

**LAND MARKET IN KERALA
With Particular Reference to Transfers
in Three Villages**

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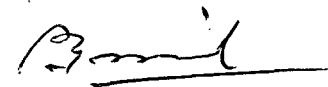
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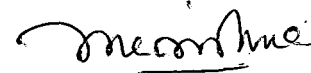
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PREFACE

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Importance of market transfers of land has been increasing steadily over the years in Kerala, in terms of number of transfers and amount involved, thus becoming a major segment of the economic transaction of land. But there were very few attempts to understand the development of land market in Kerala as a whole, the main factors affecting demand and supply at the micro level and the role of the market mechanism in distributing ownership rights across different landowning groups. This study is an attempt to gain an understanding of these aspects.

Importance of the study on land market in Kerala can be assessed on the basis of (a) importance of landownership itself; and (b) importance of market transfers in changing ownership of land. Importance of land ownership may be noted in terms of its diffusion and increasing value of land.

Number of land owners has been increasing steadily in Kerala as a result of establishment and diffusion of

ownerships.^{1/} Administrative measures initiated in Kerala (by the princely state of Travancore) during the latter half of the last century to the agrarian reforms in the 1950s and 1970s led to the establishment of widespread ownership rights in land. Again, legislative measures like allotment of waste land to the landless, conferring ownership rights to hutment dwellers, ceilings on size of ownerships, population growth and changes in inheritance system led to further increase and diffusion of ownerships.

Increase in number of landownerships was quite substantial in the last two decades. Total number of landownerships increased from 29.92 lakhs in 1963 to 58.39 lakhs in 1980. Number of small landowners increased more. For example,

1/ It may be noted that "ownership of land in the past was confined mostly to a small group of royal families and a few Nair Chieftains and Nampoothiris. Land was also largely dedicated to Devaswoms (Temples) which were controlled by the privileged class of Brahmins." (emphasis added). Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Land Reforms Survey in Kerala, 1966-67, Report, 1968, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, p.14. The landlords were called janmies.

"However, ... the janmies were customarily not regarded as possessing rights of absolute ownership over land (in the sense of Roman dominium) but only superior ownership rights in a relative sense." (emphasis added). Centre for Development Studies, Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy: A Case Study of Selected Issues with Reference to Kerala, United Nations, New York, 1975, p.54.

Since the above 'ownerships' were based on custom, caste and other social considerations/obligations and transfers of these 'ownerships' were also restricted, they are not treated as ownerships for the purpose of this study.

ownerships of 0-10 cents increased from 5.92 lakhs in 1963 to 20.44 lakhs in 1980; as a result, 35 percent of the total number of landownerships was of 0-10 cents in 1980 compared to only 19.77 percent in 1963.^{2/}

Kerala, as well known, is one of the most densely populated areas in the world. Due to the positive policies adopted by the princely state of Travancore, and as a result of agrarian reforms introduced later by the Government after formation of the present State, increase in population, migration, and spread of commercial cultivation in hitherto marginal lands, further expansion of area under cultivation (and ownership) is not possible. Therefore, increase in the number of landownerships has been accompanied by a corresponding decline in size of ownership holdings.

As a result of greater demand for land due to the population pressure, spread of commercial cultivation with ~~crop~~ of perennial nature, value of land in Kerala was highest among the States in India in 1971.^{3/} The price of land should have further increased in Kerala since then as a result of increase in population pressure, spread of commercial cultivation and inflow of remittances from outside. In fact, there are indications,

2/ Board of Revenue, Kerala, Administration Reports, Trivandrum, (various years).

3/ Value of Owned Holdings by cultivator households per acre was Rs.6,555/- in Kerala, while it ranged from Rs.685/- in Rajasthan to Rs.6,291 for Punjab. Reserve Bank of India, All-India Debt and Investment Survey (1971-72), Assets of Rural Households as on June 30, 1971, Reserve Bank of India, Bombay, 1976, Table 3.13, p.85.

as would be noted in Chapter III, that land prices have been increasing at a faster rate in Kerala from the mid-1970s.

As more and more area getting privately owned and greater demand for land due to factors mentioned above, number of market transfers involving ownership of land had been steadily increasing. During the early years of this century around 17,000 sales per year were reported in Travancore, which increased steadily to 44,000 per year during 1917/18--1919/20, 53,000 during 1930/31--1934-35 and 1,20,000 during 1945/46--1949/50.^{4/} Increase in sales, with fluctuations in certain years, was also observed in Kerala, immediately after its formation.^{5/} With the establishment of ownership rights throughout Kerala, number of market transfers involving transfer of ownership rights increased steadily, for example, from 2.14 lakhs in 1972 to 4.24 lakhs in 1980. As a result, proportion of sales increased from 29.93% of total transfers involving different types of rights in land in 1966-67 to 53.57% in 1979-80.^{6/}

4/ T.C. Varghese, Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences: Land Tenures in Kerala, 1850-1960, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1970.

5/ Land Reforms Survey in Kerala, 1966-67, Report 1968, op.cit. Table 10.3, p.98.

6/ Registration Department, Administration Reports, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum (various years).

Objectives of the Study and Chapter Scheme

Development of land market in Kerala viewed from the supply and demand sides are discussed in Chapters II and III respectively. Supply of land is examined on the basis of increase in number of land owners and diffusion of ownerships. Legislative measures aimed at establishment of ownership rights both by the princely states and Kerala after its formation, are presented briefly. This is followed by presentation of another set of legislative measures aimed at diffusion of ownership rights like changes in inheritance system, allotment of land to the landless, hutment dwellers etc.

Growth of population and changes in inheritance system, development of commercial cultivation, migration of landowners, and migration of workers and inflow of remittances were identified as the main factors contributing to demand for land in Kerala, during different phases, in Chapter III.

Main factors affecting demand and supply of land at the micro level are examined in Chapter IV. For this purpose three villages, one each from the lowland, midland and highland regions were selected for investigation. Data on total area marketed, number of transfers and land prices during the period 1969-80 in two villages and 1971-80 in the third

village, were collected from the village records. An attempt is made to examine the influence of land-ownership, employment pattern and inflow of remittances, migration, cropping pattern and inheritance system on land market in the selected villages, with the help of qualitative information collected from a sample of selected buyers and sellers.

Area transferred by different groups of landowners in the selected villages, the main reasons for sale and sources of funds for purchase of land by different groups of selected buyers and sellers according to area owned, direction of transfers across different groups and the phenomenon of intra-family market transfers are discussed in Chapter V.

Participation of scheduled castes in the land market is discussed in Chapter VI, with the help of village records and qualitative information collected from the selected scheduled caste participants, in order to understand the influence of land market on the lowest socio-economic group in the villages.

Main findings of the study are summarised in Chapter VII.

Methodology

Development of land market in Kerala, on the basis of factors contributing to supply and demand for land, are examined with the help of secondary sources of information already published.

Data on all market transfers entered in the Transfer (Poku Varavu) registers kept in the village offices were collected, with details of area transferred, prices, type of land transferred and relationship between buyers and sellers. As mentioned earlier, while in two villages, Perungala and Thottappuzhassery, details from 1969 were available for Pidavur details from only 1971 were available in the village records.^{7/}

It was found that about 60% of the total transfers get recorded in the Poku Varavu registers in the same year itself, and the remaining 40%^{8/} in subsequent years. Since date of transfer is given in the Poku Varavu register, cases recorded later could also be identified, for finding out the yearwise distribution of transfers.

^{7/} Non-availability of data in Pidavur village office was explained due to reorganisation of the village in late 1960s, changing its boundaries with Pathanapuram and Piravanthoor villages.

^{8/} Proportion of transfers getting recorded in the village offices showed increase in all the three villages during the later years. According to village officials there is an arrangement between the document writers and the village officials at present according to which a copy of the document is submitted to the village office immediately after the register of transfer.

About 20 per cent of the sales were randomly selected from the Poku Varavu (Transfer) Register to find out area owned before the transfer by the buyer and the seller. Since each transfer in the Poku Varavu Register had to be verified with the Thandaper (Ownership) and Basic Registers^{9/} to find out area owned by the buyers and sellers,^{10/} only 20% per cent of the total transfers were selected. The information was used for understanding the participation of different groups of landowners in the land market and the direction of transfers.

Since addresses of buyers and sellers were also given in the Poku Varavu Registers, transfers among the same family members and the scheduled castes could be identified, often with the help of village officials.

9/ Details in the Poku Varavu Register are recorded in the order of the time of submission of the transfer document to the village officials, often by the participants, and not as mentioned earlier in the order of date of transfer, name of buyers/sellers, survey number of plots transferred, or ownership numbers of buyers/sellers. Thus the collection of details from the Thandaper and Basic Registers on the basis of Poku Varavu Register increasingly difficult. Moreover, in all the three villages proper facilities for keeping the records were not available, with the offices functioning in rented buildings, thereby making collection of information from old records very difficult, even with the generous help of the village officials.

10/ Details of area owned by the participants in other villages are not possible to find out from the records in a village. (See Chapter V).

To supplement information collected from the village records and obtain factors affecting demand and supply of land, details on the main reasons for sale and sources of funds for purchase of land were collected from 187 buyers and 196 sellers, randomly selected in the three villages.^{11/} In addition, 50 buyers and 46 sellers were also randomly selected and contacted from the list of the scheduled caste participants, to supplement information collected from the village records regarding their participation in the land market.

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^{11/} Collection of information from a larger sample of buyers and sellers was not attempted since the distance among the households, selected at random, and the nature of the terrain with hills and valleys (in Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur) made the contacts difficult taking more time in travelling from one household to another.

Chapter II

DEVELOPMENT OF LAND MARKET IN KERALA:

THE SUPPLY FACTORS

An attempt is made in this chapter to briefly outline the development of land market in Kerala on the basis of general factors affecting supply of land.

This chapter is divided into two sections: In the first section, supply of land is discussed on the basis of establishment of private ownership rights^{1/} over extensive tenanted land, through various administrative measures adopted by the princely States of Travancore and Cochin and through legislative measures by the Kerala State after its formation. In the second section, increase in number of landowners and further diffusion of landownership are discussed. These are examined on the basis of growth of population, changes in inheritance system and partitioning of landed property, legislative measures like ceilings on size of holdings, and allotment of land to the landless.

^{1/} See, footnote (1) Chapter I.

(a) Establishment of Ownership Rights

Ownership of land is a basic condition required for land market. Measures initiated by the State which led to establishment of ownership rights in land in Kerala are briefly outlined below.

Establishment of ownership rights in land was not uniform in Kerala. Because, Kerala comprised, before its formation in 1956, three separate administrative divisions, viz. Travancore, Cochin and Malabar.^{2/} While Travancore and Cochin were princely states, Malabar was a district that was part of the Madras Presidency. Therefore, Travancore and Cochin had relatively more autonomy in devising and implementing legislations relating to rights in land. Malabar, on the other hand, had a different pattern since it was directly ruled by the British. As such, development

2/ Kerala State is formed out of the following administrative regions:

- (1) Travancore (excluding 4 taluks of present day Kanyakumari district - Agasthiswaram, Thovala, Vilavankode and Kalkulam, and Shengottai taluk of Ramanathapuram district of Tamil Nadu);
- (2) Cochin State;
- (3) Malabar District;
- (4) Hosdurg and Kasaragod Taluks of South Canara District of the Madras Presidency; and
- (5) Other smaller British enclavements like Fort Cochin, Anchengo, Thangassery etc.

of ownership rights in these three administrative divisions differed,^{3/} and is separately treated below.

(i) Travancore

Emergence of Travancore into a centralised State was through annexation of land controlled by various chieftains in the Eighteenth century.

"In the process of these conquests, the State asserted its sovereignty by annexing the territories belonging to the conquered chieftains and converted almost the whole of them to State-owned (sircar) lands. The outcome was that, out of the 0.7 million areas of cultivated land, about one half came under the ownership of the State by the end of the 18th century, when the annexations were completed." ^{4/}

With the subjugation of local chieftains, the State thus came to own about half of the land cultivated.

Through other methods also State acquired ownership of land. In 1812; for example, Colonel Munro as the Resident-cum-Dewan of Travancore, acquired properties of 378 important temples which came to about 1 lakh acres of land, for the State;

^{3/} See, (1) T.C. Varghese, Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences: Land Tenures in Kerala, 1850-1960, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1970;

(2) Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Land Reforms Survey in Kerala, 1966-67 Report 1968, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1976, Chapter II.

(3) Centre for Development Studies, Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy: A Case Study of Selected Issues with Reference to Kerala, United Nations, New York, 1975, pp.53-58.

^{4/} T.C. Varghese, op.cit. p.30.
See also, K.S. Pandalai, The Jenmi and Kudiyan Regulation V of 1071, of Travancore, Madras, 1912, Introduction.

which were administered^{re} under a separate dewasom (temple) division of the Revenue department:

"Thus, by 1812, a little less than two-thirds of the cultivated area, and a much larger part of the total area of Travancore (since uncultivated lands were considered, with very few exceptions, as sircar lands) came under the direct ownership of the State." 5/

Share of area owned by the State in total cultivated area also increased by other State measures. The State encouraged the cultivation of wastes owned by it, aimed at expansion of cultivated area, through tax exemptions and other incentives. In addition to increase in production of agricultural commodities these measures were aimed at curtailing the power of minor landlords (jenmies) who survived the earlier annexations of chieftains, in Travancore. Cultivators also got interested in reclaiming more and more wastelands, thanks to the rise in prices of agricultural commodities. Since almost all waste lands were 'sircar' lands this led to further increase of cultivated lands owned by the State.

On June 2, 1865, State of Travancore issued the Pattom Proclamation, 6/ conferring full ownership rights on tenant cultivators of 'sircar' lands, subject to payment of land

5/ ibid. p.35

6/ "Pattom Proclamation was issued on June 2, 1865, which has been rightly considered as the Magna Carta of the Travancore peasants. It conferred full ownership rights on the tenant cultivators of sircar lands, subject to the payment of land revenue, and also allowed unrestricted transfer of their properties." The notification of the Raja stated : "The ryots holding these lands may regard them fully as private, heritable, saleable and otherwise transferable property. Accordingly the sales, mortgages, etc. of these lands will henceforward be valid..." Quoted in ibid. p.64.

revenue. The cultivators, in addition to the rights of mortgage for raising loans, etc. also got all other types of rights in land. It was stated in the Proclamation that,

"The ryots holding these land may regard them fully as private, heritable, saleable and otherwise transferable property." ^{7/}

Thus by 1865, ownership of 'sircar' lands was passed on to the tenant cultivators, which formed about 80 per cent of the total occupied area in the State.

In the meanwhile, the State was also regulating the rights of minor landlords (jenmies), who controlled a major portion of the remaining land, most often in favour of those holding inferior rights, even from the early Nineteenth century. ^{8/}

Travancore Settlement Report had classified the total cultivated area of 19.427 lakh acres by the beginning of this century, as given in Table 1 below.

^{7/} Ibid.

^{8/} Some of the main State measures in this connection were:

(1) Jenmi Proclamation of 1867: "It prohibited the jenmies from evicting their tenants so long as they paid the stipulated rent and other customary dues. The rights and obligations were thus equitably adjusted to the mutual advantage of both parties. However, it did not seek to confer ownership on the tenant."

Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Land Reforms Survey in Kerala 1966-67, Report, Trivandrum, 1968, pp. 17-18.

(2) Jenmi and Kudiyan Regulation of 1895-96: This was an improvement on (1) above, defining the rights of jenmies and kudiyans more clearly and the kudiyan (tenant) got permanent occupancy right in his holding. But the Kudiyan cannot alienate it without the consent in writing of the landlord.

Table 1: Area under broad tenurial divisions in Travancore at the time of Settlement in 1883-1911 9/

Tenurial divisions	Area in thousand acres			As percentage of the total cultivated area
	Garden	Wet	Total	
Pandaravaka	1081.4	378.2	1459.6	75.13
Sircar Devasomvaka	64.5	44.9	109.4	5.64
Sree Pandaravaka	10.4	5.6	16.0	0.82
Sree Padomvaka	0.6	0.5	1.1	0.06
Kandukrishivaka	1.6	14.2	15.8	0.81
Ooranma Devaswomvaka	44.1	29.1	73.2	3.77
Brahmanswamvaka	93.5	63.4	156.9	8.10
Madampimarvaka	11.8	8.7	20.5	1.03
Karamozhivu	57.9	32.3	90.2	4.64

Note: Garden land covers all cultivated dry land except plantations.

Source: Final Report of the Revenue Settlement in Travancore, Appendix A, H, Statement No.1 (quoted in T.C. Varghese, op.cit. p.87).

Of the above broad tenurial types, Pandaravaka lands were 'sircar' lands, ownership in which were given to individual cultivators, as mentioned earlier, by the Pattom Proclamation of 1865. Hindu Temples were the landlords of Sircar Devasomvaka lands. Management of these lands were gradually taken over by the State and in 1922, through the Travancore Dewasom Proclamation, became like 'sircar' lands with the tenants getting full ownership rights.

9/ T.C. Varghese, op.cit. p.87

Finally, with the implementation of the Jenmi-Kudiyam (Amendment) Act of 1932,^{10/} tenants of the minor landlords, mentioned above, were also declared "the full owners of the lands with all the rights of ownership in the same way as the holders of the pandarapattom lands were declared owners by the proclamation of 1865."^{11/} Under the Jenmi-Kudiyam (landlord-tenant) Act of 1932, the tenant had only to pay jenmikaram (rent) to the jenmi (landlord) through sircar. The payment of rent need be made only in money. Thus jenmon lands, controlled by the landlords, got assimilated completely to the sircar lands with the cutting off of all direct rent relations between the landlord and the tenant.^{12/} Private ownership rights were thus established, over all cultivated areas in Travancore by 1932-33, with only some minor exceptions.^{13/}

^{10/} It may be noted here that earlier in 1895, the Jenmi-Kudiyam Act had made it difficult for evicting tenants from private jenmon land. See, K.S. Pandalai, op.cit.

^{11/} Travancore Administration Report, 1937-38, Government Press, Trivandrum.

^{12/} Jenmi-Kudiyam Act, 1933 (Act 12 of 1932-33), Travancore, Government Press, Trivandrum.

^{14/} These exceptions were mainly the Edavagai lands and area controlled by certain private Dewasoms (temples), tenants in which were also conferred ownership rights later.

(ii) Cochin

Cochin State was much smaller in area compared to Travancore. It had also much smaller area of sircar lands, forming only 40% of the total cultivated area and almost all wastes. The central authority, the monarch, was thus relatively weaker. Therefore, landlords controlled more land and were more powerful compared to their counterparts in Travancore.^{15/}

Tenants in Cochin had no recognised rights of ownership and transfer of land, except in the case of a few superior forms of tenancy. Though an edict was issued in 1863 to prevent eviction of kanom tenants before completion of occupancy of 12 years, the State did not take any effective steps to implement it.^{16/}

Ownership rights on the sircar lands were granted after conclusion of Cochin Revenue Settlement in 1905-09. Of the total area surveyed at the time of Settlement, "4.8 lakh acres were land assigned to various private interests; about 0.17 lakh acres were assigned arable wastes; 1.37 lakhs

^{15/} T.C. Varghese, op.cit. Chapter 3. Compared to Travancore, cultivators in Cochin were assessed at a higher rate, since Cochin depended mainly on land revenue for finances and payment of subsidy to the British.

^{16/} Ibid.

acres were puramboke lands; and 0.72 lakh acres were reserved forests included in the villages surveyed." 17/

Thus, though cultivators holding 'sircar' lands got ownership in Travancore as far back as in 1865, those in Cochin got it only with the revenue settlement during 1899-1905. Again, 'sircar' lands, as noted earlier, while formed about 80 per cent of the total cultivated area and also almost all the wastes (a substantial portion of which were later converted to cultivation due to the positive policies of the State) in Travancore, 'sircar' lands in Cochin came to only 42 per cent of the total.

Devasom Proclamation of 1909 in Cochin gave fixity of tenure to tenants in all devaswom lands which formed 5 per cent of the total occupied area. 18/ A series of legislative measures were taken later in favour of the tenants, before amalgamation of the State with Travancore in 1949. 19/

17/ Ibid. p. 91.

18/ Ibid.

19/ Important among them were: (1) Cochin Tenancy Act, 1914-1915; (2) Proclamation 3 of 1936; (3) Cochin Tenancy Act, 1938; (4) Proclamation 6 of 1941; (5) Cochin Verumpattomdars Act, 1943; (6) Devaswam Verumpattom (Settlement) Proclamation, 1943; and (7) Proclamation 6 of 1949;

See, Land Reforms Survey in Kerala, 1966-67, Report 1968, op cit. Chapter III.

(iii) Malabar

Compared to Travancore and Cochin, rights in land were much more complex in Malabar.^{20/} Malabar came directly under the British rule and their influence on the system was therefore much stronger there compared to Travancore and Cochin. British policies in Malabar with respect to land relations had both economic and political aims.^{21/} They were aimed at (1) getting a larger share of agricultural produce as land revenue; and (b) creation and recognition of a few superior rights in land, the holders of which could act as British agents in the region.

Creation of holders of superior rights (landlords) and recognising them as 'landowners' were in accordance with the law and philosophy followed by the British in many other parts of India. Landlords were interpreted as 'owners' of land in Malabar also,^{22/} though the policy was not completely

^{20/} T.C.Varghese, op.cit. pp.1-131.

^{21/} ibid. p.22

^{22/} "...the British administration in Malabar was anxious from the janmies who, though small in number, had a commanding position within the prevailing social structure. Given also the tendency of the judiciary in this region to interpret property rights according to English law, janmies were able secure rights of absolute ownership and those below them were reduced to the position of either mortgagees or tenants-at-will", Centre for Development Studies, Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy, op.cit. pp.55-56.

and uniformly followed in all parts of it.^{23/}

Actual cultivators of land in most of Malabar were thus either mortgagees or tenants-at-will. The British could alter this situation only at the cost of loss of revenue and support of the powerful landlords, which they were thus not prepared to do.

Complex forms of tenurial rights and worsening position of actual tillers due to reasons ranging from growth of population to British policies led to a series of social conflicts in Malabar in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries.^{24/} Thus, at the time when majority of cultivators in Travancore were getting ownership rights in land, in Malabar out of the total agrarian population of 1.15 million, landlords (landowners according to the British system), "numbered only 24,714, 829 of them were classified as principal janmies, 23,635 as minor jenmies, and 250 were religious institutions."^{25/} Landlords, thus, comprised

^{23/} T.C. Varghese, op.cit. p. 25

^{24/} Among them the Mappila rebellion of 1921 is the most widely known. "Though it had a communal complexion, and has been generally known as the Moplah Rebellion, it is acknowledged that it had its roots in chronic agrarian unrest resulting from the oppressive land tenure system." *Centre for Development Studies, Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy*, op.cit. p.56, f.n.5

^{25/} William Logan, Malabar Special Commissioner's Report on Malabar Land Tenures, Vol.2, ch.5 p.57 & 59 (quoted in T.C. Varghese op.cit. p.39).

only less than 2 per cent of the total population directly related to land.

Though the British took a few steps to regulate and redefine rights in land to avoid social conflicts,^{26/} the complex nature of the rights favouring landlords prevailed upto the end of the British rule in India.

For, the Malabar Tenancy Committee reported in 1940:



...there is no evidence to show that the janmi as the absolute owner of the soil and the kanomdar was a mere tenant-at-will but he (kanomdar) must have been the original owner." ^{27/}

And,

"... fixity of tenure, both heritable and alineable, should be granted to all classes of tenants, present and future, holding land of any class whatever, but not certain kanomdars who are really mortgagees or in respect of lands cultivated with pepper as the principal crop, fugitive crop or products such as tea, coffee, rubber or cinchona." ^{28/}

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^{26/} Important of them were (1) Appointment of Mr. Logan, Collector of Malabar as Special Commissioner to examine the land tenures, tenants' rights and compensation allowed for improvement by tenants; (2) Passing of "Malabar Compensation for Tenants' Improvement Act of 1887"; (3) Appointment of Raghavayya Committee in 1927, to enquire into the conditions of tenants; (4) Passing of Malabar Tenancy Act in 1929, conferring qualified fixity of tenure to certain groups of tenants.

^{27/} Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee, vol.1, 1940, Ch.3, para 40 (quoted in T.C. Varghese, op.cit. p.231).

^{28/} Ibid. ch.6, para 88 (quoted in T.C. Varghese, op.cit. p.231).



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Thus, at the time of Independence, ownership of land was widely established in Travancore and to a large extent in Cochin by policies introduced by the princely States, while complex forms of rights still prevailed in Malabar, as noted earlier. ^{29/} State policies aimed at removing these complex rights and creating landownership widely in Malabar started only after formation of Kerala State in 1956, when Malabar was integrated with the erstwhile Travancore-Cochin State.

(iv) Kerala

State measures relating to landownership undertaken after 1956, can broadly be classified into two:

- (1) Tenurial reforms aimed at establishment of ownership rights; and
- (2) Ceilings on size, reallocation and assignment of already owned land.

^{29/} This does not, however, mean that tenancy was absent in Travancore and Cochin at the time of Independence. Even in Travancore, under the kanom or otti tenure on which the tenants got ownership rights in 1865, by the time of Independence several layers of sub-tenants had emerged. These sub-tenants did not have any legal protection. Proportion of tenants in total agricultural population of land increased from 6.8% in 1911 to 10.2% in 1951 in Travancore whereas in Cochin and Malabar number of tenants decreased from 44.6% to 28.1% and 44.9% to 39.3% respectively during the period. (See Table 2 below).

Tenurial reforms were aimed at primarily removing the complex forms of rights that prevailed in Malabar and conferring ownership rights to the cultivating tenants. Since ownership was established in almost all cultivated areas in Travancore and Cochin, the impact of the reforms in establishing private ownership of land in these regions was limited.^{30/}

Ceilings on size of ownership of land, redistribution of the surplus land to the landless, allotment of land to the landless hutment dwellers (kudikidappukars) and assignment of public land (Puramboke) to the landless were measures aimed at redistribution of landownership and not establishment of ownership in land as such; this is so because, these measures were aimed at redistribution of already owned land. Therefore, they were more important in Travancore and Cochin, whereas in Malabar tenurial reforms were of primary importance. These measures will be discussed briefly in the next section in connection with the increase in number of landowners and diffusion of landownership which affected both supply and demand for land in the market.

^{30/} For a survey of the different legislative measures undertaken after the formation of Kerala State and their impact, see:

- (1) T.C. Varghese, op.cit.
- (2) United Nations, op.cit.
- (3) K.N.Raj and P.K.Michael Tharakan, Agrarian Reform in Kerala and its impact on the rural economy: A preliminary assessment, in Ajit Kumar Ghose (ed.) Agrarian Reform in Contemporary Developing Countries, Croon Helm, London, 1983 (World Employment Programme Research Working Papers Series,49)
- (4) Land Reforms Survey in Kerala, 1966-67, op.cit.

A series of legislative measures aimed at tenurial reforms and redistribution of owned land were introduced and enacted after the formation of Kerala State. Starting from the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill of 1957, these culminated with the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Act of 1969, which abolished tenancy.^{31/} Thus from January 1, 1970 tenancy was abolished and ownership was established all over Kerala.^{32/}

Owners of land in Kerala at present can be broadly classified into the following groups:

- (a) Individuals or group of individuals (families);
- (b) Groups of individuals like organisations of religious, business, political, cultural nature; and
- (c) State, which includes public institutions also.

^{31/} Most important of the legislations were:

- (1) The Kerala Stay of Eviction Proceedings Act, 1957;
- (2) The Kerala Compensation for Tenants' Improvements Act, 1958;
- (3) The Jenmikaram Payment Abolition Act 3 of 1961;
- (4) The Kerala Agrarian Relations Act, 1960;
- (5) Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1963;
- (6) Kerala Stay of Eviction Proceedings Act, 1967; and
- (7) Kerala Stay on Eviction Proceedings (Amendment) Act, 1969.

^{32/} However conferring ownership rights to tenants has not been smooth, mainly for the following reasons:

- (a) Absence of records of tenancies;
- (b) Less enthusiasm of tenants for applying for assignment of land, partly due to fear of harrassment by landlords;
- (c) Disputes, often based on false plea by landlords regarding status of the tenants; etc. See, *Centre for Development Studies, Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy*, op.cit. f.n.26, p.63.)

that
It may be noted in this connection applications for assignment of land by the tenants were decided in large numbers even in mid-1970s. (See, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Statistics for Planning, Kerala, Trivandrum, 1980).

Of the above, individuals (and families) are the most important group in terms of number of ownerships and area owned, though we do not have data on relative shares of each group. Since this study aims at understanding the working of land market and its impact on landownership of the individual owners (or families), increase in the number of only individual owners (or families) will be discussed below in identifying the supply and demand factors that contributed to the development of land market.

State and public institutions linked to it can also be treated as owners of land like other groups since (a) land tax paid by others to the State is small and not an effective condition for maintenance of ownership rights; and (b) the State also participates in the land market as others in transferring land with them. State can acquire land from the other two groups only by payment of fair price, taking into account the prevailing local prices, investment already made in land by the sellers, etc. ^{39/} And the individuals can approach Courts of Justice if there are disputes, including on price, except in a few cases of national importance.

^{33/} See, N.K. Jayakumar, Valuation of Land for Private and Public Purposes: A Study in Contrast, M.Phil Thesis, Centre for Development Studies (1978), for a detailed micro level study on valuation of land acquired by State for public purposes.

(b) Increase in Number of Landowners and Diffusion of Ownerships

Composition of agricultural population, by relation to land, in the three administrative divisions in 1911 and 1951 may be noted below in Table 2.

Table 2: Composition of Agricultural Population by relation to land in 1911 and 1951

Category	(Percentages)					
	Travancore State		Cochin State		Malabar Districts	
	1911	1951	1911	1951	1911	1951
Cultivating land-owners	75.3	53.3	15.7	19.0	7.7	12.7
Tenants	6.8	10.2	44.6	28.1	44.9	39.3
Agricultural labourers	12.6	34.6	36.0	48.9	41.6	44.0
Rent receivers	5.3	1.9	3.7	4.0	5.5	4.0

(Source: Centre for Development Studies Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy, op.cit. p. 57)

It may be noted from Table 2 above that in Travancore proportion of tenants in agricultural population was only 10.2% in 1951 compared to 28.1% and 39.3% in Cochin and Malabar. On the other hand, cultivating landowners and rent receivers (who are also landowners) constituted 55.2% in Travancore in 1951 as against only 23% and 16.7% in Cochin and Malabar. It can also be argued that a significant proportion of the agricultural labourers

were also owners of small plots of land in Travancore, in 1951, compared to Malabar and Cochin, in the light of relatively smaller proportion of tenants and establishment of ownership rights in almost all occupied areas, as discussed in the earlier section.

Increase in the number of landowners and wider diffusion of ownerships are examined on the basis of legislative measures discussed in the last section, and those related to ceilings on size of ownership holdings, allotment of land to the landless hutment dwellers,^{34/} assignment of puramboke (public waste) land to the landless, etc; and growth of population and partition of landed property.

(i) Legislative Measures

Legislative measures, outlined in the earlier section, while establishing ownership rights in land through tenurial reforms had accordingly increased the number of landowners. Thus, in Travancore where more than 75 per cent of the area became privately owned even in the last quarter of the last

^{34/} Hutment dweller is called kudikidappukaran, "who has neither a homestead nor any land on which he could erect a homestead and has been permitted by a person in lawful possession of any land to have the use and occupation of a portion of such land for the purpose of erecting a homestead or to occupy a hut belonging to that person."
(Land Reforms Survey in Kerala, 1966-67, Report 1968, op.cit. pp.31-32).

century, number of owners were more and ownership more diffused compared to Cochin and Malabar. At the time of Revenue Settlement in Travancore, by the beginning of this century, there were as many as 5.6 lakhs of owners, of whom less than one lakh owned only wet land, 2.9 lakhs owned garden land and 1.8 lakhs owned both wet and dry land.^{35/}

Number of people who got ownership of land through different tenurial reforms in Cochin is not readily available. Revenue Settlement report showed that 42 per cent of the surveyed area were sircar lands assigned to cultivators. Of the 7.06 lakhs of acres assigned (including those of the landlords), 4.8 lakhs were lands assigned to various private interests; about 0.17 lakhs were unassigned arable wastes; 1.37 lakh acres were puramboke lands; and 0.72 lakhs were reserved forests within the villages.^{36/} Thus, the sircar lands (about 42 per cent of the total) got the status of private ownership during the settlement, as mentioned above.

^{35/} Revenue Settlement, Final Report, Travancore, Section X (quoted in T.C. Varghese, op.cit. p. 90)

^{36/} Proceedings of the Dewan of Cochin, Revenue Department, Land Revenue Order, dated 9th February 1909, App.A, Area, Para 5, (quoted in T.C.Varghese, op.cit. p.91)

It was noted in Table 2 that the proportion of cultivating land owners in Malabar even in 1951 was only 12.7% of the agricultural population, with tenants and agricultural labourers together forming more than 83% of the total. However, an average of 6,200 and 32,700 market transfers per year were reported for 1911-20 and 1941-50 respectively in Malabar.^{37/} In the light of the smaller proportion of landowners and the complex tenurial forms, it can be assumed that a sizeable proportion of land transfers would have been transfer of different forms of tenure rights among landlords and tenants and not transfer of ownership rights in land as such.^{38/}

^{37/} See Table 1, Chapter III.

Moreover, "Until the 1930s the development of a market in the titles to ownership of land was also limited due to the janmies belonging largely to castes in which these titles to ownership were vested in large joint families." *Centre for Development Studies, Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy, op.cit. f.n.7, p.56)*

^{38/} Transfers involving ownership of land increased from 3 percent of the total land transfers in 1911-20 to 18 percent during 1941-50 in Malabar. However, transfer of 'ownership' also included transfer of occupancy rights of the superior tenants and transfer of joint ownerships of landlords and tenants in the latter period, thus partially explaining for the sizeable increase in ownership transfers.

T.C. Varghese, op.cit. p.208.

Another important State measure which increased the number of landowners and diffusion of ownership was the extension of cultivation through reclamation of waste lands owned by the State. Due to the positive policies of the princely state of Travancore, as stated earlier, substantial areas were reclaimed especially suited for rice cultivation.^{39/}

Legislative measures followed by the Kerala State after its formation, aiming at tenurial reforms, increased the number of landowners accordingly, especially in Malabar. Receipt and disposal of applications under section ^{40/}72 of the Kerala Land Reforms Act as on 31.3.1980 in different districts of Kerala are presented in Table 3 below.

^{39/} See, (1) V.R. Pillai and P.G.K.Panikar, Land Reclamations in Kerala, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1965.

(2) P.G.K.Panikar, T.N.Krishnan and N.Krishnaji, Population Growth and Agricultural Development, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, 1977.
(Study sponsored by the Food and Agriculture Organisation)

^{40/} Section 72 of the KLR Act,

"provides for the vesting of all rights, titles and interests of the landowners in respect of the holdings held by tenants in the Government free from all encumbrances created by the landowners and intermediaries. This part of the law was implemented from January 1, 1970. What remains to be done is the assignment of these rights to the tenants and the payment of compensation to the landlords for the surrender of these rights."

M.A.Oommen, 'A Study on Land Reforms in Kerala, Oxford and IBH Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1975, p.25.

Table 3: Receipt and Disposal of Applications Under Section 72 of the KLR Act as on 31.3.1980 in different districts of Kerala

Districts	Receipts	Disposals	Balance
Trivandrum	24147	24058	89
Quilon	27386	27319	67
Alleppey	81056	80912	144
Kottayam	55770	55621	149
Idukki	8063	8035	28
Ernakulam	153567	153386	181
Trichur	278735	278235	500
Palghat	478420	472959	1861
Malappuram	516559	514706	1583
Kozhikode	760026	759137	889
Cannanore	648228	647749	479
Total	3028357	3022117	6240
By other Land Tribunals	591502	585467	6035
GRAND TOTAL	3619859	3607584	12275

Source: Board of Revenue, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum.

Thus 36.08 lakhs of ownerships were created through section 72 of the K.L.R. Act upto 31.3.1980 and about 80 per-cent of them were in the old Malabar region, comprising the Palghat, Malappuram, Kozhikode and most parts of the present Cannanore districts. Total number of beneficiaries in the formerly Cochin state (Trichur and parts of Ernakulam districts)

was also quite substantial. On the contrary, number of beneficiaries in the Travancore region, comprising Trivandrum, Quilon, Alleppey, Kottayam and Idukki districts, was relatively less. Total number of beneficiaries through tenurial reforms formed around 60 per cent of the total number of landowners in Kerala as on 31.3.1980.^{41/}

Another set of legislative measures, starting from the Stay of Eviction in 1957^{to} the Kerala Land Reforms Act,^{42/} (with amendments in 1969 and 1972) were aimed at giving hutment dwellers (Kudikidappukars) rights of their dwellings and a few cents of land around it. Difference between

41/ Board of Revenue, Administration Report, 1979-80, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1980.

42/ It may be noted here that the Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1963 adversely affected the hutment dwellers:

"... amendments most of them far reaching and adverse to the fundamental goals of Land Reforms were grafted on to the new Kerala Land Reforms Act passed, and approved in 1963, once again under the auspices of a Congress Government, creating havoc with exceptions, liberal interpretations of ceiling etc. to the very object of Reform. So much so that in popular mind the 1963 Act was considered to be a betrayal."

And the legislation preventing eviction of the hutment dwellers in passed in 1957 with retrospective effect, "from small pieces of land on which they squatted; this provision had lost all its original intentions by the time of 1963 Act. The economic power of the Agricultural labourer to resist incursions by the land owners into their rights was very very limited, primarily because they remained for generations a group without any substantial land right."

P.K.Michael Tharakan, Political and Conceptual Contradictions in Formulation of Land Reforms: A Study of Its Influence on Legislation and Implementation in Kerala (Mimeo.) pages 7 & 9.

legislative measures aimed at allotment of land to the hutment dwellers and tenurial reforms aimed at conferring ownership to tenants may be noted.^{43/}

Number of applications received and disposed allotting hutment place (kudikidappu) as on 31.3.1980 in different districts of Kerala may be noted in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Allotment of Kudikidappu as on 31.3.1980

Districts	Applications received	Kudikidappu granted	Balance
Trivandrum	34505	34345	160
Quilon	22635	22478	157
Alleppey	111774	110335	1439
Kottayam	32323	32204	119
Idukki	1401	1390	11
Ernakulam	101186	100518	668
Trichur	54312	54088	224
Malaapuram	23124	22931	193
Palghat	639	639	..
Kozhikode	35682	35395	287
Cannanore	16471	16363	108
Total	434052	430686	3366

Source: Board of Revenue, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum.

^{43/} Hutment dwellers were occupants of already owned land, and therefore allotment of land to them only increased the number of landowners, whereas conferring ownership rights to tenants through tenurial reforms not only increased the number of landowners but also changed lower forms of tenurial rights in land to ownership rights in land.

Thus 4.3 lakhs ownerships were created by allotment of land to kudikidappukars, as on 31.3.1980 of which about half were from the districts of Alleppey and Ernakulam (with a sizeable number from Trichur also). There were about 20 lakhs landownerships with only 10 cents or less in Kerala as on 31.3.1980, and thus kudikidappukars' holdings formed about one-fifth of the total ^{44/} (if they had not increased their size of ownership holdings in the meanwhile).

Ceilings on size of ownership holdings also led to increase in number of land owners by (1) sub-division and outright sale of holdings in excess of ceilings to evade the ceiling laws; and (2) distribution of the surplus land by the Government among the 'landless'. Details of the beneficiaries and extent of area distributed through land ceiling measures may be noted in Table 5 below.

^{44/} In Alleppey District, there were 3,04,779 landownerships with only 10 cents and less as on 31.3.1980, and the number of 'hutment dwellings' were 1,10,335. Thus more than one-third of the ownerships of 10 cents or less consisted of 'hutment dwellings.'

Board of Revenue, op.cit.

Table 5: Progress in the Disposal of Ceiling Returns and Disposal of Surplus Land upto March 31, 1980

Total number of ceiling returns received	64,559
Extent of land offered for surrender by the declarants (hectares)	1,05,793
Number of ceiling returns disposed	60,920
Number of ceiling returns to be disposed	3,639
Extent of surplus land ordered to be surrendered (hectares)	1,16,604.75
Extent of land taken over (hectares)	73,721.47
Extent of land distributed (hectares)	48,317.55
<u>Details of Beneficiaries:</u>	
Total (no.)	76,122
a. No. of scheduled castes	29,435
Extent of area assigned (hectares)	16,570.31
b. No. of scheduled tribes	4,524.
Extent of area assigned (hectares)	4,186.84
c. Other communities	41,663
Extent of area assigned (hectares)	27,560.40

Source: Board of Revenue, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum.

Thus of the total 1,16,604.75 hectares ordered to be surrendered, only 73,721.47 hectares were taken over by the Government and of which only 48,317.55 hectares were distributed as on 31.3.1980, which formed only 1.91% of the total occupied area in the State.^{45/} Again, the number of beneficiaries were only 76,122 forming 1.30% of the total number of landownerships in 1980.^{46/}

Ceilings on size of holdings thus did not produce the desired results, unlike in the cases of tenurial reforms and allotment of land to the hutment dwellers which created a large number of ownership holdings. Following reasons are identified for this: ^{47/} (1) Plantations, which came to about 10 percent of the occupied area of the State, and lands owned by religious and other institutions were exempted from ceiling laws; (2) Limitations on the size of family ownership holdings had provisions for eligibility of larger areas according to the size of the family; (3) Evasive sub-division through bogus partitions; and

^{45/} Board of Revenue, op.cit.

^{46/} Ibid.

^{47/} K.N. Raj and P.K. Michael Tharakan, op.cit.

(4) Outright sales anticipating radical distributive measures.^{48/}

In addition to tenurial reforms, allotment of land to the landless hutment dwellers, and ceilings on size of ownership holdings, Government has also been assigning public land to individuals. Actual area of land thus assigned by the former princely States and present Kerala State are not readily available. However, since assignment had been mostly forest land, area of forest land converted to other purposes during 1940-1970 in Kerala may be noted below, in Table 6.

^{48/} Partitions and Sales showed considerable increase in the first part of the 1960s, which was attributed to largely the evasive measures undertaken by large landowners: During the decade 1957-66,

"The sales per annum ranged between 8 thousand and 40 thousand in number and 8 thousand acres and 39 thousand acres in area. The peak sales took place in 1963. The transfer of ownership by way of partition covered 28% of the total area of which ownership was transferred. The incidence of partition was high during the crucial years of 1960 and 1964. The partitions in 1960 accounted for 52% and those in 1964 for 27% of the total area partitioned during 1957 and 1966. This clearly shows that there have been bogus partitions to evade the provisions of the Land Reforms Acts of 1960 and 1964. About 4% of the area alienated was given away as gift. The maximum amount of transfer by gift took place during the years 1963 and 1964. This again indicates attempts at evasion of land legislations."

Table 6: Area of Forest Land Converted for Various Purposes in Kerala between 1940-1970.^{49/}

District	(Area in sq. kms.)			Total
	For Agriculture and Habitation by assignment, encroachment etc.	For Settlement of Hill Tribes, Colonisation & other purposes	For Cultivation of commercial crops	
Cannanore	350	43	220	613
Kozhikode	340	50	302	692
Palghat	325	50	214	589
Trichur	150	12	22	184
Ernakulam	43	5	15	63
Kottayam	768	43	..	811
Quilon	162	25	30	217
Trivandrum	42	32	7	81
Total	2180	260	810	3250

It can safely be assumed that of the above, at least, large part of the forest land converted for agriculture and habitation by assignment, encroachment etc. had already become owned land. Because, the general practice has been to assign forest land, after initial hesitation, due to political reasons.

^{49/} C. Chandrasekharan, Forest Resources of Kerala: A Quantitative Assessment, Forest Department, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1975, p.51. (cited in P.G.K.Panikar, T.N.Krishnan and N.Krishnaji, op.cit. p.138).

(ii) Changes in Inheritance System

Increase in population, according to the prevailing inheritance system, leads to sub-division of landholdings, thereby increasing the number of landowners.

Impact of the growth of population and changes in inheritance system on landownership was greater in Travancore compared to Cochin and Malabar for two reasons: (a) most of the occupied land became owned land in Travancore, as discussed earlier, when complex tenurial forms prevailed in Cochin and Malabar; and (b) in Malabar, and to some extent in Cochin, landlords mostly were members of communities following matrilineal joint family system with inalienable rights in land.^{50/}

^{50/} "The pattern of inheritance laws in Malabar tended to perpetuate certain features of the land tenure structure.... The properties of Nayar and Nambudiri joint families, who held janmam rights to a large portion of the land in Malabar, were until 20 years ago virtually all entailed... Since these families could not sell their janmam rights granting of leases was the customary method of land alienation... Until the mid-1930s, the impartibility of Nayar and Nambudiri family property discouraged the development of a market in janmam titles.... When enabling legislation permitting partitioning of most large estates was finally passed in 1933, the legal complexity of partitioning widely scattered, imperfectly defined property holdings among as many as 200 claimants per family deferred effective partition of individual estates for more than a decade."

Thomas W. Shea, Jr. "Barriers to economic development in traditional societies: Malabar, a case study", The Journal of Economic History, vol. XIX, No. 4, December 1959. (Cited in Centre for Development Studies, Poverty, Unemployment

Growth of population in the three regions, and in Kerala and all-India for the recent periods, are given in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Inter-Censal Rates of Population Increase (percentages)

Period	Kerala	Travancore	Cochin	Malabar	All-India
1875-81		3.88			
1881-91		6.52			
1891-1901		15.42			
1901-1911	11.75	16.20	13.1	7.8	5.73
1911-21	9.16	16.28	6.6	3.8	0.13
1921-31	21.85	27.20	28.10	14.1	11.01
1931-41	16.04	19.10	18.10	11.4	14.22
1941-51	22.82				13.31
1951-61	24.76				21.50
1961-71	26.29				24.50
1971-81	19.24				

- Sources:
1. For Travancore, 1875-81 to 1891-1901, Statistics of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1929, p.106.
 2. For Travancore, Cochin, Malabar and All-India from 1901-11 to 1961-71, P.G.K.Panikar et.al. op.cit. Table 1.1
 3. For Kerala, 1901-1911 to 1971-81, Census of India 1981, Series 10, Kerala, Part II-A, General Population Tables, Table A-2, pp.70-71.

Table 7 above brings out the following:

- (a) Rate of increase in population was higher in Kerala compared to all-India throughout the period; and
- (b) among the three different regions which now constitute Kerala, rate of increase was greatest in Travancore (except during 1921-31 when Cochin showed a slightly higher increase). Though differential growth rates of population among the three administrative regions were due to other factors than establishment of ownership rights,^{51/} greater increase of population in Travancore and Cochin which also had larger proportion of landowners, resulted in still greater increase and wider diffusion of ownerships, compared to Malabar.

Changes in the family structure and inheritance patterns concerning landed property may be noted now. Travancore experienced significant changes in the family structure and inheritance of landed property during the second decade of the present century with the development of

51/ Centre for Development Studies, Poverty, Unemployment and and Development Policy, op.cit. Chapter X.

" ..the early development of medicine and the spread of the health system to all areas of Travancore seems likely to have been mainly responsible for mortality rates starting to decline earlier in this state...Side by side with expansion of medical institutions the government of Travancore also paid attention to preventive measures: improvement of public health and sanitation, eradication of contagious diseases, public health education, school health inspection etc. Timely detection and curative steps brought most of the communicable diseases such as cholera and smallpox under control in Travancore by the early decades of this century. More than anything else, the expansion of education made the people accept more readily the medical and public health programme of government." (p.142).

individual rights in land and disintegration of the joint family system.^{52/} This has led to a greater diffusion of landownership through partition of the taravad property among the individual owners.^{53/}

In Travancore, Nairs, Ezhavas and Nanjanad Vellalas were the main land owning communities who followed joint family system based on matrilineal inheritance called Marumakkatayam. Influence of the regulation changing the Marumakkatayam and joint family system on partitioning of landed property and creation of individual ownerships during the period 1926-30, among the three above communities may be seen from Table 8 below.

^{52/} For the socio-economic and political reasons and consequences of the disintegration of the joint family system and rise of individual ownership rights in land see:

- (1) T.C. Varghese, op.cit. ch.6.
- (2) Jeffrey, Robin, Decline of Nayar Dominance: Society and Politics in Travancore, 1847-1908, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976, ch.6 & 7, and pp.253-264.
- (3) Fr. J. Puthenkalam, S.J., Marriage and the Family in Kerala, with special reference to matrilineal castes, Monograph series, Department of Sociology, The University of Calgary, 1977.
- (4) E.M.S. Namboodiripad, National Question in Kerala, Peoples' Publishing House, Bombay, 1952.

^{53/} "Nowhere else in India has the sub-division of land been carried to such an extent as in Travancore....considerably accelerated when regulations providing for the partition of taravad properties of three important marumakkattayam communities, namely, Nayar, Ilava and Najnanad Vellala were passed". Travancore Census Report, 1931, Government Press, Trivandrum, 1933, p.477.

Table 8: Partition deeds executed by Nairs, Ezhavas and Nanjanad Vellalas during 1926-30 in Travancore

(a) <u>Nairs</u>			
Area of each share	Number of deeds registered	Total extent of land partitioned (acres)	Number of share holders
0-5 cents	1218	591.34	21373
6-10 cents	1658	2089.79	27093
11-25 cents	5518	14604.85	80751
26-50 cents	7092	37251.08	101397
51-75 cents	4771	32427.52	52986
76-1 acre	2890	25976.73	30045
1-2 acres	5492	74163.59	53585
2-5 acres	3215	76787.03	26405
5-10 acres	735	35916.14	5335
Over 10 acres	314	34491.69	1894
Total	32903	334299.76	400864
(b) <u>Ezhavas</u>			
0-5 cents	1117	607.37	22396
6-10 cents	1409	1604.73	21304
11-25 cents	3268	7300.53	43593
26-50 cents	3050	11567.18	32218
51-75 cents	1513	9090.92	14977
76-1 acre	895	6008.48	6916
1-2 acres	1226	11782.86	8791
2-5 acres	511	7820.34	2857
5-10 acres	67	2425.42	381
Over 10 acres	20	1428.45	123
Total	13076	59636.28	153556
(c) <u>Nanjanad Vellalas</u>			
0-5 cents	26	4.41	247
6-10 cents	20	12.74	163
11-25 cents	107	246.20	1385
26-50 cents	125	397.37	1093
51-75 cents	78	358.76	592
76-1 acre	65	339.15	403
1-2 acres	137	1158.99	860
2-5 acres	69	1439.87	476
5-10 acres	25	850.01	114
Over 10 acres	13	1850.15	56
Total	665	6657.65	5389

Table 8 shows that during the period 1926-30, immediately after the regulation changing the marumakkatayam^{54/} based on taravad^{55/} property and matrilineal system of inheritance, a total of 46,647 partition deeds were registered with Nairs, Ezhavas and Nanjanad Vellalas contributing 32,903, 13,706 and 665 respectively, involving a total area of over 4 lakhs acres. Shares of Nairs, Ezhavas and Nanjanad Vellalas in total area partitioned were 83.45 per cent, 14.9 per cent and 1.66 per cent respectively. As a result of the above partitions during a period of less than 5 years, 5,59,809 landownerships were created;^{56/} the shares of Nairs, Ezhavas and Nanjanad Vellalas were 71.56 per cent, 27.48 per cent and .96 per cent respectively.

An important point to note in this connection is that the size of holdings thus created through partitions was very small even during the period 1926-30. Those who got 50 cents and below formed 57.33 per cent of the Nairs, 77.83 per cent of the Ezhavas

54/ "Marumakkathayam literally means descent through sister's children. It is a body of customs and usages. There is a fundamental difference between the Hindu law and the Marumakkathayam law, in that the former is founded on the agnatic family and the latter is based on the matriarchate. The marumakkatayam family .. consists of all the descendants of the family line of one common female ancestor."

Fr.J. Puthenkalam, S.J. op.cit. p.131.

55/ "The Marumakkathayam taravad is a joint family consisting generally of several members, all tracing descent from a common female ancestor and living in subjection to the power, and under the guidance and control of, the senior male, who for the time being is its head and representative. The notion of taravad property is that the entire family is its owner, i.e., it is impartible, except by common consent, and inalienable permanently, except by the consent of all the members, and that each individual member is entitled to be maintained." Quoted in Fr. J. Puthenkalam, ibid., p.132.

56/ On the assumption that those inherited taravad properties by partition had not acquired any land before. Purchase of land by members of the taravad may be limited since they did not own any land individually.

and 53.59 per cent of Nanjanad Velllalas. Again, those with only 10 cents or less constituted 12.10% of Nairs, 28.46 percent of Ezhavas and 7.61 percent of Nanjanad Velllalas.^{57/}

Impact of the breaking up of joint family system and partition of taravad properties of the above communities is reflected in the land market also. Value of land sold purchased by the communities immediately after and before the regulations providing partition of taravad properties may be noted in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Average value of sales and purchases per annum by different communities in Travancore during 1920/24 and 1925/29

(in Rs. lakhs)

Communities	Average value of sales per year		Average value of purchases per year	
	1920/24	1925/29	1920/24	1925/29
Nairs	57.2	83.4	25.1	34.7
Ezhavas	21.4	29.5	25.9	29.5
N. Vellalas	5.4	8.3	5.5	4.2
Christians	33.4	43.7	47.1	77.2

Source: Census of Travancore, 1931, op.cit. p.489.

^{57/} It may also be noted that on an average 12.18 new landownerships were created per partition, with 83.39 cents each in the case of Nairs; 11.74 ownerships per partition with 38.84 cents each for Ezhavas and 8.10 ownerships per partition with 123.54 cents each for Nanjanad Velllalas. Of these three communities almost all N. Velllalas were in the four taluks which now form part of Tamil Nadu.

Assuming that average value of area sold and bought are more or less same, Nairs were selling more land than buying both before and after formal breaking up taravad properties. Though Ezhavas gained land in 1920/24, their sales and purchases were same during 1925/29. In the case of Nanjanad Vellalas also there were more sales than purchases after partition of the taravad properties. On the contrary, Christians (following patrilineal system of inheritance and therefore not affected by regulations on partition of taravad properties), purchased more land than sold both during 1920/24 and 1925/29. However, during 1925/29, when Nairs experienced heavy loss, Christians gained significantly, indicating direction of sales from the former to the latter.^{58/}

Malabar and Cochin also adopted legislations permitting partition of joint family properties immediately after similar legislations were adopted in Travancore.^{59/} Though dominant landed communities in these regions were also followers of joint family system, these legislations could not increase the number of landowners and diffuse ownership, to the same extent as happened in Travancore, since, as already explained, rights in land were still complex.^{60/}

^{58/} Given the size of ownerships obtained after partition of the taravad properties, as presented above, a sizeable proportion of the sales by Nairs, Ezhavas and N.Vellalas during 1925/29 might have been 'distress sales', though direct evidence to the effect is not readily available.

^{59/} Important of these were:

- (1) The Madras Marumakkathayam Act, 1932;
- (2) Madras Nampoothiri Act of 1932;
- (3) Madras Mappila Marumakkathayam Act, 1939;
- (4) Cochin Nayar and Thiyya Regulations of 1932.

^{60/} T.C. Varghese, op.cit.

Information on partitioning of land by different communities for subsequent years are not available. However, number of partitions, and total area partitioned in Kerala, during the period 1957-66 may be noted in Table 10 below.

Table 10: Partitioning of Land in Kerala
1957-1966

Year	Number of partitions	Area partitioned (acres)
1957	2,700	3,400
1958	3,800	1,000
1959
1960	22,000	31,200
1961	400	700
1962	800	3,200
1963	6,400	3,100
1964	23,500	16,400
1965	3,700	1,000
1966	600	300

Source: Land Reforms Survey in Kerala, op.cit. Table 10.3, p.98.

Number of ownerships created through partitioning for the above period is not available. Wide fluctuations in number of partitions, as explained earlier, are attributed to land reforms. However, this cannot fully explain the very small extent of partitions for certain years like 1961, 1962 and 1966. It may be noted in this connection that average sizes of partitioned holdings for the years reporting larger number of partitions were

relatively smaller. On the contrary, average sizes of partitioned holdings were larger in years reporting fewer partitions. Further examination of this phenomenon is not attempted here due to dearth of readily available data and limited scope of this study. However, very few partitions in certain years (accompanied by relatively larger sizes of partitioned holdings) calls for a more detailed study.^{61/}

Though number of ownerships created through partition during the above period is not available, as already noted, drastic reduction in size of partitioned holdings, compared to the earlier period of 1926-30 may be noted.^{62/} Larger sizes of partitioned holdings and number of owners per partition during the earlier period may be attributed to the new regulation making hitherto undivided taravad properties partible. It can therefore be assumed that number of ownerships created through partition during the period 1957-66 will be significantly less. However, even if only two ownerships were created per partition, there would have been 1.28 lakhs ownerships, with an average size of 47.18 cents, as a result of partitions during the above period in Kerala.

^{61/} It may be noted in this connection that the number of ownerships in Kerala in 1965 and 1966 were 30.95 lakhs and 35.43 lakhs respectively, when only 3,700 and 600 partitions were reported.

^{62/} Average size of family holdings involved in partition were 10.16 acres, 4.35 acres and 10.01 acres for Nairs, Ezhavas and Nanjanad Vellalas respectively during 1926-30, compared to only 0.94 acres during 1957-66 for all communities combined. (See, Tables 8 and 10. above)

Number of partitions, area partitioned and owner-
ships created for the subsequent years are not available.
However, on the basis of discussions with the personnel
in the Inspector General of Registrations' Office, Trivandrum,
it appears that at least 7 per cent of the total registered
transfers involving land (except sales) are partitions,
with an average of 3 ownerships created per partition. On
the basis of these approximations, total number of partitions
and ownerships created during the period 1970-71 to 1979-80
in Kerala are worked out, as shown in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Approximate number of partitions and
ownerships created in Kerala during
1970-71 to 1979-80

Year	Number of partitions	Number of ownerships created
1970-71	29,456	88,368
1971-72	25,890	77,670
1972-73	25,792	77,376
1973-74	28,385	85,155
1974-75	32,868	98,604
1975-76	25,298	75,894
1976-77	21,865	65,595
1977-78	21,792	65,376
1978-79	26,104	78,312
1979-80	25,768	77,304
Total	2,63,218	7,89,654

Source: Based on discussions with and information
supplied by Inspector General's Office,
Department of Registration, Government of
Kerala, Trivandrum.

As a result of the factors presented in the above sections of this chapter, number of landowners has been increasing steadily over the years.^{63/} Without any substantial changes in area occupied this also meant decrease in size of holdings. Details of ownerships for the period 1965-80 (with non-availability of data for certain years) are presented in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Number of landownerships according to size of holdings in Kerala

Date	0-10 cents	10-50 cents	50-100 cents	100-200 cents	200+ cents	Total	Average size of holdings (cents)
31.3.65	689839	917236	632327	377804	477588	3094794	183.80
%	22.29	29.63	20.43	12.20	15.45	100	
31.3.66	703987	1041764	667678	578542	550695	3542666	160.57
%	19.87	29.40	18.84	16.33	15.55	100	
31.3.72	1019936	1013431	678663	546982	602775	3861787	173.52
%	26.41	26.24	17.57	14.16	15.61	100	
31.3.73	1184730	1086963	708913	530771	656001	4167378	145.43
%	28.42	26.08	17.07	12.71	15.74	100	
31.3.74	1283104	1190380	807360	587387	688105	4556336	133.90
%	28.16	26.12	17.71	12.89	14.66	100	
31.3.75	1298047	1138880	941222	578635	742162	4698946	130.24
%	27.62	24.23	20.03	12.31	15.79	100	
31.3.76	1405744	1173234	838064	526758	642215	4586015	145.31
%	30.65	25.58	18.27	11.48	14.00	100	
31.3.77	1279546	1139735	850131	896197	680823	4846432	126.50
%	26.40	23.51	17.54	18.49	14.05	100	
31.3.78	1524711	1236227	1034360	619457	739038	5153793	118.60
%	29.58	23.98	20.06	12.01	14.34	100	
31.3.80	2044098	1482737	918439	617564	776468	5839306	106.80
%	35.00	25.39	15.72	10.57	13.30	100	

Source: Board of Revenue, Administration Reports, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum (various years).

^{63/} Market transfers were also contributing to increase in number, and diffusion of ownerships, in turn, as will be explained in the following chapters.

Number of **ownerships** increased by 188 per cent from 30.94 lakhs to 58.39 lakhs during the period 1965-1980. Increase was highest for the smallest size of ownerships, 0-10 cents, with 296 per cent from 6.89 lakhs to 20.44 lakhs. Thus 35 per cent of the total landownerships in 1980 were only 10 cents or less. compared to only 22.29 per cent in 1965. Relative shares of the larger landownerships accordingly declined. Share of ownerships with more than 200 cents declined from 15.45 per cent to 13.30 per cent during the period. Increase in total number of landownerships was more than increase in area owned/occupied and as a result average size of ownership holdings also declined from 183.80 cents in 1965 to 106.80 cents in 1980. ^{64/}

^{64/} Limitations of the above data on landownerships may be noted below: (1) aggregate data available in the Revenue Board, presented in Table 12 above, are returns from separate village offices. Therefore, those owning land in more than one village get included separately and not as a single owner; (2) Details of ownership do not show number of separate holdings each consist, type of land (wet or dry) etc. (3) (3) An ownership can have more than one individual owner, since group of individuals can also own land jointly, therefore total number of owners is difficult to obtain; and (4) Related to (3) above, ownership of land by households is ~~difficult~~ to obtain based on Revenue Board/Village Office records, since each owner(s) is treated independently and not as member of a household (which may have other landowners).

Summary

Increase in number of landowners and diffusion of ownership as a result of the Government legislations and growth of population were presented above. However, non-availability of data prevented a more complete and clearer analysis of the relationships involved. But it may be noted that (a) Ownership rights were established all over occupied area in Kerala by 1970; (b) Increase in number of landowners was steady and rapid during the period 1965-80; (c) Number of very small landowners increased more than that of larger landowners; and (d) average size of ownership holdings declined steadily.

Reasons for sale of land may vary from person to person and information for the same are not available for Kerala to understand the specific reasons for supply of land to the market by individual sellers. However, it can be presumed that on the basis of the details given above the supply of land to the market has been increasing during the period. The factors which affected demand for land in the market will be examined in the next chapter, to gain a better understanding of the development of land market in Kerala.

Chapter III

DEVELOPMENT OF LAND MARKET IN KERALA:

THE DEMAND FACTORS

Needless to say, development of Land market involves demand for land as much as its supply. In this chapter we shall attempt to analyse the factors underlying the demand. Before we get on to that trends in the growth of land market as reflected in the number of market transfers in the three sub-regions may be noted.

As explained in the last chapter ownerships were granted to a prominent section of the tenants, first in Travancore, followed by Cochin and then Malabar. Ownerships were granted to a large section of the tenants in Malabar only recently as a result of the Land Reform Legislations. Therefore, emergence of land market in Travancore was observed even in the last century, immediately after granting ownership rights in 'sircar' lands, as may be noted in Table 1 below.

Table 1 : Number of Sales of Land in Travancore for certain selected years

Year	Number of sales	Sales as % of total land transfers
1890-91	17,881	17
1891-92	19,072	17
1892-93	21,542	18
1895-96	18,897	..
1896-97	18,814	..
1900-01	21,598	..
1901-02	22,121	15
1902-03	23,767	14
1905-06	24,550	..

Note: Total/land transfers include mortgages, hypothecation etc. in addition to partition, and gift which involve transfer of ownerships as such.

Source: Administration Reports, Travancore, Trivandrum, (various years)

Sales were steadily increasing in the first half of this century, in Travancore and Malabar, as may be noted in Table 2 below. However, proportion of market transfers involving ownership (i.e., sales) in Travancore was always higher than that in Malabar during the period, which was in accordance with the greater diffusion of ownerships in Travancore, explained in the last chapter.

Table 2: Decennial Averages of Yearly Sales in Malabar and Travancore, 1911-1950

A. Malabar

Decennium	Number ('000)	As percentage to total land transfers
1911-20	6.2	3
1921-30	19.1	10
1931-40	23.6	15
1941-50	32.7	18

B. Travancore

1911-20	36.6	15
1921-30	58.4	18
1931-40	59.3	21
1941-50	138.4	27

Sources: Travancore : Statistics of Travancore, (different issues), Trivandrum
 Malabar : Reports of the Administration of Registration Department, Madras.

(Given in Table 1, T.C. Varghese, op.cit. p.207).

Increase in the number of market transfers, in the absence of similar increase in number of ownerships, in Malabar was attributed to the following reasons:

(1) Malabar Tenancy Act gave permanent occupancy rights to superior tenants and sales of such rights are included as sales of ownerships in the registers; and (b) as a result of the legislation through Malabar Land Registration Act, many tenants got joint pattas (ownership documents) with the landlord and sales of such lands were also included as sales of ownership rights.^{1/}

For Cochin, data are not available for different years, and the number of total land transfers (including mortgages, hypothecation, etc.) is estimated to be under 70,000 in 1945-46.^{2/}

We shall now proceed to examine the factors underlying the growth in demand for land. Of these, growth of population, changes in inheritance system, development of commercial cultivation, migration of workers and inflow of remittances seem to be the main factors.

^{1/} T.C. Varghese, op.cit. p.208.

^{2/} Ibid.

(a) Growth of Population

Growth of population in all sections of Kerala and its influence in increasing the number of landowners through partition of land was noted earlier. Growth of population can also affect demand for land. Population growth can affect the demand for land in two ways: (a) Demand for housing sites; and (b) Demand for farming plots.

Demand for housing and farming plots may be seen against the types of land available in Kerala. Around 21 per cent of the total occupied area in Kerala is wet land and the rest dry.^{3/} While wet land is used for only farming, and that too of only certain specific crops, dry land can be used for both farming and housing. Unlike in other regions of the country, settlement pattern in Kerala is well spread out, thereby making no difference between farming and dwelling plots in the case of dry land.

^{3/} Total wet land area owned in Kerala was 14,23,588 acres and 16,72,226 acres in 1958-59 and 1979-80 as against 51,02,488 acres and 62,36,121 acres of dry land during the respective years. Thus the proportion of dry land increased slightly from 78.19 percent to 78.85 per cent of the total. See, Board of Revenue, Government of Kerala, Administration Reports, 1958-59 and 1979-80, Trivandrum.

It may also be mentioned here that the proportion of wet land will actually be less than that mentioned above, especially in 1979-80, since, as will be noted later, there is widespread tendency to convert wet into dry land, which is not recorded in the village records.

Thus, demand for housing plots due to increase in population and formation of new families will be only for dry land plots, which forms about 79 per cent of the total occupied/owned area, while demand for farm land will be reflected both in wet and dry land plots. Greater demand for dry land, for farming and housing purposes, is reflected in higher price for dry land in regions with smaller proportion of dry land area.^{4/}

Increase in number of residential houses may be compared with that of population during the period 1901-1981 in Travancore-Cochin and Kerala, in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Inter-Censal Increase in Population and Houses (percentages)

Period	Population	Houses
<u>Travancore-Cochin</u>		
1901-1911	17.3	2.9
1911-1921	17.3	13.7
1921-1931	20.7	21.0
1931-1941	21.2	17.8
1941-1951	23.9	15.8
<u>Kerala</u>		
1961-1971	26.2	21.9
1971-1981	19.2	25.7

- Sources: 1. Travancore-Cochin : Census of India, 1951
Travancore-Cochin, Part I, Report, Vol.XIII, p.64.
2. Kerala: (a) 1961: Census of India, Kerala, Part IIA, p.40
(b) 1971: Census of India, Kerala, Part II, Series 9, p.27 (1971).
(c) 1981: Census of India, Kerala, Part A, Series 10, pp.34-35 (1981).

^{4/} Price of dry land was much higher compared to wet land in the lowland region of Travancore, as explained in section (c) below. See, Statistics of Travancore, Trivandrum (various issues).

It may be noted from the above table that increase in the number of households was greater than that of population during 1921-31 and 1971-81, the reasons for which were, as explained in the following sections, changes in inheritance system and inflow of remittances respectively.

(b) Changes in Inheritance System

Changes in inheritance system, with the break up of joint families among the matrilineal communities also affected the pattern of residence, thereby influencing demand for land for housing. Greater increase in number of houses compared to population in Travancore-Cochin during 1921-31 (Table 3) can be attributed to the changes in inheritance pattern during the period. For, in the matrilineal joint families women continued to live with their mothers even after marriage; but this has changed with the wives leaving their homes to live with their husbands, setting up new homes, if possible.^{5/}

^{5/} "The joint family system ... had existed for such a long time that even after the enactments permitting the partition of 'Marumakkathayam' families were promulgated, it took time to break through the old tradition. This was particularly slow in erstwhile Cochin state." Census of India, Travancore-Cochin, Vol.XIII, Part I A - Report, p.23.

A study conducted during 1961-62 ^{6/} showed that of the total 403 married women belonging to the former matrilineal communities, 283 (i.e., 70.22 per cent), were living in separate homes with their husbands, while only 22.1 per cent preferred their own taravad. Proportion of women living separately with husband in new homes was highest (85.7 percent) in South Kerala (Travancore) compared to 61.8 percent and 59.7 percent in Central Kerala (Cochin) and North Kerala (Malabar) respectively.

Changes in inheritance system and residence pattern also affect demand for land other than house-sites. Where both husband and wife inherit land, generally one of them sells (if they belong to distant villages) his/her share at the time of change of residence and setting up new homes. It can also be argued that a sizeable proportion of sellers of this type also purchase land near the new residence, since (a) the amount obtained through sale of inherited land will normally be large enough to allow investment by purchasing land; (b) purchase of land is considered as the most secure and important form of investment, especially by the new families, in rural areas; and (b) there may be legal stipulations, in the case of certain communities that amount obtained through sale of inherited plots by the

^{6/} Fr. J. Puthenkalam, op.cit. p.107.

women should be used for purchase of other plots.

More sales in terms of value, and more sellers ^{7/} were reported during the 1920s and 1930s among the communities with sons and daughters inheriting land compared to buyers. This may mean that, in addition to distress sales as a result of the holdings getting smaller after partition, as already noted in the last chapter, fewer persons selling inherited plots purchased other plots in these communities. On the other hand, more buyers and (greater value of purchases) by Syrian Christians ^{8/} who were following the patrilineal system of inheritance (and therefore unaffected by break of joint families in the 1920s and 1930s) with generally only sons inheriting landed property, may also mean greater investment of dowry for purchase of land (and less sales of land for raising dowry) along with section of them having amassed enough investible surplus from commercial cultivation, agro-processing etc. ^{9/}

^{7/} T.C. Varghese op.cit. p.103
Census of Travancore, 1931, p.489.

^{8/} T.C. Varghese, op.cit.

^{9/} Community-wise break of buyers and sellers of land for the recent periods are not available. Therefore, the impact of inheritance system and related factors relevant to different communities, on their land transfers could not be examined.

(c) Development of Commercial Cultivation

All former administrative divisions comprising the present State of Kerala had close links with outside world through export of primary commodities, even from very early times.^{10/} However, since rights in land were much more complex in Malabar during the colonial period (and to some extent in Cochin), spread of cultivation of commercial crops was not only slower there, but surplus generated therefrom could also not affect land market to the same extent as in Travancore:

"On the whole, land tenures in Travancore and Cochin evolved in such a way as to cause dynamic agricultural development. On the other hand, Malabar lagged behind. Particularly in Travancore, as a result of several tenurial reforms, commercial agriculture developed further and there was growing reinvestment of surplus and profits made in the land and commodity markets. These changes instilled a rare dynamism in agriculture, which, given the development of markets for agricultural commodities, helped the extension of area under cultivation, particularly of cash or commercial crops." ^{11/}

Moreover, in Travancore, there were other factors favouring expansion of commercial cultivation: Positive state policies, existence of an enterprenurial class capable and ready to invest in plantations, etc. may be noted

^{10/} See, (1) Ashim Dasgupta, Malabar in Asian Trade Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1967.

(2) A. Sreedhara Menon, A Survey of Kerala History, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1967, pp.54-57.

^{11/} Tharian George K. and P.K.Michael Tharakan, 'Penetration of Capital into a Traditional Economy: The Case Study of Tea Planations in Kerala, 1880-1950' Studies in History, 2,2 n.s. Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1986. p. 215.

in this connection.^{12/}

While discussing the influence of commercial cultivation on land market the differences between crops requiring plantation type management, viz., coffee, tea, rubber etc. and those grown largely in household farms, viz. coconut, pepper, arecanut, ginger etc. may be noted, mainly for two reasons: (a) ownership and management of plantations in Travancore during the colonial period and much later were largely in the hands of foreigners and (b) the plantations were concentrated in the highland regions,^{13/} with larger size of holdings. Thus influence of these plantations on land market through increasing demand for household farms in other regions seems insignificant. On the other hand, spread of cultivation of crops requiring household management like coconut, pepper, ginger, arecanut, (and rubber recently), could significantly affect land market.^{14/}

^{12/} T.C.Varghese, op.cit. pp.116-119.

^{13/} For example, of the total area under tea cultivation in Kerala, area under non-Indian control was between 74.73% and 84.1% during the period 1925-1950. See, Tharian George K and P.K.Michael Tharakan, op.cit. Table 8, p.224.

^{14/} In addition to availability of larger areas of on favourable terms in highland, agroclimatic conditions were also suitable for cultivation of plantation crops like rubber, tea, coffee etc.

Trends in area under leading commercial crops, both plantation and non-plantation types, in Travancore are presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Trends in Area Under Leading Commercial Crops in Travancore 15/

(in '000 acres)

Period	Mainly plantation types			Mainly non-plantation types		
	Rubber	Tea	Coffee	Coconut	Pepper	Ginger
1920-21	48.50	51.46	N.A.	459.06	N.A.	N.A.
1925-26	51.97	73.07	N.A.	509.32	N.A.	N.A.
1930-31	60.59	80.14	N.A.	593.32	N.A.	N.A.
1935-36	96.62	77.38	N.A.	573.26	N.A.	N.A.
1936-37	96.97	77.58	4.95	576.86	86.15	24.09
1940-41	98.48	75.93	6.00	569.69	89.42	29.46
1944-45	109.75	77.26	7.74	485.79	89.76	35.88

Note: Estimates are based on five-year moving averages.

Source: Statistics of Travancore, various issues.

Increase in area under cultivation of the commercial crops was also reflected in increased production and export of commodities. Trade balance of Travancore, thus showed a considerable increase from an average annual of Rs.23.12 lakhs in 1870/71 - 1880/81 to Rs.616.53 lakhs during the period 1910/11 - 1920/21. Though the

15/ P.G.K.Panikar, T.N.Krishnan and N.Krishnaji, op.cit. Table 2.1.

world economic depression had also led to decline in export earnings during the following period, trade balance stood at an annual average of Rs.147.37 lakhs for the period 1930-31 to 1940-41.^{16/}

By the time of formation of the Kerala State, however, the earlier differences among the three former administrative divisions narrowed down in terms of area under commercial crops, with the spreading of commercial crops to Malabar. For example, in 1957-58, area under rubber (which was steadily spreading among the household plots also) in Trivandrum, Quilon and Kottayam districts were 2592, 18397 and 393111 hectares respectively compared to 3498, 12328 and 4924 hectares in Palghat, Calicut and Cannanore districts.^{17/} Area under pepper were 8,110, 5432 and 10,359 hectares in Trivandrum, Quilon and Kottayam districts in 1957-58 as against 3,386, 12,688 and 39,310 hectares in Palghat, Calicut and Cannanore districts. Cultivation of coconut was very widespread, irrespective of the different tenurial conditions, in the three administrative divisions of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. The Malabar districts also did not lag behind in terms of area under cashew, ginger and arecanut, compared to Travancore and Cochin districts.^{18/}

^{16/} ibid. pTable 2.6.

^{17/} The Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Agricultural Statistics in Kerala, Trivandrum, 1975, Table 10, pp.19-29.

^{18/} ibid.

Area under certain important commercial crops in Kerala for selected periods may be noted in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Yearly average of area under certain important commercial crops in Kerala

(Area in '000 hectares)							
Period	Pepper	Coconut	Rubber	Cashew	Areca- nut	Ginger	Total crop- ped area
1952/53-							
1954/55	81.13 (3.79)	438.18 (20.48)	63.65 (2.98)	35.15 (1.64)	57.05 (2.67)	8.78 (0.41)	2139.32 (100)
1958/59-							
1960/61	93.55 (4.07)	489.66 (21.31)	116.37 (5.06)	50.98 (2.22)	52.51 (2.28)	10.66 (0.46)	2298.19 (100)
1964/65-							
1966/67	99.65 (3.90)	584.96 (22.90)	148.31 (5.81)	87.97 (3.44)	65.07 (2.55)	11.87 (0.46)	2554.25 (100)
1970/71-							
1972/73	116.74 (3.95)	731.68 (24.73)	187.82 (6.35)	101.62 (3.43)	87.04 (2.94)	11.95 (0.40)	2959.12 (100)
1976/77-							
1977/78	104.86 (3.58)	684.24 (23.36)	233.28 (7.97)	120.15 (4.10)	65.39 (2.23)	11.51 (0.39)	2928.63 (100)

Note: Figures in brackets are percentage shares of the crops in total cropped area.

Source: Estimated from (1) Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Kerala Agricultural Statistics, Trivandrum, 1975, pp.19-29; and (2) Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Statistics for Planning, 1980, Trivandrum, 1980.

Thus, (a) area under all the selected commercial crops increased considerably during the period 1952/53 - 1977/78; and (b) area under cashew, rubber and coconut increased in relation to total cropped area, from 1.64 per cent, 2.98 per cent and 20.48 percent to 4.10 percent, 7.97 percent and 23.36 per cent respectively.

Expansion of area under cultivation also led to increased production, except in the case of pepper, during the period. Coconut, rubber, cashew, arecanut and ginger showed increase in production of 105.56%, 677.31%, 154.69%, 212.35% and 184.01% respectively during the period 1952/53-1954/55 to 1976/77-1977/78. Increased production (and greater increase in prices) also led to significant increase in gross farm values of the products, as given below in Table 6, during the period.

Table 6: Gross farm values of selected crops in Kerala between 1952/53 and 1977/78

(Rs. crores)							
Years	Pepper	Coconut	Rubber	Cashew	Areca- nut	Ginger	Total
1952/53	22.59	49.01	-	3.69	7.53	1.39	84.21
1960/61	10.48	70.49	7.31	6.15	19.81	1.14	115.38
1965/66	7.83	131.58	22.55	9.09	38.82	2.84	212.71
1971/72	11.78	167.66	37.15	18.04	36.77	5.97	277.37
1977/78	35.49	315.94	120.04	46.03	45.54	35.18	598.21

- Note: 1. Production figures are three-year averages.
 2. Prices for all commodities, except rubber, are average farm prices for Kerala during the year; for rubber whole-sale price prevailed in Kottayam is taken.

Sources: Estimated from: (a) Agricultural Statistics in Kerala, 1975, op.cit.
 (b) Statistics for Planning, 1980, op.cit.

Impact of expansion of area, increases in production and farm values of the above crops on land market may be noted against the per centage distribution of area according to size of holdings.

Table 7: Percentage distribution of area under selected commercial crops according to size of holdings in Kerala

Size group (hectares)	(Percentages)					
	Pepper	Coconut	Rubber	Cashew	Arecanut	Ginger
0.04 - 0.25	28.14	19.08	0.37	3.94	10.03	2.97
0.25 - 0.50	11.69	15.80	1.36	5.02	11.40	8.92
0.50 - 1.00	20.77	19.97	5.57	8.86	19.34	17.70
1.00 - 2.00	26.97	21.86	19.19	14.29	24.68	31.09
2.00 - 3.00	15.10	8.89	15.77	8.43	17.13	19.34
3.00 - 4.00	7.05	6.54	11.31	6.67	7.63	10.63
4.00 - 5.00	2.60	2.47	4.93	2.61	2.94	4.34
5.00 - 50.00	6.53	5.07	22.62	18.66	5.44	4.89
50 +	1.16	0.32	18.89	41.52	1.40	0.12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Area (Ha.s)	50,061	2,59,318	1,30,548	79,596	31,730	15,811

Source: Estimated from The Third Decennial World Census of Agriculture, 1970-71, Report for Kerala State, Vol.II, Table VI, pp.73.75.

Thus, all crops except rubber and cashew were cultivated mostly in smaller holdings of below 3 hectares. Bigger holdings, were found dominating cultivation of rubber and cashew, though

smaller holdings also showed significant area under the crops. Cultivation of rubber was spreading in smaller holdings also. Smaller holdings of below 2 hectares increased their share in total area under rubber from 33.71% to 38.68% during 1970-71 to 1978-79.^{19/}

Important relationships between expansion of commercial cultivation and demand for land may be noted. Increased production of the commodities and profits generated therefrom can influence land market directly by increasing demand for land. Though data is not available, it can be argued that demand for land suitable for profitable crops will be more and vice versa. Again, as will be explained in the next chapter, expansion of commercial cultivation also lead to increase in price of land.

(d) Migration

Main purpose of migration of landowners from one place to another was in search for more land. Demand for more land, as noted above, may primarily be caused by growth of population and expansion of commercial cultivation. In Kerala, migration of landowners were both intra-regional and inter-regional.

^{19/} Statistics for Planning, 1980, op.cit. p.119.
(Original source, Rubber Board, Kottayam).

(i) Intra-regional migration

Kerala can be divided into three natural divisions on the basis of soil, rainfall, vegetation, cultivation and density of population: (a) the flat coast strip (lowlands); (b) the mountaneous region on the east (highlands); and (c) the intervening belt of undulating hills and valleys (the midlands). These three natural divisions are common to all the three former administrative units of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar.

Differences among the three natural divisions, in terms of total area, area cultivation, density of population etc. in 1931, in Travancore may be noted in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Characteristics of the three Natural Divisions of Travancore (1931)

Characteristics	Lowland	Midland	Highland
Total area (sq. miles)	1,371	2,707	3,547
Total cultivable area (sq. miles)	1,198	2,329	1,227
Total cultivated area (sq.miles)	1,093	1,854	492
Density of population on total area (per sq.mile)	1,743	892	82
Density on cultivable area (per sq. mile)	1,994	1,087	237
Density on cultivated area (per sq.mile)	2,186	1,303	591

Source: Census of Travancore, 1931, op.cit. p.15.

Table 8 shows that proportion of cultivated area to total area was as high as 79.7 percent in lowland as against only 13.9 percent in the highland, with midland division having 68.5 percent.^{20/} Proportion of cultivated area to cultivable area was 91.2 percent, 79.6 percent and 40.1 percent in lowland, midland and highland divisions respectively. Again, density on cultivable area was also very high in the lowland division, with 1994 persons per sq. mile as against only 1087 and 237 persons in the midland and highland divisions.

^{20/} Division of area into lowland, midland and highland was not attempted in the case of Cochin and Malabar before integration with Travancore:

"So far as Malabar is concerned, in the Census of 1901, of the Madras State six natural divisions were adopted. The territories comprising Malabar district and the Kasaragod taluk of the South Kanara district which form part of Kerala now came under the sixth natural division of Madras designated as West Coast division. There was no further sub-division on the basis of meteorological and geographical features. The above classification continued upto and inclusive of the 1951 Census"

And in Cochin,

"With the diversity in its physical features it is no doubt possible to divide the State for statistical purposes into distinct areas or natural divisions in which the natural features are more or less homogeneous, but the small area of Cochin will neither warrant such divisions nor justify the time and labour involved in the preparation of separate statistics for each of them."

Census of India, 1971, Kerala, Series 9, Part II-A, General Population Tables, p.24.

Growth of population in the three natural divisions during the period 1881-1971 may be noted below in Table 9.

Table 9: Inter-Censal increase of population in the three natural divisions (percentages)

Periods	Lowland	Midland	Highland	Total
<u>Travancore</u>				
1881-1891	5.2	7.5	13.2	6.5
1891-1901	14.3	15.9	24.4	15.4
1901-1911	13.2	18.2	30.2	16.2
1911-1921	15.0	17.4	32.2	16.8
1921-1931				
1931-1941	18.5	20.5	28.10	19.1
1941-1951	19.6	25.7	38.6	23.7
<u>Kerala</u>				
1961-1971	23.1	25.0	37.8	26.2

Note: Figures for 1941-51 are for Travancore-Cochin. Those for 1971-81 are not available at present. However, among the districts in Travancore and Cochin, the predominantly highland district of Idukki recorded the greatest rate of increase with 26.91 percent as against only 10.56 percent and 10.29 percent in the cases of Alleppey (Lowland/Midland) and Kottayam (Lowland/Midland) districts.

(See Census of India, 1981, Kerala, Part II-A, Series 10, p.71).

- Sources: 1. Census of Travancore, 1931, op.cit. pp.19-21.
 2. -do- -do- 1941
 3. Census of India, 1951, Travancore Cochin, Vol.XIII, Part III, Tables 6-9.
 4. Same as for Table 3 above.

During all periods the rate of increase in population was highest in highland division and lowest in lowland division, indicating partly movement from the lowland and midland divisions to the highland division.^{21/}

Demand for land for housing, as the population increases, will be more in lowland, because of the greater proportion of wet land area^{22/} and greater density of population compared to the other two divisions.^{23/}

^{21/} Increase in population in highland is partly also explained by migration of workers with the development of plantations, see, Census of Travancore, 1931, Chapter III.

^{22/} Area under paddy in these divisions were 47 percent, 34.8 percent and 15.8 percent of total cultivated area in Travancore, in 1931.

See, Census of Travancore, 1931 p.15.

Paddy cultivation was mostly confined in wet lands and therefore, area under paddy can also be considered as mostly wet land.

^{23/} Density of population in the lowland, midland and highland divisions of Travancore-Cochin in 1951 may be noted below:

	Percentage		
	Area	Population	Density(sq.miles)
Lowland	18.0	43.5	2448
Midland	36.8	50.0	1381
Highland	45.2	6.5	147

Census of India, 1951, Travancore-Cochin, Part I-A, Report, p.9.

Movement of population to some of the highland taluks from other taluks in Travancore, enumerated in 1931, may be noted in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Proportion of immigrants from other taluks to some of the highland taluks in Travancore, (1931)

Taluks	Proportion of immigrants to total population (percentage)
Nedumangad	17.6
Pathanapuram	20.0
Pathanamthitta	13.9
Changanacherry	15.0
Thodupuzha	24.4
Pirmede	35.6

Source: Census of Travancore, 1931, op.cit.p.81.

Regarding the purpose of migration to the above taluks, the Census report notes that:

"Some of the immigrants in these taluks also may be casual visitors from the adjoining taluks, but the large majority of the 1,39,453 immigrants must have been persons who have settled there either semi-permanently or permanently as landholders, tenant cultivators, or agricultural labourers. These taluks contained and still contain extensive areas of cultivable lands and it is here that there has been the greatest development of cultivation during the past decade. The large influx of immigrants to these taluks must, therefore, be attributed to the facilities they have afforded for the extension of cultivation." 24/

It can be noted from the above that among the migrants there were tenants and agricultural labourers also. Agricultural labourers were taken by the large landowners along with them for developing plantations. There were movements of labourers from other regions to high land for construction of infrastructural facilities like roads, dams, etc. also:

"There has also been a slow movement (of agricultural labourers) towards the highland for work in the plantations; this migration has become more pronounced in recent years as there is great demand for labour in some localities in the highland where construction works for irrigation and generation of electric power are in progress." 25/

It can be assumed that a sizeable proportion of these labourers also became landowners over a period of time. 26/

Cultivators who migrated to and settled in the Edavagai lands of Poonjar and Vanchipuzha, in the highland division were treated as tenants. They too became practically landowners with the permanent occupancy rights conferred in 1934. 27/

25/ Census of India, 1951, Travancore-Cochin, op.cit. p.33.

26/ See, Table 6, Chapter II.

27/ Regulation 3 of 1934 of Travancore. "Edavagai means any tract or areas recognised as such in Government accounts and wholly or partly exempt from the payment of land revenue to Government ... The Edavagai Act was not applicable to lands to which the Jenmi Kudiyan regulation of 1071 (1895-96) and to settlement of land belonging to Sircar Devaswom or Pandaravakai lands within the Edavagai."

Land Reforms Survey in Kerala, op.cit. p.18.

Differences in density of population and intensity and pattern of cultivation among the three natural divisions of Travancore were also reflected in land prices, as could be seen from Table 12 below.

Table 12: Price of land (garden & dry) in the three natural divisions for selected years (Rs. per acre)

Taluks/divisions	1921/22	1928/29	1935/36	1948/49
<u>Lowland</u>				
Karunagapally	691.93	1043.0	442.0	1910.06
Karthikapally	1272.00	1230.0	664.0	1150.02
Ambalapuzha	1033.37	-	129.61	2686.98
Shertallai	711.09	916.0	446.30	1011.70
Parur	668.44	728.0	465.31	2354.54
<u>Midland</u>				
Kottarakkara	81.31	212.0	61.49	183.06
Kunnathur	57.68	264.0	119.63	388.36
Thiruvalla	317.27	503.0	282.32	651.17
Muvattupuzha	71.93	246.0	172.12	250.98
Changanacherry	404.53	427.0	161.10	2069.70
Minachil	109.68	362.0	138.15	989.94
<u>Highland</u>				
Nedumangad	109.90	173.0	147.71	530.21
Pathanapuram	71.85	182.0	24.47	271.25
Pathanamthitta	137.54	190.0	21.19	256.54
Thodupuzha	109.68	362.0	85.64	1158.38
Peermede	48.13	48.00	81.55	1966.20

Notes: 1. Taluks are classified into lowland, midland and highland according to proportion of area in each division. However, certain taluks like Parur, Nedumangad, Pathanamthitta, Changanacherry, and Thiruvalla had sizeable areas in other divisions also.

See, Census of Travancore, 1931.

2. Dry and Garden lands are at present classified as 'dry' land only; the category being wet land. 1928/29 prices are only for garden land.

Source: Estimated from Statistics of Travancore (various issues)

The following points may be noted from Table 12:

(a) Population pressure as reflected in high density, may exert pressure on demand for land which in turn lead to further rise in land prices. Thus the most densely populated lowland taluks have registered highest prices for most years, followed by midland and highland taluks.

(b) Expansion of commercial cultivation has also led to greater demand for land, as reflected in higher land prices in taluks which had recorded greater expansion of area under commercial crops. Thus land prices in Changanacherry, ^{28/}Minachil, Thodupuzha and Pirmede in 1948/49 were much higher compared to earlier years.

(c) Influence of the world economy, via export of primary commodities, on land market also deserves mention. Land prices in 1935/36 were much lower in most of the taluks, compared to the earlier years of 1921/22 and 1928/^{29/}29, showing the impact of the Great Depression during the 1930s on demand for land.

^{28/} Changanacherry was a much larger taluk with sizeable areas of of the present Kanjirapalli and Kuttanad taluks also forming part of it. Significant expansion of rubber cultivation had occurred during the period, especially in household farms, in Kanjirapalli-Mundakkayam area.

^{29/} This was in spite of large areas of land coming to the market, as noted earlier, during the period 1921/22 to 1928/29 as a result of the disintegration of the joint family system. In other words, the impact of the Great Depression on land prices might be greater.

Wide differences in land prices reported for taluks among the three natural divisions for most of the years also contributed to migration of landowners.^{30/} Movement of landowners to highland from the midland and lowland divisions can be explained by the lower price of land there.. Simiarly, migration from the lowland division to the midland division might also have taken place, since land prices were much lower in the midland taluks for most of the years. This was also reflected in the higher rate of increase in population in the midland division compared to the lowland division.

It may be noted here that details of intra-regional migration, from the lowland to midland and highland divisions, in the case of Malabar and Cochin are not readily available.^{31/} However, the magnitude of such migration might be less due to the absence of positive state policies favouring commercial cultivation and complex tenurial rights prevailed there compared to Travancore.

^{30/} Differences in land prices among the taluks within a division may also be noted. Again, even in a taluk it might be possible to find areas with wide differences in population density, extent of commercial cultivation and land prices. Therefore, migration might have taken place across villages within a taluk and also across different taluks. However, due to the limited scope of this work and non-availability of data examination of these aspects are not attempted here.

^{31/} Malabar and Cochin had also natural divisions of lowland, midland and highland. However, no such divisions were made officially in the case of Malabar during the British period. Malabar was also divided into Lowland, Midland and Highland only after the formation of the Kerala state. Cochin was a small state and such divisions were not attempted.

(ii) Inter-regional Migration

There was also movement of landowners, especially from the north Travancore taluks of Minachil, Thodupuzha and Muvattupuzha to Malabar, in the first half of this century. As a result, number of persons born in Travancore but enumerated in Malabar rose from 3,328 to 88,275 between 1931 and 1951.^{32/}

Prices of garden and hilly tracts in Malabar were much lower than those obtained in the above taluks of Travancore during the first half of this century.^{33/} It was noted above that prices of garden land in the lowland taluks were much higher than those prevailed in the above taluks from where migration to Malabar took place. But, widespread migration of landowners from the lowland taluks to Malabar is not reported. Therefore, other socio-economic factors, than higher density of population (and higher land prices) and availability of land at lower prices in Malabar were at work for confining migration of landowners from mainly the above taluks.^{34/}

^{32/} P.K. Michael Tharakan, "Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malabar from 1930 to 1960: An Analysis of its Economic Cause." M.Phil Thesis, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, 1976.

^{33/} P.G.K. Panikar, T.N.Krishnan and N.Krishnaji, op.cit. Appendix Table 6a.

^{34/} See, P.K.Michael Tharakan, op.cit.

Extension of cultivation of commercial crops like rubber, pepper, tea etc. in Malabar,^{35/} despite the complex tenurial conditions that prevailed, could mainly be attributed to migrants from Travancore. Migration and extension of commercial cultivation continued side by side; and as a result substantial portion of area under cultivation of crops like rubber, coffee, tea, pepper, etc. in Malabar is now owned by migrants from Travancore. This might also have led to development of land market in Malabar after the tenurial reforms and abolition of tenancy.

35/ See, Tharian George K. and P.K.Michael Tharakan,

Area under cash crops as a percentage of total cropped area in the three regions may be noted below:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Travancore</u>	<u>Cochin</u>	<u>Malabar</u>
1910-11	39	18	32
1920-21	46	20	34
1930-31	45	26	34
1940-41	42	28	37
1945-46	46	25	40

(Tharian George K. and P.K.Michael Tharakan, op.cit. Table 6, p.215.)

(e) Migration of Workers and Inflow of Remittances

Migration of workers from a region reduces the pressure on land; on the other hand it increases demand for land through the inflow of remittances. Net migration of population in Travancore-Cochin and Kerala from 1901-1971 is presented in Table 13 below:

Table 13: Net migration, Travancore-Cochin (1901-1951) and Kerala (1951-71) 36/

Area and period	Numbers
<u>Travancore-Cochin</u>	
1901-1911	10542
1911-21	18874
1921-31	67957
1931-41	-5027
1941-51	-90741
<u>Kerala</u>	
1951-61	-285053
1961-71	-247400

36/ P.G.K.Panikar, T.N.Krishnan and N.Krishnaji, op.cit.
Table 6.1

Upto 1931 more people were coming into Travancore than going out, and the process was reversed only after 1931. However, the total number of persons involved in such movements was too small compared to the total population in Kerala.

But influence of migration of workers and inflow of remittances on land market are worth mentioning. In 1921 and 1931 number of emigrants from Travancore to foreign countries were 8,665 and 8,482 respectively.^{36/}
Census of Travancore, 1931 notes in this connection:

"Though Travancoreans like other Indians, are generally a home-loving people ... some of them have ventured to go out to such distant countries as Persia, Mesopotamia, Africa, Borneo and Jawa under economic necessity ... Such emigration will naturally be of a temporary or semi-permanent type only, because Travancorean has an innate desire to return to his native land to spend the evening of his life." ^{37/}

Thus the "innate desire to return" to Travancore after the term of work outside, prompts the emigrants to remit their savings home, which stimulated demand for land. It may be noted in this connection that land prices of old pockets of emigration like Thiruvalla, Chirayinkil etc. were found to be generally higher than neighbouring taluks during the first half of this century.^{38/}

^{36/} Census of Travancore, 1931, op.cit. p.85

^{37/} ibid. pp.85-86.

^{38/} Statistics of Travancore, (different years)

Number of outmigrants, both within and outside the country, from Kerala for recent period is presented Table 14 below.

Table 14: District-wise Number of Outmigrants for Employment in Kerala

District	Within India	Outside India	Total
Trivandrum	11,798	22,769	34,567
Quilon	42,632	21,639	64,271
Alleppey	59,888	21,364	81,252
Kottayam	16,229	7,094	23,323
Idukki	1,709	577	2,286
Ernakulam	11,226	5,128	16,354
Trichur	52,045	40,224	92,269
Palghat	35,014	7,735	42,749
Malappuram	18,140	36,175	54,315
Kozhikode	16,310	17,731	34,041
Cannanore	36,819	27,369	64,188
Total	3,01,810	2,07,805	5,09,615

Source: Report of the Survey of Housing and Employment, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Kerala, 1980.

Variations in number of outmigrants, both within and outside the country, among the districts may be noted, implying that the influence of remittances on land market may also be different. However, within the districts also there were pockets of migration with larger proportion of persons working

outside the country.^{39/}

Number of emigrants for employment to Gulf countries from India increased from an estimated 28.5 thousand per year during the period 1971-75 to 67.5 thousand during 1975-81. It is estimated that more than 50 percent of the Indian migrants in Gulf countries were from Kerala, and there was also proportionate increase in their number during the above period.^{40/}

Of the total 2,07,805 persons working outside the country from Kerala in 1980, 1,86,545 were estimated working in the gulf countries.^{41/} With short-term and uncertain employment and prohibition on settling down there permanently it can be assumed that significant proportion of the earnings of the Gulf migrant workers might have been saved and remitted home.

^{39/} The following taluks topped the list of persons working abroad, in 1980:

Tirur : 21035 persons
Chavakkad: 17160 -do-
Chirayinkil:15884 -do-
Badagara : 10502 -do-
Cannanore : 9416 -do-
Thiruvalla: 8824 -do-

of the Survey
Report on Housing and Employment, 1980, op.cit. Table 11.

^{40/} P.R.Gopinathan Nair, "Asian Emigration to the Middle East: Emigrants from India", Working Paper No.180, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, pp.6-8.

^{41/} Report of the Survey on Housing and Employment, op.cit.

It is estimated that remittances to Kerala has been growing steadily during the 1970s, particularly at a higher rate in the second half, to reach Rs.8260 million in 1980-81, which was "between 22 and 28 percent of State's domestic product."^{42/} Distributing the total remittance receipts according to the distribution of migrant workers showed that remittances work out to 40.69 percent, 35.60 percent, 23.54 percent, 22.33 percent and 21.75 percent of the percapita incomes in Malappuram, Trichur, Cannanore, Alleppey and Trivandrum districts in 1980-81.^{43/}

Increase in inflow of remittances has also reflected in increase in the volume of deposits in nationalised banks.^{44/} Since substantial portion of the remittances was used for purchase of land and construction of buildings (i.e., investment in real estates) as noted by the micro-level studies cited below, it can be assumed that deposits formed only a fraction of the remittances.

^{42/} I.S.Gulati and Ashoka Mody, "Remittances of Indian Migrants to the Middle East: An Assessment with Special Reference to Migrants from Kerala." Centre for Development Studies, (Working Paper No.182), Trivandrum, November 1983, p.73, and p.15.

^{43/} ibid. p. 73.

^{44/} ibid.

^{45/} It may also be noted here that the aggregate farm values of the selected commercial crops - pepper, coconut, rubber, cashew, arecanut, ginger - which are cultivated in household farms also, increased from Rs.277.37 crores to Rs.598.21 crores during the period 1971-72 to 1977-78. It can be argued that a substantial portion of the surplus therefrom might have been used for purchase of land, construction of buildings etc. as in the case of remittances.

Influence of the increased volume of remittances in increasing demand for land is reflected by the phenomenal increase in number of sales and prices during the second half of the 1970s.

Table 15: Average price of sale and number of sales in Kerala during 1970-71 to 1979-80

Years	Number of transfers (sales)	Average value per sale (Rs.)
1970-71	2,17,227	2,221.99
1971-72	2,14,610	1,792.32
1972-73	2,21,545	1,938.28
1973-74	2,86,254	1,926.78
1974-75	3,20,888	2,246.77
1975-76	3,15,573	2,933.63
1976-77	3,14,961	3,177.17
1977-78	3,56,705	3,501.88
1978-79	4,23,567	4,444.07
1979-80	4,24,731	4,818.30
1970-71 to 1974-75	12,60,524	2,038.24
1975-76 to 1979-80	18,35,537	3,870.49
Total	39,96,061	3,124.52

Source: Administration Reports, Department of Registration, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum (various years).

Increase in value of transfer during the period may reflect the increase in price of land as such, since as noted earlier, average size of holdings in Kerala has been decreasing steadily during the period, and presumably the average area of land transferred has also decreased.

Significant increase in land prices were also observed in areas of migration.^{46/} Commerce Research Bureau Study noted that:

"In the survey regions land prices have doubled and even trebled during the last five years or so. At Chavakkad, we came across an instance where a person had paid Rs.26,000 for buying two cents of land in a site which he thought "strategic". Vengara is a small village in the Malappuram District, 20 km. away from the district HQ. Seven years ago, the average value of land in the area was not above Rs.125 per cent. But today it ranges from Rs.800 to Rs.2,500 per cent." ^{47/}

Preference for land compared to other assets, by the migrant households was also noted in other micro-level studies. For example, 27 percent of capital expenditure by migrant households in two villages in Trivandrum District was on purchase of land as against only less than 1 percent for business and livestock.^{48/} Similarly in Chowghat block, an important pocket of remittances, more than 79 percent of total investment was

^{46/} See, P.Ibrahim and Radhakrishnan, C. "Emigration, Inward Remittances and Economic Development", The Manpower Journal, Jan-March, 1981.

B.A. Prakash, "Impact of Foreign Remittance: A Case Study of Chowghat Village in Kerala," Economic and Political Weekly, July 1978.

^{47/} Commerce Research Bureau, "Emigration, Inward Remittances and Economic Growth of Kerala, Report of a Survey", NKM International House, Bombay, 1978.

^{48/} E.T.Mathew and P.R.Gopinathan Nair, "Socio-Economic Characteristics ...

for purchase of land in the case of those receiving smaller amount of remittances.^{49/}

Influence of remittances in increasing demand for house-sites may be noted now. From Table 3 it was noted that during the period 1901-81 rates of increase in number of houses were more than those of population only during 1921-31 and 1971-81. Greater increase in number of houses during 1921-31 was explained in section (b) above on the basis of changes in inheritance system resulting in the break up of joint families. Greater increase in number of houses during the recent period of 1971-81 may be attributed to mainly increase in inflow of remittances, especially from the Gulf countries, as noted above.^{50/}

of Emigrants and emigrant households - A Case Study of Two Villages in Kerala, Economic and Political Weekly, July 15, 1978.

The study noted that another 46.9 percent of the expenditure by the emigrant households was on construction of buildings and 2 percent on renovation/repair of buildings. Thus a total 76.1 percent was investment in land in the forms of purchase of land, and construction/repair/renovation of buildings.

^{49/} Commerce Research Bureau, op.cit.

^{50/} It may also be noted here, as in the case of land prices, increased demand for house-sites may also be due to increase in farm income from commercial cultivation.
(See footnote 45 above).

Of the 40.66 lakhs houses in Kerala, in 1980, 20 percent were above 30 years old, 69.2 percent were between 2-30 years and the remaining 10.8 percent were new houses of only less than 2 years old. In otherwords, about 4.39 lakh houses were constructed newly in the last two years of the 1970s.^{51/} It was also seen that the percentage of new houses was generally higher in areas of migration.

Summary

In the absence of expansion of area, increasing population, expansion of commercial cultivation, migration of landowners in search for more land and inflow of remittances further increased demand for land. As a result, steady increases in land prices and number of transfers were observed, especially in the second half of the 1970s.

^{51/} Survey on Housing and Employment, op.cit. p.10.

In consequence of the above factors, the importance of the land market has been steadily rising. Number of sales increased from around 17,000 to 1,20,000 per year between 1890-91 and 1949-50 in Travancore and the proportion of sales in total transfers also increased from 17 percent to 35 percent during the above period.

For Kerala as a whole, steady increase in the number of sales was observed during the last decade. Number of sales increased from 2,14,610 during 1971-72 to 4,24,731 in 1979-80. Thus sales became more than 50 percent of the registered transfers involving land in 1979-80.^{52/} Increase in the number of sales was more than the increase in number of landownerships, thereby changing the proportion of sales to number of ownerships from 5.55 percent to 7.27 percent during 1971-72 to 1979-80. Area of land transferred was not available. However, area might also have increased since both the number of transfers and value per transfer were increasing steadily.

^{52/} Administration Reports, Registration Department, Trivandrum (various years).

Chapter IV

MARKET TRANSFERS OF LAND IN THE SELECTED VILLAGES

Wide variations in area transferred and land prices were observed during the study period (1969-80) among the three selected villages. These variations are examined on the basis of factors affecting land market identified in the earlier chapters for Kerala as a whole. Before examining this, the important characteristics of the selected villages are presented briefly in the following section.

a. General Characteristics of the Selected Villages

Location, density of population, landownership, cropping pattern and topographical characteristics, community composition, employment pattern, inflow of remittances, infrastructural facilities etc. relating to the selected villages are very briefly and generally discussed below.^{1/} These aspects will be dealt in detail while discussing land market in the following sections.

^{1/} The selected villages are all in the former Travancore region. Villages from the Cochin and Malabar regions could not be taken since the writer was not familiar with those regions and collection of information therefore might have been more difficult.

i. Perungala Village

Perungala lies in the lowland region in Mavelikkara taluk of Alleppey District, surrounded by Kayamkulam, Pathiyoor and Krishnapuram villages of Karthikapalli taluk and Kannamangalam, Thekkekkara and Bharanikkavu villages of Mavelikkara taluk.^{2/} More exactly, it is located between Kayamkulam and Mavelikkara Municipal Towns, with the railway line running across the village. Though situated contiguous to Kayamkulam Municipal area, the village is completely rural.

Density of population was highest in Perungala among the selected villages, as it is in the lowland region. Higher density of population was also reflected in the larger proportion of small landowners, compared to the other two villages.

Perungala has more wet land area and like other lowland villages with flat topography, dry land area is only less than a meter higher than wet land. Coconut and paddy are the most important crops in dry and wet lands respectively. Density of

^{2/} Mavelikkara taluk is a predominantly midland area. However, Perungala is a lowland village, more like the neighbouring taluks of Karthikapalli and Karunagapalli.

coconut plants is very high with around 120 plants per acre and showing little variation across different sizes of holdings. However production of coconuts got adversely affected by the root-wilt disease. Mundakan (August--December) and Virippu (April-August) are the two seasons of paddy cultivation. During the Punja (January-April) season cultivation of sesame is widespread in wet land, because during the summer season wet lands are completely dry with sandy soil and low moisture content.

Significant changes in cropping pattern were not observed during the period, though conversion of certain wet paddy lands to dry were noted.^{3/} Increase in farm income had been at a much lower rate in Perungala due to decrease in production of coconuts in recent years and the relatively lower rate of increase in prices of coconut and paddy during the period.

Ezhavas, Nairs, Syrian Christians, Scheduled Castes and others, in that order, were the most important communities in terms of ownership of land (Table 21). Of these, scheduled

^{3/} Conversion of wet paddy land into dry is prohibited by law. However, such conversions are observed in all the three villages, for reasons mentioned in the following section. It may be mentioned here that cost of conversion of wet land to dry will be higher in Perungala (and other lowland villages) since materials like mud, granite, etc. required for the purpose are bought and transported from midland and highland villages.

Again, there are other constraints in converting wet into dry lands. Normally only plots adjacent to dryland plots could be converted into dry. Thus owners of neighbouring wet land plots generally welcome conversion of a particular dry land plot because that would facilitate conversion of their plots also. However, in certain cases, due to topographical considerations relating to availability/drainage of water, conversions of wet land plots were found objected by neighbours.

castes had mostly gained land through the agrarian reforms of recent decades, with majority of them being formerly hutment dwellers.

There were few non-farm activities in the village. Influence of remittances was also negligible. (Table 19). Agricultural labourers were the most important group of workers (Table 17). Since coconut cultivation required fewer labourers, particularly with the predominance of very small holdings, the main source of employment was in paddy cultivation. However, total wage income might be smaller and irregular due to relatively larger number of agricultural labourers and demand for labour only in shorter durations of peak periods in paddy cultivation.^{4/}

Perungala had easy accessibility to educational, medical and other facilities in the nearby Municipal towns of Kayamkulam and Mavelikkara.

^{4/} Each season of paddy cultivation has two peak periods of employment, i.e. during planting and harvesting. Thus Perungala with two seasons of paddy cultivation had four peak periods of employment, in connection with paddy cultivation, in an year. Employment, in between, in paddy fields is mainly in weeding which is done by females, at much lower wages.

ii. Thottappuzhassery Village

Thottappuzhassery is a midland village in Thiruvalla taluk of Pathanamthitta district (formerly Alleppey District). It is surrounded by the Pampa river on the southern and eastern sides (with villages of Aranmula, Mallappuzhassery (Kozhencherry) and Cherukole across the river) and Koipram, Ezhumattoor and Airoor villages on the western and northern sides. All these villages are now in Pathanamthitta district.

Density of population in Thottappuzhassery is lower than that of Perungala, as in other midland villages (Table 12). The proportion of smaller landowners were also less compared to Perungala.

With undulated topography of small hills and valleys, like other midland villages, crops grown were more varied compared to Perungala. Main dry land crops were coconut, cashew, mangoes, rubber, pepper, arecanut and seasonal crops like banana, tapioca and other tubers. No significant changes in cropping pattern is observed during the study period. However, there is a tendency to introduce rubber, especially in the hill sides.

Proportion of wet land area in total is only around 11 percent according to village records. However, due to conversion of wet into dry over the years, actual wet land area will be only less than 5 percent

of the total.^{5/} In the converted plots, called 'mannu' (soil) tree crops like coconut, arecanut, etc. are grown with intercropping banana, sugarcane, tapioca and other tuber crops, etc.

Main communities in Thottappuzhassery were Syrian Christians, Nairs, Ezhavas and Scheduled castes, in that order (Table 21). Of them, the Syrian Christians were more numerous and owned more land, thus dominating the socio-economic life of the village. Most of the Syrian Christians belong to the Marthomite denomination.^{6/} Again most of them were members of certain large and old families.^{7/}

Literacy rate in Thottappuzhassery, like in the neighbouring villages of Thiruvalla taluk, had been very high.^{8/} This was also reflected in employment pattern with larger proportion of salaried workers, compared to the other two villages (Table 17).

^{5/} Conversion of wet land into dry also happened due to natural causes like erosion of soil from the surrounding hills gradually filling up the lowlying areas. Construction of the Pampa irrigation canal also led to widespread conversion of wet into dry lands during the 1960s, since large quantities of soil dug up while cutting the canal were used for raising wet lands.

^{6/} Marthomites are an important group of Syrian Christians, mostly concentrated in the Central Travancore region in the Thiruvalla, Mavelikkara, Pathanamthitta, Pathanapuram, Kottarakkara and Kunnathur taluks, and also parts of the former Cochin state.

They are an independent church-group not associated with the other Syrian christian groups like Catholics, Orthodox Jacobites etc.

^{7/} There are many well-known large Marthomite Syrian Christians families in the village, who still maintain their unity through frequent family meetings (kudumba yogams). Maramon, the Marthomite Christian centre, is part of the village.

^{8/} Literacy rate in Thottappuzhassery were 80/69 percent and 84/05 percent respectively in 1971 and 1981, compared to 60/42 percent and 70/42 percent for Kerala. See, (1) Census of India, Kerala, and (2) Census of India, Kerala, Series 10, 1981.

Most important characteristic of Thottappuzhassery, affecting both demand and supply of land, is the greater proportion of workers outside the village, especially in foreign countries. This might also be true for the neighbouring villages. (Table 19).

Agricultural labourers in Thottappuzhassery were also mostly scheduled castes as in the case of other two villages. Unlike in the other two villages most scheduled castes were living in clusters in the most undeveloped and inferior parts of the village (See Chapter VI). Employment opportunities were better in Thottappuzhassery, for the casual workers, both in farm and non-farm activities like construction, due to remittances from outside.^{9/}

Thottappuzhassery being a centre of foreign remittances infrastructural facilities were also better compared to most other midland villages.

^{9/} Large number of persons, especially from the scheduled castes, were also found working as house-servants in wealthy migrant households, both on part-time and full-time basis. Majority of these house-servants were females.

It was also observed that majority of the agricultural workers were also attached to particular wealthy and large families for many generations. Such relationships were strengthened through occasional gifts of clothes etc. and conversion to Christianity in the case of Christian employers, etc.

The above aspects were not examined in detail due to the limited scope of this study.

iii. Pidavur Village

Pidavur is a highland village, in the Pathanapuram taluk of Quilon district, bordering the midland region.^{10/} It is surrounded by the following villages of Pathanapuram taluk: Pathanapuram, Pattazhi, Thalavur, Piravanthur and Vilakkudi. Kallada river separates it from the small town of Pathanapuram, and Punalur and Kottarakka are 5kms. and 12 kms. away respectively.

Density of population in Pidavur, as in other highland villages, was lowest compared to the selected lowland and midland villages. (Table 12). Proportion of large landowners was also more (Table 13).

With undulated topography of hills and valleys, cropping pattern was more varied like in Thottappuzhassery with cashew, coconut, mangoe, jack, pepper, etc. being the dominant crops in the dry land and paddy in the wet land. However, much wider and quicker spread of rubber cultivation was observed during the study period, even in small holdings. This has not only replaced the traditional perennial crops mentioned above, but also affected production of intercrops like tapioca and other tuber crops, banana etc. since inter-cropping is not

^{10/} Though Pidavur is classified as a highland village, it does not have any forest area, unlike most other highland villages, and the settlement is well-spread out. In this respect it is more like the midland region.

possible, generally, in rubber plantations after the third year of planting.

Among the communities, Nairs, Syrian Christians and Ezhavas were the most important groups in terms of landownership. (Table 21).^{11/} There were some non-resident plantation owners also in the village, most Syrian Christians, from the Pathanapuram town area.

Non-agricultural activities were limited in Pidavur as in Perungala. However, unlike in the other two villages, cultivators were the most important group of workers (Table 17). Inflow of remittances were found to be negligible (Table 19).

Spread of rubber, replacing the traditional crops like tapioca, banana, etc. was found affecting employment pattern also. Skilled and higher wage activities like tapping, grafting, spraying etc. in rubber plantations were greatly being done by non-scheduled caste labourers. Moreover, domestic labour was also found widely employed in smaller rubber plantations.

^{11/} Though Syrian Christians were second to Nairs in terms of landownership, taking the village as a whole, there were pockets where they dominated like Pidavur kara, Elicattoor etc. whereas Nairs were dominant in Kamukumcherry area.

Most of the Syrian Christians in Pidavur were found to be migrants from midland villages of Pandalam, Venmony, Mula-kkuzha, Puthencavu, Kulanada etc. all near Chengannur in Central Travancore region, settling in Pidavur in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s in search for more land. Some of the old migrants contacted reported buying even upto 20 times of area they originally had. Most of the area bought was from the Nair community.

For transport, educational and medical facilities Pidavur depends on Pathanapuram town. In Pathanapuram educational institutions were started during the 1950s and 1960s by the Orthodox section of the Syrian Christians, by purchasing hitherto undeveloped areas.^{12/} This in turn has attracted a large number of Orthodox Syrian Christians from areas like Kayamkulam, Mavelikkara, Chengannuur, Thiruvalla, Pathanamthitta, etc. in search for more land. They were mainly responsible for the spread of rubber cultivation in the region.^{13/} and further development ^{of Pathanapuram} as an educational, medical and marketing centre.

^{12/} The main Orthodox Syrian Christian institutions started in Pathanapuram were, the St. Stephen's College, Mt. Tabor Training College, High School etc. Moreover, they have a large monastery also in the town.

The rapid development of Pathanapuram as an educational, medical and marketing centre should be noted against the fact that it was known as 'kattu' (jungle) Pathanapuram even 25 years back. On the other hand lowland towns like Mavelikkara, Kayamkulam, Haripad etc. (around the Peringala village) experienced relatively slower rate of development. This is more evident in the relative decline of Kayamkulam as a marketing centre. Limited scope of this study prevents any detailed examination of the relative growth of marketing centres in the lowland, midland and highland regions.

^{13/} Joseph Anthraper, a Catholic, had also started rubber cultivation in the area in the early 1950s, by developing the Skinnerpuram Estate, 4 kms. from Pathanapuram. This had also attracted a few persons from Changanacherry, Kuttanad and Shertallai areas to Pathanapuram area, for starting rubber plantations. Again, Koduman Plantations, owned by the Government is only 8 kms. from Pathanapuram.

Migration to Pathanapuram area was also contributed by development of transport facilities in the 1950s with motor passenger vehicles running regularly linking Kayamkulam-Adur-Pathanapuram-Punalur and Thiruvalla-Pathanamthitta-Pathanapuram-Punalur.

(b) Market Transfers of Land in the Selected Villages

Wide variations were observed in area transferred, number of transfers and land prices, during the study period in the three selected villages. Before examining these variations, details relating to the lowland, midland and highland divisions of Travancore during 1921-22 and 1948-49 are given below in Table 1, to see whether the trends in inter-divisional variations conform to those among the three selected villages.

Table 1: Market Transfers of Land in Selected Lowland, Midland and Highland Taluks of Travancore, during 1921-22 and 1948-49

	1921-22			1948-49		
	Lowland taluks	Midland taluks	Highland taluks	Lowland taluks	Midland taluks	Highland taluks
1. Number of transfers	5405	9674	4763	13620	30544	12701
2. Area transferred (acres)	5319	14842	7721	6509	23592	13667
3. Average size of marketed area (cents)	98.4	153.4	162.1	47.8	77.2	107.6
4. Price (Rs./acre)						
Wet land	574.07	535.92	554.36	1815.26	1224.08	1129.36
Dry land	816.41	156.01	85.27	1697.78	798.29	465.73

Note: 1. Lowland Taluks selected are: Karunagapalli, Karthikapalli, Shertallai, Ambalapuzha and Parur.
Midland Taluks are: Thiruvalla, Mavelikkara, Kottarakkara, Kunnathur, Minachil, Muvattupuzha and Changanacherry.
Highland Taluks are: Thodupuzha, Pathanapuram, Pathanamthitta, Nedumangad and Devikolam.

2. Dry land includes both dry and garden lands, which are treated as 'dry' land in recent classifications.

Source: Estimated from Statistics of Travancore, 1921/22 and 1948/49.

Details presented in Table 1 above for different divisions of Travancore for the earlier years of 1921-22 and 1948-49 may be compared with those relating to the selected villages, during the period of study, in Tables 2 and 3 below.

Table 2: Market Transfers (Sales) in the Selected Villages

		Perungala (1969-80)	Thottappuzhassery (1969-80)	Pidavur (1971-80)
1. Total area (acres):	Wet	1004	359	410
	Dry	891	2902	3091
	<u>Total</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>3261</u>	<u>3501</u>
2. Area marketed (acres)	Wet	91.43	34.0	79.88
	Dry	108.26	778.29	920.62
	<u>Total</u>	<u>199.69</u>	<u>812.29</u>	<u>1000.50</u>
3. Area marketed as % to total area (1)	Wet	9.10	9.47	19.48
	Dry	12.15	26.42	29.78
	<u>Total</u>	<u>10.54</u>	<u>24.90</u>	<u>28.57</u>
4. Number of market transfers (sales)	Wet	440	116	396
	Dry	616	1642	2647
	<u>Total</u>	<u>1056</u>	<u>1758</u>	<u>3043</u>
5. Average size of marketed holdings (cents)	Wet	20.77	29.30	20.17
	Dry	17.57	47.43	34.77
	<u>Total</u>	<u>18.91</u>	<u>46.20</u>	<u>32.87</u>

Note: Total area of the village excludes public land and wastes.
Details from only 1971 are available for Pidavur village.
as already mentioned.

Source: Transfers - from the Poku Varavu (Transfer) Registers kept in the village office.

Total area: Basic, Thandaper and Settlement Registers of the respective villages.

Significant increase in area transferred, number of transfers and land prices were observed for all the three villages during the second half of the study period (1975-80) compared to the first half (1969-74). The details are presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Extent of Market Transfers and Land Prices during 1969-74 and 1975-80 in the selected villages

Details	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	1969/74	1975/80	1969/74	1975/80	1971/74	1975/80
1. Total area marketed (acres)	<u>85.31</u>	<u>114.38</u>	<u>361.84</u>	<u>450.44</u>	<u>273.62</u>	<u>726.88</u>
Wet:	32.10	59.85	13.72	20.28	27.07	52.82
Dry:	53.21	55.05	341.12	430.16	265.55	674.06
2. Number of sales	<u>453</u>	<u>603</u>	<u>770</u>	<u>988</u>	<u>898</u>	<u>2145</u>
Wet:	164	276	41	75	128	268
Dry:	289	327	729	913	770	1877
3. Average size of marketed holdings (cents)	<u>18.33</u>	<u>18.97</u>	<u>46.99</u>	<u>45.59</u>	<u>30.47</u>	<u>33.89</u>
Wet:	19.57	21.50	33.45	27.04	21.45	19.71
Dry:	18.41	16.83	48.61	47.12	32.02	35.91
4. Land price (Rs./cent)	<u>77.62</u>	<u>152.99</u>	<u>93.37</u>	<u>280.69</u>	<u>30.42</u>	<u>90.56</u>
Wet:	70.39	133.34	165.30	213.63	56.77	100.39
Dry:	81.99	174.18	90.54	283.85	27.53	89.79

Note: Same as for Table 2 above.

Source: -do- -do-

Propositions emerging from the details presented in Tables 1, 2 and 3 in terms of extent of market transfers and land prices are discussed below.

(i) Extent of Market Transfers

Details of area transferred in the lowland, midland and highland regions for the earlier years of 1921-22 and 1948-49 and for the selected villages for the recent periods are summarised, for comparison in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Details of area transferred in the lowland midland and highland regions and the selected villages

		Percentage variations between 1921/22 and 1948/49			Percentage variations between 1969/74 and 1975/80		
		Lowland taluks	Midland taluks	Highland taluks	Lowland village	Midland village	Highland village
Area trans- ferred:	Wet	119	374	327	184	148	195
	Dry	125	126	160	103	126	254
	Total	<u>122</u>	<u>159</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>134</u>	<u>124</u>	<u>265</u>
No. of Transfers		252	315	267	133	128	239
Average size of marketed holdings		48	50	65	103	97	111

Note: For the highland village variations between 1971/75 and 1975/80 are presented, since as noted earlier, details for the earlier years were not available.

Source: Same as for Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Increase in area sold in the lowland division was lowest between 1921/22 and 1948/49 compared to the other two divisions. In the selected villages dry land area transferred showed only 103 percent increase in the lowland village of Perungala between 1969-74 and 1975-80, compared to much higher rates of increase in the other two villages. (Greater increase in total area transferred in Perungala compared to the midland village of Thottappuzhassery was due to the relatively higher increase in wet land transfers.) Highest rate of increase in area transferred observed for the highland division during 1921/22 - 1948/49 was in conformity with that for the highland village of Pidavur between 1971-74 and 1975-80, even if allowance is made for the shorter period of 1971-74.

Average sizes of area transferred was smallest, and decrease in size greatest in the lowland region between 1921/22 and 1948/49.^{14/} Among the selected villages also, the lowland village of Perungala had the smallest size of transferred holdings.^{15/} Changes in average sizes of marketed holdings

^{14/} In the absence of information on area owned by participants in the land market, direct relationship between size of ownership and marketed holdings cannot be established. But, given the distribution of landownership, higher density of population in lowland division can also mean larger proportion of smaller landowners, which got reflected in smaller sizes transferred holdings.

^{15/} As will be noted in Chapter V below, sizes of area transferred in the selected villages were in conformity with area owned by different size groups.

for the recent period in the selected villages were insignificant which may be due to characteristics of the villages explained in the following section and the shorter period involved.

(ii) Movement of Land Prices

Details of land prices given in Tables 1 and 3 above may be reproduced below in Table 5 in a more comparable manner.

(Table 5)

Table 5: Land Prices in the Lowland, Midland and Highland divisions and in the Selected Villages

(Percentages)

Divisions/ Villages	Increase in land prices (percentages)		Dry land price as proportion of wet land price		Prices in midland and highland as proportion of lowland prices			
	1921/22-1948/49		1921/22	1948/49	1921/22		1948/49	
Divisions	Wet	Dry			Wet	Dry	Wet	Dry
Lowland	316	208	142	94	100	100	100	100
Midland	228	511	29	65	93	19	67	47
Highland	203	546	15	41	96	10	62	27
Villages	1969-74 - 1975-80		1969-74	1975-80	1969-74		1975-80	
Perungala (Lowland)	189	212	116	131	100	100	100	100
Thottappu- zhassery (Midland)	129	313	55	133	235	110	160	163
Pidavur	177	326	48	89	81	34	75	52

Note: Same as for Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Source: Tables 1 and 3 above.

Increase in dry land prices was greater in midland and highland divisions compared to the lowland division between 1921/22 and 1948/49; and as a result ratio of dry land prices in midland and highland prices increased from 19.11 percent and 10.44 percent in 1921/22 to 47.19 percent and 27.43 percent in 1948/49 respectively to that of dry land prices in the lowland. Same trends are observed in the three selected villages also for the latter period.

As a result, dry land price in the midland village had already overtaken that of the lowland village, even during the first half of the study period (See Table 6 below); and the trend is continued in the second half, thereby widening the difference further.^{16/} (See Table 7).

Differences in wet land prices among the three regions, both in 1921/22 and 1948/49 were much smaller, compared to dry land prices. Same could be said in the case of the selected villages also (except for 1969-74 when wet land price in Thottappuzhassery was much higher compared to the other two villages for reasons explained below).

Movement of land prices in the selected villages for different years may be noted below, before explaining the trends observed above, in Table 6.

^{16/} Higher prices in Thottappuzhassery can be attributed mainly to inflow of remittances, as explained in the next section, and therefore, may not be representative of the mid-land division as a whole.

Table 6: Average price of wet and dry lands in the selected villages

Year	(Rs. per cent)					
	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Wet	Dry	Wet	Dry	Wet	Dry
1969	71.36	79.67	235.40	73.09	N.A.	N.A.
1970	63.79	79.55	169.05	85.87	N.A.	N.A.
1971	51.10	73.47	108.24	100.01	49.88	20.90
1972	61.33	79.90	151.95	77.10	50.65	29.15
1973	75.27	82.86	213.63	89.35	54.87	31.94
1974	90.07	92.71	150.41	115.93	68.91	28.30
1975	100.40	126.16	350.07	159.05	74.52	42.15
1976	126.20	158.21	202.93	236.25	100.89	60.13
1977	126.74	174.67	235.36	271.69	89.44	69.79
1978	112.73	190.53	227.83	353.93	104.67	64.40
1979	166.44	206.51	193.49	301.89	119.34	141.32
1980	170.05	230.33	147.83	397.49	84.83	148.99

Source: Same as for Table 2.

Substantial increases in land prices is observed in all the three villages. However, the following differences may be noted: (a) Dry land prices increased at a greater rate in the midland (Thottappuzhassery) and highland (Pidavur) villages, compared to the lowland (Perungala) village; (b) in all the three villages dry land prices increased steadily and at a greater rate compared to wet land prices. Reasons for these are discussed in the next section. Before that, wet and dry land prices in the midland and highland villages may be compared with those of lowland, in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Prices of Wet and Dry lands in the Midland and Highland Villages as Ratio of Lowland Prices (Percentages)

Year	Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Dry	Wet	Dry	Wet
1969	91.74	329.88	N.A.	N.A.
1970	107.94	265.01	N.A.	N.A.
1971	136.12	211.82	28.45	97.61
1972	96.50	247.76	36.48	84.04
1973	107.83	283.82	38.55	72.90
1974	125.05	166.99	30.53	76.51
1975	126.07	348.68	33.41	74.22
1976	149.33	160.80	38.01	87.87
1977	155.54	185.70	39.61	70.57
1978	185.76	202.10	33.80	92.85
1979	146.19	116.25	68.43	71.70
1980	172.57	86.93	64.69	49.41

Source: Same as for Table 6.

Dry land prices in Thottappuzhassery increased from 91.74% to 172.57% of the same in Perungala between 1969 and 1980. In Pidavur average price of dry land plots was only 28.45 percent of the same in Perungala in 1971 but changed to 64.69 percent in 1980. No clear relationships are observed in the case of wet land prices, for reasons explained in the next section, in connection with cropping pattern.

Price of land in the Lowland, Midland and Highland divisions as a whole is not available for recent years. However, available details show considerable differences in land prices even in mid-1950s. Land prices of three selected villages, lying contiguous to the selected villages, in the mid-1950s may be noted in this connection.

Table 8: Land prices in three villages of Travancore in mid-1950s

Type of land	(Rs. per cent)		
	Krishnapuram	Aranmula	Pattazhi
1. Garden lands (Dry)	65.00	28.00	9.06
2. Wet land:			
Unirrigated single crop (paddy)	15.00	23.00	9.00
Irrigated Double crop (paddy)	45.00	-	17.00
Average for total	55.60	26.10	10.50

Note: Pattazhi, Aranmula and Krishnapuram are adjoining villages of Pidavur, Thottappuzhassery and Perungala respectively as mentioned in section (a) of this chapter. Therefore, density of population, topography, cropping pattern, etc. were more or less same as in the respective selected villages, during the mid-1950s.

Source: Census of Landholdings and Cultivation (Travancore-Cochin), Part I, 1958, pp.36-37.

On the basis of the details presented above, the following observations can be made:

(a) Dry land prices were increasing at a higher rate in the midland and highland divisions compared to the lowland division between 1921-22 and 1948-49, thereby narrowing the differences in prices. Same trends are observed in the selected villages also with the midland and highland villages registering higher rates of increase in dry land prices compared to the lowland village. As a result, for reasons explained in the next section, dryland price in the midland village is already higher than that of the lowland village and the difference is widening.

(b) Differences in wet land prices among the three divisions were insignificant in 1921-22 and much smaller in 1948-49 compared to those in dry land prices, among the three divisions. Wet land prices were also found increasing at a smaller rate thereby narrowing differences in wet and dry land prices in the midland and highland divisions. In the selected midland and highland villages, however, wider fluctuations were observed in wet land prices, for reasons explained in the next section.

(c) Increase in area transferred was also smaller in the lowland division. Same trend is observed in the selected villages also, with Perungala registering the smallest size of area marketed, both in actual area and as a proportion to total area of the village and lower rate of increase in area marketed during the study period.

(d) Average size of area transferred was smallest in the Lowland division compared to the Midland and Highland Divisions. Among the selected villages also, the Lowland village of Perungala registered the smallest average size of area marketed during the study period.

Direct impacts of greater increase in land prices in the Midland and Highland divisions compared to the Lowland division may be noted briefly:

(1) Reduction in incentives for migration from the Lowland to Highland and Midland divisions:^{17/} Inter-divisional migration, from Lowland to Midland and Highland (and from Midland to Highland) in search for more land was briefly discussed in the last chapter. Greater increase in land prices in the Midland and Highland divisions could reduce the incentives for migration from Lowland. For example, dry

^{17/} Intra-divisional variations in land prices were discussed in the last chapter in connection with spread of commercial cultivation, density of population, migration and inflow of remittances. It may also be noted that prices of plots, especially dry land, varied considerably within the villages, due to quality of soil, topography, investment in land (like buildings, well, and land improvements), transportation facilities, composition of neighbourhood etc. Thus it may still be possible for individual sellers to migrate to cheaper lands both within and across villages/divisions. However, these aspects are not discussed here due to the limited scope of this work.

land prices in Kerthikapalli (representing Perungala village), Thiruvalla (Thottappuzhassery village) and Pathanapuram (Pidavur village) taluks in 1921/22 were Rs.72.72, Rs.3.17 and Rs.0.72 per cent.^{18/} But in 1948/49 these were changed to Rs.11.50, Rs.6.51 and Rs.2.71 per cent respectively.^{19/} Thus, hypothetically, while a migrant from Karthikapalli could purchase 4.01 and 17.67 times bigger plots in Thiruvalla and Pathanapuram in 1921/22, he could purchase only 1.77 and 4.24 times bigger plots in the respective taluks in 1948/49. Again, even in the mid-1950s, as noted in Table 8, hypothetically a migrant from the Lowland village of Krishnapuram (which is contiguous to Perungala) could purchase 2.13 and 5.30 times bigger plots in Aranmula and Pattazhi (contiguous to Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur villages respectively). In the case of dry land plots the margins were still higher, the ratios being 2.32 and 7.17 times.^{20/}

18/ Statistics of Travancore, 1921/22, op.cit.

19/ Statistics of Travancore, 1948/49, op.cit.

20/ Census of Landholdings and Cultivation (Travancore-Cochin) Part, I, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1958, pp.36-37.

Above observations are applicable to the selected villages also. For example, average dry land price in the lowland village of Perungala was slightly higher in 1969 (by Rs.6.6 per cent) than that of Thottappuzhassery; the margin widened in the reverse direction with the price in the latter exceeding that of the former by Rs.167/- per cent, in 1980. Again, while dry land price in Perungala was on the average more than 3.5 times higher in 1971 than that in the highland village, in 9 years, it came down to less than 1.5 times.^{21/}

Reducing incentive for migration from the lowland as a result of higher increases in land prices in the midland and highland divisions, and the relative stagnation of the land market, in terms of area transferred, in the lowland division can partly indicate that the magnitude of migration from the lowland to the other two divisions in search for more land has declined. The implication is that the landowner in the lowland division is nailed to his small plot of land with the chance of increasing his size of holding by migration and purchase of marginal lands in the midland and highland divisions vanishing quickly.^{22/}

^{21/} For want of similar data at the State/Taluk/Divisional levels it is not possible to State categorically whether similar trends are applicable to the Lowland, Midland and Highland regions of Kerala as a whole. However, it could be inferred, on the basis of details relating to the selected villages more or less same trends can be observed also, generally, in the three divisions.
in 1971

^{22/} Proportion of rural population in the Lowland, Highland and Midland divisions in Kerala were 23 percent, 60 percent, and 17 percent respectively. See Census of India, Kerala, Part IIA, 1971, p.27.

Another important implication of the higher rates of increase in land prices in the midland and highland villages compared to the lowland village is the related increase in value of land (as an asset). Assuming same size of holdings over the period, ^{23/} value of land per owner in the selected villages may be noted in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Value of land per owner in the selected villages

(Amount in Rs.)			
Year	Perungala (Lowland)	Thottappuzhassery (Midland)	Pidavur (Highland)
1969	3776	7046	..
1970	3617	8004	..
1971	3271	9230	2110
1972	3621	7522	2987
1973	3899	8624	3201
1974	4505	10803	3220
1975	5615	15066	4175
1976	7140	21607	6079
1977	7246	24843	6735
1978	7211	32122	6489
1979	9024	27099	13226
1980	9567	35422	13780

Same as for
Source: / Tables 6 and 13.

In the absence of details of land prices in the midland, highland and lowland divisions of Kerala, during the period, it is not possible to find out whether the increase in value of land observed in the villages can be true in the case of these divisions also. ^{23/}

^{23/} . If the trends observed in the above villages are applied to the larger lowland, midland and highland divisions, it could indicate widening disparities in holding of landed assets, with the position of those in the lowland worsening compared to those in the other two regions.

(c) Factors affecting Land Market in the Selected Villages

Differences in extent of area transferred, and land prices observed in the three villages, presented in the earlier section, may be examined in terms of differences in (a) density of population and distribution of landownership, (b) cropping pattern, (c) employment pattern, (d) inheritance system and (e) inflow of remittances.

Information collected through secondary sources on the above aspects are supplemented by primary data collected from the buyers and sellers. In order to obtain a clearer picture of the factors affecting demand and supply of land in the three villages, details of the sources of finance for purchase of land and reasons for sale of land were collected from 187 buyers and 196 sellers, who were randomly selected from the total list of buyers and sellers.^{24/}

^{24/} Though together they represented only 3.27 percent of the total participants in the land market details obtained were found to be generally in conformity with the secondary data indicating the broad characteristics of the respective villages.

Collection of information from a larger sample was not attempted due to the random nature of selection of participants and the spread out pattern of settlement. (It may be noted here that the settlement pattern in Kerala, as mentioned earlier, makes coverage of households difficult, taking more time to reach the informants. This was more so in Pidavur and Thottappuzhassery with houses located in hill sides, also with more distant from each other).

Sources of Funds

Sources of funds for purchase of land were obtained, as mentioned above, to understand the major factors affecting demand for land. Only the most important source of fund in each purchase was noted as it was found to be very difficult to obtain the exact share of different sources of finance in each case.^{25/}

The most important sources were: (1) own savings, (2) remittances from outside, (3) inherited non-land resources like cash, ornaments, etc.^{26/} (4) sale of inherited land, (5) sale of acquired land, and (6) other sources like borrowing, sale of other assets, etc. The details are presented in Table 10 below.

^{25/} It was found that in many cases funds were obtained through more than one source. However, the correct shares of each source were difficult to obtain since the details required were for purchases made during the study period 1969-80 as the buyers were randomly selected and, in some cases, the actual buyers could not be contacted and information supplied by other family members were depended upon.

^{26/} All non-land resources, financial or otherwise, obtained by girls from the parent household in connection with marriage, either as gift, dowry etc. are treated as 'interited non-land resources.' (See section (iv) below.) However, distinction is made between two groups of buyers with 'interited non-land resources'. The first group (type a) is not eligible for landed property from the parent household and the non-land resources obtained can therefore be treated as share of parent property. The second group (type b) is eligible for landed property in addition to what they already obtained as non-land resources like gift, dowry, ornaments, durable goods, etc. Therefore, there will be a further demand for land from this group later with sale of inherited property. The most important community in the selected villages, in the first group was the Syrian Christians, while Nairs, Ezhavas and Scheduled Castes formed the second group. (For details see section iv).

Table 10: Main source of funds for purchase of
by the selected buyers in the three
villages

Main source of funds	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	No. of buyers	Area bought (cents)	No. of buyers	Area bought (cents)	No. of buyers	Area bought (cents)
1. Own savings	10 (17.24)	170.00 (17.19)	10 (15.87)	198.30 (9.36)	21 (31.82)	1840.50 (40.18)
2. Remittances	3 (5.17)	61.00 (6.17)	17 (26.98)	1009.00 (47.60)	4 (6.06)	130.00 (2.84)
3. Inherited non-land resources:						
Type (a)	4 (6.90)	78.00 (7.89)	11 (17.46)	398.00 (18.78)	7 (10.61)	513.00 (11.20)
Type (b)	3 (5.17)	36.00 (3.64)	6 (9.52)	86.30 (4.07)	7 (10.61)	402.00 (8.78)
4. Sale of inherited land	25 (43.10)	442.80 (44.79)	7 (11.11)	212.20 (10.01)	16 (24.24)	1209.00 (26.39)
5. Sale of land other than (4) above	5 (8.62)	119.00 (12.04)	3 (4.76)	76.50 (3.61)	4 (6.06)	120.00 (2.62)
6. Other sources like borrowing, sale of other assets, etc.	8 (13.79)	81.90 (8.28)	9 (14.29)	139.30 (6.57)	7 (10.61)	366.00 (7.99)
Total	58 (100)	988.70 (100)	63 (100)	2119.60 (100)	66 (100)	4580.50 (100)

Note: Figures in brackets are percentages.

(See also, footnotes 25 and 26 above).

Inter-village differences in main sources of funds for purchase of land by the selected buyers will be examined in the following sections along with the main factors identified as affecting demand for land in each village.

Reasons for Sale of Land

Main reason for sale of land were obtained from the 196 randomly selected buyers in the three villages, to understand the important factors affecting supply of land.^{27/}

Main reasons for sale of land were found to be :

- (1) Indebtedness, (2) marriage expenses of children,^{28/}
- (3) migration due to marriage, (4) migration for other reasons, (5) construction/renovation of buildings,
- (6) investment in other assets, and (7) other items of expenditure.^{29/}

Number of persons each reason and the corresponding area sold are presented in Table 11 below.

^{27/} As in the case of main source of funds for purchase, only the most important reason for sale of land is obtained from the selected sellers, for the same reasons mentioned in the case buyers, above.

^{28/} Marriage expenses of children include payment of dowry, gift, purchase of ornaments, and other assets, and miscellaneous expenses in connection with conducting the marriage function like food, travel, etc. also. (See section iv below).

Here too, as in the case of source of funds, distinction is made between the two types of non-land inheritances, one with land and the other without land.

^{29/} Distribution of the buyers and sellers according to size of area owned is presented in the next chapter in connection with participation of different landowning groups in the market.

Table 10: Main reason for sale of land by the selected sellers in the three villages

Main reason for sale of land	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	No. of sellers	Area sold (cents)	No. of sellers	Area sold (cents)	No. of sellers	Area sold (cents)
1. Indebtedness	14 (24.56)	157.50 (16.46)	10 (14.71)	81.50 (3.49)	12 (16.90)	109.50 (3.26)
Marriage expenses:						
Type (1)	2 (3.50)	10.00 (1.04)	3 (4.41)	28.00 (1.19)	3 (4.22)	66.00 (1.97)
Type (2)	9 (15.79)	88.50 (9.25)	5 (7.35)	41.00 (1.74)	13 (18.31)	291.50 (8.69)
3. Migration due to marriage	17 (29.82)	527.50 (55.11)	16 (23.53)	361.00 (15.33)	23 (32.39)	1544.00 (46.03)
4. Migration	2 (3.51)	19.00 (1.99)	18 (26.47)	1351.50 (57.39)	4 (5.63)	403.50 (12.03)
5. Construction/renovation of building	4 (7.02)	62.00 (6.48)	3 (4.41)	42.00 (1.78)	4 (5.63)	175.00 (5.22)
6. Investment in assets, including purchase of land	5 (8.77)	73.00 (7.63)	7 (10.29)	366.00 (15.54)	5 (7.04)	460.00 (13.71)
7. Other items of expenditure	4 (7.02)	19.60 (2.05)	6 (8.82)	84.00 (3.57)	7 (9.86)	305.00 (9.09)
Total	57 (100)	957.10 (100)	68 (100)	2355.00 (100)	71 (100)	3354.50 (100)

Note: As in the case of sources of funds for purchase of land only the most important reason for sale was identified according to amount used.

(See footnotes 27, 28 and 29)

Main factors affecting land market identified earlier may be examined in detail now supplemented by main sources of funds for purchase and main reasons for sale of land presented in Tables 10 and 11 above.

(i) Density of Population and Distribution of Landownership

Density of population in the selected villages, expressed in terms of land man ratio is presented in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Land-Man ratio in the Selected Villages in 1971 and 1981

Villages	(Area in cents)					
	1971			1981		
	Wet	Dry	Total	Wet	Dry	Total
Perungala	9.21	8.18	17.39	8.64	7.67	16.31
Thottappuzha- ssery	2.54	20.50	23.04	2.41	19.48	21.89
Pidavur	4.03	30.36	34.40	3.58	26.98	30.56

Note: Land excludes public land and wastes (See Table 2).
Population is as per Census 1971 and 1981.

Source: Land : (Table 2 above)

- Population: (1) Census of India, Kerala, Part X-B, Primary Census Abstract, Alleppey, pp.130-131;106-107.
(2) Census of India, Kerala, Part X-B, Primary Census Abstract, Quilon, pp.94-95.

Land-Man ratios in the lowland village of Perungala were only around half of those in the highland village of Pidavur in 1971 and 1981. Ratios in the midland village of Thottappuzhassery were higher than those in Perungala and lower than in Pidavur.

Distribution of landownership in the three villages in the base years of the study (1969 for Perungala and Thottappuzhassery and 1971 for Pidavur) are presented in Table 13 below. Differences in man-land ratios between Perungala and Pidavur are more or less in conformity with distribution of landownership; average size of ownership in 1969 in Perungala/is around half of that in Pidavur in 1971. However, in Thottappuzhassery ownership is less diffused with relatively fewer landowners compared to population. As a result, average size of ownership holding in 1969 was only slightly smaller than that of Pidavur in 1971. Less diffusion of ownership in Thottappuzhassery can be attributed to larger number of persons working outside the village, both within and outside the country (Table 17), especially from the main landowning community of Syrian Christians. This prevents subdivision of landed property at the same rates as in the other two villages.^{30/}

^{30/} Non-market transfers of landed property like partition are not examined in this study due to the limited scope. Details on non-market transfers are also available in the village records.

Larger sizes of ownership holdings in Thottappuzhassery may also be noted against the larger sizes of holdings sold due to migration, indicating partly that those migrated were owners of larger plots of land. (See Table 11 and Section iv below).

Table 13: Distribution of Land Ownership(a) Perungala (1969)

Size class (cents)	Ownerships		Area owned		Average size of ownership (cents)
	Number	(Percentage)	Area (acres)	(Percentage)	
0 - 10	1210	(31.36)	82.25	(4.34)	6.80
10 - 25	874	(22.65)	149.75	(7.90)	17.13
25 - 50	792	(20.53)	268.00	(14.14)	33.84
50 - 100	572	(14.82)	415.00	(21.90)	72.55
100 - 250	312	(8.09)	550.60	(29.06)	176.47
250 - 500	79	(2.05)	275.40	(14.53)	348.61
500 +	19	(0.49)	154.00	(8.13)	810.52
Total	3858	(100)	1895.00	(100)	49.12

(b) Thottappuzhassery (1969)

0 - 10	530	(14.95)	44.78	(1.37)	8.45
10 - 25	611	(17.24)	113.07	(3.47)	18.49
25 - 50	638	(18.00)	217.50	(6.67)	34.09
50 - 100	770	(21.73)	549.00	(16.84)	71.30
100 - 250	674	(19.02)	1068.00	(32.75)	158.46
250 - 500	234	(6.60)	698.00	(21.40)	298.29
500 +	87	(2.45)	570.65	(17.50)	655.17
Total	3544	(100)	3261.00	(100)	92.01

(c) Pidavur (1971)

0 - 10	592	(15.98)	46.88	(1.34)	7.92
10 - 25	618	(16.68)	100.11	(2.86)	16.20
25 - 50	763	(20.59)	281.85	(8.05)	36.94
50 - 100	671	(18.11)	463.00	(13.22)	69.00
100 - 250	605	(16.33)	862.00	(24.62)	142.48
250 - 500	364	(9.82)	1037.00	(29.62)	284.89
500 +	92	(2.48)	710.16	(20.28)	771.93
Total	3705	(100)	3501.00	(100)	94.49

Source: Thandaner (Ownership), and Basic registers of the respective village offices.

Influence of distribution of landownership on land market, in the three villages, is examined below:

Demand for land

From the demand side, other things remaining the same, smaller size of ownership could mean lower demand for land since the surplus generated through farming will also be negligible. It may be noted in this connection that only 17.24 percent and 15.87 percent of the buyers in Perungala and Thottappuzhassery reported savings as their main source of funds for purchase of land against 31.82 percent in Pidavur. (Table 10).

Area purchased through savings was also larger in Pidavur with an average of 87.64 cents, as against only 17.0 cents and 19.83 cents respectively in Perungala and Thottappuzhassery. Larger size of area purchased through savings in Pidavur can not only be due to larger amount of savings but may also be due to the lower land prices. Thus existence of more bigger landowners and much lower land prices in Pidavur can partly explain for the larger extent of area marketed.^{31/}

^{31/} It may be noted that the proportion of landowners reporting savings as their main source of funds for purchase of land is higher in the case of larger landowners (See chapter V, section (a) below).

Original source of savings were not identified due to difficulty of getting accurate details. However, since Pidavur experienced substantial increase in area under rubber (and also had cashew, pepper, coconut etc. earlier), a sizeable proportion of the savings might be from the farm sector.

Supply of Land

Indebtedness was the most important reason for sale of land for about one-fourth of the selected sellers in Perungala compared to only 14.17 percent and 16.90 percent in Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur respectively. (See Table 11). It can be argued that larger proportion of small landholdings in Perungala may be attributed as one of the main reasons for larger proportion of sales under the compulsion of indebtedness.^{32/}

It may be noted that the average size of holdings sold due to indebtedness is smaller, indicating more sales due to indebtedness among the smaller landowners. Main factors affecting demand and supply of land by different groups of landowners are discussed in detail in the next chapter. Proportion of sellers due to indebtedness is higher among the small landowners as explained in the next chapter (See table 6 Chapter V).

^{32/} Mortgaging of coconut trees by the smaller landowners to private and public money lenders (like co-operative societies) was observed in Perungala. Mortgage of coconut trees to co-operative societies was called kettu thenqu (earmarking the coconut trees) in which harvesting of coconuts was directly done by the Societies and the value of the harvested product get adjusted against the loan.

In Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur, however, there were only private money lenders engaged in mortgaging of coconut plants. Co-operative societies did not enter the field in these villages mainly because the cultivation of coconut was not as widespread or important as in Perungala.

(It was already noted that in Perungala density of coconut plants across different sizes of holdings was more or less same).

(ii) Cropping Pattern in the Selected Villages

Influence of cropping pattern on land market, especially in increasing demand for land for commercial cultivation, in Kerala was noted earlier. Cropping pattern of the three selected villages at the time of enquiry is presented in Table 14 below.

Table 14: Cropping Pattern in the Selected Villages

Villages	Dry land plots		Wet land plots (seasonal crops only)
	Perennial crops	Seasonal crops	
PERUNGALA:	Coconut	Tapioca, Other tuber crops, etc.	Paddy (Mundakan and Virippu only) Sesame (Punja)
THOTTAPPUZHA- SSERY:	Coconut Cashew Pepper Rubber Arecanut Mango Jack	Tapioca Other tuber crops Banana/plan- tain Ginger Sugarcane	Paddy (Mundakan and Virippu only) Sugarcane Banana/plantain Ginger Tapioca and other tuber crops
PIDAVUR:	Rubber Coconut Cashew Pepper Arecanut Jack Mango	Tapioca and other tuber crops, Banana/plantain	Paddy (Mundakan and Virippu only) Banana/Plantain Betel leaves Ginger Vegetables Sugarcane

Note: Crops listed are according to importance in terms of area occupied.

Broadly speaking, (a) in Perungala coconut was the most important dry land crop. In Thottappuzhassery, though coconut was the most important, no single perennial crop dominated dry land cultivation like in Perungala. However, in Pidavur the diversity of crops is vanishing with rubber becoming the most dominant crop replacing the traditional perennial dry land crops like cashew, mangoes, pepper, jack etc. Tapioca was the most important dry land seasonal inter-crop in all the three villages.^{33/} And in all the three villages (b) paddy was the most important wet land crop, with only Mundakan and Virippu seasons of cultivation. In Perungala/^{only}sesame is cultivated in wet lands during the Punja season.^{34/} On the other hand in Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur in many wet land plots dry land crops like tapioca, banana, vegetables etc. are also cultivated, even during the Virippu and Mundakan seasons.

33/ Inter-cropping of seasonal crops with perennial (tree) crops is a widespread phenomenon in dry lands of Kerala:

"A distinctive feature of the agricultural development in Kerala is the inter-cropping on the dry lands or so-called garden lands. Garden lands broadly comprise all the cropped area except wet lands and the area under plantation crops. Unlike in the wet lands, where one crop, generally paddy, is grown at a time, on the garden lands a variety of crops such as coconut, arecanut, mango, jackfruit and other perennial trees grow side by side with various seasonal crops like tapioca, yam, colocasia or other root crops, bananas and plantains and other vegetables." P.G.K.Panikar, T.N.Krishnan and N.Krishnaji, Population Growth and Agricultural Development: A Case Study of Kerala, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, 1977, p.54.

34/ Wet lands in Perungala are sandy like the dry lands. During the summer months moisture content in the top layer is therefore less than required for crops like tapioca, vegetables, banana etc. Again, immediately after the summer, during the monsoon season water level suddenly rises destroying crops like tapioca etc. Also, the sandy soil prevents construction of bunds/mounds to protect these crops from inundation.

Changes in Cropping Pattern

Changes in cropping pattern observed in the villages during the study period are examined now to understand the influence of these changes on land market.

Dry land crops:

Domination of coconut in dry land of Perungala is already noted. There were around 120 trees per acre and the variation in density of plants across different size of holdings was also insignificant.^{35/} Further expansion of coconut cultivation in dry land in Perungala is thus ruled out. However, a steady decline in production of coconut is observed there as a result of decline in yield due to the prevalent rootwilt disease in the region.^{36/}

^{35/} Area under coconut according to different sizes of holdings in Alleppey District (where Perungala village is situated) may be noted below:

<u>Size groups</u>	<u>Percentage of area</u>	<u>Size groups</u>	<u>Percentage of area</u>
10-62 cents	28.28	247-494 cents	17.04
62-124 cents	14.42	Above 494 cents	18.75
124-247 cents	21.51	Total	100.00

Source: Third Decennial World Census of Agriculture, 1970-71, Report for Kerala, Trivandrum, 1973, vol. p.

^{36/} Decline in area, production and yield of coconuts in Alleppey District, taking 1960-63 as base was 83.8 percent, 82.8 percent and 69 percent respectively in 1969-79, though these were not entirely due to root-wilt disease. See, P.R.Gopinathan Nair, 'Some Economic Aspects of Coconut Cultivation in Kerala' in P.P. Pillai (Ed.) Agricultural Development in Kerala, Agricole, New Delhi, 1982.

Relatively stagnant land market, in terms of area marketed and land prices in Perungala can be explained partly by the stagnation in farm income due to decline in production of coconuts unaccompanied by compensatory increase in price.^{37/}

Though Thottappuzhassery reported highest land price for most years, and largest increase during the period, these were not associated with any major changes in cropping pattern.^{38/}

In Pidavur, however, rubber was found replacing other dry land crops in a big way. At the time of enquiry rubber became the most important dry land crop in terms of area covered. Cultivation of rubber was spreading even in very small holdings. But the proportion of yielding plots was more among larger holdings.^{39/} Thus demand for land and land prices are

^{37/} While rubber and cashew prices increased by 356 percent and 383 percent respectively during 1970-71-1977/78, coconut prices increased only by 174 percent. See, ibid. p.198.

^{38/} Higher land prices and larger increases of the same in Thottappuzhassery are attributed to mainly inflow of remittances (See, Section iv below).

^{39/} Proportions of ^{total} holdings and yielding holdings under rubber were higher for larger holdings in Pidavur:

<u>Size group (cents)</u>	<u>Total holdings under rubber (percentage)</u>	<u>Yielding holdings as % to total under rubber</u>
0-25 cents	10-15	neg.
25-50 cents	20-25	0-5
50-100 cents	40-50	10-15
100-250 cents	70-75	30-35
Above 250cents	80-90	45-50

Source: Personal enquiry.

expected to increase further with the yielding from holdings already planted and further expansion of area under rubber in the smaller holdings.

Influence of the cropping systems that prevailed in the dry land plots in the selected villages on land market is evident in the following Table.

Table 15: Dry land transfers according to sizes of marketed holdings and land prices during 1969/74 and 1975/80

Size of marketed holdings (cents)	Perungala			Thottappuzhassery			Pidavur		
	No. of transfers	Area transferred (acres)	Price per cent (Rs.)	No. of transfers	Area transferred (acres)	Price per cent (Rs.)	No. of transfers	Area transferred (acres)	Price per cent (Rs.)
	<u>1969-74</u>						<u>1971-74</u>		
50 & below	254	38.69	88.80	546	106.38	117.28	660	117.98	35.84
50 - 100	17	11.52	62.33	113	84.38	112.49	81	61.26	27.58
100-250	2	2.11	98.96	58	87.45	72.31	24	36.72	23.56
250 +	-	-	-	12	57.25	28.34	5	30.59	15.36
	<u>1975-80</u>								
50 & below	331	45.90	178.40	623	141.32	335.00	1577	292.95	83.65
50 - 100	9	5.79	165.45	183	131.44	301.38	176	132.26	68.12
100 - 250	3	3.35	131.64	100	144.87	226.18	101	147.03	83.42
250 +	-	-	-	7	25.20	158.10	23	101.82	140.25
Total	616	108.26	128.86	1642	778.29	197.38	2647	920.62	73.12

Source: Same as Table 2 above.

It can be observed from Table 15 above that (a) price of land varied inversely with size of transferred holdings in all the three villages during the period 1969-74 (except for the two transfers in 100-250 cents group in Perungala); and (b) during 1975-80 also the inverse relations are maintained for Perungala and Thottappuzhassery, while in Pidavur price of holdings increased with size, if the smallest size group of 50 cents and below are exempted.^{40/}

Inverse relation in price and size of holdings^{41/} may be due to (a) lower levels of investment in larger units of land, in the forms of perennial crops, land improvement, buildings, etc. and (b) fewer buyers (and less demand) for larger plots. Thus higher price for larger plots in Pidavur during the period 1975-80 was due to changes in cropping pattern, discussed above, with the introduction of rubber. Greater demand for larger plots in Pidavur was also accompanied by larger extent of area transferred.^{42/}

^{40/} Higher price of smaller plots may also be due to locational aspects, guided by non-farm considerations. For example small plots located near roads, market places etc. were found to get higher price.

^{41/} An important implication of this relationship is that it may adversely affect the low income groups since they have to pay higher price for smaller holdings while the rich could buy larger plots at lower prices.

^{42/} While only 67.31 acres were transferred, through 29 cases, during the first four years of 1971-74 in Pidavur in the 100+ cents group, during the next six years (1975-80) 248.85 acres of land (of 100+ cents each) got transferred through 124 transfers. Again while the price of plots with 50 cents and below increased only by 233 percent, 354 percent and 913 percent increases were observed for the 100-250 and 250+ size groups during the above period.

Wet Land Crops

Dominant crop in the wet lands was paddy in all the three villages, as mentioned earlier. Wet land area marketed and price of land as ratio of gross farm income from paddy are presented in Table 16 below.

Table 16: Wet land area marketed and price of land as ratio of gross farm income per season from paddy in the selected villages

Year	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Area transferred (acres)	Price: income	Area transferred (acres)	Price: income	Area transferred (acres)	Price: Income
1969	3.94 (21)	6.92	1.09 (4)	22.83	N.A.	N.A.
1970	4.40 (20)	6.90	0.53 (4)	17.49	N.A.	N.A.
1971	3.98 (24)	5.36	1.82 (6)	11.36	3.14 (19)	5.79
1972	3.94 (25)	5.96	4.62 (12)	14.49	11.05 (48)	5.63
1973	8.47 (38)	6.67	2.72 (7)	18.93	4.78 (23)	5.23
1974	6.83 (36)	5.47	2.95 (8)	9.14	8.11 (38)	3.80
1975	8.79 (37)		1.79 (7)		7.21 (40)	
1976	7.97 (33)		3.59 (12)		9.34 (48)	
1977	12.33 (53)	11.20	3.54 (12)	14.44	10.55 (43)	6.66
1978	12.70 (64)	10.01	2.88 (13)	12.23	10.78 (62)	6.94
1979	12.94 (59)	14.58	5.15 (20)	12.33	11.29 (50)	8.79
1980	5.15 (30)	12.39	3.35 (11)	10.81	3.64 (25)	5.82

Note: 1 Figures in brackets are number of transfers.

2. Gross farm income is worked out on the basis of average weighted farm prices for all-Kerala, and yield rates in respective districts (168-69 to 1973-74) and Taluks (1976-77 to 1979-80).

Sources: 1. Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Agricultural Statistics in Kerala, 1975 (for yield and price of paddy).

2. Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Statistics for Planning, 1980 and 1983 (for yield and price of paddy).

Table 16 shows (a) greater increase in wet land prices during the second part of the study period, in relation to gross farm income from paddy, in Perungala; (b) higher price for wet land and wider variations in land price: gross farm income ratios in Thottappuzhassery; and (c) lower wet land prices and relatively less variation in the land price: gross farm income ratios in Pidavur.

Increase in wet land prices in relation to gross farm income from paddy cultivation, during the second half of the study period, in Perungala, (when relative profitability of rice cultivation worsened due to increasing costs of production)^{43/} can be due to diversion of wet land for other crops or conversion of wet land into dry land. No shift in wet land crops in Perungala was observed during the period. But large number of wet land plots converted to dry land was observed. Though coconuts were planted in these plots the primary objective of conversion was not shift to more profitable crops.^{44/} Because (a) gross income

^{43/} See, P.G.K.Panikar 'Recent Trends in the Area Under and Production of Rice in Kerala', Centre for Development Studies, Working Paper No.116, 1980, Table 4.

^{44/} Increased production costs in paddy cultivation and relative profitability of coconut cultivation were the important reasons given for conversion of wet into dry lands in Kerala. See, Jeemol Unni, 'An Analysis of Change in the Cropping Pattern in Kerala with particular reference to Substitution of Coconut for Rice 1960-61 to 1978-79', M.Phil. Thesis (submitted to JNU), Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, 1981.

from coconuts were declining in Perungala due to widespread rootwilt disease and (b) dry land area is less than wet land with very small holdings.^{45/}

Widespread conversion of wet land plots into dry in Thottappuzhassery is reflected in the land price: farm income ratio. In 1980, converted plots constituted about 70 percent of the total wet land area.^{46/}

In Pidavur conversion of wet land into dry took place, but only to a smaller extent. This may be due to the relatively greater availability and lower price of dry land. Even then the larger wet land area marketed during 1975-80, in the absence of any improvement in the relative profitability of paddy cultivation, can be attributed to demand for wet land for other purposes than cultivation of paddy.

^{45/} Dry land availability per person in 1971 in Pidavur was only 8.18 cents compared to 20.50 cents and 30.36 cents in Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur (See Table 12).

Greater demand for dry land, particularly when not much dry area is coming to the market, is reflected in higher rate of increase in dry land prices in Perungala during the period - 289 per cent as against only 238 percent for wet land.

It may also be noted again, that conversion of wet into dry land had to face many constraints, including the legal prohibition (See footnote 3 above).

^{46/} Of the remaining wet land area major portion is of inferior quality. Lower prices of these plots in certain years is reflected in wider fluctuations in wet land prices as a whole. (As mentioned earlier, wet lands converted many years back are still treated as the same in the village records.) Widespread conversion of wet into dry in Thottappuzhassery, may be noted against the substantial increase in dry land prices - 544 percent between 1969 and 1980, in the absence of any noticeable changes in cropping pattern.

(iv) Employment Pattern and Inflow of Remittances

Distribution of population according to employment/ industrial categories in 1971 is presented below in Table 17, to understand the influence of the same on land market.

Table 17: Distribution of Population According to Employment/Industrial Categories in 1971

Employment/ Industrial Categories	Perungala			Thottappuzhassery			Pidavur		
	Num- ber	As% to total popu- lation	As % to total work- ers	Num- ber	As % to total popu- lation	As % to total work- ers	Num- ber	As % to total popu- lation	As % to total work- ers
1. Cultivators	516	4.74	16.39	1221	8.63	33.87	1134	11.14	42.76
2. Agrl.Labrs.	1483	13.61	46.84	872	6.16	24.19	504	5.44	20.90
3. Mining, qua- rrying, live- stock etc.	64	0.59	2.02	36	0.25	1.00	113	1.11	4.26
4. HH Industry	neg.	neg.	neg.	38	0.27	1.05	4	neg.	neg.
5. Mfg. other than H.H. industry	256	2.35	8.09	183	1.29	5.08	369	3.63	13.91
6. Construction	41	0.38	1.39	62	0.44	1.72	40	0.39	1.51
7. Trade&Commerce	233	2.14	7.36	229	2.11	6.35	84	0.82	3.17
8. Transport, storage etc.	81	0.74	2.56	108	0.76	3.00	48	0.47	1.81
9. Other services	491	4.50	15.51	861	6.08	23.88	306	3.01	11.54
Total workers	3166	29.06	100	3605	25.47	100	2652	26.06	100
Non-Workers	7729	70.94	-	10548	74.53	-	7526	73.94	-
Population	10895	100	-	14153	100	-	10178	100	-

Note: Emphasis added.

Source: Census of India, Kerala,

- (1) Alleppey District Census Primary Abstract, for Thottappuzhassery village--pp.106-107; Perungala village - pp.130-131
- (2) Quilon District Census Primary Abstract, for Pidavur village, - pp. 94-95

The following points may be noted from Table 17:

(1) Agricultural labourers formed 46.84 percent of the total workers and 13.61 percent of the population in Perungala, as against only 24.19 percent and 6.16 percent in Thottappuzhassery and 20.90 percent and 5.44 percent in Pidavur. In actual numbers also agricultural labourers were also the most dominant group of workers with 1483 persons, as against only 872 and 504 persons in Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur.

(2) Cultivators formed the most numerous group of workers in Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur with 1221 and 1134 persons, accounting for 33.87 percent and 42.76 percent of total workers and 8.63 percent and 11.14 percent of the population. Their corresponding shares in Perungala ^{were} ~~only~~ 16.39 percent and 4.74 percent respectively.

(3) Those in 'Other Services' were 23.88 percent of the total workers, accounting for 6.08 percent of the total population in Thottappuzhassery as against only 15.51 percent (491 persons) and 11.54 percent (306 persons) in Perungala and Pidavur respectively.

(4) Those working in manufacturing other than household industry formed 13.91 percent of the workers (numbering 369 persons) in Pidavur as against only 8.09 percent and 5.08 percent in Perungala and Thottappuzhassery.

Influence of the first two groups of workers (agricultural labourers and cultivators) on land market was already reflected while examining distribution of land-ownership and cropping pattern in the earlier sections.^{47/} Occupation of the selected buyers and sellers are presented in Tables 18 and 19 below to understand the participation of different groups of workers in landmarket.

Table 18: Occupation of the selected buyers

Occupational categories	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Number of buyers	Area bought (cents)	Number of buyers	Area bought (cents)	Number of buyers	Area bought (cents)
1. Cultivators	4 (6.70)	157.00 (15.88)	8 (12.70)	374.00 (17.64)	10 (15.15)	966.50 (21.10)
2. Agricultural labourers	13 (22.41)	85.80 (8.68)	8 (12.70)	40.50 (1.91)	11 (16.67)	83.00 (1.81)
3. Salaried workers	8 (13.79)	162.80 (16.47)	14 (22.22)	603.30 (28.46)	10 (15.15)	836.00 (18.25)
4. Self-employed	4 (6.90)	51.00 (5.16)	2 (3.17)	43.50 (2.05)	3 (4.55)	154.00 (3.36)
5. Others including non-workers	29 (50.00)	532.10 (53.82)	31 (49.21)	1058.30 (49.93)	32 (48.49)	2541.00 (55.47)
Total	58 (100)	988.70 (100)	63 (100)	2119.60 (100)	66 (100)	4580.50 (100)

- Note: 1. Figures in brackets are percentages to total.
 2. Salaried workers are all those getting wages on regular basis with permanent or semi-permanent employment irrespective of the sector of employment, but exclude attached agri. labourers.
 3. Self-employed include those in household industry, trade and other activities other than farming.
 4. Others include 'joint buyers' with different occupations; and Non-workers include women looking after the household, students and non-workers.

Participation of different categories of workers in the land market as buyers may be noted now. Agricultural labourers formed 44.83 percent, 25.00 percent and 32.35 percent respectively of the buyers in the specified occupational categories (i.e., excluding 'others') in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur, as against their shares in total labour force of 46.84 percent, 24.19 percent and 20.90 percent respectively.^{47/} However, holdings purchased by them were much smaller; the average sizes were only 6.6 cents, 5.1 cents, and 7.5 cents compared to total averages for other specified categories of workers; 23.17 cents, 42.53 cents and 85.06 cents respectively in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur.^{48/} Thus lower demand for land in Perungala, in spite of higher density of population, can be attributed partly to preponderance of agricultural labourers in total labour force.^{49/}

^{47/} The selected buyers were those purchased plots during the study period 1969-80 (1971-80 in the case of Pidavur) and their occupation may not therefore be strictly related to the employment pattern of 1971. However, relating the sample results to total transfers in the villages showed the number of agricultural labourers purchasing land were 237, 223 and 507 respectively in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur as against their total number of 1483, 872 and 504 respectively in 1971.

^{48/} Total area purchased by the agricultural workers (by relating the sample results to total transfers) in the selected villages were 17.33 acres, 15.51 acres and 18.11 acres respectively in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur respectively.

^{49/} Larger number of smaller landowners and the cropping pattern with coconuts and paddy dominating in dry and wet lands respectively in Perungala were noted earlier, in connection with employment opportunities for agricultural workers. It may also be noted that the land:agricultural labour ratio was also much smaller in Perungala in 1971, being only 1.28 acres as against 3.74 acres and 6.93 acres respectively in Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur.

Cultivators formed 13.79 percent, 25.00 percent and 29.41 percent of buyers among the specified occupational categories according to the sample, compared to their shares of 16.39 percent, 33.87 percent and 42.76 percent respectively in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur among the total labour force in 1971. Thus in all the villages proportion of cultivators among buyers was lower than their share in total labour force. ^{50/} In terms of area purchased, cultivators accounted for larger shares with 34.38 percent, 35.27 percent and 47.39 percent respectively in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur, of the total area bought by the specified occupational categories. Relating to the sample results to total area transferred, it is found that cultivators bought 31.71 acres, 143.29 acres and 211.10 acres respectively in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur. Greater extent of area transferred and increase in land prices in Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur can partly be due to greater demand for land by the cultivators. ^{51/}

^{50/} total
Number of cultivators purchasing according to the sample will be 71, 221 and 461 respectively in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur compared to their number in 1971 : 516, 1221 and 1134 respectively.

^{51/} Larger proportion of cultivators among buyers and larger area purchased by them in Pidavur compared to the other two villages can be attributed to changes in cropping pattern in favour of more profitable crop - rubber, during the period. On the other hand the relative stagnation in agricultural production along with smaller sizes of holdings contributed to relatively less demand from the cultivators of Perungala. In Thottappuzhassery large shares, in number and area bought, of cultivators in the absence of substantial changes in cropping pattern may be due to purchase of land in their names by funds received from others (mostly remittances), though the proportion of cultivators buying land among the specified occupational groups is smaller than their share in total workers.

In all the villages salaried workers formed a very important group of buyers, accounting for 27.59 percent, 43.75 per cent and 29.41 percent of the buyers in the specified occupational groups. Again in all the villages, proportions of area purchased by them were larger than their numbers, with 35.65 percent, 56.85 per cent and 40.99 percent of the total area purchased by the specified occupation groups.^{52/}

Number of persons in other services formed 23.88 percent of the total labour force in 1971 in Thottappuzhassery, as against only 15.51 percent and 11.54 percent in Perungala and Pidavur.

It may also be noted in this connection that remittance constituted the most important source of funds for purchase of lands for 26.98 percent of buyers accounting for 47.6 percent of the area bought by the sample buyers (Table 10). Influence of remittances on land market in the three villages is evident from the number of persons working outside, given in Table 19 below.

^{52/} Relating the sample results to total area transferred in the villages show that total area purchased by the salaried buyers during the period will be 32.89 acres, 231.17 acres and 182.59 acres respectively in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur. Number of salaried buyers will be 146, 391 and 461 respectively. Larger number of salaried workers in Pidavur can be explained by those working in manufacturing other than household industries and other services, who together numbered 675 in 1971 (See Table 17). The main manufacturing units near Pidavur were: The Punalur Paper mills, The Travancore Plywood Industries, and three cashew factories, and a number of brick manufacturing units.

Table 19: Number of outmigrants working outside the State (1980)

Blocks/ State	Within India		Outside India		Total	
	Number	Per 100 households	Number	Per 100 households	Number	Per 100 households
Bharanikkavu block (Perungala Village)	3316	17.51	808	4.26	4124	21.37
Koipuram Block (Thottappuzhassery village)	5614	25.13	3715	16.63	9329	41.76
Pathanamuram Block (Pidavur village)	2766	10.24	804	3.75	3570	16.67

Note: Number of households for 1980 was not available for the blocks, therefore Census figures in 1981 were used.

- Source: 1. Survey on Housing and Employment, 1980, op.cit. (for number of outmigrants)
2. Census of India, Kerala, Series 10, 1981 (for number of households).

Since reliable figures on number of outmigrants from the selected villages were not available, and remittances to the larger adjacent area could have a bearing on the selected villages, blockwise figures are taken. Presumably they will broadly reflect the differences between the study areas. The comparative advantage of Thottappuzhassery village (Koipuram block) in terms of number of outmigrants working both within and outside the country is very clear from the above table.

In addition, migrant workers from Thottappuzhassery region were found to be more qualified and the proportion of them working in non-Gulf countries (especially U.S.A. Germany, Canada, etc.) were larger compared to other pockets of migration.^{53/} It may also be added here that the literacy rate in Thottappuzhassery was very high.^{54/} Thus, larger proportion of persons working outside with more educational qualifications had also contributed to sale of land, by the migrants settling down permanently at their places of work.

Area sold by different occupational categories in the selected villages may be examined next. (See, Table 20). Among the selected sellers, agricultural labourers were the most numerous group, accounting for 24.56 percent, 14.71 percent and 22.53 percent of the total sellers in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur respectively. But area sold by them was very small, the average sizes of sold holdings being only 4.4 cents, 9.15 cents and 7.3 cents respectively. It may be noted that according to the

^{53/} Report of the Survey on Housing and Employment, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1980.

^{54/} Literacy rates in Thottappuzhassery in 1961 and 1971 were 74.03 percent and 80.69 percent respectively, compared to 54.77 percent and 69/50 percent for Pidavur, and 47.94 percent and 71.92 percent for Perungala. The corresponding figures for Kerala and Alleppey Districts were 51/8 percent and 60 percent, and 56.90 percent and 70.44 percent respectively. See, Census of India, Kerala, 1971, Primary Census Abstract, Alleppey, pp.130-131 and pp.106-107. Census of India, Kerala, 1971, Primary Census Abstract, Quilon, pp.94-95. Census of India, Kerala, 1961, Alleppey District Census Handbook, pp. 42-43 and 78-79; and Quilon District Census Handbook, pp.52-53.

samples of buyers and sellers, presented in Tables 18, and 20 below, among the agricultural labourers there were more sellers than buyers of land.^{55/}

Table 20: Occupation of the sellers in the selected villages

Occupational categories	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	No. of sellers	Area sold (cents)	No. of sellers	Area sold (cents)	No. of sellers	Area sold (cents)
Cultivators	12 (21.05)	220.00 (22.99)	11 (16.18)	482.00 (20.47)	16 (22.53)	917.00 (27.34)
Agricultural labourers	14 (24.56)	61.60 (6.44)	10 (14.71)	91.50 (3.89)	16 (22.53)	117.00 (5.78)
Salaried workers	5 (8.77)	242.00 (25.28)	16 (27.94)	1168.00 (49.60)	5 (7.04)	996.50 (29.71)
Self-employed	4 (7.02)	66.00 (6.90)	6 (8.82)	194.00 (8.24)	4 (5.63)	230.50 (6.87)
Others including non-workers	22 (38.60)	367.50 (38.40)	22 (32.35)	419.50 (17.81)	30 (42.25)	1093.50 (32.60)
Total	57 (100)	957.10 (100)	68 (100)	2355.00 (100)	71 (100)	3354.50 (100)

Note: Same as for Table 18.

^{55/} Relating the sample of sellers to total transfers in the selected villages show the number of agricultural labourers who sold land were 259, 259 and 686 respectively in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur, selling 12.86 acres, 31.60 acres and 57.83 acres with the average size of transferred area of 4.96 cents, 12.2 cents and 8.43 cents respectively.

According to the sample, salaried workers were the most important group of sellers of land in Thottappuzhassery. Most of the sales by this group were found to be due to migration for settling down at their places of work. (It may be recalled that 26.47 percent of the sellers reported migration as their main reason for selling land, accounting for 57.39 percent of the area sold in Thottappuzhassery).

Higher price for land in Thottappuzhassery may appear to be a possible explanation for migration. . However, this was not the reason. Because (a) larger share of area sold due to migration was by the 'salaried workers' and not cultivators; (b) average size of area sold by the migrants (and the salaried persons) were bigger; and (c) proportion of persons working outside Kerala (both within and outside India) from Thottappuzhassery and surrounding areas was much larger and they were also more qualified. Therefore, presumably they were also holding better paid jobs and could afford to have the family settle down at the place of work.^{56/}

^{56/} Further, one could find persons from Thottappuzhassery village - comprising Maramon, Kuriannur, Nedumprayar, Thottappuzhassery wards - and the surrounding areas of central Travancore like Kozhencherry, Airoor, Kumbanad, Mallappally etc. working and settling down in urban centres of Kerala itself, where price of land is considerably higher than in their home villages.

It may also be noted in this connection that the literacy rates among the Marthomite Syrian Christians, who forms a sizeable proportion of the population in the region, were higher compared to the other 'upper' communities, even during the first decades of the century.

Thus, in Thottappuzhassery one could identify two groups of migrants: (1) those settling down at their places of work and consequently selling their land in the village; ^{57/} and (2) those working outside, especially in the Gulf countries and sending in remittances, which were being used for purchase of land. While the first group formed 26.47 percent of the sellers accounting for 57.39 percent of the area sold, the second group formed 26.98 percent of the buyers accounting for 47.60 percent of the area bought. Very active land market in Thottappuzhassery, in the absence any substantial changes in the cropping pattern, can be attributed to the above; and the highest price and largest increase for the same during the period indicate that the force of demand was stronger.

^{57/} A common sight in Thottappuzhassery and surrounding areas is that of palatial buildings with just old parents and house-servant, with most of the younger members away with their families at their work places. Many such plots and buildings were not sold only due to attachments. Most of the old persons contacted were however sure that these plots (with buildings) will be sold away after their death, mostly to their own relatives, as explained in the next chapter.

(v) Inheritance System

Changes in inheritance system, during the 1920s, facilitated land transfers and thereby contributed to development of land market, as noted in the last two chapters. The process of partition of landed property, and sale and purchase of land mainly due to the changes in residence and formation of new families, is continued as a result of increase in population.

The influence of inheritance system on land market in the selected villages was evident from the main source of funds for purchase and reason for sale of land by the selected participants, presented in Tables 10 and 11 above. Inheritance system followed by different communities, based on the type of shares given to daughters, in the selected villages can be broadly grouped into three:

Type 1: Daughters are given cash, ornaments, cattle, durable consumer items like furniture, cars, refrigerators, etc. with landed property generally partitioned among the sons only. This system is generally followed by Syrian Christians, Brahmins, etc. who were originally following the patrilineal inheritance.^{58/}

^{58/} Cash, ornaments, etc. given to Syrian Christian girls by the parent household, in connection with marriage is considered as 'gifts', the quantity of which therefore is not strictly guided by law. Again, the parents are free to 'gift' land also to girls, which they rarely do. In the event of dispute what the girl could claim was a maximum of Rs.5,000/- or less according to assets of the parent household. Thus, in practice, 'gifts' became 'shares', (particularly since land was not given), and therefore treated as a type of inheritance here. (This system of inheritance in the case of Syrian Christians was pronounced void by the Supreme Court recently).

Type 2: Daughters are given cash, ornaments, and other items like in the case of type 1 above, often in addition to land. This system is practised by the formerly matrilineal Hindu communities like Nairs, Ezhavas, etc.^{59/}

Type 3: This is related to type 2 above, with both sons and daughters sharing landed property, again practised by mainly Hindu communities mentioned in type 2 above.^{60/}

Distribution of ownerships and area owned by different communities broadly following the three types of inheritances mentioned above are presented in Table 21 below. It may be noted from Tables 10 and 11 that relative importances of the different types of inheritances were more or less in accordance with the relative positions of the respective communities in terms of distribution of landownership.^{61/}

^{59/} In this case, however, cash given was generally found to be much less compared to type 1. Cash given can be treated as 'dowry' since girls are also eligible for landed property. As in type 1, cash is given as 'gift' and therefore varies from case to case. There were also some cases where land is not given to girls at the time of partition; however, they were found compensated accordingly by cash.

^{60/} Parents are generally free to dispose off, through sale or partition, property acquired by themselves. Legal stipulations on alienation of such property, therefore, are effective only when parents leave the property undivided. Again, land inherited by mother is treated as 'family property' with claims by sons and daughters, and disposal of which by parents is guided by strict legal stipulations.

^{61/} Further examination of partitions of land and non-land assets among sons and daughters and the factors guiding the partitions are not attempted here due to the limited scope of this work.

Table 21: Landownership by Different Communities
in the Selected Villages

Communities	Perungala (1969)			Thottappuzhassery (1969)			Pidavur (1971)		
	Area owned (acres)	Number of owner- ships	Average size of owner- ship (cents)	Area owned (acres)	Number of owner- ships	Average size of owner- ship (cents)	Area owned (acres)	Number of owner- ships	Average size of owner- ship (cents)
Syrian Christians	126.40 (6.67)	346 (8.97)	36.53	2189.50 (67.14)	1892 (53.39)	115.72	1222.40 (34.92)	959 (25.88)	127.47
Nairs	1046.50 (55.22)	1390 (36.02)	75.29	632.40 (19.39)	920 (25.96)	68.74	1519.00 (43.39)	1426 (38.49)	106.52
Ezhavas	602.80 (31.81)	1732 (44.89)	34.80	309.60 (9.49)	446 (12.58)	69.42	513.65 (14.67)	936 (25.26)	54.88
Scheduled Castes	22.65 (1.20)	299 (7.75)	7.58	23.76 (0.73)	203 (5.73)	11.70	53.45 (1.53)	311 (8.39)	17.19
Others, inclu- ding insti- tutions	96.65 (5.10)	91 (2.36)	106.21	105.74 (3.24)	83 (2.34)	127.40	192.50 (5.50)	73 (1.97)	263.70
Total	1895.00 (100)	3858 (100)	49.12	3261.00 (100)	3544 (100)	92.01	3501.00 (100)	3705 (100)	94.49

Note: Figures in brackets are percentages to total.

Source: Same as for Table 12 above.

Summary

Discussion on factors affecting land market in the selected villages is summarised below briefly:

(a) First of all, trends observed in extent of transfers and land prices observed in the three selected villages during the study period were more or less in conformity with those observed in the respective divisions of Lowland, Midland and Highland between 1921/22 and 1948/49. Available information on extent of transfers and land prices lead to the conclusion that incentive for migration from the densely populated Lowland to the marginal lands of Highland and Midland divisions is steadily vanishing with higher rate of increase in land prices there.

(b) Relative stagnation in land market in Perungala, reflected in smaller extent of area marketed and lower rate of increase in land prices, during the period was found to be related to a set of factors affecting both demand and supply. Demand for land was less due to stagnation in agricultural production and farm income, preponderance of agricultural workers, absence of remittances from outside, etc. Again supply of land was constrained by the very low land-man ratio, particularly in the case of dry land.

(c) Land market in Thottappuzhassery was mainly influenced by employment pattern and inflow of remittances, with one set of migrant workers selling their land for settling down at their places of work and another set of workers purchasing land with remittances. The force of demand was stronger as could be seen from the highest land prices and largest increases for the same during the period, unaccompanied by any shift to farming of more profitable crops.

(d) Largest extent of area transferred and highest rate of increase in dry land prices in Pidavur were mainly due to rapid expansion of cultivation of rubber during the period.

(e) In all the three villages, inheritance types influenced land market according to the relative position of the respective communities.

Chapter V

TRANSFER OF LAND BY DIFFERENT GROUPS OF LANDOWNERS IN THE SELECTED VILLAGES

Significant differences in area marketed, number of transfers and land prices among the three selected villages were examined in the last chapter. In this chapter (a) participation of different groups of land owners in the land market, (b) direction of transfers among them and (c) the phenomenon of intra-family market transfers are examined, to understand the role of market in distributing ownership of land.

a. Participation of different groups of land owners

Area owned by the buyers and sellers before the transfer in the village^{1/}, was collected from the village records.

Details of transfers recorded in the Poku Varavu (Transfer) Register were verified with the Thandaper (Ownership) and Basic Registers to find out area owned by the buyers and

^{1/} Area owned by the participant in the village can only be found from the village records. In this connection it may be noted that about 25 percent of the landowners in Kerala were found to own land in more than one village, .

See, Report of the Committee on Consolidation of Holdings, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1958.

Also benami holdings cannot also be identified. However the possibility of having benami ownerships in the selected villages can be limited since (a) very large size of holdings are few and (b) in villages with very large holdings (Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur) rubber cultivation was spreading thereby overcoming restrictions imposed by ceilings on size of holdings.

and sellers.^{2/} Thus, since each transfer recorded in the Poku Varavu register had to be verified with the other two registers only 20 percent of the total transfers were selected randomly for this purpose. Details obtained are summarised in Table 1 below.

(Table 1)

The following observations can be made on the basis of details presented in Table 1 regarding participation of different groups of landowners.

(i) 'Landless'^{3/} formed an important group of buyers:

'Landless' formed an important group of buyers in all the three villages. They may be understood by examining

2/ Poku Varavu (Transfer) Register gives the following details: area of land transferred, method of transfer, (e.g. sale, hypothecation, mortgage, partition etc.) price, date of transfer, type of land (e.g. wet and dry), addresses of buyers and sellers, and survey number of the plots. To find the area owned by the buyer/seller, first find the survey number of transferred plot, then refer the basic register which gives Thandaper (Ownership) number of the buyer/seller, and then refer the Thandaper Register to find out the area. Entry of transfer details in the Poku Varavu register is on a first come first entered basis, and not on the basis of date of transfer/survey number of the plots transferred/Thandaper number of the participants/Alphabetical order of the names of participants, thus making reference with the other two registers more difficult.

3/ 'Landless' were those not owning any land in the village, and therefore those owning land in other villages are also included in the category (see also, footnote 1 above).

Characteristics of the selected villages, as examined in the last chapter, may be recalled in this connection: In Perungala, high density of population accompanied by large number of smaller holdings and stagnation of agriculture production and employment opportunities can limit purchase by 'landless' in the village

Table 1: Participation of different groups in the land market according to area owned

Size class (cents)	(Percentages)					
	Area bought	No. of buyers	Area sold	No. of sellers	Land ownership in the base year	
					Area owned	No. of owners
<u>PERUNGALA (1969-80)</u>						
'Landless'	24.60	31.28	-	-	-	-
Small (0-25)	19.14	30.80	15.31	40.76	12.24	54.01
Medium (25-50)	21.73	20.85	28.39	31.28	14.14	20.53
Big (50 +)	34.53	16.89	56.29	27.95	73.62	25.45
(Total)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
Sample size: Area/number	4539.72 cents	211	4539.72 cents	211	Total:1895.00 acres	3858
<u>THOTTAPPUZHASSERY (1969-80)</u>						
'Landless'	34.09	34.57	-	-	-	-
Small (0-50)	16.74	32.57	14.79	44.00	11.51	50.19
Medium (50-100)	16.37	14.29	20.17	23.71	16.84	21.73
Big (100+)	32.83	18.57	65.00	32.29	71.65	28.07
(Total)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
Sample size: Area/number	16214.90 cents	350	16214.90 cents	350	Total:3261.00 acres	3544
<u>PIDAVUR: (1971-80)</u>						
'Landless'	30.80	24.67	-	-	-	-
Small (0-50)	17.09	37.16	16.18	46.00	12.25	53.75
Medium (50-100)	13.89	18.66	16.46	23.17	13.22	18.11
Big (100+)	38.22	19.49	67.35	30.84	74.52	28.63
(Total)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
Sample size: Area/Number	21848.25 cents	600	21848.25 cents	600	Total: 3501.00 acres	3705

Note: Different classification of landowners as small, medium and big for Perungala was due to significant differences in density of population, size of landownership, and intensity of cultivation compared to the other two villages, as explained in Chapter IV.

Source: Village records (as mentioned earlier).

their main sources of funds for purchase of land.

Of the 187 buyers selected in the three villages,

27, 24 and 28 in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur

respectively were found to be 'landless', and the main

source of funds for purchase by them are given in Table 2

below.

Table 2: Main source of funds for purchase of land by 'landless'

(Percentages)

Main source of funds for purchase of land	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Area bought	No. of buyers	Area bought	No. of buyers	Area bought	No. of buyers
1. Own savings	3.40	3.70	4.05	8.33	7.57	21.43
2. Remittances	10.44	7.41	39.25	29.17	4.12	3.57
3. Inherited non-land resources:						
- Type (a)	4.31	7.41	40.39	33.33	19.34	21.43
- Type (b)	14.75	11.11	8.99	12.50	17.20	17.86
4. Sale of inherited land	64.63	62.96	7.30	16.67	51.36	32.14
5. Sale of other land	-	-	-	-	0.41	3.57
6. Other sources	2.45	7.41	-	-	-	-
(Total)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
Area(cents)/number	440.60	27	611.50	24	1215.00	28

Source: Same as for Table 10, Chapter IV. (Emphasis added)

f.n.(3) contd...:

while owning land elsewhere.

In Thottappuzhassery internal demand for land was too high, as reflected in largest increase in land prices, mainly due to inflow of remittances. In the absence of any significant changes in cropping pattern or economic activity, immigration of people from outside to purchase land in the village can also be ruled out. On the contrary, it was found that many landowners in Thottappuzhassery were emigrating mainly due to employment outside the village, as explained in the last chapter.

In Pidavur, however, the proportion of 'landless' owning land elsewhere might be higher compared to the other two villages in the light of the expansion of commercial cultivation. It was found, as will be noted later, that purchase of land by the 'landless' increased during 1975-80 which may be due to demand for land for commercial cultivation by outsiders.

However, the scattered settlement pattern with villages being only administrative units in Kerala, the number of those owning land across villages can be significant.

their main sources of funds for purchase of land. Of the 187 buyers selected in the three villages, 27, 24 and 28 in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur respectively were found to be 'landless', and the main source of funds for purchase by them are given in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Main source of funds for purchase of land by 'landless'

(Percentages)

Main source of funds for purchase of land	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Area bought	No. of buyers	Area bought	No. of buyers	Area bought	No. of buyers
1. Own savings	3.40	3.70	4.05	8.33	7.57	21.43
2. Remittances	10.44	7.41	39.25	29.17	4.12	3.57
3. Inherited non-land resources:						
- Type (a)	4.31	7.41	40.39	33.33	19.34	21.43
- Type (b)	14.75	11.11	8.99	12.50	17.20	17.86
4. Sale of inherited land	64.63	62.96	7.30	16.67	51.36	32.14
5. Sale of other land	-	-	-	-	0.41	3.57
6. Other sources	2.45	7.41	-	-	-	-
(Total)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
Area(cents)/number	440.60	27	611.50	24	1215.00	28

Source: Same as for Table 10, Chapter IV. (Emphasis added)

f.n.(3) contd..:

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However, the scattered settlement pattern with villages being only administrative units in Kerala, the number of those owning land across villages can be significant.

Importance of different sources of funds for purchase of land by the 'landless' is evident in Table 2. Before, examining these further, the sample results may be related to the total transfers, which is attempted in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Purchase of land by the 'landless' according to main source of funds in the villages

(Area in acres)

Main source of funds	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Area bought	No. of buyers	Area bought	No. of buyers	Area bought	No. of buyers
1. Own savings	1.67	12	11.22	51	23.33	161
2. Remittances	5.13	24	108.71	177	12.70	27
3. Inherited non-land resources:						
- Type (a)	2.18	24	111.86	203	59.60	161
- Type (b)	7.25	37	24.90	76	53.01	134
4. Sale of inherited land	31.75	208	20.21	101	158.27	241
5. Sale of other land	-	-	-	-	1.26	27
6. Other sources	1.20	24	-	-	-	-
Total	49.18	329	276.90	608	308.17	751

(Emphasis added).

Source: Estimated from: Table 2, Chapter IV.
Table 1 & 2 (present Chapter).

Purchase of land with inherited resources, both land and non-land, can be related to formation of new households, and therefore increases in the number of households during the period in the selected villages may be noted: In Perungala and Thottappuzhassery number of households increased by 318 and 411 respectively.^{4/}

^{4/} Information collected from Chettikulangara and Thottappuzhassery Panchayat offices for Perungala and Thottappuzhassery villages respectively.

In Pidavur between 1971 and 1980, number of households increased by 360^{5/}, compared to 536 'landless' buyers reporting inherited resources as main source for purchase of land.

In Thottappuzhassery number of 'landless' buyers reporting remittances and type (a) inherited non-land resources as main sources for purchase of land may be noted. There were around 700 persons working outside the country in Thottappuzhassery in 1980,^{6/} against this 177 reported purchase of land mainly by remittances. Again, around 55 percent of the total population in Thottappuzhassery (numbering around 8,000 in 1971) were Syrian Christians, compared to 203 'landless' buyers reporting Type (a) inherited resources as major source for purchase of land during the period.^{7/}

-
- ^{5/} Number of households increased from 1880 in 1971 to 2240 in 1980, according to information obtained from Thalavur Panchayat Office (relating to Pidavur village).
- ^{6/} Information obtained from the village, panchayat and post offices in Thottappuzhassery.
- ^{7/} Relatively larger sizes of holdings purchased with type (a) inherited resources and remittances, inspite of the higher land prices in Thottappuzhassery, indicate correspondingly larger amounts used for the purpose. Higher socio-economic position achieved by the remittance households also attract greater amounts of inherited resources (both land and non-land) from others through marriage, at the same time also giving away larger amounts to girls. Thus remittances, or for that matter increase in income through any other sources, can not only directly influence demand for land, but also through inheritance system.

(ii) Lower Participation in the Land Market by Small Landowners:

Participation rate of the small, medium and big landowners in the three villages, as sellers and buyers, are presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Participation rates of different Groups of Landowners

Groups	(Percentages)					
	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Buyers	Sellers	Buyers	Sellers	Buyers	Sellers
Small	15.60	20.63	32.21	43.45	57.32	70.96
Medium	27.78	41.67	32.60	54.16	84.65	105.07
Big	18.13	30.14	32.76	57.09	55.89	88.41

Note: Participation rate is worked out by relating the number of buyers in each group during the period to total number of landowners in each group in the base year of the study, and therefore is only approximate, since distribution of ownership changes with transfers. However, for comparing the participation rates of different groups during the period this might be adequate.

Source: Estimated from Table 11, Chapter IV and Table 1, present Chapter.

Table 4 shows comparatively less participation by small landowners, both as buyers and sellers, in all the villages. As in the case of the 'landless' buyers, participation of the above groups of landowners may also be examined on the basis of main reason for sale of land and main sources of funds for purchase of land. The details are presented in Tables 5 and 6 below.

Table 5: Area purchased by different groups of landowners according to main source of funds for purchase

(Percentages)

Main sources of funds	Perungala			Thottappuzhassery			Pidavur		
	Small (0-25 cents)	Medium (25-50 cents)	Big (50+ cents)	Small (0-50 cents)	Medium (50-100 cents)	Big (100+ cents)	Small (0-25 cents)	Medium (25-50 cents)	Big (100+ cents)
1. Own savings	29.05	48.73	16.27	11.89	9.56	12.58	12.61	36.73	65.97
2. Remittances	-	-	5.42	32.60	36.90	68.30	3.41	9.28	0.45
3. Inherited non-land resources:									
- Type (a)	-	10.75	-	26.73	14.34	0.85	-	-	12.41
- Type (b)	11.44	-	-	7.34	-	-	19.25	14.84	-
4. Sale of inherited land	40.93	30.38	22.97	7.34	34.07	-	37.48	7.42	14.51
5. Sale of other land	-	4.75	40.33	14.10	1.55	6.09	16.18	4.64	-
6. Other sources	18.57	5.48	15.01	10.50	3.90	8.11	11.07	27.09	6.70
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample size:									
area(cents)	113.60	158.00	276.50	340.50	418.30	739.30	587.00	5390	2239.50
No.s	(11)	(8)	(12)	(17)	(8)	(14)	(14)	(8)	(14)

Source: Same as for Tables 10 & 11 in Chapter IV.

Note : Same as for Table 10, Chapter IV.

Table 6: Area sold by different groups of landowners according to main reason for sale

Main reason for sale of land	(Percentages)								
	Perungala			Thottappuzhassery			Pidavur		
	Small (0-25 cents)	Medium (25-50 cents)	Big (50+ cents)	Small (0-50 cents)	Medium (50-100 cents)	Big (100+ cents)	Small (0-50 cents)	Medium (50-100 cents)	Big (100+ cents)
1. Indebtedness	13.79	32.19	13.15	10.48	10.98	-	19.15	6.18	0.61
2. Marriage expenses of children:									
- Type (a)	2.12	3.75	-	2.30	5.49	-	5.75	11.84	-
- Type (b)	5.04	7.81	10.93	5.99	-	0.94	15.32	15.13	6.82
3. Migration due to marriage	58.59	27.50	61.30	33.18	32.62	6.91	41.86	60.26	44.53
4. Migration	10.06	-	-	34.22	49.39	65.35	5.06	-	14.75
5. Construction/ Renovation of buildings	11.59	19.38	4.60	4.84	-	3.83	6.84	-	5.75
6. Purchase of other land	8.88	-	1.97	-	1.52	1.32	-	-	10.16
7. Other items	16.60	9.38	8.05	8.99	-	21.66	6.02	6.58	17.37
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample: Area (cents)	188.60	160.00	608.5	434.0	328.00	1593.00	365.50	380.0	2609.00
Numbers	(25)	(12)	(20)	(41)	(10)	(8)	(38)	(13)	(20)

Source: Same as for Table 11 in Chapter IV.

Note: -do- -do- -do-

Most important sources of funds for purchase and reason for sale of land by different groups of landowners in the three villages, presented in Tables 5 and 6 above, may be summarised below:

Buyers

<u>Groups</u>	<u>Perungala</u>	<u>Thottappuzhassery</u>	<u>Pidavur</u>
Small	Sale of inherited land; Own savings	Remittances; Non-land inherited resources (type a)	Sale of inherited land; Non-land inherited resources (type b)
Medium	Own savings; Sale of inherited land	Remittances; Sale of other land;	Own savings; Other sources
Big	Sale of other land; Sale of inherited land	Remittances;	Own savings; Sale of inherited land

It may be noted that the main sources of funds for purchase of land by different groups of landowners, more or less, are in accordance with the general characteristics of the villages, examined in the last chapter. The main differences among the groups may be noted.

Sale of inherited land was the most important source of funds for purchase of land for the small landowners in Perungala and Pidavur, while in Thottappuzhassery remittances were found to be the most important source. Own savings, type (a) non-land inherited resources, and type (b) non-land inherited resources were the next in importance in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur respectively. Own savings was reported as the most important source of funds for the medium sized landowners in Perungala and Pidavur while in

Thottappuzhassery as in the case of small landowners, remittances formed the most important source of purchase of land.

Sellers

<u>Groups</u>	<u>Perungala</u>	<u>Thottappuzhassery</u>	<u>Pidavur</u>
Small	Migration due to marriage; Other reasons	Migration; Migration due to marriage	Migration due to marriage; Indebtedness
Medium	Indebtedness; Migration due to marriage	Migration; Migration due to marriage	Migration due to marriage Marriage expenses (type b)
Big	Migration due to marriage	Migration; Other reasons	Migration due to marriage.

As in the case of purchase of land, small landowners in Pidavur and Perungala reported migration due to marriage as their most important reason for sale of land. In Thottappuzhassery, migration for other reasons was found to be the major reason for small landowners for sale of land. Other (unspecified) reasons, migration due to marriage and indebtedness were the next important reasons for sale of land by the small landowners in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur respectively.

For the medium group of land owners Indebtedness, migration due to other reasons than marriage, and migration due to marriage were the most important reasons for sale of land in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur. While migration due to marriage was the next important reason for sale of land by the medium group of land owners in Perungala and Thottappushassery, marriage expenses (type b) was reported as ^{the} second important reason by those in Pidavur.

For the big landowners in Perungala and Pidavur, migration due to marriage was the most important reason for sale of land, while migration due to other reasons was reported by the big landowners in Thottappuzhassery.

In the case of main reason for sale of land no significant differences among the selected groups of landowners are observed. Lower participation by the smaller landowners, as sellers, as explained earlier, may be due to the smaller sizes of the plots, for sale might result in their complete landlessness, a situation avoided by all means. How the small landowners generally succeeded in preventing sale of land to become completely landless calls for a detailed study.

(b) Direction of Transfers

Participation by different groups of landowners in the land market during the period and the main factors affecting that were discussed briefly in the last section. It was noted that (a) 'new buyers', who were landless in the village, were the most important group of buyers in terms of area bought and number of transfers and (b) participation of the small landowners both as buyers and sellers was much lower compared to that of others.

In this section, an attempt is made to examine the direction of transfers by different groups of landowners to find out to what extent transfers took place across different groups of landowners. In view of the significant differences in area marketed, number of transfers and land prices between the first and second halves ^{of} the study period, viz., 1969-74 and 1975-80, the relevant data are presented separately for the two periods in Tables 7 (a), (b) and (c) for the three selected villages.

Table 7 (a): Direction of Transfers among different groups of landowners in Perungala

<u>1969-74</u>						
(Area in cents)						
Sellers	Buyers	'Landless'	Small owners	Medium owners	Big owners	Total
Small owners		112.00 (14)	101.75 (14)	67.50 (6)	15.00 (1)	296.25 (35)
Medium owners		114.90 (8)	182.50 (12)	145.50 (5)	37.50 (2)	480.40 (27)
Big owners		201.00 (6)	42.00 (2)	231.00 (9)	536.00 (5)	1010.00 (22)
Total		427.90 (28)	326.25 (28)	444.00 (20)	588.50 (8)	1786.65 (84)
<u>1975-80</u>						
Small owners		168.05 (23)	125.50 (16)	70.00 (7)	35.50 (5)	399.05 (51)
Medium owners		127.50 (8)	210.00 (12)	231.50 (10)	285.50 (12)	854.50 (42)
Big owners		393.40 (8)	123.92 (6)	309.00 (9)	681.95 (12)	1508.27 (35)
Total		688.95 (39)	459.42 (34)	610.50 (26)	1002.95 (29)	2761.82 (128)

Note: Small owners : 0-25 cents
 Medium owners: 25-50 cents
 Big owners : 50 + cents

Figures in brackets are number of transfers

Table 7 (b) Direction of Transfers among different Groups of Landowners in Thottappuzhassery1969-74

(Area in cents)					
Buyers	'Landless'	Small owners	Medium owners	Big owners	Total
Sellers					
Small owners	310.75 (21)	439.75 (35)	274.00 (11)	119.25 (5)	1143.75 (72)
Medium owners	439.80 (13)	333.00 (11)	106.25 (3)	397.75 (8)	1276.80 (35)
Big owners	925.00 (12)	524.50 (13)	540.00 (7)	2677.50 (22)	4667.00 (54)
Total	1675.55 (46)	1297.25 (59)	920.25 (21)	3194.50 (35)	7087.55 (161)

1975-80

Small owners	554.15 (37)	345.65 (29)	239.75 (11)	120.25 (5)	1259.80 (82)
Medium owners	776.80 (18)	480.50 (14)	209.00 (6)	493.00 (10)	1959.30 (48)
Big owners	2522.00 (21)	519.00 (9)	1275.00 (11)	1592.25 (18)	5908.25 (59)
Total	3852.95 (76)	1345.15 (52)	1723.75 (28)	2205.50 (33)	9127.35 (189)

Note: Small owners: 0-50 cents
 Medium owners: 50-100 cents
 Big owners : 100 + cents

Figures in brackets are number of transfers.

Table 7 (c) Direction of Transfers among different Groups of Landowners in Pidavur

		<u>1971-74</u>			(Area in cents)		
		Buyers	'Landless'	Small owners	Medium owners	Big owners	Total
Sellers							
Small owners		283.00 (24)		278.25 (38)	113.50 (9)	27.00 (2)	701.75 (73)
Medium owners		90.00 (4)		330.50 (16)	238.00 (13)	273.00 (9)	931.50 (42)
Big owners		964.00 (13)		224.00 (8)	281.00 (7)	2597.50 (31)	4066.50 (59)
Total		1337.00 (41)		832.75 (62)	632.50 (29)	2897.50 (42)	5699.75 (174)
		<u>1975-80</u>					
Small owners		656.50 (50)		1155.25 (104)	613.00 (29)	335.75 (16)	2760.50 (199)
Medium owners		777.75 (21)		693.50 (37)	521.25 (24)	702.00 (17)	2694.50 (99)
Big owners		4604.00 (38)		819.00 (23)	625.75 (17)	4645.00 (50)	10693.75 (128)
Total		6038.25 (109)		2667.75 (164)	1760.00 (70)	5682.75 (83)	16148.75 (426)

Note: Same as for Table 7 (b).

Direction of transfers presented in Tables 7 (a), (b) and (c) above, among the different groups of landowners, in the selected villages, may be briefly discussed below.

(i) Purchase by 'Landless'

In Perungala, during 1969-74, half the number of purchases by the 'landless' was from the small landowners of below 25 cents. In 1975-80 number of purchases by the 'landless' from the small landowners increased to 59 percent of the total. In terms of area, the shares were 26.17 percent in the first half and 24.39 percent in the second. Of the total number of sales by the small landowners during 1969-74, 40 percent was to the 'landless'; in 1975-80, it increased to 45.10 percent. In terms of area, of the total area sold by the small landowners during 1969-74, 37.81 percent was to the 'landless'; in 1975-80, as in the case of number of transfers, the share increased to 42.1 percent. Area and number of purchases by the 'landless' from the big landowners also increased during the second half 1975-80, from 201.00 cents (47.1 percent) to 393.40 cents (57.1 percent); and from 6 transfers to 8 transfers.

Area purchased by the 'landless' increased by 161 percent between 1969-74 and 1975-80 in Perungala compared to the total increase of 154.6 percent. In the case of number of transfers however the increase was smaller 139 percent as against 152 percent for the total.

In Thottappuzhassery, during the first half (1969-74), 18.54 percent of the area purchased by the 'landless' was from the small landowners of below 50 cents; in 1975-80 it decreased to 14.38 percent (though actual area purchased increased from 310.75 cents to 554.15 cents). Number of purchases on the other hand increased from 45.65 percent (21 transfers) to 48.68 percent (37 transfers) between the two halves. Again, during the first half 27.16 percent of the area sold by the small landowners was to the 'landless' it increased significantly to 43.99 percent in 1975-80.

Area purchased by the 'landless' from the other two groups may be noted. During 1969-74, 26.25 percent of the area purchased by the 'landless' was from the medium group landowners (50-100 cents); as in the case of purchases from the small group, it decreased to 20.16 percent in the second half (though, again actual terms area increased from 439.8 cents to 776.8 cents). Area purchased by the 'landless' from the big landowners increased significantly from 925.00 cents to 2522 cents between 1969-74 and 1975-80. In 1969-74, 55.2 percent of the total area bought by the landless was from the big, and it increased to 65.45 percent in 1975-80. Again, of the total area sold by the big landowners during 1969-74 only 19.82 percent was bought by the 'landless'; in 1975-80 however it increased to 42.69 percent.

Area purchased by the landless in Thottappuzhassery increased from 23.64 percent of the total in 1969-74 to 42.21 percent in 1975-80. It was noted earlier that remittances was

the most important source of funds for purchase of land in Thottappuzhassery. Therefore, it can be argued (on the assumption that most of the migrant workers were landless earlier), that increased share of purchases by the 'landless' during the ^{period} 1975-80 was associated with the general increase in inflow of remittances. (Again they were buying larger share of the area from the big landowners during the second period which can be explained on the basis of intra-family transfers, discussed in the next section).

In Pidavur 72 percent of the area purchased by the 'landless' in 1971-74 was from the big landowners; the share increased to 76.25 percent in 1975-80. As in the case of Thottappuzhassery share of area purchased by the 'landless' increased significantly in Pidavur from 23.45 percent of the total during 1971-74 to 37.39 percent in 1975-80. It can be seen that, as noted above, increase in area purchased by the landless during the second period was mainly due to the increased purchases from the big landowners. While the total area transferred increased only by 283 percent between 1971-74 and 1975-80, area bought by the 'landless' from the big landowners increased by 477.6 percent.

Substantial increase in purchases by the 'landless' in Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur can be attributed to remittances and extension of commercial cultivation respectively. It may also be noted that the increased demand by the 'landless' in these villages was also reflected in higher increase in land prices, compared to Perungala.

(ii) Transfers across different groups of landowners

If the transfers by the 'landless' discussed in the earlier section are excluded, it can be seen that in general transfers were mostly taking place among the same group of landowners, though there are a few exceptions.

In Perungala, during 1969-74, both small and big owners transferred most of the areas among themselves (if the 'landless' category is excluded). In 1975-80 also the same phenomenon is observed.

In Thottappuzhassery, like in Perungala, both the small and big owners transferred most of the area among themselves both in 1969-74 and 1975-80. Again the same phenomenon is observed for Pidavur during 1971-74 and 1975-80.

The middle group of landowners were transferring large areas to the small and big landowners in all the three villages. The observations that while the big and small landowners transfer areas mostly among themselves, the middle group transfer less among themselves, i.e., they were buying/selling mostly from/to the small and bigger landowners, need to be examined in detail, which is not attempted here due to limitations of data and scope of the study.

(c) Intra Family Market Transfers

It is found from the village records that (a) sizeable proportion of the market transfers, in terms of area and numbers, were among the members of the same families; and (b) prices of such intra-family transfers were much lower than those of 'inter-family' transfers. The details summarised are presented in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Intra and Inter-family sales of land in the selected villages

Villages	Intra-family			Inter-family		
	Area transferred	Number of transfers	Price per cent	Area transferred	Number of transfers	Price per cent
Perungala (1969-80)	60.15 (30.12)	295 (27.94)	85.94 (63.27)	139.54 (69.88)	761 (72.06)	135.82 (100)
Thottappu- zhassery (1969-80)	200.98 (24.74)	370 (21.04)	111.57 (49.49)	611.30 (75.26)	1388 (78.95)	225.42 (100)
Pidavur (1971-80)	271.30 (27.11)	795 (26.13)	34.46 (38.78)	729.20 (72.89)	2248 (73.87)	88.86 (100)
Total	532.43 (26.45)	1460 (24.93)	-	1480.04 (73.54)	4397 (75.07)	

Note: Figures in brackets are percentages.

Source: Poku Varavu (Transfer) Registers in the respective villages. (Personnel in the village offices also extended their help in identifying the relationship between buyer and seller in certain cases).

Thus, for the three villages together, 26.46 percent of the total area marketed and 24.93 percent of the total number of transfers were among the same family members. Shares of 'intra-family' transfers in area and number in the three villages were 30.12 percent and 27.94 percent, 24.74 percent and 21.04 percent and 27.11 percent and 26.13 per cent respectively in Perungala, Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur.

Average price of land involved in intra-family transfers were considerably lower than those for inter-family transfers, in all the three villages. For example, in Perungala, average price of all intra-family transfers was Rs.85.94 per cent, which was only 63.27 percent of the price of inter-family transfers. In Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur average prices of intra-family transfers were Rs.111.57 per cent and Rs.34.46 percent, which formed only 49.49 percent and 38.78 percent of the inter-family prices.

It can also be noted that for all villages shares of intra-family transfers in area were larger than shares in number of transfers. Thus average sizes of intra-family marketed holdings were larger than inter-family marketed holdings, as shown in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Average sizes of Intra-family and Inter-family marketed holdings for wet and dry lands

Villages	Type of land	Intra-family transfers (cents)	Inter-family transfers (cents)	Total transfers (cents)
Perungala	Dry	19.03	17.05	17.57
	Wet	22.02	20.24	20.78
Thottappuzhassery:	Dry	57.02	34.47	47.43
	Wet	27.47	30.00	29.30
Pidavur	Dry	35.64	34.47	34.77
	Wet	24.33	18.63	20.17

Source: Village records (Same as for Table 2, Chapter IV).

Since average size of marketed holdings was found to be generally in conformity with size of ownership holdings, larger average sizes of intra-family marketed holdings in the villages indicate greater participation of the larger landowners in such transfers.

Among the selected buyers and sellers it was found that transfers among 'relatives' accounted for 57.48 percent of area and 48.70 percent of transfers in Perungala; the respective shares in Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur were 49.79 percent and 44.27 percent, and 51.79 percent and 44.53 percent, as shown in Table 10 below.

Table 10 : Transfer of Land among Relatives as proportion to total transfers according size of area owned

Size of ownerships (cents)	(Percentages)					
	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Area	Number	Area	Number	Area	Number
Landless	73.21	62.50	71.34	66.67	76.32	62.50
0 - 10	48.59	48.74	48.72	50.00	52.78	55.55
10- 25	40.58	46.50	37.29	50.00	28.68	38.88
25- 50	48.91	45.83	52.16	38.88	51.43	33.33
50-100	61.71	50.00	36.34	39.13	73.33	55.55
100-250	51.30	47.37	45.54	43.48	67.31	44.00
250-500	63.67	46.67	53.19	41.64	55.35	68.00
500 +	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	57.48	48.70	49.79	44.27	51.79	44.53

Source: Same as for Tables 10 and 11, Chapter IV.

Greater proportion of transfers among 'relatives' who may also belong to different 'families', compared to strictly 'intra-family' transfers, in all the three villages, may be noted.^{8/} Data on area transferred by 'relatives' could not be collected from the village records because of the large number of transfers involved and difficulties in finding out the relationship between buyers and sellers from village records. However, it was observed that around 60 percent of the transfers were within the same community.

^{8/}Intra-community transfers are not examined in detail due to the limited scope of this study, (except in the case of the Scheduled Castes, details of the same are examined in the next chapter). In addition to subjective considerations favouring one's own community in land transfers, concentration of particular communities in localities and their economic domination can also be factors contributing to intra-community transfers.

It may be noted from Table 10 that the proportion of area purchased and number of transfers from relatives were larger for the 'landless' in all the villages. Again, the main sources of funds for the 'landless' for purchase of land were mostly related to inheritance system. The proportion of transfers among relatives according to sources of funds for purchase of land and reasons for sale, are presented in Tables 11 and 12 below.

Table 11: Proportion of purchases among relatives according to main source of funds

Main source of funds	(Percentages)					
	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Area	Number	Area	Number	Area	Number
1. Own savings	48.82	30.00	62.30	30.00	44.93	28.57
2. Remittances	32.79	33.33	<u>62.44</u>	<u>47.06</u>	38.46	25.00
3. Inherited non-land resources:						
- Type (a)	<u>61.54</u>	<u>50.00</u>	<u>51.26</u>	<u>63.64</u>	<u>11.70</u>	<u>42.86</u>
- Type (b)	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>78.22</u>	<u>66.67</u>	<u>63.43</u>	<u>57.14</u>
4. Sale of inherited land	<u>69.96</u>	<u>64.00</u>	<u>81.06</u>	<u>71.47</u>	<u>90.73</u>	<u>75.00</u>
5. Sale of other land	19.32	20.00	9.33	22.22	-	-
6. Other sources	5.49	12.50	32.68	33.33	28.09	78.57
Total	53.03	46.55	53.38	47.62	52.27	42.42

Source: Same as for Tables 10 and 11, Chapter IV.

Table 12: Proportion of Sales among Relatives
according to Main reason for Sale

Main reason for sale	(Percentages)					
	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Area	Number	Area	Number	Area	Number
1. Indebtedness	38.73	42.86	4.91	20.00	25.57	33.33
2. Marriage expenses - Type (a)	100	100	78.57	66.67	77.27	66.67
Type (b)	44.63	66.67	48.78	60.00	77.87	69.23
3. Migration due to marriage	83.60	70.58	68.98	62.50	82.35	69.56
4. Migration for other reasons	-	-	54.16	44.44	-	-
5. Construction/Renovation of Building	45.16	25.00	-	-	-	-
6. Purchase of other land	100	100	-	-	-	-
7. Other expenses	3.22	12.50	4.43	30.00	27.60	20.00
Total	62.07	50.88	44.76	41.18	51.14	46.48

Source: Same as for Table 11, above.

Landowners' desire to keep the holdings within their own families (or among their relatives) need no explanation. However, the following main observations may be noted:

- (1) in all the ^{villages} most of the transfers related to inheritance system were among the relatives;
- (2) In Thottappuzhassery, where remittances and migration resulted in large purchases and sales respectively, 62.44 percent of the area bought and 54.16 percent of

the area sold (according to the separate samples), were among relatives. Thus in spite of the very active and competitive land market in Thottappuzhassery about half the area transferred were among relatives (See Table 10).

The above observations are briefly examined below.

(i) Inheritance system and intra-family transfers

Type (a): A brief description of this system, practised by mainly Syrian Christians in the selected villages was already presented in Chapter IV. It is found that most of the market transfers (associated with this type of inheritance) among the same family members were not market transfers in the usual sense, but 'adjustments' though money is also involved. Intra-family market transfers occur in this type of inheritance generally when cash/ornaments/other assets given to girls, who are parting with the parent households after marriage, are not contributed by the heads of the households (mother/father/single son heir), but contributed by other members (usually sons), who in turn get compensated by sale of land, often at a lower price^{9/}, by the parent household.

^{9/} The factors deciding the quantity/amount of non-land resources given to girls by the parent household in connection with marriage are not examined here due to the limited scope of this work. However, it may be noted that there was substantial increase in quantity/value of non-land resources given to girls as 'shares' during the period. Given the compositions, income levels and asset holdings of the parent households, greater increase in value of 'shares' given to girls could mean more sales of assets including land and also greater contribution by others than head of the families, to meet the requirement.

It may be noted here that cash contributed by family members (usually sons) for payment of 'shares' to girls often may not be from their own savings. In the case of sons, since they may also be young and the amount involved, as shown earlier large, payment of 'shares' to sisters is met from the 'shares' their wives receive. So there is a chain starting with the daughter-in-law bringing in 'shares' in the form of cash/ornaments and using them to give 'shares' to daughters, thereby in the process get compensated through 'purchase' of land.

The important relationship of cash requirement for giving 'shares' to daughters and alienation of landed property may be noted here. If cash could not be found internally by the parent household to meet the above requirement, land might have to be alienated.^{10/} One of the reasons for the higher levels of entrepreneurship among the Syrian Christians, in the forms of commercial cultivation, trade, financial activities, etc. can thus be attributed to the 'internal' demand for cash to give 'shares' to daughters.

Type (b): Total amount involved, particularly the cash component, in this system is relatively smaller since the girls are also eligible for landed property. Its influence in intra-family transfers is more or less same as in the case of Type (a) above, with the 'chain' operating, preventing alienation of land to others.

Type (c): Relation of this system, where both males and females, to intra-family transfers is more direct and simple. For as explained earlier, when both husband and wife inherit land from their respective parent households (and if they belong to distant villages), one of them usually sells his/her share to settle down at one place. These inherited plots put for sale are usually purchased by other members of the family. Again, as

^{10/} Thus the reasoning of the sons for getting compensated for meeting the expenditure in connection with giving 'shares' to daughters is based on the fact that had the resources been not raised internally land would have to be sold to others.

in the case of the above two types, funds for purchasing these plots are usually met from the sale of inherited plots of the other partner, and so on, thereby making sure that as far as possible land remains in the family.

Lower price for intra-family transfers associated with the inheritance system may also be due to the following reasons:

(a) Decisions on investment in land in the forms of land improvements, planting of tree crops, etc. are generally made by male members of the parent household before partition of the property. In general, unmarried females (daughters) of the household are not involved in such matters. Male members (sons) who thus contributed get preference over others while the plots are put for sale by the daughters (sisters) after partition.

(b) Again, related to the above, since decisions on investment in land are made by male members, it can so happen that there may be less improvement/investment in those plots which have already been given to daughters (sisters) who may be living away, and looking for selling the property.

(c) Thirdly, it was found, in general, that investments/improvements in land owned by the undivided parent households (to be inherited by both males and females) were at lower levels. On the other hand, in plots inherited/inheritable by only male members, cultivation of perennial crops like rubber, coconut etc. and land improvements, which require larger investments and greater involvement of males, were more widespread. Thus the relative inferiority of the plots inherited by daughters from the parent households is reflected in the lower prices for such plots. (These observations are not examined in detail here due to the limited scope of this study).

(ii) Other reasons for Intra-Family Transfers

Preference to family members while transferring land due to subjective considerations need no explanation. However, in addition to inheritance system explained above there were other reasons contributing to intra-family transfers. Some of them may be identified below:

(a) Since dry land plots are also used as house-sites, sale of land to 'others' mean often possibility of them becoming neighbours, which is generally avoided by sale of

land to the family members;

(b) Sale of land to 'others' often make the plot an 'independent' one requiring separate facilities for thoroughfare, water supply, bunds, etc. which may often be at the cost of the seller, or his other family members who own adjacent plots. This is avoided by selling the plot to the owner of the adjacent plots (who may often be the family member). The same considerations may also apply to the buyer, who if the plot purchased is a distant one, may have to the above facilities. (In this case however, the price paid may be higher).

(c) As members of the same family, the buyer and seller, may generally have also other economic relationships than the particular market relationship involving land. For example, borrowing and lending of money, may be frequent among them. Such relationships can also increase the proportion of intra-family transfers.

(d) Another important reason, though strictly not economic, is attachment of the buyer to certain objects in the plots for sale. For example, perennial tree crops like coconut, mango, jack and structures including houses etc.

once used jointly by the same family members before partitioning of the parent household and property are generally purchased by the same family members when put sale.

All the above considerations apply the buyers also, and if demand from them are stronger, the price of plots transferred will also be higher. However, greater demand from them generally not result in higher prices for reasons mentioned earlier.

Intra-family transfers, observed above, could not be examined in detail, with more information, due to the limited scope of this work. It may be noted that intra-family transfers are closely linked to partitioning of land of parent households and formation of new households. Therefore, understanding of intra-family transfers will be complete only after the detailed examination of the system of land partition and formation of New households.

However, as mentioned earlier, the implications of intra-family transfers are that the landed succeed, even with very active land market, to keep the land within their own families and subjective considerations are still important in the land market.

Summary

The following observations can be made on the basis of the discussion in this chapter:

(1) 'Landless' who did not own any land in the village previously accounted for about one-fourth of the total transfers. The main source of funds for them were inherited resources like land, cash, ornaments, etc. and savings (also remittances in the case of Thottappuzhassery). Thus, it can be argued that the 'landless' were mostly young persons acquiring land for the first time.

(2) Participation of the small landowners were less compared to the big and medium owners, especially as buyers. While their inability to purchase land, particularly when land prices were increasing, is obvious how they could succeed in preventing large-scale alienation of land require more closer examination.

(3) Most of the area purchased/sold by the big and small landowners were among themselves (if sales to the 'landless' are excluded). While reasons for the big and small owners transferring land mostly among themselves are obvious, they the medium landowners engaged in less transfers among themselves require more detailed examination.

(4) Intra-family transfers accounted for a sizeable proportion of the area sold and number of transfers; the price of land thus sold was less than in inter-family transfers. These transfers were guided both by economic and non-economic reasons. However the main implications of such transfers were that the landed could succeed in keeping land within their families and also subjective considerations are still important in land market.

Chapter VI

PARTICIPATION OF THE SCHEDULED CASTES IN THE LAND MARKET

Lowest position of the scheduled castes/tribes in terms of ownership of land, employment status, and educational levels in Kerala is well known.^{1/} Census of Travancore, 1931, for example, had noted that proportion of landowners and area owned by the depressed Hindu Communities were lowest among the selected households.^{2/} They were at the bottom of the scale in terms of landownership, about four decades later, with 53.2 percent and 57.7 percent of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes households reporting no land, as against only 32.8 percent for all communities.^{3/}

1. See, P. Sivanandan, 'Caste, Class and Economic Opportunity in Kerala: An Empirical Analysis', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.XIV, Nos.7 & 8, Annual Number, February 1979, pp.475-480.

2/ Average size of area owned by depressed Hindu owners were only 1.03 and 1.43 acres of wet and dry lands respectively, as against 15.60 and 12.89 acres for Brahmins, 1.71 and 2.95 for Nairs, 2.69 and 3.90 for Syrian Christians and 2.20 and 2.57 acres for all communities combined.
Census of India, Vol.XXVIII, Travancore, Part I, Report, Appendix IV, 1933, p.472 and 475 (Given as Table 1 in P.Sivanandan ibid).

3/ The lowest position of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes may be noted against the position of the next higher community in the scale (if we exclude Converts to Christianity from the SCs), that of Ezhavas with only 33.4 percent of households without land. Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Report on Socio-Economic Survey on Caste/Communities in Kerala, 1968, Trivandrum, 1969.

In the case of employment status also, the position of scheduled castes was the lowest,^{4/} most of them being agricultural workers. For example 91.2 percent of cherumas (an important scheduled caste community) was agricultural workers in Malabar during 1921, as against only 23.8 percent, 44.49 percent and 17.2 percent of Mopla Muslims, Thiyyas and Nairs respectively.^{5/}

Employment status of scheduled castes in Travancore and Cochin was also more or less the same during 1931 and 1941.^{6/} Activity status of different communities as of 1968 reflected no improvement in the comparative position of the scheduled castes, with greater proportion of daily wage workers, and lower incomes.^{7/}

4/ Lowest employment status of the scheduled castes was also reflected in their educational status. For example, literacy rates among Pulayas were only 3.3 percent, 5.3 percent and 1.9 percent respectively in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar in 1931, compared to above 35 percent for 'Upper' communities like Brahmins, Nairs and Syrian Christians. Literacy rates of Muslims, who were occupying the second lowest position, were 14.4 percent, 13.7 percent and 7.5 percent respectively in the former administrative divisions and thus much higher compared to Pulayas. Again, much later in 1968, literates among the scheduled castes and tribes were only 47.1 percent 36.1 percent as against 66.2 percent for all communities. See, P.Sivanandan, op.cit. Tables 4 and 5.

5/ Ibid., Table 6.

6/ Ibid.

7/ Ibid. Tables 7, and 10.

An examination of the participation of scheduled castes in the land market in our sample villages would be rewarding in the light of the observations made above. The comparative position of the scheduled castes vis-a-vis other communities may be gauged from the following table (Table 1).

Table 1: Comparative position of Scheduled Castes in the Selected Villages

Particulars of Scheduled Castes	(Percentages)		
	Perungala	Thottappu-zhassery	Pidavur
1. Population (1971)	11.75	7.46	9.46
2. Households (1971)	12.27	9.36	10.66
3. Landowners	7.75	5.73	8.39
4. Landowners in total population	23.36	19.24	32.29
	(37.02)	(25.51)	(36.83)

Note: 1. Number of households and Population are from the Census, 1971, for the respective villages.

2. Number of landowners are from the village records for the base years of study, (See Table 13 of Chapter IV)

3. Figures in brackets are percentage of landowners in non-scheduled caste population.

Evidently, the proportion of land owners among the Scheduled Castes is lower than its share of the total population in all the selected villages; thus while their population ranged from 7.46 percent to 11.75 percent, the proportion of landowners was in the range of only 5.73 percent to 8.39 percent.

Moreover, scheduled caste landowners were owners of only very small plots, as shown below.

Table 2 : Distribution of Landownership among the Scheduled Castes in the Selected Villages

Size classes (cents)	Perungala			Thottappuzhassery			Pidavur		
	No. of owners (%)	Area owned (%)	Average size (cents)	No. of owners (%)	Area owned (%)	Average size (cents)	No. of owners (%)	Area owned (%)	Average size (cents)
0-10	80.60	56.51	5.31	68.97	36.61	6.21	45.34	22.97	8.72
10-25	17.06	29.71	13.20	19.21	23.57	14.36	30.87	27.49	15.33
25-50	1.67	7.68	34.80	9.36	25.92	32.42	20.58	37.63	31.48
50-100	0.67	6.09	69.00	2.46	13.89	66.00	3.21	11.91	63.80
100+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	7.58	100	100	11.70	100	100	17.22

Source: Village Records (Same as for Table 1, Chapter IV)

Thus, the majority of the scheduled caste landowners had only small holdings, 10-25 cents; and there was not a single

owner with more than 1 acre in the village. Their position was relatively worse in Perungala with 80.6 percent owning only less than 10 cents each (with an average of 5.31 cents). Their position in the other two villages was slightly better.^{1/}

Against the above background, we may now examine the participation of the scheduled castes in the land market. Area transferred (and number of transfers) by scheduled castes in the three villages are presented in Table 3 below. It may be noted that while scheduled castes as a group made a marginal net gain of 41.54 cents of land in Perungala, through 129 transfers during the period 1969-80, in the other two villages they suffered net loss in area owned, particularly heavily in Pidavur.

^{1/} More clear picture of the position of scheduled castes in terms of landownership can be obtained from the following Table, showing their relative position in each size group.

Proportion of Scheduled Caste Owners and Area owned in total in each size group

Size Group (cents)	(Percentages)					
	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	No. of owners	Area owned	No. of owners	Area owned	No. of owners	Area owned
0-10	19.92	15.56	26.42	19.43	23.82	26.24
10-25	5.83	4.49	6.38	4.95	15.53	14.70
25-50	0.63	0.65	2.98	2.83	8.39	7.15
50-100	0.35	0.33	0.65	0.60	1.49	1.38
100+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	7.75	1.20	5.73	0.73	8.39	1.53

Source: Village Records (Same as for Table 2 above)

Table 3 : Purchase/Sales/Gain or Loss of land by Scheduled Castes in the Selected Villages

Villages	Purchase			Sales			Net Gain/Loss	
	No. of transfers	Area bought (cents)	Average size (cents)	No. of transfers	Area sold (cents)	Average size (cents)	No. of transfers	Area gained/lost (cents)
Perungala (1969-80)	67 (6.34)	406.66 (2.03)	6.07 (18.91)	62 (5.87)	365.12 (1.83)	5.89	5	41.54
Thottappu-zhassery (1969-80)	60 (3.41)	737.73 (0.91)	12.30 (46.20)	66 (3.53)	792.98 (0.98)	12.01	-6	-55.25
Pidavur (1971-80)	182 (5.98)	2105.50 (2.10)	11.57 (32.87)	229 (7.53)	2554.50 (2.55)	11.16	-47	-449.00
Total	309 (5.98)	3249.89 (1.61)	10.51 (34.36)	357 (6.09)	3712.60 (1.84)	10.40	-48	-462.71

Note: Figures in brackets for number of transfers and area transferred are percentages to total in the respective villages; and in average sizes of transfers show the average sizes of all transfers in the respective villages.

Source: Village records, (same as for Table 2, Chapter IV.)

Table 4: Price of Land Transferred by Scheduled castes in the Selected villages (all dry land)

(Rs. per cent)

Year	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	Purchase	Sales	Purchase	Sale	Purchase	Sale
1969	69.36	103.30	37.33	37.33
1970	54.67	54.67	35.88	50.63
1971	39.34	46.91	88.89	88.89	20.78	23.45
1972	76.06	76.60	81.23	72.43	21.39	20.43
1973	99.00	99.00	67.42	67.42	27.91	23.06
1974	42.31	122.22	20.63	20.63	22.13	21.02
1975	217.65	152.38	93.75	72.58	37.06	34.53
1976	104.41	147.44	192.86	75.51	32.77	36.05
1977	108.80	108.80	65.79	87.50	49.49	47.92
1978	100.00	100.00	113.12	108.80	38.24	38.90
1979	280.41	280.41	121.05	121.05	44.27	46.70
1980	201.83	201.83	161.17	201.17	66.38	72.38

Source: Village records (same as for Table 2, Chapter IV).

Price of plots transferred by the Scheduled castes were less than the average price of Thottappuzhassery and Pidavur for most years. (See Chapter IV, Table 6). In Perungala, however, price of plots purchased and sold by the scheduled castes showed wider fluctuations compared to the general price. These can be attributed to: (a) inferior quality of land owned by (also purchased by) scheduled castes in Pidavur and Thottappuzhassery and (b) cases of transfers with the former landlords by the hutment dwellers in Perungala, often due to compulsion ^{and} the landlords offering sometimes higher prices.

It was noted from the village records that majority of the transfers by scheduled castes were intra-community transfers (which also include intra-family transfers), as shown below, in Table 5.

Table 5 : Proportion of Intra-Community Transfers in Total Transfers by Scheduled Castes

Villages	(Percentages)			
	Purchases		Sales	
	Area	Number	Area	Number
Perungala	68.66	68.15	74.19	75.90
Thottappuzhassery	88.33	87.09	80.30	81.02
Pidavur	92.31	91.52	73.36	75.44
Total	86.41	87.59	76.67	74.79

Source: Village Records (Same as for Table 3).

Thus, interaction of scheduled castes with members of other communities in the land market is very little, since most of the transfers were among themselves (particularly purchases). In other words, there were (a) lower demand for scheduled castes' land by others and (b) preference of the scheduled castes to transfer the land among themselves, rather than to others.

To understand the participation of scheduled castes in the land market better, 50 buyers and 46 sellers were randomly selected from the total list of scheduled caste participants, in theselected villages. The main reasons for sale and sources of funds for purchase of land, as in the case of the larger sample discussed in the earlier chapters, were obtained. Main reasons for sale of land by the selected sellers are presented in Table 6 below.

Table 6 : Main reasons for sale of land by the Selected Scheduled Caste Sellers

Main reason for sale of land	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	No. of sellers	Area sold (cents)	No. of sellers	Area sold (cents)	No. of sellers	Area sold (cents)
1. Indebtedness	9	41.00	6	43.00	6	55.00
2. Marriage expenses of children	2	15.00	4	23.50	2	21.50
3. Migration due to marriage	4	30.50	3	42.00	5	89.00
4. Migration	-	-	1	26.50	-	-
5. Renovation/Construction of building	-	-	1	2.50	1	10.00
6. Other forms of investment including purchase of land	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Other items of expenditure	1	10.50	1	12.00	-	-
Total	16	96.50	16	149.50	14	165.50
Average size of holdings transferred (cents)		6.03		9.34		11.82

It may be noted that indebtedness was the most important reason for sale of land reported by the selected scheduled caste sellers in all the three villages. Sale of land due to migration relating to marriage and for meeting the marriage expenses (payment of cash, purchase of ornaments and other assets and meeting other items of expenditure) were also important reasons stated.

Main sources of funds for purchasing land are given in Table 7 below to understand the participation of scheduled castes as buyers. As in the case of non-scheduled caste buyers, sale of inherited land and inherited non-land resources (like cash, ornaments, other assets) formed the most important sources of funds for purchase of land for the scheduled castes also. A few buyers reported own savings but areas bought with savings were much smaller indicating that the amount involved might also be smaller.

(Table 7)

Table 7: Main sources of funds for purchase of Land by the Selected Scheduled Caste Buyers

(Area in cents)

Main source of funds	Perungala		Thottappuzhassery		Pidavur	
	No. of buyers	Area bought	No. of buyers	Area bought	No. of buyers	Area bought
1. Own savings	1	16.00	2	12.50	3	19.00
2. Remittances	-	-	1	15.00	-	-
3. Inherited non-land resources (only type b)	3	18.00	5	35.50	3	65.00
4. Sale of inherited land	8	59.00	5	60.60	8	106.00
5. Sale of other land	-	-	1	12.00	1	15.00
6. Sale of other assets	2	15.00	1	18.00	-	-
7. Other sources like borrowing etc.	1	8.00	2	10.20	1	25.00
Total	15	106.00	17	163.80	18	230.00

Observations made regarding the participation of the scheduled castes in the land market in the selected villages may be examined below on the basis of the main characteristics of the villages, extension and direction of transfers discussed in the earlier chapters.

(a) Perungala

In Perungala most of the scheduled caste households were beneficiaries of land reforms, especially by way of allotment of land to hutment dwellers. Their homesteads were, therefore, mostly contiguous to or surrounded by the plots of former landlords. Expansion of the plots through purchase was therefore dependent on the landlords willingness to sell. Now, the preference of the landlords to have their own family members around, facilitated by the inheritance system, precluded purchase of even smaller portion of the surrounding plots by the scheduled castes, even if they were willing to offer higher prices. Further, the land reforms and the inherent conflicts worsened the relationships between the former landlords and the beneficiary scheduled caste hutment dwellers, thereby making it increasingly difficult to purchase land by the latter.

However, demand for land from the Scheduled Castes in Perungala, even if land was available in the market, could be little. It was noted earlier that Perungala had a relatively stagnant agriculture with domination of traditional crops like paddy and coconut in the wet and dry lands respectively. Paddy being a seasonal crop labour requirements were also limited to shorter durations of peak periods. Though wage rates were

found to be higher, existence of larger number of agricultural labourers (See Table 19 Chapter IV) and shorter duration of employment reduced the total wage income of agricultural households.^{8/} In the dry land plots, in the first place coconut plantations required less labour. Secondly, holdings were mostly smaller homestead plots, management of which was usually done with family labour, thereby reducing employment opportunities of wage labourers. These aspects, together with the absence of any non-farm employment opportunities adversely affected the agricultural labourers, most of them being scheduled castes, which in turn affected the potential demand for land from them.

As a result of the restrictions observed in purchase and sale of land owned by the scheduled castes in the market led to larger proportion of intra-community transfers among them, thus further restricting their mobility. Thus scheduled caste households were found to be getting clustered with the formation of new households around the parent household. This process further prevents inter-community transfers.

^{8/} It may also be noted here that the labour requirement for land preparation, especially tilling, in dry land plots of Perungala will be considerably less due to the sandy soil and flat topography compared to the other two villages, where uneven topography with mostly laterite soil require more labour, for land preparation, prevention of erosion of soil etc.

(b) Thottappuzhassery

In Thottappuzhassery scheduled caste households were found to be clustered in certain pockets with more than 10 households in each. The largest of them is called the Pramadath Rock which accommodate around 75 households, most of them scheduled castes, in 1980. There were two other Paras (Rocks) also with concentrations of around 40 and 25 households each. These settlements were found to have started during the first decades of the century, and therefore, not the direct result of eviction by landlords to pre-empt agrarian reforms of the recent past.^{9/} However, spread of them in the more fertile plains and valleys around was prevented by a set of socio-economic factors.

First of all, as noted earlier, land prices in Thottappuzhassery were much higher compared to the other two villages. This by itself prevented scheduled castes from purchasing any land to start with. Higher rate of increase in land prices, during the study period, as a result of remittances etc. made it increasingly difficult for scheduled castes to purchase land subsequently also. As in the case of other villages, in

^{9/} It may be possible that the scheduled caste households were pushed into the inferior rocky hills of the village by other means, including purchase of their more fertile plots in the valleys at relatively lower prices. However, the relative socio-economic position of the scheduled castes, including terms and conditions of their labour, of the earlier period is to be understood for examination of this process.

Thottappuzhassery also the landed seemed reluctant to part with their land to members of other communities, especially the scheduled castes.

Demand for the scheduled castes' land from others in Thottappuzhassery was less since (a) the clusters were considered as 'bad' places by others; and (b) the plots (and the settlements) were mostly on rocks without any soil (or with only a thin layer of soil) unsuitable for cultivation of crops. It may be noted here that non-scheduled caste communities living in the plains around could afford to neglect these concentrations since land was available from among themselves.

General levels of employment of scheduled castes, both in agriculture and non-agriculture (especially ⁱⁿ construction, and as household servants) were better in Thottappuzhassery compared to Perungala. Though intensive cultivation is yet to start (with many plots found lying uncultivated), diversity of crops grown and existence of a large number of households with migrant workers and remittances, created more employment opportunities for the scheduled castes compared to Perungala. However the general improvement in levels of income by the scheduled castes through these activities were insignificant considering the higher land prices.

(c) Pidavur

Compared to other two villages, position of scheduled castes was much better off in Pidavur in terms of landownership, as noted in Table 2 above. Only 45.34 percent of the landowners belonging to the scheduled castes in Pidavur were having 0-10 cents (with an average of 8.72 cents each) in 1971, as against 80.6 percent and 68.97 percent in Perungala and Thottappuzhassery respectively in 1969.

However, the relatively better off position of the scheduled castes in the initial period deteriorated to some extent by their net loss of land. (A total of 4.49 acres of land was lost to other communities by the scheduled castes in Pidavur during 1971-80 through sales, See Table 3 above). This loss can be explained by the changes in cropping pattern with the rapid spread of cultivation of rubber even in smaller holdings, thereby making land increasingly dearer (and costly) which prevented purchase of land by scheduled castes from other communities but also led to purchase of their land by others.

Purchase of scheduled castes' land by others was facilitated by the settlement pattern. Unlike in the other two villages, scheduled caste settlements were more spread out in Pidavur, the largest of them being only 25 households. While, thus, non-scheduled castes could purchase the plots of scheduled castes, the non-scheduled castes were preferring their own people.

Changes in cropping patten had also affected the employment and levels of living of the scheduled castes in Pidavur, for two reasons: (a) prices of staple food items of the scheduled castes like tapioca, other tuber crops, jack fruit, etc. increased as a result of rubber replacing these crops; and (b) cultivation of rubber also introduced specialisation in labour, with skilled workers in tapping, spraying, grafting etc. Most of these skilled workers were found to be from non-scheduled caste communities. (It may also be noted that the 'status' of these items of work is much higher compared to casual work in agriculture since the employment is more or less regular and permanent and the wages are higher). As a result scheduled castes' main items of work in the rubber plantations were found to be weeding, manuring, and earthwork preventing erosion etc. Thus increase in employment and wages associated with rubber cultivation had mostly benefitted members of the non-scheduled caste communities.

Summary

Scheduled caste as a community lost land in two villages through market, while they could gain only marginally in the third village, during the study period. This may be noted against the observation that 80-90 percent of the transfers were among themselves. Thus market transfers did not significantly affect the status of scheduled castes in terms of landownership as a whole, but restricted their mobility thereby starting the process of formation of rural slums with the new households being set up closer to each other.

Chapter VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In Chapter II development of land market in Kerala on the basis of general factors leading to supply of land to the market is discussed. Two basic conditions were identified for supply of land. First, establishment of ownership rights and second, growth and diffusion in the number of ownerships. Establishment of ownership rights ~~was~~ the direct result of various administrative measures followed by the princely States of Travancore and Cochin and legislative measures by Kerala after its formation. Growth in the number of land ownerships and its diffusion were related to growth of population, changes in inheritance system and partitioning of land and also legislative measures like ceilings on holdings and allotment of land to the landless.

As a result of the above factors number of landownerships increased significantly in recent years, from 30.94 lakhs in 1965 to 58.35 lakhs in 1980. In the absence of expansion of area under cultivation, to compensate the above increase, average sizes of ownership holdings declined from 183.80 cents to 106.8 cents during the period. Increase in the number of very small landowners of below 10 cents was the greatest, with 296 percent, from 6.89 lakhs to 20.44 lakhs during the period. As a result, of the total landownerships 35 percent were of 10 cents and below in 1980.

In Chapter III the factors affected demand for land are briefly examined. The main factors identified were:

- (a) growth of population and changes in inheritance system;
- (b) development of commercial cultivation; (c) migration of landowners; and (d) migration for employment and inflow of remittances.

Demand for farm and housing plots as a result of increase in population is direct and obvious. However, changes in inheritance system with the break up of joint family properties and the rise of individual ownerships also led to changes in residence pattern and increase in number of households. This was found to affect not only supply of land but also demand for land as a result of movement of husband/wife from his/her parent households. Again, non-land resources (in the form of cash, ornaments, other assets etc.) were also found affecting demand for land.

Commercial cultivation was found expanding in Travancore during the first half of this century as a result of positive state policies, growth of population and migration of cultivators to marginal lands, favourable prices for the commodities, etc. Cochin and Malabar were slightly behind in expansion of commercial cultivation due to absence of positive state policies and complex forms of rights in land. However, migration of cultivators from Travancore to Malabar, agrarian reforms aimed at abolition of tenancy and establishment of private ownership rights, etc. led

to development of commercial cultivation in these regions also. As a result, area, production and gross farm income of crops like pepper, coconut, rubber, cashew, arecanut, ginger etc. which are increasingly grown in smaller holdings, were found to have increased considerably during the period 1952/53 to 1977/78. This should also have increased demand for land since (a) cultivation of the above crops were becoming increasingly widespread in the smaller holdings; and (b) the surplus generated also increased substantially, if gross farm income generated can be taken as an indicator. (It may be noted here that the influence of strictly 'plantation type' commercial crops like tea, coffee (and to some extent rubber) in the land market might be less compared to the above crops which are grown in household farms for reasons mentioned in Chapter III).

Differences in density of population, cropping pattern etc. existed in the lowland, midland and highland taluks of Travancore and between Travancore and Malabar were also reflected in differences in land prices. As a result, it was found that landowners moved from the densely populated lowland/midland regions to other midland/highland regions in Travancore in search for more land. Migration of landowners from a particular region of Travancore to Malabar was also noted in this connection. Migration of landowners, in search of more land for cultivation had among other things also led development of cultivation of commercial crops, as mentioned above, in hitherto marginal lands. As a result demand for land in the areas immigration took place also increased, as may be noted from the steadily decreasing differences in land prices among the lowland, midland and highland divisions.

Another factor found to have influenced demand for land is remittances from outside. The number of those working outside the country from Kerala has increased substantially during the second half of the 1970s. About 40 percent of those working outside the State was found to be working outside the country. Influence of their remittances on land market was reflected in the higher land prices prevailing in the areas of migration. Significant increases in the volume of remittances during the second half of the 1970s was also reflected in similar increases in land prices during the period in Kerala.

Extent of market transfers (sales) and land prices in the selected villages are examined in Chapter IV. Differences in extent of area transferred and land prices were observed among the selected villages also, as in the Lowland, Midland and Highland divisions for an earlier period.

Lower levels of market activity in the lowland village of Perungala was found to be the result of a set of factors like smaller sizes of ownership holdings, higher density of population, stagnation in agriculture, lower levels of inflow of remittances, preponderance of agricultural labourers in the working force, etc.

Land market in Thottappuzhassery was found to have mainly influenced by the employment of workers outside and inflow of remittances, with a section of the migrants selling their plots to settle down preferably in their places of work and another set buying with the remittances. Demand for land in Thottappuzhassery

was much stronger compared to supply, as indicated by the higher price and greater increase in absolute terms.

Very active land market in Pidavur, with largest extent of area transferred and highest rate of increase in land prices during the period, was due to spread of rubber cultivation even in very small holdings and the relatively larger sizes of holdings.

Inheritance system was found to affect both supply and demand for land in the market in all the three villages. Sale of inherited land by those migrating due to marriage and change in the residence, and inherited non-land resources like ornaments, cash etc. were also the main source of funds for purchase of land for a substantial number of the selected buyers. Marriage expenses like requirement of cash for payment of dowry, purchase of ornaments, etc. and migration due to marriage and change of residence were important reasons for sale of land for significant number of selected sellers.

Differences in cropping system, size of land ownership, inflow of remittances, inheritance system etc. were also reflected in land prices. Price of land in Perungala, though highest to start with in 1969, were rising at a relatively lower rate during the period. As against this, ^{mainly} due to influence of remittances and extension of commercial cultivation (rubber) land prices were increasing at higher rates in the other two villages.

In all the villages wet land prices were increasing at a lower rate compared to dry land prices. This was found to be due to two reasons: (a) cultivation of more profitable crops in dry land; and (b) increased demand for housing plots.

Relatively lower rate of increase in land prices (and smaller extent of area transferred) in the Lowland village of Perungala, if applied to the Lowland division as a whole, could mean that migration of landowners from the Lowland in search for more land in the Highland and Midland divisions is increasingly becoming unattractive.

Participation of different groups of landowners and direction of transfers were discussed in Chapter V. New buyers, who did not own any land in the village previously, were found to be the most important group of purchasers in all the three villages. Inherited resources (both cash, ornaments etc. and land) were found to be the most important sources of funds for purchase of land for this group in all the three villages. On the basis of the characteristics of the villages and the sources of funds for purchase of land it can be argued that larger number of the new buyers might be landless earlier.

It was found that the participation of small landowners in the land market was relatively less (especially as buyers) compared to the other two groups. Both the demand and supply of land by the small landowners were less mainly due to the smaller sizes of holdings. Smaller sizes of holdings restricted

their sales, though sales due to indebtedness was reported by large number of sellers. Demand for land from the small landowners was found to be affected by the lower levels of both farm and non-farm incomes particularly when significant increases in land prices were observed in all the three villages.

Most of the transfers were among the same group of landowners (if the new buyers are excluded). This was partly explained by the intra-family (and among relatives) transfers. About 30 percent of all sales/purchases was found to be among the same family members and the proportion of transfers among relatives was, obviously, larger. Prices of land transferred in intra-family transfers were, in general, much lower. Intra-family transfers were found to be due to subjective considerations, inheritance system, etc. Thus even with very active land market the landed could considerably limit the transfers among themselves.

Participation of the scheduled castes in the land market was discussed in Chapter VI. Scheduled castes occupied the lowest position, both socially and economically, in all the three selected villages. Moreover, since the role of agrarian reforms in redistribution of land is already limited, the attempt was aimed at to find out the role of market in redistributing land in favour of the scheduled castes. However, it was found that in two villages scheduled castes lost land, while they gained marginally in Perungala, during the period.

Again, 80-90 percent of the transfers by the scheduled castes were among themselves. Prices of land sold/bought by the scheduled castes were also found to be generally lower than those by other communities. Increasing land prices and preference of the landed to transfer the land among themselves might be reasons for the above phenomena, thereby also affecting the settlement pattern of the scheduled castes. With non-availability of land to spread out new households are set up near the parent households thereby forming clusters. In Thottappuzhassery most of the scheduled caste households are already clustered. In Perungala and Piddavur the process has already started.

Much closer examination with more details is required to find out what extent the observations made above in the case of scheduled castes can be applied to other small landowners also. However, participation of the smaller landowners in the land market was already noted. With relatively less participation in the land market by the smaller landowners, and large number of transfers among same landowning groups (and families) it may be argued that the small landowners were not gaining land through market. The position of the smaller landowners (and low income groups) is worsened also by the significant increases in land prices observed in all the three villages.

Finally, this study was a modest attempt to understand the development and working of land market in Kerala, with particular reference to transfers in the three villages with different characteristics. More meaningful analysis was restricted by both non-availability of relevant information and the limited scope of the study.

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APPENDIXTable 1: Details of the Family (1969-1980)

1. Name of the head of the household : 1969
: 1980:
2. Relationship of H.H. (1969)
h of hh to 1980 h of hh:
3. Caste/Community/religion:
(note change in religion)
4. Other details:
 - (a) Number of buildings:
 - (b) Date of construction
 - (c) Number of rooms
 - (d) Nature of buildings:
(kutch/picca etc.)
 - (e) Number of families (separate kitchen, but same roof)
living in the house.

Table 2: Household Profile (1969-1980)

Sl. No.	Relation-ship to h of hh	Year of marriage, if marrd.	Present age (years)	Edn. qualfn. (today)	If parted from the Parent Household				Remarks
					Place	Year	Reason for parting	No. of children	

Parting from the PH because of generally, simple family partition, work away from the PH, marriages etc.

Table 3: History of Partition of land and other properties (contd. from table 2)

(a) Landed Property:

Sl. No.	Relation to h of hh.	Land owned in 1969		Division of property			Remarks**	Parted, but not taken any share	Parted, taken share other than land
		Wet	Dry	Land (cents) wet	Dry*	Yr. of Divn.			

*In the case of dry land indicate the main crops grown

**Reasons, if partition is not in equal terms in terms area involved:

If parted, but not taken any share in land why? (for each sl. nos.) (in the case of those who are entitled to landed property)

If parted, and not taken any share other than land also, why? intended to (including cash, jewellery, livestock etc.) (Indicate whether/taking in future)

Table 3:(b) Division of other assets than land (given as share):

Sl. No.	Relan. to h of hh	Partition of other assets				Remarks*	
		Dowry (cash)		Ornaments			Others (specify)
		Amount	Year	Value (Rs.)	Year		

*Note reasons if the member is not entitled to landed property.

Table 4: Source of finance for giving other assets (above):

Sl. No.	Sources of finance*(specify)

*Note details if borrowed, like terms, source etc.

Table 5: Employment status of the members of the Phh. (from table 2)

Sl. No.	Relan. to h of hh	In 1969			At the time of Partition/Marriage* etc.			In 1980		
		ES**	Place	Yearly income	ES	Place	Income yearly	ES	Place	Income yearly

*At the time of marriage, if relevent.

**Use codes.

Space for other tables:

Table 6 (a): Acquisition of land ownership (from 1969 Table 3 (a))

Plot No.	Yr. of acquisition	Relatn. to h of household	Details regarding acquisition of landed property					
			Methods* (Specify)	Amount (Rs.)		Area (cents)		Location***
				O	D	Wet	Dry**	

Plot No.	Details of the seller				Source of funds for purchase	Remarks
	Address	Occupation	Land owned (incl. those sold)	Reasons for sale		

*Method of acquisition of land includes, purchase, share in, gift in, etc. from other families, gift from government through land legislation measures, obtained through default of borrower, etc.

** In the case of dry lands, specify the important crops etc.

***Specify the location, note if the plot is outside the village.

Table 6 (b) Alienation of land ownership

Plot No.	Yr. of alienation	Relatn. with h of hh	Method Methods* (Specify)	Details regarding alienation			Location***
				Amount (Rs.)	Area by type		
				Wet	Dry**		

plot no.	Details of persons obtained land				Reason for alienation	Remarks
	Address	Occupation at the time of acqsn.	Land owned (cents)	Purpose of the buyer		

*Methods of alienation includes, partition (covered earlier) sales, gift away, government take over, take over by institutions/individuals on default of loans.

**Specify crops.

***Specify location.

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