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**GLOBALISATION AND THE
RE-ARTICULATIONS OF THE LOCAL:
A CASE STUDY FROM KERALA'S
MIDLANDS**

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a preliminary attempt to understand globalisation and social transformation in the rural Kerala. It addresses the socio-economic changes in a village in the mid-land region of Kerala namely Kavakad, by looking at the historical shaping of the determinants of change. The paper triangulates quantitative data and qualitative materials from fieldwork alongside the historical sources to understand social transformation. It focuses on the historical trajectories of mobility (spatial, educational, and occupational) of three communities in the village, namely Syrian Christian, Ezhava and Pulaya. The shaping of the locality and development trajectory is entrenched in the power dynamics of land ownership between the Pulaya and Syrian Christian communities, which facilitated Syrian Christian dominance in the development process, and hence, the community appeared to be the locus of 20th-century socio-economic transition in the village. At present, mobility patterns have enhanced in all communities; however, the discussion in this paper shows that social inequalities persist in the village. Also, it appears that the well endowed Syrian Christians gained immensely from the transnational connections, while the political decentralization of 1990s has opened up new ways for Pulaya–Dalit community. It concludes that the market led process have benefited the dominant communities, while only the local political interventions play a pivotal role for the development of the marginalized communities.

Key Words: Globalisation, Communities, Shaping of the local, Social inequalities, Market versus Political

Introduction

This paper tries to understand globalisation¹ through the analysis grounded in the specific historical process of a local. Globalization is acknowledged in the literature as multi-directional, asymmetrical and unequal in the local areas of the global south (Deshpande 2003; Ballard et al. 2005; Gallo 2015; Upadhya 2016). Kerala as a region has experienced distinct patterns in transnational migration. For instance, the region is witnessing a rapidly increasing number of transnational migrants from 1970s, which adds to the multifaceted transformation in the rural areas, (Mathew and Nair 1978; Osella and Osella 2000; Kerala Migration Survey 2011, 2014; Harilal and Akhil 2016).² Considering the peculiarities, an enquiry into the rural areas in the region is significant to understand the complexities of globalisation³.

Besides, it is a crucial factor for many of the positive outcomes that have preserved and extended the gains of ‘Kerala Model’ developments (Zachariah et al. 2000; Harilal and Joseph 2003). Hence, the paper strives to historically put migration in the light of accelerated globalization on local society, and its effects on the Kerala Model of Development. Until now, studies of emigration in Kerala have concentrated mostly upon the number of emigrants and the extent of the remittances (Zachariah et.al 2000). But, these various analyses on the

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- 1 In this paper, the word globalisation denotes the contemporary, rather than representing any specific process (Deshpande 2003). That is the period in Kerala society where increasing transnational migration is going on.
 - 2 According to Kerala Migration survey 2016, 2.24 million Keralites are abroad, and the remittance account around 36% of states NSDP.
 - 3 The paper refers to globalisation as a phase of increasing transnational migration in the region and complex realities it represents.

migration pattern tend to leave out the social dynamics in the local. For instance, the outlier communities from the Kerala model are often ignored in the discussions on transnational experience and social changes in the region⁴. However, a lesser number of studies, primarily by anthropologists, have examined the cultural changes that migration produces in relation to various communities (Kurien 2000; Osella and Osella 2000). Therefore, the paper attempts to contribute to expand the scholarship in this direction.

Moreover, the vast literature on globalisation studies in the global south often portray the picture of mounting transnational social life and tend to reduce the complex social realities in the local (Gardner 1995; Deshpande 2003; Lukose 2009; Gallo 2015)⁵. In contrast, this paper tries to understand the process through a historical formation of the local, the specific mechanisms of global flows, and examining the implications of these for the communities at the local level. As a way of addressing these complexities, the effort here is to trace the untold story of re articulations in a micro-regional context with reference to the mobility and development experience of different communities.

The paper is based on a two months fieldwork in a mid-land village in Kerala, called Kavakad⁶. The region in focus is the Midlands of Kerala, which is in the discussion of contemporary development in regard to the differential development outcomes for different

4 Many studies pointed out the problems of outlier communities from Kerala development model such as Dalits, Tribals and Fisher folk (Kurian 1995)

5 The scholarship on globalisation assumes that the local social life expands to transnational as migration and cultural flow increases, which results in homogenisation of culture across the world.

6 Kavakad is a settlement village under the revenue village of Enanalloor. According to the classification of the physiographic areas of Kerala, low-lands were recognized to be below 8m, mid-lands between 8m and 75m and high-lands above 75m of sea level. These are known as coastal low-land zone, the mid-land zone in between, and the Western Ghats high-land zone to the east, respectively. The mid-land region is in between the mountainous region in the east and the coastal region in the west.

communities in the region. The village is located in the Muvattupuzha Taluk of the Ernakulam district, and around 237 kms north of Trivandrum, the state capital, and 60 kms east of Cochin, the district headquarters. According to the Panchayat-level statistics, it has 380 households and a population of 1460. It slopes north to south, where the boundaries are Kalloorkad village on the north and Kaliyar river on the south, Kalloor village on the east and Ayavana village on the west. Kaliyar river runs from the east of Kavakad to the west towards Muvattupuzha and joins with the Muvattupuzha river. The total geographical area of the village is around 485 hectares which is comprised of 26 hectares of a dry hillock. The residential areas are spread on the hillock in the village periphery and in the plain which is the village centre. The ecology of the village was largely wetland, with the Kaliyar river, a canal which is locally known as *mukkanthodu* and a hillock, the *valiyapara and thalayinapara* on which is the Pulaya-Dalit settlement, forming its vital aspects. Apart from this, small ecosystems and natural vegetation were part of most of the cultivable lands. The demographic transition and the patrilocal nature of Syrian Christian families resulted in small land holding and thick settlement⁷. The presence of different communities in the village has remained mostly stable over the decades; which include the Syrian Catholics, Izhava and the SC/ST communities (mostly Pulaya) households.

The spatial formation of the village may be viewed as deeply entrenched in the history of the interactions between two prominent communities there, that of Syrian Catholics and Pulayas⁸. It is quite

7 The transition has occurred with regard to the increase in the number of family members and partition within the families. The patrilocal nature allowed the family property to be divided among sons, and settle there.

8 Though Izhava community have a presence in the village, the historical account is presented as the interactions between Syrian Christians and Pulayas in the socio-economic and political spaces in the village, to show how the process evolved. The historical narratives of the communities are traced from 1930's till 1990s. It stops at the initial phase of political de-centralisation in Kerala.

essential to understand the historical formation of the communities to assess the nature of the globalisation; notably, what has happened and how much of a transformation it represents. This paper has four sections; the first section considers the manner in which the broader socio-political processes impinged on the formation and later shaping of the locality, and the arguments are based on the secondary literature and historical sources. The second section mainly focuses on the community formations, particularly, what endowed the power dynamics in community relations which determined the future development outcomes in the local. Here, I make use of information collected from the village through interviews and historical material such as literary sources and church records⁹. Further, the picture of uneven development and power dynamics is visible through the discussion of intergenerational occupational and educational mobilities across the communities, where I make use of the information from an intergenerational family survey.

The third section demonstrates the geographical spread of social life, as an attempt to understand how global flows take place. An intergenerational family survey was conducted to capture the spatial movement of people¹⁰, which maps the geography of social life for different communities (Deshpande 2003: 160-163). The data has been collected on the following variables, taking the definition of village as a cultural region: 1. Place of birth or family residence (the latter if the

9 18 individual interviews were conducted across Syrian Catholic, Ezhava and Pulaya communities. 3 from Ezhava, 7 from Pulaya and 8 from Syrian Catholic community. The paper uses history materials such as parish records and published family histories.

10. According to parish data, 15 Syrian Catholic joint families comprising 1105 people are present in the village; according to 2011 Census, the village has a total of 350 agricultural labourers belonging to 7 joint families of Pulaya-Dalit community, and two joint families from the Ezhava community comprising 65 people settled in the village. The intergenerational family survey has chosen 5 Syrian Catholic families, 2 Ezhava families and 4 families from Pulaya-Dalit community which accounts to 534 individual data points.

two were different), 2. Place of education, 3. Place of employment, 4. Place of residence of spouse immediately before marriage and 5. Place of last residence (of deceased persons) or current residence. In each family, information was collected on three generations in relation to the respondent: - Generation 1- Grandparents of respondents below 55 years (or else their parents), Generation 2- all the children of those in Generation 1, Generation 3- all the children of those in Generation 2. Data was collected on the spatial history of life of individual members of these families belonging to the three different communities in Kavakad. Purposive sampling was used as the sampling technique for selecting the families for the survey, and it was carried out on two criteria - larger number of members and willingness to respond.

The fourth section helps to understand the implication of this spatial movement for different communities' in the local. I argue that the well endowed Syrian Christian community have benefited from market-led transnational migration process, while local level political process such as decentralization opens up new windows for the marginalized communities. Here, I make use of the qualitative interviews and secondary materials¹¹. This section is followed by some reflections as a way of conclusion.

Genesis of Spatial Patterns

In the earlier times, the local chieftains of the principalities in the geographical region of Kerala sought to control trade relations, which was a crucial instrument in securing political and economic assertion in the region¹². The rise of Cochin port during the 18th century helped the

11 12 qualitative interviews were conducted across the communities, and of course participant observation. All names have been changed to protect the identities of our interviewees.

12 The region was divided into 14 principalities. For more details, see M.G.S. Narayanan, 'The State in the era of Cheraman Perumals of Kerala', 2002:111-119.

development of hinterlands¹³ to Cochin port. Areas in the vicinity of our region of interest began to find new fortunes in the trade, as most commodities in demand were produced in the Midlands and highlands. Thus, the increased demand of pepper and ginger from Cochin under the Portuguese led to the development of strong connections of the region of present-day Kavakad with the port of Cochin, as a regular supply centre of commodities for export¹⁴.

However, more extensive road routes seem to have connected the region to the coast on the one hand, and with the Tamil country to the east on the other. There was a Fort¹⁵ dividing Tekkumkur and Vadakkumkur connecting the Northeastern part of the Kingdom passing through the locality¹⁶. There were two prime ghat trade routes running to Madurai through the forts in this region.¹⁷ Thoduvally (Thodupuzha), very near our region of interest, was a principal trade partner of the Pandya kings of Madurai, the Muslim rulers of the region, and Madurai Naykkars for pepper and other spices. The Ghat route enabled the native

13 Hinterland can be described as organized and developed land spaces which are connected with a port through transport lines.

14 The lands of Kothamangalam, Arakkuzha, Piravom and Palai were the most productive centers of the pepper cultivation Paolino da san Bartolomeo, *viaggioalle Indie Oreintalie*, Roma, 1796: 116.As quoted in Malekandathil, Pius. "Portuguese Cochin and the maritime trade of India, 1500-1663." 2010: P.42.

15 Valath, V., V., K mentions news in a local Daily, *Mathrubhumi* on 1978 July 6 about a cave being found when a village road was being excavated near *krishnankotta* and subsequently being destroyed (Nedumkotta).

16 See Ward and Corner, Memoir of a survey: 115-116.Many of these fortifications was strengthened for military purposes Under Travancore rule. According to the elders, till recently ruins of them existed 2km away from the village. Muvattupuzha-Theni SH 43 passing through this kotta road, this will be the shortest route to Theni after the completion.

17 See the report of Fransisco da costa,"Relatoriosobre o trato da pimento", in Antonio da silva Rego ,Documentacao ultramarine portuguesa, vol. iii.:315. As quoted in the golden jubilee souvenir of Kothamangalam Diocese:38-40.

merchants to carry spices to the Coromandel ports for further trade to China, Bengal, Gujarat, Red sea and Mughal territory. Portuguese documents use the phrase *foipelaterradentro* (went through the inside soil) to indicate the movement of commodities through the ghat routes of the hinterland. Many merchants found it as a safe haven from the torture and patrolling of the Portuguese. Consequently, Vadakkumkur was known to the Portuguese as ‘Piementa’ or the pepper kingdom as pepper of good quality grew here in abundance (Menon 2007:165)¹⁸.

The main trade route was the Muvattupuzha river, some 120 kilometres long. The three rivers of Muvattupuzha, Thodupuzha and Kaliyar joined at Muvattupuzha to form the river, and the riverine route was navigable except at the peak of summer. However, many local producers and merchants continued to transmit commodities through ghat routes. By the 17th century, Vadakkumkur had strong trade relations with Tamilnadu.¹⁹ At the same time, rulers had to see that pepper and other spices reached Cochin regularly, as they received regular annuities from the Portuguese for this supply (Malekkandathil 2010:46). Nevertheless, the rulers did not intend to close the trade through ghat route, mainly because the trade provided food materials to the kingdom and was a lucrative direct source of income.

The direct trade relations of the cultivators came to an end when Marthanda Varma²⁰ declared pepper trade as the monopoly of the King in 1743. Henceforth, the trade routes from Thodupuzha and Kothamangalam to Tamil country closed down and became a dense

18 Journada refers to the textiles, rice, and other cereals brought through the ghat routes by the Tamil merchants who also sold their wares in these principalities.

19 Ibid:28.

20 Marthanda Varma (born Anizham Thirunal Marthanda Varma; 1705 – 7 July 1758) was ruler of the southern Indian state of from 1729 until his death in 1758.

forest in due course of time (Nair 1991:11). A threat to Travancore's monopoly over pepper trade was the possible diversion of pepper to the Dutch traders at Cochin port. To prevent the possibility of trading with Dutch and cornering the profit from agricultural abundance, the Dewan of Travancore, Raja Keshava Das built up an inland water transport connecting Muvattupuzha river and Alappuzha port in 1763.²¹

The region of interest, thus, was already a part of the intra- regional, intra-Asian, European, later, British colonial trade at different points of time. The importance of the region as a prime producer for traders increased the connectivity through land and river. This facilitated the migration of the cultivators to the region. One of the communities that benefited most from the booming trade in late medieval times in this region was the Syrian Christians (Matteer 1991:237-238). Further, the Portuguese documents note that Syrian Christians were the major spice cultivators. The direct relations of the church with traders enhanced the visibility of the community as cultivators (Malekkandathil 2010b:38-62), and have played an important role in shaping the agrarian tradition in the region. Their settlements were spread from the paddy fields of Muvattupuzha to the foot-hills of the Western Ghats. The initial settlement pattern of the region was on the sides and interior parts of trade routes which connected inlands of the latter-day Travancore and Madurai.

Arakkuzha in the region was developing as a trading point between Madurai and inlands of Travancore, in earlier centuries²². Later, during the invasion of Tipu, fearing atrocities of the conqueror, many migrated to the hills of Kunnathunadu²³. Tipu's invasion was the context for the

21 T.K. Veluppillai, Travancore State Manual, 1946, Appendix. ii: 157. The principal markets placed along this route were Padmanabhapuram, Kollam, Mavelikkara and Muvattupuzha (Menon 1878:129).

22 Chronicle of St. Marys Church Arakkuzha: 79.

23 See V.V.K. Valath 1981: 89.

second wave of migration to Arakkuzha²⁴. The increase in the population prompted Christians to move to the eastern parts of Travancore from more thickly populated areas and led to the formation of Syrian Christian churches around the locality which were dense forests earlier²⁵. Consequently, the churches of Ayavana and Kallorkad adjacent to the village of Kavakad were formed in 1895 and 1898 respectively²⁶. The locality of the current study was under the *Adhikaram* of Manjalloor Kartha, a local chieftain appointed by Marthanda Varma to collect land revenues²⁷. According to the land revenue rules that existed in Travancore, the farmers had to pay nominal taxes to *adhikaris* for the land they use to cultivate. According to oral sources, the initial migration to the village happened sometime after 1860 and involved clearing up of the forests in the region.²⁸ The network of social and familial relations

24 In 1816, there were 6212 Christians in Muvattupuzha *Mandapathu mvaathukkal* See ward and corner Memoir of a Survey: 120-121.

25 Achuth Sankar S. Nayar (ed.), "William Henry Horsley's Memoir of Travancore (1838): Earliest English Treatise on the History of Travancore", in *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. xxxiv, 2004:63. According to the statistics, between 1816 and 1891, the number of Syrian Christians increased in Travancore from 1,74,566 to 2,87,409. See also George Mathew 1989, *Communal Road to a Secular Kerala*:39.

26 See "churches" in Vaidika Panchangam of (1937) the Archdiocese of Ernakulam:1-4. Kallorkad church is considered as the mother parish of Kavakad where parish records show the old generation people from the families attend the masses there.

27 The 'Adhikaram' was the smallest unit of administration. The administrative structure was divided into several *adhikarams* (villages). The village officer was called 'Adhikari'. The Tekkumkur and Vadakkumkur Rajas are said to have first conferred the title of Kartha to certain influential Nair families (Thurston 1921:295).

They seem to have continued as the government tax collectors and local chieftains under the Travancore Rajas. For details on the administrative structure of Travancore see Ward and Corner, *Memoir of the Survey*; Vol. I :105.

28 The narrative of the migration collected in the interviews with the elders, the dates are documented in the chronicle of Pothanikkad, Ayavana and Kallorkad churches.

provided a vital source of capital through which Syrian Christian families came to be owners of agricultural land in Kavakad, and the families brought with them ex-slave-caste families to labour out on the newly-cleared land. In the words of respondent Mathai, one of the oldest people in the village:

My grandfather who was visiting his sister's family, which had newly migrated to Ayavana, a settlement on the western side of the village saw forested land towards the eastern side. He discussed with his family and decided to clear the forest. They came here by clearing the forest from the western side of the village. One [slave family]²⁹ released by his father was accompanying him. They built a tree house and cultivated the land, and that's where my tharavadu [homestead] is situated.³⁰.

Later, the Pattom Proclamation of 1865 was marked as a milestone in breaking the feudal land relations that existed in Travancore, "it conferred ownership title to all the tenants of 'pandaravaka' land subject to the due payment of land revenue and made the land a heritable, saleable and mortgagable commodity" (Varghese 1970:67). Consequently, the next phase of agrarian legislation was the enactment of the Act which sought to regulate the landlord-tenant relation; the Janmi-Kudiyam Act of 1896, and boosted the growth of agrarian capitalism as it conferred permanent occupancy rights and other benefits to tenants. They were liable only to pay land taxes (ibid: 68). The idea of modernity spread across Travancore and these policies to promote

29 The migrated Syrian Christian family was holding slaves in Arakkuzha. Many of the slave families later converted to Christianity (The information is collected from published family histories and narratives).

30 The roots of the family can be traced in Arakkuzha parish (Chronicle of St. Marys church Arakkuzha:19, Oral stories and family histories claim the same).The church records of Vazhakkulam Carmel Monastery:42 and St. Augustine's church Kallorkad:52 show that members of these families from Kavakad were attending masses.

agriculture-led many waves of migration to the interior lands of Travancore³¹.

Around the same time, British trade and the growth of the agrarian economy led to increased connectivity in the Muvattupuzha region. The new trade route in the region was further developed after the laying of the M.C. Road in 1878. Consequently, the first concrete bridge in south India was built in Muvattupuzha in the year 1914 (Varghese 1985:202). The leap in infrastructure development improved trade and the strategic importance of Muvattupuzha to the regional economy. The enhanced visibility of farmer settlements in the region led to the development of markets in the Vazhakkulam and Muvattupuzha areas (ibid). The improved markets and connectivity of the region, in turn, gave the incentive to the Syrian Catholic community to explore the fresh lands in the area³². Conceptions of modernity around commercial agriculture and expansion firmly confirmed the Syrian Christians' understandings of these migrations.

Consequently, the cultivators in the village got titles for their land in 1902 through a land settlement in the village. They were original cultivators who were already state tenants. The large land owning families were possessing around 100 acres each. The land was titled to un-partitioned Syrian Christian families who possessed and managed the land through agricultural labourers³³. The earliest attempts at agriculture at Kavakad followed the traditional forms of cultivation

31 The ideas put forward by colonial modernity, lead to the agriculture endeavours of the dominant communities in the many parts of the state. For details see Varghese (2006).

32 Information is based on narratives from various family histories.

33 The Land title documents of early migrant families (Pichappillil, Kalappurakkal and Nedungattu families). The land was conferred to those who possess and cultivate on the land. The information is cross checked with the settlement and BTR documents of Enanallor village.

since food security was a prime concern and the products were used for consumption. They reclaimed paddy fields while doing *virippukrishi*³⁴ in the dry land. Gradually, the cultivation pattern shifted to pepper, lemon grass oil and coconut in the drylands and paddy in wetland.³⁵ The land cleared by the first families that migrated here and cultivated it stayed in their hands mainly through marriage and inheritance practices of the Syrian Catholic community. In the memories of 88-year old Mathai:

In the earlier decades, houses were often separated by considerable distances in the village and were occupied by Syrian Catholics and Izhavas. The village routes were mainly bunds of paddy land and small pathways which separated garden lands. We constructed houses aiming for easy access to all three routes of the river, paddy fields and path-ways that ran through the garden lands. We often built and decorated the houses with traditional artefacts and served to the agricultural needs.

The houses were built in fact to practice of caste segregation. For example, he remembers that, “outside the main building, there used to be an *orappuara* [side house] where Pulaya agricultural labourers were fed their meals and where agricultural equipments were stored”.

On the other hand, the Pulaya agricultural labourers were hutment dwellers located on the land of land owners before the land reforms. The labour power and knowledge about wetland agriculture of the Pulaya families had played a vital role in reclaiming the land and paddy

34 Virippu Krishi is a crop / autumn paddy cultivation practice. Generally, starts in the month of April-May and harvest in September, October.

35 The initial land titles were *Purayidam* (Dry land), *Nilam* (Wet land), *Tharisu Bhoomi* and *Purambokku*. The information is collected through interviews, and the same is mentioned in the chronicle of St. Marys church Kavakad.

cultivation in the village. They had the status of hutment dwellers. It prevented them from going to the lands of others to work and attached their labour power with the landowner³⁶. This was a new form of exploitation that developed after the abolition of slavery and continued to be attached labourers of their masters, and the entire agricultural working-class of the village was constituted of ex-slave castes. Moreover, the growth of the agrarian capitalism was at their cost, and by exploiting pre-capitalist forms of loyalty of these people to the land-owning Syrian Christian families. In the words of 74-year old kunjumman, “we were given 5 cents to 10 cents of land adjacent to the agricultural field they were working. Our settlement in the dry hillock-areas began to be populated in the late 1950s and consisted of scattered mud huts with thatched roofs, and houses were distant from essential facilities like transport, clean water, and market spaces”.

In 1969, when land reforms were introduced in Kerala³⁷, and the Pulaya working class hutment dwellers were forcefully moved to the hillock which was a *purambokku* (waste land) of the village. However, the land reforms helped many tenants to become owners of paddy fields, but actual tillers of the soil were not benefited³⁸. Thus the success of the much-celebrated land reforms in Kerala reached only the tenant Syrian Christian families in the village (Raj and Tharakan 1983; Franke 1992). The recent literature questions the efficacy of land reforms in reducing land inequality in rural areas (Scaria 2010). The Pulaya community in Kavakad did not benefit from such legislation. The Pulaya families continued to be deprived of land rights throughout all these years until very recently, and that too, they were not given agricultural land. The

36 The information is collected through interviews and cross checked with the land title documents.

37 Kerala land reforms amendment Act 1969 made historical attempt to provide land holdings to hutment dwellers.

38 The information is collected through interviews and cross checked with the land title documents.

titles given to these families in 1990 and 1995 were for tiny plots they possessed, of 4-5 cents.³⁹ Conversion of Pulaya community into Christianity was minimal in the locality.

The Pulayas, however, received coconut and tapioca for the extra time they spent on the physical labour or for cleaning the yard. The labourers could not cultivate any food crops, but they could access these products as a reward for extra labour. The rice and tapioca variably solved the problem of food scarcity alternating as staple foods in the village⁴⁰. The landless from Syrian Catholic and Pulaya community were able to access these resources differentially for their sustenance. As the interviewees remember, the Syrian Catholic access to common goods was determined by their relations to the family, while others had access based on physical labour. As 80-year old Lakshmi from Pulaya community puts it:

I used to work in the field until noon. The landowners were generous and gave us tapioca and coconuts after the labour. During monsoon season, when we use to stay at home with no work we had the freedom to go to the landowners and collect jackfruits from their lands which solved our poverty to some extent. Now, I yearn to taste a jackfruit.

Above all, the infrastructural development in the village was concentrated on the foothills occupied by the Syrian Christian families; and this makes a sharp contrast to the Pulaya hamlet where, whatever meagre infrastructure building that has been built was a result of welfare programmes. This skewed development pattern made a clear division in the village into two distinct and utterly unequal spatial areas – one

39 BTR documents of Enanalloor village, Accessed on 11-11-2015.

40 The interviewees remember that the free growing goods like jackfruit and mangoes were accessible to the Pulaya-Dalits freely, based on their availability, while the tapioca, coconut was shared in return for unpaid labour.

marked by development for agrarian capitalism, and the other marked by state welfare.

Contested Spaces in the Local

The physical and residential spaces in the village were ruled by paternalism and loyalty. Moreover, the village power structure was deeply rooted in the binary of land-holding status and landlessness. The Pulaya community and their life were sidelined in the village while the fortunes of Syrian Christian farmers waxed in the course of the 20th century. In the interviews, it appears that the feelings of belonging – the sense of “my own village”—depend on where respective respondents were placed in the story of land reclamation. Such stories are passed on from generation to generation, and Syrian Christian interviewees conceived the village as a place discovered and recovered by their forefathers. In these memories, the alternate story of the village being founded by two communities is absent or sidelined. It has to be retrieved by reading against the grain of Syrian Christian narratives of settlement. Unlike in many North Indian villages, here, the landless labourers also had a role in making the geography suitable for agriculture (Kessinger 1974:73). The agricultural labourers had a remarkable role in preparing the land here for agriculture. However, these lands assured them bare survival, and spatially, the Pulaya labourers were consigned to a separate hamlet during the land reforms which is marked by poverty.

Nevertheless, this vast inequality between the communities left its mark on the public spaces that first emerged in the village. For example, the elders in the village remember, the local toddy shop which was the first secular, public space for villagers to gather, but they also remember caste discrimination. According to them, upper castes who owned land and lower castes who did not own any land had differential treatment in the shop revealing the power equations, In the memories of 82 -Year old Paily and 88-year old Mathai,

Syrian Christian men sat on benches and drank from cups while lower caste workers sat on the floor and drank from gourds. The landless from Syrian Catholic community also were treated differently; they were not allowed to sit on the bench since preference was given to land holders. But in the absence of land holders, landless and lease farmers from Syrian Catholic community enjoyed the privilege. Pulaya women also used to go to toddy shops where they used to share the space with men from their community. Pulaya women were accepted into these public spaces with Pulaya men while Syrian Catholic women were prohibited from entering into such places by church and families.

Another secular place where village folk gathered was the bathing ghat for men and women at different times of the day.

There were separate bathing ghats for Syrian Catholics and Pulayas. The names of ghats for Syrian Catholics was usually represented by their family names, while the ghats of Pulayas until recently, was known as *Parayilluvarude kadavu* [bathing ghat of those who stay in the hillock]. In the absence of Pulayas, Syrian Catholics, used this ghat to bathe their animals. The case of the tea shop was not different too. The Syrian Catholic landowners were allowed to sit inside and have tea, while landless Syrian Catholic was allowed only to enter the tea shop. The members of the Pulaya community were served tea outside the teashop.

These were the places where all sorts of information was exchanged, and much discussion regarding affairs far beyond the village took place. Furthermore, the commercial areas were limited to the three road-side areas of the village. One was at the place where the village began, at the Ayavana- Kalloor road in 1950, the second one was where it ended, on the same road in 1960, and the third one was located at the junction

where the Kavakad – Kalloorkad road joins with Ayavana – Kalloor road in the 1980s⁴¹. The land in all three commercial areas was held by Syrian Catholic and Izhava communities. The small shops were owned by members of the Izhava community, and the larger trading shops were owned by members of Syrian Catholic community. In the words of 64-year old Rajan from Pulaya community, they were not allowed to start any commercial activities in these lands, “the land was owned by Syrian Catholic families. There was no way for us to get some room there to start a business, if you go and ask for a room in their buildings, sarcastically, they used to ask what business can you people do?”.

In private spaces, caste oppression was more acutely present. The Pulaya males and females were subjugated to Syrian Christian family life in different ways. Rajan continues,

I remember that landless Christians worked inside the house while others were not allowed. Pulaya workers carried out all agricultural operations and men, women and children worked together in the fields. The landless Syrian Catholic and Pulayas were given different paddy fields to cultivate. We pounded the paddy consumed by the Syrian Christian household, often accompanied the Syrian Christian women visiting relatives outside the village, and took Syrian Christian children to school. In most homes, Pulaya workers had to eat in a separate room away from the main quarters.

As the interviewees remembers, untouchability in domestic spaces continued to be practised widely till the 1970s. The formation of an initial spatial pattern of Kavakad village, however, was the result of interactions of village life with external forces through trade, transport and communication. The first set of those interactions was through transport by the river route using canoes through the Kaliyar river,

41 The details are collected from the chronicles of St. Mary’s Parish Church Kavakad.

2.5 kms of the Kaliyar river passes through the village. As I mentioned earlier, transportation to various parts of Travancore was possible from Muvattupuzha town⁴². As family historian Joseph remembers, “The canoes were owned by an Izhava family and Syrian Catholic families who stayed by the riverside. The users of the canoes were from Syrian Catholic community and the Izhava community. Travellers from the Pulaya community were few, and they did not have access to this transport”.

Consequently, the first bus service started in the year 1973 to Alwaye via Muvattupuzha as part of introducing transport services to the new routes in rural areas, and it acted almost like a private transport service for the land-owning families. According to elders from the Pulaya community, the service timing of the bus was conveniently adjusted by the Syrian Catholics. The arrival of private vehicles was seen from the late 1970s, and it became a trend among the Syrian Catholic community by mid-1980s. The first form of private vehicle owned, was the Ambassador cars by the joint families⁴³. Gradually, the Syrian Catholic community people shifted to private vehicles and Pulaya community utilized the public transportation. The first telephone connection was installed in 1978, and three connections were taken by the prominent Syrian Catholic landowning families; afterwards, a public telephone booth was started in the post office⁴⁴. According to the elders from the Pulaya community, the access to this phone also was restricted to members of the Syrian Catholic community only. The Pulaya community started to benefit from the transportation in the early 1990s onwards when public transportation facilities increased in terms of the number of vehicles.

42 The information is collected from the chronicles of St. Mary’s Church Kavakad:102.

43 The information is collected through interviews and cross –checked with chronicles of St. Mary’s Church Kavakad.

44 The information is collected from the chronicles of St. Marys Church Kavakad: 103.

Culturally too, the Syrian Christians had a headway. The first form of the cultural programme conducted in the village was the ‘chavittunadakam’ organized in the paddy fields after harvesting by a member from prominent land owning Syrian Catholic family. Interviewees remember that the programme was attended by the Syrian Catholic community from the village, while other communities were excluded from watching it. The nearest library was started in the year 1947 at Kallookkad⁴⁵. The Kallookkad village⁴⁶ opened its window for the social life of Kavakad at many points of time. As 83-year old Chacko remembers “a library and radio-square were started in the village in 1964. Three more libraries were started by Syrian Catholics in different parts of Kavakad in the later years. The main aim was to strengthen the social life of neighbourhood Syrian Catholic men. Cultural life involved performances during the annual event of the church festival, and anniversaries of clubs were attached to the libraries”.

The service castes too bolstered the structure of caste that underlay power relations in the village. According to the informants from the Pulaya settlement, various families with caste-related occupations gradually migrated to the village in search of employment from the western parts of the Ernakulam district⁴⁷. The men of the velan caste for example, worked as messengers, while women of the same caste worked

45 The first news paper agency of Deepika started in 1948, Cosmopolitan Library Kallookkad. Information accessed from the archives of the library.

46 The Kallookkad village has the mother parish of Kavakad church, after the formation of a settlement in the Kavakad also people maintained connectivity with Kallookkad. Kallookkad marked window for the social, political and economic life of Kavakad at various points of time because of the increased connectivity of the region from earlier periods. Information accessed from the chronicles of St Augustines church Kallookkad.

47 The significant difference between western parts of the district and Kavakad is that the former were non-irrigated while the latter were irrigated with the presence of *Mukkan thodu*. The new settlements emerged in irrigated areas, and those were agriculturally prospering. These migrations happened during the earlier period of 20th century.

as washer-women. The barber caste known as *krishnavakakkar* in north Travancore⁴⁸ migrated to the village in search of employment. Another community which migrated to the village in the beginning of 20th century was Izhava. The Izhava community was an ex-untouchable community in the Travancore (Jeffrey 1974:228). In the memory of 85-year old Paily, from the Syrian Christian community, “they were less in terms of the number of families, and they migrated through buying agricultural lands from large land owning Syrian Catholic families. They owned 10-15 acres of dry land”, and this enabled them to enjoy the position of the intermediate community in the village. “They were treated by Syrian Catholics on par with landless Syrian Catholics in village spaces. Their primary occupation was agriculture and agricultural labour in paddy fields which fetched them paddy for the survival”.

As for community spaces, a Syrian Catholic church was built in 1952 in the village, and much before that, a chapel was raised on the top of a hillock which was later inhabited by Pulayas in 1919 to cater to the religious needs of the Christian migrants.⁴⁹ The first sign of the Syrian Catholic community in the village was installation of a cross on the dry hilltop. Later a church and a cemetery were constructed at the foot of the hillock. The middle portion of the hillock is protected by the church to conduct the annual ‘Way of the Cross’ procession during the holy week to the hilltop; no one is allowed to build a house there, though it is a wasteland – a *purambokku*. The elders in the community remember that church was able to separate out around 1 acre of the way in length without any contestation.

The church played a decisive role in managing and fostering Syrian Christian migration and settlement of those families as a village

48 Census of India, Travancore, Part 1, Report :70, locally they are known as shavaravar.

49 Chronicle of St.Mary’s Church, Kavakad: 54 and chronicle of St. Augustine’s Church Kalloorkad: 32.

community. Gradually, the church became the key institution which decided on collective activities in the village. In the memory of family historian Joseph, “church also became a hub of discussion regarding agricultural activities and dissemination of new seeds and practices. The political discussions were more focused on strengthening the community and apprehensions were voiced about the future of Travancore after independence. Left supporters were not absent at the height of the communist movement; many Syrian Christians from nearby towns and villages joined left politics”. However, they seem to have had no impact in Kavakad, and there were no communist leaders from Syrian Catholic families in the village. The memory of earlier trustees of the church tells the experiences of solving issues for both Christian and non-Christian families, mostly land boundary disputes.

Initially, the encouragement from the Church⁵⁰ and the family relations that many Christian villagers had with Indian National Congress (INC) leaders set the general ideological orientation towards the politics of INC, especially among the Syrian Christian community, but the thrust, even at the height of the national movement seems to have been towards the securing of community interests. Other caste/communities in the region were not as formally organized⁵¹. After the success of the Abstention Movement⁵², Christians were motivated to gain modern higher education and seek opportunities in government employment (Kusuman 1976:31).

50 Information is based on Various pastoral letters of Kothamangalam Diocese.

51 Information is based on narratives of political orientations in family histories.

52 Abstention movement was organized by the minorities against the Travancore state to ensure the participation of minorities in government jobs against the majority of Brahmins.

Moreover, the anti-communist, pro-Syrian Christian Liberation Struggle⁵³ was promoted there by the Church and this is perceived to be a critical incident in the village's political history. In the words of family historian Joseph, "the parish succeeded in convincing the parishioners that the Communist government would take steps to reform agriculture and education policies which would adversely affect churches authority on educational institutions and Syrian Christian landowners". Such participation is viewed to have brought many benefits, both in terms of general gains such as the infrastructure development of the village and individual gains.⁵⁴ The formation of Kerala Congress⁵⁵ in 1964 shifted the orientation to the community interests put forward by the party. The elections to the Panchayat were introduced in 1963. While first-generation Pulaya labourers recollected nothing of it, respondents from the Syrian Christian land owning families mentioned that these had been driven not really by political differences, but by personal rivalries and competition among the Syrian Christians. Two members from prominent land-owning families with the same political beliefs contested the elections, and the whole process refurbished the dominance of land-owning Syrian Christian families. Syrian Christian interviewees also

53 Liberation struggle was organized against the educational and agricultural policies of the first communist government in Kerala in 1959. Syrian Catholic Church organized its members against the progressive policies of the government which was against the church's interest.

54 It was specified in many interviews that family members got jobs by using these connections.

55 Kerala Congress party was formed mainly through the support of Syrian Catholic Church in 1964.

seemed to view civil society⁵⁶ and community institutions as synonymous.

There were a few exceptions, though the welfare programmes in Pulaya hamlet were almost all initiated by the government. For example, the elders remember a savings scheme for agricultural labourers during 1950s organized by the parish church based on weekly contributions from their wages. However, the Pulaya community seems to have been insulated from modern politics for a long time and not even the communist movement seems to have touched them in the mid-20th century decades. Nonetheless, the agricultural labourers in Kavakad were not part of the labour struggles which were witnessed all over Kerala in this period. Earlier village studies (Saradamoni 1981:100) have shown how agricultural labourers in Kerala, especially of the Pulaya community, achieved mobility through caste struggles and labour struggles. But other studies do note that various pockets in interior Kerala were out of the much-celebrated public action of the earlier communist governments (Kurien 1995). In the memory of 68-year old Vasu, “though a few early members of the communist party used to visit Kavakad, it never took serious root till the 1980s. It was only in 1982 that the agricultural labourers from the settlement got associated with the agricultural labourers’ union at Kalloorkad”.

56 The civil society existed in the Kavakad village is illuminated in the classical understanding of civil Society by Hegel, Marx and Gramsci. The concept of civil society in Gramscian terms was an extension on Marx’s economic understanding of the super structure where the civil society is comprised of the conservative institutions of the churches, Parties, trade unions, Universities, the press, publishing houses and voluntary associations. These civil society institutions spread the ideologies and agendas of the dominant class and exercise hegemonic control over subordinate classes. The civil society in Kavakad expressed dominant class ideas as well as the concern for the development of Subordinate class. The civil society is a local variation of Gramsci’s 1930 writing of civil society and hegemonic power (Femia 2001).

To sum up, in many ways the Pulayas were objects of charity for the Syrian Christian church which only served to affirm the superiority of the latter community in the village. The church asserted its role as a socio-politic institution, and played a crucial role in developing a political culture focused on community identity. The church thus functioned at the lower levels in a governmental way and local political culture revolved around it, at least until the 1980s.

However, the agrarian relations also determined the kinship and marital relations among the Syrian Catholics. The family relations presupposed a sharp gender divide by which men engaged in economic and political activities in the market and public, while women performed domestic duties in the Syrian Catholic community. In the words of Annakutty from the Syrian Catholic community, “All day long, women were in the kitchen cooking food for men, though there were other women to help, days were hectic. We were not allowed to sit on the korandi [low stool] on which people sat on the floor to eat] when older men were present”.

Marriage, interviewees remember⁵⁷, often involved land as dowry, but the new family was encouraged to settle in the village. A document from the year 1922 notes that the land was transferred to a daughter as part of dowry transaction, but this was not a common practice in the community. Nevertheless, it seems to have been a standard way of populating the village, men from other regions received land as dowry and settled in the village through marriage alliances. As 87- year old Annakutty remembers, “marriage was entirely through kin networks and controlled by elders in the community, and widow remarriage and love marriages were frowned upon in the community”. The Syrian

57 The information is based on the interviews with the elder women from the Syrian Christian community and narratives in various family histories.

Christian community in the village also represented an extended kin network⁵⁸. Marriage and family were strictly patriarchal. As interviewers confirm, these alliances also were seen as a means for upward mobility, and they strengthened the social capital of the family by expanding the network.

Marriage and kinship in the Pulaya community were different. Since the distance of marriage relations could not produce a social capital through the family network for Pulaya and did not have the support of religious institutions to grow as a community. While the marriage network of the Syrian Christians seems to have been a significant factor that ensured their upward and transnational mobility. As 82-year old Kunjipennu remembers,

Women from the community were in agricultural fields all day long. In the eyes of Syrian Catholic women, we had much equality with men in terms of work together and power to argue. The marriage practices were mostly love marriages within the settlement or with people who come for employment. I don't remember an instance of dowry in the community, and the settlement was dynamic through the marriages from distant places. The marriage practices offered limited chances to extend the family network in the community while people came to the settlement for employment and settled there after the marriage.

In a nutshell, it is impossible to miss the immense power-differential between the two communities in all walks of life in the village. In fact, the story of the village could be retold taking into account not only the

58 However, the kinship relation shows a unique pattern compared to other parts of Kerala. The other parts of Travancore where a village is dominated by the landowners from Nair community expressed a matrilineal kinship pattern (Gough 1961:323). The kinship pattern in central India is based on an extended kin network which forms a sub-caste. Similar to the kinship pattern in Kavakad, in the central Indian village studies by Mayer (1966), kinship relations form membership in a status group.

contributions of the Pulaya community's mere labour of various kinds, but also in providing the knowledge of wetland agriculture. This structure was bolstered and reproduced by a whole array of practices in all these spaces.

Occupational and Educational Mobility

The spatial segregation and the power structure in the village have resulted in shaping the mobility patterns of the communities in many ways. In this context, we shall reflect on how these micro-power dynamics was instrumental in determining the educational and occupational mobility. Moreover, how it has been playing a catalytic role in changing rural lives over generations and how it shapes rural inequalities in Kavakad. The mobility in the level of education and occupation is examined inter-generationally by mapping the attainment of level of education in each generation across the communities. Although, the success of the Abstention Movement⁵⁹ was instrumental in bringing educational mobility to the Syrian Catholic community in the early decades of the 20th century. The affirmative action in educational and occupational front has played a significant role in providing social mobility to marginalised communities (Thorat, 2004).⁶⁰

It is evident from the Table 1⁶¹ that the younger generation in Pulaya community attains upward mobility in education compared to the older. If we examine the first generation from Pulaya, almost 90 percent are illiterate. In the first two generations, the Pulaya-Dalit community in the village was not able to go to distant places for

59 Abstention movement was organized by the minorities against the Travancore state to ensure the participation of minorities in government jobs against the majority of Brahmins (K K Kusumam 1976:31).

60 However, the point of discussion in the paper concerns about the inequality persists in the village.

61 Refer Appendix.

education. Their educational attainment was limited to the primary schools in the nearby areas. Though, there was an *Asan Kalari*⁶² in the village, where people learned letters without formal education. However, this was not accessible to the Pulayas. As Rajan from Pulaya community remembers that the perception of the upper caste families in the village used to be that “letters were of no use to the Pulayas who were expected to continue their physical labour in agriculture”. As we can see from the Table, there are 80 percent people with below-primary schooling in the second generation. It shows that from the second generation onwards they began to be more mobile on the education ladder. In the third generation, people from this community have diversified their educational preferences. Many people consider technical education as a passport for mobility. The destinations of vocational courses vary from self-financing institutions⁶³ to government institutions. In the third generation, 25 percent from the Pulaya community have sought vocational and technical courses. Yet a mere seven percent people in the community are able to obtain professional education like nursing and B.Ed. In particular, the women from this community are getting into such professional courses, while men concentrate on vocational education.

The educational scenario is quite different in the Syrian Catholic community. Among the first generation in the Syrian Catholic community, 62 percent were literate without formal education. As Mathai remembers that “Kalari, run by the Asan, was the place where most Syrian Christians of the first generation attained the basic literacy and numeracy skills”. Those who gained formal and higher education in the first generation were largely those who entered the Catholic clergy. These clergy members received higher education from the distant places.

62 Asan Kalari was a place for informal education in the villages, where a teacher trains students in basic literacy and knowledge.

63 Self-financing institutions in the region are owned by religious minorities.

About 37 percent of other members of the surveyed families also availed various educational opportunities due to their connection with the Catholic Church. The educational preference in third generation of the Syrian Catholic community hovers around professional courses like nursing and engineering. Approximately, 73 percent of the people from third generation are attaining professional education in the community, and able to access different platforms of employment opportunities opened up in the globalization era⁶⁴.

Another interesting observation from the interviews was on women's educational attainment. Women who became nuns were able to achieve higher education even in the first generation. The second generation women were much educated, but the aim of educating them was not to prepare them for entry into the job market. Rather, the idea was to inculcate them into the values necessary for a modern married and domestic life. The second generation people, interviewed from Syrian Catholic community constantly preferred girls with modern values for marriage. The idea of modern was linked to rationalized domestic life imbued with modern self-discipline, cleanliness and care, all perceived to be vital in nurturing a family successfully. In present-day, however, most young women of third generation in the Syrian Catholic and Izhava community have gained vocational and professional education, in sharp contrast to Pulayay; only two Pulaya two women have managed to attain post-graduate studies so far. The stigma against educated professional women, especially nurses, seems to have been strong in the second generation, but men who had the experience of migration were not necessarily convinced by it.

64 The increasing number of engineering colleges and nursing schools started by the Catholic Church in the area is another possible reason behind the preference. There are eight engineering colleges in the micro-region of the village started by religious minority groups after the boom of self-financing engineering colleges in Kerala during 2000 (Two colleges are run by Muslim community, 6 colleges are run by Christian community). Currently, 18 students from Syrian Catholic community and 2 students from Izhava community are studying in these colleges.

We get a similar kind of picture while observing the Izhava community. Though, they are less in number in the village, the educational attainment is at par with Syrian Catholic community. Around 90 percent of the first generation had learned letters. All people from the third generation of the Izhava community get to higher and professional education - while the third generation of Pulaya community concentrates on vocational education. The educational attainment of Izhava community contrasts with Syrian Catholic community in second generation. Around 80 percent of members from Izhava community attained vocational education in the second generation while 40 percent of the Syrian Catholic community moved to higher education. The women from the Izhava community attained only minimal education in second generation.

The Table 2⁶⁵ on educational attainment index shows a holistic picture that although the educational disparity between different communities has been carried forward through the generations,⁶⁶ members from all the communities have succeeded in achieving some degree of intergenerational mobility in education. The achievement shows the changing educational expectations in all communities. The aspiration to go abroad and earn money has set the ground for the preference for certain kinds of courses. The trend persists in the third generation who aims to gain suitable education which could ease their chances for occupational and spatial mobility. There is a shift from Generation 1 to 2, more or less even progress among communities, but, for Generation 3, inequalities across communities appear more pronounced as most people from Syrian Catholic community concentrate on professional education while people from Pulaya community concentrate on technical and minimum education. The differential access, however, is an important feature of social inequalities in the village.

65 Refer Appendix.

66 The educational attainment index is calculated by giving weightage to the education level in ascending order.

Now, we shall analyse the scenario in the occupational mobilities. The village economy and occupational structure of Kavakad was formed on the basis of caste practices. The initial occupational choices were naturally limited to the productive sectors of the village. The first generation of Pulaya community was employed as agricultural labour and also used to work in many caste-based occupations. Agricultural labour was the only potential occupational sector for the people from the Pulaya community. Around 50 percent of people from second generation and third generation of Pulaya families who had withdrawn from agricultural labour are now taking up the casual jobs in pineapple and other plantations similar to their earlier occupations. The labourers from second and third generation travel distant places to work in these plantations. Third generation youngsters have also formed a team of painters. The caste-based occupations have changed, when it comes to third generation, only one person works as a barber and that too outside the village. Around 70 percent people from third generation of Pulaya community presently work in informal sector jobs that are disconnected from agriculture.

The educational inequality is pronounced in the occupational preferences of Syrian Catholic community in comparison to other communities. In first generation, 47 percent from the Syrian Catholic community were dependent upon agriculture for their survival. There is a significant change in the occupational pattern among Syrian Catholic families in second generation. Although, 94 percent of people's prime income source shifted from agriculture, they did not stop cultivating their lands in second generation. The members from Syrian Catholic communities in the second generation aimed to get formal sector employment with the help of education they gained. As the findings of the previous section suggested, many educated people in second generation chose agriculture as their primary occupation along with other jobs. There are also many notable inter-generational changes in women's work belonging to the Syrian Catholic community. Though,

women were educated in Syrian Catholic and Izhava communities, only Syrian Catholic women got into formal employment in the second generation. Many educated Syrian Catholic Women from second generation entered the teaching profession. The respectability was more sought by the women teachers. As I mentioned in the earlier section, women were respected by their modern values of self-discipline and caring. Their parents and husbands often approved of the teaching profession as appropriate for women.

The data reveals that in the case of second generation, only six percent people continued with agriculture as their source of livelihood. In the third generation, only two percent are depending on agriculture as a means of livelihood. Given that the children of the third generation are getting modern education, the possible outcome could be the disappearance of agriculture from livelihood activities in the village. The prevailing occupational and educational structure suggests that such a transformation is inevitable. The most-demanded occupations for 43 percent of the third generation in the Syrian Catholic community are engineering for men, and nursing for women. The spatial mobility that these jobs promise makes the younger generation to choose them. Such education is considered as a passport for migration to distant places -to national regions and abroad. However, some small land holders from Syrian Catholic community are still dependent on agriculture; they are also trying to benefit from education, but there is a high probability for them to move away from agriculture in the future. The number of households surviving on the remittance income from abroad and earnings of the third generation among the Syrian Christians is a remarkable 25 percent of the second generation. The occupational pattern of Izhava community is different from the other two communities. Around 65 percent of the people in the third generation of Izhava community hold medium wage occupations. The women's occupational mobility in the third generation is less in this community compared to Syrian Catholics.

Nevertheless, there is a shift in the community from being agricultural dependent to medium wage occupations.

Jan Breman's (2007) work on landlessness and exclusion in Gujarat identifies the landowner's global migration as an important factor changing the very nature of farming there. At Kavakad, occupational diversification among the agricultural labourers to the emerging modern sector jobs⁶⁷ and transnational migration of landowners is also an important factor. The data shows that the focus of the village economy moved away from agriculture, and the diversification of occupation is less from non-farm employment in Kavakad. The employment opportunities or sectors of occupation are mainly shaped by the global and internal migration. As visible from the Table, the occupations of Syrian Catholic community now concentrate on higher wage jobs⁶⁸ in the third generation. The Izhava community is concentrating on higher wage jobs and medium wage jobs while the Pulaya community occupational level has transformed from the low-wage job of agricultural labour to the more income-generating modern sector jobs. To conclude, there is an upward occupational mobility in all communities across generations. The inequalities in the occupational level between communities are persisting in new forms. The occupational inequalities based on the land relations in the first generation have transformed to the inequalities based on occupational structure. The data reveals that the access to formal occupations is minimal among the marginalized communities. However, the occupational diversification among Pulayas needs more rigorous analysis.

Geography of Social Life

One of the common assumptions of globalisation studies is that the social world today is dynamic by the spatial mobility of people

67 The modern jobs like domestic work, painting are on the rise.

68 According to the occupational structure we can classify the occupations into higher wage jobs, medium wage jobs and low wage jobs.

(Deshpande 2003). These assumptions are often pronounced by looking at communities and individuals for whom the mobility is historically achieved. For instance, the disparity in proprietorship and social capital has influenced the subsequent variations in the geographical spread of the social life of different communities in the region. For this empirical demonstration, spatial locations are classified to the Micro-region 0-15 km around the family home, the meso- region 15-100 km, the macro-region- 100-500 km, National level- above 500 km. The final category is abroad which includes all regions outside the nation.

Table 4⁶⁹ presents the variations in the location of education across generations of each family. It shows that for the third generation of Pulaya community, there is a visible spatial spread of educational destinations to the macro-region where vocational institutions are situated. The opportunities for education were limited in the micro-region and there was an inability to move outside the region in the community, which was impinged by the caste discrimination and lack of resources. Therefore, the educational achievements of the children from the Pulaya settlement of the earlier generations were very limited. Most students dropped out at the lower primary level and entered agriculture as labour. The spatiality of education among Pulaya families was limited to micro-region.

Around 76 percent from the first generation of the Syrian Catholic community attained education from micro-region. The primary destinations of the Syrian Catholic community for education were the nearby Kalloorkad and Pothanikkad. Those who stayed on the river side crossed the river to Pothanikkad and those who went to Kalloorkad, walked. In the first generation of Syrian Catholic community, 24 percent people attained education outside the micro-region and one person even went abroad for studies. In the second and third generations, the educational levels of Syrian Catholics have risen, but the spatial pattern

was mainly confined in the national region. The families with good social and cultural capital in the form of family members who had entered the clergy managed to get their children admitted to the first English medium schools. But, at the same time, the second generation from Syrian Catholic community went to further distant places to get higher degrees. The focus is on the professional education in the third generation, where an increasing trend is visible that they attain the education from the micro region. The church and minority organizations have played a role in making professional education accessible for the community in the micro region which is a passport for a job abroad, in turn reflected in the educational mobility and social capital of the community.

The spatiality of Izhava community for occupation was not wide in the first and second generation. But around 40 percent of the third generation of the community is transnational. The spatial mobility of the community in finding occupations also depends upon its educational attainment – not surprisingly, it is the third generation which moved towards professional education that has been strongly transnational. Izhava family's educational and occupational pattern is close to the Syrian Catholic families. In the case of the choice of educational institutions, Izhava families also try to imitate the success of Syrian Catholics. The spatial spread of education place is not broadening in the third generation which was expected to broaden during globalization period; one possible reason could be the concentration of educational institutions in the micro-region itself.

Table 5⁷⁰ shows the spatial spread of occupations across the communities. It is evident that the ex-slave castes in the village became mobile only in the early decades of 20th century. They continued to be attached to the-land owning families and moved to the village. Many people belonging to Pulaya community came in search of employment from western parts of Ernakulam, got married and settled in the hamlet.

70 Refer Appendix.

In the first generation of Pulaya community, all people found work in the village itself. But the data shows that more than 40 percent of the second generation and more than 50 percent from the third generation of the Pulaya community travel all over Kerala for occupations.

As discussed earlier, the first generation people from Syrian Catholic community were dependent upon agriculture. However, there were also instances of Syrian Catholic community people's social life spread to the transnational level for different purposes from the first generation itself. In the third generation of the Syrian Catholic community, 40 percent of people find occupation through transnational migration and around 70 percent find occupation outside the micro-region. According to 65-year old Johnny a return migrant "there were a number of return migrants in the second generation of Syrian Christian families, who came back to settle in the village after attaining a certain degree of prosperity outside and then spent time cultivating their land. This pattern is changing as the third-generation transnational people are not willing to return permanently among the Syrian Christians". The last lived place of the second generation from Syrian Catholic community may further change as an increasing trend of going abroad in the third generation influences the second generation as well and encourages them to settle abroad with their children. Another reason could also be the limitations of a nuclear family in its ability to offer care to the elderly. Many second-generation Syrian Christians are now forced to accompany their children abroad to meet their caring needs.

The Table 6⁷¹ shows the spatial spread in finding their spouses. In the first generation, the spatial preference in finding marriage partners among Syrian Catholic community was within the micro- (0-15km) and macro-regions (15-100) of the village. We can see that there are not many changes in spatial mobility in finding partners among Syrian Catholic community even in the third generation. Around 18 percent of

71 Refer Appendix.

third generation from Syrian Catholic community found their partners from the macro-region. One possible explanation can be the marriage alliance pattern which prevails in the Syrian Catholic community. They have never encouraged inter-denominational marriages, and marriage preferences are certainly based on the asset holdings and traditions of the family. Therefore, the initial marriage patterns of Christians were from various Syrian Christian settlements, and this seems to be enduring even when selection of partners from more distant areas has indeed happened. As noted earlier, the initial growth in the number of families was by marrying off their daughters to people from outside villages and allowing them to settle in Kavakad. Clearly, Syrian Catholics from Kavakad settled in foreign countries also prefer girls from 'aristocratic' Catholic families residing locally and who have been nurtured with Syrian Christian moral values. There is only 21 percent of Syrian Catholics who found partners from outside the micro-region despite the growth of transport and communication facilities which certainly has reduced distances considerably. It clearly shows the significance of the way of selecting spouses and alliance practices in building up social capital and community power in the local, which enabled them to carry forward the conservative civil society and later, build a transnational social network.

The spatial spread of the marriage alliance of Izhava community is not widespread either. Among three generations, only 55 percent people from the community have found partners from the macro-region of the village. There is a slight spread of 18 percent in the third generation to the meso-region. The marriage relations of the Izhava community largely remain as the alliance based. In contrast with these two communities, as pointed out earlier marriage in the Pulaya community was not arranged. Marriages in the first generation of Pulayas were largely within the hamlet in the form of love marriages with people who came to the village in search of work. Therefore, for most of the time, the micro-region for them was their hamlet itself, and the macro-region was the rural area in the western parts of Ernakulam district. In the case of Pulaya

families, arranged marriage is an emerging trend, and they also do not seek proposals from places outside the meso region. In the third generation, around 35 percent people from the Pulaya community find partners from the meso-region.

In this particular exercise, the data tell us that the spread seems to be the most unequal for the occupation category. It can be read together with the occupational mobility of the communities, for instance, Syrian Catholics are able to capture professional education and skilled jobs, while Pulayas find informal sector jobs in the micro-region. Strikingly, the geographical spread of the Syrian Christians and Izhava communities in this region seems to follow a trend towards transnational mobility in all walks of life, while the Pulaya community in this region remains tightly localized for the most part. Notably, the Syrian Christians moved out of the micro-region in the first generation itself. Needless to say, the spatial segregation and access to resources have shaped the social and spatial mobility across the communities. However, it does not argue that the spatial mobility is not enhanced among the marginalized communities. Though the data is absent in providing an account of extent of global flows, geographical areas and gendered dimension of migration, it allows us to conclude that there are very major inter-community differences in conceiving the transnational mobility in the local sending regions. It is true that the increasing transnational movement of dominant communities facilitates the cultural flows across the region. Nevertheless, emphasis here is to illustrate the scale of spatial mobility across communities in the village and consequent implications considering the data as a scale.

Globalisation, Market versus Political in the Local

It is clear by now that the Syrian Catholic community has an upper hand in transnational migration in the village. Historically as well, they were able to form a community by acquiring resources and various forms of capital, and the local development process was skewed

towards them. Further, the transnational turn of the dominant community has brought many challenges to the developmental question in the micro-region.

Therefore, it is essential to first understand the nature of transnational relations to get a better picture of its implication in the region. The first instances of migration⁷² from the village did not necessarily generate networks. In the words of Babu who migrated to Australia “we stay for a period of one to two years abroad and come back to Kavakad village for 2-3 months on vacation and return. In a way, we frequently visit the village, and the connection to the village was never lost”. The social capital of the aspiring migrant, in terms of her/his family network in the foreign country and the institutional network through the Church and community, play an important role in easing transnational migration among Syrian Christians. Many of the respondents in this research managed to get abroad through this network⁷³. For instance, Very often, transnational migrants create an environment in which they can have a sense of attachment mainly through church activities and community networks, being Syrian Catholics from the same regions. As Babu remembers, “the material exchange of transnational villagers with the local church started in the 1970s. Whenever resources are needed for renovation or construction of a parish church, authorities contact migrants from the parish”. The nature

72 The migration from Kerala to other parts of Asia has a history that spans the entire colonial period and before (Devika 2013). The second phase of migration, which was post-1947 and hence transnational, began during the 1970s. Transnationalism as a phenomenon emerged after the creation of nation-states where the international migration marks increasing connectivity among nation states (Frenz 2014). However, migration to foreign places during the colonial period in the village was mainly through the clergy.

73 As Jose remembers “When I went to US the extended family connected me through the Syrian Catholic community in Chicago, which brought me in touch with many priests and church there. It helped a lot to settle my life there, in terms of finding a place to stay, new jobs there”. The other migrants also shared similar narrations of church and communities involvement to facilitate the migration.

of church festivals has been transformed in terms of spending and celebrations, and the transnational community sponsors cultural programmes and feasts during parish festivals⁷⁴.

The people who migrate to foreign lands with the help of kin enter a microcosm of their village community there, which however is more exclusive as it consists only of the members of their community and kin network who are very often already-known. This means that they do not acquire a cosmopolitan mindset that is either ‘open to the world’ or ‘universalistic’, but quite narrow and, cut off from a wider cultural universe, as their small circles are formed on the basis of religion, family and friends. As Babu explain his transnational life:

We have a small community in Brisbane, Australia; most of them are my wife’s relatives and people from her village. We started a small parish with the Malayali community and requested to appoint a priest there. We all left our village, but we want to continue the same faith and rituals. We invite and sponsor the travel of priests and bishops. Our family is very active in church activities there.

In the Syrian Christian community⁷⁵, the transnational migrant aspires to take the entire family eventually. However, in the initial phase of the migration, it is likely that parents stay abroad while children stay with grandparents. According to Babu (quoted earlier), his children have spent four years with their grandparents at different points of time. The grandparents also visit the children in foreign lands. During these

74 Osella and Osella (2000) show that the upward spatial mobility of the members of a community leads to their social mobility in the village through investment and consumption of the return migrants.

75 The transnational migrants from the community include both men and women. However, the case of women’s experiences of transnational migration is different (Kurien 2000, Kodoth 2015, Gallo 2015). The transnational migrant women from third generation of Syrian Catholic families are predominantly nurses. According to survey results around 34 percent transnational migrants from third generation are nurses.

times, the parents' connections to their children were limited to the gifts and chocolates. The visits of migrants to their homelands bring many gifts to the extended family as money and new technology. Besides the visits, the family as a social unit continues through interaction via social media through Skype calls and telephone. The family thus survives the pressures of work schedules in the host country and physical separation, albeit transformed. The earlier kinship practices of Syrian Catholic community are reproduced in the foreign lands by forming the communities of extended families.

The transnational experiences of other communities are much less extensive⁷⁶ in the Kavakad village. As 30-year old Rajeesh from Pulaya community points out "as youngsters, we all aspire to go abroad after studies. I cannot take a loan to pay for the agent's fees, I do not have relatives to take me abroad" The Izhava community members are going abroad through the travel agents; in contrast to the Syrian Catholic community who has a network to facilitate migration. For instance, Manoj from the Izhava community says:

I finished a polytechnic course ten years back. Many of my friends from other communities have migrated to foreign countries. I am working in Abu Dhabi since last three years, till then I was working in Cochin. I gave money to a travel agent and struggled hard to get my visa, while my Syrian Christian friends efficiently arranged it (through their community network).

76 There are 29 percent and three percent transnationals in Ezhava community and Pulaya community respectively.

However, the transnational movement of the dominant community has brought unprecedented changes in many spheres⁷⁷. It is evident that the prime income sources of the land owning families have changed to many other resources, predominantly remittances. It is evident in the discussions that the accumulated resources have enhanced the mobility immensely gained from the market led process⁷⁸, and their social life increasingly becomes transnational. It is clear by now that the international labour markets have not helped Pulayas in the village as they lacked endowments and social capital through historically shaped discrimination. However, some vital changes occurred in the political arena during 90's, the community power of the conservative civil society gradually reduced through the democratic de-centralization process in Kerala, and, the ethos of local politics has changed after the introduction of Kerala Panchayat Raj Act, 1994⁷⁹. Nevertheless, the Syrian Christian Community got benefited from decentralization process too. As 60-year old Sukumaran from the Pulaya community remembers "the land owners have more voice in the panchayath office and they try to manipulate the plans. For example, they influence the panchayath to make new roads to access their lands". The interviewees from the Syrian Christian community also confirm that they managed to get benefit from the development decisions such as the construction of roads and

77 For instance, the conversion of paddy fields into other profitable crops, and the major crops cultivated are nutmeg, coconut, pineapple and rubber. A relatively small portion of land is used for cultivation of areca nut, cocoa and ginger and turmeric, tapioca and banana. The interviewed families have mostly stopped paddy cultivation since 2008. The information got from interview cross checked with BTR documents of Enanalloor village accessed on 15-11-2015. According to the land use statistics in the village, rubber and pineapple are the major crops around 204 and 50 hectares respectively.

78 In this paper, the market led process refers to the connections and opportunities opened up by the transnational migration.

79 The enactment of Kerala Panchayat Raj Act and The Kerala Municipality Act were in the year 1994. The political initiative and campaign called Peoples Plan envisaged the development in the grass root level across Kerala.

getting information on schemes etc. Also, as many interviewers pointed out, the Church's influence on the political culture in the village remains undiminished. For example, the church promotes candidates for the Panchayat elections from the Syrian Catholic community.

However, the change in the governance system seems to have aided the infrastructural development of the Pulaya settlement and the political awakening of the community. For instance, earlier, the public water supply and public well were provided by the Panchayat in the main junctions of the village centre. The elders from the community opined that they never imagined a road would come to their door-step. In the words of 58-year old Raju:

The people from the colony had to go to these places to fetch water. I feel the main success of the Panchayat was to provide drinking water facilities to the hillock areas. Public taps are installed in the colony area accessible for all families. The electrification of the houses was also achieved. A road was constructed to the colony and connectivity of the colony increased and I consider this as the most prominent development achievement to the colony.

The political mobilization of Pulaya-Dalit community gathered momentum in the 1990s when prominent members from Syrian Catholic community tried to endanger their settlement, by trying to appropriate it. As 50-year old Suresh remember it, "Some members of the landowning class tried to present a proposal to crush the hillock for granite metal in 1997. The Pulaya-Dalits joined with the members of the Left parties who opposed the project. The Panchayat was headed by a person from the Pulaya-Dalit community during that time – he had come to power as the Panchayat was reserved for SC members in that term, which also played an important role in the success of the struggle. The large families tried to pass a no-trust motion against the president and suppress the movement". However, the political surge of the Pulaya-Dalit community

prevented quarrying in the dry hillock. The struggle led to a definite change in the political history of the village, and it is confirmed by the elders in the community that the upsurge was visible in the discussions on development issues, at least in the initial phase. As Sukumaran explains “we did not have any say on the matters in the village, the panchayath considers our opinions after the protest”. These instances indeed show that how the political de-centralization significantly opened ways for the deprived communities in the 90s, especially where they had no historical advantage at all.

However, the contemporary scenario of decentralization process and the marginalized communities needs a fresh enquiry. It is noted that the Panchayat’s focus on welfare distribution has its limitations. Although, the change within the village power structure gives the agriculture labourers a sense of liberation, their access to physical spaces and land resources in the village is still a matter of concern. Besides, will the changing development process help the Pulaya-Dalit community to challenge traditional spatial segregation; the sustainability of the success given the massive inequalities in the village, are moot questions. Nevertheless, the Syrian Christian community continued to influence the development decisions in all possible ways, and they have benefited immensely. Possibly, a new set of caste practices and domination may be revolving around the local governance which needs further investigation. However, the power structure created by the colonial modernity and post- colonial development initiatives has been witnessing some vital changes, but it is evident that it is difficult to transform the structured inequality in the village.

Conclusion

The history of the region seems to indicate that the micro-region was part of intra-regional, intra-Asian trade networks even before independence. The circulation of merchants in those trade networks have played an important role in the shaping of the region. Later, the

land relations and power dynamics between the Syrian Catholic and Pulaya communities shaped the locality in the emergence of residential, commercial and civic spaces. It could be said; the manner in which historical connections of trade and migration seem to be crucial in shaping the settlements of the region itself, and the Syrian Christian community in south Kerala was in a position to take full advantage of it. In sharp contrast, the history of the Pulaya community with respect to mobility is much slower, and one in which their transition to free labour under capitalism has remained mostly incomplete. Besides, the presence of a quasi-governmental community institution, the Syrian Catholic Church, strict patriliney and patriarchy, and a firm reliance on kin networks to fix marriage alliances have worked to increase and bolster the power of the Syrian Christian community.

Further, an examination of several aspects of the history of community life in the village has revealed the apparent dominance of the Syrian Christian communities in all walks of life there, and the silence of all-powerful presence of caste discrimination with many of its traditional practices waning only very recently in the village. This finding goes against much writing on Kerala that emphasizes the cultural and political challenge to caste discrimination in 20th century Kerala. Needless to say, the caste practices of Syrian Christian community were instrumental in shaping the power dynamics and later development in the village. However, such critiques were not available to the Pulayas in this Mid-land village of Kerala. It is interesting to reflect on the formation of community relations in the local which is entrenched on power dynamics of caste and land ownership, and rightly so, the Pulayas in the village lacked mobility in a number of ways, even as their lack of access to resources continued under the modernized agrarian order.

At present, the mobility patterns have enhanced across the communities, however, the discussion throws light on various social inequalities in Kerala. This is very much evident in the illustration of

the spatial movement of the people across the communities. Consequently, the inequality in the occupational and educational attainment persists between the communities in the village. The transnational turn which is very common in contemporary globalisation studies is right for dominant communities, and they seem to have achieved certain spatial mobility using the historically accumulated resources. However, this empirical exercise makes it clear, that the transnational mobility among other communities in the village is not extensive. It reveals a complex picture of the contemporary, and shows the determinants of mobility are different for various communities. Further, an inquiry into the relatively recent political history of the village reveals that the Syrian Christian community continues to gain during the political de-centralization of the 1990s. However, it seems to have opened ways for Pulaya-Dalit community to have a concrete emergence in the socio-political arena in the village, especially since they are not benefited from transnational migration. But, it is evident that the sustainability of the gains is difficult, given the structured inequality in the village. Moreover, the exercise contributes an important insight to the discussions on globalisation and transnationalism, demonstrating that the dominant communities benefit from the market led process, while only the local level political initiatives opened up ways for the weaker communities. Further, it raises interesting questions regarding the focus of policy formulations at the local and regional level in Kerala, particularly, development is for whom?

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Appendix

TABLE 1

| Intergenerational Educational Mobility Across Social Groups | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|
| EDUCATION | PULAYA-DALIT | | | EZHAVAS | | | SYRIAN CATHOLICS | | |
| | GEN 1 | GEN 2 | GEN 3 | GEN 1 | GEN 2 | GEN 3 | GEN 1 | GEN 2 | GEN 3 |
| NOT LITERATE | 90 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| LITERATE WITHOUT FORMAL SCHOOLING | 10 | 4.8 | - | 90 | - | - | 62.7 | - | - |
| LITERATE BELOW PRIMARY | - | 80.5 | - | 10 | - | - | 3.9 | | - |
| PRIMARY | - | 9.7 | - | - | - | - | 9.8 | 4.6 | - |
| SECONDARY | - | 4.8 | 7.1 | - | 33.3 | - | 7.8 | 12.8 | - |
| HIGHER SECONDARY | - | - | 26.1 | - | 11.1 | - | 3.9 | 35.08 | - |
| DIPLOMA/CERTIFICATE (GENERAL) | - | - | 9.5 | - | 16.6 | - | - | 2.9 | 2.40 |
| DIPLOMA/CERTIFICATE (TECH) | - | - | 16.6 | - | 11.1 | 18.5 | - | 1.16 | 10.24 |
| GRADUATE (GENERAL) | - | - | 14.2 | - | 27.7 | 44.4 | 5.8 | 27.4 | 32.53 |
| GRADUATE (TECH) | - | - | | - | - | 3.7 | - | 2 | 23.49 |
| PG AND ABOVE (GEN) | - | - | 7.1 | - | - | 22.2 | 5.8 | 9.35 | 5.42 |
| PG AND ABOVE (TECH) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1.16 | 3.01 |
| NURSING | - | - | 11.9 | - | - | 11.1 | - | 2.9 | 21.68 |
| TOTAL | 100 (10) | 100 (41) | 100 (42) | 100 (7) | 100 (18) | 100 (27) | 100 (51) | 100 (171) | 100 (166) |

Source- Field survey 2015

TABLE 2

| Educational Attainment Index | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|--------|-----------------|
| GENERATIONS | COMMUNITIES | | |
| | PULAYA-DALIT | IZHAVA | SYRIAN CATHOLIC |
| GENERATION 1 | 110 | 210 | 354.7 |
| GENERATION 2 | 304.3 | 687.4 | 743.53 |
| GENERATION 3 | 752 | 973.1 | 1003.97 |

TABLE 3

| Intergenerational Occupational Mobility Across Communities | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|------------------|-------|-------|
| OCCUPATION | PULAYA-DALIT | | | IZHAVAS | | | SYRIAN CATHOLICS | | |
| | GEN 1 | GEN 2 | GEN3 | GEN 1 | GEN 2 | GEN3 | GEN 1 | GEN 2 | GEN3 |
| AGRICULTURE | - | - | - | 57.14 | 23.53 | - | 47.06 | 6.43 | 2.05 |
| BUSINESS | - | - | - | - | 5.88 | 9.52 | - | 5.85 | 7.53 |
| HOUSEWIFE | - | - | 7.14 | 42.86 | 52.94 | 19.05 | 41.18 | 35.67 | 3.42 |
| CLERGY | - | - | - | - | - | - | 11.76 | 6.43 | 0.68 |
| TEACHER | - | - | 4.76 | - | - | - | - | 0.58 | 8.22 |
| ENGINEER | - | - | - | - | - | 9.52 | - | 0.58 | 19.18 |
| TECHNICAL JOBS | - | - | 4.76 | - | - | 23.81 | - | 1.17 | 15.75 |
| NURSE | - | - | 2.38 | - | - | 14.29 | - | 1.75 | 24.66 |
| OTHER GOVT. JOBS | - | - | 7.14 | - | 11.76 | 9.52 | - | - | 5.48 |
| OTHER PRIVATE JOBS | - | - | 9.52 | - | 5.88 | 14.29 | - | 4.09 | 15.07 |
| AGRICULTURAL LABOUR | 60 | 17.07 | 4.76 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| DOMESTIC WORK | - | 14.6 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| CASUAL LABOUR | - | 29.2 | 21.43 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| AUTO DRIVER | - | 4.8 | 9.52 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| PAINTER | - | - | 9.52 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| BUS DRIVER | - | - | 7.14 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| RETIERS/PENSIONERS | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 12.28 | - |
| REMITTANCE RECIPIENTS | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 25.15 | - |
| MNREGA WORKER | - | 21.9 | 9.52 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| CASTE BASED OCCUPATION | 40 | 12.19 | 2.38 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source- Field survey 2015

TABLE 4

| Intergenerational spatial mobility in education | | | | | | |
|---|----------|-----------|-----------|---------|---------------|-----------|
| | 0-15km | 15-100 km | 100-500km | 500+km | Transnational | Total |
| SYRIAN CATHOLICS | | | | | | |
| Generation 1 | 39(76) | 6 (12) | 3(6) | 3 (6) | | 51 (100) |
| Generation 2 | 123 (71) | 18(10) | 14 (8) | 15 (8) | 1 (3) | 171 (100) |
| Generation 3 | 102 (61) | 8 (4) | 8 (4) | 46 (27) | 2 (4) | 166 (100) |
| ALL | 264 (68) | 32 (8) | 25(6) | 64 (16) | 3(2) | 388 (100) |
| IZHAVAS | | | | | | |
| Generation 1 | 1(14) | 6 (86) | | | | 7 (100) |
| Generation 2 | 9 (53) | 8 (47) | | | | 17 (100) |
| Generation 3 | 18(67) | 4 (15) | 4 (15) | 1 (3) | | 27 (100) |
| ALL | 28 (55) | 18(35) | 4(8) | 1 (2) | | 51 (100) |
| PULAYA-DALIT | | | | | | |
| Generation 1 | 1 (100) | | | | | 1(100) |
| Generation 2 | 18(90) | 2 (10) | | | | 20 (100) |
| Generation 3 | 33(79) | 7 (17) | 2(4) | | | 42(100) |
| ALL | 52 (82) | 9(14) | 2(4) | | | 63(100) |

Source- Field survey 2015

TABLE 5

| Intergenerational spatial mobility in occupation | | | | | | |
|--|----------|-----------|-----------|---------|---------------|-----------|
| | 0-15km | 15-100 km | 100-500km | 500+km | Transnational | Total |
| SYRIAN CATHOLICS | | | | | | |
| Generation 1 | 45 (89) | | 3(5) | 2 (4) | 1 (2) | 51 (100) |
| Generation 2 | 131 (78) | 9 (6) | 4 (2) | 11 (7) | 8 (5) | 163 (100) |
| Generation 3 | 49 (33) | 6 (4) | 8 (5) | 27 (19) | 56 (39) | 146 (100) |
| ALL | 225(63) | 15 (4) | 15 (4) | 40 (11) | 65(18) | 360 (100) |
| IZHAVAS | | | | | | |
| Generation 1 | 9 (100) | | | | | 9 (100) |
| Generation 2 | 15 (88) | 1 (6) | 1 (6) | | | 17 (100) |
| Generation 3 | 7(34) | 2(9) | 2(9) | 4(19) | 6 (29) | 21 (100) |
| ALL | 31(80) | 3 (6) | 3 (2) | 4(6) | 6(6) | 47(100) |
| PULAYA-DALIT | | | | | | |
| Generation 1 | 10(100) | | | | | 10(100) |
| Generation 2 | 25(61) | 12(29) | 4(10) | | | 41(100) |
| Generation 3 | 24(57) | 8(19) | 6(14) | 3(7) | 1(3) | 42 (100) |
| ALL | 59 (64) | 20 (21) | 10 (11) | 3(3) | 1 | 93(100) |

Source- Field survey 2015

TABLE 6

| Intergenerational spatial mobility in spouse's place of origin | | | | | | |
|--|----------|-----------|-----------|--------|---------------|-----------|
| | 0-15km | 15-100 km | 100-500km | 500+km | Transnational | Total |
| SYRIAN CATHOLICS | | | | | | |
| Generation 1 | 33 (73) | 12 (27) | | | | 45 (100) |
| Generation 2 | 138 (86) | 16 (10) | 5 (3) | 1 (1) | | 160 (100) |
| Generation 3 | 103 (74) | 24 (18) | 9 (7) | 2 (1) | | 138 (100) |
| ALL | 274 (79) | 52 (15) | 14 (5) | 3 (1) | | 343(100) |
| IZHAVAS | | | | | | |
| Generation 1 | 5 (55) | 4 (45) | | | | 9 (100) |
| Generation 2 | 11 (65) | 5 (29) | 1(6) | | | 17 (100) |
| Generation 3 | 15 (68) | 3 (14) | 4(18) | | | 22 (100) |
| ALL | 31 (65) | 12 (25) | 5 (10) | | | 48 (100) |
| PULAYA-DALIT | | | | | | |
| Generation 1 | | 10(100) | | | | 10(100) |
| Generation 2 | 12 (29) | 29 (71) | | | | 41(100) |
| Generation 3 | 8(24) | 14(42) | 11(34) | | | 33(100) |
| ALL | 20(24) | 53(63) | 11 (13) | | | 84(100) |

Source- Field survey 2015

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