up everywhere. However, further development of

construction depends on how far the area develops industrially and commercially. Otherwise is not sustainable and the present boom will come to an end within a few years and the construction workers will be out of work. Moreover, the construction work cannot be considered as a regular activity, as each building is likely to be rebuilt only in cycles of about thirty years, and otherwise only repair and maintenance work is likely. Otherwise we have to do for buildings what many contractors do for roads, build in such a way that it falls down on the occupant immediately after construction! Thus there is every possibility that the boom will not last long, and the present workers as well as the contractors will have look for employment elsewhere.

### **Service Sector**

Where will these opportunities come from? We have already seen that agriculture is no longer considered a remunerative investment by a sizeable section of the people, and the industrial growth has been very limited. In spite of the lack of productive investment on a large scale, we have a flourishing market economy in the area. The reason seems to be twofold. One is the growth of a service sector, and the other is the substantial growth of Gulf remittances. Service sector can itself be divided into two forms. One is the growth of standard services, such as education, health, drinking water, electricity and other infrastructural facilities, services instituted by the Government and the Panchayats, and others including new forms of communication, multimedia and tourism. Since the formation of Kerala State, there has been substantial expansion in this sector. There are at present twelve High schools, two in the unaided sector, some of them higher secondary schools and one vocational higher secondary school, and numerous Upper primary and lower primary schools, besides a teachers training institute in the area. Apart from the University centre, which is in the area, there is one Arts and Science College, an Arabic College, a Government Polytechnic and numerous Parallel colleges, besides a large

number of computer institutes. Literacy movement has been very active in the area, and as a result, although we may find illiterates from the elderly generation and among women, illiterates among the age group up to sixty are few. There are a large number of Anganwadis and nursery schools for the age-group up to six years. There are also 3 schools for mentally retarded. The health care facilities have also improved; there are a number of private hospitals besides a Taluk hospital and a number of practitioners of modern medicine. Besides there are hospitals for Ayurveda, Homeopathy, naturopathy, 'holistic medicine' and also surviving centers for nattuvaidyam and marma chikitsa. There are 4 Government and fourteen private Ayurveda hospitals, and two dispensaries. There are also two Government homeo hospitals and five private homeo hospitals, besides, one dispensary. There are also five veterinary hospitals. Besides, a large number of people go to the Medical College hospital and other major hospitals in Calicut. There are about twenty libraries and reading rooms and a number of arts and sports clubs. Besides, there are a number of people teaching children music, dance and other forms as a profession.

**Table LXII**

Panchayat	Other services-1971			Other services-1991			%ge variation
	Male	Female	Total	male	female	total	
Tirurangadi	766	200	966	900	383	1283	32.82
Thenhippalam	715	200	915	1568	671	2239	144.70
Parappanangadi	930	253	1183	1313	568	1881	59.00
Vallikkunnu	697	119	816	1126	403	1529	87.38
Munniyur	440	88	528	714	284	998	89.01
Nannambra	300	59	359	448	201	649	80.78

Total	3848	919	4767	6069	2510	8579	79.97
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Here also we see that the two trading centers showed less variation than the University centre of Thenhippalam. However, it should be noted that the growth of the services has not been as fast as the other sectors, which indicates that its initial promise as a provider of employment is gradually disappearing.

### **Infrastructures**

Most of the areas except very interior areas are electrified and linked with roads. A number of bridges link the banks of Kadalundi River, making it easier for people to reach Chemmad, Calicut, Kottakkal and other nearby localities. Probably the most important development has been the establishment of NH\_17 passing through the region and later, the setting up an International Airport at Karippur, a few kilometers away from the region. The transport facilities in Tirurangadi can be summarized as follows:

National Highway- 11kilometers

PWD Roads- 102.22Km

Panchayat roads-

- a) Black topped-117.714km
- b) Metalled-62.43km
- c) Earthen-274.981km
- d) Total-455.125

Railway track-11.125km

Electricity connections and average monthly consumption of all the Panchayats in the region is given below (1995-6)

**Table LXIII\***

Major section	Domestic		Agricultural		Industrial		Commercial	
	NC	AMC	NC	AMC	NC	AMC	NC	AMC
Munniyur	5695	0	257	0	88	0	284	0
Parappanangadi	10344	634351	738	27846	187	126513	2743	97250
Thenhippalam	13954	0	964	0	260	0	1976	0
Tirurangadi	10090	0	53	0	46	0	980	0
Vallikkunnu	4292	0	303	0	101	0	353	0
Total	44375	634351	2315	27486	682	126513	6336	97250

\* Figures for Nannambra not available.

The relatively fewer number of agricultural and industrial connections and the larger number of commercial connections, show the character of public activities in the area.

The electricity consumption is substantially used for household purposes in the area.

The following figures will give an idea of the employment in transport and communications upto 1991.

**Table LXIV**

Panchayat	Transport and Communications -1971			Transport and Communications -1991			%ge variation
	male	Female	total	male	female	total	
Tirurangadi	195	1	196	562	1	563	187.24
Thenhippalam	144	-	144	389	8	397	175.69
Parappanangadi	527	2	529	717	10	727	37.43
Vallikkunnu	369	1	370	675	6	681	84.05
Munniyur	118	1	119	399	5	404	239.50
Nannambra	82	-	82	201	2	203	147.56
Total	1435	4	1439	2943	32	2975	106.74

The figures demonstrate an interesting shift that is taking place in the pattern of transport and communication. The areas that have shown massive increase in the employment in this field have been those along the national highway and the newly growing market of Chemmad and the traditional channels of transport, near the railway track in Parappanangadi and Vallikkunnu have not shown corresponding expansion.

All the Panchayats have their water supply schemes in association with the water authority. Now the Panchayats are implementing the world-bank funded Jananidhi programme through non- Governmental organizations. The available information on the drinking water facilities instituted by Government and Panchayats in the area is given below. (Statistics for 1995-6)

**Table LXV**

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Public tube wells</b>	<b>Public wells</b>	<b>Public tanks/ponds</b>	<b>Public taps</b>	<b>Others</b>
Munniyur	22	38	3	110	0
Nannambra	8	8	5	64	0
Parappanangadi	0	1	1	124	0
Thenhippalam	10	36	0	140	0
Tirurangadi	8	7	11	164	4
Vallikkunnu	6	28	7	294	4003
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>896</b>	<b>4007</b>

The Panchayats make use of the centrally funded schemes, such as IRDP, NREP, RLEGP, JRY and others, and all the Panchayats have been implementing the Kutumbasree scheme for women effectively. Another scheme is the Computer literacy

programme called Akshaya project, which is being implemented by all the Panchayats. Thus Panchayat centers are bustling with activity, for which the voluntary and remunerative labor of a large number of people, including women is utilized.

The following is a list of beneficiaries of the various centrally sponsored schemes (1995-

6)

**Table LXVI**

Panchayat	IRDP	NREP	RLEGP	JRY	TRYSEM	Others
Munniyur	247	0	0	49	24	1
Nannambra	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parappanangadi	399	0	0	39	57	3
Thenhippalam	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tirurangadi	1136	61	28	34	18	78
Vallikkunnu	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tirurangadi	1782	61	28	122	99	82

Growth of literacy and communications have resulted in the growth 'secular' public space that has included libraries, reading rooms, sports and Arts clubs and other forms of communication networks in the area. We have already seen the relevance of these facilities in the course of the analysis of walking. We provide below a list of the social and cultural institutions in the area.(see table LXVII)

Growth of the services sector, along with growth of communications has brought about one major change in the life of the people. We have seen how the life of the people in the region was constrained by geographical and social limitations, and how they were forced to take risks in overcoming these limitations in the search for a livelihood. We have seen the important change brought about by the railroad in the process. During the past few decades, the growth of roads and bridges , including the National highway, development of a large number of bus and train services , the last being the Konkan railway up to Mumbai, and the starting of international flights from the Karippur airport have changed the perception of the local population almost completely. Goods that are brought the road, rail and by air are now brought to the region; there is also access through all available forms of communication to different parts of the world. The old people pointed

out that, the decline of the old chanthas like the one at Tirurangadi, was the result of the growth of the highway through Kakkad, and also because, as one of the informants put it, ‘marketplaces came up everywhere, so that there was no need for a chantha’. This meant that places, events and cultural forms which looked so far away are now at the doorstep of a sizeable section of the people, and also the people will have the resources to understand and use them. Thus the growth of the services has kept pace with the growth of the communications, and basic education and some awareness of modern gadgetry is a resource that every person is forced to acquire in order to keep abreast of the changing livelihood patterns. It is not surprising for an autorikshaw driver to keep a mobile phone

and an ordinary housewife to have a credit card. We will go into the implications of this change later.

### **Religious services**

There is another form of service, seemingly different but associated with the former type of services, which is the equally exponential growth of religious services. Religious services take several forms. One is the construction and renovation of mosques, temples and churches; Second is the founding of madrasas, yatheem khanas, charitable societies and other associated institutions, including schools and other normal services; The third is the conduct of festivals and ceremonies, including arranging for pilgrimages, that includes the Hajj; and the fourth is the sponsoring and supporting various kinds of cultural organizations. All these have been taking place at a rapid pace in the region, particularly in the last two decades. The schism in the Sunni Ulema have resulted in the rival factions , the 'official' faction, under the leadership of Cherusseri Mohammed Musaliar and Hyderali Shihab Thangal and the rebel faction under Kanthapuram A.P.Abubaker Musaliar have been establishing mosques and madrasas, and so have been the 'wahhabi' Nadwathul Mujahideen. Recently, jamaat-e- Islami also has been active, particularly at Munniyur and Nannambra. This schism has also resulted in the formation of rival mahal committees by these groups, which has intensified the tension and resulted

in the growth of communitarianism among the entire Muslim population of the area. The factionalism has resulted in the intensive campaigning among the ordinary people, through speeches at the Mosques on every Friday, and public speeches and religious discourses, religious debates and so on, which have helped the growth of a religious space. Old people testified that there has been a major resurgence of old ceremonies such as nerchas at Mamburam and Kundoor, and the institution of new ceremonies, such as the Jilani nercha at Cherumukku. The Makham at Mamburam attracts a very large number of visitors every day. And so is the mosque at Kodinji where the oath taking ceremony (satyam chollal) has considerable popular appeal. A similar process is visible among the Hindus also. Most of the temples and kavus are being renovated, and even private shrines are attempted to be rebuilt. All the temples conduct their festivals with a lot of fanfare, for which large donations are collected from the people. A typical temple for the revival of operations is the Kattuvachira temple at Velimukku, under the urayma of Thottassiiri Panikkar once. With the decline of Thottassiri family the temple also declined, but it is now being renovated under a popular committee. Parambath kavu, the tutelary temple of Ayyayira prabhu kartav, similarly declined, but had a revival recently. Individual oracles have attracted a lot of popular attention, an example being Kelukutty komaram who set himself up near parambath kavu, and became an extremely popular (and money-making) oracle.. He has passed away, and his son continues the same role. Kaliyattakkavu and Nirakaithakotta continue to attract large audiences in their festivals. This revival has another feature also. The revival of the Muslim ceremonies is taking place under the leadership of the sectarian bodies referred to above. In the revival or institution of temple festivals the traditional ceremonies are combined with 'modern' rituals like religious discourses, performances with stories from puranas, 'Ganamelas', and so on , in order to ensure popular appeal and enhance its religious credibility.

The growth of the religious space has interestingly corresponded to the growth of other forms of services. Hence, it should not be treated on the same way as the form of religiosity, patronized by the 'traditional intellectuals' in the earlier period. Instead of intellectuals, there are powerful organizations or groups patronized by the public, particularly people who have reserve finances. 'Intellectuals' such as religious speakers of various denominations are simply patronized by these organizations. The mosques, madrasas, and other charitable organizations of the Muslims are all under such organizations. Christian denominational organizations are not different. We have churches established by Basel Mission at Parappanangadi, Mar Thoma church Orthodox Church and Roman Catholic Church at Thenhippalam, and a Chavara cultural centre, technically at Chelembra panchayat, but catering to the same region. The organizational links of the Hindu temples are not obvious, but increasingly they are coming under the influence of Kshetra samrakshana samiti. The influence of organizations led by Godmen like Satya sai baba and Mata Amrithananda mayi can be seen in middle class areas, not related any particular temple and conducting their Bhajans and discourses in individual houses and public places, such as the school premises. Similarly, Jamaat –e-Islami and Tabligh-i-jamaat have been functioning independently. The influence of RSS and VHP is clear in several areas.

### **Gulf migrations**

Growth of the services, along with the spread of commerce, which we have outlined, brings us to the other crucial feature in the changes taking place in the region, the impact of the remittances from the gulf. We saw that migration to the gulf was not the first form of out –migration in the region, and there is reason to think that the impact of the gulf remittances was not substantial before the seventies. Memories of the people show that there were people who reached the gulf even in earlier times, mostly after reaching

Mumbai and then going to Karachi (this was before partition). After partition such opportunities dwindled but numerous people were still going to Mumbai, and from there, had the opportunity to go to gulf. During the sixties and early seventies, people started going to gulf on a larger scale, and there are stories of people going in boats and lounges (lanchi). Such migrations were simply continuation of the earlier migrations to different parts of India, and did not return with substantial amounts; mostly they returned with enough to survive and start small business. There were several who never returned. People who went to Madras, Bangalore and Mumbai were better off, as they worked in bakeries, hotels and did business in a wide variety of articles from tender coconut (ilanir) to betel and areca nut. Some of them were also indulged in contraband trade.

The situation changed substantially after the middle of seventies. The land reforms had uprooted the old social order. A number of families lost their land holdings, and a number of others gained them, but soon found that they were unable to make their both ends meet from heir land holdings. A number of them lingered on , looking around for safe and remunerative employment, but they either did not have the requisite capabilities or did not have necessary social or political support to gain jobs The out migrants during the seventies were the marginalized and rejected, and their migrations corresponded with the oil crisis and the so-called 'Gulf boom'. Most of these people went to gulf as menial laborers, worked as municipal laborers, shop employees, and did other forms of menial labor, and the luckier among them got the chance to work in the oil fields, .or with multinational firms or in such establishments as the Gulf Air force. The boom resulted in the substantial hike in the value of the gulf currency so that even the paltry sum that they received meant a bonanza for the families that received the remittances. The first generation, who thus went to gulf in the sixties and seventies, have now returned and the second generation has gone during the end of the eighties and nineties. They are people,

who are more educated, as the passport regulations now stipulate that all those who apply will have to have the school certificate. Some of them have technical diplomas also. There are agencies recruiting people to the Gulf, giving them the necessary short-term training in the required skills, and Arabic education is being defended as a means of getting employment in the Gulf. There has also been a substantial increase in the number of middle class gulf migrants, particularly those going for short or long-term stints in schools, colleges, Universities, and as Doctors and Engineers.

All this is, of course, well known. The impact of the migration on the society will have to be worked out. It has been argued that gulf remittances to Kerala come to about 13,000 cores a year. Substantial number of the families in Tirurangadi has their family members in the gulf, which means that the region receives in various ways a large share of the remittances, although the exact amount would definitely be difficult to calculate. Gulf remittances have been put into the following demonstrable uses within the region; first is in the construction of houses and other buildings, including shopping complexes and housing quarters. The ostentatious construction seen in several parts of the region is the result of gulf money. Several informants also testified that the first priority of all the migrants is repayment of the debts and constructing a house, the second is conducting the marriage of their sisters or daughters, which involves payment of dowry, mainly in gold. The gold payments which are about 15 sovereigns even for the poorest, and the dowry in money, which comes to about a lakh at the minimum, are provided from the reserves of the migrant. Dowry also takes the form of constructing a house for the groom, and providing for or arranging his employment. Naturally, in gulf houses the demand will be much more, both as dowry to the groom or as money from the bride. Another major form of expense is for the purchase of household appliances, and only those who have still further savings will think of starting a business at home. Those migrants whose savings

are exhausted. In the form discussed above, will have no other choice other than returning to gulf. There are of course, a few who are resourceful enough to start a business in the gulf, and those who have done so, entrust the business to their children. Very few of the people who have returned are setting up their own business at home. Most of them were unskilled laborers before and remain so after their stint in the gulf, and hence they are not in a position to start anything useful. The other alternative for many of them is to invest in partnership enterprises, which will be run by an enterprising partner, who may or may not be a gulf returnee. There are of course a few gulf returnees who have learnt a trade in the gulf and are using it to their benefit, but those who are idle are far greater in number.

**Table LXVIII**

**Residential houses according to their type of roof**

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Concrete</b>	<b>Tiles/Asbestos</b>	<b>Thatched/others</b>	<b>Total</b>
Munniyur	2953	4183	852	7988
Nannambra	1837	1761	1239	4837
Thenhippalam	3775	4945	2443	11163
Tirurangadi	4570	5120	1733	11423
Vallikkunnu	1958	2200	2785	6943
Parappanangadi	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>15093</b>	<b>18209</b>	<b>9052</b>	<b>42354</b>

The above table shows that about 35.64% of the total number of houses has become concrete houses, and Nannambra, a rural area with clear Gulf influence has more concrete houses than tiled houses. The amount of construction activities now going on have probably rendered these figures out of date, and concrete houses have overtaken tiled houses in almost all the Panchayats. The other major population segments that can indulge in similar construction are the middle class employees and the traders. The impact of traders is visible in Tirurangadi. Still, the construction activities going on in Nannambra, not a major trade area in the region, and at the same time have experienced

migrations to different parts of India and the Gulf region, underline the relationship between construction boom and the impact of the gulf.

All these mean that a large part of the money coming from the gulf is going for unproductive investment, or simply as dead money capital. However, the money circulation in this form has resulted in an artificial prosperity in the area, which is shown by the exponential expansion in housing, use of all forms of commodities including cars, bikes, jeeps, buses, household appliances, electronic gadgets, music systems, VCDs and DVDs, mobile phones, cosmetics, garments of all varieties including the purdah. None of these commodities are produced in the region, and many of them have to come from long distances, including the gulf, but almost all of them are readily available in the local market. This means that there has been an exponential rise of demand in the area, which has to be met by imports from outside the region. With the liberalization process, the controls over imports have been taken away, and as a result, more commodities are coming in, which has forced even the non-migrants to look for means to purchase them, for which they have to depend on credit from various sources, or on illegal monetary transactions or speculation, which may include the various online lotteries. Even marriages have become a part of fortune hunting, and there are a number of cases in which women from poor households have been tricked into marriages. The murder of a girl from Nannambra, after a trick marriage with a person from Delhi had become major news in the course of the survey period. When money flows at this level, moneymaking becomes a major dream, and productive labor at home is the lowest choice for such people. It is not surprising that the term 'business' in these parts always meant trade, brokerage or speculation in some form, including land speculation, and production in any form has meant labor (pani).

Another major area into which gulf money has gone into has been the religious space, which we referred to. The construction of the mosques, Madrasas and charitable institutions, including schools have been based on remittances from outside, and all rival factions among the Muslim organizations have mobilized money from the gulf. The Islamic principle of zakat has been quite effectively used in this mobilization as contributions for such pious activities become a religious duty. As indicated earlier, Gulf migrants and returnees have been quite liberal in contributing for nerchas and festivals. The activities of various organizations have also been liberally financed from the Gulf. A few years ago, Jamaa at-e-Islami conducted a major conference at Kuriyad just near Kakkad, with liberal funding from the Gulf. With the transformation of social conditions, the form of patronage given to religion has also undergone change. Earlier, Hadramaut Sayyids emigrated from Yemen to become spiritual leaders in the region. But it is now easy for ideas and messages to emigrate, without the physical presence of the emigrants.

### **Growth of a Religious ‘Modernity’**

Another important result of the trends which we outlined above will have to be discussed. We have seen that in the post-rebellion period, the development of ‘modernity’ in the region has been slow and halting, because of the existing socio-political conditions. The development of the service sector and the entry of gulf money have changed all that. There has been substantial expansion of the so-called literate ‘public sphere’, in the form of a very articulate reading public, and the newspapers, periodicals and books are widely circulated, and the TV programmes are regularly seen. All major political parties have been active in the area, and since the rebellion period, the region has not witnessed a serious communal clash, a point that the representatives of the dominant Muslim League have proudly stated in all the sessions with them. It should, however, be pointed out that the conditions for a rebellion of that kind no longer exists today as there are no large

scale chanthas of the kind of Tirurangadi chantha, where people gather from the morning, exchange information, but only marketplaces, which people visit only for their purchases, and the interaction is limited. Religious spaces are now totally controlled by separate religious groups and trespassing is nearly impossible, except on processions and public speeches, and even they are attended mainly by the respective believers. The promotion of religious spaces in recent years have led to further insulation of the believers into separate camps, and there is a very strong spirit of inbreeding, by which the philosophy and ritual codes of each group is reproduced within the group, to the exclusion of others, and interaction is limited to orchestrated 'debates' in which those who organize it will have the final say. Moreover, all schismatic groups have their own institutions from madrasa to a higher education institution and it is possible to teach the student according to their philosophy during the formative years and monitor his work through the organizations during the later years. The Hindus do not have an institutional framework of this kind within the region, and hence the temple and the festival take up this role. RSS and VHP also have a specific role, and so are organizations of the godmen. Separate caste organizations have not gained much foothold in the area, although there is caste solidarity in the traditional sense, in the festivals in various kavus and other rituals. This means that growth of communitarians has corresponded to the growth of the 'modern' public sphere. And this has resulted in the fragmentation of social life in the region. The fragmentation and insulation has allowed the co-existence of different belief systems although the process of inbreeding, and has encouraged the other group to be treated with suspicion and hatred.

This was clear in the political situation immediately after the violence at Marad. Although no overt 'incident' took place in the area, there were highly inflammable speeches on the violence from both sides, and the research team came across a videocassette show which presented the incident from a certain point of view being

shown in a house to a small crowd. The influence of 'modernity' has been to adopt a policy of hypocritical politeness to the other groups. More importantly, there was also a vicious campaign in the whole region that the secular forces were making use of the situation in Marad to make political capital, which means that if the situation had been left to the communal antagonists themselves, they would have solved the problem. This has been the voice of communalism masquerading as 'fragmented modernity'.

### **Political Changes**

The features outlined above give us an insight into the socio-political changes taking place in the region since the formation of Kerala State. After the formation of the state, the region was part of Kozhikode District. It became part of the Malappuram district, after the District came into being in June 16, 1969. From the beginning, the entire region, with the exception of Nannambra formed part of the Tirurangadi Assembly constituency, and Nannambra formed part of Tanur. During the first election in independent India, when elections in Malabar District were held for Madras legislative Assembly, Muslim League candidates surprised Congress candidates and won both Tirurangadi and Tanur constituencies. After that the region has been returning only Muslim League candidates to the Kerala assembly, with one exception, when Sri. A.K.Antony, who was nominated Chief Minister in the place of Sri.K.Karunakaran, contested from Tirurangadi with the support of Muslim League and won the elections in 1994. Since 1956, the amsamas and villages under the British rule were reconstituted into Panchayats. Thus Vallikkunnu, Ariyallur and Kodakkad became the Panchayat of Vallikkunnu. Velimukku and Munniyur became Munniyur, Thenhippalam, Koyappa, Peruvallur, Keranallur, Olakara and Enavur became Thenhippalam, Trikkulam and Tirurangadi became Tirurangadi, Neduva and Parappanangadi became Parappanangadi, and Kodinji, Thirutti, Kaduvallur, Kundoor, Cherumukku and Nannambra became Nannambra. Since then, Thenhippalam

was reconstituted into Thenhippalam and Peruvallur Panchayats in 2001. Among these seven Panchayats, five are traditional strongholds of the Muslim League. The Left parties are present only in Vallikkunnu and Munniyur, in which they hold a majority in Vallikkunnu only. Neduva and Chettippadi area in Parappanangadi has a sizeable BJP presence, and they have a member in Parappanangadi Panchayat. The Congress as an organization has been existing mainly in Thenhippalam, Vallikkunnu and Neduva, and is virtually absent in most of the Muslim League strongholds. Despite the strong presence of the Muslim league, the certain localities show peculiarities of their own. For example, Mamburam ward in Tirurangadi, which consists entirely of traditional Muslims, returned a CPI member into the Panchayat. The area of Chelari, with a sizeable Muslim population, returned a woman member supported by the CPI (M) to the Block panchayat. Thus the hold of the Muslim league is not uniform or absolute, but in terms of majorities on the Assembly and parliament constituencies, it is the Muslim League that has performed well throughout the past fifty years.

We have already seen that the political basis of the growth of the Muslim League in the area has been due too the emergence of religious spaces in the region, which has been transformed into powerful agencies for political interaction and practice. However, it should be noted that the Muslim League, with its powerful community support, does not perceive itself as a Communal organization. This posture is advantageous to the Muslim League as a pure communal entity would force it to negotiate the contradiction between the Sunnis and the Mujahids, or other such schismatic groups. The second advantage for this posture is that it would enable the Muslim league to concentrate on 'modern' issues, such as issues of education, health care, minority issues such as the questions of reservation and personal law and issues of regional development. It should be noted that unlike other political parties of its political front, Muslim league was always in the forefront of Campaigns such as literacy, universal elementary education, people's

planning campaign and now computer literacy and its agenda has not been significantly different from that of the Left Parties which have initiated such campaigns. For example, Muslim league was in the forefront of the total literacy campaign in the District, and was enthusiastic in maintaining the Continuous Education Centers, but the democratization process associated with spread of literacy is not visible in the areas. Adult education centers have been instrumental in enabling the neo-literates to keep pace with requirements of a commercial society facilitated by gulf remittances, and adult education is mainly to solve the problem of passport regulation by giving them equivalent education to SSLC. People's planning campaign has also been taken up enthusiastically, but attention paid productive sectors, such as agriculture has been less than that paid to the service sector. This is shown by the following information on the People's Planning campaign for Tirurangadi Block.

**Table LXIX**

Sectors	Plan proposals				No. of beneficiaries	Expenditure
	Plan funds	Own funds	Beneficiary portion	Total		
Agriculture & allied	13393500	260000	3053108	16706608	2876	8304538 (49.71)
Industry	169000	10000	233000	412000	0	285000 (69.17)
Services	19147485	4712551	7161440	31021476	1544	18333280 (59.10)
Total	32709985	4982551	10447548	48140084	4420	26922818 (55.93)
SCP	471052	1392138	380000	6482890	66	3372140 (52.01)
Infrastructure sector	13871603	2294510	108000	16274113	54	11774800 (72.35)

The above figures show that the expenditure on the primary sector has been the least in the region and the expenditure on the infrastructures the most. Perhaps the most impressive among such activities has been the effort to bring drinking water to elevated regions (which has now been taken over by Jalanidhi). Many of the wells are useless and the taps do not have water, that there was a serious thought to the problem is clear.

Another major area of the Panchayats is the formation of the self help groups under Kutumbasree. A large number of groups have been organized, but many of them have been dysfunctional. Often the primary objective appears to be to organize women under the credit system, but rarely to bring them into serious productive labor. Stigma against productive labour, typical of a commercial consumer oriented society, along with social and religious restrictions on the mobility of women, has worked against the development of kutumbasree as powerful productive units. The absence of an effective distribution system has been another disabling factor. Hence the units are mainly functioning as systems of micro credit, and treated as such to benefit the respective clientele sections by the Panchayats. The political leaders of the region are great patrons of Information Technology, primarily for its commercial and multimedia potential than its role in production and research and also because of its use as the communication channel with

the relatives and business partners in the gulf and other places. Hence, it is not surprising that even old people are encouraged to join computer classes organized by Akshaya project, what other role that such a project can perform is another matter. Thus it can be seen that the initiatives taken by the Panchayats are geared towards the development of the commercial consumer society now being formed in the area, and is not at variance with the tendencies of community formation which is otherwise visible. Thus, both the productive and secular potential of many of these initiatives are marginalized.

However, some interesting initiatives in the region are worth noting. The first is the project to build a link between Kadalundi River and Poorappuzha. The project was originally started in 1967 and then abandoned. During 2000-01, the project was again taken up, primarily as a step to remove water-logging and make the surrounding fields suitable for cultivation. The resultant channel named New Cut was opened by the present irrigation minister last year. The New Cut has been instrumental in removing water-logging in the area, but how far this initiative will result in the promotion of agriculture remains to be seen. It is a fact that the New Cut has created some enthusiasm among the cultivators. Compared to this there have been collective efforts to ensure drinking water supply and to improve irrigation facilities. The Kelankurissi water supply scheme, which is the collective effort of the householders in kelankurissi, now a part of Karumbil at Tirurangadi is such an effort and is functioning quite effectively. The collective effort at constructing kundanthode, a four kilometer long stream in Vallikkunnu Panchayat which was meant to bring a large area near Kadalundi River called kundapatam to cultivation was another such effort. In this case, the indifference of the local landholders to cultivation and the negligence of the authorities to create proper embankments have resulted in the thodu slowly getting dried up. People's planning campaign initiated a few watershed studies and also resource mapping. Resource maps of the Vallikkunnu Panchayat are available, and similarly, the data and maps of the Trikkulam watershed are

also available. A more detailed watershed map and data base regarding the Tirurangadi Block and separate watersheds are also available. A non-Governmental organization based in Thiruvananthapuram, named AEGIS has prepared resource maps of all the Panchayats in the region. Thus materials for a comprehensive development plan in the region are taking shape.

## Contemporary Issues

It is beyond the scope of the present study to speculate on what that development plan would look like, but appears necessary to outline the context in which such an initiative is taking place. It is clear that any such plan will have to deal with historical experience of the region, besides the political priorities of the dominant forces in the region and socio-economic condition of the people. Hence, the following part will be an effort to discuss some of these issues.

### **Environmental factors**

Any comprehensive analysis of the contemporary scene will have to start from the study of the environment. From a Human geographical perspective, it is futile to talk about a pristine geography, flora and fauna in a region after about two thousand years of human occupation. We may talk about a built environment including soil conditions, floral and faunal wealth, as it is understood that more than thousand years of paddy and paramba cultivation in an area is bound to transform the nature of such features. Keeping this factor in mind we may try to identify some of the environmental features which may become important in the future.

The crucial environmental factors in the area are the coastal alluvial region, Kadalundi River and the laterite zone in the elevated regions. The coastal alluvial region is geologically a recent formation, and is the widest in the region of about six to eight kilometers width at Vallikkunnu and Tirurangadi. Together with the coastal alluvial region, with clayey and sandy soil is the riverside alluvial region around Kadalundi River. Kadalundi River has a drainage area of 1274 Sq.km, a large part of which falls in the field area, in which the River travels around 22km. The base flow of the River is

higher than either Bharatapuzha or Chaliyar, and comes to about 4.5% of the total runoff. The total runoff of the river about 1048.4MCM (at the Anakkayam gauge station) of which 791.3mcm flows during the South-West Monsoon and 206.5 mcm during the North-East Monsoon. The river is quick flowing and perennial. The banks are steep and high on the eastern parts until it reaches near the coast due to erosion.

The region has also adequate ground water resources. The ground water resources for Tirurangadi Block is calculated to be 25.61mcm, of which 5.12mcm is held as reserve for domestic and industrial use and the remaining 20.49 mcm can be used for irrigation purposes. There is hardly any chance for water getting polluted as there are no polluting industrial establishments in the area. However, the coastal area up to Tirurangadi is subject to tidal waves, which brings in saline water into the region. The normal rainfall in Tirurangadi from 1901 to 1950 is calculated as 2914mm. Analysis from 1901 to 1997 has shown that the region did not experience most severe kind of drought although there is some evidence that the region experienced severe drought during 1967 and 1969 alone.

It has been observed that the quantum of flow in the River experiences a significant reduction of flow in the downstream section as compared to the upstream side. This has been attributed to two reasons; one is that water is being taken by the various lift irrigation schemes, and the second is the large scale sand mining from the river, which has caused the cross sections of the river to undergo marked changes. As we have seen earlier, sand mining has resulted in widespread erosion of the banks

The entire region, with the exception of Ariyallur village has been classified as midland, Ariyallur is classified as lowland. (KLUB, 1995). The soil analysis shows that the area in general consists of deep to very deep soil which ranges from sandy to loamy soil. Apart from the areas are undulating uplands with or without scrub, and villages like Peruvallur also contain barren rocky areas. Thus while low-lying areas and slopes are generally

fertile, the uplands are rocky and scrubby and generally not productive. The following table gives the areas classified as ‘waste land’ in the region.

**Table LXX**

<b>village</b>	<b>Barren/rocky/stony/ waste/sheet rock area(in hectares)</b>	<b>Undulating upland With out without scrub</b>	<b>total</b>
Thenhippalam	-	64	64
Peruvallur	43	138	181
Munniyur	-	43	43
Tirurangadi	27	54	81

Source: Land Use Board, Thiruvananthapuram

.In overall terms the region is capable of supporting wetland cultivation on a large scale, provided the tidal effect in the coastal area is reduced and adequate water management techniques is introduced. As we have seen earlier, Mannittampara Anaicut and the new cut in kаланthirutti have been efforts in this direction. However, water management is far from being efficient and there are indications that the actual practice is proceeding in the wrong direction. We have seen that the area was full of chenas, kulams, chiras, and thodus. Now almost all the chenas in the elevated areas have disappeared and a few of them exist only in name. Similarly chiras and ponds have either been destroyed or rendered useless by dumping waste, or they have subject to sedimentation by which they have been made into small pools.Challis in the elevated regions, which acted as natural water harvesting resources have practically disappeared, and the remaining ones exist as muddy pools. This means that elevated regions have lost their capacity for rain harvesting; the entire rain water comes down creating the sediments mentioned earlier. Since the thodus are getting flattened, they cannot be put to any use by the cultivators or the settlers. In some places there has been a District Panchayat scheme to maintain the thodus, but they do not seem to be based on any concept of environmental planning, and

hence are rendered useless. The rainwater that flow down, also get collected in the challis, which have become perennial water reservoirs, and during summer they become marshy pools.

The elevated areas, including the 'waste lands' mentioned earlier, have been mostly transformed into housing areas. As we have seen, the housing areas spread so fast that the parambas and purayidams of an earlier period have been practically destroyed and the vegetation cover depleted. This means soil does not have enough vegetation cover to maintain the surface water or the top soil. The loose soil, also created by the digging the foundations for too many buildings ( Now that the buildings become bigger, the foundations become deeper and extensive) flow down along with rain water, and are either deposited in the challis and patams, making them into deposits of mud, or brought down into the low-lying regions. The low-lying regions are thus raised, and the elevated regions are lowered, and thus a flattening process is on. We should remember laterite rocks are brittle and are liable to break and need a forest cover to maintain them. Now more and more laterite stones are cut for buildings and soils taken from elevated areas and sold to fill housing plots, the flattening process becomes faster. This is apart from the artificial raising or lowering of the ground, done by house owners to suit their tastes. The result is that hillocks and other elevated regions are fast disappearing, and madus are now flat surfaces.

The destruction of vegetation has been very systematic. Most of the parambas are now housing plots, and the remaining forest tracts are being denuded, their trees sold as timber, and other areas are being converted into monoculture gardens. Probably the University area started this process a long time back by planting acacia trees in the campus when the area was full of a large number of rare species! A few years ago, there was an attempt to convert a part of the campus into a cashew plantation, and had to be dropped after popular resistance. Obviously, the authorities were trying to find money to

run the institution in the Era of globalization! Balathirutti, where the practice of submerging fiber was stopped under the CPZ regulations, is now being rapidly transformed into a coconut plantation. Naturally planting coconut on a commercial basis does not violate CPZ regulations. This transformation of vegetation means that numerous fruit bearing trees, spices, timber trees and medicinal plants have been destroyed.

WE are reproducing a sample case of the transformation taking place in one of the Panchayats, that of Tirurangadi, by comparing the present figures with the estimates given in 1935 resettlement survey. During the resettlement, the Panchayat consisted of two villages, Trikkulam and Tirurangadi, which have been combined for the present purpose. The present land use statistics also contain built areas, waste, marsh, and water sources which have been deducted for convenience. After making the adjustments for measurement, we get the following figures:

**Table LXXI**

Type of agricultural Product	Cultivated area-1935( acres)	Cultivated area-2001		
		Cultivated area	Transformed area	total
Paddy(single crop)	1368-63	727-91	0	727-91
Paddy(double crop)	139-48	43-29	0	43-29
Ragi	26-0	0	0	0
Samai	30-66	0	0	0
Horse gram	92-0	0	0	0
Gingelly	60-0	0	0	0
Coconut	1096-66	949-83	98-84	1048-67
Chillies	10-0	0	0	0
Pepper	84-20	0	0	0
Ginger	74-0	0	0	0
Palmyra	25-0	0	0	0
Betel	50-0	0	0	0
Areca nut	246-73	191-80	10-97	202-77
Vegetables	95-0	4-99	-	4-99
Plantains	100-20	4-94	-54	5-48
Mixed trees	447-12	93-90	-	93-90
Mixed crops	103-78	1465-15	306-40	1771-55
Tapioca	0	0	2-74	2-74
Cashew	0	21-40	0	21-40
Land built in*	0	0	39-54	39-54
Total	3989-43	3503-21	459-03	3962-24

- fields transformed into built land

Source: Resettlement Survey records, Malabar district 1935; Kerala State Archives. Panchayat records, Tirurangadi Panchayat

The above table has to be understood by keeping in mind the changes that have taken place in the assessment of cultivated lands. The large area mentioned as mixed crops indicate lands that are traditional parambas, and those which are classified as under specified crops indicate mono-cultural cultivation. The details of the resettlement survey

indicated that the chief crop was classified while taking the extent of land. Nonetheless, the transformation that Tirurangadi region has undergone is clear. There has been substantial reduction of the paddy fields, and areas growing jack, mango and other timber trees. Most of the other grains oil seeds, and pulses and even vegetables have disappeared and new species like tapioca and cashew have appeared. Coconut and areca nut have survived as cash crops, and most of the paramba crops are also cash crops. The figures do not demonstrate the extent of mono-cultural production, which can be clearly seen in the transformed lands, and also in many Parambas throughout the area.

The transformation into mono-cultural gardens is destroying the earlier distinction into vayal, paramba, and purayidam. The distinction was based on an understanding of the productive capacities of the environment, and appreciation of the biodiversity and potentialities of production and the nature of the topography. The present tendency to concentrate on commodities that fetch a price in the market has changed the parameters of land utilization. The increase of alienation and sale of land has meant that any land with the minimum facilities could be transformed into sites for commodity production. This has meant that those who own a paddy field would transform the field into a garden land, and those who own a paramba would remove all the trees there to develop it into a garden or build a shopping complex. As pointed out earlier, this means that low-lying land with riverside alluvial soil, ideal for food grain cultivation is transformed into coconut gardens, which destroys the very possibility of the entire area being converted back into a paddy field. The concept of the paramba as a mini-ecosystem that would sustain the minimum needs of the people is also destroyed. Another feature of the transformation is that once certain areas are raised into gardens by using the soil of the surrounding areas, artificial pits are created where water is made to flow into, which would mean that no cultivation is possible in such pits. Conflicts among the farmers have also prevented the excess water from one area being diverted to another area.

Disappearance of the thodus, mentioned earlier, has added to the problem. All these have meant that large areas have not been cultivated, as they are now not cultivable. It is interesting to note that the land use statistics of Tirurangadi identifies about 100 acres of land as cultivable waste, and it is likely that the area might have increased already.

The growth of mangroves, trees and shrubs like payan and kaitha have been effective in containing soil erosion in the coastal areas. The growth of mono-cultural gardens has implied that this type of vegetation is now being depleted. The problem came up sharply in recent times when developmental activities along the coastal region in Vallikkunnu Panchayat destroyed the mangrove areas there, resulting in soil erosion. The problem was raised specifically regarding the establishment of a tourist center in the mangrove area. The tourist centre continues to function, but the area has been brought under the forest department, by means of a Court order.

All these show that the environmental balance in the area is highly precarious, and part of the problems of production and forms of livelihood stems from the environmental changes that have taken place. Unfortunately, these aspects have been given very little attention, and the tendency has been to make use of the present condition also for commercial purposes. The best example is the attempt by KTDC to transform the New Cut area into a tourist center, forgetting that the scheme was to promote agriculture by preventing water logging. Now the area is used by the District Tourism Promotion Council. The water logging in valiyachali in Velimukku, a man-made phenomenon at present, is also being made into a tourist attraction. All this indicates the lack of environmentally sustainable planning for the region.

### **Livelihood patterns**

Another issue is the relationship between livelihood patterns and environment. Any scheme for environmentally sustainable development will look at any form of production

not from the returns that it is able to generate, but from its adaptability to the environment and its ability to generate sustainable livelihood patterns. The historical experience of Tirurangadi shows that the region has known a blend of two forms of production based on the paramba and the patam, identified in the earlier records as wetland and garden. Paramba used to produce fruits, roots, vegetables, grains like chama, sesamum and the modan rice, pulses like green gram, horse gram, and black gram, as well as pepper, ginger, areca, coconut and betel. Wetlands which produced paddy were more or less monoculture, but the number of crops taken and the crop rotation varied. Fishing and cattle rearing existed, but fishing was concentrated along the coast and river banks, apart from occasional Min nayattu in the challis. There is evidence that both these forms were productive as the loamy soil on which the parambas were located and the alluvial soil on which the wetlands were to be found were fertile, abetted by the heavy vegetation and the silt and debris that were brought by the river as well as the streams. The obvious villains which brought misery to the people were landlordism and the policies of the state, whether the naduvazhis or British Colonialism. Hence, with the land reforms and the redistribution of the land among the actual landholders and cultivators the condition of the landholders should have improved and agricultural production sustainable.

The actual experience of the people can be summarized from the available figures of the people involved in agriculture:

Table LXXII (Main workers alone)

Panchayat	Agricultural classes-1981			Agricultural classes-2001			%ge variation	
	cultivators	labourers	total	Cultivators	laborers	total	cultivators	laborers
Vallikkunnu	324	1205	1529	239	403	642	-26.33	-58.01
Thenhippalam	401	941	1342	169	569	738	--57.86	-39.53
Peruvallur	617	1421	2038	349	657	1006	-43.43	-53.76

Munniyur	645	1881	2526	438	761	1199	-32.09	-59.54
Parappanangadi	291	1232	1523	252	785	1037	--13.60	-32.28
Nannambra	732	1636	2368	269	428	697	-63.25	--73.84
Tirurangadi	529	1557	2086	270	390	660	-37.81	-74.45
Total	3539	9873	13412	1986	3993	8963	-43.88	-59.56

Source: Census of 1981 and 2001

The above figures show an absolute decline in the number of cultivators and laborers in the area, but the figures will have to be checked with the pattern of land use which we have seen in the case of Tirurangadi Panchayat. The land use data showed that although the area under paddy cultivation has declined, the total cultivated or in a sense, cultivable area has declined only marginally. This means that cultivation has either shifted to garden crops, as shown by the lands under coconut or areca nut, or the lands are being purchased by all kinds of speculators or house-site owners, who are trying to develop the land according to the latest trends in the market, including building construction. A large area has become what geographers call built land (92.91 acres in the case of Tirurangadi Panchayat) thus going out of cultivation. Moreover, the changes in the collection of census figures will also have to be considered, by which coconut farmers were excluded from the category of farmers from 1981. This led to an absolute decline in the number of cultivators in all the Panchayats between 1971 and 1981, and it is possible that the decline in the number of cultivators in the present figures might in fact signify a shift to coconut, areca nut, and banana and so on. What is interesting is the decline in the number of main agricultural workers, which is substantial in the paddy regions of Tirurangadi and Nannambra, which shows an absolute decline in the days of work and subsequent marginalization. The evidence shows that the number of marginal workers has increased everywhere, as shown by the following information

**Table LXXIII**

Panchayat	Marginal workers -1981			Marginal workers -2001			%ge variation	
	male	female	Total	male	female	total	Total	female
Vallikkunnu	774	778	1552	2283	464	2747	+56.50	-40.36
Thenhippalam	566	477	1043	971	183	1154	+10.64	-61.64
Peruvallur	365	172	537	1410	328	1738	+223.65	+90.70
Munniyur	450	152	602	1492	521	2013	+231.56	+242.76
Parappanangadi	623	318	941	761	287	1048	+22.15	-9.75
Nannambra	293	428	721	1063	254	1317	+262.80	-40.65
Tirurangadi	259	230	489	1153	281	1434	+345.17	+22.37
total	3330	2555	5885	9133	2318	11451	+94.58	-9.38

The above figures in fact show two patterns, one is a major change towards marginalization that is particularly visible in the major agrarian areas like Tirurangadi, Nannambra, Munniyur and Peruvallur, seen among the male population and among the women there is apparently a decline of marginality. However, this should not be interpreted as showing that women are becoming regular workers. They are in fact, being transformed into the category of non-workers, that is, moving out of the workforce altogether.

Thus agricultural change that would benefit the entire population has not taken place. If the condition of the people has improved, it is not because of agricultural production. Instead, people have moved away from agriculture on a massive scale and have entered the field of trade and commerce. Those who persisted with agriculture, partly lured by the promises of HYV seeds and new methods of farming have not been able to develop a sustainable form livelihood from it. Agriculture, like any other form of life activity is susceptible to the domination of the market forces. Perhaps the most important effect of this domination is that in the quest for remunerative forms of production, people have tended to destroy the anterior forms of production along with the ecosystems which

sustained them. This destruction of environment has prevented the establishment of sustainable form of agricultural production any more. Given the geological and geographical character of the region, any attempt to promote agriculture will have to take into account the ecological and socio-economic factors now guiding agriculture. It is not only a question of preserving the still remaining patams and parambas making them suitable for cultivation, but also a question of regenerating the destroyed patams and parambas. There is also the question of who will undertake this operation. In an atmosphere in which the thinking of the state and the dominant political parties in the region are influenced by market-friendly strategies, and where the attitude and the world perception of the gulf migrant goes a long way in deciding the nature of policy decisions, there is only a very dim chance that anyone will take the enormous risk involved in the regeneration of the area.

The transformation of land in the area has also resulted in the growth of a 'land market'. Continuous land transactions, not a feature of the earlier period and the growth of infrastructures like road access, electrification, development of different modes of communication, apart from the proximity to various institutions like the University or a College, has resulted in the rise of land values in all the areas. The commodification of land surface encourages its use as a means of generating profit, what has been called fictitious capital, and this leads to development of various forms like commercial cultivation, giving the land on lease, pledging the land for loans of various kinds, or construction activities on such land. The growth of this commodification is indicated by the substantial growth of document writers, private land surveyors, and land brokers all over the region. This commodification process is already going on at a great pace, and is one the major contributing factors to the homogenization of land surface, and the destruction of the natural environment. The land surface is becoming subject to the logic

of the capitalist form of development, and this means that even the objective factors assisting patams and parambas, are subject to the logic of commodity production. It has now become futile to think about recovery of the pristine nature of the land surface, as the entire land is becoming part of the built environment. However, it is possible to think about a strategy by which land is freed from the wanton methods of the speculators and used for providing the livelihood of large share of population.

### **Industries**

We have already seen that there has not been any significant industrial development in the region. Not only that there is no major industry in the area (except for the IOC bottling plant), but the traditional crafts are disappearing. We have also seen that a number of the existing crafts have been accessories to agricultural production and have declined along with agriculture itself. There are new crafts that have developed, in connection with construction work, electronic equipments, vehicles, mechanical workshops (normally called industrials), tyre resoling, fixing various kinds of household equipments, repairing fishing equipment, plumbing and electrical work, computer hardware, and a number of other similar professions. All these professions are also accessory professions, based on the demand for the equipments they are dealing with, and once the demand for such articles decline and spate of construction activities now visible today reach an optimum point, there is a possibility that many of these professions will also be in danger. None of these professions are in the production sector, and even efforts at reassembling and making new products are very few. It is possible to produce a number of household appliances and electronic goods at a cheap cost, but there is no effort to promote such efforts at the local level, and the traders and consumers both prefer brand names rather than the local manufacturer. Hence, the local professionals can only

subsist in the area of servicing. Even there, the servicing agencies of the big producers, aided by long term guarantees and warranties are entering in a big way.

The following information gives the general patterns among the Non-agricultural classes in the workforce of the area

**Table LXXIV**

Panchayat	Household Industry			Other workers		
	1981	2001	Variation	1981	2001	variation
Vallikkunnu	133	154	+15.79	4305	7448	+73.01
Thenhippalam	141	121	-14.18	2427	5033	+107.38
Peruvallur	59	64	+8.47	1821	3893	+113.78
Munniyur	56	93	+66.07	2739	7535	+175.10
Parappanangadi	307	202	-34.20	6784	12717	+87.46
Nannambra	28	58	+107.14	1470	4646	+216.05
Tirurangadi	137	168	+22.63	3662	8276	+126.00
total	861	860	-0.12	23,208	49548	+113.50

The people involved in the household industry do not show much variation, and when adjusted to population increase in the respective areas, might have declined in absolute terms. The growth of other non-agricultural classes is phenomenal even if adjusted to population increase. The interesting feature in this exercise seems to be the decline of household industries in Parappanangadi and Thenhippalam, both areas having a number of traditional occupations, and the rise of other in workers in Nannambra, all of which demonstrated a decline in agricultural classes. The shift from agricultural to non – agricultural classes in the composition of population appears to be clear.

Another major problem is that there has not been any effort at skill development in the areas in which the region has had experienced skilled workers already. For example, the people of the region had shown expertise in preparing the ground for cultivation in the water-logged regions by siphoning off excess water from the area, but only the older generation seems to remember the methods of water management. Water management methods appear to have been practiced even with the waters of Kadalundi River during rainy season. Another example is the importance of iron working in the area. Almost every amsam had settlements of perunkollans, who were expert blacksmiths, who made all kinds of agricultural implements including knives, and swords. Now, *alas* of Kollans are remaining idle, and the machine worked industrials have taken their place. However, there has not been any effort to make use of the skills of the perunkollans, and to suitably upgrade them, so that a machine tool or an iron implements industry is promoted. The existing industries are on the verge of being closed down. There had been reports of the presence of iron along the banks of Kadalundi River. The people in the area still believe that iron may be found there. Unfortunately, there is very little interest in undertaking a mineral survey of the region, and even if such a survey is undertaken, no one will know what to do with it. It should be remembered that the region had a tradition of miseries or coppersmiths also, an art that seems to have died out. Carpenters survive mainly through their role in construction work and furniture marts, and some of the families appear to make a descent living. Again, they survive mainly as accessory work, and there is no effort to convert them to industries. Here also the existing skills are underutilized and not innovatively developed. Equally revealing is the plight of the goldsmiths, who are out of work in an era when there is an exponential growth of jewellery. The jewelleryes do not need their expertise and can make do with machine cutting, which is a relatively unskilled job. The quality of the gold ornaments and skilled craftsmanship is a casualty in

the 'modern' cult of Gold, which is a demonstration of how the productive sector is undermined by market-friendly strategies.

The same story can be continued for the less remunerative professions also.

We have already seen how several agro-based professions such as basket-making and mat making have declined. It should be pointed out that there have been no attempts to transform the technical skills involved in such professions to make their products more viable. For example, potters can do earthen pots to be used in nurseries, and pots can be made, that can be used as water coolers. Earthen vessels can be similarly made to perform a preservative function, but unfortunately, none of these possibilities are explored in the age of the refrigerator and the water cooler. The region is abundant in clayey soil, and the manufacture of various ceramic products is another area that can be thought of. Some of these minor professions are already attempted to be regenerated through the Self Help groups under Kutumbasree. However, the problem is that of a viable distribution network that would withstand the market forces which have penetrated even to such areas, there is no serious move to develop such a network at present. This means that self-help groups are simply seen as another form of poverty alleviation programme, which includes moderately remunerative productive activities. What seems to be necessary is to develop a rural technology plan aimed at environmentally sustainable development, to protect and further develop the available technologies and skills.

### **Population**

This brings us to the important question of the human beings in the area. Tirurangadi is a densely populated region, with a rapidly growing population. Till recently the predominant number of people was engaged in agriculture and agro-based professions, followed by trade and services. Now there are substantially large number of persons

engaged in trade and services, along with a sizeable section of non-workers, who do not have any identifiable professions, or which is more likely, whose professions have not been included in Census classifications?

The trends seem to be clear. The decline of agriculture and traditional crafts and other professions have resulted in a displacement of labor power, and information clearly

shows that predominant sections of those displaced are women. The figures given above might give impression that women do get employment in other sectors, but we find the proportion of women's employment is 13.6% in agricultural sector and is lower for the non-agricultural classes at 10.4% .The work participation rate of women for the entire block stands at 4.82%.It should be pointed that even earlier census reports listed a large number of unemployed or without specific vocations, particularly women, but the now the number forms the majority of the population. There are two other tendencies that visible. One is that one of the major areas where job opportunities are available is trade and commerce, in which the percentage of women employment is negligible. The women who are employed are doing unskilled labor, as shop assistants, working in STD booth. Now they are also employed in computer centers. Women are not seen as doing any technically skilled labor. The second tendency is that a substantially large section of young males have taken their passport and are ready to go to the Gulf, if they have not done so already. 'Arranging' visa and passport, and taking the necessary 'lessons' for living in gulf, such as picking up a working knowledge in Arabic, are essential among the young people in their preparations for a livelihood. Those who are ready with a passport, but have not found a suitable opportunity in the Gulf , are prepared to go any own , along with a relative and work in a 'business', a term with very extensive connotation. All these would be included in the Census category of non-workers.

### **Social Divisions**

The social divisions in the area have assumed extremely different dimensions from what it used to be during the formation of Kerala State. A small group of traditional Muslim elite still remains, including the Naha family in Parappanangadi, Poongadan, Neelangath,

Pattasseri, Palakkad, Chonari, Anchalan, Poongadan, Pookkadan, Chalilakath, Ammarambath, Perincheerimadu and several other families.. Many of these families are still able to maintain themselves as they went to gulf and made themselves richer. The dominant section is therefore, the Gulf returnees, who have overtaken all other groups within a short while, and they have become the most influential force in the local power politics also. The expansion of trade concerns and religious establishments, as pointed out earlier, have been due to their intervention. Trained in a different world of trade and commerce combined with religiosity, they are not much concerned about the developmental debates that are popular in academic and political circles and have a clear instrumental approach towards people and resources. This approach is clearly demonstrated in their attitude to education, in which they have tried to combine 'modern education' with Madrasa education. They are the strongest defenders of the economic strategies of 'Globalization', which they combine with their own version of Muslim identity politics, often clearly influenced by Pan-Islamism. It is not surprising that a Pan-Islamist organization like the NDF is entrenching themselves among the Gulf returnees or their relatives, and providing a challenge to the Muslim League leadership, who are the adherents of conventional Muslim politics. With or without the NDF, the Gulf migrants and returnees are able to dictate terms in the area, both in terms of livelihood patterns and socio-cultural forms.

The consumerist patterns and emphasis on trade and commerce have been shaping the perceptions of the people already, and probably the most important result is that any type of occupation that enables a person to get a reasonable income is welcome, even if that is a temporary employment. The obvious preference is for service sector employment and trade as both do not involve hard labor. Even the laborers would prefer their children to be employed in such professions. The second feature is that professions should be carried out at minimum risk. Hence, agriculture, an industrial enterprise or any other activity that

involves heavy mental and manual labor is not preferred, and many Gulf migrants and their relatives are happy to have their money deposited in a bank or any other financing firm, or even convert them to gold and other assets. There are a number of Co-operative banks in the area, which run entirely on the basis of this money (The attractive interest rates offered by these banks cannot be offered by the scheduled banks and hence, the latter are forced to hunt for deposits). Thus the gulf money has apparently created a floating middle class, without any real economic foundation, and subsisting on the uncertain benefits provided by the market forces. This is at the basis of the artificial prosperity which we indicated before.

This prosperity has created a rise in prices and living standards, which has imposed a heavy burden on those who have not been benefited like the floaters. They include mostly menial laborers of various kinds, mostly unskilled or semi-skilled labor. Most of them are employed in *nadanpani* of various kinds, working under a skilled laborer, such as construction labor, digging wells and tanks, agricultural labor, stone cutting, sand mining, and working as semi-skilled laborer in industrials and other small enterprises. Almost the entire Scheduled caste population and the depressed groups who live in colonies, belong to this kind. Those who are driven out of agricultural labor and other forms of conventional labor, which have been classified as marginal workers, also belong to this group. A number of them are employed as drivers, cleaners and mechanics in a large fleet of vehicles of all varieties in the roads. Construction workers and those working in small scale industrial units, and drivers, are more regularly employed. Others do not get regular work, and may be called underemployed. The extent of underemployment in the area can be gauged by the number of persons applying as casual laborers in the University campus. The displacement of labor in recent years has meant that the number of underemployed has increased substantially, and they are ready to take up any remunerative occupation. Unfortunately, their ideas of occupational choices are mostly

determined by the floating middle class, with whom they form friendships and meet in mosques or temples. Many of them retain aspirations of going to gulf. Some of them are not even averse to forming and joining criminal gangs. Unsolved petty thefts and household robberies are quite common in the area, and those who are involved are sufficiently well-versed in the geography of the region and financial status of the population. Some informants told us that many crimes committed in the area are being patronized by members from well-to do families in the area.

The human labor power in the area is now much more physically, culturally and intellectually equipped than ever before. The number of educational institutions, hospitals, and service facilities of various kinds has increased substantially during recent years, and members of the floating middle class and underclass including women, are beneficiaries of these facilities. The years of pestilence, poverty and natural calamities are distant memories for a number of families. This is shown by the response of a large number of respondents that the present life style is better than 'ever before'. We should remember that it is the same human beings that live upon the uncertain benefits provided by market forces, are underemployed or totally confined to the household. The available information from educational institutions shows that dropouts are far less among the girls than among the boys. The figures from hospitals show that more women consult the hospitals than men. But their visibility in social labor is negligible, which means that their resources are totally wasted by society. Similarly the resources at the command of an average school student today are far more than what a local intellectual, like a school master could acquire even fifty years before, but such inputs have not been put into any productive or creative use. Numerous students accept schooling or degree education as a necessary stepping stone to a comfortable living, and not a necessary resource for manual or mental labor. Perhaps, this approach is also fostered by contemporary religiosity, which trains the students to look upon the knowledge imparted in schools and colleges

with often irrational skepticism, and asks them to concentrate more on the moral precepts advocated by their religion.

### **The Emerging Trends**

This has resulted in a peculiar and contradictory process in the region. On the one hand, the region is producing a substantial number of educated human power with more resources than ever before. They are either diverted into trade or other forms of 'business', which is aimed at making money in a rapid pace, or they are being sent to gulf as laborers or businessmen. The emerging religiosity and political priorities persuade them to accept this as the only way of life, and all other forms of knowledge are being looked upon with suspicion. We have a peculiar situation in which people accept all the latest technologies, and not the science. Scientific thought is sought to be replaced with religion or rather, ritual, a tendency that has come to prevail in all communities. The preference for trade and commerce is not turned into a choice for the development of industrial capital, for two reasons, one is the risk factor which no one wants to undertake, and second appears to be the Islamic objection to interest payments. Jama-at-e Islami conducted a campaign against interest payments a few years ago, and there is a vigorous campaign by a number of religious preachers against interest payments. It is clear that capitalist economy cannot function without interest payments, which means an ideological barrier to the development of capitalist enterprise, although not against a capitalist market. The overall result of these processes seem to be the transformation of the entire population into 'educated' petty traders and proletarians forced to subsist on the spaces provided to them by the market forces.

Unfortunately, the initiatives by the political authorities and local social leaders also push towards the same direction. For example, majority of the Kutumbasree units do not do any productive activity but are micro-credit organizations, which only encourage the

consumerist tendency outlined above. The productive activities encouraged are mostly those involve competition with larger players in the market, a task which the poor women cannot undertake, and hence will have to depend on middlemen or larger entrepreneurs, which will finally result in their proletarianisation. As we saw earlier, the patasekharasamitis have not taken of, and most of the fields are lying idle, despite the enormous amount of funds spent on them. At present there is an effort to prepare a comprehensive watershed development plan for the entire area, but we have already pointed out the objective and subjective barriers to effective implementation. If the plan gets implemented, then it will have to be on the basis of a massive commercialization of agricultural production, where all the fields lying idle are converted into farms (planting flowers, anthurium, orchids, and vanilla, for example?) and all the paramba into monoculture gardens. The effect that it will have on the environment is beyond the scope of this report, but it is clear that the patams of the present kind will be finally destroyed, and the biodiversity of the region will disappear. But it will contribute to the proletarianisation, and raise the major issue that has not been raised in the area or rather postponed. The question is whether it is feasible to continue as a mercantile economy based on gulf remittances, or whether it is possible to shift to a livelihood pattern that would be sustainable and will cater to the needs of even the most downtrodden? The question has a host of implications for the configurations of class, gender and community. It will be posed as an ideological and practical question, to be answered by the political, religious and economic leaders alike, and in which the educated resourceful population will definitely have to intervene.

What are the alternative answers that can be formulated? One answer will be the one formulated by the forces of 'globalization', that of market-friendly strategies. This is the alternative that is already being adopted by the dominant political forces. We have already seen that the present boom is manifested in the growth of constructions, but once

the present trend ends, then other options will have to be sought. This involves a combination of the possibilities of Information technology, which in the absence of a powerful productive sector, will concentrate on the circulation of money capital in various forms. This is apart from the various prospects of multimedia. The other would be the use of bio-technology, which has not caught the attention of the people so far, but in the wake of watershed plan of the region, is soon likely to be introduced in a big way. In the absence of major investments of gulf migrants in the productive sector, these seem to be the options that are left today. The growth of a service sector is not in the agenda of the market, except what is necessary for the survival of the state such as a police paramilitary and military forces. Religious services are at present attracting considerable attention, and it is not impossible that they come to occupy a lion's share of the non-governmental activities in the area. With the large amount of funds coming from agencies like ADB and World Bank getting diverted to non-Governmental agencies it is possible that these funds will be used by religious and other philanthropic agencies. Even now, the World Bank aided Jalanidhi project in Thenhippalam Panchayat is conducted by the Irinjalakkuda diocese of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the crucial stipulations of the Jalanidhi project is that the other water supply schemes of the Panchayat be closed down. If similar provisions are implemented in other activities, then we will have a swelling of non-governmental service sector, heavily influenced by religious and philanthropic agencies.

The dominant political agenda is that of supporting institutions to the scheme mentioned above. At present, education and health is controlled by private agencies, in which again, religious agencies have a decisive role. The political parties are for the growth of unaided schools and self-financing institutions, and are similarly favorable to the growth of private hospitals. Gulf returnees or migrants are already investing money into such ventures. However, the feedbacks we received show that the people from economically

deprived sections favor the survival and strengthening of Government institutions, as they know that it is impossible to meet the financial demands of the private agencies. This was very clear in the demand for a Government High school in Parappanangadi, which lacks one. The drive for privatization of education will increase the demand for some kind of alternate forms, which is at present sought to be answered by the Open school system. However, it is also likely to result in another form of educational enterprise and education will be beyond the reach of the ordinary people.

Gulf migration and migration to other parts is likely to be encouraged. However, a substantial share of the out-migrants from the region has been as casual laborers. Recently the number of skilled laborers going to the gulf has been increasing. The privatization of education particularly technical education means that the skilled labor will be the prerogative of the elite, and the out-migrant going as casual laborer will be in no way better than the people who migrated earlier. Thus the laborer on whom there was higher investment will come back with higher returns, and those who are poor will return as poor. That is, the upward mobility displayed in the earlier phase of gulf migrations will not be shown in the later phase.

All these would definitely imply the widening of the divide between the rich and the poor, and the marginalization of a large number of people, particularly the economically and socially deprived, and women. There is one force which can still reverse the fortunes within the framework of the market forces, and that is religion. Religious forces can still ensure the upward mobility of the deprived in various forms, by giving free education, and giving them proper opportunities, without of course transgressing the religious interests. They can do this only by deviating from market considerations even fractionally. For example, a purely self-financing institution run by a religious institution is no better than a commercial agency, even if they claim that they do it by preserving 'moral values' Thus any form of attention to the interests of the people of the

region as a whole, and ensuring the upward mobility of the downtrodden would imply deviation from market-friendly agenda.

The victory of market –friendly agenda is only when the logic of the market in the present era is understood by the local people. The present effort at educating the people in Information technology through the Akshaya project is a step in that direction. The spread of cable networks, including the local CITY TV, and the internet are important vehicles for spreading the message of the market. In a commercial consumerist society dominated by merchant capital, such messages would only cater to commercial and consumerist aspirations of the elite, and to the demands of pleasure by the proletarians, who watch the various star shows live, on the TV, or on the cinema halls. The difference is clear, consumption for the elite, and pleasure for the poor. Only with the growth of productive sectors can this empty pleasure be turned into activities that can turn them into consumers, and this they have to seek in the gulf, or alternatively through a regeneration of the agricultural economy. Given the predicament of agriculture today, new plant varieties yielding a large income, seems to be the only option that would attract the people back to cultivation. The indulging in the new forms of cultivation would require a landscape prepared for the purpose, new knowledge, trained labor, and forms of distribution, which means the introduction of new social forces. Again, large scale investment will have to come from the current elite classes who have the reserve finances which would mean that actual cultivators would be rendered into proletarians, or cultivators paying rent in some form. Moreover, the plant varieties so introduced need not be developments of indigenous varieties, which have been grown in the soil for centuries, but will have only short term value, as long as the product attracts a market, and cannot generate any sustainable livelihood pattern. Krishi Bhavans of the region are already promoting vanilla, and are likely to promote flowers without much delay. If vanilla and flowers do not generate any demand, they will have to be replaced by other varieties. We

already saw that majority of the subsistence needs were met from the land itself. When land itself becomes a form of speculative capital, then subsistence needs will have to be met entirely from the market. Such a situation would mean that the livelihood patterns would entirely dependent on the laws of Global capitalist production and exchange, which means the exacerbation of the contradiction between the elite investors and the proletarians. Once again, any policy making that would assist the proletarian will have to deviate from market-friendly agendas.

It is clear that the market-friendly agenda will not be able to create sustainability either from an environmental or social point of view. The only form of productive investment possible in the region appears to be that of commercial agriculture using new plant varieties, with uncertain effects on the environment and on the livelihood patterns of a large number of people. Large scale industries do not seem feasible, except in terms of providing land and water, and the region does not have any specifically trained human labor that could be absorbed into such an industry. The commercial consumerist forms will increase dependence on the global market, with prospects again uncertain. Hence any form of development agenda that would ensure sustainability of environment and livelihood patterns will have to deviate from market –friendly agenda, to agenda that are based on the all round development of productive sector, based on the growth of social labor. This will not be dictated by the priorities of the market alone, but on what the region can provide, in terms of the resources and finished products both as values that can be consumed or exchanged internally or brought to the global market. This can be done only with the help of the detailed resource mapping of the region, as has been carried out in some of the recent exercises, and a detailed assessment of the human labor potential. This will also involve a detailed social planning, which ensures utilization of natural resources, social savings in the region and human labor power.

However, production-centered strategies seem to be faced with insurmountable obstacles from the beginning. How can we revive agriculture as a sustainable enterprise, when people are moving away from agriculture, or are only prepared to take it up as a part time activity? Forms of agro-based industries, such as coir, mat and baskets similarly do not find market in the 'modern' consumerist pattern. Fishing and ocean-based industries have provided the livelihood of a number of people, but is now facing the challenge of large scale fishing enterprises. In a society that has very few producers whereas the entire population is consumers, some form of consumerism seems inevitable. The advanced education that at least a section of the people are receiving today means that they cannot be tied down to the region as such, and hence some form 'human capital export' (to use a current expression), for remunerative professions seems to be inevitable. They can be depended on to provide for the consumer needs of the population today, as the Gulf migrants have served the contemporary scene. So a production centered strategy seems to be at best utopian, and at least, idle phrase mongering of people with their own personal or political motivations.

### **Importance of Historical Experience**

It is in this kind of a debate that the historical experience of the region becomes useful. We have seen that the region was inhabited for centuries and was primarily an agrarian region supported by trade in agricultural or agro based products. This region never was surplus producing enough to maintain a 'high' court culture, and hence mainly supported large and medium landlords and Devaswams. There was no large temple that could mobilize the resources in a substantial sense, and become a medieval cultural and ideological centre. Nor could the Muslim establishments play a similar role. Once landlordism disappeared, the region transformed into an economy of small holders and traders, who complemented each other in meeting the needs of subsistence, but could

never create a system of production and distribution that could ensure environmental sustainability and satisfaction of needs. Instead, agriculture declined, land became speculative, fictitious capital, and needs were satisfied primarily by remittances from outside the region.

Was the region incapable of developing a system of production and distribution that would cater to the satisfaction of needs? We have seen that nature of the terrain, and how people created a system of patams and Parambas in their effort to create a livelihood pattern. The madu, paramba, challi and patam were categories of human geography that were built by the people in order to develop an understanding of the productive resource regions. Each was conceived as a specific ecosystem, to be utilized with adequate knowledge and sensitivity, which catered to specific needs of society. This is clear from the maintenance of biodiversity by the people of the region, to which they could always return in times of scarcity. Even the network of sacred places, such as the kavus had the same function, and also played the role of a calendrical system by which people could regulate their activities. The system of chenas, kulams and streams, as we have seen earlier, created surface water storage, and the challis in many places had the same function. It is interesting to note that virippu was very rarely sown, the mostly the crops were mundagan and puncha. Some of the patams only yield the puncha crop. Given the nature of the rainfall, and the average run off of Kadalundi River, the region receives most of the rain during the South-West monsoon, and hence the raising two subsequent crops would only depend on techniques of preserving surface water and the preservation of the streams, which seems to have been successfully done. The system of streams, which fed the huge patasekharams have been disappearing only recently.

In order to complement the paddy production in the patasekharams paramba production was successfully used. Parambas grew a number of food products such as ragi, samai, modan paddy, pulses, vegetables, root crops, plantains and so on, apart from fruit trees

such jack and mango. They also produced some commercial crops like pepper, ginger, coconut, areca nut, gingelly, and betel. This variety of products not only gave additional means of consumption, but also products for exchange, a factor that resulted in the growth of various chanthas at Tirurangadi, athanikkal in Vallikkunnu, Chelari, Kunnummal and other places. It is network of chanthas that brought merchants and migrants from outside, and it should be remembered that these chanthas would not have developed, if there had not been efforts at mobilization of internal resources. It should also be noted that Tirurangadi became one of the most important chanthas in south Malabar.

We have already seen the major obstacles to the sustenance of the developing network of production and distribution. One was the growth of landlordism, in the form of concentration of land in the hand of a few devaswams, manas, and Nayar and Muslim households. The growth of these households meant that a large part of the surplus was utilized for the ritual, political and household consumption of the landlords, which included provision for the temples and kavus, maintenance of kalaries and the personal entourage, and landlord lifestyles and tastes. This redistributive process was abetted by the British revenue system, which siphoned off another part of the surplus to maintain their state apparatuses. The repressive system introduced by the British in South Malabar, especially Tirurangadi was based on the surplus generated by the oppressed farmers themselves. Once British rule and landlordism disappeared, this form of redistributive economy also disappeared, and there was the possibility that the landholders would be able to develop a more sustainable system of production and distribution.

Landlordism and the British state were not the only obstacles. Religion has played an equally powerful role, by preventing the human beings in the area from their inner capabilities. The tradition of Mamburam Thangals provided the necessary impetus to fight against the British and the landlords, but it also persuaded the people that any

alternative to be developed will be based on an Islamic moral, legal and political system. This assumption foreclosed the possibilities of the spaces offered by capitalist 'modernity' as system of knowledge, that could be used in production and distribution, and instead saw modernity as a technical instrument that would supplement the legal precepts of Islam. Such instruments are useful for satisfying immediate needs, and the alleviation of human miseries is in the hands of God. Thus Islam failed to provide the impetus that Calvinist Protestantism provided to the artisans in England and Holland, and instead, Muslim chose to migrate to other regions for the satisfaction of his immediate needs. As far as the Hindus are concerned caste system provided a similar obstacle, by preventing the untouchable primary producer from acquiring the necessary knowledge or resources that would enable him or her to take a leap forward as a producer.

The land reforms introduced after the formation of Kerala provided a wonderful opportunity for the producers to break free from their shackles, but as we have seen, it has not happened so far. The artificial prosperity that we have outlined has also given the illusion that the road to Eldorado lies in a stint in the gulf, and also the possibilities of IT and Biotechnology. It is this actual experience that lay at the basis of the thinking of the dominant political forces. But we have pointed out the options which the market forces provide are uncertain and ephemeral, and do not provide for a sustainable livelihood pattern as far the region is concerned. Our historical experience enables us to look beyond such alternatives

### **The emerging possibilities**

We have to start with human geography. We have seen how the undulating region with rocky uplands, loamy slopes and marshy lowlands were transformed by the people to develop their livelihood patterns. Any further development of livelihood patterns will have to be from a human ecological perspective, which takes both the nature of the

landscape and the needs of the people into account. Except the rocky uplands the entire region is still fertile and is adequately provided with surface water and ground water resources. However, the historical experience makes it clear that a proper land and water management perspective, which takes the entire Kadalundi river basin and the surrounding slopes, uplands and the coastal alluvial region into account will have to be formulated.

The initiatives in this regard are taken by the present exercises in Resource Mapping. They give accurate estimates of the land under each crop, lands transformed or the lands rendered waste. They also give indications regarding the type of cultivation possible in each watershed, and in different types of terrain. Watershed management studies also give details of the techniques to be adopted to maintain and utilize ground water and surface water resources. However, there is a need to go into how people have actually utilized resources, because they indicate the built environment on which we can actually start the transformation process. They include the enumeration of all the sites of streams, ponds, chiras, chenas and all those sites which used to form challis, which may have to be located and steps taken to preserve them. It also includes identification of further reservoirs of similar kind which could be converted and made into use. There are a number of sites that have been filled or transformed into other land forms which also may have to be identified and adequate legal measures taken to preserve the surface water resource. A strategy of rain water harvesting will have to be developed in all the upland regions, and similarly conscious planning to drain off excess water in the lowlands also become essential. Another important step will be to rebuild all the streams that are being filled up at present. Sand mining along the Kadalundi River will have to be strictly prohibited and steps may be taken to prevent the erosion of the banks. Preservation and conscious

planting of mangroves, kaitha, payan and other flora that would prevent erosion of the coastal line also must be implemented.

The adoption of sustainable land use methods would be the next important step. The transformation land surface into speculative, fictitious capital is spelling the death of the land surface as we know it. We have seen that the land surface consists large tracts of coastal and riverside alluvium, which consists of large patams like, Venchali, Moriya, Kizhakke patam, Munniyur patam, Chernur patam, Kundanpatan and kuriyappatam, many of them either along the banks of Kadalundi River, or in the fertile low-lying regions. One of the major objectives of any watershed perspective should be revive the cultivation in these patams and not to allow these patams to go waste, converted into parambas and to fill it up to construct houses and building complexes. A major movement against land conversion becomes particularly necessary, because substantially large areas of land is available for the cultivation of areca, coconut, plantains and other cash crops are available in the region, in the coastal area and the slopes adjacent to the patams themselves. On no account can a wet land, either patam or chali be allowed to be converted to a building site, as it means destroying the land permanently. The crucial point appears to be the retention of the wetland ecosystem. Adequate rain harvesting methods and the formation of reservoirs and methods of allowing excess water to run off can prevent a present water logging to a certain extent, and it is possible large water pools today like valiya chali, Chernur Chali, and Kappuchali can be brought back to cultivation. Water management can also pave the way for raising three crops from a number of the patams.

Equally important is the retention of biodiversity in the region particularly in the uplands and the slopes. As we have pointed out, a vegetation cover is essential for the retention of the laterite soil, and the retention of water, apart from its function of providing for some

of the necessities. Biodiversity is part of the paramba as an ecosystem, which is also being destroyed as a result of partition, denudation of vegetation, destruction of water sources and conversion into house-sites. While it has been realized that wetland is an ecosystem, even the experts are yet to realize that parambas and Purayidams also their specific ecological characteristics, including specific soil type, water resources, and specific forms of vegetation and that parambas have so far been the basis of habitat formation in our region. Hence, there is every need to retain the parambas as a specific entity in human ecology. The present trend to destroy wetlands and parambas into homogenous entities destroy the features of human geography that has sustained life in the region for centuries. Hence, apart from the preservation of parambas, the region should attempt at an appropriate form of habitat planning.

A similar planning should be attempted for the coastal alluvial zone. It is known that the sandy regions are suitable for coconut cultivation, and they have traditionally supported coconut farms, and they should be retained as such. The coastal alluvium is also suited for paddy cultivation, and there have been paddy fields in both Vallikkunnu and Parappanangadi right down to the sea, which have converted into coconut farms recently. The potential for wetland cultivation in the area can still be developed, which may be explored. The coastal area also has a number of areas which had patannas or saltpans. Fish from the coastal line were brought by peddlers on foot up to Kondotty and Malappuram and sold there. Meennayattu conducted in several parts point to the possibilities for inland fisheries in the ponds, river, and challis which may still be explored, although informants have been complaining that varieties of fish in the ponds and streams have died out due to pesticide pollution.

All these point to a planning from the human geographical or rather ecological perspective, with the drainage area of the Kadalundi River basin at the centre. Probably

the planning of wetlands should concentrate on the patasekharams on both sides of the river, incorporate the slopes and uplands up to Kottakkunnu in the north, kariyankallu and Karippur in the North-East, Urakathmala in the east and Vailathur Hills in the south, which incidentally were the boundaries of the traditional Cheranad. Again a historical category assists us to delineate a basic feature of Human geography.

Human geography also should have a concept of housing, flora and fauna that will be part of the built environment. Houses are essential, but housing should be planned in such a way as to cause the least damage to the biodiversity, conditions of topsoil and water resources. It is well known that the excessive sand mining today is the direct result of the construction boom, and the possibilities of constructions without using mortar (such as interlocking bricks) may be explored. Do we allow the filling up of lowlands to construct houses and shopping complexes? Can houses and buildings be built in rocky surfaces without adequate water supply, where tube wells become necessary for water supply? How much of average space that the house sites should occupy which will leave out adequate space for production and other functions? All these seem to be important in the formulation of a habitat policy. At present, there is an attempt to tax the luxury ingredients in housing, but discussion on such luxuries should form part of the making of our taste. For example, are marbles and luxury tiles essential for housing? Our conception of flora and fauna are also similar. There are a substantial number of floral plants and herbs in our natural environment. So do we need orchids and anthurium? Many of these flowers were abundantly grown in our Parambas. We have destroyed them, and now we seek new varieties to fill our fields. Are they viable, even from a commercial point of view, when every paramba can grow varieties of flowers that can be sold also? We have lost our ginger, sesamum and a number of other varieties, now we are thinking in terms of vanilla. How far is the new species sustainable? Cashew can be grown in the rocky

areas, and then we should clearly demarcate the areas where it can be feasibly grown. All these are part of a detailed human ecological planning, which becomes necessary in any scheme for environmentally sustainable development.

There is another feature of human geography indicated by history. We find references to a tradition of perunkollans and many *alas*, some of which survive even now, but without work. Probably the last generation of the skilled workers remains, and there is the possibility of discovering iron deposits. The possibility of reviving iron works to suit modern industrial needs may still be explored. Similarly history also points to the use of clay first to make pottery and then tiles. There is a potter's colony even now, and there have been several attempts at setting up tile factories, some of which run today. It is possible to build ceramics industries at an appropriate level. The third is Coir, for which the natural facilities and the required expertise are available, which can be further developed. Similar possibilities can be further developed through a detailed survey of the mineral deposits in the region.

The most important part of the human geography is the human element in it. Despite the talk about 'Human resources', human beings are probably the most underdeveloped, underutilized category even in the conventional social engineering exercises. This is evident in a planning exercise that leaves out 77% of the population from the definition of 'workers' and plans for the entire population. More importantly, it has left out 95% of the total population of women from the category of workers. Even if we leave out children and very old people from this category, the category of non-workers will have a substantially large number of able-bodied people, most of them now literate and having elementary education, among the 'non-workers'. We should also note the increasingly high rate of marginalization of workers. Even if we assume that the census categories do not represent the actual work pattern that exists among the people, it shows the productive abilities of a substantially large number of people are underutilized. Regarding

women, it is possible to argue that household labor is not considered for calculation of work at all, but it should be pointed out that household labor can come into these calculations when the entire human labor in the area realizes its potential as socially necessary labor, otherwise it becomes dead labor, an agency for consumption.

History indicated several problems and possibilities for the utilization of human labor. The census figures from 1871 have shown that there were a substantial number of unproductive or unutilized laborers then also, particularly women. But the figures clearly looked upon family as the basic unit, a practice that continues even today in the calculation of the households. The entire non-working people who are not employed in the public spaces were treated as 'dependents'. This concept of dependents indicated that the labor of the individual or individuals constituted family labor and the other persons were dependent on the labor. It should be noted that the same concept prevails among the people even today, The successive partitions of the earlier families resulted in the growth of patriarchal households, and the labor of women became labor to sustain the household (and hence, 'household' labor). However, it should be remembered that most of the laboring families were also production units, particularly that of agricultural laborers, and some of them were female headed households. For agricultural laborers, their labor was not simply a means of additional labor by the members of the household for subsistence, but they were doing specialized labor as in paddy cultivation and coir manufacture. For those doing paramba cultivation and household industry also this concept of the household as a production unit did seem to have existed. But traders and large and medium cultivators never used household labor and for them household became a consumption unit. Patriarchal ideology which also was given a communitarian sanction was used to legitimize this conception of a household.

The small holder's economy that came into existence after the land reforms might have survived if the household had become a production unit, but such a transformation never

took place. The decline of the agricultural operations and household industry, and the growth of a commercial consumerist economy resulted in the transformation of even production units into consumption units, which meant that even those women who were productive laborers were eliminated. Gulf migrations also reinforced the concept of family labor, as it became an effective means of transacting and consuming the remittances. All these resulted in the swelling of 'non-workers', a category that is the creation of an essentially consumerist economy.

The human geographical perspective outlined above implies the maximum utilization of the human labor power of the area. Obviously this has to start from the existing labor units that are the households who are still actively involved in agriculture, and those who are prepared to cultivate the land provided they are given the land and other means. The present patasekhara samitis consist mainly of patta holders, who are often marginal cultivators. Those who are traditional cultivators have been the downtrodden groups, and they are the needy, and have the necessary skills and knowledge to undertake the job. One should remember that they were the people employed to transform the waterlogged patasekharams to cultivation in earlier times, and their role in such hostile conditions is remembered by old farmers even now. What they need is the necessary advanced knowledge. There are also major group of small cultivators, tilling their own land and have taken other lands on lease, and they can be similarly developed. Memories of old farmers indicate collective action by all farmers having plots in a patam to bring the entire patam to cultivation, solidarity, that is, by their own admission is missing today. It should be noted that even when agricultural plots are independent, they have managed their water and resources collectively, and hence, the principle of collective action becomes important, especially in such areas as the large patasekharams. The depressed,

laboring groups become the central agencies for such collective action, and they will be the beneficiaries also.

Another important human agency will be women. In any perspective of this kind, household labor will become public, social labor, and direct intervention of women in public labor becomes necessary. Now there are several efforts to develop the participation of women, the so-called 'empowerment' strategies, but the aim should be that women should become the major agency in the labor process. It should be remembered that women did intervene in the public labor process than the present milieu; the human geographical perspective would envisage the restoration and expansion of woman's agency in the process of production and distribution. It should be remembered that we are only trying to actualize what lay hidden among the laboring people, as it was suppressed by the patriarchic conception of a household. The initial step in this direction would be to conceive of the household as a production unit, or rather conceive of a landscape as consisting of production and distribution units, in which women come to play the central role. Women producer's Co-operative societies, women's production units and household industrial units may be conceived of. The self-help groups may also be redesigned as production and distribution networks.

The third human agency is the young people. It is possibly impossible to convince a modern employee to any conception of what sustainable livelihood means, but it is still possible to persuade the young people to choose one, by giving him or her the necessary training and confidence. We call this education. The present education system whether it is run by religious agencies or the Government caters to the ideological requirements of dominant social and political agencies including community agencies and that of the requirements dictated by market forces. It has never addressed the question of knowledge and skills required by the ordinary laborer. Hence, it is important that the young people

who wish to make a livelihood through labor are given the necessary opportunities for the acquisition of skills and knowledge regarding their landscape and resources as a part of the general education. A Degree in agriculture can create an agricultural officer, but not a farmer. The research team, through its own experience with young volunteers, have the opinion that given the necessary knowledge and inspiration, the young people can become expert labor force, provided they are not deluded by the attraction of jobless money given by the market forces.

The success of the perspective also depends on the generation of knowledge regarding the environment and resources of the region as well as the socio-economic and technological milieu in which these resources are utilized. This requires the generation of regional experts. History tells us that expertise in most of the productive activities in the locality have been handed down from generation to generation, and was wielded by the senior most of the living practitioners. This was true of agriculture, crafts and majority of the services, the only exceptions being scholastic knowledge, and also on the question of laying down the moral regulations, when the so-called 'traditional intellectuals' were brought in. We have seen the role of traditional intellectuals in the making of social practice and traditions. A new generation of traditional intellectuals is today active, as the interpreters and practitioners of the legal and moral precepts of a religion as adapted to the needs of a capitalist civilization. Unfortunately, scientific knowledge has either been reduced to technologies that are suited for the same capitalist civilization, or reduced to scholastic, theoretical debates not necessarily understood by ordinary people. Hence, there is every need for a region to develop its experts who have scientific awareness and knowledge as well as actual expertise in the specific form labor. It is important that the present day higher education institutions, including the University that functions in the field area caters to this need. We should also remember that experts committees were

experimented during the People's Planning campaign, and had to be dropped either because they were not experts or because their expertise was inadequate for the type of problems they had to deal with. The new generation of regional experts will have to be different from them.

The human geographical perspective will thus be based on environmental sustainability, human agency, and will be centered on the development of regional production and distribution networks. But how can one ensure that this will not just another utopian scheme, bound to collapse, as many other dreams or actual experiments have collapsed? First of all it should be emphasized that what is proposed is a perspective and not as any scheme to be tested in practice. What is emphasized here is that any discussion on development will have to take place by taking into account the spatial and temporal features in which development takes place, and the perspective outlined here in the context of the field area tries to incorporate such a perspective. It argues that while this region had not been historically self-sufficient it had always generated sufficient resources through labor that could be used, either in consumption or exchange to meet its demands. It tries to outline the major obstacles that the region historically faced that prevented it from actualizing its productive potential. It also tries to bring out certain positive features of its historical experience, which could be successfully used today suitably modified with the available knowledge and experience.

Now we see among the people of Tirurangadi a picture of despondence and defeatism regarding one's own productive potential, and a powerful faith in the logic of the market, augmented by current technology and the returns from abroad. It is not surprising that faith in the market and religious faith are complementary, and the artificial prosperity that the people of Tirurangadi, or a large number of them are enjoying today, has enhanced their religious faith also. There may be a historical reason for this faith also, that they

suffered innumerable calamities, both natural and human made. But what is the guarantee that this prosperity will be sustainable, and God will not punish them yet again? The historical and human geographical perspective, which we have tried to outline, points to that direction. The region cannot simply depend on the logic of the market alone, but will have to stand on its own resources, however meagre they may be. Hence, any development perspective on the region will have to start from its creative and productive potential, and not how much it is able to buy.

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## VI

### Conclusion and Major Findings

This report on the socio-cultural processes and livelihood patterns of Tirurangadi not a complete one. The research team organized Karanavakkootams and also conducted a socio-cultural survey during the project period. We have incorporated some of the insights given by the respondents in the karanavakkootams, but have not used them entirely. We have been unable to incorporate the findings of the socio-cultural survey at all. It is possible the incorporation of the findings of the Karanavakkootams and socio-cultural survey may modify some of the findings. However, we feel that they will not alter substantially the findings based on our experience of the walking and the exercise in local history which we undertook mostly on the basis of secondary sources and karanavakkootams.

With these qualifications, we now summarise our major findings in the course of our study.

1. Tirurangadi region has been predominantly an agrarian region, characterized by wetland paddy cultivation and paramba cultivation, which raises Coconut, areca, plantains, pulses, vegetables and fruit trees of various kinds. Given the undulating terrain and water logging in the lowland regions, agricultural has involved hard labor, and has not produced enough surplus to sustain large states or political formations in earlier times. However, the surplus and the garden crops were used for exchange processes and resulted in the growth of chanthas and internal trade.

2. The economic and political processes of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries resulted in the decline of landlordism and the livelihood patterns came to be dominated by small

holders and traders. However, instead of developing sustainable livelihood patterns on the basis of existing geographical conditions and the new resources made available by the growth of science and technology, the farmers began to withdraw from paddy cultivation and either began to raise cash crops or became traders. Land itself became speculative capital, and was being alienated and transformed, which has been destroying the existing landscape and affecting the livelihood patterns. The rise of construction work as the major industry and occupation and the expansion of house-sites and shopping complexes, even into the rocky uplands in the region symbolize this change.

3. The ability of the present social and economic processes to develop sustainable livelihood patterns that would enable the deprived and the marginalized to find their feet, given the existing circumstances, is minimal. The economy is sustained to a large extent by gulf remittances, and the remaining by the doles provided by the government through various central and state schemes. The gulf remittances has resulted in conditions of prosperity that is not supported by a stable primary or secondary sector, which has resulted in the growth of a commercial consumerist economy, sustained by large scale penetration of contemporary technologies and tastes.

4. The dominant social classes in the region have come to accept the state of affairs as largely inevitable, and are now vigorous campaigners of the logic of the market. On the one hand, the logic of the market enables them to accept the dependence on the gulf remittances and the potential of the export of human 'resources' as a fact in ensuring the present prosperity, and on the other it also makes them go in for further experiments in the direction of market friendly strategies inside the region. The present stress on information technology and the prospects of biotechnology is in that direction. Market friendly strategies are combined with a stress on religiosity, dressed up as 'moral values' is expected to become the theoretical perspective for the association with the market.

Religious faith thus complements the faith in the market. However, the dominant classes have not been able to convincingly argue that the market friendly strategies are sustainable either based on environmental concerns or on social well-being.

5. There have been some efforts to introduce development plans based on the appraisal of indigenous resources, started during the People's Planning campaign, but they are yet to yield results. Since the stress has been on commercial consumerist economy, the results have so far been marginal, and have not resulted in major initiatives in production and distribution.

6. All this stresses the need for a historical and human geographical perspective on regional development, which takes into account the geographical factors as they have been transformed by human intervention through centuries, and the actual experience of the people in this process. The human geographical perspective underlines the importance of the land and water management and planning and maintenance of biodiversity that people have been carrying out, their costs and benefits and the major methods for improving them on the basis of existing knowledge and skills. The stress will be on sustainability of livelihood patterns, and which, in the case of Tirurangadi will be on production centered strategies. Production centered strategies naturally cannot be separated from distribution, and the strategies will have to be worked out taking into account the present social and economic milieu.

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**Table LXXV**

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Agricultural classes-2001</b>			<b>Non-Agricultural Classes-2001</b>			<b>Non-workers -2001</b>			<b>Total populat</b>	
	<b>Male</b>	<b>female</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>male</b>	<b>female</b>	<b>total</b>	<b>male</b>	<b>female</b>	<b>total</b>	<b>male</b>	<b>fema</b>
Vallikkunnu	903	126	1029	8769	1193	11155	10549	20300	30849	20221	2161
Thenhippalam	944	74	1018	5010	1016	6026	7339	12890	20229	13293	1398
Peruvallur	1740	295	2035	4320	346	4666	8945	14978	23923	15005	1561
Mooniyur	1431	266	1697	8138	1005	9203	13620	22912	36532	23189	2418
Parappanangadi	1070	166	1236	12463	1305	13768	16793	30984	47777	30326	3245
Nannambra	907	154	1061	5218	439	5657	10721	18093	28814	16846	1868
Tirurangadi	746	139	885	8827	826	9653	14984	25090	40074	24557	2605
total	7741	1220	8961	52745	6130	58875	82951	145247	228198	143437	1525

**Table LXVII**

I

<b>Panchayat</b>	<b>Public Library</b>	<b>Reading Room</b>	<b>Angana wady</b>	<b>Adult Education Centre</b>	<b>Community Halls</b>	<b>Sports Clubs</b>	<b>Arts Clubs</b>	<b>Comm Unity radio</b>
Munniyur	1	17	31	3	0	20	0	1
Nannambra	2	4	24	0	0	11	8	0
Parappanangadi	4	4	42	0	0	4	2	0
Thenhippalam	1	5	38	3	1	2	0	0
Tirurangadi	1	4	33	3	1	23	2	0
Vallikkunnu	1	10	34	3	1	0	27	4
Total	10	44	202	12	3	60	39	5

Agro based	Rubber	Cement	plastic	Forest	Animal Husbandry	textiles	chemical	Engineering	Electronics	Minerals	building	others
26	3	0	1	23	0	8	1	16	3	0	10	49

**Table LV**

Village	Manufacturing				Mining& Quarrying		construction		Trade& commerce		Transport& communication		others	
	household		Others		male	female	male	female	male	Female	male	female	male	fe
	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	Female	male	female	male	fe
Vallikunnu	10	114	296	67	70	-	49	-	309	-	165	1	477	4
Thenhippalam	93	32	278	75	26	-	31	-	262	-	58	-	387	1
Ariyallur	34	73	230	6	14	-	48	-	309	12	204	-	220	7
Mooniyur	91	79	410	3	41	-	68	1	766	1	118	1	440	8
Peruvallur	51	80	192	17	20	-	31	-	420	1	86	-	3283	8
Parappanangadi	139	72	758	42	29	-	108	1	1148	24	527	2	930	2
Nannambra	42	7	131	8	19	-	25	-	321	-	82	-	300	5
Tirurangadi	101	46	691	34	31	-	61	-	983	1	195	1	766	2
Total	561	503	2986	252	250	-	421	2	4229	39	1435	5	3848	9

years	No.of Inhabited houses	Total population			Religion			Occupation				Population Per 100 acr of occupiedland
		Male	Female	total	hindu	muslim	other	landholder	labourer	weaver	other	
391	901	2494	2518	5012	1564	3435	13	1891	1465	24	1682	244
301	931	2548	2571	5119	1569	3547	3	695	895	-	3529	44250

Bullocks	He- buffaloes	cows	Bulls& Heifers Under 4years	She- Buffaloes	Young buffaloes	Sheep &goats	Horses &ponies	Mules &donkeys	carts	ploughs	boats
57175	6950	37339	37187	3875	1616	21723	97	13	1026	31192	714

Village	Olakara	Tirukulam	Parappanangadi	Neduva	Vallikkunnu	Thenhippalam	Munniyur	Nannmbra
Area in acres	5005	3895	745	3918	4234	9077	7680	4552
Households	1179	1744	775	1119	1382	1809	520	1681
Total Hindus	2134	1969	1131	4092	5594	5792	2592	2895
Brahmanas	2	1	-	49	51	25	14	27
Kshatriyas	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Chettis	-	5	8	3	-	-	-	-
Vellalas (Nayars)	262	459	112	913	1238	1366	543	624
Other forward castes	35	26	11	138	155	202	-	25
Idaiyar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kammalas	159	198	14	282	195	263	120	250
Kanakkan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kaikkolan	5	6	-	295	26	32	11	4-
Vanian	51	41	--	16	46	326	1	--
Karuvan	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-
Satani	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
SEmbadavan	-	41	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shanan (thiyya)	662	541	942	1754	2915	1932	1330	1029
Ambattan	9	-	-	18	23	52	10	-
Vannan	106	53	18	115	76	227	27	95
Others	8	-	-	-	44	7	-	-
Pariah	835	599	20	507	830	1291	536	841
Mappila	3573	6349	1658	1786	1391	3062	298	5630
Arabis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sheik	-	-	-	4	-	-	22	-
Syed	-	18	5	-	5	-	-	-

Pathan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other mohammedans	-	-	1031	8	367	-	-	9
Total muslim	3573	6367	2694	1799	1763	3062	320	5639