

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION IN INDIA : WITH SPEICAL REFERENCE TO THE IN-MIGRATION OF PEASANTS FROM CENTRAL TRAVANCORE TO MALABAR

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C E R T I F I C A T E

This Dissertation Entitled "Sociological Aspects of Internal Migration in India : with special Reference to the In-Migration of Peasants from Central Travancore to Malabar", submitted by Mr. JOSEPH VIRUTHIYEL (JOSE, V.V.) for the degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any University. We recommend that this thesis should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of the M.Phil. Degree.

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P R E F A C E

Migration has become a way of life in the modern world. The world's population today consists of a significant number of people who spend a considerable part of their lives outside their native places. Economic development requires the placement of the human resources where they are most likely to be put to maximum use either in industry or agriculture. In industrialized countries migration has become part of a person's career cycle, and urban to urban migration is the most significant. However in underdeveloped countries the population is comparatively static spatially. And most migration is from rural areas to rural areas, often within the same district.

Sociological studies of migration in India have been few and far between. But this is much more true regarding migration of the population of Kerala. We do not know much about this important field other than certain myths and misconceptions. One of this is that the "Malayalee" is psychologically a very migration-prone person. The best example of this myth is the proverb in Malayalam that "even if you go to the moon you will find a Malayalee there". Granting the fact that many young men and women from Kerala go out of their state for employment, a careful analysis of the census reports would reveal ^{that this is a relatively} recent phenomenon and that till 1951 immigrants from other States to Kerala outnumbered outmigrants from Kerala.

The predominance of outmigration in recent years should not blind us to a more significant flow of population within Kerala. Most internal migration in Kerala is rural to rural and for agricultural purposes. Many people have migrated ~~ed~~ from Central Travancore to Malabar in the North and to the High Ranges in Kottayam district. This flow started during the 'Great Depression' of the 1930s and is still an ongoing process. There has been a dearth of

systematic studies of this movement and the present exercise is an attempt in this direction.

The first Chapter is a review of general studies regarding migration. In the second chapter a resumé of the few studies conducted in India in the field of migration is provided. The third chapter examines the patterns of internal migration in Kerala. The fourth chapter is a preliminary analysis of the migration of farmers from Travancore to Malabar. Reliance has largely been placed on secondary data, however in order to augment these data which are extremely meagre, 40 people have been interviewed in the field and the results have been incorporated into our account. The attempt is not to arrive at any definitive statements but to throw up fruitful hypothesis for a more thorough study. In the Conclusion these hypotheses are brought together as a set of central questions for further study.

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CHAPTER I

MIGRATION AS A SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM

The term 'migration' refers to the movement of human population from one geographical region to another for a 'sufficient period of time'. The time element is often defined vaguely. Censuses generally consider as migrants persons with the duration of residence of one year away from their native place. Sociologists would perhaps require a more permanent stay to be significant.

Migration is broadly divided into two types, namely, (a) international migration or the movement of people from one country to another often over long distances; and (b) internal migration or the movement of population between different areas of the same country. Internal migration can be further divided into four types: (i) rural to rural migration, movement from one village to another including the seasonal migration of agricultural and plantation labour, as well as the permanent movement of peasants, (ii) movement from rural areas to cities for employment, (iii) urban to urban migration; and (iv) urban to rural migration of rural-born migrants. If these movements go on within the same state or province in a given country, they are called intra-state movement. If different states are involved such movements are called inter-state. The original places the migrants leave behind are called the 'point of origin' and the places in which they settle are called 'the point of destination'. The term 'emigrant' and 'immigrant' are used for those who leave a point of origin and settle in a point of destination respectively for international migration. Similarly 'out-migrant' and 'in-migrant' are used for internal migrants.

Sociologists are interested in the study of migration in as far as numerous social processes are involved in a person's or group's decision to migrate, in the pattern of interaction between the 'host' population and the 'immigrants' and so on. ⁽¹⁾ Migration may be caused by

(1) Jackson J.A. (ed) Introduction, Migration, P 3.

numerous social determinants like religious, or political persecution, the exhaustion of physical resources and economic opportunities etc. Industrialized economies generally have a higher rate of mobility of population than subsistence economies. The actual process itself may involve such social factors as kinship networks, informal and official information channels, patronage by official and non-official agencies and so on. Migration may set in motion numerous social processes due to the interaction of native and immigrant population.

Present knowledge of the phenomenon of migration is somewhat inadequate. The study of migration has been hampered by grave deficiencies in migration theories which tend to be "time-bound, culture-bound and situation-bound".⁽²⁾ Jackson contrasts this static theoretic development to "the dynamic quality of migration itself and the extraordinary importance which movements of population assume as both a catalyst and ingredient of social change".⁽³⁾ This is mainly due to the prevalence of certain misconceptions regarding migration. The most of these myths is that man is universally sedentary, that "movement away from the natal place is a deviant activity associated with disorganization and a threat to the established harmony of Gemeinschaft relationships which are implied by a life lived within a fixed social framework".⁽⁴⁾ Another misconception is the 'snapshot' character of the act of migration. This implies that migration is usually a once-and-only-once phenomenon. But, today, a significant section of the world's population consists of what Richmond calls 'transients',⁽⁵⁾ that is, people who spend periods of their lives outside their country of birth, return home and again migrate.

(2) Germani, Migration and Acculturation (1964) P. 167

(3) Jackson J.A. op.cit. P 3

(4) Ibid P. 3

(5) Richmond, A.H. Prewar Migrants in Canada, Toronto, 1967.

Another reason for the slow theoretic development in the field of migration is the lack of interchanges between the various social sciences disciplines like economics, political science, demography and sociology which are interested in migration. 'There has been little attempt to order the confusion with theoretical propositions and models which would lend both elegance and understanding to this large and important subject.'⁽⁶⁾

Though a general theoretical synthesis is lacking various lines of approach have been attempted in terms of description, typologies and theoretical systems. Here an attempt is made to review some of these approaches.

TYPES OF MIGRATION STUDIES

A. DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES:

These are numerous descriptive studies of immigrants groups and their ways of life in the Western context. The ethenic history of Norwegian immigrants by T.C. Blegen⁽⁷⁾ is one of the best descriptive studies. So are the works of sociologists like Galitzi⁽⁸⁾ and Gans⁽⁹⁾. The best example of a work of political scientist is the survey of Melbourne Jewry by P.Y. Medding.⁽¹⁰⁾

Though descriptive studies provide us with numerous insights regarding the immigrant situation, they do not yield a systematic explanation of the various social processes involved.

B. TYPOLOGIES:

The best-known typology of migration is the one constructed by Fairchild.⁽¹¹⁾ Two sets of criteria are employed in

(6) Jackson, J.A., op.cit. P-6

(7) Blegen, T.C., Norwegian Migration to America(Northfield, 1931, 1940).

(8) Galitzi

(9) Gans, Herbert The Urban Villagers(Glencoe, 1961)

(10) Medding, P.Y., From Assimilation to Group Survival (Melbourne, 1968)

(11) Fairchild, F.P., Immigration (New York, 1925) PP 13 & 77

constructing the typology. One is the level of the cultural development of the immigrant group and the receiving group. The other is the nature of the migratory process - whether it is peaceful or warlike. In schematic form we have the following types:-

Migration Form	Migration to	Peaceful Movement	Warlike Movement
Low Culture	High culture	--	Invasion
High culture	Low culture	Colonization	Conquest
Culture on a Level		Immigration	--

Movement from low culture to high culture, in this typology, is necessarily invasion, that from high culture to low culture is either colonization (peaceful) or conquest (warlike). Movement between the cultures on the same level of development is peaceful immigration. The basic weakness of the typology, as Petersen⁽¹²⁾ rightly points out, is the arbitrariness in applying the two sets of criteria. Fairchild goes beyond the limits of scientific objectivity while rating certain cultures as low (e.g., the Visigoths, the Indians) and other cultures as high (e.g., the Romans, the British). Similarly what is the essential difference between 'invasion' and 'conquest'? Can there be no warlike movements between cultures on the same level? Further, the typology is conceptually too simple and adds little to our knowledge of migration.

The element of choice was basic to Julius Issac's classification of migration. He divided migration into free (nomadic, seasonal, temporary, permanent) and forced (refugee movement, slave trade, population transfer etc.).

Petersen's⁽¹³⁾ is by far the most complex and useful of the existing typologies. It is based on two axes, namely, (a) conservativeness/innovation (whether migration is

(12) Petersen, W. 'A General Typology of Migration' in Jansen, C.J.(ed), Readings in the Sociology of Migration (Toronto)

(13) Petersen. op.cit. P 65

undertaken to preserve a way of life presently under threat or whether to improve standards by changing a way of life) and (b) the underlying migratory force such as ecological push, political force, aspiration to better one's condition, and the social pressure exerted by a mass movement or 'migratory craze'. In schematic form we have the following types:-

Relation	Migratory Force	Class of migratory force	Type of Migration	
			Conservative	Innovating
Nature and man	Ecological push	Primitive	Wandering Ranging	Flight from land
State(or equivalent) and Man	Migration Policy	Forced Impelled	Displacement Flight	Slave Trade Coolie Trade
Man and his Norms	Higher aspirations	Free	Group	Poineer
Collective Behavior	Social Momentum	Mass	Settlement	Urbani-zation

The usefulness of Petersen's classifications consists in the fact that it takes account of the causal factor in migration almost comprehensively by relating it to man's relation with natural and social forces in terms of push and pull factors. The distinction between conservative-ness and innovation takes care of the element of the mi-grants aspirations and explains why certain individuals do not migrate inspite of acute push factors.

There are five classes of migration, namely, primitive, forced, impelled, free and mass. However, the placement of categories in each heading sounds somewhat arbitrary. For example how is it justifiable to consider all forms of flight from land as innovating? For it may result from undue expectations regarding prospects in the cities, inability to exploit natural resources through the appli-cation of modern methods and so on. Similiary slave trade and coölie trade are hardly innovating from the

point of view of the slaves group migration need not necessarily be conservating. In spite of these deficiencies Petersen's classification remains eminently useful.

Another typology implicit in many discussions is based on the differences in the level of economic and social development of societies. Some others have pointed out that underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa have spatially static populations compared to the industrialized countries of the West. ⁽¹⁴⁾ The geographic immobility of rural populations in underdeveloped countries is considered to be the result of a low level of industrial development, as also numerous social reasons like the prevalence of village customs and traditions, lack of roads and networks of communications and so on. On the other hand, developed economies demand labour to be located where economic opportunities are located and migration has become part of a person's career history. ⁽¹⁵⁾

Some authors have marked the vast difference in the social and occupational composition of migrants at the beginning of the 20th Century and after World War I. According to George, ⁽¹⁶⁾ migration upto the First World War was essentially the movement of unskilled labour recruited from the poorest and the most overpopulated rural areas, and contained a high proportion of unmarried males. Today, however, "the door of emigration is closed to masses from underdeveloped countries who are condemned to misery and geographic inertia because of the fundamental opposition between the supply of muscle-power from backward economies and the demand for 'brain-power' in the increasingly complex and technical economies". Only people with managerial and technical skills are required. Thus the predominant form of international migration today is what is called 'brain-drain'.

(14) Suprunovitch: 'Migration and changes in the Geography of rural population in India', in Census of India, 1971. Economic and Cultural Dimensions of Regionalization

(15) Jansen, C.J. 'Sociological Aspects of Migration' in Jackson(ed) op.cit. p 69

(16) George P. (ed), 'Types of Migration of the Population According to the Professional and Social Composition of Migrants' in Jansen, op.cit. P 39-48

C. THEORETICAL WORKS:

Attempts at the theoretical understanding of the process of migration has been centred around four major questions.

- 1) What is the size and the direction of movement in a given region and what factors determine these?
- ii) What determine certain groups and persons to be more mobile than others: Selectivity or differential migration?
- iii) What the factors which force or motivate groups and persons to move: the causal and motivational structure of migration?
- iv) What is the type of interaction which emerges between the migrants (the 'guest system') and the receiving population (the 'host system')⁽¹⁷⁾ and what are the factors which affect the migrants' adjustment and assimilation in the host society.

i) Size and Direction of Movement:

Demographic interest in migration centres around to what extent migration affects population growth. For this it is necessary to understand the volume (size) and direction of the movement of population in a given region. This first effort at this direction was that of Ravenstein.⁽¹⁸⁾ The celebrated 'Ravenstein's laws' link migration to the distance to be covered by migrants. The basic proposition is that more migrant tend to move to short distances. This movement is accompanies by the universal shifting of the population to the great centres of industry and commerce. Each such "current" given rise to "counter-currents". Inhabitants of villages close to the cities first take the move and their place is filled by migrants from remoter districts. Migration tends to increase with the growth of technology. The economic motive is the most dominant consideration in the decision to migrate. Ravenstein also stated the natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural parts and that females are more migratory than males.

(17) The Terms 'guest system' and 'host system' are used by Partha, N. Mukherjee, in 'The Great Migration', in Economic & Political Weekly Vol.IX, No.9, 10 & 11, March 2, 9 & 16, 1974.

(18) Ravenstein E, 'The Laws of Migration' Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 48(June 1885).167-235,52 (June 1889) 241-305 cited in Jansen, op cit.

Recent theories have looked at movements not in terms of distance alone but also in terms of 'opportunities'. Stouffer's⁽¹⁹⁾ theory of 'intervening opportunities' says "the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities". Later Stouffer introduced into his earlier model a further variable, namely, 'competing migrants'.⁽²⁰⁾ Thus not only the existence of intervening opportunities but also the number of migrants competing for the same opportunities in a given location reduces the attractiveness of that place.

The variables 'distance and opportunities' were basic to the hypothesis of Rose which was tested in Minneapolis:⁽²¹⁾

Higher status persons, who seek better jobs or 'opportunities' must move a greater distance to find them, on average, than do persons whose skills and aspirations direct them to look for less desirable opportunities. (Presumably low-status-jobs)

Rose's study revealed that lower-class people find many more intervening opportunities in a given distance than do upper-class people. The same hypothesis was retested by Stud⁽²²⁾ who found that managers and professionals migrated longer distances than lower-class migrants.

Burdford's⁽²³⁾ study revealed that more important than physical distance was "psychological distance", that is how far farmers 'feel' that they are from non-farming opportunities.

(19) Stouffer, S. Intervening opportunities: a theory relating mobility and distance, American Sociological Review 5, (December 1940), 845 - 47.

(20) Stouffer, S. Intervening Opportunities and Competing migrants Journal of Regional Science 2 (Spring 1960), 1 - 26.

(21) Quoted in Jansen, op.cit. P 12

(22) Stud, H. The occupational characteristics of migrants to Duluth: a retest of Rose's migration hypothesis, American Sociological Review, 27(1)(Feb. 1962), 87-90

(23) Burdford, R.L., An index of distance as related to internal migration, Southern Economic Journal, 29(2) (October 1962) 77 - 81.

The traditional push-pull dichotomy has been used by Bogue⁽²⁴⁾ to understand the direction of movement. His hypothesis was: Migration that has very strong "push" stimulus tends to be much less selective with respect to the community of origin than migration which has a very strong "pull" stimulus. Where there is a condition of strong push but no strong pull (such as famine, drought, floods, exhaustion of a resource) origin selectivity is at a minimum. In other words, selectivity of immigrants from any community tends to vary directly with the strength of attractive "pulls" from other communities and inversely with the expulsive "pushes" from the community itself.

With regard to the volume and direction of movements as well as the characteristics of migrants Everest S. Lee⁽²⁵⁾ has modified and extended the scope of Ravenstein's laws and offers the following hypothesis. Here we focus on hypotheses regarding the development of stream and counter-stream.

- i) Migration tends to take place largely within well-defined streams. This is largely due to the high localization of opportunities, the necessity to follow established routes of transportation, flow of knowledge back from destination to origin, the actual recruitment of migrants at place of origin, and the overcoming of intervening obstacles by the early migrants. Thus the focus of early migration is military outposts or trade centres and the early frontiersmen are the military, traders and missionaries and not farmers.
- ii) For every migration stream, a counterstream develops. This refers mainly to 'return' migration which may be caused by the disappearance of 'negative factors' at the place of origin.
- iii) The efficiency of streams (ratio of stream to counter-stream or the net redistribution of population affected by the opposite flows) is high if the major factors in the development of a migration stream were minus factors at origin.

(24) Bogue, D.J., Internal migration, in P.M. Hauser and O.D. Duncan, The Study of Population, University of Chicago Press, PP 486-509.

(25) Lee, Everest, S. 'A Theory of Migration' in Jackson, op.cit., p. 289.

- iv) The efficiency of stream and counterstream will be low if origin and destination are similar.
- v) The efficiency of streams will be high if the intervening obstacles are great. This is because those who migrate after overcoming great obstacles do so for compelling reasons. They are not likely to return since it requires overcoming equally great obstacles.
- vi) The efficiency of streams varies with economic conditions, being high in prosperous times and low in times of depression.

ii) Differential Migration:

A question which interests both sociologists and demographers is: whether certain individuals and groups (e.g. certain age, sex, religious or class categories rather than others) tend to be more migratory than others and why. From the demographic point of view an answer to this question is necessary to understand the volume and direction of movement, and to predict further movement. For the sociologist migration differentials can yield valuable insights regarding the causes of migration, the characteristics of migrants compared to nonmigrants and the adjustment problems of the migrants.

Though there have been attempts to establish "universal" migration differentials only one differential has stood the ~~first~~ test of time, namely, that people in younger adult ages (20-23) are more prone to migrate than others.⁽²⁶⁾ Other differentials, e.g., sex selectivity, urban-rural selectivity, status selectivity etc. have application in certain places and times. Even the universal finding on age selectivity has exceptions since areas of better climate are usually selective of aged and retired persons.

(26) Thomas, Dorothy S., Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, Social Science Research Council Bulletin 43 (New York, 1938)

Apart from selectivity there have been attempts to compare migrants and non-migrants in a given area of emigration, as also migrants groups and host groups in a given area of immigration. Differences between personalities and behaviour patterns of people in the two respective categories have been revealed. For example, immigrant and native populations have been contrasted in terms of differences in occupation, industry, earnings, hours of work and rent;⁽²⁷⁾ ecological factors like the ecological distributions of immigrants;⁽²⁸⁾ cultural differences like visible differences in language, diet, dress, religion, education, sports, values and attitudes, religious beliefs, intermarriage etc.;⁽²⁹⁾ deviant behavior,⁽³⁰⁾ mental disorder⁽³¹⁾ etc.

iii) The Causal and Motivational Factors in Migration:

Two approaches can be identified in the causal explanation of migration. The first approach is concerned with the traditional push-pull hypothesis. The second approach is more a specifically sociological nature. The first model is essentially situation oriented. It takes as its starting point the differences in characteristics of the areas that have experienced net out-migration and of those with net immigration. Thus certain negative factors in the

(27) Report of the U.S. Immigration Commission, 1907-11 Vols. 6-28.

(28) Peter Scott, 'The Population Structure of Australian Cities'. Geographical Journal, 131 (Dec. 1965) pp 463-81.

Stanley Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities (Glencoe) 1963.

F. Lancasta Jones, 'Ethnic Concentration and assimilations: An Australian Case Study' 'Social Forces', 45 (March 1967)

(29) J.J. Mol, Churches and Immigrants, R.E.M.P. Bulletin, 9, Supplement 5 (The Hague, 1961)
C.S. Hill, West Indian Migrants and the London Churches (London, 1963)

Julius Drachsler, Intermarriage in New York City (N.Y. 1921)

(30) Wolsterholme, and O'Conner (eds) Immigration, Medical and Social Aspects, ~~From~~ Ciba Foundation Report (London, 1966) Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council, Reports on Crime (13/11/55, 30/4/75)

(31) Malzberg, B. and Lee Everestt S. Migration and Mental Disease (New York, 1956).

area of origin 'push' out persons while positive factors in some other region 'pull' them towards it. The push and pull factors can be economic, political and social. The negative factors range from adverse climate, overpopulation, exhaustion of natural resources, lack of employment opportunities, religious or political persecution, oppressive social stratification and so on. The positive factors can be opportunity for employment in industry and commerce, opportunity for better status and so on.

Jacoby holds that:

"The rapidly changing relationship between the size of population, agricultural resources and the degree of applied technology" is the principal cause of the formidable migration movements especially in underdeveloped countries. Such movements lead to the semi-urbanization of the rural people; a suburban slum existence without slightest possibility for integration into the urban economy and society. (32)

According to Trewortha (33) the economic element is the paramount factor in migration. Regions with high proportions of immigrant population are usually those where (i) new agricultural settlement has been occurring or (ii) rapid urbanization has been spurred on by the development of industry, trade and other important urban functions. In contrast, regions with small proportions of immigrant people are characteristically those where (i) intensity of urbanization is low and cities are of small size (ii) industry and commerce are meagrely developed and (iii) the economy is prevaillingly of substance.

George's (34) classification of migration into two types is based on the push-pull hypothesis. The first type is caused by necessity or obligations, (political or religious,

(32) Jacoby: Man and Land

(33) Trewartha :The Underdeveloped Realm

(34) George P. : Types of Migration of the population According to the professional and social composition of Migrants - in Jansen, C.J. P 39.

economic or climate reasons). The second type, on the other hand is caused by needs in the receiving countries. Demographic pressures in one region are met by a corresponding readiness to receive population in another.

The push-pull polarity has been useful in identifying the various social causes of migratory movements. However, it has certain inherent weaknesses. First of all it implies that man is universally sedentary, remaining fixed until he is impelled to move by some force. If so how to explain the way of life of nomadic people? Here the push-pull dichotomy becomes completely useless. It is only when a people have a permanent place of residence that the relevance of push and pull factors becomes greater.

Another weakness of the push-pull polarity is that "the factors alleged to 'cause' emigration or demerally comprise a heterogeneous array, ranging from an agricultural crisis to the spirit of adventure, from the development of shipping to overpopulation. Few attempts are made to distinguish among underlying causes, facilitative environment, precipitants, and motives."⁽³⁵⁾ It is necessary to distinguish between the emigrant's motives (the level of his aspiration) and the social causes of migration. For otherwise one cannot explain the lack of correlation between economic or political hardships and the propensity to migrate observed in many cases. For example, mass emigration from Europe in modern times developed together with a marked rise in the European Standards of living. The class differential in migration also needs explanation. For example, though emigration to America, would have made sure improvement in material conditions, many middle-class people in Europe did not take the plunge branding it as lower-class behavior and rather unpatriotic.

Another criticism is that the push-pull thesis can be applied only to the rural to urban migration during the industrial revolution in Europe and to the developing countries of

(35) Petersen, W. op.cit. P 53

today. It cannot be applied to the contemporary industrialized societies since there is a high rate of skilled and professional personnel who can hardly be said to be pushed. Migration has become part of the career history of modern individuals. (36)

SOCIAL FACTORS:

The third approach can be the sociological study of the process of migration. Dissatisfaction with predominantly demographic explanations and the limitations of the push-pull polarity has been at the roof of this approach. Admittedly works in this field have been few and far between much remains to be done. Petersen correctly points out the essential difference of migration from the other population variables, namely fertility and mortality.

He writes: (37)

Migration differs from fertility and mortality in that it cannot be analysed, even at the outset, in terms of non-cultural, physiological factors, but must be differentiated with respect to relevant social conditions.

Petersen's distinction between the emigrants' motives and the social causes of emigration, as pointed out earlier was a definite contribution towards the understanding of social factors in migration. His typology, though not fool-proof, clarifies many concepts.

Eisenstadt (38) in "The Absorption of Migrants" attempted a purely sociological analysis of migration. He divided the migratory process into three distinct stages,

(36) Jackson, J.A. op.cit.

(37) Petersen, op.cit. P 67

(38) Eisenstadt, S.N. The Absorption of Migrants

namely,

- 1) the motive to migrate
- 2) the social structure of the actual migratory process
- 3) the absorption of the immigrants into the socio-cultural framework of the new society.

In this section we shall concentrate on the first stage. The other two stages will be dealt with in 'assimilation'. Under the 'motivational structure' Eisenstadt includes both the 'emigrants' motives (the subjective element) and the social causes (objective element). The subjective element includes such factors as the immigrant's initial attitudes and behaviour patterns, his image of the new society, and his orientation towards and degree of readiness to accept change. The objective elements can be 'economic' and 'cultural'. The economic factor consist of

- a) 'lack of adaptation for the requirements of minimum physical existence', and
- b) the inability to attain instrumental goals such as the maximization of economic gains.

The cultural factor consists of: (a) 'inadequate' expectations of solidarity' as in the case of political refugees who fail to identify with a society', and (b) 'the inability to develop a progressive social theory'.

As Stone⁽³⁹⁾ says, this scheme provides a guide to the possible motives for migration which recognized both material and ideological factors and appreciates that their influence may operate on the basis of either absolute or relative deprivation.

Stone adds a new dimension to Eisenstadt's analysis of motivational structure by employing the 'value-added' approach of Smelser. He thinks that migration is

(39) Stone, John: Colonizer or Uitlander? : A study of the British Immigrants in South Africa, (London, Oxford University Press, 1993) P 12.

similar to collective behaviour and hence employs the elements of collective behaviour to migration also. The following table compares the causes of collective behaviour with the factors involved in the decision to migrate.

Collective Behavior	Decision to Migrate
1. Structural conduciveness - a permissive factor.	Means - physical and financial - permissive factor.
2. Structural Strain	Incentive: a) positive, b) negative. i) objective element ii) subjective element
3. Growth of generalized beliefs - making the strain meaningful to potential actors.	Awareness of Emigration
4. Precipitating factors	Precipitating factors.
5. Mobilisation of participants for action - role of leaders.	Mobilization
6. Social controls	Social controls

A similar model also based on ^{the 'value-added' approach was developed by} R.C. Taylor ⁽⁴⁹⁾ in his study of the migrant and non-migrant population in West Durham. He proposed this model to overcome the limitations of an exclusive reliance on either the 'objective' approach or the 'subjective' approach. By combining the two approaches he hoped to gain a fuller understanding of the determinants of migration. The following are the constituent elements of the model:

- 1) a degree of structural conduciveness or strains.
- 2) the individual's perception or evaluation of the strain
- 3) the presence of short-term or long-term aspirations
- 4) the presence of a degree of dislocation
- 5) the generalized belief that conditions are better elsewhere.

(40) Taylor, R.C. 'Migration and Motivation' in Jackson op.cit. PP 99 - 133.

- 6) the objective possibility of migration as a project.
- 7) presence of a precipitating factor or a 'trigger'.

Collecting data on the basis of the model in West Durham Taylor established differences in the behaviour of migrant and non-migrant populations. Both the groups were presented with various alternatives to a common problem, namely, redundancy. One of the alternatives was migration. Those who decided to migrate, compared to non-migrants were characterized by economic and social aspiration, and a degree of dislocation from their primary and secondary groups.

The migrants, however, did not constitute a homogeneous group since not all of them possessed the above characteristics in equal measure. Four migrant types were identified in terms of four motives, namely, aspiration, dislocation, immediate situational factors and unique personal factors. The four migrant types were: (i) the aspiring, (ii) the dislocated (iii) the resultant and (iv) the epiphenomenal. Each group perceived migration differently and had different expectations.

ADJUSTMENT AND ASSIMILATION

As the migrant leaves his familiar social surroundings and enters a totally strange one, his behaviour demands a great degree of adjustment towards the 'host' system. This is an important factor in his successful 'assimilation' or 'integration' into the host system. Charles Price has listed three common assumptions regarding assimilation held by researchers in the various social sciences. One of the assumptions is that "an individual immigrant's adjustment depends partly on personal and social background, on motives for emigration and expectations of the new land, on customs and values when migrating".⁽⁴¹⁾ This thesis is supported by the works

(41) Price, Charles: 'The study of Assimilation' in Jackson, J.A. (ed). op.cit. P 186.

of Eisenstadt, Petersen, Hofsted and Frijda, Appleyard, Taylor and so on.⁽⁴²⁾ Other studies have pointed out the importance of family, village, regional and religious origins.

The second assumption, is that assimilation is much influenced by the number of immigrants involved. As migration becomes more numerous assimilation becomes slower and more difficult. This assumption is challenged on the ground that numerical strength is necessary before migrants can form the social group necessary to meet the needs of persons lonely in a country without home-freinds and home-customs. It is significant that Zachariah's study of migrants in Bombay revealed that the Maharashtrian migrants are the least adjusted in Bombay and the Tamilians ■ the most adjusted.⁽⁴³⁾ Still, we should not ignore the possibility that an excessive number of newcomers will produce an adverse reaction in the host system, as well as make the migrants ghetto-minded.

The third assumption is that adjustment depends very largely on the nature of the receiving society, in the economic, social and psychological spheres. These include (a) the public financial and employment policy and opportunities for employment and saving, job opportunities etc. (b) the willingness as well as ability of immigrants to join political organizations, (c) the availability and location of housing and jobs, the existence of indigenous societies akin to those of the immigrants' home society, (d) authoritarianism, frustration, status cocern and other characteristics of receiving groups.

(42) Eisenstadt. op.cit.

Hofsted, Frijda, et.al; Characteristics of Overseas Migrants (The Hague, 1961)

Appleyard, T: British Emigration to Australia(London 1964)

Taylor, R.C.: op.cit. PP 99 - 133

(43) Zachariah, K.C. 'Bombay Migration Study', Demography, 3 (2) 1961.

A crucial characteristic in the receiving group which has important bearing on immigrant adjustment is prejudice and discrimination. Explanation of prejudice and discrimination have been many. Historians demonstrate the evolution of these attitudes against certain immigrant groups, which harden into fixed attitudes and patterns of behaviour. Marxian explanations consider prejudice as exploitation. Some authors consider it as the result of direct conflict between immigrants and the native resources. ^{due to competition for scarce} Theories of social structure, as that of Melton Gordon⁽⁴⁴⁾ consider prejudice as endemic whenever newcomers do not enter freely into the primary groups of the receiving society. Functionalists contend that prejudice against outsiders is necessary for groups to maintain their ~~over~~ internal unity: in times of economic hardship it may be necessary to make out immigrant groups as scapegoats. Psychologists argue that childhood experiences, authoritarianism and such other personal characteristics foster prejudice. The abundance of the explanations proves that multiple causation is the rule in this field and that we should not be content with one explanation ~~alone~~ alone.

Most studies regarding assimilation have been by way of classification or discription and formal theoretical exercises have been few. Such attempts have been made by Park, Gordon and Eisenstadt.

PARK'S RACE-RALATIONS CYCLE

Park and Burgess⁽⁴⁵⁾ stated that whenever two or more ethnic groups come to live together in one place their relationship passes through the cycle of:

- (a) contact - usually peacefull and exploratory
- (b) competition - for scarce jobs and resources.

(44) Gordon, Milton, Assimilation in American Life, N. York, 1964.

(45) Park and Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago, 1921).

- (c) conflict - result of competition - warfare, riots, discrimination
- (d) accommodation - a modus vivendi sometimes based on the withdrawal of one group into niche occupations, a separate area or inferior status,
- (e) assimilation - progressive intermixture and inter-marriage until the two groups merge into one; 'ethnic' groups disappear and persons become 'invisible' as distinct ethnics.

Park and Burgess termed this passage from contact to assimilation the 'race-relations cycle'. Some authors objected that Park and Burgess propounded this cycle as an inevitable and irreversible process. However, Park and Burgess never held that complete assimilation is the necessary outcome. They stated that race relations may assume three configurations: the caste system, as in India; complete assimilation as in China; and a permanent minority as with the Jews in Europe. Still Park and Burgess ignore another possibility, namely, 'the elimination of the less powerful ethnic groups ^{ei} either by destruction or by expulsion'.

Another objection to Park's cycle is that the term accommodation or assimilation is too wide concealing the fact that there may be complete assimilation in some things (dress, religion, language), accommodation in other things (economic life and family customs), and conflict in others (housing or education).

A third objection is that the cycle, though attractively simple does not fit all the facts it claims to explain. The first contact may not be peaceful contact, or even competition but direct conflict.

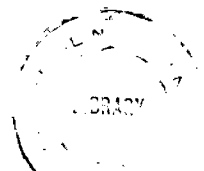
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The deficiencies of Park's attempt have necessitated better treatment of uneven assimilation. There is also ~~mere~~ need to pay more attention to membership in groups, community relations, psychological adjustments and so on.

GROUP ASSIMILATION

Recent works on assimilation assign central place to group membership. It is basic to Eisenstadt's analysis of assimilation. In his scheme the three stages in migration are closely connected. The first stage, namely the motivational structure, determines the type of adjustment the immigrant would have to make. The second stage, namely, the actual migratory process itself, involves a narrowing of the immigrant's sphere of social participation, with the consequent development of a non-structured, incompletely defined situation, resulting in insecurity and anxiety. This type of social change which is common to all migrations involves the achievement of specific goals, as well as a resocialization of the individual and the reforming of his entire status-image and set of values. This second stage greatly influences the third stage of migration, namely the absorption and assimilation of the immigrant. The latter includes both 'the institutionalization of the Immigrant's role' and 'the transformation of his primary group'. Since the expectations of the immigrant and the social demands of the host society ~~xxx~~ rarely coincide conflict arises within the individual immigrant and between the immigrant group and the host community.

F.E. Jones, ⁽⁴⁶⁾ also found it necessary to study immigrant assimilation from the 'group point of reference', and the social function of the primary and secondary groups.

Zubrzycki ⁽⁴⁷⁾ stated that a systematic examination of "the true unit of ethnic relations, namely, the membership of

(46) F.E. Jones, "A Sociological Perspective on Immigrant Adjustment", Social Forces, 35 (Oct. 1956)

(47) Zubrzycki, Settlers of the Latrobe Valley (Canberra, 1964) P - 168.

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primary groups" was necessary to understand an immigrant's position in the larger groups of society as his behavior and status in the factory, neighbourhood or political party depends on the example and opinions of individuals with whom he has primary group relationships.

MILTON GORDON'S THEORY OF THE PROCESS OF ASSIMILATION

Milton Gordon⁽⁴⁸⁾ also assigns a key position to primary groups in assimilation. He has developed the concept of "eth-classes" (ethnic groups) which are differentiated by regional residence, rural urban residence, social class and ethnic group. In American society he distinguishes two eth-classes: (a) upper middle class, white (Irish), Catholic, northern urban, and (b) lower-middle class, Negro, Protestant, Southern rural. He also distinguishes between 'intrinsic' cultural traits (religion, ethnicity, folk-music, language, literature and other things deriving from the central core of the ethnic cultural heritage) and 'extrinsic' cultural traits (dress, manners, pronunciation of English, and other things deriving from adjustment with the environment and therefore extrinsic to the core of the group's cultural values.) He also gives a classification of the assimilation process. Here we give the modified form of the scheme by Price:⁽⁴⁹⁾

The Assimilation Variables

Sub-process of condition	Type or stage of assimilation
Change of cultural patters to those of host society	Cultural or behavioural assimilation (acculturation)
Large-scale entrance into hest society's primary groups (cliques, clubs etc.)	Structural assimilation
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation (amalgamation)
..Contd.	.. Contd.

(48) Milton Gordon, op.cit. P 75

(49) G. Price, op.cit. P - 219.

Sub-process or condition	Type or stage of assimilation
Development of the sense of peoplehood based on host society	Identificational assimilation
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation
Absence of Discrimination	Behaviour receptional assimilation
Absence of B value or power conflict	Civic assimilation

In themselves these categories do not constitute a theory. In order to construct a formal theory Gordon links these categories in terms of the following hypotheses:

(i) Acculturation is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene.

(ii) Acculturation may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later, and this condition of 'acculturation only' may continue indefinitely.

(iii) Once structural assimilation (entrance into host society's primary groups) has occurred either simultaneously or subsequent to acculturation, all other types of assimilation will naturally follow.

The third hypothesis gives a key position to primary group assimilation next only to acculturation. A fixed temporal sequence is posited in the sense that once primary group assimilation takes place all other types of assimilation will naturally follow.

Granting it's obvious utility Price raises the following objections against Gordon's system:

- a) It gives no place to economic absorption.
- b) Gordon does not explain sufficiently uneven assimilation.

- c) He does not give adequate emphasis to the fact that changes occurring later in the sequence may react back on matters apparently settled earlier; for example the decline of discrimination may increase intermarriage which, in turn, may speed entry into more primary groups.
- d) The third hypothesis that regression does not occur once structural assimilation has taken place does not fit facts.
- e) The criteria chosen to distinguish between intrinsic and extrinsic cultural traits is arbitrary; for example, dress may be central to the value system of a particular group.
- f) The host society is not necessarily a homogeneous group but made up of numerous age, economic, regional and religious and political groups. Besides prejudice, instead of disappearing, may be transformed as, for example, when discrimination against an immigrant group gradually transforms itself into discrimination against a religious group.

PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES

Psychologists like Richardson⁽⁵⁰⁾ and Ron Taft⁽⁵²⁾ have taken objection to the time sequence of assimilation in Gordon's scheme. Richardson contends that the overcoming of 'dissatisfaction' (a feeling that one is like, and a desire to become more like members of the host society) are necessary before the stage of acculturation can be reached.

Ron Taft, another psychologist, constructed a sequence cross-classifying four 'aspects' (motivation, conation, perceived

(50) Richardson, Alan: 'Assimilation of British Immigrants in a Western Australian Community - A psychological Study'. REMP Bulletin, 9(Jan-June, 1961)

Richardson, Alan: 'A theory and method for the psychological study of assimilation' International Migration Review, 2(Full 1967) PP 3 - 30

(51) Taft, Ron: From Stranger to Citizen (Perth, 1965) P-7.

achievement and actual achievement) and five 'facts', and linking these with a set of 'ecological' conditions. The five aspects are:

- a) Cultural knowledge and skills;
 - language and role performance skills
 - knowledge of the culture of the new group.
- b) Social interaction
 - social acceptance
 - interpersonal contacts.
- c) Membership identity: formal membership in the group
- d) Integration into new group : acceptance of the migrant to some status in the group.
- e) Conformity to group norms
 - adoption of cognitive norms (values, role, perception etc.)
 - performance of roles
 - conformity to norms.

To illustrate the operation of the scheme let us take one of the facts, namely, integration into new group. It's aspects would be the desire to obtain group status, attempt to obtain group status, perceived admission without discrimination into group status and actual acceptance. The associated ecological conditions are the attractiveness and usefulness of the migrant to host group purpose and existence of a vacancy in the group structure.

TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS IN ASSIMILATION STUDIES:

As mentioned a more comprehensive picture of assimilation can be had only through a more meaningful interaction between various disciplines interested in the field. Today there is a welcome trend towards this direction. Many theorists ~~think~~ feel that earlier approaches were too narrow being oriented to the immigrant group and not enough concerned with the social situation in which the immigrants move. They want to study not migrant groups or persons as such but social stratification in urban and rural communities in general. The immigrant then becomes simply another element

to be studies in the whole system. Mapstone⁽⁵²⁾ and Daphne Philips⁽⁵³⁾ and Rex and Moore⁽⁵⁴⁾ and Zubrzycki⁽⁵⁵⁾ are the main advocates of this approach.

Rex and Moore's study of West Indian and Asian immigrants in Britain examines, besides these groups, various non-coloured immigrants, the older English population and the whole urban setting. Drawing on various social science disciplines, they come closer to a general synthesis by way of very good description, helpful typologies, numerous concepts and insights derived from the various theories they have drawn on.

A fuller theoretical synthesis was attempted by Herbert Blalock.⁽⁵⁶⁾ He tried to "formulate and discuss a number of interrelated theoretical propositions" drawn from psychological theories of prejudice and macro-level studies of discrimination, and from socio-economic, status, competitive, power, number and other theories of discrimination. In all he derived 97 propositions. Though there are obvious interrelationships among some of these propositions he does not succeed in linking them into one system. A further theoretical statement is still on the waiting list.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The foregoing discussion has highlighted the fact that the field of migration is rich in descriptive studies, however, theoretical understanding is still inadequate. Most studies are time, culture and situation bound because they are based on Western cultural and historical experiences. Countries like India are bound to show different patterns of migration,

(52) Mapstone

(53) Phillips, Daphne: 'Italians and Australians in the Oveus Valley Area' (Australian National University)

(54) Rex J and Moore R: Race, Community and Conflict (London 1967)

(55) Zubrzycki, J.: The Questing Years (Canberra, 1968) P - 28

(56) Blalock, Herbert: Towards a Theory of Minority Group Relations (New York, 1967) P - 1.

involve different sets of causal factors and to give rise to different problems of adjustment because of their cultural and historical backgrounds. In this context a review of studies on migration in India seems a rewarding exercise.

The review of migration studies (see Chapter 2) shows a lack of concern for sociological analysis. Considerable research has been done on the demographic variables. These variables should serve as background data for the sociologist. More important from our perspective are the causal and motivational factors as well as the consequences of migration for the social system. The distinction between the causal and motivational aspects is made in order to account for the fact that in spite of certain structural constraints being present such as extreme poverty and exploitation, persons always do not choose to migrate if they are not sufficiently motivated to do so. The causal factor may be the structural or the objective factor and the motivational factor is the subjective. The structural factor in the point of origin is negative or 'push' factor when the migrant is constrained to move out of it. The following hypotheses regarding these negative factors will be kept in mind in our further discussion. These factors can be identified in the demographic, economic and social spheres of social structure-

1) Demographic Sphere:

Overpopulation and subsequent pressure on resources which may be agricultural or occupational.

2) Economic Sphere:

The incapacity ~~to~~ to fulfil economic needs due to infertility of land, fall in the price of agricultural produce, lack of industrial job opportunities etc.

3) Social Sphere:

Exploitation by rich landlords, humiliating social status in the caste hierarchy, religious and political

disabilities etc. Caste, kinship and language groups can act as mobilizing forces in a prevailing migration stream by providing information regarding opportunities, giving financial assistance and recommending friends and relatives for jobs to prospective employers.

A second set of structural factors, could be found operative at the level of development of the productive forces in society. Migration in most parts of India gained momentum with the development of the plantation economy (large-scale cultivation of tea, coffee, rubber etc.). Before that, within the earlier feudal structure, there was very little spatial mobility in India. It could be examined how the development of agricultural capitalism affected migration. In independent India there developed additional facilitating factors for migration such as government-sponsored colonization schemes (e.g. Dandakaranya Scheme), developmental efforts like the development of irrigation and power projects, roads and communication networks which helped the migration of government officials and construction labourers. Besides, industrialization, in the few pockets where it has developed, has given momentum to urban-ward migration. However, ~~the~~ migration in India remains by and large inter-rural (see Chapter 2) and the reasons for this should be analyzed.

A third level of structural factors is positive factors in the area of destination more commonly known as the 'pull' factors. These factors include the availability of cheap land in other rural areas, the availability of jobs in cities, the prospects for better social status etc. The existence of a tradition of migration in certain regions may be another facilitating factor giving rise to chain migration.

Migration is not the necessary outcome even when all these constraints and facilitating factors are present. Persons should be sufficiently motivated to migrate. The migrant

personality is characterized by the readiness to take risks and to be cut off from one's familiar social surroundings. What are the factors which shape this personality? Education could be one factor. Exchange of ideas between different regions due to better communication networks could be another. The desire on the part of the migrant to improve his economic and social status seems the most important factor. If this is associated with the recognition of the migrant by society as an adventurous personality who is bound to succeed, the chances of migration are greater.

With regard to the 'lure' of the city, it may be stated that it is not always the 'objective' ability of the city to provide jobs but the belief that it provides better jobs that is more important. We do not ignore the fact^{that} for many villagers, their lot is hopeless if they stay back in the village; if they come to the city they may find some sort of job, even if they^{are} forced to live in slums. But for the educated migrants their expectations regarding the city may be frustrated and they may find themselves unwanted there. It is not only the village but also the city contains push factors, and even the natives of a city may be forced to migrate.

In the third chapter is a discussion regarding the literature on spatial mobility in Kerala. The phenomenon of Kerala-born persons flocking to different states in India has been sufficiently advertised due to the development of local consciousness and resentment against these 'outsiders'. However, the considerable amount of internal migration in Kerala is given scanty attention.

It is in this context^{that} in the fourth chapter we attempt a pilot study regarding the movement of peasants from Central Travancore to the High Ranges and to Malabar. The movement to these regions started during the depression

years and continues unabated even today. It was the movement of land-hungry peasants in search of fertile land. Religion-wise, the Syrian Christians were the most numerous among the migrants. A comprehensive analysis of the causal and motivational factors and the consequences of this migration is expected to be a contribution to the meagre literature on internal migration in India. The ECAFE seminar on internal migration has pointed out the necessity for 'biographic' studies of migration. Within the constraints of an M.Phil dissertation we have attempted a very preliminary pilot study and not a systematic analysis of all the factors. Secondary material on the subject is extremely scarce apart from a few articles in periodicals. Census reports do not contain material on these migration streams as they classify interdistrict migrants without specifying particular districts of origin and destination, and the groups of people who migrated. Hence it was found necessary to collect primary information from a few of the earliest migrants in different parts of Malabar. On the whole the study remains rather impressionistic and our object is to throw up hypotheses for a more systematic study.

CHAPTER II

THE SPATIAL MOBILITY OF INDIA'S POPULATION

The purpose of this chapter is to survey studies on migration in India and to identify the major theoretical and empirical gaps in the existing literature. The focus is mainly on two points. The first theme concerns the various demographic variables such as the size of population movement, the age, sex and occupational composition of the migrants, the predominance of certain migration streams etc. The second theme centres around the causal factors and the consequences of migration.

There is a considerable body of demographic research regarding internal migration in India mainly due to its possible connection with urbanization. The undue emphasis on urbanization has led to the assumption that all internal migration is the urban-ward flow of rural population. This has been proved incorrect by careful observers. Sociological analyses are very few indeed barring a few studies on adjustment of migrants in cities. This leaves a yawning gap in knowledge.

Most observers are agreed that like in many other developing countries the population of India is relatively static spatially.⁽¹⁾ This argument is based on the fact the proportion of migrants to total population is staggeringly low in India. For example in 1931 only 3.6% of the total population lived in provinces or states other than their states of birth. This has been the consistent pattern through all the census decades including 1961 as can be seen from Table I.⁽²⁾ The National Sample Survey 18th Round

(1) Suprunovitch, B.P.: 'Migration and Changes in the Geography of rural population and Agriculture in India' in Census of India, 1971, Census Centenary Monograph No. 7, Economic and Socio Cultural Dimensions of Regionalization. P 279

(2) Cf P.35 of this Chapter

(1963) showed that out of a sample of 8,10,988 persons, only 8,033 persons migrated.⁽³⁾ According to the 1961 census more than 294 million (250.6 in rural areas and 43.6 in urban areas) of India's 439 million (360 million in rural and 79 million in urban areas) remain stationary in their places of birth.⁽⁴⁾

However, human behavior loses much of its meaning when viewed in terms of percentages and proportions alone. The absolute numbers of people in internal migration is considerable. In 1931, for example, about 1,20,000 people were enumerated outside the province or state of birth.⁽⁵⁾ The economic and socio-cultural consequences of such vast numbers of people moving their community of residence makes the study of internal migration a worthwhile project. Besides, if we change the frame of reference from long-distance migration (interstate) to medium and short distances (intrastate, interdistrict and intradistrict), the ~~same~~ proportion of migrants assumes a higher magnitude. And the prevalence of short-distance migration is one peculiar feature of India which may have something to do with the low level of economic and social development of our country. As Bose⁽⁶⁾ says, internal migration in India as a proportion of the total population gives a static picture which is very different from reality.

The principal sources of data for the study of internal migration in India are the decennial census reports of the population and the National Sample Surveys.⁽⁷⁾ All the censuses till 1961 included questions of 'place of

(3) National Sample Survey, 18th Round, 1963

(4) Mitra, Ashok: 'Internal Migration and Urbanization in India' (mimeographed), P 4.

(5) Zachachia, K.C. A Historical Study of Internal Migration in the Indian Subcontinent, 1901-1931, Bombay 1964.

(6) Bose, Ashish: Studies in India's Urbanization, 1901-1971 (Institute of Economic Growth, 1973).

(7) National Sample Survey Nos:

birth'. However, there was no rural-urban break down of the place of birth, nor the place of enumeration. Nor was there any question on duration of residence. This limited the amount of information regarding migration. The 1961 census was a definite improvement on the previous censuses in that it contained information regarding inter-state, inter-district and intra-district movements, by cross classification of the place of enumeration (village, town, city) with the place of birth (village, city, town) as also the duration of residence (1 to 5 years, 6 to 10 years, 11 to 15 years, 16 and over). Four types of migration streams were identified, namely, rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural. Data were collected about migrant workers and non-migrant workers for all states in India, migrants to cities classified by sex, broad-age-groups, educational levels and so on. One of the limitations was that there was an absence of data for districts in interstate migration. This has been overcome by the 1971 census.⁽⁸⁾ Unfortunately the 1971 data could not be used in this essay since the migration tables were not yet published at the time of the study.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION:

S. Chandrasekhar⁽⁹⁾ estimated that the total number of Indians settled overseas as permanent immigrants amounts to four and a half million, whereas the annual increase of population in the subcontinent was about five million. S.N. Aggarwal⁽¹⁰⁾ pointed out that between 1891 and 1931, cumulative immigration since birth varied between 0.15 and 0.23 percent of the total population of India. Kingsly Davis⁽¹¹⁾ in 1951 observed that there was little trend in immigration, the flow neither tending to increase nor decrease noticeably. Ashok Mitra⁽¹²⁾ contends that in

(8) Chatterjee Atrenyi and Bose Ashish: "Demographic data on internal migration and urbanization from Censuses and N.S.S: A critical Appraisal".

(9) Chandrasekhar, S. 'The Population of India and ~~xxx~~ Pakistan' Engenic Review (July 1949) cited in Burmen, Roy, 'Social Demography in India in ICSSR Review.

(10) Aggarwal, S.N.: Age at marriage in India (Kitab Mahal, 1962)

(11) Davis, Kingsly, The Population of India and Pakistan, (1951) pp 88-90.

(12) Mitra Ashok, Internal Migration and Urbanization in India (1967)

India international migration is negligible compared to the size of the natural population. P.K. Wattal⁽¹³⁾ argued that since India contains one fifth of the World's inhabitants it should be expected to show a proportionately low figure of migration.

The main flow of Indians overseas has been to countries like Ceylon, Singapore, Malaysia, to the gulf countries, to East Africa, and to Commonwealth countries like Britain, Canada and Australia.⁽¹⁴⁾ In Malaysia people of Indian origin constitute the third largest population group. Migrants in South East Asia are mainly plantation labourers, clerks, businessmen and so on. In the African countries the Indians controlled a major part of the national economy and this gave rise to anti-Indian feelings and consequent ouster of Indians from Uganda. Many of these did not possess Indian citizenship and were legally the citizens of Britain. Britain however put restrictions on the entry of coloured people and hence many persons of Indian origin today are homeless. This has created tension between the governments of India, Britain and Uganda. The problem of the Tamilians in Ceylon are well known. It would seem that in places where the Indians have not consolidated their political leverage and identified themselves with the local population, they would face ouster sooner or later. The best example of this identification and political dominance is Mauritius where Indians are considered part and parcel of national life of that country.

Immigration into India started mainly with the colonization of the country by Western powers, especially the British. Coming as conquerors, the English owned by far the greatest number of plantations in many parts of the country before Independence and even after that date. Recently hordes of displaced persons from Pakistan, Tibet and Bangladesh have poured into our country.⁽¹⁵⁾

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INTERSTATE MIGRATION WITHIN INDIA:

The following table shows that in all census decades the proportion of interstate migrants to the total population has been consistently low.

TABLE - I: INTERNAL MIGRATION IN INDIA

Census Year	Percentage of Persons enumerated
1891	3.8
1901	3.3
1911	3.6
1921	3.7
1931	3.7
1951	3.0
1961	3.3

Source: Bose, A.: op.cit. P 142

Davis' (1951) study ⁽¹⁵⁾ based on place of birth statistics from the 1931 census and Zachariah's study of internal migration from 1901-1931 support this conclusion.

However, Sengupta ⁽¹⁶⁾ shows that the movement of population across state boundary for permanent settlements and in search of employment goes beyond the 20th Century and that the percentage share of all migrants to total population in all the census years has remained uniform. Chandrashekhar also has drawn attention to a continuous pattern of inter-provincial migration. ⁽¹⁷⁾

The principal areas which gained population through migration during 1903-31 were the States of Assam and Bengal in the East, and Bombay, Mysore and Travancore-Cochin in the South-West. There were important shifts in the predominant patterns of interstate migration during the 1940s but in the 50s, the West and East zones again registered the principal gains. ⁽¹⁸⁾ According to the 1961 census the losing

(16) Sengupta P. and Sdasyuk, Galina, in Ashok Mitra (ed) Economic Regionalization in India, Problems and Approaches, Census ~~of~~ India, 1961, Vol.I, Monograph No. 8, 1968.

(17) Chandrashekhar S., op.cit. P

(18) United Nations Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends, Vol I (New York, 1973), p 179.

states were Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Kerala, Orissa, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh while the gaining states were West Bengal, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Assam and the Union Territory of Delhi. (19) It is significant that Kerala which was previously a net gaining state lost population during 1951-'61.

Mitra (20) has shown that even in the case of interstate migration rural to rural migration predominated during 1951-'61, as shown by the following Table. Of the 10 million inter-state migrants who were born in rural areas, about

TABLE II. Classification of Persons born in States in India beyond the State of Enumeration 1961

Country/State where born.	Enumerated in Rural or Urban Area		
	Persons	Rural	Urban
States beyond the state of enumeration			
: rural	10,218,319	5,335,761	4,882,558
: urban	4,214,171	652,369	3,611,802

5 million migrated to rural areas of other states and only 4 million to urban areas. It is striking that of the 4 million urban-born migrants 652,369 migrated to rural areas. The pull of the city is obviously much less than anticipated, even in the case of interstate migration.

Historically also interstate migration was largely rural to rural as is revealed by B.H. Farmer's well-documented study. (21) There was a basic difference in the composition of interstate migrants during the 19th compared to the 20th Century. In the former period migration developed as a way of recruiting labourers for plantations mostly owned by Europeans. Import of labourers from outside was found cheaper and less troublesome than local labour which was

(20) Mitra, Ashok: op.cit. P 3

(21) Farmer, B.H.: Agricultural Colonization in India Since Independence, Oxford University Press (London, Delhi, 1974, Chapter II)

found to be either lazy or too demanding.⁽²²⁾ This was the case in Assam and in the Southern parts of India. The labourers often came on a specified period of contract and after the expiry of the period they acquired their own plots for cultivation instead of going back to their native places.

In the 20th Century on the other hand, we see the spectre of land-hungry peasants from the plains moving to the hills in search of fertile and cheap land. They reclaimed the wasteland and raised a variety of new crops. The most intensive groups among these landcolonizing peasants are the Bengali settlers in Assam and the Travancore settlers in the High Ranges and the ~~Mal~~ Malabar Region of Kerala. (The latter, of course, is not inter-state migration). This flow was largely aided by the "grow-more-food-campaign" launched during World War II by the British-Indian Government which encouraged the reclamation of waste-land. Even after independence many states continued this policy.

Besides these certain new settlements were created by conscious government planning in order to step up agricultural production. In preindependence days the chief of these were the Punjab Canal Colonies, and the Wynad ex-servicemen's colonization scheme. The Canal colonies covered 2.2 million hectares of land. Punjab was transformed by the creation of these colonies. The effect of canal construction and associated colonization was a great increase in production and population. Independent India also has sponsored various colonization schemes. The most important is the Dandakaranya Scheme.

Suprenovitch⁽²³⁾ also supports the thesis regarding the importance of the migration of plantation labour and land colonizing peasants. The latter, especially, had

(22) The tendency to recruit outside labour is found also in industry. Industries in Chetanagpur receive their labour from other places. cf. Burman, B.K.Roy "Industrialization and occupational structure in India", contributed to the Seminar on industrialization and Social Change, Max Müller Bhavan, (Calcutta, 1971)

(23) Suprunovitch, op.cit. PP 285 - 294.

considerable effect on rural geography. Sparsely populated regions were fill with in-migrants. In certain areas the pressure of overpopulation was relieved. The opening up of new farming areas aroused new productive forces in agriculture. The rural migrants contributed to the introduction of new crops, and more advanced methods of farming in backward areas. Migration within the same language area led to the intensification of the process of ethnic consolidation. Migration between different language areas led to multi-ethnic interaction. In both instances there arose problems which mainly centred around questions of landownership, exploitation of the indigenous population by moneylenders especially in the tribal areas. In any case, migration has helped to break the age-old, stagnant social structure.

INTRASTATE MIGRATION

If internal migration is defined in terms of movement within the same state - either between different districts or between different villages within the same district - in other words, all persons enumerated outside the places in which they were born, the ~~size~~ volume of migration looks much bigger. The percentage of migrants to total population in 1961 would read 30.7% and not 3.3%. About 1/3 of the population was enumerated outside place of birth. Sengupta and Zachariah also testify to the preponderance of short-distance migration. The following table shows that as the distance increased the volume of migration decreases.

Table: 3 - Percentage of Total Migrants by migrant type

Migrant Type	Total	Male	Female
Short distance (intradistrict)	67.8	54.4	74.8
Medium distance (interdistrict)	21.4	26.8	19.0
Long Distance (interstate)	10.8	18.8	7.2

(Source: Bose, A: op.cit. P 143)

A significant point is that among short distance migrants females predominate. Associated with the fact that female migrant workers form only an insignificant part of the total female migrants in cities, this goes to show that the predominant type of female migration is "marriage migration" due to village exogamy, and "associational migrations" due to the custom of wives accompanying husbands. (24) Census figures show that of a total of 65.9 million migrants, 57.2 million or 87% were intrastate migrants. 72.8% of the intrastate migrants moved from rural areas to rural areas. The percentage of rural to urban migrants was substantial for interstate migration. (32.2%)

RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION

Migration is an important element in the growth of the cities. Hence there has been a tendency to associate internal migration with urbanization, with the result that all internal migration is believed to be urbanward flow from rural areas due to the 'pull' of the city and the 'push' of the village. The 1961 census, by breaking down migration into rural to rural, , rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural, has dispelled this myth. It clearly portrays the predominance of rural to rural female migration. Even in the case of males rural to rural flow accounts for well over half of the total migrants. This is clear from Table 4.

Table 4. Percentage of Total Migrants by Migrant type

Migration Stream	Total	Male	Female
Rural to Rural	73.7	56.7	81.3
Rural to Urban	14.6	25.7	9.7
Urban to Urban	8.1	13.0	5.8
Ruban ti Rural	3.6	4.6	3.2
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source : Bose, A: op.cit. P 144

(24) Bose, A: op.cit. P 142
Mitra, A: op.cit. P 4

By cross-classifying distance and rural-urban flow, Bose obtained 12 types of migration streams in India which is shown in Table 5. It shows that even in the case of males rural to rural migration accounts for the largest number of migrants in regard to short and medium distance migration and that in the case of long-distance migration does rural to urban migration acquires significance. The rural to rural flow is not insignificant even for inter-state migration as already pointed out (cf Table 2). For females, regardless of distance, rural to rural migration is the predominant form. Kumar's⁽²⁵⁾ study of interstate migration streams during 1951-'61 revealed that the rural to urban component was, in most cases only 30-35% of the total migrants. Thus all these conclusive evidences point to the predominance of the rural to rural flow in India. Rural to urban migration still remains a fraction.

Table 5. Life-Time Migration Streams in India

Type of Migration Stream	Population in thousand			Percentage Distribution		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
I. Short-distance (within the district)						
A. R - R	77,521	16,637	60,884	57.67	40.15	65.49
B. R - U	8,221	3,740	4,481	6.12	9.02	4.82
C. U - U	2,763	1,229	1,534	2.06	2.97	1.65
D. U - R	2,652	953	1,699	1.97	2.30	1.82
Sub Total I	91,157	22,559	68,598	67.82	54.44	73.78

.. Contd..

(25) Kumar "The Pattern of Internal Migration"
(© 1967)

Table 5: Life-Time Migration Streams in India (Contd.)

Types of Migration Stream	Population in thousand			Per cent Distribution		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
II. Medium Distance (within the State)						
E. R - R	16,243	4,676	11,567	12.09	11.28	12.45
F. R - U	6,577	3,647	2,930	4.89	8.80	3.15
G. U - U	4,444	2,162	2,282	3.31	5.22	2.45
H. U - R	1,511	615	896	1.12	1.48	0.96
Sub-total II	28,775	11,100	17,675	21.41	26.78	19.01
III. Long Distance (between States)						
I. R - R	5,336	2,200	3,136	3.97	5.31	3.38
J. R - U	4,882	3,246	1,636	3.63	7.84	1.76
K. U - U	3,612	2,018	1,594	2.69	4.87	1.71
L. U - R	652	317	335	0.48	0.76	0.36
Sub-total III	14,482	7,781	6,701	10.77	18.78	7.21
GRAND TOTAL	134,414	41,440	92,974	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source : Bose A: op.cit. P 144.

A new dimension to the analysis of rural-urban migration is added by Zachariah who points to the possibility of structural changes in the character of migration in the sense that urban to urban and rural to rural movement might have become more important recently than before. ⁽²⁶⁾ Making a rough estimate of towns of 20,000 or more population, he considers Davis's assertion that rural to urban migration forms about 45% of the total movement in India to be an overestimation. Still it is true that urban areas gained by migration except for the decade 1901-11. While Bengal, Bombay and Punjab showed higher rates of rural-urban migration during 1911-31, Assam, Burma and Central India had only a insignificant urban flow. For the country as a whole, rural-urban migration accelerated, reaching the

(26) Zachariah, K.C.: op.cit. P

rate of 9% of the initial urban population during 1921-'31. The National Sample Survey, 18th Round showed that the effect of population redistribution was a net loss of 0.18% in the rural population with the consequential gain of 0.81 percent in the urban population.

ANNUAL MIGRATION

The number of people who migrate each year can be measured if we take into account migrants with duration "less than one year". Thus in 1960-61 these were 13.3 million migrants.

Table: 6 - Annual (1960-'61) Migration Stream in India

Type of Migration Stream	Population in thousands			Per cent Distribution		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
I.						
A. Rural to Rural	5,734	2,216	3,518	43.18	34.49	51.32
B. Rural to Urban	945	538	409	7.12	8.34	5.97
C. Urban to Urban	380	200	180	2.86	3.11	2.63
D. Urban to Rural	374	183	191	2.82	2.85	2.79
Sub-total I	7,433	3,135	4,298	55.98	48.79	62.71
II.						
E. Rural to Rural	2,058	978	4,080	15.50	15.22	15.76
F. Rural to Urban	841	513	328	6.33	7.98	4.79
G. Urban to Urban	598	320	278	4.50	4.98	4.06
H. Urban to Rural	274	146	128	2.06	2.27	1.87
Sub-total II	3,771	1,957	1,814	28.39	30.45	26.48
III.						
I. Rural to Rural	819	519	300	6.16	8.08	4.38
J. Rural to Urban	657	458	199	4.95	7.13	2.90
K. Urban to Urban	459	272	187	3.46	4.23	2.73
L. Urban to Rural	141	84	57	1.06	1.32	0.80
Sub-total III	2,076	1,333	743	15.63	20.76	10.81
GRAND TOTAL	13,280	6,425	6,855	100.00	100.00	100.00

The comparison of this table with Table 5 shows interesting differences in the pattern of yearly migration and life time migration. Thus in the case of male migrants, even for long-distance migration, rural to rural flow is more important than the rural to urban. Thus there are no differentials in regard to sex in the pattern of yearly migration in respect of numerical supremacy of the rural to rural stream.

Table 7 shows the annual migration rate based on duration of residence data.

Table 7 : Annual (1960-'61) only
Migration Rate

Migration Stream	Total	Male	Female
<u>Per thousand of total rural population</u>			
Rural to Rural	23.9	20.3	27.7
Rural to Urban	6.8	8.2	5.3
<u>Per 100 of total Urban population</u>			
Urban to Urban	18.2	18.5	17.8
Urban to Rural	10.0	9.7	10.4

This table shows that urban to rural outmigration rates are higher than the rural to urban rates, though, in absolute terms, the rural to urban migrants outnumber the urban to rural migrants.

TURNOVER MIGRATION OR URBAN TO RURAL REVERSE FLOW

From the discrepancy between the annual migration tables and the life-time migration tables, Bose concludes that there is a large "turnover" migration in India, that is to say, many people move from one area to another without being able to settle down. For table 6 shows that rural-urban migration during 1960-'61 was 2.44 million. If it is assumed that

this rate holds good for the 1951-'61 period. One would get an estimate of 24.4 million Rural to Urban migrants. But in fact the total increase in India's urban population during '51-'61 was less than 20 million. Zachariah and Ambannavar⁽²⁷⁾ have estimated that Rural to Urban migration during this decade was only 5.2 million. Thus the conclusion regarding turnover migration is inevitable.

Bose says this turnover need not necessarily be voluntary. 'It is possible that persons from rural areas are 'pushed' to the urban areas but what is more significant is that, probably, many of them are pushed back from the urban areas or pushed out to other urban areas'. Thus 'push' is not confined to rural areas only, it operates everywhere. Besides, the attraction of rural areas must have increased due to the Five-Year Plans, irrigation facilities and so on. Bose offers the hypothesis that:

increasing mobility and turnover migration are manifestations of slow economic development in the face of rapid population growth.

Mitra also assigns considerable importance to the urban to rural reverse flow.⁽²⁸⁾ For him this flow consists of two types. First is the refugee flow of the rural migrants. The second is the flow of skilled manpower, especially administrative, scientific, technical or managerial personnel from the big city to the small town or the village. This two fold flow is important due to the likely changes it brings about on the pattern of behavior and value orientation, of the rural social structure. The interest of investigators have not yet turned to this important subject.

(27) Zachariah K.C. and Ambannavar J.P.: 'Population Re-distribution in India, Interstate and Rural-Urban' in A. Bose(ed), Patterns of Population Change in India, 1951-'61.

(28) Mitra, Ashok: 'Possible Demographic Changes consequent on rising pressure in India of population on land' General Conference, 1969. International Union for the scientific study of population, 3-11 September, London.

FACTORS INVOLVED IN MIGRATION

As the report of the ECAFE⁽²⁹⁾ working group on internal migration and urbanization says, it is not easy "to separate realistically the 'pure' demographic factors that might operate as either causes or consequences of internal migration and urbanization from the socio-economic content with which these factors are inextricably bound". For, migration is a way of life and is a means by which a number of people are redistributed in terms of resources, labour force participation, industrial attachment, job opportunities, housing facilities and so on. The reports of the working group identify the principal demographic, economic and social factors involved. Though the reports cover the ECAFE region as a whole we concentrate on points having specific reference to India.

A. Demographic Factors:

There is a widespread belief that physical population pressure, high rates of natural increase of differentials in those rates of ~~natural~~ contrasts in fertility, mortality or morbidity levels or population imbalances play a major role in producing migration movements. The reports of the working group for each nation in the ECAFE region did not give evidence to this belief though the discussions emphasized the demographic factors.

However, demographic differentials in education, marital status, family structure, age, sex and premigration occupational differentials, we found to play an important part. Thus the propensity to migrate increase with length of formal education, especially in terms of migration from rural to urban areas. Surveys in Calcutta have shown that persons in the rural hinterland of that city are more likely to move into the city if they have acquired occupational

(29) United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, 'Report of the Expert Working Group on problems of internal migration and urbanization and selected papers, held at Bangkok, 24 May - 5 June, 1967.'

specialization. This implies that the very poor may not be the most likely to move to the cities. Sovani reported more migration from families in the higher income brackets than from those in the landless worker groups. Moreover, unemployment is higher among residents compared to migrants in cities. (30) Thus the push-pull hypothesis is further weakened.

It has already been shown that village exogamy, the custom of mothers to be at their parental home at childbirth and associational migration are important factors in female migration in India.

The family structure also is important in migration. The Calcutta survey found a higher incidence of family migration among refugees moving into the city. Besides "chain" migration, or the tendency of persons with relatives, friends or fellow villagers in some other place to go there, is also prevalent in India.

The 'universal' finding on age differential was found to be applicable in India also. People in the 20-24 age group were found to be more mobile to the cities. However older people predominated among urban to rural reverse migrants.

As regards the sex factor, male migrants predominated in interstate urban migration. In cities female migration is relatively small, but not to all cities. The cultural pattern in some states of South India seems to be more favourable to movements than in the case further North. Female migration is more important with time. This suggests that it is of very little importance in seasonal migration but is very important in urban-rural movements where there is possibly a significant number of returning widows. In longer distance movements husbands go alone first, giving rise to twice as many one-person households in urban areas as in rural areas.

(30) Sovani, N.V.: Urbanization and Urban India
Asia Pub. House, (Bombay 1966)

As regard premigration occupational differences, wage-earnings predominate in the migrant streams in India. In Calcutta skilled workers were more likely to migrate. Apart from these nothing is known regarding premigration occupational difference.

According to the National Sample Survey, 18th Round, the percentage of employed migrants to the total number of in-migrants was 41% in rural areas and 37% in urban areas. The percentage of all employed persons to the total population was almost equal (40) in rural areas but was much lower in urban (31) areas. The following table shows considerable differences in the occupational structure of employed migrants compared to all employed persons.

Table 8. Percentage distribution of employed Migrants and of all employed persons by occupational Groups

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS	Percentage of employed migrants		Percentage of all employed persons	
	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN
1. Teachers	5.85	3.94	0.59	2.32
2. Professional, technical and related workers except teachers	2.70	6.09	0.29	2.92
3. Admin., executive, clerical and related	4.87	15.42	0.68 0.68	11.65
4. Sales Worker	3.58	8.18	2.39	14.85
5. Agricultural labourers	25.41	3.02	22.59	5.72
6. Others in agriculture	28.67	2.94	61.60	12.50
7. Craftsmen, production	15.52	28.81	7.79	32.30
8. Service, sports, recreation workers	6.51	23.65	2.13	10.41
9. Rest	6.89	7.95	2.54	7.81
10. All occupations	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
11. Number of Sample persons	3,121	4,048	321,912	137,501

Tables 9.1 and 9.2 compare the present occupational structure of the migrants with their previous occupations.

Table 9.1 : Percentage Distribution of Migrants Classified by Present activity over different activities prior to migration

Present activity	Activity prior to Migration				Total	No. of migrants in the sample
	Working	Not working but seeking for work	Not available for work	Not recorded		
All persons						
1. Working	81.47	2.26	10.75	5.52	100	3,119
2. Not working but seeking work	19.69	39.53	27.15	13.63	100	83
3. Not available for work	3.25	0.42	86.89	9.44	100	4,375
4. Not recorded	0.48	--	--	99.52	100	186
ALL	35.64	1.57	52.53	10.26	100	7,763

Table 9.2 : Percentage distribution of Migrants Classified by present activity for each activity prior to migration

PRESENT ACTIVITY	ACTIVITY PRIOR TO MIGRATION				
	Working	Not working	Not available	Not recorded	ALL
1. Working	94.37	59.70	8.45	22.21	41.30
2. Not working but seeking work	0.56	25.63	0.52	1.35	1.01
3. Not available for work	5.03	14.67	91.03	50.63	55.03
4. Not recorded	0.04	--	--	25.81	2.66
5. All	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
6. No. of migrants in the sample	2,727	122	4,194	720	7,763

Of 3,119 persons who are enumerated as working presently, 81.47% were working previously. Of the 2,727 persons who were working previously 94.37% were working presently.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Reports regarding the countries in the ECAFE region showed that migrants seek jobs rather than the glare of city life. Population was concentrating in large cities or restricted areas mainly because of the concentration of job opportunities in these places. The survey of Poona Workers showed that nearly all of them desired to live there because that was where they could obtain employment, only 4% felt a specific commitment to the town as such. (31)

In India outmigration fall in States where farming techniques had markedly improved or changed, such as the extension of irrigation, new farming practices and diversification of crops.

Rural-urban migration is often seen as merely a specific case of a broader phenomenon, i.e. a movement from the least modern and most traditional sectors of the economy and society to the modern sectors. In this sense migration implies a qualitative transition. This transition, very often, is neither voluntary nor smooth, since the modern sectors cannot absorb all the rural migrants.

SOCIAL FACTORS

The most ignored factor in migration is the social. Sociologists have not ventured into this ^{field except for a few studies on} adjustment. We do not as yet know anything about the correlation of spatial mobility with social mobility, not about family disorganization, delinquency rates etc. The role of caste, language, and regional groups in migration is not much known.

The push-pull dichotomy is often known as the 'city-light' thesis. It holds that the prime motive in migration is the desire for exciting town life compared with the dreariness and boredom of city life. However, studies in India do not

(31) Lambert, Richard D : Workers, Factories and Social Changes in India (A Study of Factories in Poona) (1963).

give any evidence to this thesis. It is found that both rural and urban areas have push factors, it is not the monopoly of the former alone.

Though economic motives are important, often it is not the actual differentials in economic opportunity but the belief that such differentials exist which is the motive for migration. The Calcutta survey emphasized that one should speak of "differentials in job expectations" rather than jobs. Very often one of the reasons for rural-urban migration is the desire to appear to improve one's status which may not in practice necessarily involve an improvement in economic status. It is widely believed, especially by migrants, that people who decide to try their luck elsewhere have more courage and initiative than those unwilling to make the attempt. It is possible that migrants are self selecting because they possess greater "dash and dynamism".

N.S.S. "REASONS FOR MIGRATION"

The census reports do not include data regarding 'reasons for migration' given by migrants themselves. In this context the National Sample Surveys constitute a valuable mine of information. Here is an analysis of the various reasons given in N.S.S. 18th Round. It was found that for all educational standards the highest percentage of people (29.48%) migrated to join earning member or chief migrant. The distribution for each educational standard for each reason is given in the following table. It is notable that among graduates in engineering, technology and medicine there was no dependant migrant. As educational standard increased, dependancy decreased. The other reasons, in the order of importance are: "for studies" (10.65%), "in search of employment not for first time" (9.26%) (high concentration till the primary level), "in search of employment for the first time" (7.23%) and "under transfer or service contract" (7.22%). Other reasons are "to take up job" (5.45%), graduates

Table 10 : Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Reasons for Migration for each Educational Standards

Reasons for Migration	Half-samples 1 & 2 combined.											
	All persons										All India	
	Educational standards										Other subjects	Not recorded
Illiterate	Literate but below primary	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Graduates above in							
						Agriculture	Engineering	Technology	Medicine			
1. In search of employment not for first time	5.21	9.12	11.03	10.18	6.19	2.04	--	58.32	--	8.84	--	7.23
2. In search of employment not for first time	12.10	10.19	9.61	3.70	2.47	--	7.32	--	--	1.31	--	9.26
3. To take up job	3.98	5.14	6.82	9.24	9.61	16.24	30.56	41.68	--	12.41	--	5.95
4. To start own enterprise, profession	1.94	5.52	3.68	3.30	1.95	7.80	--	--	51.85	2.36	--	2.90
5. For alternative employment	2.17	2.88	2.42	0.94	0.98	--	8.74	--	11.98	4.31	--	2.09
6. Under transfer or service contract	2.21	4.67	8.09	10.38	21.74	16.37	41.43	--	28.17	38.82	--	7.22
7. For studies	1.10	4.80	14.00	29.14	36.84	48.36	--	--	--	11.56	--	10.65
8. For health reasons	0.98	0.93	0.81	1.00	0.56	--	--	--	--	1.93	--	0.94
9. Because of better social amenities	2.66	4.06	2.58	1.83	0.66	--	4.31	--	--	0.96	--	2.50
10. Marriage (effective)	5.78	4.22	5.96	4.00	2.35	--	--	--	--	1.01	--	4.88
11. To join earning member or chief migrant	37.92	34.14	23.53	17.42	9.21	4.48	--	--	--	9.57	100	29.48
12. Retirement or discharge	--	0.11	0.23	--	0.41	--	--	--	--	0.47	--	0.10
13. Political exigencies	0.06	0.55	0.12	0.21	0.30	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.18
14. Splitting of families	1.46	0.82	0.87	0.24	0.14	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.98
15. Other reasons	4.99	2.49	3.23	2.26	2.96	--	7.64	--	--	3.21	--	3.84
16. Not recorded	17.44	10.36	6.02	6.16	3.63	4.71	--	--	--	3.24	--	11.83
All persons	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. of migrants in sample	3,471	1,088	943	789	901	14	16	3	5	151	1	7,382

Source : N.S.S. 18th Round.

predominating this category; and "marriage" (4.88%). On the whole, barring associational migration and dependent migration, economic reasons seems to predominate in the sample.

ADJUSTMENT OF IN-MIGRANTS

There are some studies regarding adjustment of rural in-migrants in metropolitan cities. M.S.Gore's study⁽³³⁾ shows that movement of the rural persons to the city itself implies many things more than a change of physical space. "As they leave their small family and community centred village with its agricultural base to go to the town or city with its large, relatively impersonal aggregate of people who are primarily engaged in administrative, commercial and industrial activity, the migrants are moving from one form of social organization of society to another". Besides, the adjustment of the in-migrant is made more complex if he is moving to a different language area. Language groups today have become an important factor in urban interaction. Studying a sample of in-migrants belonging to three language groups, namely, Marathi, Hindi and Tamil, Gore surprisingly found that the Marathi group was the least adjusted in Bombay, while the Tamil was the most adjusted. An interesting study by Punekar⁽³⁴⁾ showed that while relations among regional groups are generally freindly in cities, what is termed as 'manifest neighbourliness' is generally restricted to one's own regional or linguistic group.

In the initial stage of urbanization a large proportion of the urban residents are likely to be rural migrants who still maintain their connection with their home communities. How do these people cope with their home communities as

(33) Gore, M.S.: 'Language in Metropolitan Life', Economic and Political Weekly, 1969, 4(28,29.30)P 1225-1234.
Gore, M.S.: Immigrants & Neighbourhoods, Tata Institute of Social Science Series No.21, Bombay, 1970

(34) Punekar, Vijaya B.: 'Neighbourhood Relations Among Regional Groups in India', Abstract, Sociology and Social Research, 1969, 54, (I), 42-55.

well as with the urban communities? This was the subject of Michael Ames' study of Jamshedpur.⁽³⁵⁾ He found that the rural migrants who belong both to the modernized world of industry and to the traditional world of their rural communities, maintain a pluralistic or relativistic ethical system: "class for the city and caste for the village".

Zachariah has put forward a promising suggestion, namely the establishment of a tradition of migration is a casual factor for further migration. This hypothesis may help explain the selectivity of certain religious, caste, regional or language groups in migration.

There are some studies regarding adjustment of migrants in cities. Woodruff's study⁽³⁶⁾ discusses the implications of immigration in family units for urban adjustment. T.R. Gupta⁽³⁷⁾ has analyzed the significance of rural family status for migration.

From this discussion on internal migration in India, we can draw the following conclusions:

1. The volume of long-distance migration is staggeringly low in India. However migrants constitute a significant proportion of the total population if we include short-distance migration also.
2. Internal migration is predominantly inter-rural in India and the proportion of rural to urban migration is very insignificant. However, from the point of view of the cities in-migration is a significant factor in urban growth. The turnover migration from urban to rural areas has not been given enough attention.

(35) Ames, Michael, M.: 'Modernization and Social Structure of Family, Caste, Class in Jamshedpur', 'E.P.W.', July 1969, Special Number 1217-1224.

(36) Woodruff, Gertrude No., 'Family Migration into Bangalore', Economic Weekly, January, 1960, 12, 163-172.

(37) Gupta, T.R., 'Rural Family Status and Migration, A Study of a Punjab Village, Economic Weekly, Oct. 14, 1961 13(41) 1597-1603.

Similiarly work remains to be done regarding inter-rural migration, especially land-colonizing migration.

3. The casual and motivational factors in migration has to be studied in more depth. Demographic differentials like education, marital status, family structure, age, sex and premigration occupational differences are found to be relevant factors in migration. The overwhelming economic reason seems to be the perception of economic differentials by the migrant and his desire to get a better job. In the social sphere, there remains a dard area regarding the role of caste, language, kin and religious groupings. Research remains to be done on 'chain' migration and the existence of 'traditions' of migration as a causal factor.
4. Though some important studies regarding urban adjustment have appeared on the scene, all the consequences of migration on the 'host' and 'guest' structures have not been analyzed. There has been no attempt to link spatial mobility with social mobility.

The need for studies in different regions of India on all topics outlined here is very much felt today.

CHAPTER III

SPATIAL MOBILITY IN KERALA

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION IN KERALA

The problem of overpopulation is nowhere more acute than in Kerala. Occupying only 1.2% of the total area of the nation Kerala is inhabited by 3.8% of the total population. The density of population in Kerala is 1,127 persons per sq.mile, which is the highest for any State in India. ⁽¹⁾

Kerala's population has other unique characteristics. The sex ratio of it's population - 979 males per 1,000 females - is one of the lowest in the nation as a whole; Orissa is the only other State which has more females than males. No other State has equalled the educational attainment of Kerala: in 1961 among persons aged five years or over, more than 64% of the males and 45% of the females were literate. The labour force was comprised of a high proportion of service personnel and a lower percentage of cultivators. Compared to the all-India figure of 51% of male workers being cultivators, Kerala had only 23% in that category. The proportion of male workers in non-household manufacturing in Kerala was double that of all-India male workers. In services also Kerala workers had about 15% points more than the all-India workers. ⁽²⁾

A special feature of Kerala is it's settlement pattern and the distribution of it's population. Kerala ~~is~~ is divided into three geographical regions.^(*) The lowlands or coastal areas have the highest density of population and a majority of the towns in Kerala lie along this long coast line. The area has an equitable climate, good transport, availability

(1) Zachariah, K.C. (Migration and Population Growth in Kerala) In R.S. Kurup and K.A. George, Population Growth in Kerala (Govt. Press, Trivandrum, 1965) P. 92

(2) Ibid, P. 92.

(*) Cf. Map I, p-65A

of cheap food and the possibility of employment in industries. These could be the factors which cause the high concentration of population in this region. According to the 1951 census, with little less than one fifth of the total area of the State it contained 44% of the population of Kerala. The midlands, with 37% of the total area of the State has half it's population. The area is covered by undulating plains and small hillocks. Rice is marginally cultivated and tapiocca is the supplementary diet. Most of the cultivated lands are garden lands of coconut, arecanut, pepper etc. The high lands, covering 4.5% of the State's total area has only 6.5% of the population. The Western Ghats, runs six hundred miles parallel to the midlands from the extreme South to the extreme North of Kerala. Most of the areas were covered with forests until recently and the population was sparse. (3)

The settlement pattern of Kerala has another interesting feature. While about 95% of the villages in India have 2,000 persons per village, only 5% of the village of Kerala fall within that size range, In Kerala there is one town for every 163 sq. miles, but in India as a whole the density of town is only one in 455 sq. miles. (4)

Zachariah states that the uniqueness of the nature of the distribution of the population of Kerala may be expected to have impact on the nature of the redistribution of the population also, Census figures prove that the direction of internal migration in Kerala has been from lowlands to the midlands and recently to the high lands.

IMMIGRATION TO AND EMIGRATION FROM KERALA

Zachariah explodes the popular myth that "malayalees" have all through the ages moved outside their own State and that no outsider used to come to Kerala as migrant. By analysing

(3) cf. Map on Page :

(4) Zacharia, op.cit. P 93

the census materials from 1901 to 1961 he demonstrates that Kerala was a net immigrating State till very recently, that the out-migration of Malayalees is a recent phenomenon, and that migrants from Kerala are highly selective with respect to their demographic, social and economic characteristics. These points will be highlighted in the following analysis.

Population growth in a given area is composed of natural increase and net migration. In the beginning of the century, the population of Kerala was only about 6.4 million. During the last 60 years - from 1901 to 1961 - the population increased at an average rate of 16% per decade. What is the impact of immigration on this increase?

In all the decades till 1931 the net migration to Kerala reinforced the natural increase in the State and as a result the total growth was more than the natural increase. In the decades, following 1931, the gains due to natural increase was partly eliminated by out-migration. The total gains during the first three decades was only 97,000 and was slightly more among females than among males. The total loss during 1931-'61 amounted to several times the gain in the previous decades. Kerala lost more males than females during 1931-'61.

Zachariah concludes from this that in general the impact of migration on the growth of the total population of the State in any of the decades was not very important. The maximum impact was during 1951-'61; but for the outmigration of 2,85,000 persons, the rate of population growth would have been more by about 1.9%. The observed growth rate among males was 22.3% in this decade: it would have been nearly 25% if the State had not lost about 2,00,000 males through migration. ⁽⁵⁾

Another important observation is that rural-urban migration did not have a significant effect on the growth of population in towns. The urban centres did not attract a con-

(5) Zachariah: op.cit. P 15.

siderable number of rural migrants and quite a few towns actually lost population through migration.⁽⁶⁾ Mitra has pointed out that Kerala is one of the States facing an urban backwash.

SPATIAL ORIGIN OF IN-MIGRANTS TO KERALA

According to the 1961 Census Kerala received 2,33,000 persons born outside the state, and lost 6,18,000 persons to other States. of the 1,23,000 male immigrants, 1,01,000 persons or 82% were born in the neighboring state of Madras (now Tamilnadu) 10,000 or 8% in Mysore state and 3% in Maharashtra. Thus nearly 95% life time male immigrants were born in the four neighboring states. The corresponding figures for females immigrants is Madras 83%, Mysore 11% and Maharashtra 2%.

DESTINATION OF OUTMIGRANTS FROM KERALA

Practically every state in India received migrants from Kerala in 1961. Here again, the neighboring states received the highest: Madras received 40%, Mysore(now Karnataka) 23%, Maharashtra 18%, Andhra Pradesh 4% and Madhya Pradesh 4%. Among females, Madras received 53%, Mysore 21%, Maharashtra 12% and Andhra Pradesh 3%.

Table 11 (see page 57A) shows that in the earlier decades the range of migration was limited to nearby states and both in- and out-migrants were fewer in number. Hence over the 60 year period, both the immigrants and outmigrants increased considerably, but the rate of the increase of the number of out-migrants was much greater than that of in-migrants.

CHARACTERISTICS OF IN AND OUT-MIGRANTS

Zacharah's analysis shows that the outmigrants from Kerala are highly selective in terms of the following demographic, social and economic characteristics.

(6) Ibid.

Table 11 : Life-Time in and out-migration of Travancore-Cochin by Sex - 1901 - 1951

STATES	SEX	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
I. <u>IN-MIGRANTS</u>							
Madras	Males	37,698	40,293	41,293	78,082	80,314	88,513
	Females	36,006	39,849	43,372	80,883	87,618	100,003
Mysore	Males	200	244	228	201	257	876
	Females	114	147	165	316	206	473
Bombay	Males	3,465	818	507	976	824	1,087
	Females	1,503	458	471	563	384	831
Others	Male	1,532	392	402	475	534	1,907
	Females	518	159	156	126	440	416
TOTAL	Males	42,895	41,613	42,490	79,734	81,929	92,383
	Females	38,141	40,613	44,164	81,884	88,648	101,723
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>							
II. <u>OUT-MIGRANTS</u>							
Madras	Males	8,425	10,974	10,667	18,594	--	93,546
	Females	7,619	9,115	7,750	12,982	--	76,578
Mysore	Males	88	271	500	751	1,409	8,277
	Females	38	152	271	309	777	3,514
Bombay	Males	--	352	459	1,188	--	11,531
	Females	--	174	168	2,503	--	3,741
Others	Males	2	192	789	1,931	--	7,133
	Females	--	77	269	2,782	--	2,632
TOTAL	MALES	8,515	11,789	12,415	22,464	1,409	120,482
	FEMALES	7,657	9,518	8,458	18,576	777	86,465

Source : Zachariah K.C. : op.cit. P 99.

- a) Sex Ratio- The in-migrants in Kerala had a more balanced sex-ratio than the out-migrants. The outmigrants had a high proportion of males. The ratio of inmigrants from other states was 941 for rural and 792 for urban. The sex ratio of outmigrants to other states was 509 for rural and 593 for urban. The outmigrants to adjacent states, (Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Madras) had ~~a sex~~ a sex ratio of 589 and 672 for rural and urban respectively, other states had 329 and 453 only. Thus as distance increased the proportion of males also increased.
- b) Age Composition:- Net out-migration was heaviest around 20-24 years. At ages above 40 there were no losses at all. In fact the state gained through migration in each of the higher age groups as well as in the age groups 10-19 years. This may be due to return migration of earlier outmigrants and their children.
- c) Occupational Composition:- There is marked differences between migrants and non-migrants as regards their distribution into industrial categories. Migrants are engaged predominantly in Non-agricultural occupations such as "production other than cultivation" and "services" whereas the non-migrants are mainly owner-cultivators, cultivating labourers and engaged in production other than cultivation. Nearly half of the inmigrants are engaged in production other than cultivation (especially plantation labour) and about one ~~fourth~~ fifth in services. Out-migrants, on the otherhand, were predominantly engaged in services (one third of the males and one fourth of the females), and very few in "production other than cultivation".
- d) Educational attainment:- The outmigrant workers from Kerala had high educational attainment compared to othermigration streams in the country and as a result they had

very high representation in clerical and other related occupations. The women were over-represented in "professional, technical and related occupations" such as nursing, teaching etc.

The overall effect of the redistribution is that, on the one hand, Kerala has ^{overcome, to a certain extent,} problems of unemployment of the educated young men and women. The skills of these people could not be absorbed in their native places due to the lack of enough industrial establishments. On the other hand, immigration has provided Kerala with skilled but uneducated plantation labourers from Madras. Though till 1951, most immigrants from Madras were employed in services, the plantation labourers outnumbered them after 1951. Thus from the national point of view there has been a more efficient utilization of human resources, due to immigration and outmigration. However, there are considerable losses for the state that it loses the educated and energetic young men who could aid the economic development of the State. The educational expenses on these young people do not benefit the state.

INTERNAL MIGRATION IN KERALA

Out of the population of 16,90,400 in 1951-'61, 6,18,000 persons migrated to other states in India (3.67%). 2,23,000 persons (1.35% of the total population) were immigrants from other states. 27.7% of the total population, though born within the state itself, moved to different areas of the state. As in the country as a whole, the ruralward flow predominated. 24.08% of the total population migrated to rural areas of the state, 5.58% to urban areas and 0.38% were unclassified. Considering the ~~pro~~ proportionate contribution of inter-district migrants to rural and urban areas it is found that rural areas registered the principal gain; of the total migrants 78% went

to rural areas and only 22% to urban areas. Only Trivandrum (69.92%) and Ernakulam (39.66%) had markedly higher rates. (7) Trivandrum is the capital and Ernakulam is a growing industrial centre.

Table 12 : Percentage Distribution of Immigrants from other districts by Rural to Urban

Sl. No.	State/District	Total	Rural	Urban
A.	Kerala	100.00	78.00	22.00
1.	Cannanore	100.00	89.06	10.94
2.	Kozhikode	100.00	83.65	16.35
3.	Palghat	100.00	76.72	23.28
4.	Trichur	100.00	80.93	19.07
5.	Ernakulam	100.00	60.34	39.66
6.	Kottayam	100.00	84.88	15.22
7.	Alleppy	100.00	71.14	28.26
8.	Quilon	100.00	87.03	12.97
9.	Trivandrum	100.00	37.08	62.92

Table 13 illustrates the predominance of the tendency for rural ~~urban~~ born migrants to move to rural areas. Rural to urban migration is greater than rural to rural ~~only~~ in Trivandrum District.

Table 13 : Percentage distribution of Inter-district Immigrants to Rural/urban areas in the State having birth place as rural areas:

NAME OF DISTRICT	PERSONS			M A L E S			FEMALES		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Cannanore	100	93.14	6.86	100	92.12	7.88	100	94.36	5.64
Kozhikode	100	88.67	11.33	100	87.86	12.14	100	89.56	10.44
Palghat	100	85.74	16.26	100	80.62	19.38	100	85.87	14.13
Trichur	100	84.98	15.02	100	83.69	16.31	100	86.08	13.92
Ernakulam	100	69.15	30.85	100	63.38	36.62	100	74.27	25.73
Kottayam	100	87.37	12.63	100	87.03	12.97	100	87.70	12.30
Alleppy	100	78.52	21.48	100	71.56	28.44	100	81.97	18.03
Quilon	100	90.81	9.19	100	89.62	10.38	100	91.92	8.08
Trivandrum	100	42.73	57.27	100	38.76	61.24	100	48.12	51.88
KERALA STATE	100	83.72	16.28	100	81.81	18.19	100	85.52	14.48

Source: V Subrahmaniam Swamy, op.cit. P 139

(7) Subrahmaniam Swamy, 'Some Aspects of Migration in Kerala' in Kurup and George, loc.cit; P 123.

It is also significant that a significant percentage of urban born migrants move to rural areas of the districts, (48.31%) as revealed by the following table. Urbanward migration is keenly felt only in Trivandrum and Ernakulam districts, mainly because of the possibility of employment in non-agricultural pursuits. Ernakulam is a port-city and Trivandrum is the capital city.

Table 14 : Percentage Distribution of Inter-District Immigrants to Rural/Urban areas in Kerala having birth place as Urban areas

NAME OF DISTRICTS	PERSONS			MALES			FEMALES		
	TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN
Cannanore	100	45.88	51.42	100	47.34	52.66	100	50.21	49.79
Kozhikode	100	45.34	54.66	100	46.31	53.69	100	44.21	55.79
Palghat	100	51.27	48.73	100	48.87	51.13	100	53.86	46.14
Trichur	100	59.60	40.40	100	59.99	40.01	100	59.23	40.77
Ernakulam	100	28.98	71.02	100	26.84	73.16	100	31.24	68.76
Kottayam	100	67.59	32.41	100	69.40	30.60	100	65.74	34.26
Alleppy	100	47.35	52.65	100	43.82	56.18	100	49.76	50.24
Quilon	100	68.66	31.34	100	68.82	31.18	100	68.49	31.51
Trivandrum	100	23.98	76.02	100	23.10	76.90	100	25.07	74.93
KERALA STATE	100	48.31	51.69	100	47.39	52.61	100	49.27	50.73

Source : V. Subrahmania Swamy; op.cit. P 139

When we consider the share of each district of the total inter-district migrants, we find that the maximum percentage of males move into rural areas in Kozhikode (22.24%) followed by Cannanore (18.69%) and Kottayam (17.81%). In the urban parts the highest proportion of male in-migrants centres round the district of Ernakulam (23.49%) ~~of the urban in migrants~~ and Trivandrum (16.31%).

Table 15 : District-wise Percentage Distribution of Interdistrict Immigrants within Kerala by Rural/Urban

NAME OF DISTRICT	PERSONS			MALES			FEMALES		
	TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN
Cannanore	14.39	16.43	7.15	16.17	18.69	8.18	12.68	14.37	5.98
Kozhikode	17.31	18.57	12.81	18.55	20.24	13.20	16.13	17.04	12.49
Palghat	5.33	5.24	5.64	4.69	4.46	5.41	5.94	5.95	5.90
Trichur	8.04	8.34	6.97	7.60	7.97	6.44	8.46	8.68	7.58
Ernakulam	12.71	9.84	22.98	12.46	8.98	23.49	12.96	10.61	22.27
Kottayam	15.79	17.18	10.85	15.98	17.81	10.16	15.60	16.60	11.63
Alleppy	12.08	13.48	7.12	12.04	13.60	7.09	12.12	13.37	7.15
Quilon	5.11	2.43	14.62	5.94	2.61	16.31	4.32	2.21	12.69
Trivandrum	9.24	8.29	11.86	12.57	5.48	9.72	11.79	11.17	14.31
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: V. Subrahmania Swamy: op.cit. P 137

The Taluk-wise analysis of data also reveals the same pattern. The 1961 census divides the taluks into three categories: (a) those with percentage of immigrants to total rural population in the taluk below 25% of the State, (b) those with percentage within 25% of the State and (c) those above 25% of the state. Many Taluks within Cannanore, Kozhikode and Kottayam have a high percentage of immigrants to rural population.

In the third category Tellicherry has 31.92%, Taliparamba 41.02%, North Wynad 50.90%, South Wynad 52.97%, Devikolam 56.50%, Peerumedu 56.57%, Udumbanchola 84.09%, and Kanjirappally 42.78%.⁽⁸⁾

All these taluks are highland taluks or have a sizeable portion of highlands within them, and hence the direction of migration is on expected lines i.e., from the low lands and midlands to highland. Since the highlands have a sparse population heavy immigration is to be expected towards these area from lowlands and midlands. It is also to be noted that all these taluks fall within the three-immigrant centres we have identified. Tellicherry, Taliparamba and N. Wynad are

(8) Census ~~Report~~ of India, 1961.

within the Cannanore district, South Wynad is in Kozhikode, and Devikolam, Peerumedu, Udumbanchola and Kanjirappally in Kottayam.

The following is the reason given by Census authorities for the flow of population into these rural areas:

The new settlements in North and South Wynad Taluks and the increased attention paid to the development of plantations in the recent past in Kottayam district are, perhaps, significant contributory factors. (9)

Subrahmaniam Swamy also offers a similiar explanation:

The plantation areas of Kottayam and the agriculturally prosperous (cash crops) districts of Kozhikode and Cannanore have attracted ~~ed~~ male inmigrants to rural areas of these districts. (10)

With regard to the duration of residence of the migrants, it can be seen from data that between 10-20% of male interdistrict migrants from rural to rural areas reside in the respective districts for less than one year. Male migrants are concentrated in the duration group 1-5 years and more than 10 years. Thus it was during 1951-61 that the flow of population to rural areas was strongest.

A majority of both male and female inmigrant workers from rural to rural are engaged in agriculture and allied activities including livestock, forestry, fishing, plantation and in services. The contribution of the industrial sector is low as is revealed by the following table.

(9) Ibid

(10) Swamy, Subrahmaniam, loc.cot. P 127

Table 16 : Percentage Distribution of immigrant workers from rural to rural areas within the district by sectors and by sex.

Sl. No.	DISTRICT	MALES			FEMALES		
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
1	Cannanore	71.47	4.39	24.14	78.27	4.70	17.03
2	Ernakulam	46.68	14.48	38.94	46.33	20.53	33.14
3	Trichur	49.66	10.38	39.96	55.70	17.06	27.24
4	Kottayam	52.01	11.32	36.77	60.91	14.92	24.17
5	Alleppy	47.04	12.92	40.04	40.67	37.57	21.86
6	Quilon	59.52	11.33	29.15	51.69	14.55	33.76
7	Trivandrum	54.50	8.00	37.50	36.50	18.52	44.98
8	Kozhikode	66.72	6.21	27.07	70.55	4.97	24.58
9	Palghat	38.82	10.11	51.07	53.25	12.13	34.62

Both Male and female immigrants from rural to urban areas have services as their means of livelihood in all the districts.

To Summarize, we find that Kerala was a net in-migrating State till 1951. Only after 1951 did the number of out-migrants exceeded the in-migrants, registering a loss of 2.3%. The rate of both in and out migration has accelerated in recent years.

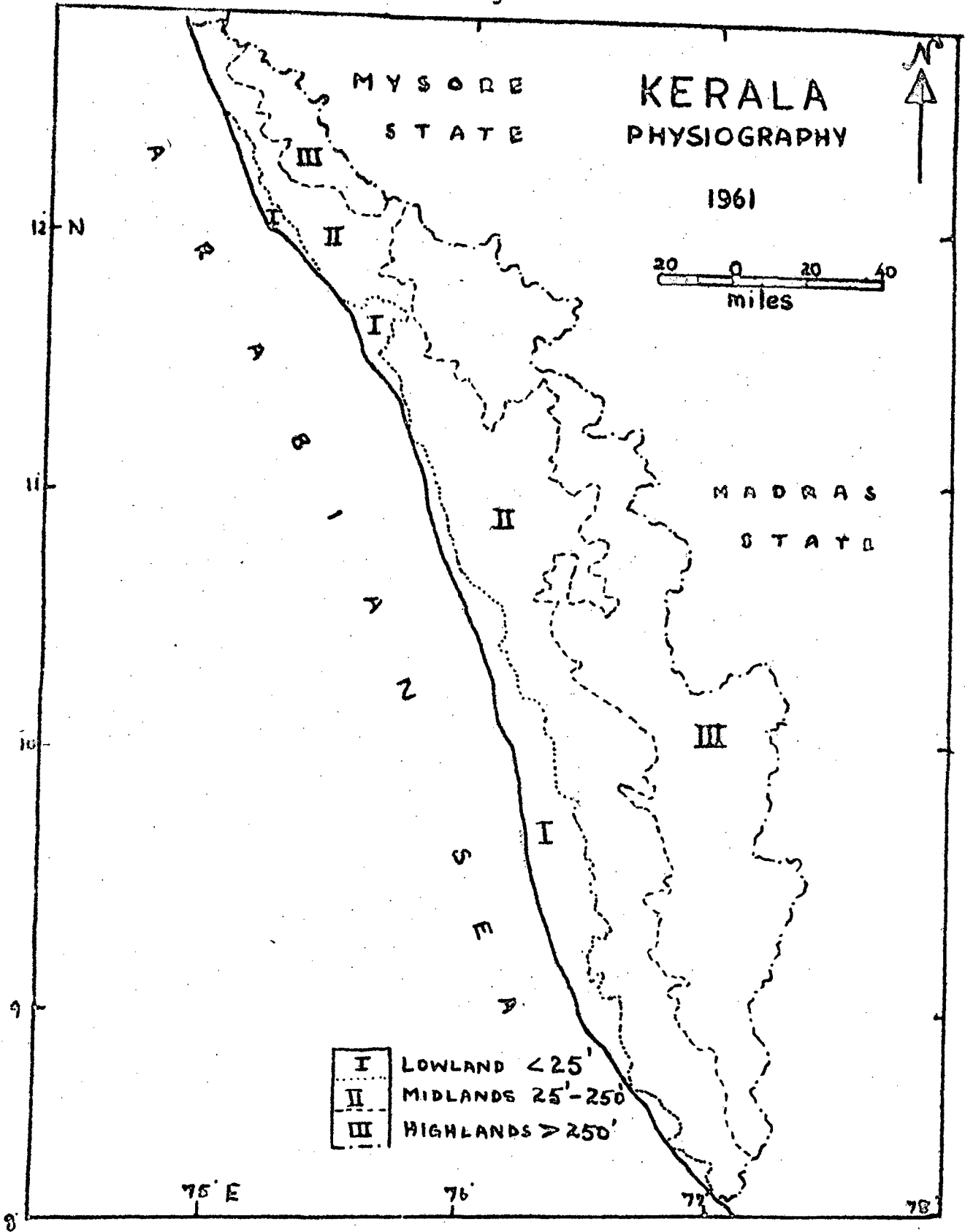
Both in and out migration surround the adjacent states, The more distant the states are, the more male migrants predominate. The majority of outmigrants are concentrated in the 20-24 age group, are educated and are employed in the services.

Inter-district migration in Kerala was mainly towards the rural areas, especially towards the highland regions which were sparsely populated. Cannanore and Kozhikode in the North and Kottayam in the South were the main in-migration centres. These districts have fertile forest areas in them and plantation crops have been growing. The migrants were mainly the agricultural classes, and service personnel.

There was a significant urban to rural turnover. The lack of industrial opportunities in the towns and the opportunities offered by colonization of new areas for agricultural purposes may be the reasons for this urban backwash.

The reasons for the predominance rural migration needs further analysis. Hardly any work has been done on this subject. A small attempt is made in the next chapter to understand one segment of this rural flow, namely the flow of farmers from central Travancore districts to the Malabar area, namely Cannanore and Kozhikode.

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CHAPTER IV

INMIGRATION OF PEASANTS FROM TRAVANCORE TO MALABAR

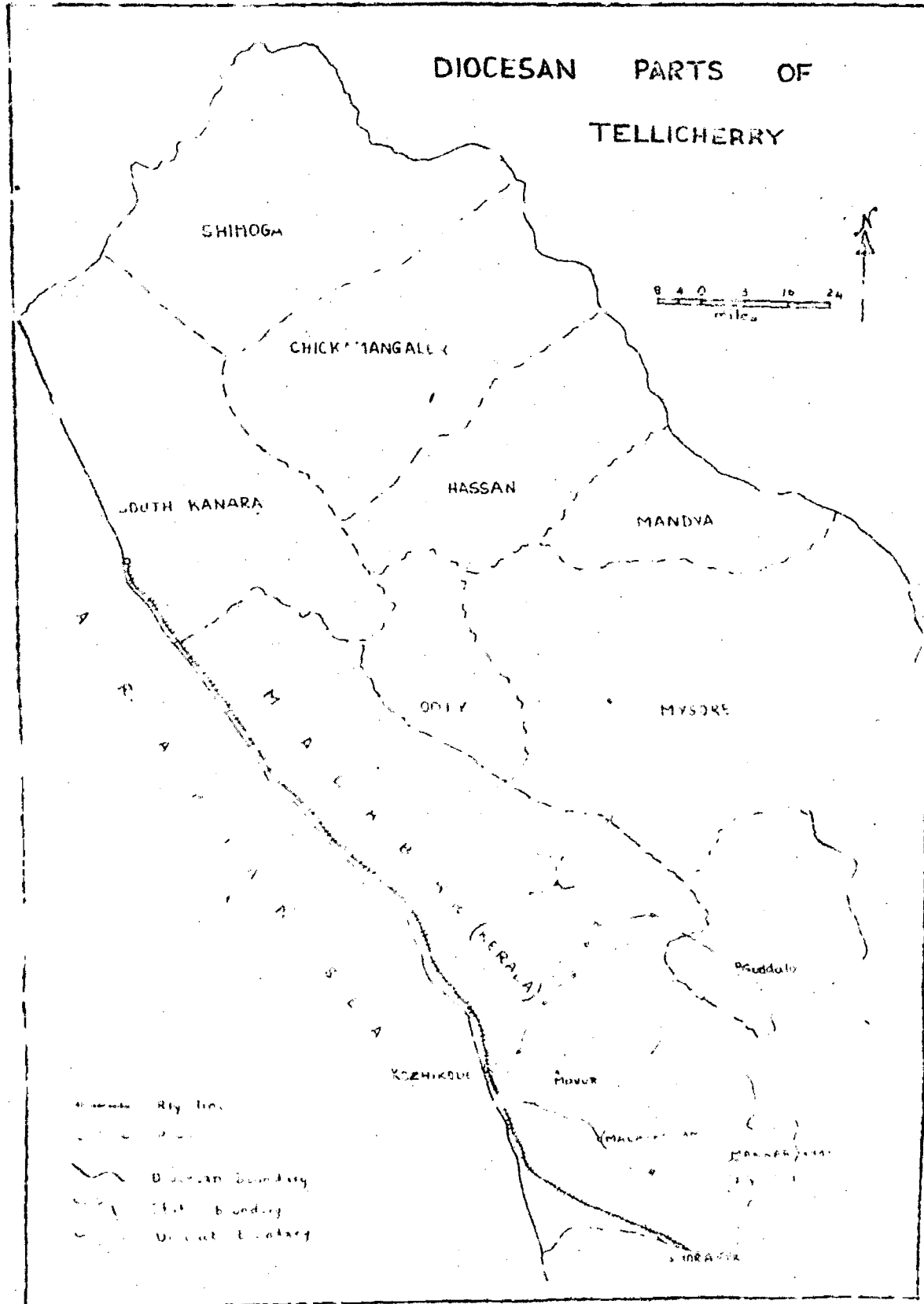
The most important streams of internal migration in Kerala were the movement of peasants from villages in Central Travancore to Malabar and to the High Ranges. Land-hungry peasants flocked to the jungles in these areas, acquired land at throw-away prices from private landowners in Malabar or government forest officials and introduced many new crops. It resulted in the creation of numerous new villages producing valuable export crops like pepper, cashew, coconut, arecanut etc. Once the abode of predators these areas are now filled with schools, hospitals, churches, temples and above all, people. With the passage of time, land became costlier and, as a result, the 'frontier' was extended into the neighboring states. Today there are sizeable Malayalee settlements in Gudallur Taluk of Tamil Nadu State, and in the Hassan, Mandya and South Canara districts of Mysore State. The following questions regarding the process of migration of peasants from central Travancore seem to be interesting from the point of the sociology of migration:

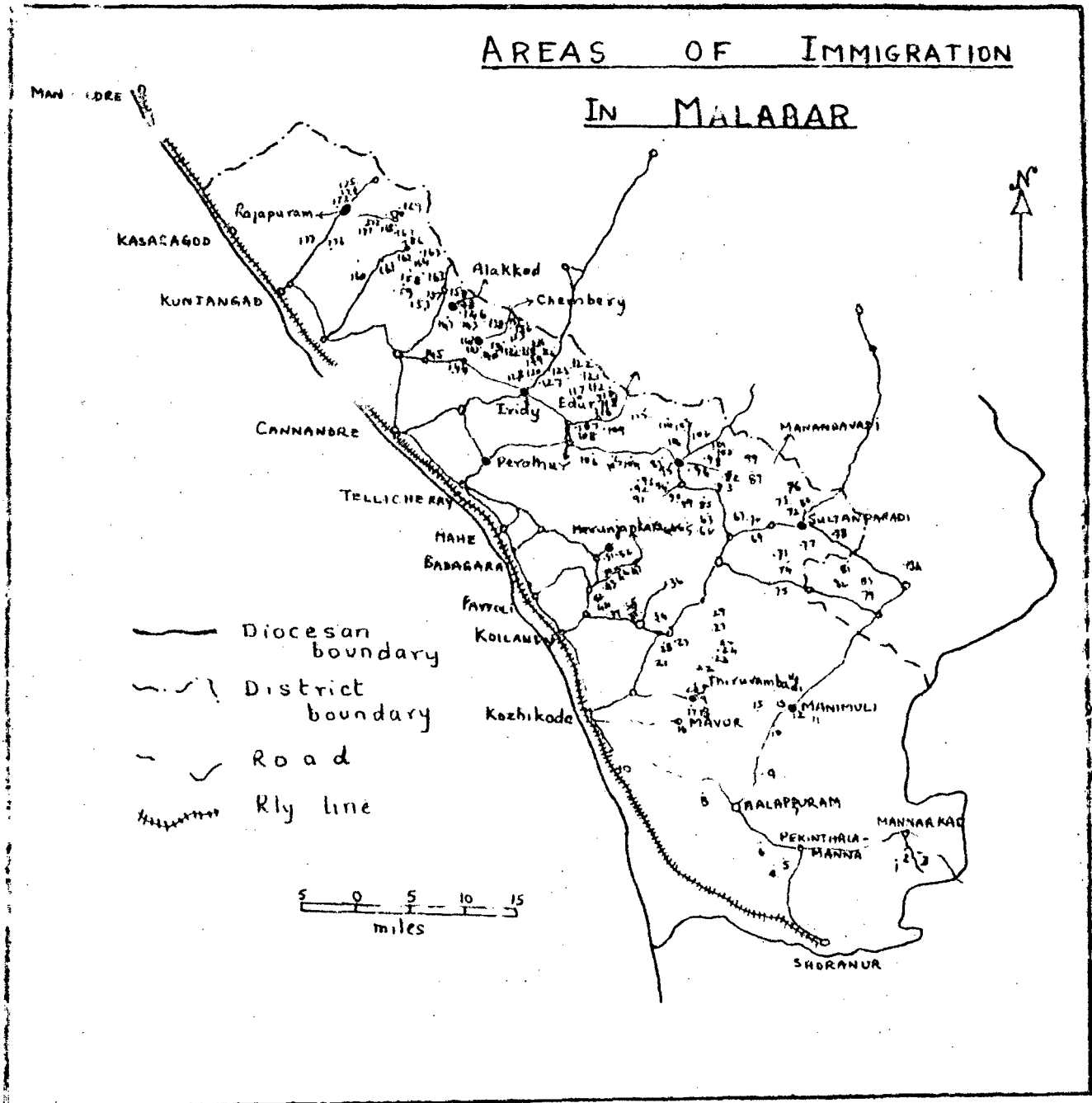
1. Which were the groups of persons who migrated in the beginning stages - Rich peasants or poor peasants? Which religious category? Which caste groups?
2. What were the factors which either forced or induced the migrants to leave their native places?
3. What were the reasons for the selectivity of certain groups, if any?
4. What were the physical and financial means of the migrants? Was there any religious or political patronage?
5. What was the pattern of adjustment of the migrants with the changed physical environment and with the local population? How did migration affect the behaviour and attitude of both the 'host' and the 'guest' groups?

An attempt shall be made in this chapter to analyse these questions in the light of available secondary materials as well as a few migrant cases studied in the field. Only the migration to Malabar will be dealt with, and ^{migration} to High Ranges will be mentioned only as far it has some bearing on the former.

The few available secondary sources consist of the documents of the Catholic Diocese of Tellicherry, and articles in newspapers and periodicals. Unfortunately no official statistics regarding the number of the migrants, let alone their spatial origin, religious and caste distribution etc., are available and we have to rely on the Catholic based statistics however biased and inaccurate they are. The inaccuracies lie in the fact that the statistical data provided by the Diocese are supplied to the diocesan authorities by parish priests in numerous villages and are not the result of any systematical method of data collection. The analysis may contain some amount of bias due to the lack of statistics regarding the number of non-catholic and non-christian migrants from Travancore.

In the field we interviewed 40 migrants from different parts of Malabar to gain a first hand insight regarding the experiences of the migrants. Only the very earliest migrants were selected in each locality. The respondents were allowed to relate their experiences in their own words. It was hoped that these interviews would help us identify the problem to be studied at a further stage. In our sample of 40, 22 were Catholic, following the Syro-Malabar rite, 1 was a Catholic following Syro-Malankara rite, 8 were Jacobites (Syrian orthodox church), 1 belonged to the church of South India, 3 were local Muslims and 5 local Hindus. Although the three Muslims were born in the place itself, their parents had migrated from a different district, (Cannanore - from the towns of Tellicherry and Mahe). All the Hindus had migrated to their present place of residence from far away villages in the same district (Calicut). Two of them were given land in the ex-servicemen's colony, Sultan's Battery.





* The numbered areas indicate the villages which have come up after in-migration. The dots in black indicate the earliest in-migration centres which are called "ecologies"

The migrants' situation can better be understood if the migrants are differentiated according to the duration of residence, differentiating between those who migrated: (a) before 1951, (b) ~~after 1951~~ from 1951 to 1961, and (c) after 1961. In the different stages the motivational structure as well as the experiences and problems of the migrants could be different.

IN-MIGRANT POPULATION IN MALABAR

Unfortunately we cannot ascertain the religion-wise distribution of the in-migrant population. The only statistics available is regarding the Catholics which has been provided by the directories of the diocese of Tellicherry⁽¹⁾ which is published annually. In 1954 there were just 74,217 Syrian Christians in the diocese which covers the entire Malabar area. (See Map II) In 1973 the population increased to 3,21,219 - an increase of two and a half lakhs. There were 166 parish churches, and 71 filial churches. Allowing for the natural increase by birth among the early migrants, one can expect that migration played a major part in the increase. The following chart illustrates the increase.

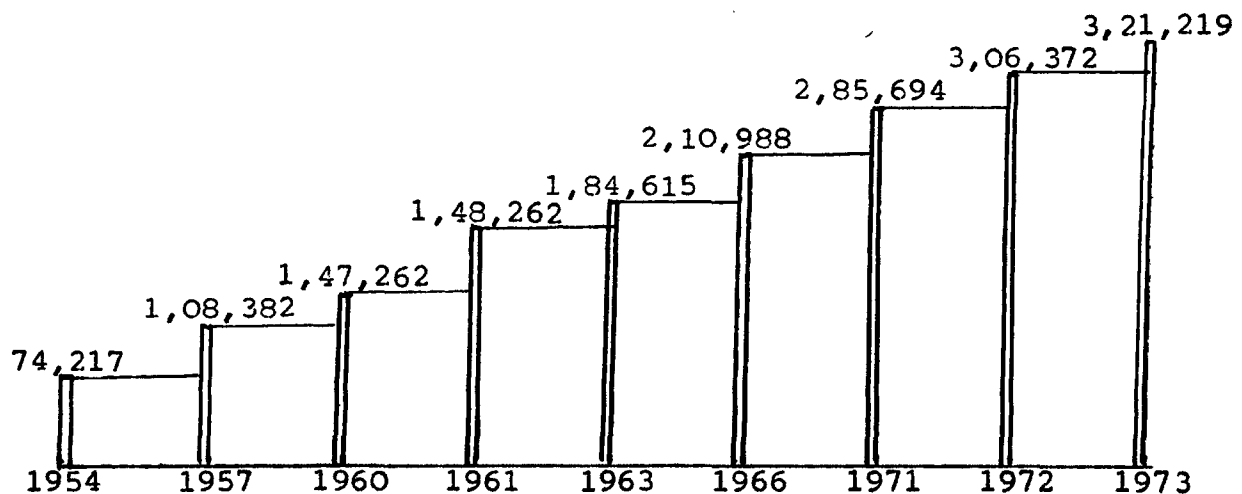


Chart: The Year-wise Increase of the Catholic Population of Tellicherry Diocese.

Source: Directory of the Diocese of Tellicherry.

(1) Directory of the Diocese of Tellicherry, (1954, '57, '60, '61, '63, '66, '71, '72 and '73).

Between 1954 and 1960 the population almost doubled (+74,045). Between 1960 and 1966 there was an increase of 63,726. Between 1966 and '72 there was an increase of 95,384.

Under the Malabar Bhadrasanam (Malabar Diocese) of Jacobite Christians there are 102 parish churches.⁽²⁾ If we count a minimum average of 200 families per parish and 5 members per family, we get a population of about one lakh of Jacobite Christians. However we do not know the exact number of Jacobite migrants in this diocese, we only can guess that there is a sizeable number of Jacobite migrants in Malabar.

There is no way of knowing the number of Hindus, Muslims and Christians of other denominations who are inmigrants.

Observations in the field suggests that most of these inmigrants came from central Travancore, especially from highland taluks of Kottayam district and parts of Alleppey and Eranakulam districts. It is notable that those who came from low-lying paddy cultivating areas had a preference for settling down in areas having plenty of paddy fields.

Census reports suggest that the districts of Calicut and Cannanore in the Malabar area had the highest number of inmigrants. Field observation shows that a good number of these inmigrants consisted of peasants from central Travancore who settled down mostly in the highland areas of these districts. Moreover, a significant number of these were Christians.

PATTERNS OF EARLIEST IN-MIGRATION

The in-migrants from Central Travancore are scattered over the three districts of Malabar, namely, Palghat, Cannanore and Malabar. Here an attempt is made to reconstruct the early history of the migration centres from scattered accounts of the early settlements.⁽³⁾

(2) Directory of Malabar Bhadrasanam (Calicut, 1973)

(3) The Souvenir of the sacerdotal jubilee of the Bishop of Tellicherry contain short accounts of the early inmigration in the various 'colonies' or settlements. These accounts were written mostly ^{by} teachers of priests who had record of long-standing service in the concerned settlements.

The year 1928 is believed to be the time when the earliest in-migrant set foot on Malabar. He settled down in a place called Paravoor in Cannanore district. To Kuttiady (Calicut district) came a group of immigrants in the next year. Gradually people came to places like Iritty, Alakkode, Chemperi, Thomapuram (all in Cannanore district), Wynad (spread out in Cannanore and Calicut districts), Thiruvampady (Calicut Dist.) and Manimooly (Palghat District). Today it is customary among the in-migrants to call these early settlements 'colonies'. The earliest migrants got land at throwaway prices (Rs. 5/- or 10/-) cleared the jungle and cultivated paddy, tapioca and other crops. As time went on these new settlements, in the midst of jungle pestered with wild animals, attracted more migrants from Travancore and new villages began to sprout around the early centres. As more villages came up the early settlements became centres of the activities of the in-migrants, having acquired some basic amenities like markets, schools, churches etc. Today some of them have become small towns. Most of their churches have been raised to the level of Forane churches, under which there are a number of parish churches. (4)

With the passage of time, most jungle areas were cleared, and the later migrants had to settle down in more difficult terrain, high on the western ghats. The prices of land also went up considerably. With the nationalization of private forests in 1971, no more jungle is available for purchase and the chances of further in-migration has been reduced drastically. Some peasants have moved outside the state of Kerala to forests in Mysore and Tamil Nadu States.

Between 1928 and 1950 in-migration was very slow. The earliest migrants eagerly waited for more people to come from their native places, and gave all help to the new arrivals. However, the threat of wild animals, epidemics like malaria, the lack of religious institutions and schools

(4) A catholic diocese is divided into a number of Forane Churches for administrative purposes. Each Forane Church is composed of more than a dozen of Parish Churches.

kept the number of in-migrants low. Travancore-Cochin and Malabar were distinct political units, the first being an independent state and the latter being part of British India. Passage between the two regions was difficult. There were a number of checkpoints ~~at~~ at the borders and unscrupulous officials extorted a good amount of money from the peasants. Transport facilities had not developed and travel often took more than two days.

But after the independence the rate of migration increased. When a new Syrian Catholic diocese at Tellicherry was established in 1954, more people were willing to go to Malabar. By now contact between the in-migrants and their native places became easier and the success of some of the early migrants induced many people to make the move. A tradition of migration developed and it acquired the character of what Peterson calls 'migration craze'. In the popular imagination, Malabar now became the 'land flowing with milk and honey' (a biblical simili). Today there are many people in Travancore who regret having not gone to Malabar earlier.

However, everything was not a bed of roses for the early migrants. The 'success stories' were only one side of the coin. Entire families, in the early phase of migration, had been wiped out in the face of adverse elements - malaria, wild animals and so on. Roads and communication with the outside world had to be built from scratch. The migrants had to fall back on their own resources for building these basic amenities. They charted out the routes themselves, made pathways through thick jungles, improvised ingenious ways for making bridges and so on. Then they requested the Bishop of Calicut to send them priests for saying Mass. These priests visited the villagers at least once a month, and said Mass in the villagers' huts. These priests were the only contact with the outside world. They gave the villagers medicines against malaria and gave them moral support. If the settlements had at least a dozen families

they were granted parish churches. The earliest churches were make-shift sheds. Gradually there developed a complex of institutions like post offices, schools, cooperative societies, hospitals etc.

Most of the migrants came on individual initiative. Family, kinship and neighbourhood ties, of course, played a major part. Friends, and relatives often came together. Most people brought with them their families; some brought them after an year or two.

In some places, more organized forms of migration could be noticed. For example, in the Rajapuram village of the 'Thomapuram Colony', the Bishop of Kottayam brought 2,000 acres of land in the thirties and distributed them to 78 families belonging to his diocese. In 1970 the diocese of Kottayam made another purchase of 750 acres. In the same area, the Nair Service Society bought 5,000 acres and settled some Nair families from Travancore. In the early years of migration the diocese of Calicut also bought land, and through advertisements in newspapers invited christians from Travancore to settle in the Thiruvampady region.

The foregoing account of the early history of immigration of peasants from Travancore has already alerted us to important sociological processes. We know that early immigration was highly selective in terms of the point of origin - mainly certain highland Taluks in central Travancore - as also in terms of religious and occupational composition of the groups involved. The volume of migration was slight during the initial years but became very intense after the Independence. Let us now go further and try to examine some of the important questions we had raised in the beginning of this chapter.

PLANTATION ECONOMY AND MIGRATION

In Chapter II, ~~Farmer~~ ^{was} ~~were~~ quoted to the effect that the rural-ward migration in India was closely associated with the development of the plantation industry. In most places

plantation owners felt it advantageous to import migrant labourers from distant places. Thus in the 19th Century migration was associated mainly with tea, the predominant plantation crop of the time. In the 20th Century, however, land hungry peasants came and occupied wasteland for cultivation and this was the predominant mode of immigration. Farmer found this to be true especially in the hilly areas of South India - what he calls 'Greater Malnad' comprising of the Nilgiri district, the Wynaad taluk of the former Malabar district, the High Ranges of Travancore-Cochin, and eastern parts of Mysore State especially Coorg. Coffee, cardamom, tea and later rubber were the predominant plantation crops in these areas.

Innes States that upto 1932 most of the labourers in Wynaad plantations were Tamilians. It is also possible that some labourers came from other parts of Malabar. The immigrants from Travancore were not plantation labourers, but peasants who came for independent agriculture. In the High Ranges also the Kannan Devan Company depended solely on Tamilian labourers for plantation purposes.

Periodically, it is possible that many European plantation owners sold their estates to the Indians especially during the depression years of the '30s. The best example is the desertion of the Coimbatore estate by the E. & S. Company due to the fall in the price of rubber. Many of the purchasers were rich Christian landlords from Travancore.

One plantation crop which was mostly connected with the immigration of Travancore peasants was rubber; for, most migrants own at least two acres of rubber estate. Hence statistics regarding the cultivation of rubber can throw some light on migration.

Cultivation of rubber on commercial basis started in Kerala at the beginning of the 20th Century. By 1910 the area under rubber was 29,500 acres and the produce 80 tonnes. The area

in 1925 increased to 76,295 acres yielding 6,300 tonnes. The second World War gave a powerful impetus to the rubber industry due to the abnormal demand for rubber. All restrictions on planting and replanting of rubber were removed in 1942 and rubber growers were encouraged to maximize production. 1943-'46 recorded the increase in planted area (+7.3%). After independence also there was steady growth. ⁽⁵⁾

One important feature of the rubber industry in Kerala ~~xxxx~~ ~~xx~~ is the predominance of small holdings. In the beginning big estates predominated and it was only after 1951 that small holdings began to outpace estates. In 1961-'62, 48% of the area cultivated was under small holdings. By 1970-'71, the area increased to 18,7762 hectares. Out of the total increase of 54,922 hectares 86% was contributed by small holdings. IN 1970-'71 there were 1,08,332 small holdings covering 1,31,949 hectares, besides 585 estates. ⁽⁶⁾

Kottayam, Kozhikide and Cannanore are the predominant rubber producing areas. Of the big estates Kottayam district had 104, Malappuram (till recently part of Kozhikide) 107, Kozhikkode 59 and Palghat 29. Most of the rubber estate owners were indigenious and ~~s~~ were the labourers. It is possible that some of the labourers as also estate owners came from central Travancore.

Our interest in rubber consists in the fact that rubber is cultivated predominantly in the areas to which ~~mg~~ migration from Travancore took place. The decade 1951-'61 witnessed the most intense migration as also in the growth of small holdings of rubber. Was there any connection between the two? We expect a connection for the following reasons: Most migrants were medium peasants. They sold all their belongings in the native place and bought 5 or 20 acres of land in the new place. They converted perhaps ~~xx~~ half of the area into rubber cultivation. They could not afford to buy more due to the lack of capital. Thus at least part of the increase in small holdings was contributed by the migrants.

(5) Indian Rubber Statistics, Vol. 12, 1971.

(6) Ibid.

BIG PEASANTS AND SMALL PEASANTS

It is hoped that the discussion on plantation industry has solved at least part of the question regarding who came first - rich peasants or poor peasants? Many rich peasants in the 1930s bought estates from the Europeans.

Another type of rich peasant who came to Malabar was the speculator in land who bought land in bulk from local landlords and sold them in parcels to smaller peasants. Still another group invested their surplus capital to make new estates in Malabar. Both groups can be confronted in almost every village in the new settlements.

An article in Girideepam, ⁽⁷⁾ a magazine of Catholic migrants in Malabar, gives a good description of typical land dealings between local landlords and big peasants from Travancore in the earlier years. Land was extremely cheap in those days and many realtors ('land merchants') from central Travancore amassed huge profits by transacting business in land. (cf. Appendix I) Double dealings were the order of the day. The landlords and the rich in-migrants cheated each other. The landlord would assign disputed land to the immigrant which would land the latter in numerous cases against rival claimants. However, some of the immigrants were powerful enough to carve out more land than was assigned to them. If the rich southerner was able to outsmart the landlord this way, he would become a millionaire just by selling the timber on the land, after which he would sell the land in small parcels to small farmers from Travancore.

However, not all the peasants were powerful enough to withstand the cunningness of the landlords. A majority of them was a victim of either the landlord himself or the rich southerner who subleased the land.

THE CAUSAL AND MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS :-

Instead of giving any definitive statement which would be possible only after a thorough investigation, we shall offer

(7) J.M.: 'The Distance and Nearness of Malabar'. Girideepam, (1963 July) Vol. 3, No. 1.

the following hypotheses regarding the structural and motivational factors in migration - or the factors which influenced the migrant's decision to leave his native place and go to Malabar.

a) The economic factor:- The economic structure of central Travancore was in a precarious condition during the 'great depression' of the early thirties. Overpopulation greatly decreased the size of individual farms. The fertility of the land was diminishing and intensive methods of agriculture were unknown. The farmers could not produce enough food with this limited and infertile land. Production of cash crops like pepper, coconut, and arecanut also diminished considerably due to diseases and old age of the plants. This forced the farmers to seek cheap and fertile land elsewhere.

As examples we shall cite the cases of some of the early migrants we had interviewed.

Respondent 19: (cf. Appendix II) His was the most prestigious family in his native village and his father took the initiative to build the parish church. The construction of the church was opposed by the local Nair landlord. There followed a prolonged test of strength between respondent's father and the landlord. 40 acres of his land was lost in the ensuing legal battle. At the death of the father the remaining property was divided among the nine sons and each of them got two and a half acres each. This was not enough to support their families. Hence they decided to sell all their belongings and go to Malabar.

Respondent 30: He was the superintendent of ~~xx~~ a Rubber Estate in his native place. One of the shareholders of the estate owned another rubber estate at Iritty in Malabar. Respondent applied for a transfer to this estate in 1942. Respondent owned some land in his native place but it was bogged down in legal disputes (the nature of the dispute was not revealed by the Respondent). He found it difficult to meet his ends

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by the salary he got from the estate/his native place and that was why he applied for a transfer to Malabar. Later the estate of which he was an employee was acquired by the respondent and he is one of the richest persons in the region.

Respondent 31 who is preparing a book on the history of immigration of Christians to Malabar gave a detailed description of how earliest migration to the Maruthomkara village of Kuttiady took place. Two of the earliest migrants in Kuttiady, while visiting Calicut, became captivated by the healthy coconut trees grown there. In their own native place (Vazhoor, Kottayam) coconut trees were attacked by a certain virus disease. When they returned home they discussed the visit with friends and decided to go to Kuttiady.

Respondent 14 was a child when her family came to Sultan's Battery in Wynad. Her father owned extensive paddy fields in the native place but had only one acre of dry land. Their house was surrounded by a Reserved Forest, and numerous cases were filed against her father even for cutting a twig from the forest. She had five brothers and each one had to be given site for the construction of their own houses. Besides in those days it was rumoured that paddy fields were available free of cost in Wynad. Hence in 1946, her father sold his possessions for 12,000 rupees and settled down at Sultan's Battery, where he bought 80 acres of land containing paddy fields as well as coffee and pepper plantations.

In all the four cases we have cited the prime consideration in the decision to move was economic. In the first case the main reason for migration was the economic and social difficulties, created by dispute with the landlord. In the second case also there was legal disputes regarding land and he was in considerable economic hardship. In the third case the main reason was the disease of coconut trees in Travancore. In the fourth case the economic status of the family was not

at all bad, but they also were faced with the problem of not having enough dry-lands. The rumour regarding availability of land free of cost in Malabar increased the attractiveness of the region.

Here another possibility is worth considering: were the migrants harassed by the landlords in their places of origin? and if so, what was the nature of the harassment?

b) Social and psuchological factors:- But, why did the economic reasons make the Syrian Christians more migratory than the others? One reason may be that they did not possess the same attachment to the joint family as did the Hindus. In principle Nair household property is impartible. But among the Syrian Christians the rule generally is that the father divides his land equally among his sons. This system has two important consequences. On the one hand it makes the sons independent of his parents and he is free to go his own way. Secondly the process of division and subdivision decreased the size of holdings especially when there are too many children for a person. It is also a fact that overpopulation was higher among Christians than among the Hindus. Both these factors have made the Christians more migratory than the Nairs. The prevalence of the dowry system impoverished many middle class families. This could be one reason why Christian girls from Kerala monopolize the nursing profession in many Indian cities. As for the Ezhavas, a majority of them were too poor; having no landed property they could not acquire enough money to go to Malabar. The Muslims, they were a predominantly business community unlike the Christians who were mainly farmers.

Another possibility is that Christians had a tradition of migration. Some of the interviewees told me that the residents in Kanjirappally taluk (a predominantly Christian area) were migrants from some other place; about 200 years ago there were no residents in Kanjirappally. One folktale says that the Christians of Kanjirappally came from Nilackal where

St. Thomas had set up one of his churches. This place had to be deserted due to certain natural calamities. After travelling a long distance, people assembled under a Kanjiram tree, put a statue of Our Lady under it and started venerating it and from that day on the place was called Kanjirappally (Palli = Church).

Whatever the truth of this story, we can presume that whenever cultivable land was divided into uneconomic holdings and became infertile, Christians used to push back the jungle gradually and extend the frontier from the plains to the hills. Migration to High Ranges can be considered to be a part of this extension. For instance Thodupuzha town from where the High Ranges begin was a jungle area about 150 years ago. When they became aware of opportunities in Malabar, they were only too eager to avail of them.

With regard to the recent migrations, early pioneers went to Malabar and opened pathways for the late arrivals. The early history of every 'settlement' shows that everywhere the early migrants encouraged their relatives and neighbors to join them. Thus, as time went on kinship played a dominant part in migration and this led to 'chain migration'.

c) Political Factors:- During Sri C.P. Ramaswamy Iyyer's administration of Kerala the Christians had to suffer many disabilities. He was instrumental in wrecking the National Quilon Bank owned by the Jacobites Christians. He also tried to nationalize education institutions which antagonized the Christians. CP was angry because prominent Christians were leading the State Congress movement in Kerala. It was very difficult for the Christians and the Izhavas to get employment in the administrative services. The Izhavas however were strongly organized either under the S.N.D.P. movement or under the communist movement and their protest could be expressed in a more organised form. Being neither politically or communally organised the only possibility for the Christians was, perhaps to migrate to a different place. This should be seen in the light of an interesting theory by Toynbee which states that different societies react differently to societal challenges.

The Egyptian civilization opposed such challenges and were successful in creating a rich civilization in their native place itself. The same set of challenges forced the creators of the Mediterranean civilization to migrate while certain other groups could not just survive in the face of the challenges. Migration to Malabar may be looked upon as a reaction to some adverse social and political conditions in the native place.

It would, however, seem that only richer sections of Christians were affected by C.P.'s policy. But Respondent 31 feels that even poor peasants were affected by an oppressive tax system, a high levy on rice and above all corruption by government officials. In Tiruvalla enraged farmers even burnt alive a Tehsildar and fearing the consequences many of them fled to Malabar.

"SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM"?

It is possible that Christians of Kerala were endowed with a spirit of capitalism more than other communities. This spirit ~~of~~ is characterized by a high degree of 'achievement motivation', a willingness to save and invest, a readiness to take risk and so on. A project like migration requires all these qualities. It may be caused by the inferior status one experiences in the native place, associated with a desire to better one's condition, as also a religious or secular ideology. We suspect that these qualities were possessed by the Syrian Christians of Central Travancore who decided to migrate to Malabar and to the High Ranges.

Besides it can be shown that it was with the emergence of capitalism as a way of life that migration gained significance. The development of the plantation industry, the large scale business in land in Malabar - all these are signs of capitalistic development in agriculture. And many leaders of this development were Christians - e.g., Quilon National Bank, Manorama group of papers and so on.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES

B.H. Farmer's study testifies that the 'grow-more-food' campaign during both the British and post-independence eras has encouraged voluntary colonization of wasteland for agricultural purposes, especially in Assam and Kerala. Government patronage of occupation of forestland in the High Ranges of Kerala is well documented by Sri K.J. Jacob⁽⁸⁾. But this policy was never consistent, the patronage being extended only to suit the ruling party's political exigencies. At other times government found the peasants expendable and expelled them from the forests which they had converted into thriving farms. A positive proof of government patronage is the Vandanmedu Reclamation Scheme (High Ranges, Udumbanchola taluk) for the reclamation of 32,000 acres of government reserved forests. Five acres of land was to be given to any persons willing to do permanent cultivation. Later, however, government went back on their word and evicted many peasants from the region in 1952. When the movement for unified Kerala gained momentum government positively encouraged the colonization of High Ranges in order to obviate Madras' claim to the Devicolam-Peerumedu Taluk (at that time Tamilian plantation labourers constituted a sizeable section of the population). Peasants flocked to the High Ranges and won the taluk for Kerala. But after that government started behaving in a step-motherly fashion, evicting people in the name of various hydro-electric projects. Sri Jacob also states that political parties encouraged their sympathisers to colonize the High Ranges in order to build pockets of support in that region.

A colonization scheme in Malabar which government directly sponsored was the Ex-Servicemen's colony in South Wynaad. The scheme was conceived by the British Government for the Ex-Servicemen. But it remained for Independent India to implement the scheme. Every ex-serviceman who was willing to settle down in the colony was to be given Rs.5,000/- and 10 acres of land. The colony received the first batch of its settlers in 1948. Among them there were many people from central Travancore and their numbers steadily increased in later years.

(8) Jacob K.J.: 'The story of eviction from forestland'
Thozhilaly, (July 12, 1961)

PHYSICAL AND FINANCIAL MEANS

How did the migrants get hold the initial expenditure for making the passage to the area of destination and for buying the land? The small farmers sold all their belongings at their native place before making the trip. The big peasants had enough surplus capital to invest.

AWARENESS OF MIGRATION OPPORTUNITIES

The rich farmers possibly were always on the lookout for the availability of cheap land elsewhere. Smaller peasants must have got the news from rich peasants, since the former were possible buyers of land newly bought by the latter. Gradually, kinship and neighborhood relations played a significant role. During 1951-'61 Malabar became the dreamland for all those who wanted to get rich quickly. In fact one author describes Kuttiady, an immigration centre in Kozhikkode district as the land of Kanan (a biblical name) flowing with milk and honey. This generalized belief surely played a significant part in subsequent migration. However, this belief must have taken a long time to spread since, at an earlier date Malabar was believed to be 'the rebellious land of the Muslims' (the Moplah rebellion), 'the abode of malaria' and so on. Respondent 35 testifies that in the fourties folksongs used to be composed regarding the perils of going to Malabar and street singers used to elaborate on them in market places.

The following case illustrates the influence of kinship. Respondent 32 came to Calicut town doing odd jobs. When he returned home, his father told him that some of his neighbours had migrated to Kuttiady, near Calicut, and asked him to go and enquire about them. Respondent 19 was a relative of Respondent 32 and the latter reached the former's house. He met some other neighbours who had settled down in the region. After this he returned home and gave the details to his father. After consulting each other, father and son decided to go to Malabar.

MOBILIZATION - THE ROLE OF LEADERS

Many of the early migrants were individual families who came on their own. However we also find instances of patronage by religious agencies. Thus in Thomapuram many migrants came under the auspices of the Bishop of Kottayam, and ⁱⁿThiruvampady under the auspices of the diocese of Calicut. The Nair Service Society also bought in many Nair migrants. In Alakkode the Rajah of Poonjar, who made a wholesale purchase of private forest in that area, bought with him many Hindu families who were his dependents.

To sum up the discussion on causal factors there were many negative factors in the point of origin, many positive factors in the point of destination, the belief in the possibility of migration as a project, the influence of the ties of kinship and neighborhood relations, as well as mobilization by organized agencies all of which acted in union to produce a huge flow of population to the jungle areas of Malabar, and the movement acquired characteristics of a collective movement. Whether objectively Malabar was the 'promised land' it was supposed to be or not, the general belief in its riches was enough to overcome the earlier fears regarding Malabar.

ADJUSTMENT AND ASSIMILATION:

The important points to be discussed under this heading are the following:

- a) the in-migrant's adjustment with the new physical environment.
- b) relations with the landlords
- c) relations with the local population
- d) consequences of the interaction on both the host and guest systems.

a) Adjustment With the Changed Physical Environment:- The earliest migrants settled in thick jungles with hardly any human habitation. The local population lived at distances ranging from 10 to 20 miles or more, mostly in the plains. The immigrants had to commute all this distance on foot for buying rice or kerosene or to see a doctor, wading through dense forests. The local people used to come to the jungles

only occasionally for cutting bamboos or for collecting other forest produce. Thus the immigrants were cut away from all civilization. In some instances there was only one immigrant staying in the jungle. It is but natural that the immigrant waited eagerly for the arrival of more of their friends from Travancore. The following description of his experience by Respondent 19 testifies the situation in the early years.

When I reached the new place there was just one person in the whole locality. He was a migrant from Travancore living alone in a tent in the jungle. The members of my family numbering 64 spent the night at his house. We stayed on there till buying some land and constructing a hut. After six months elephants destroyed our hut and we had to take shelter again in the house of our friend.

The most extreme danger was from wild animals. Tigers and elephants were a constant menace killing human beings and destroying crops and houses. Equally frustrating was the menace of malaria and other epidemics. Whole families have been eradicated by these diseases. A number of people lost hope and returned to their native places brokeⁿ-hearted.

Basic amenities like roads, transport, schools, and churches post offices etc. had to be built from scratch by the cooperative effort of the immigrants, as already pointed out. Desirous of ~~improving~~ imparting education to their children they had to appoint their own teachers and pay the salary from their own pockets. It was only after great effort that schools were granted recognition. Schools were started either under the management of the parish church or of a committee elected by the villagers. The land required for the church and the school was donated by the better-off migrants or by some large-hearted local janmis.

In the same way roads were built by the villagers on self-help basis. They charted out the routes themselves and built bridges with bamboos suspended on branches of trees

on both banks of the river. Many a time local janmis assisted in constructing roads since they wanted to transport timber to trading centres. Torrential rains used to wash away the roads built with such hard labour and the roads had to be renewed after every monsoon season. Even today roads in many places are unattended to by government agencies, Though certain Panchayats do admirable work, the majority of them are disabled due to the inadequacy of funds or due to misappropriation of funds by panchayat members. There are no adequate transport facilities in most places. The farm produce has to be carried by headload to marketing centres for sale or has to be sold at a cheaper rate to petty traders who come from the plains. Today the residents of the Malabar hills are vocal in their demand for the construction of a "hill-highway" connecting the important immigration centres.

Neglect by government agencies was a constant problem. Government even did not know that large numbers of people had settled down in these jungles: this state of affairs continued probably till the 1961 census. The glaring evidence of this fact is that since the immigrants were not included in the census in the early years they were not issued ration cards. Respondent 24 who wanted to start a ration shop in his village was successful in his attempt only after prolonged attempts. The largeheartedness of the local tehsildar and the Revenue inspector came in handy. He was granted the right as an exceptional case. The Respondent had great difficulty in removing the prejudice of one official whose opinion was that 'these people' possibly were criminals and refugees from their native place and that "they eat everything in the world except cotton among things that fly and coir among things that crawl".

Respondent 30 from the same village told me that when some of the immigrants took out a census of the families in the village, certain political leaders refused to forward it to the authorities and instead threw it into the river.

The lack of capital for investment was one of the greatest handicaps the poor immigrant peasants faced. Once they exhausted whatever little money they had brought with them they had to approach moneylenders for loans. The latter were happy to provide the loans on the basis of an interesting system locally known as 'murikkal prastanam'. If the farmer wants Rs.500/- during the rainy seasons, he has to sell in advance, say, the crop in an acre of pepper which would be grown in the next season. The moneylender collects the produce in the area in the cropping season, by which time its real value would be Rs.1,500/-. The farmer is obviously the loser.

These difficulties many a time left the immigrant completely frustrated. An article in Madras Diary⁽⁹⁾ of July 1, 1951 was the earliest article that could be traced regarding the condition of the immigrants (cf- Appendix III). The author says that in 1951 many migrants were flowing into Malabar. While land was cheaper in the older days, by 1951, the prices had gone upto Rs.500/- to Rs.1,000/- per acre.

Everyone comes to Malabar in the hope of bettering his conditions and of a more comfortable life than was possible at Travancore. But the opinion necessarily undergoes a change once a person arrives here,. There ~~are~~ are few people who are not forced to cry out in exasperation: 'I wish I could only get out of this hell! It was at my Sanidasa (evil moment) that I decided to come here'.

The main difficulties the author points out are disputes with the landlords and consequent threat of eviction, the attack of malaria, the unwholesome weather, the lack of capital for investing in agriculture and so on.

The author concludes the article exhorting the immigrants to organize themselves and assert their demands under the banner of the 'Malabar Syrian Christian' Association: "We must bring to the notice of the government the fact that

(9) Varky Maruthanankuzhy: "Malabar Settlements" in Malabar Diary, July 1, 1951, Vol. I, No. 4. cf. Appendix III

the hills of Malabar contain a sizeable number of human lives". However, no such organization was formed to fight for the political rights of the migrants. On the other hand, they turned to religious authorities for some of their demands. Till now they were governed by the Latin diocese of Calicut whose missionaries had done admirable service for them. Even then they wanted to have their own mode of religious worship and religious leaders and they began to press for the creation of a separate Syrian Catholic diocese in Malabar. They were finally successful when the Diocese of Tellicherry was created in 1954.

THE LAND OWNERSHIP SYSTEM OF MALABAR AND THE MIGRANT

The land ownership system of Malabar is very complex. It partakes of the features of the Ryotvari system. However it differs from the ordinary Ryotvari settlements of the Madras Presidency "in that the existence of the landlord between the State and the actual cultivator has been recognized in the theoretical distribution of the produce on which the rates of assessment are based. As elsewhere, the State claims a share of every crop, and that share commuted to money and called assessment, is a first charge on the land, and is recoverable by the usual processes, including in the last resort the attachment and the sale of the land itself. But in fixing the share of the State, account has been taken of the landlord as well as the cultivator." (10)

The main types of landownership systems in Malabar are the following:-

- a) Jenmam:- Jenmam is the full proprietary right in the soil subject only to the payment of Government revenue.
- b) Kanam is a tenure partaking of the nature of both a mortgage and a lease; the tenant pays a lumpsum (kanam) to the jenmi (the owner of jenmam right); an annual rent (pattam) is fixed according to the capacity of the land, and from it the tenant is entitled to deduct the interest due to him on the purappad; the kanamdar is entitled to twelve years of enjoyment

(10) Innes, Madras District Gazetteer, P 304

unless another term is definitely fixed, and on its expiry to the value of improvements effected by him, if the tenancy is not renewed. If at the expiry of the 12 years the parties desire renewal, the tenant must pay a renewal fee, which is fixed by the jenmi. The kanamdar is at liberty to transfer his interest during ~~xx~~ his tenancy or to submortgage it. In such instances the kanamdar becomes the intermediary between the jenmi and the Verumpattakkar. Denial of the jenmi's title and wilful waste by the kanamdar entitle the jenmi to compensation before the expiry of the usual term. The renewal deed at the expiry of twelve years is called polichezhuthu.

c) The vermpattam is a "simple lease from year to year, the rent is often the whole of the net produce after deducting the bare cost of the seed and cultivation, in which case the tenant is practically a labourer on subsistence wages; but the older custom is for one third of the net produce, after deducting the cost of seed and cultivation to be reserved for the tenant, and the remaining two-thirds to be paid to the jenmi. The lease may continue for years and the tenant is entitled to compensation for proper improvement effected with the express or implied consent of the jenmi".⁽¹¹⁾

Michavarom: This is a type of rent payable to the landlord by the tenant. Travancore Act V of 1896 defines it as following:

The residual rent which is payable or deliverable annually under a kanapattam by the kudiayan (tenant) to the jenmi whether in money or kind and includes services due in lieu of rent.

Madras Act XIV of 1930 defines Michavarom thus:

The amount agreed to by the Kanamdar in a kanam deed to be paid periodically in money or in kind or in both to or on behalf of the jenmi.

Most of the land in the Malabar area was private property of rajahs and chieftains, or was temple property. There were numerous claimants to the same plot of land.

(11) Innes, op. cit. P 305

In the early years of migration land was extremely cheap in Malabar. When the land was sold to the migrants in most cases no written document was given. They enjoyed the title to the land "by word of mouth" (Vakkal-charthu) of the landlord. Since many of in-migrants were illiterate they did not insist on obtaining legal documents. Many landlords went back on their word and evicted the immigrants. Further the rival claimants often demanded separate payment from the farmer. Eviction and disputes were the main problems of the migrants. Though the eviction on government lands in High Ranges does not come under our perview, a small note is added here since it provides the background of the evictions in Malabar. The development in one area has closely affected developments in the other and has shaped the reaction of people in both the areas.

In the Government lands in the High ranges of Kottayam, many farmers had settled down. The peasants in most cases obtained land with the concurrence of forest officials. But later government evicted the peasants in the name of various irrigation and hydro-electric projects. The first eviction was in 1952. In 1956 the immigrants of Ayyappancovil and Pambavalley were evicted. The most serious of all was the eviction in Udumbanchola in 1960 under the coalition government lead by Sri Pattom Tanu Pillai. This incident raised a storm of protest throughout Kerala. Sri A.K. Gopalan embarked on a hunger strike and roused public consciousness in favour of the poor peasants. When Fr, Vadakkan, the revolutionary priest came back from ~~the~~ West Germany, he embraced Sri Gopalan: communist and anticommunist joint forces to secure justice to the peasants. (12) These evictions in the High Ranges had serious repercussions on popular opinion in Malabar also, since the latter also could be threatened with eviction any day.

The nature of eviction in Malabar was of a slightly different nature since most land was private property: Government gave indirect support to the eviction by landlords. In many places immigrants had to suffer from the high-handedness of the landlords.

(12) Fr. Vadakkan, My Life and Gasps. (in Malayalam)

(N.B.S. Kottayam, Chapter 25,24 & 26)

Respondent 24 told me that the peasants of the Kulathuvayal village in the Kuttiady colony who had brought land from the Kizhakkedathu Kovilakam had to suffer numerous injustices. The Karyasthans (managers) of the landlord sold the same plot of land to many people causing quarrels among the immigrants themselves. Some of these disputes survive even to this day.

Another area which experienced eviction was the Kuppayathodu village of Thiruvampady 'colony'. They had got the tenancy right to the land from the local Muslim landlord after paying amounts ranging from Rs.1001/- to Rs.1501/-. A new landlord acquired the rights to the land in this area and demand^{ed} fresh payment from the tenants:

He had the full backing of the government. The anti-peasant activities he engaged in with the concurrence of the police cannot be described in words. He destroyed the crops, took away the implements used for the preparation of lemon grass oil. No newspaper reported these misdeeds of the landlord. (13)

Inmigrant farmers in Nilamboor in Palghat district also faced eviction by landlords.

But the most serious of all evictions, with regard to its political repercussions was the eviction at Kottiyoor which was attempted by the Nair Service Society in 1969 with the concurrence of Sri Pattam Tanu Pillai who was Chief Minister. Coming immediately after the eviction at Udumbanchola in the High Ranges the farmers felt this as an organized threat against their existence. The state-wide revolt against this movement rocked the political life of Kerala. Fr. Vadakkan who was the architect of the coalition ministry under Sri Pattom turned completely against the government and formed his own political party. (Karshaka Tozhilali Party)

The land at Kottiyoor originally belonged to the Kottiyoor temple. The peasants had bought land from the trustees of the

(13) George Panakkat, Girideepam, Vol 4, No. 9, March 1965.

temple on "Vakkal charthu". In 1961 the President of the Nair Service Society superleased the same lands from the Dewaswom Board, a special department of the government of Kerala. He ordered the peasants to buy the land directly from him after making the necessary payments or face eviction. (14)

It was with the attempted eviction at Kottiyoor that the in-migrants of Malabar became roused to full political consciousness. They organized themselves under the leadership Fr. Vadakkan and the Communist Party of India. Vadakkan formed a new peasant union called Malnad Karshaka Union which drew its membership from all political parties. The representatives of the peasants took out a historic 'walking demonstration' to the capital of Kerala about 450 miles away: they were joined by another procession from High Ranges. In every important town they passed through the demonstrators received garlands and addressed huge public meetings. The reception was startling in Christian centre like Trichur, Palai and so on. Thousands of Congressmen disobeyed the directive of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee and took active part in supporting the demonstrators.

The main argument of the peasants was that the action of the government in allowing the N.S.S. to secure the lands which were already under the possession of the peasants would create an unnecessary intermediary between the peasant and the landlord. Since the peasants had already paid the values of the land to the landlords directly, it was unjust to demand a fresh payment from them. Sri Kartikeyan, a C.P.I. M.L.A., in a speech at Calicut said that the Kottiyoor eviction was a resurrection of the ghost of "superlease" (Melcharthu) against which the Muslims of Malabar had rebelled in 1921. The fact that Kottiyoor was full of schools, post offices and other government offices which were built only after the settlers had come was brought forth to prove that government was fully aware of and tacitly gave consent to Colonize forest land. Sri P.R. Kurup, an M.B.A. of the Praja Socialist Party, to which the Chief Minister belonged, addressed a public meeting in Kottiyoor and challenged the authorities to prove that the in-migrants are 'encrochers'. (cf Appendix)

The opposite side argued that the immigrants were illegal occupiers of Hindu temple land, that the immigrants were obstructing temple worship and so on. Sri Mannath Padmanabhan accused that Fr. Vadakkan and A.K. Gopalan were whipping up communal sentiments and warned that if the campaign went on Hindus would be forced to take up arms against it. These statements were decried by all sections of political opinion. Sri R. Sankar, the deputy Chief minister declared that the anti-eviction demonstration would in no way create communal tension. Fr. Vadakkan said that the problem was purely a humanitarian and agrarian problem. The committee set up by the Congress party to examine the charge of obstruction of temple worship did not find any evidence for it. But for some reason, the party withheld the report of the committee and supported Sri Pattam's policy.

In the next midterm elections to the parliament the Malnadu Karzhaka Union inflicted telling blows on many candidates of the ruling coalition. Fr. Vadakkan soon realized that more direct tactics were necessary to ensure justice for the peasants and formed the Karshaka Tozhilali Party (K.T.P.). Ultimately government were forced to climb down from the decision to allow the Dewaswom Board to sell the Kottiyoor temple lands to the N.S.S.

In Pulpally also (South Wynaad) the N.S.S. tried to lease land from Dewaswom Board but had to bow to public pressure. A Dewaswom committee was in charge of looking after the land; the chairman of the committee invariably had to be a member of the Kuppathodu family who had donated the land to the Dewaswom. In 1952 permission to dispose off 2000 acres was granted by the Collector of Calicut. Only 1300 acres were actually leased out within the time period stipulated. An article in Girideepam accuses that even after the expiry of the period the managers continued selling the land to immigrants from Travancore in the outdated documents, and even without actual legal documents. In the beginning it was difficult to get clients to buy land. Hence the landlord appointed agents at Calicut and Ernakulam, in order to induce the peasants to Pulpally. When the peasants

reached Calicut the agents lured them with all sorts of promises into buying his masters' land. The article concludes by saying:

The issue at Pulpally does not concern only the peasants there. It concerns the lakhs of settlers in the Malabar hills. It is the duty of the government to grant to the peasants the right to the land he is toiling on.

In Ambalavayal, in South Wynaad government tried to evict the immigrants ~~there~~ for the creation of a Harijan colony. Even this attempt had to be given up.

The settlers of Sultan Battery had to suffer by the creation of the Exservicemens' colony. All land in the area was acquired by the government and the peasants who had settled there, were given five acres of land each elsewhere. Those who had cultivated land exceeding this number were deprived of it.

RELATIONS WITH THE LOCAL POPULATION

Besides Hindu and Muslim landlords, the local population was composed of Teeya tenants, cultivators in the plains, Muslims traders who came to buy the agricultural products of the in-migrants and the labourers who came to work on the farms of the in-migrants. The labourers came mainly from the untouchable caste of the 'Pulayas', besides, there were a good number of Teeyas and poorer Nairs. At the top of the hierarchy were landowning Brahmis and Nair Chieftains. A majority of the population consisted of tenant farmers (Verumpattakkar) who had to pay rent annually. There were also a number of powerful Muslim landowners, though a majority of the Muslims were small traders. Another significant section of the population was the tribals who were bonded slaves of the landlords.

The initial interaction between the in-migrants and the local population was a contact between two ~~dayx~~ ways of life. To the natives, the in-migrants were an odd group, having the daring to live in dense jungle areas face-to-face with wild animals and epidemics; they dressed differently, had a queer set of religious practices and ate the carcass of animals which was an abominable act in the eyes of the natives. No wonder

they thought the newcomers were barbarians and cannibals, refugees from their native place and so on. A typical remark passed by the natives regarding the in-migrants was: "These people eat anything except cotton among things that fly and coir among things that crawl." When one of the respondents enquired about the date and month of the year, the labourers were surprised; they murmured among themselves: "so these people know about dates and months!" Another respondent had considerable difficulty in persuading the pulaya laborers to work on his farm. When they were finally prevailed upon to accompany him, on reacting to the farm they fled seeing the fire around the house thinking that it was meant to fry them alive. This incidence clearly shows the fear and suspicion with which the in-migrants were looked upon at least in the early years.

These fears arose mainly from the fact that contact between the groups was very fleeting. The local population, except the tribals, lived in the plains. Occasionally a few teeya peasants would come to the jungles for 'puncha' cultivation, that is to say, clearing a limited amount of forest and sowing paddy for a couple of years and then leaving the field to be recaptured by jungle. The other sections which came into contact with the in-migrants were the laborers, and Muslim traders and moneylenders.

In the beginning laborers would not accept food or water from the in-migrants, for fear of pollution. Some of the orthodox Muslims went a step further and would not even step into a river if an in-migrant had entered it. But gradually these attitudes changed and there developed a more healthy intermixture. Laborers began accepting food and it became the rule that the employer should give at least two meals. This custom came into existence in many parts only after the arrival of immigrants. Similarly, the custom of paying the laborers in cash also came into force due to immigration. Some of the respondents claimed that they used to pay higher wages than local employers. Presumably the immigrants had a bigger need for laborers, for the clearing of

of the woods and other agricultural operations. Wage-laborers are hard to find among the immigrants since it is considered degrading to work for others. There has developed another custom by which two or more families would work together on each other's farm (Māttāl pāni or exchange labour). The general feeling among the immigrants is that local laborers are loyal and hardworking.

A complain raised by some of the local people is that in the early years the ~~m~~ immigrants used to steal their cattle. However, one of the local respondents says there is no truth in this accusation. The local people had big herds of cattle which used to destroy the crops of the immigrants. Occasionally an ~~en~~ enraged migrant must have killed a few animals.

A possible cause for rivalry among the immigrants and the local people is today's acute competition for land. The price of land has gone considerably high due to migration. Most of the land was occupied by the immigrants and the local people realized the importance of possessing land only too late. They were used to a situation in which owning land only increased the burden of rent, anyone desirous of cultivating enough food-grains had to only approach the landlords and he would be allowed to embark on 'punam' cultivation at a token rent. The situation has radically changed and those who want more land have to buy it at a huge ~~price~~ price, and that too higher and higher on the hills. Recently a number of local people have acquired land on the hillside.

The native people address the Christians by the term 'chettan' (elder brother). This form of address must have evolved out of the immigrants' custom of addressing each other by prefixing 'chetan' to their names (e.g. Mathaichettan, Thomachettan etc.). Today, however, it ~~has~~ refers to a community sometimes in a derogatory and sometimes in a respectful fashion.

It is interesting to note that these ^{is} ~~are~~ intermarriage not even between the Hindu immigrants from Trava-ncore and the local people, though they belong to the same caste and religion.

CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

The greatest achievement of the immigration to Malabar was the great increase in agricultural production. The cultivation of Tapioca, on a large scale virtually avoided the country from disaster. Formerly, tapioca was an unknown crop in Malabar, but today it has become a staple diet of most people. Similarly migration played a great role in increasing the production of coconut, arecanut, pepper, ginger, lemon-grass oil, rubber, cadamom and other valuable cash crops. Though pepper was grown previously, the immigrants introduced new varieties which the local people nickname as 'chettan pepper (it fetches a higher market value). The growth of the trading centres like Talipparamba, Payyannore, Manantody, Tellicherry, Kuttialady, Perambra etc. owed a great deal to this increase, in agricultural production.

Migration was, to a certain extent, beneficial to both the points of origin and destination. In the former, it relieved the pressure of population, and gave employment to scores of people. In the latter local laborers, traders, bus owners etc. registered considerable gains. Some of the migrants who came with hardly any cash became rich, while some of those who came with a good amount of wealth perished. Hardwork and good luck were major factors in the success stories.

In the point of origin one of the consequences was the consolidation of landed property by a few rich individuals who were able to employ modern methods of agriculture. Formerly crowded areas acquired a deserted look though as years went by population growth again asserted itself.

In Malabar, the intermixture of people with different cultural backgrounds set at motion processes of social change. Peculiarities of spoken language of both groups diminished, and habits of food and dressing underwent changes (local women began to cover the upper parts of their body). With the increase in the number of schools in the wake of immigration,

literacy rate among the local people also went higher. The attitudes of the immigrants underwent changes: they became more tolerant of other religions. They had come from areas which were tradition bound Christian strongholds, with only fleeting contact with peoples of other religions.

One of the evils in the immigrant centres is alcoholism. Illicit distillation is regular occupation of many people. This evil must have developed since the migrants had faced with many odds and anxieties. It was perhaps a reaction to the anxiety producing situations, like the threat of wild animals, epidemics, destruction of crops etc.

The general situation in the migrant centres today is not very bright. Transport ~~work~~ has not developed sufficiently, there are no avenues to obtaining credit at reasonable rates, many crops are affected by diseases etc. Most peasants still remain poor. They are not able to effectively safeguard against soil erosion and this ^{has} diminished the fertility of land. Prices of agricultural produce are steadily falling and the cost of farming is going higher. Government has not shown sufficient eagerness to develop these backward areas of Malabar and people are becoming increasingly aware of this neglect. The movement for the creation of a separate district of Wynaad can be seen as a symptom of this. (See Appendix VII). They are also demanding the construction of a 'Hill Highway' ~~is~~ linking all the migration centers.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to find out the gaps in the knowledge regarding the social factors involved in migration and to specify areas for further research in the Indian context. The general strategy was to proceed from the general to the particular. The first three chapters contained reviews of literature in general, on India and on Kerala in particular. The fourth chapter was preliminary account of the movement of people from Central Travancore to Malabar in Kerala.

The general studies of migration could be divided into three categories, namely, descriptive studies, works based on typologies and theoretical or explanatory exercises. Descriptive studies lack explanatory power since they merely describe the way of life of particular immigrant groups. Works based on typologies, using ideal type constructs, try to compress the various migration situations into the mould of a few categories; though aiding conceptual clarification, these attempts miss the rich variability of different migration situations. Theoretical exercises are very few in the field, and there is not a single model which adequately explains all the variables and process of migration. Demographers, who so far have monopolized the field, interest themselves on the effect of migration on the structure of population, their attempt is to formulate 'laws' regarding the size and direction of population in a given region and about differential migration. The absence of elegant sociological models lack of interchanges between the various social science and the disciplines has added to the confusion regarding the causal factors in migration, the process of adjustment and assimilation of immigrants and the consequences of migration.

The sole reliance on a unidirectional push-pull hypothesis as a causal explanation of migration is now-a-days recognised as unsatisfactory. However, it remains a useful model if it is linked to the 'structural' aspects of both 'sending'

and 'receiving' groups, and also to the level of historical development of a given social system. The motivational factor has also to be taken into account, since, in its absence, the structural factors might remain inoperative. We tried to formulate certain hypotheses in the Indian context firstly on the structural plain (demographic, economic and social spheres), secondly on the developmental aspect of society, and thirdly on the motivational structure of the individual migrant.

The reviews of literature on migration in India (Chapter 2) showed that the most important stream of internal migration in India was inter-rural even in the case of long-distance (interstate) migration. Rural-Urban migration was not as significant as expected though from the point of view of the urban areas, they received more persons than could be absorbed by them. This resulted in the development of slums and shanty towns, the need for the in-migrant to be floating between different urban centres before finally settling down and so on. There was also a significant return migration of rural-born urban migrants, as also the flow of urban-born persons to rural areas. The effect of these movements on urban areas have not been studied in any detail. Similarly, there is hardly any sociological analysis of the causal factors in migration. A few studies have examined the adjustment problems of rural migrants in cities. The importance of kinship, caste, regional and language groups both for adjustment and for mobilization for migration have been noted.

Thus the review gives the impression that a lot of areas remain untouched by sociologists. India being a land of continental size, through a single study one cannot hope to encompass all migration streams in India. What we need today is careful case studies (what the Report of the ECAFE Working group calls 'biographic' studies) in different regions in India. As a small contribution towards this, in the third and fourth chapters we concentrated on the Kerala situation. Kerala was found to follow the national pattern

especially with regard to the predominance of rural-to-rural migration. However, due to certain unique factors in its demographic structure (like the high density of population, higher rate of education, the extreme paucity of industrial job opportunities). Kerala was found to send out more persons to places outside Kerala than it received from other places. The high educational attainment of outmigrants from Kerala landed them in clerical or professional jobs in the major metropolitan centres in India and this made them conspicuous to the local population. With the development of the 'sons-of the soil' policy, these 'outsiders' have become unwelcome in many places, and there has developed a belief that Kerala born persons are more prone to migrate and grab opportunities than people of many other state.

The attention that the outmigrants have received has led to the ignoring of a significant internal movement of the population of Kerala. Our attempt in the fourth chapter is to study one significant stream of rural-to-rural migration in Kerala, namely the movement of people from Central Travancore to Malabar and to the High Ranges. (We consider the migration to High Ranges only in as far as it has some bearing on the one to Malabar). We consider this movement significant because ~~it was~~ the majority of the migrants were members of one religious group, namely Syrian Christians to an area where there was previously no one of that group. Besides it was a pioneering landcolonizing migration and it resulted in the social mobility of scores of people. As far as possible we tried to rely on secondary data, though we also have made use of interview data with some of the earliest migrants. Our aim was to formulate a set of hypotheses which would later be developed into a full empirical study. Tentatively the following hypotheses were arrived at.

(i) Movement of people from one region to another is selective of certain persons or groups of persons such as age, sex, caste or religious groups. In the case of those who migrated to Malabar, the members of the Christian community were the most numerous, though there were also some people of other religions.

Since people moved in family units, sex and age selectivity was not present. The poor and the illeterate peasants predominated, though a few rich people also were among the migrants. In terms of origin, Kottayam district and part of Alleppy and Ernakulam districts sent out population.

(ii) Some people are attracted by the pull factors in the point of destination even if they do not face any negative factors in the point of origin. These people are impelled by profit-making motives. In Kerala ~~at~~ few rich Christian as well as Hindu peasants realized the availability of cheap land in Malabar and they grabbed the opportunity. Probably they were the first to migrate to Malabar.

(iii) However, negative structural factors in the point of origin force some people to move out even in the absence of pull factors. These negative factors could be ethnicity, economic factors and social rank. If this holds true, those who migrate are people having low ethnic status, economic position and inferior social rank in their native place. Those who migrated to Malabar, were poor and medium peasants who were low in the social hierarchy of Christians themselves. Disputes with landlords, and fellow-villagers, the 'great' depression of the 1930s which reduced the prices of the cash crops produced by the farmers and a rise in the cost of production, the infertility of land, fragmentation of holdings due to overpopulation, etc. were some of the causes of migration. The 'dowry' system impoverished many families.

(iv) People who are endowed with risk-taking personality are more prone to migrate. This personality had developed among the Christian peasants due to the lack of strong joint family sentiments; the sons were able to take decisions independent of their parents. In any case all the migrants were desirous of improving their economic and social status.

(v) Migration is more likely to take place if a community possessed a tradition of migration previously. The Christian possessed a tradition of migration.

(vi) Landcolonizing migrations are often of the pioneering type. A few adventurous persons make the move early and when they succeed, more people follow their trail. 'Chain' migration develops since the early migrants are keen to bring friends and relatives, if only for company. As time goes on a 'generalized belief' develops that migration is the way out of all evils and then migration becomes similar to a collective movement. In the Kerala situation the existence of pioneers, chain migration, and the development of a generalized belief can be shown to have been operative.

(vii) 'Mobilization for action' is easier when there are either individual or political/religious leaders. In the Kerala case a very few instances of religious patronage can be noticed. However, by and large the movement was undertaken on individual initiative. Kinship and friendship have, of course, played a mobilizing role. Besides, it is possible that rich people who bought land in Malabar brought many dependents with them.

(viii) Migration of the rich people from Travancore to Malabar gave a new direction to agricultural and plantation economy in Kerala. They bought land at very cheap rates and sold it to the poor and medium peasants at a higher price. They invested this profit into other fields of the economy, especially in plantations and industries depending on plantations. The poor out-migrating people sold their lands to the local rich people (some of them previously not rich, but gradually became rich by buying the land of the outmigrants) who bought it at very cheap rates and then turned these plots into plantation (mainly rubber) and other crops. Some of the poor migrants became rich after coming to Malabar due to hardwork and with lots of luck while some moderately rich people became impoverished mainly due to spendthriftness. In many places in Malabar local landlords were gradually phased out by the migrants. In both point of origin and destination, thus, we can notice the emergence of an enterprising financial elite.

(ix) Since both rich and poor people from the same place migrated, it would be interesting to find out the differential pattern of adjustment of these groups. Initially the pattern of adjustment of the early migrants and the late migrants would have to be studied in detail. The extent of continuity (with traditions and customs of the native place) and change (resulting from adjustment with the local people) should be analysed.

We have not examined the validity of these hypotheses. The testing of these hypotheses remains the central task of our Ph. D. Work. For this we intend to select a typical village in Malabar, and study the process of in-migration in detail. Sultan's Battery Panchayat in South Wunnaad seems to be an ideal place for this since there are migrants of various religions denominations in this area (Syrian Jacobites, Syrian Catholics, Ezhavas), migrants from other parts of Malabar (Muslims, Teeyas). The local population consists of tribals like Paniyas, Kurichiyas etc. The ex-servicemen's colony has created a particularly interesting social system, since each of the colonists were given equal amounts of land. The first task would be to take a census of the population in the Panchayat, breaking it down in terms of spatial origin, religious denomination, time of migration etc. Then a random sample of migrants and non-migrants has to be taken and studied with the help of interviews. The social structure of the in-migrants' native places should be studied.

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APPENDIX I

J.N., 'The Nearness and Distance of Malabar',
Girideepam, 1963 July, Vol. 3, No. 1.

... In the hilly regions of Malabar, about 20 years ago, big landlords owned vast stretches of private forests (which were acquired by inheritance, trade, law suits, terrorization, cunningness, donation and so on). It was when big landlords and Devaswoms were owning these forests that during the second world war ~~that~~ an army of farmers knowing the smell of the soil, came to Malabar. Curiously there were big landlords who were unable to make their ends meet in spite of their wide possessions. They considered the arrival of the peasants from Travancore the appropriate time to earn some cash by disposing off the land. In such dealings the janmis have cheated the peasants and vice-versa.

Finding a golden opportunity in Malabar, some rich people from Travancore came to Malabar and acquired exorbitant profits. The landlords of Malabar who had never seen a car or brandy or a hundred rupee note were easy prey to the viles of the Southern rich man. For instance, a millionaire from the South comes to the house of the landlord in a brand new car; he is invariably accompanied by a couple of clever ones from the native place and a professional middleman from Malabar. The jenmi is surprised to see the well-dressed guest and rejoices at the thought of obtaining some cash. The Southern rich man purchases land ranging from 1000 acres to 2000 acres or more for a petty sum of Rs.2000/-. Some of the jenmis sell the same plot of land to many buyers and amass wealth. Many rich people have perished due to the prolonged law-suits arising out of such double dealings.

The rich Southerner's main source of income is timber. After clearing the timber, he sells the land in small plots to the small peasants. He makes his own estate at the most convenient site. After this he goes on to acquire more hills and Devaswoms. The opportunity for making such easy money has deminished by now. The latest dealings seem to be the ones at Kottiyoor and Pulpally. Because of the outcry of the poor peasants these dealings have not become so profitable. The NSS must ~~have not~~ be ~~nessmexxx~~ earning a substantial profit from the timber of the Kottiyoor forest. Such are the land dealings in Malabar.

APPENDIX II

Interview with Respondent No. 19

(This interview is added here as an example of the reasons for the early migrants' decision to move and the difficulties they faced in Malabar. The respondent was asked to relate his experiences in his own words, the interviewer occasionally asking probing questions)

"I ^{was} ~~have~~ born in ... village in Kottayam district. I was the member of an ancient and respectable family. My father helped to build the village church. The local Nair jenmi did not like it and there followed a test of strength in which my father lost 40 acres of land. I had eight brothers and the remaining property was equally divided among us. Each of us owned only 2½ acres, and this meagre plot was not enough for our survival. Hence we decided to go to Malabar.

We were informed of the availability of cheap land from Malabar by a neighbor who had previously bought land there. My younger brother visited the place. The Devaswom authorities informed him that fertile land suitable for coconut and pepper was available at Kuttiady. My brother verified this for himself and liked the place.

When I reached the new place there was just one migrant in the whole locality. He was living alone in the jungle. The members of my family, numbering 64 spent the night at his house which was but a temporary shed. We bought some land and built a shed and moved into it. After six months elephants destroyed our house and we had ~~to~~ to take refuge again in the friend's house.

Each of my eight brothers cleared as much jungle as he could. I cleared 5 acres and planted paddy in two acres, only to be eaten away by wild beasts. Soon fever overtook us. The nearest medical practitioner was five miles away and the distance had to be covered on foot through thick forest. We were frustrated and famished; and the money we brought was spent. Yet pride did not allow us to beg. We spent three whole years like this.

A missionary priest from Calicut used to visit us now and then. He advised us not to lose hope. He requested the doctor at Kuttiady to provide us with adequate medical help. But the doctor did not have enough medicine. The priest went straight to the District Collector at Calicut and ^{got} medicines worth Rs.600/- and gave it to the doctor. The doctor was very happy and began to look after us very well.

But soon death walked into our home. My eldest brother was the first victim. He died due to 'black-water fever', a disease said to be common only in Africa; our doctors did not know of any remedy against this disease. A local

Brahmin insisted that the burial should take place only at the east bank of the river, a little distance away, but we did not budge. We also decided not to quit this place and return to our native place since our eldest brother was buried in this place. The local people advised us to leave the place since it was the abode of the goddess 'Kali'. They also told us that the fever would not touch us if two bannanas and toddy were offered to the deity.

In the fifth year of our stay I had a severe attack of fever. Everyone thought I would die. I went to Calicut for treatment and got cured and was never again attacked by the disease. But five of my remaining brothers succumbed to the same disease. Only the youngest brother and I survived. The burden of protecting my aged mother, the young brother, the widows and their children fell entirely on my shoulder. The missionaries from Calicut rendered all possible assistance. They helped three of my children to get scholarships at Calicut. The other children were educated at my own expense.

The local people who used to come for 'punam' cultivation from Kuttiady thought that we were barbarians and cannibals. When they heard me and my brother discussing the 'month' and the day of the week the natives were surprised and murmured among themselves: 'so these people know about the 'month' and the 'year'!

In those days, every creature - flies and ants, elephants and pigs, landlords and labourers - was our enemy.

As years passed more migrants were coming from Travancore and everyone waited for the arrival of more persons. They used to stay at my house and I used to help them for buying land and setting up their own houses."

APPENDIX III

'The Malabar Settlements' by Sri Varky M Marathanmakuzhy.
(Malabar Diary, July 1, 1951, Vol. I, No. 4)

"There are no places in the hilly areas of Malabar where Christians have not reached. Even now, people from Travancore are pouring in. All those who came to Malabar, after fighting against malaria, wild animals and other hardships, are engaged in different sorts of farming activities. Though those who came in the beginning were consumed by malaria, they lighted the path for later migrants. The new arrivals will have no difficulty in improving their prospects. However, the price of land has gone considerably higher. About 8 to 10 years ago an acre of forest costed only Rs.5/-. Today it is not available even for Rs.1000/-. Everyone sets out to Malabar in the hope of a better economic status and comfortable living than was possible at Travancore. But the opinion necessarily undergoes a change once a person arrives here. They are few who are not forced to cry out in exasperation. "I wish I could only get out of this hell! It was at my Sanidasa (evil movement) that I decided to come here!"

The ~~janmam~~ lands of Malabar are ⁱⁿ disorder like a book which has lost its binding. Hence land disputes abound. After a person has bought the land, cleared the jungle and started agricultural actions, another person arrives on the scene claiming the land to be his. Numerous other claimants may arrive. All these people might have paid money to the landlord who disappears the scene as if he does not know anything. The misdeeds of the landlords' agents are more interesting. Noone would like to feed the 'janmis' with the money ~~they~~ ^{after selling} acquired his small holdings in the native place. The claimants of the same land fight among themselves; cases result. Meanwhile monsoon arrives and malaria strikes. When the time for planting new crops has arrived should the farmer quarrel with his opponents of lie in bed stricken with fever? In this situation is not Malabar a real hell?

... Thus thousands of families become frustrated and are destroyed, but they rise again from the ashes. These families gradually became the nucleus of new colonies. Religions facilities gradually started trickling in. The transformation to areas, which once were driving terror to the eye, could only be described as miraculous. The fearsome jungles infested with demon gods and goddesses have today become thickly populated villages. ... It is a painful fact that the immigrants have ~~xxx~~ none of the amenities they were used to in their native place. ..."

APPENDIX IV

I. "EVICTION" Editorial, Girideepam, Vol. I, No. 1,

... Another failure of the coalition government is Amravati. (High Ranges). Though it was a decision which was arrived at within the framework of law and public good, government has miserably failed in the way it went about implementing it. The party in authority has created the situation in which a strong anti-communist like Fr. Vadakkan had to congratulate A.K. Gopalan. The government should have shown a bit of humanity, let alone, Justice, to the poor peasant. For some ministers, Amravati was not even a problem, and the hunger strike for them was just a fast. It was a test of strength between the ministerial bungalows of Trivandrum and the huts of Amravati. In the end those who needed a lesson was forced to learn it.

In the Devasom lands of Kottiyoor (Malabar) there live more than 5000 families. These lands were acquired by peasants after paying 'pattom' and 'manusham' to the trustees of the Dewaswom. We have come to know that the Nair Service Society is trying to buy these lands wholesale and thus cause difficulties to the immigrants. The statement issued by the Dewaswom minister who is the right hand of the NSS is unfortunately. The immigrants must organize themselves and stand as one man.

II. "Migrant farmers and the lands of Malabar" Girideepam, October.

Migration to Malabar started about 30 years ago. ... A majority of the peasants in Cannanore district are not owners of the land; they are tenants. Dewaswoms and Kovilakams own millions of land. In one survey number alone, each jenmi, Kovilakam and Dewaswom owns 50000 acres or more as katumpattayam. These lands have no specified boundaries or legal records. The supervisors of the janmis and kovilakams are 'managers' and those of dewaswoms are 'trustees'. Most of them hold these posts as hereditary right. The facts about land are known only to these supervisors. It was from the supervisors that the tenants bought land either on verbal assurance or on legal records.

The tenants enjoy the title on the land on pattom by vakkal charthu. ... There is no need of a document for registering a dealing that does not exceed a pattom of Rs.200/- (the pattom ranges from $\frac{1}{2}$ an anna to Rs.2/- per acre). Even those who have no holding in fact will be given registration if they produce a Rs.100/- or Rs.200/- document in court. Whether he actually has the right to that holding is immaterial. Hence people who had come from Travancore after selling their land for amounts ranging from Rs.175/- to Rs.85000/- considered it a farce to undergo the legal procedure.

These poor peasant who had left behind his loved ones and everything he possessed and came to Malabar with a little cash, wife and children and the necessary household articles, was promised to be given land at very cheap rates by the agents of janmis, Devaswoms, and Kovilakams. The adhikari or the Menavan (village officers) were made witnesses to the actual dealings, in order to assure the peasants. The innocent peasant who in his native place was used to give or take loans of Rs,1000/- or more without any legal document, finds it shameful to demand vouchers or cash receipts. He gives the required advance to the janmi and straightaway embarks on agricultural operations in the newly bought land. After obtaining the remaining cash also the agent takes the peasant to the house of the janmi who orders him to be unfailing in offering gifts ~~xxx~~ during onam, vishu and other auspicious occasions.

When the peasant, in course of time, demands the registration of the deal the agents send them back saying: "the janmi has no time, the lord is not well" and so on. Years pass by this way. The farmer becomes bankrupt after spending the money on cultivation and wages for the labourers, and does not care to obtain the records. The agents continue to be the guests of peasant households.

... Malabar which was part of the Madras State has been acceded to the Kerala State. The 'liberation struggle' took place, the coalition ministry came to power. Land relations bill became law. 'Law to the tiller': this slogan was the accepted official policy. The migrant who left behind his native place and home and helped the economic advance of the country by increasing the income of all sections of the population including the trader, the bus-owner, the local labourer and beedi and mill owners in cities like Calicut and Cannanore. ...; the farmer who is in a sorry mess due to the destruction of crops, lack of capital facilities and is forced to wait at the doors of Canara Bank with their wedding rings to obtain finances for the labourers, the doctor and the lawyer; this farmer is now branded ~~encroacher~~ encroacher, thief, and criminal!