

SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACT OF GULF BOOM ON MALABAR

**Thesis
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DOCTOR OF PHILSOPHY IN HISTORY**

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C E R T I F I C A T E

Certified that the work entitled '**Socio-Cultural Impact of Gulf Boom on Malabar**' submitted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Calicut is the record of the bonafide study and research carried out by Sri. Abdul Jaleel Odengadan under my guidance and supervision.

University of Calicut
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DECLARATION

I, Abdul Jaleel Odengadan, do hereby declare that this written account titled '**Socio-Cultural Impact of Gulf Boom on Malabar**' is a bonafide record of research done by me under the guidance and supervision of Dr.T.M.Vijayan.

I do here declare that this thesis has not been submitted by me earlier for the award of any degree, diploma, title or recognition.

University of Calicut

.08.2009

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ABBREVIATIONS

APCO	: Anglo-Persian Oil Company
ARAMCO	: Arab American Oil Company
ARTEP	: Asian Regional Team for Employment Promotion
BOP	: Balance of Payment
CSRMS	: Centre for Survey Research and Management Studies
GCC	: Gulf Co-Operative Council
ILO	: International Labour Organisation
KMS	: Kerala Migration Study
KSRTC	: Kerala State Road Transport Corporation
MBBS	: Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery
MDR	: Major District Road
MPCE	: Monthly Per capita Consumer Expenditure
MPFE	: Monthly Per capita Food Expenditure
MPNFE	: Monthly Per capita No-food Expenditure
NATPAC	: National Transportation Planning and Research Centre
NRI	: Non-Resident Indian
NRK	: Non-Resident Keralite
NSDP	: Net State Domestic Product
ODR	: Other District Road
OPEC	: Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PGE	: Protector General of Emigration
PM	: Proportional Mortality
PWD	: Public Works Department
SDP	: State Domestic Product
SH	: State Highway

SoER	:	State of Environment Report
SSLC	:	Secondary School Leaving Certificate
UAE	:	United Arab Emirates
UK	:	United Kingdom
VAT	:	Value Added Tax
WPR	:	Work Participation Rate

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION, SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

Human migration, in broadest sense, is the movement of a people from one place to another prompted by economic, social or political situations. Thus, it results in permanent or temporary shift in peoples' residence. It can be within the borders of a country (internal migration) or between countries (external migration). Again, such a movement can take place in two different ways. The first one is a forced one, which is effected by factors like political pressures, religious persecutions, natural calamities etc at the place of origin. The second one, which is voluntary in nature, is caused by mainly economic considerations like material gains, employment opportunities etc. "Migration, or more exactly mobility, of some form is a universal experience and it is rare for anyone to spend his or her entire life within the boundaries of a single village or city ward and, when this does occur, it is more likely to be due to some physical or mental handicap than to choice"¹.

Various streams of migration paved the way for the development of modern civilisation.² Migration has now become an important area of study due to its complex role in the fast changing contemporary society. Migration has favourably or adversely influenced the socio – economic conditions of both the areas of origin and destination. It has not only influenced the social

¹ Ronald Skeldon, *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective* (Longman, 1997), p.2.

² The study of history reveals that dissemination and distribution of various religions and cultures, ideas and beliefs, plants and animals are the effects of human migration that has been taking place since the beginning of human history. For instance, as far Kerala is concerned, major religions like Islam, Christianity and Judaism reached here from foreign lands through trader migrants. New agricultural products, now common in Kerala, like cashew- nut, guava, pineapple, papaya etc are the contributions of the Portuguese. The art forms like *Duff Muttu*, and *Arabana Muttu* which are prevalent in Kerala are the contributions of the contacts with the Arabs. Important incidents in world history can also be linked with migration. Fall of the Roman Empire in 5th century A.D. was the result of the migration of Central Asian tribes whose movement was blocked by the building of the Great Wall of China is only one example.

or economic conditions of human life but other aspects like health, physical environment, political awareness, behaviour, culture etc.³ United Nations has estimated in 1994 that in the last half of the 1980s, somewhere between 750 million and one billion people migrated.⁴ In short, migration remains to be one of the ever- recurring incidents of human history, causes and effects of which encompasses the entire domain of human life.

The case of the state of Kerala is not an exception. From time immemorial, this land has been in contact with the outside world. The region witnessed various streams of in – migration⁵ as well as out - migration.⁶ The out migration gained significant momentum since 1970s when thousands of Malayalees went to West Asia seeking better opportunities ⁷. The opinion made by two scholars regarding the migration from the state is significant. “Migration has provided the single most dynamic factor in the otherwise dismal scenario of Kerala in the last quarter of the 20th century ... Kerala is approaching the end of the millennium with a little cheer in many of its homes, thanks to migration and the economic returns that it brings. In Kerala, migration must have contributed more to poverty alleviation than any other factor including agrarian reforms, trade union activities and social welfare legislation”.⁸ The above observation made by the KMS (Kerala Migration Study) depicts clearly what migration to Kerala is. The ‘Survey Report on Activity Status of Migrants and Returnees’ prepared by the Department of Economics and Statistics, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, states

³ Dr.V.N.P.Sinha and Dr. Mohammed. Ataulah, *Migration: An Inter disciplinary Approach* (Seema Publications, Delhi, 1987), p.2.

⁴ Ibid.p.4.

⁵ We use the term ‘in-migration’ to refer to migration to the state.

⁶ The term ‘out-migration’ is used to refer migration from the state including both internal and external migration.

⁷ In this study the terms like ‘West Asia’, ‘the Gulf’, and ‘the Middle East’ are used to mean the newly six oil rich Arab countries on the coast of the Arabian Gulf viz. Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

⁸ K.C. Zachariah and S. Irudaya Rajan, ‘Gulf Revisited: Economic Consequences of Emigration from Kerala – Emigration and Unemployment’, Working Paper 363 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, September 2004), pp. 10 – 11.

that 13,83,697 Keralites are living abroad.⁹ Out of these 12,71,467(91.8%) are living in six Arab Gulf countries viz. Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.¹⁰ Today every 23rd Keralite is an emigrant.¹¹ According to the study conducted by Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, it is estimated that an amount of Rs.14157.88 crores received by the state as foreign remittances from all sources in the year 1999-2000 and it is 22.63% of Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) of the state.¹² As one scholar rightly remarks, “Migration to West Asia is now Kerala’s biggest industry. We have hardly any growth in terms of conventional goods being produced, be it in agriculture or industry. Our growth depends on how many of our labourers leave Kerala to work in West Asia”.¹³

The windfall remittances received by the migrant households in Kerala has led to an unprecedented material affluence especially in Gulf pockets, which is known by the term Gulf Boom. Gulf boom has its impact on each and every facets of Kerala’s socio-economic and cultural life. Both positive and negative changes have been noticed. For the last three decades, the outcomes of the windfall remittances made to the state, are being reflected in the life style, consumption behaviour, health, education, building construction, environment, mode of transport, social mobility etc. which is not subjected to academic analysis in a historical perspective. Such a study is highly essential to a better understanding of the social, cultural and economic history of Kerala.

⁹ Government of Kerala, *Report on Activity Status of Migrants and Returnees*, (Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, May 2003), p.67.

¹⁰ Ibid.p. 71.

¹¹ Here, an ‘emigrant’ refers to those who migrated outside India.

¹² K.P. Kannan and K.S. Hari, ‘Kerala’s Gulf Connection: Emigration, Remittances and their Macro – Economic Impact 1972 – 2000’, Working Paper 328 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 2002), P.10.

¹³ Leela Gulati, *In the Absence of their Men: The Impact of Male Migration on Women*, (Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1993), p.10.

Significance of the problem

Historically speaking, India has witnessed and actively taken part in five distinct streams of international migrations in the past. First the 'indentured labour migration' mainly to tropical and sub tropical lands. It was an assisted form of migration started to fill the vacuum in the supply of labour generated by the abolition of slavery in British territories. Due to severe criticism from many corners, it was abolished by the Government in 1916. The second one, which is known as 'Kangani system of migration', recruited labourers first to Srilanka and then to Malaya and Burma. It received its name from the Tamil word 'Kangani' or headman who recruited the labourers and who was also his supervisor abroad. Though migrants recruited under this system were supposed to be free, the cash advances tied them into a cycle of debt bondage.¹⁴ The system was abolished by the Government in 1938. Third type of migration was 'free emigration' of traders, skilled and semi-skilled workers to East Africa and other countries. It developed along with indentured and Kangani systems and continued until the Second World War. The migrants belonged to all the categories including merchants, financiers, construction contractors, Policemen, caretakers, guards, salesmen, traders, shopkeepers, street side vendors and many others. Between 1800 and 1945 about 3 million Indians migrated to different parts of the world.¹⁵ Fourth international migration was that of the educated professionals to countries of Europe and North America. A number of doctors, engineers, nurses and other educated professionals migrated to the above regions after the Second World War.¹⁶ The last emigration took place when thousands of people migrated to countries of West Asia in response to discovery of crude oil and subsequent developmental activities triggered in those countries. Though this migration

¹⁴ M.C.Madahavan, 'Indian Emigrants: Numbers, Characteristics and Economic Impact', *Population and Development Review*, Vol. II, No.3 (Mumbai, September 1985), p.460.

¹⁵ Ibid. p.461.

¹⁶ Regarding the migration of Indian doctors, See, Roger Jeffrey, 'Migration of Doctors from India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. IX, No.13 (Mumbai, 27 March, 1976).

had started in 1940s in trickles, it became a great flow since the oil price hike of 1973.

What was the role of our state in the above-mentioned streams of international migrations? All these labour movements, barring the professional migrations and migration to West Asia, had started and ended before the formation of the Kerala state. Though Kerala had been a net in-migrating region until the first half of the 20th century, the region had not kept aloof from the out-migration trends that swayed the country from the middle of the 19th century. But a striking aspect of migration from the state is that except in the professionals' migration to Europe and North America, in all other four international migration streams, Malabar¹⁷ region sent the largest number of migrants. In 1931, the number of Malayalees in Malaya was 34,898. Out of these, 25000 migrants were from Malabar region. In the same year the Malayalee presence in Burma was 12218. Of these 11163 belonged to Malabar.¹⁸ According to the 'Sample Survey Report' published by the Economic and Statistics Department, Kerala, out of a total 1084650 employed migrants in six Arab Gulf countries 515833 (47.55%) hails from six districts of Malabar.¹⁹ If we add Trichur to this, the number will reach to 683867 (63.04%). According to a latest study, the northern districts of Kerala are gaining importance as areas of emigration. 'As years pass, more and more Kerala emigrants emanate from districts such as Malappuram, Kannur and Kasargod. In Malappuram, 71 percent of the households have in them either an emigrant or return emigrant each.'²⁰ Whereas, in the migration to US and

¹⁷ In this study the term Malabar is used to denote the six northern districts of the Kerala state – Palakkad, Malappuram, Kozhikode, Wayanad, Kannur and Kasargod

¹⁸ See Nalini Ranjan Chakravarti, 'Indian Minority in Burma' (Oxford University Press, London, 1971); Sinnappa Arasaratnam, 'Indians in Malaya and Singapore' (Oxford University Press, London, 1970); K.V. Joseph, 'Migration and Economic Development of Kerala' (Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1988); Census of India, 1931, Vol. II, imperial Tables, Tables XV, languages.

¹⁹ Government of Kerala, n.9, p.71.

²⁰ K.C. Zachariah and S. Irudaya Rajan, 'Migration, Remittances and Employment: Short – term trends and Long – term Implications', Working Paper No.385 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, December 2007), p.8.

European countries the southern districts of the state dominate. Out of a total migrants of 44123 in America and European countries, 37466 (84.91%) belonged to former Travancore-Cochin region. Only 6657(15.08%) come from Malabar.²¹

Another striking feature of the migration from Kerala is in the case of educational status of the migrants. 63.94% of the migrants from Malabar are having a general education of below SSLC.²² The corresponding figure to Travancore-Cochin region is 36.6%. The female participation rate is also interesting. Of the total male migrants from Kerala 48.36% belong to Malabar and 51.62% belong to Travancore-Cochin region.²³ The corresponding figure to female is 18.99% and 81.01%. The Muslims who form only 20% of the state's population contribute 54.3% of the migrants and the same community receives 47% of the total remittance.²⁴ Among the Muslims, 3 out of every 4 households (74 percent) have an NRK each but among the Hindus less than 1 in 5 households (22 percent) only have an NRK each in them.²⁵ Whatever may be the statistical variations, the migration of a large section of people to West Asia, kindling the hopes of life of a large section of people and there by influencing the social life of Kerala justify the significance of the problem.

Purpose

An important dearth with regard to migration study worldwide is the lack of involvement on the part of historians. Kerala is not an exception. Historians have shown little interest to migration study. Most of the social sciences, especially Economics, Geography, Sociology and Demography have considered the topic, in their own way and came out with their views.

²¹ Government of Kerala, n.9, p.71.

²² Ibid. p.73.

²³ Ibid.p. 69.

²⁴ K C Zachariah et al, 'Socio – Economic and Demographic Consequences of Migration from Kerala', Working Paper 303 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, May 2000), p. 22.

²⁵ K.C.Zachariah and S.Irudaya Rajan, n.20, p.8.

Economists for example, conducted studies on job opportunities, volume of remittances, balance of foreign exchange, economic impact etc. The sociologists were concerned with the characteristics of migrants, family background etc. Demographers on the other hand pinpointed the influence of migration and population change. Actually, migration especially a voluntary one, does not happen all of a sudden. It is the response of a society or a community (positive as well as negative) to the economic, social, political and cultural changes over the years. Hence it is the students of history, who are bound to probe into those historical undercurrents that necessitated migration.

In all the international migrations that Kerala witnessed in the past, the dominance of Malabar and the Muslim community is widely acclaimed. A comprehensive historical review of the region at the time of the genesis of migration will provide ample evidence for the dominance of Malabar and its folk in international migrations. Unfortunately, no serious attempt has been made towards this direction.

The Gulf Migration Study, published by Centre for Development Studies Thiruvananthapuram, has estimated an annual remittance of Rs.12640²⁶ crores to Kerala in the year 2000 from Gulf countries alone. Half of this amount came to Malabar region and the Muslims received 47% of these remittances.²⁷ According to a present study made by Centre for Development Studies, international migrants have sent about 24525 cores as remittances to Kerala in 2006 – 07.²⁸ The share of the seven northern districts of the state in the total remittances (61%) was almost double the share of the seven southern districts (39%).²⁹ A scholar has opined that the crisis that the Kerala Model faced was eased to a great extent by the money sent by the

²⁶ K C Zachariah et al, 'Gulf Migration Study: Employment, Wages and Working Conditions of Kerala Emigrants in the United Arab Emirates', Working Paper 326 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, March 2002), p.26.

²⁷ K C Zachariah et al, n.24, p. 22.

²⁸ K.C.Zachariah and S.Irudaya Rajan, n.20, p.10.

²⁹ Ibid. p.11.

emigrants.³⁰ The opinion of another scholar is very significant. According to him the ups and downs of our economy is decided by the money sent by the expatriates, working in the hot sands of Arabia and not the pseudo – intellectuals sitting in Delhi or Thiruvananthapuram making statistical calculations. According to him, the impact made by the money sent through illegal channels is more than the impact made by the remittances through legal channels.³¹ Out of every 22 person in the region one is a migrant to West Asia.³² It may seem surprising that the largest bachelor community is living in the Gulf countries.³³ Almost every family in Malabar is directly or indirectly affected by various outcomes of migration - absence of family head, windfall remittances etc. The absence of about 13 lakhs Malayalees from their families and their native land and the flow of huge remittances, undoubtedly have serious multi-dimensional repercussions in the society. Kerala in general and Malabar in particular, are witnessing the advent of new trends in the socio – cultural arena of people’s life. According to Keynes, if a man is enjoying a windfall increment in the value of his capital, it is natural that his motives towards current spending should be strengthened.³⁴ A change in perspective in migration study is necessary— from economic aspect to social and cultural aspects. A study of the influence of Gulf affluence upon the various facets of social life and cultural aspects—values, principles, ethics, traditions, lifestyles, attitudes, manners etc provide grounds for serious socio-cultural analyses.

Quantitative data are used extensively in the present study. But it doesn’t mean that the study is a mere statistical analysis. On the contrary, the

³⁰ R.V.G.Menon, *Editorial*, ‘*Sastragathi Monthly*’ (Malayalam) (Kozhikode, November 2006).

³¹ B.R.P.Bhaskar, ‘*Thudarchayayi Parachayappedunna Aasuthranam*’ (Malayalam), *Social Review Monthly* (Kozhikode, January 2007), p.12.

³² Government of Kerala, n.9, p.68.

³³ Faisal Bava, ‘*Gulf Malayaliyude Rashtriya Mukham*’ (Malayalam), *Sastragathi Monthly* (Kozhikode, November 2006), p.28.

³⁴ John Mynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, Collected Writings, Vol. Vii (Macmillan Press Limited, Reprint, 1973).

work is a historical investigation into the Socio – economic background of Kerala and Malabar and an attempt to find how much it paved the way for migration. And also the impact it created in the socio – cultural life of the people. A study like this would be able to throw light on the structure of Malabar society that led to international migration and also to the sweet as well as bitter fruits accrued from the Gulf migration.

Literature Review

During the present study we could come across many studies of varying nature - both micro level and macro level, official and non-official - on migration from Kerala. The availability of such a collection of literature is ample evidence to show that migration to Arab countries from the state has attracted attention of many scholars of Social Sciences. These works are helpful in understanding the subject, the area already covered, those which still lie untouched, and enabled us a great deal in working out the structure of our study. The works that already came out that deal with international migration from Kerala can be categorised into five: a) **State wise Government Surveys:** Department of Economics and Statistics have conducted a few surveys on migration from Kerala. Two significant ones are ‘Survey on Housing and Employment’ (1980) and ‘Report on Activity Status of Migrants and Returnees’ (2003). These are based on sample surveys in selected households in 14 districts of Kerala. The surveys are serious attempts on the part of the state government, to find out various aspects regarding migration from Kerala - number of migrants, occupations, remittances, districts of origin, countries of destination, general and technical education of migrants, etc. In short, these survey reports provide only basic statistical data on various aspects of migration. b) **Developmental Studies:** Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram has sponsored and financed a variety of studies on migration from the state. ‘Remittances of Indian

migrants to the Middle East: An Assessment with Special Reference to Migrants from Kerala State' by I.S.Gulati, and Asoka Modi (1983), 'Asian Migration to the Arab World: Migration from Kerala, (India)' by P.R.Gopinathan Nair, (1986) 'Impact of Migration on Kerala's Economy and Society' by K .C. Zachariah et al (1999), and 'Kerala's Gulf Connection: Emigration, remittances and their Macro- Economic Impact 1972-200' by K.P.Kannan, and K.S.Hari, are important ones. These studies, mainly working papers and prepared by experts in migration and demographical studies, like Zachariah and Gopinathan Nair have analysed various aspects of migration, profiles of migrants, policy relevance, return migrants etc. But the entire analysis is from a developmental point of view and do not approach the problem from a historical angle. c) **Micro level Studies:** A few micro level studies have also been published. Notable among them are 'Impact of Foreign Remittances: A Case Study of Chavakkad Village in Kerala', by B.A. Prakash (1978), 'Socio-Economic Characteristics of Emigrant House –holds: a Case study of two villages in Kerala' by E .T. Mathew and P .R. Gopinathan Nair (1978) and 'Emigration, Inward Remittances and Economic Development', by C.Radhakrishnan and P.Ibrahim (1981). These works are important in the sense that they are the pioneer studies that deal with migration to West Asia. These micro level studies have examined the profiles of migrants, countries of emigration, characteristics of migrants, socio-economic background, volume of remittances, causes of migration etc based on surveys in selected villages. d) **Economic Studies:** 'Incidence, Impact, and Implications of Migration to the Middle East from Kerala' by P R Gopinathan Nair (1989), 'Economic Consequences of Gulf Crisis: A Study of India with Special Reference to Kerala' by T.M.Thomas Isaac (1993) and 'Indian Migration to the Middle East : Trends, Patterns and Socio-Economic Impact' by BA Prakash (1993) are a few studies the scope of which is limited to economic impact alone. e) **Studies on Impact Analysis:** A few studies have

dealt with impacts of migration other than economic ones. There are two studies in this category Leela Gulati's 'Coping with Male Migration' and 'In the absence of their Men: The Impact of Male Migration on Women', (1992). Studies of Leela Gulati are undoubtedly serious attempts on the impact of migration on the women who were left behind. f) **Studies on Return Emigrants:** Another important area in which a good volume of literature available is on the problem of return emigrants, causes of return, present activity status of returnees etc. 'Exodus of Gulf Migrants - Return migrants of Varkala town in Kerala' by B.A.Prakash, (2000) and 'Return Emigrants in Kerala: Rehabilitation Problem and Development Potential', by Zachariah K C et al (2001) etc. come under this category.

All the above studies viewed the problem from a non-historical angle and in order to understand the formation of Kerala society and culture, this topic should be examined from a historical perspective. The present study is an attempt in that respect.

Collection of Data and Methodology

Migration phenomenon is unique in the sense that scholars of different disciplines like economists, geographers, sociologists, demographers, anthropologists, historians and even medical scientists have shown interest in its study, though from different angles. In the genesis of Gulf migration process, the role of different forces like socio – economic pressures, policies of formal agencies like Government, historical dynamisms, cultural proximity etc that had been working in the places of origin as well as destination are important. So, like economic factors, the socio – cultural variables like social fabric, geographical location, ethnic relations, previous experience etc are also adequate determinants of pattern of migration. So, in the study, in the analysis of migration process and its impact, not only the data but also the approach is equally important. The present study, though views the topic from

an historical angle, the contributions of other disciplines are not altogether ignored. Hence it relies on an inter-disciplinary approach employing the concepts of other branches.

Though the study concentrates on the socio – economic and cultural transformation of Malabar from a macro angle on the basis of primary as well as secondary documents, in diagnosing the background of initial migrations, characteristics of the pioneer migrants and the socio – cultural impact of Gulf boom on the society, it also suggests a micro level analysis in the form of personal interviews and participant observation. Discussions were held with a few earlier migrants to West Asia and also with the leaders of various expatriate organisations and some prominent personalities of the region who are actively working in the political, social and religious field. The discussions and interviews were conducted with the intention of getting information on two points. Firstly, the socio-economic background of the region at the time of the genesis of migration, and secondly, the role of petrodollar in the socio- cultural transformation of the region. Thus, the study is aimed to be an analysis of migration to West Asia from an historical - angle supplemented by personal interviews of selected earlier migrants and persons working in various socio – cultural spheres of the state. Thus the study becomes partly analytical and partly empirical.

The important primary sources for the study are as follows.

1) Emigration Acts & Rules:

For a proper understanding of the emigration from the country, various emigration rules passed in India were referred. The first Emigration Rule passed in India was the Act V of 1837. Since then, a series of Acts and Rules were passed. Emigration Act of 1922 and the Emigration Act of 1983 are the most prominent ones.

2) Passport Acts:

Two Passport Rules passed in India are The Passport Act, 1920 and The Passport Act of 1967.

3) Census Reports, Government of India:

4) Reports published by former Travancore, Cochin and Madras Governments.

Important reports referred under this head are 'Report on the Administration of Madras Presidency', 'Report of the Madras Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee', 'Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee', 'Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency', 'Travancore Administration Reports' etc.

5) Reports Published by the Department of Economics and Statistics, Government of Kerala:

The reports mainly consulted under this head are

- i. Survey Report on Housing and Employment, 1980.
- ii. Report of the Survey on the Utilisation of Gulf Remittances in Kerala, 1987.

- iii. Sample Survey on Activity Status and Rehabilitation of Migrants from Kerala, 2000.
 - iv. Report on Activity Status of Migrants and Returnees, 2003.
 - v. Report on Private Medical Institutions in Kerala, 2004.
 - vi. Report of Survey on Aged in Kerala, 2005.
 - vii. Statistics since Independence, 2003.
 - viii. Statistics for Planning for various years.
- 6) 'Economic Reviews' of various years published by the State Planning Board, Government of Kerala.
- 7) Reports of the Department of Education.

The Department of Education, Government of Kerala, has been publishing reports on various aspects of education in the state. The following reports have been used in the present study.

- a) Kerala's Selected Educational Statistics, 1972 –73
 - b) Educational Statistics, 1999.
 - c) Selected Educational Statistics, 2000 – 2001.
 - e) Selected Statistical Information on Education in Kerala 2003 – 2004.
- 8) Environment Policy (Draft) of the Department of Environment
- 9) Reports of Beverages Corporation, Government of Kerala: Though State Beverages Corporation is not publishing any Reports about its production and sale, the statistics were collected from its Head office, Thiruvananthapuram.

10) News Paper Reports: Leading Malayalam and English news papers published from Kerala have brought about news on various aspects of migration from the state.

11) Reports of the Sample Survey Organisation.

The Primary Sources pertaining to the Arab Gulf countries were collected from the 'Population Census', 'Educational Statistics', 'Financial Reports', 'Economic Surveys' etc. published by various departments in the Arab Gulf countries.

12) Interviews:

Interviews and discussions were held with about fifty three migrants including the leaders of the expatriate organisations from different parts of Malabar. Wives of the migrants were also interviewed. Also, various aspects of the problems were discussed with leaders of expatriate organisations, heads of the educational institutions, politicians, journalists, religious leaders etc in the study area (List of persons interviewed is given at the end of the study).

13) Participant Observation: Since we belong to the study area and have been observing the society and of the migrant community for many years, it has helped us a lot in understanding the socio-cultural transformations taking place in the region since the Gulf boom.

The secondary sources for the study include:

- 1) Theses and Dissertations: Some unpublished PhD Theses and MPhil Dissertations
- 2) Working Papers: These include mainly the working papers published by Centre for Development Studies, ILO, ARTEP etc
- 3) Books: Books published both in Malayalam and English.

- 4) Souvenirs: A number souvenirs published by expatriate organisations in the Arab Gulf countries and other organisations and institutions in Kerala are referred.
- 5) Articles: Articles were collected mainly from various News Papers and Magazines. They include 'Agricultural Situation in India', 'Business India', 'Demography India', 'Development and Change' 'Economic and Political Weekly', 'Economic Development and Cultural Change', 'Economic Geography', 'Finance and Development', 'Indian Journal of Labour Economics', 'International Labour Review', 'International Migration Review', 'Journal of Economic Studies', 'Journal of Kerala Studies', 'Man and Development', 'Manpower Journal', 'Population and Development Review', 'Social Scientist', 'Yojana' 'The Hindu Daily', 'The New Indian Express Daily' 'The *Chandrika* Daily', The '*Desabhimani Daily*', 'The *Malayala Manorama* Daily', 'The *Mathrubhumi* Daily', 'The *Madhyamam* Daily', The '*Pradeepam*' Daily, The '*Varthamanam*' Daily, '*Gulf Voice*', '*Pravasi Doothan*', '*Arabiayile Sulthan*', 'The *Chandrika* Weekly', The '*Desabhimani* Weekly', The '*Kalakaumudi* Weekly', The '*Malayalam* Weekly', 'The *Mathrubhumi* Weekly', 'The *Madhyamam* Weekly', '*Sasthragathi* Monthly', '*Social Review* Monthly', etc.

Period of Study

It was since 1970s, that the region started to feel the presence of material affluence as the Gulf exodus assumed large magnitude as a result of the first oil price hike in 1973. But processes like migratory movements are moulded and effected by various economic, social, political, demographic and even cultural factors both in the area of origin and destination that may spread out years before the actual movement takes place. So the study needs to assess and analyse historical undercurrents that the region undergone, in the decades

before 1970. The state of Kerala formally came into being on 1 November 1956. So, the beginning of the decade of the formation of the state is taken as the starting year of the study.

In the closing decades of 20th century, the governments of Arab Gulf countries made several legislations and started to implement several immigration rules so as to control demographic imbalance and also to encourage more nationals to participate in the job markets. For example, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the UAE Government has prepared a document called *Labour 2000 Report* in this respect. The major policy measures implemented in the UAE in recent years which would adversely affect the emigrants from India are i) the Ministry of Labour has stopped accepting applications for visas for unskilled labourers belonging to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh with effect from July 18, 1991; ii) Strict action was initiated to send back illegal and unskilled expatriates already in UAE; iii) In order to curtail the number of unskilled labourers, the UAE Government has introduced several measures to make recruitment of unskilled labour costly; iv) with the object of Emiratisation, the UAE Government has already started measures to replace foreign labour with nationals in the public sector undertakings; v) the UAE nationals working in private sector companies are ensured the same social security benefits as are available to workers in the government sector companies; vi) the UAE government has decided not to renew the labour cards of private sector employees above the age of 60 with effect from May 30, 1999 except a few category of professionals; vii) the Ministry of Labour has introduced a new measure by which each employer seeking a new visa for work will have to deposit 3,000 dirhams in the ministry.³⁵ Legislations known by various terms like Emiratisation, Omanisation, Saudisation etc. in the Gulf countries around 2000 are nothing

³⁵ K.C.Zachariah et al, 'Indian Workers in UAE: Employment, Wages and Working Conditions', *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 29 May 2004), p.2229.

but steps to reduce the number of unskilled workers. Since majority of the workers from Malabar region belonged to this category, the beginning of new century is a turning point in the history of West Asian migration. So the study covers a period of 50 years (1950 – 2000) that corroborate the beginning of the decade of the formation of the new state and the implementation of various immigration rules in the Arab Gulf countries that adversely affect the aspirations of the migrants from the Kerala. But since the study is a historical analysis of a current topic we could not confine within the above mentioned time limit and here and there some encroachment has become necessary.

Scheme of Study

The scheme of the study would be on the following lines. Chapter 1 is a brief account of the sources and methodology. A short but a precise report of the primary sources is given here. The sources of the secondary materials connected with the study are also touched in short. (The bibliography at the end of the study lists fully the primary and secondary sources used in the study). Significance of the study, purpose and methodology adopted are also mentioned. Chapter 2 gives a brief survey of the various approaches in migration study. Chapter 3 presents a comparative analysis of the political, economic and social conditions of the three different political units of Kerala – Travancore, Cochin and Malabar before the formation of Kerala, on linguistic basis. The 4th chapter discusses the same theme after the formation of Kerala. A short sketch of the economic and social conditions of the Muslim community is also attempted here. This is intended to unearth the general factors from which the migration originated in the region and also to enable one to analyse and comprehend its relation with the subsequent developments in the society. In a process like international migration the need for looking into the past to interpret the present cannot be overestimated. In doing so it attempts to show the relative backwardness and peculiar socio – cultural

fabric of Malabar and its role in the waves of international migration. In any migration process, the socio –economic conditions of the places of destinations are equally important. So a brief sketch of six Arab Gulf countries and their socio-economic background at the time of the genesis of migration is given in chapter 5. An analysis of Gulf Arab regions in terms of their economic growth and labour force are examined. Chapter 6 traces the various international migrations occurred from India from indentured migration to the current Arab Gulf Migration and also a short survey of various emigration rules passed in the country are traced with. This chapter is included to have a background for understanding the migration streams from Malabar. Chapter 7 examines the role of Malabar in the various international migrations that the country witnessed. Chapter 8 and 9 address the socio-cultural impact of Gulf Boom on the region. By focusing both on the positive and negative impacts, the study tries to assess the length and breadth of the socio-cultural transformation in the region and the role of petro-dollar in this transition. A brief highlights of the findings is given as chapter 10.

Migration of the Keralites to the Arabian Gulf is a recent phenomenon that started in 1970s and which still continues. Both the causes and results of this mass human flow are intrinsically interlaced with the contemporary political, economic and social conditions of the Kerala society. Since the major sources for the study being government reports and statistics we had to face some handicaps. Certain government records provide data state wise only and as the present study is confined to the Malabar area, we could not get separate figures for northern districts. At this juncture, dependence is made on the studies conducted in various Gulf pockets by different individuals and institutions.

The main focus of the study being the socio-cultural impact of the Gulf migration the chapter on impact analysis became a lengthy one. So the

chapter has to be split into two. It was first thought of dividing the chapter under the title positive impact and negative impact. But such a division became a laborious one as most of the aspects involve both positive and negative sides. So the partition is not on the basis of any concrete concept but just to reduce the size of the chapter.

The pattern of documentation adopted in this work is mainly as laid in the Style Guide published by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi. It is hoped that there would be no difficulty in following the method adopted here. A change in convention however is the omission of the traditional Latin abbreviation 'op.cit' to indicate that the work has already been cited. Instead, when a reference is made to a work already cited in the same chapter in an earlier foot note, the procedure is as follows.

1. Leela Gulati, *In the Absence of their Men: The Impact of Male Migration on Women* (Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1993), p.87.
7. Leela Gulati, n.1, p.115.

The abbreviation 'n.1' in footnote (7) means that the work is one cited earlier in footnote (1).

CHAPTER 2

APPROACHES AND THEORIES OF MIGRATION

“Man is a mobile creature, capable of enquiring, susceptible to suggestion, and endowed with imagination and initiative. This explains why, having conceived with the notion that his wants might be satisfied elsewhere, he may decide not merely on going there but also on the means by which his can be achieved.”¹

The word ‘migration’ is derived from the Latin word ‘migrate’, which means to change one’s residence. The Encyclopaedia Americana defines the term as a co-ordinated voluntary movement of a considerable number of people from an accustomed habitat to a new one.² The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences has defined it as the relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance.³ In International Encyclopedia of Population, ‘migration’ is defined as a geographical mobility that involves a change of usual residence between defined political or statistical areas or between residence areas of different types.⁴

Migration is one of the distinguishing features of human beings that has been occurring since it started from the very beginning of man’s appearance in this universe. Though human mobility was the characteristic of even the stone age man, the rapidity of industrialisation and urbanisation of the modern age has given it big push and with the development of modern means of transport and communication, thousands of people in each country –

¹ Beajeau – Garnier, *Geography of Population* (Longman, London, 1966), p.171.

² *Encyclopaedia Americana*, Vol. 19 (America Corporation, New York, 1969), p.48.

³ *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol.10 (Macmillan and Free Press, 1968), p.286.

⁴ *Internatioonal Encyclopaedia of Population*, Vol. 2 (The Free Press, New York, 1982), p.448.

especially from the third world - started to leave their usual abode in search of new jobs and fresh opportunities.

Migration is one of the causes of social change and it is one of the three basic reasons of demographic change, the other two being birth and death. "Migration is a two – way process; it is a response to economic and social change and equally it is a catalyst to change for those areas gaining and losing migrants."⁵ A large number of studies have come out regarding migration analysis. Due to different approaches and methodologies used by each investigator and also by varied purposes and perspectives in their analysis the whole migration literature itself has become highly complex. ⁶

Theories and Approaches to Migration

Various attempts towards defining the process of migration and the consequent conceptualisation of the phenomena have resulted in the emergence of a number of theories and philosophical approaches. But the review of theories and approaches reveal that so far there has not evolved a framework or theoretical expression that gained universal acceptance.

⁵ C.J.Lewis, *Human Migration: A Geographical perspective* (Croom Helm, London and Canberra, 1982), p.1.

⁶ C.J.Lewis has tried to simplify the problem by classifying the migration process into four categories.a) *Spatial* migration: This classification is based on the spatial criteria that focuses upon the aerial units between which movements take place. It generally comprises two types of movements – internal migration (movement of people within a nation) and international migration(movement of people across political boundaries). b) *Temporal* migration: Here the focus is on the length of residence in the host community. Daily, periodic, seasonal and long-term movements are meant by the term. c) *Causal* migration; Here the distinction is based on the differences in the level of culture and presence or absence of violence. Voluntary and forced migrations are meant here. d) *Consequential*: Here the distinction is made between the *innovating* and *conservative*. (Migrations of people to achieve something new are described as innovative and migration in response to a change in condition and to retain what they have had is conservative. The attempt made by Fairchild to analyse the typology of migration is also note worthy. He classified migration into four types. 1) *Invasion* of which the Visigoth sacks of Rome is given as the suitable example. 2) *Conquest* in which "the people of higher culture take the aggressive" 3) *Colonization*, when "a well established, progressive, and physically vigorous state" settles "newly discovered or thinly settled countries"; and *immigration* or the individually motivated, peaceful movement between well established countries " on approximately the same stage of civilisation" (See W. Peterson, 'A general Typology of Migration' in Clifford J Jansen (ed), "Readings in the Sociology of Migration", Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1970, p.49-50.

Though, a comprehensive and widely accepted theory is not evolved, scholars of migration have tried to formulate theories based on various aspects of migration. As regards the genesis of migration, some works concentrate on the decision making of individuals and others focus on society – *micro-analytical* and *macro-analytical* respectively. Some other works used the terms *humanist* and *determinist* to denote the same. In *humanist* approach, the individual is the decision maker in the choice whether to migrate or not. In contrast, for the *determinist*, it is the society where he lives becomes the crucial factor. Still, some other studies have tried to integrate the determinist and humanist approaches. Theories of migration are important in the sense that they help those who study human mobility within wider political, social, economic and cultural contexts.

Determinist Approaches of Human Migration

Empirical Laws

Ravenstein, a German born former cartographer for the British war office is remembered as the pioneer who formulated a theoretical foundation for the migration study. His hypothesis were first published in the *Geographical Magazine* of 1876 in which he reacted against the view of an earlier demographer, W. Farr, who remarked that migration occurs without any definite law.⁷ Later, Ravenstein published two papers in the *Journal of the Statistical Society* in June 1886 and June 1889. The first paper was the result of an extensive study of British Census's Place of Birth Tables of 1871 and 1881 and the second paper on the basis of data from 20 other countries of North America and Europe. A summary of laws as appeared in these papers is given below.

⁷ See W. Farr, 'Birth places of the people and the laws of migration', *Geographical Magazine*, 3 (London, 1876), p.35- 37.

1. Most of the migrants go only a short distance.
2. Migrants moving long distance generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce and industry.
3. Migration proceeds in a series of steps.
4. Urban people are less migratory than rural people.
5. Females are more migratory than males in short distances, but males predominate over long distances.
6. Each migration current produces a compensating counter current, but the former predominates the latter.
7. Families hardly move over long distance.
8. The development of commerce and industry and the improvement of transport facilities lead to increase in volume of migration.
9. Direction of migration is largely from agricultural regions to industrial areas.
10. The important reason behind the decision to migrate is economic.

Though Ravenstein's laws have attracted critical appraisals from various corners⁸ he remains the pioneer and one of the pre-eminent migration theorist, who started the theory of migration ball rolling, who provided the base upon which subsequent migration research and theorising were put up. Notwithstanding, some 20th century scholars have tried to give the laws of Ravenstein some theoretical credence by explaining and verifying the laws on

⁸ See, D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein and the Laws of Migration', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 3 (St.Louis, 1971), pp. 41-54; R.Porter, 'An approach to migration through its mechanism', *Geographisca Annaler*, Vol.38 (1956), pp. 317—343; Everett S. Lee, 'A theory of migration' , *Demography*, Vol.3 (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 47-48; P.J. Grandstaff, 'Recent Soviet Experience and Western Laws of Population Migration', *International Migration Review*, Vol.9 (NewYork, 1975) pp.479-497.

the basis of Newton's Law of Gravity.⁹ His law that females are more migratory than males in short migration is not true in many migration streams of various ages and regions. Migration occurring in series is also not having enough base. However as Everett S. Lee rightly remarks, "In the three quarters of a century which have passed, Ravenstein has been much quoted and occasionally challenged. But while there have been literally thousands of migration studies in the meantime *few additional generalisations have been advanced*. True, there have been studies of age and migration, sex and migration, race and migration, distance and migration, education and migration, the labour force and migration and so forth. But most studies which focused upon the characteristics of migrants have been conducted with little reference to the volume of migration and *few studies have considered the reasons for migration on the assimilation of migrants at the destination*".¹⁰

An important attempt in the field of migration study was made by Zelinsky (1971). He connected the process of migration with the demographic changes and the consequent transformation of society over time. In his 'Hypothesis of Transformation of Society' Zelinsky claimed that "there are definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space - time during recent history and the regularities comprise an essential component of the modernisation (migration) process".¹¹ His Mobility Transition Model identified five phases. In phase 1, 'a pre-modern traditional society', there was limited migration circulation. In the second phase, the early transitional society, which is characterised by high population growth, there will be widespread migration especially rural to urban and an increase in

⁹ C.T. Stawart, 'Migration as a function of population and distance', *American Sociological Review*, Vol.25 (Columbus, June 1960), pp 347-356; G.K. Zipf, "The p₁ p₂/D Hypothesis : On the intercity movement of person", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, No.2 (Columbus, 1946) pp. 218-224.

¹⁰ Everett S. Lee, n.8.

¹¹ Zelinsky, Z, 'The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition', *Geographical Review*, 61(2) (New York), pp.221 - 222.

circulation. In phase 3, the society which is in late transitional stage is marked by a reduction in natural decrease in migration and an increase in the volume and complexity of circulation. The fourth phase, the advanced society where natural increase is controlled intra – urban and inter – urban movement replace the rural – urban movement. The last phase, which is described as a post – industrial society, there is a general decline in migration and is displaced by some form of circulation. Ronald Skeldon has criticised Zelinsky on three points. First, the model perpetuated the myth of the immobile pre – modern society. Second, the intent of the mobility hypothesis to relate mobility change to the stages of the demographic transition was never realised. Third, its depiction of migration and development as a unilinear process affects all areas in the same way.¹²

Capital Maximisation Approaches

Neo-Classical Theories

A number of early theories on migration process surrounds around *neoclassical economics*. According to this, migration occurs as a result of the rational economic calculation of the workers of the wage differentials, which results in the spatial mobility of workers from low-wage to high-wage areas. Migration was thus labour reallocation in response to market need.

It was the experience of high volume of rural – urban migration in 1960s in many developing nations despite rising levels of urban unemployment that tempted Michael Todaro to formulate his theory in 1969. According to Todaro migration proceeds in response to urban – rural differences in ‘expected rather than actual earnings’.¹³ Migrants as decision makers consider the various labour market opportunities available to them as

¹² Ronald Skeldon, *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective*, (Longman, 1997) Pp.32-35.

¹³ Michael P Todaro, *International Migration in Developing countries* (ILO, 1970), p.28.

between, say, the rural and urban sectors, and chose the one, which maximises their 'expected' gains from migration. Expected gains are measured by a) the difference in real incomes between rural and urban job opportunities and b) the probability of a new migrant obtaining an urban job. In short, there are four essential features for Todaro model.

- 1) Migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic consideration of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but also psychological.
- 2) The decision to migrate depends on 'expected' rather than actual rural real wage differentials where the 'expected' differential is determined by the interaction of two variables, the actual urban-rural wage differential and the probability of successfully obtaining employment in the urban modern sector.
- 3) The probability of obtaining an urban job is inversely related to the urban unemployment rate.
- 4) Migration in excess of urban job opportunity growth rates are not only possible but also rational and probable in the face of continued positive urban-rural 'expected' income differentials.

The advantage of Todaro model is that it admits the urban unemployment. He also thinks all the rural- urban migration occurs not merely on the basis of expectation or probability. The ignorance of urban situation on the part of the migrant may also leads to migration. One important drawback of Todaro model is that it ignores the non-economic factors.

Arthur Lewis (1954) gave a development touch to the migration theory while considering the process of rural – urban labour transfer. Later the study was formalised and extended by John Fei and Gustav Ranis (Fei and Ranis

1061). The Lewis – Fei - Ranis (L – F – R) became the received ‘general’ theory of the development process in ‘labour surplus’ Third world nations during most of the late 1950s and 1960s.¹⁴ In the LFR Model, the economy consists of two sectors a) a traditional, ‘rural, subsistence sector’ characterised by zero or very low productivity ‘surplus’ labour and b) a high productivity modern ‘urban industrial sector’ into which labour from the subsistence sector is gradually transferred._

Michael P Todaro has pointed out three handicaps to LFR Model.¹⁵ _

- 1 the Model implicitly assumes that the rate of labour transfer and employment creation is proportional to the rate of capital accumulation.
- 2 the assumption that surplus labour exists in rural areas and there is full employment in urban areas is also not true.
- 3 the third key assumption at variance with reality is the notion of the continued existence of constant real urban wages until the supply of rural surplus labour is exhausted.

The theory is interested only in rural – urban migration occurring in a dual economy and it wholly ignores other streams of migration. Further, the subsequent experience of developing countries belied this theory as the industrial sector did not generate sufficient jobs to absorb the migrants from the countryside.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid. p..21.

¹⁵ Michael P Todaro, *Economics for a Developing World* (Orient Longman, 1977).

¹⁶ Ronald Skeldon, n.12, p.21.

Behavioural Decision-making Approaches

Unlike the previous approaches, which focused on spatial analysis, the behavioural approaches investigate how psychological process of cognition and decision making mediate between the environment and the individual.¹⁷

According to Wolpert, migration takes place when the 'place utility' in a few location becomes greater than that of the present location. The concept of place utility is defined as "the net composite of utilities which are derived from the individual's integration at some time and space... May be expressed as a positive or negative quality expressing respectively the individual's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with respect to that place".¹⁸ Wolpert thus became a key figure in the evolution of behavioural approaches. Peoples migrate to a place that provide a high overall place utility than either the origin or alternative destination. The behavioural approach also introduced the concept of 'stress'. Accordingly, in the present location satisfying human will may put up with hardship or stress to a certain extent. But when the stress crosses this limit he decides to migrate.

Everett S. Lee presented his paper at the Annual meeting of Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Kansas City on 23 April, 1965. In the three quarters of a century since Ravenstein presented his hypotheses, little was the development in the field of migration theory. The sum total of the contributions were a) the generalisations made by Dorothy Swaine Thomas and her associates that migrants tended to be adults and persons in their late teens.¹⁹ b) Bogue and Hagood summed up the current state of knowledge under the heading 'An Approach to a Theory of differential

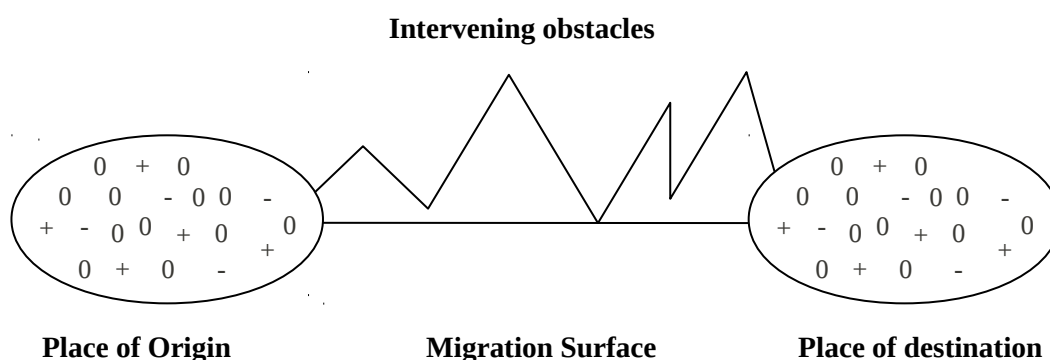
¹⁷ Paul Boyle et al, *Exploring Contemporary Migration* (Orient Longman, 1998), p.63.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Dorothy Swaine Thomas, 'Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials', *Science Research Council Bulletin* 43 (New York, 1938).

migration'²⁰ and Ottis Durant Duncon wrote a paper on 'the theory and consequences of farm population.'²¹ Most other essays in migration theory have dealt with advance Mathematical formulations of the relationships between migration and distance.²²

According to Lee there are countless factors in every region, which act to hold people within the area or attract people to it and there are others, which tend to repel them.²³ Lee called them, as 'pluses' and 'minuses' and the factors to which people take an indifferent stand termed as 'zeroes'. In addition, he introduced a set of intervening obstacles like distance, cost of transport, immigration laws etc (see figure)



In short, the forces associated with the area of origin and area of destination are in their own way governed by factors like age, experience, skill, sex, education etc which affect individual thresholds and facilitate or retard migration.

He uses this basic conceptualisation of migration that involves a set of origin and destination factors, a set of intervening obstacles and a series of personal factors to formulate a set of general hypotheses about the volume of

²⁰ Donald J Bogue and Margaret Marman Hagood, *Sub Regional migration in the United States, 1935-1940 Differential Migration in the Corn and Cotton Belts* (Miami, Ohio, 1953), Pp.123-127.

²¹ Otis Durant Duncan, 'The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population', *Oklahoma Experiment Station Circular no.88* (Still water, Okla, May 1940).

²² Everett, S. Lee, *A Theory of Migration* Jackson J. A, ed, *Migration- Sociological Studies*, (Cambridge University Press, New York), Pp.285-297.

²³ Everett S Lee, n.8.

migration, the development of stream and counter stream and the characteristics of migrants. The abstract of his hypotheses are given below.²⁴

Volume of migration

- 1). The volume of migration within a territory varies with the degree of diversity of areas included in that territory.
- 2). The volume of migration varies with the diversity of people.
- 3). The volume of migration is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles.
- 4). The volume of migration varies with fluctuations in the economy.
- 5). Unless severe checks are imposed, both volume and rate of migration tend to increase with time.

Stream and Counter stream

- 1) Migration tends to take place largely within well-defined streams (e.g. From rural areas to nearby towns and towards major cities).
- 2) For every migration stream a counter stream develops (may be because of disappearance of positive factors at origin or acquisition of new skills or wealth at destination).
- 3) The efficiency of stream and counter stream tends to be low if origin and destination are similar.
- 4) The efficiency of migration stream will be higher if the intervening obstacles are great.
- 5) The efficiency of migration stream varies with economic conditions, being high in prosperous times and low in times of depression.

²⁴ Everett S Lee, n.22, Pp. 288-297

Characteristics of Migrants

- 1) Migration is selective which simply means that migrants are not a random sample of the population at origin.
- 2) Migrants responding primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be positively selected (e.g. Highly educated).
- 3) Migrants responding primarily to minus factors at origin tend to be negatively selected; or when the minus factors are overwhelming the entire population groups, they may not be selected at all.
- 4) The degree of positive selection increases with the difficulty of intervening obstacles e.g. The voyage of the Europeans to North Americas in the 17th and 18th c eliminated many of the weak.
- 5) The characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of population at origin and the population at destination.

The theory put forward by Lee is both simple and valid. Over eighty years after Ravenstein, Everett Lee made an attempt to elaborate a formal ‘theory’ of migration which would provide a schema of the factors that could explain the volume of migration between any two places.²⁵ But as Michael P.Todaro points out it is difficult to determine which plus factors and which minus factors at both origin and destination are quantitatively the most important to different groups and classes of people. Nor do the existence of intervening obstacles help us to know which are major and which are minor. Thus it offers little practical policy guidance for decision makers in developing nations.²⁶

Historical Structural Approach

²⁵ Ronald Skeldon, n.12, p.20

²⁶ Michael P Todaro, n.13, p.19.

Prominent exponents of this approach are Portes, Balan, Cardoz, Mangalam *et al.* According to them, any study on migration must “probe into the pressures and counter-pressures both internal and external to the economy which cause changes in the organisation of production.” The Social Organisational Theory put forward by Mangalam (1968) also corroborates to this approach. He sees migration as an agent of social change. According to him, migration is a system with which three elements, society of origin, society of destination, and migrants are inter – dependent and inter (working). In this inter working, each community undergoes social change which is described as the “difference between social organisation of a given society at two different points of time, comprising changes in any or all the three component systems namely the culture, social and personality systems.”²⁷ So migration is not independent endeavours made by individuals; rather it is a part of socio – economic changes that a society experiences. Migration “is an adaptive process whose major objective is maintaining the dynamic equilibrium of a social organisation with a minimum of change and at the same time providing those members ways to overcome the deprivation.”²⁸ Though historical approach connect migration to socio – political and economic changes that a society experiences through years it pays no consideration to individual factors in the process of decision – making.

Related to historical structural approach, there is the Marxian structural approach. They assign the forces behind the migration on the *hidden logic* of the capitalist mode of production. Any explanation of migration cannot rely solely on either measuring characteristics of origin and destination locations, as suggested by the capital maximization model, or concentrating on the actions and priorities of individuals, as suggested by the behavioural model.

²⁷ Mangalam, J.J, *Human Migration* (University of Kentucky Press, Lexington Ky, 1968),p.13.

²⁸ Ibid, p.15.

Primary attention must be paid to how the capitalist economy operates and evolves overtime.²⁹

System Approach

Some have conceived migration as a system in which migration is viewed as circular inter – dependent and self – modifying system in which the effects of changes in one part has a ripple effect through the whole system.³⁰ Mabogunje, after his study of rural – urban migration in Africa has presented a paper ‘A System Approach to a Theory of Rural – urban Migration’ (1970). According to him migration system is made up of three basic element; Firstly, the migrant who is urged to leave the rural sector by incentives from the surroundings. Secondly, there are certain institutions that control and direct the degree of migration flow. Thirdly, various social, economic and political forces which play major role in he process.³¹ Although Mabogunje’s study is concerned with rural – urban migration in Africa, the conceptualisation has a wider application.

Taylor’s Migration Zone Theory is based on his study of diffusion of population from the cradle land of Central Asia, which lies near the Caspian and Aral seas. According to this theory, the first settlers were born in this cradle land and with the origin of later races in this area the former migrated to the outside area forming the marginal fringe of central core. In this hierarchy, first of all the Negrito evolved which was forced to migrate towards the periphery by the Negro who evolved later on. Later on Australoid evolved, which forced former two to migrate towards the periphery. In this way several races were evolved and migrated all over the world. In support of his theory, Taylor has made the following propositions.

²⁹ Paul Boyle et al, n.17, p.68.

³⁰ G.J.Lewis, n.5, p.29.

³¹ A.K. Mabogunje, ‘System Approach to a Theory of Rural – Urban Migration’, *Geographical Analysis*, 2 (1970), Pp.1 – 18.

- 1) There has been a centrifugal movement of population from Central Asia to its nearest peninsulas e.g. Eurafica, Australia and the Americas.
- 2) There are several racial zones in each and every continent, which is primitive as far as we go away from Central Asia, which give clear-cut evidences of successive migrations of people in each every continent.
- 3) Primitive races are found in the peripheral areas e.g. Negritoes are found in Tansania, Cape Colony, Green Land, and Brazil. This shows the successive migration of Negrito people to the peripheral areas of the world.

Stouffer formulated the theory of intervening opportunities in 1940. By asserting that the “degree of migration would be inversely related to the distance between the two places as also the extent of intervening opportunities, but directly related to the opportunities in the two places”.³² He criticised the Zipf formulation of distance. He further argues “ there is no relationship between mobility and distance..... the number of persons going over a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities. The relation between mobility and distance may be said to depend on an auxiliary relationship, which express the cumulated (intervening) opportunities as a function of distance”.³³

Another experiment in the field of migration research was made by Charles H. Wood(1982) of Florida University. His attempt was to incorporate Equilibrium and Historical Approaches. Exploring the possibility of an integration Wood says “the theoretical proposition of the equilibrium model specifies the economising behaviour that takes place in a given market

³² Samuel A Stouffer, ‘Intervening opportunities: A Theory relating mobility and Distance’, *American Sociological Review*, V (Columbus, December 1940), p. 845.

³³ Ibid.

context; the historical structural perspectives stresses a dynamic view of the overall structure of the economy and of the social and political matrix that constitute the context within which economising behaviour occurs. The former refers primarily to individual choices, while the latter refers to the structural condition that makes certain choices possible. In principle it is clear that an understanding of population movement must encompass both the determinants of the parameters of behaviour and the factors that motivate individual actors”.³⁴ Wood presents a conceptual framework that attempts to integrate individual and structural approaches to the study of migration by shifting the unit of analysis to the households. The households adopt a series of sustenance strategies of dynamic nature to meet its consumption necessities, the labour power at its disposal and the alternatives for generating monetary and non – monetary income. Migration or geographic mobility of some or all of its members is one of the central component of such strategies. “When some of monetary and non – monetary income is sufficient to reach or increase the desired quantity and quality of consumption and investment, seasonal and permanent migration is unlikely to occur.”³⁵

A short survey of various approaches to migration studies is presented above. A single approach is not sufficient to explain the complex phenomena of West Asian migration from Malabar or the state of Kerala. Since the study is a historical analysis, historical – structural approach is given more importance though off and on elements of other approaches are also used in explaining the process as and when needed.

³⁴ Charles H Wood, ‘Equilibrium and Historical Structural Perspectives on Migration’, *International Migration Review*, Vol.16, no.2 (New York, Summer 1982), P.312.

³⁵ Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF MALABAR BEFORE THE FORMATION OF KERALA

Kerala, one of the loveliest states in India, is situated in the Southwestern corner of the sub-continent under the foothills of Western Ghats. Karnataka on the north, Tamil Nadu on the east and the south, and the Arabian Sea on the west border it. The state lies between 8°18' and 12° 48' North latitude and between 74° 52' and 77° 24' East Longitude. Today, within this narrow coastal strip - the area of which is 39, 863 square Kilometres, and constitutes of about 1.18 of the total area of the nation - live 3.1 percent of the people of Indian Union (31838619 people). As part of the decision to organise the states on linguistic basis, the present state of Kerala formally came into existence on November 1, 1956. The region is linguistically homogeneous since majority of the population speak Malayalam. The state has to its credit some of the distinct features of the nation. The Kerala Model of Development has gained the appraisal from various corners, both national and international. In terms of physical quality indicators such as literacy, life expectancy, infant mortality, sex ratio, fertility rate etc Kerala is not only ahead of all Indian states but also similar to most of the advanced countries.

From the very early days, Kerala enjoyed a type of political and social insularity from other parts of the Indian sub continent thanks to its geographical isolation and proximity to the Arabian Sea. Systems like *Marumakkathayam* and polyandry are distinctive social systems which developed in Kerala. It may seem paradoxical that this land and its people started and retained active contacts with the outside world than with the other

parts of India.¹ The Western Ghats that lies on the East and North of Kerala acted like a shield protecting the region from the foreign invasions that shook the entire Indian sub continent in the past.

However, Kerala was never united politically except for a brief period under the Cheras in the twelfth century. In the medieval period, Kerala was fragmented into a number of territorial segments ruled by a number of local chieftains.² In the course of time, there arose in Kerala some powerful rulers whose ambitious actions reduced the number of these minor kingdoms and in their place a few powerful and large kingdoms emerged in the state. In the south, there came up some powerful rulers, like Marthanda Varma (1729-1758), who founded the kingdom of Travancore unifying the entire territories from the boundary of Cochin to the southern tip of India. The Perumpadappu Swarupam or Cochin, which got political prominence in the 16th century, became a powerful kingdom in central Kerala under Saktan Thamburan (1790-1805). The invasion of the Mysore rulers, Hyder Ali (1763-1782) and Tipu Sultan (1782-1792), brought the entire area, north of Cochin, under one political sway. Thus when the Seringapatnam Treaty (1792) was signed, Malabar had become a distinct political unit in the North under the British. When the British gained their sway over Kerala the region had been clearly divided into three political units – Malabar as a district of the Madras Presidency directly under the British rule in the North and Cochin and Travancore as tribute paying princely states under the imperial control of the colonial rule in the South and the centre respectively.

¹ When religions like Christianity and Islam reached Kerala immediately after its emergence in the West Asia, comparatively it took more time for the Indian born religions to take their roots here.

² Dr.K.N.Ganesh lists names of some Principalities of Kerala at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese viz. Elayadathu Swarupam, Desinganad, Trippaur, Attingal, Karunagappally, Karthikappally, Kayamkulam, Purakkad, Pantalamp, Thekkumkur, Vadakkumkur, Punjar, Karappuram, Anchikaimals, Edappalli, Prur, Alangad, Cranganore, Airur, Talappilli, Valluvanad, Palghat, Kollangode, Kavalappara, Vettathunad, Parappanad, Kurumpuranad, Kadathanad, Kottayam, Kurangoth, Ranadathara, Cannanore, Nileswaram, Kumbla (See, Dr.K.N.Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal* (Malayalam), (*Samskarika Vakuppu*, Government of Kerala, 1997), pp.334-384).

Social configuration and economic linking

The political fragmentation of Kerala had its replica in the social sphere also. Basically, Kerala had been a land of equality without any type of social distinction. In ancient period, this part of landed territory which was a part of ancient *Tamilakam*, was divided into five natural divisions viz. *Kurinji*, the hilly country which was inhabited by *Kuravas* (hunters), *Palai*, the dry waterless region, the inhabitants of which were *Maravar* and *Kalvar* (fighters), *Mullai*, the wooded land between *kurinji* and *Palai* the inhabitants of which were the *Kurumber* (herdsmen) *Marudam*, the lower courses of rivers where *Vellalar* (agriculturists) found their dwelling and *Neydal*, the coastal belt where *paradavar* (fishermen) lived.

In short, the people of ancient Kerala were divided into five groups based on their occupations. They spoke the same language and belonged to the same race and had no caste.³ The spatial mobility in those days also resulted in the change of occupation and thereby the group they belonged. Thus a *Kurava* from the *Kurinji* territory could settle in *Mullai* and become a *Kurumber* and so on.⁴

From the 5th century onwards, there started the inflow of Aryans from the North. Bit by bit, the Aryan Brahminism could succeed in reconfiguring the Kerala society on the lines of *Chaturvarnya* model. In this process, they suppressed the Buddhist and Jain faith, which was firmly established in Kerala.⁵ Kerala society was divided into a number of heterogeneous castes

³ T.K.Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Mannual*, Vol.1(Superintendent, Government Press, Thiruvananthapuram, 1940), p. 825.

⁴ Elamkulam P.N.Kunhan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, (National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1970), p.103. Though these are the traditional divisions of Kerala, we cannot see five distinct *thinai* in Kerala. The most suitable division seem to be the familiar high land, midland and low land. To put it more clearly, Kerala can be classified into five physical physio-graphic zones, viz. mountain peaks about 1800 metres above sea level, the high land between 600 and 1800 metres, the mid land between 300 and 600 metres the low land between 10 and 300 metres and the coastal plains and lagoons between main sea level 10 metres above thesea level.

⁵ See P.C.Alexander, *Buddhism in Kerala* (Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, 1949).

from the highest and most sacred to the lowest and the least worthy. The religious priests and a ruling aristocracy stood at the top. The *Namboodiris*, the so-called Brahmins of Kerala, held the highest position in the social, ritual and economic spheres of Kerala society.⁶ Prior to the arrival of the British, Kerala, probably had the most highly stratified caste system in India.⁷ It is marked by strange customs like untouchability and even unseeability.⁸ The position of each caste in the social hierarchy matched with the agrarian economic hierarchy.⁹ The *Namboodiri* Brahmins who stood at the top in the caste hierarchy were also landowners. Nairs, the most dominant caste in Kerala, and who stood second in the caste order were landowners or superior tenants. Just below these two upper castes were the Ezhavas (Thiyyas), the polluting intermediate caste. In the lowest step of the caste ladder stood various depressed downtrodden classes – Pulayas, Parayas, Cherumas, Kuravas and so on. They were landless agricultural labourers or mere agricultural slaves. Along with these social groups, two parallel communities – Muslims and Christians - also started to play their role in the social, political and economic life of Kerala.

⁶ Since the Namboodiris were considered the highest and the most sacred caste, all others, including the Kshatriyas were regarded as polluting either by touch or by approach or both. The Kshatriyas were, therefore, compelled to keep a distance of two feet away from the Namboodiris. The distance to be observed by others were prescribed, the Nairs 16 feet, Ezhavas 32, and Pulayas 64. The very sight of Nayadi would force a Brahmin to undergo ritual purification. In addition to this, all these social groups had to keep some specified distance from each other according to the position each occupied in the social order (CN.Somarajan, 'Foundations of Kerala Society and Politics', *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Volume 15 (Thiruvananthapuram, March – September 1988), p.105.

⁷ Susan Lewandowski, *Migration and Ethnicity in Urban India: Kerala Migrants in the City of Madras, 1870-1970* (Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1980), p.19.

⁸ Untouchability, as it was practised in Kerala, assumed various and curious forms; not even the realm of language was untouched by it. The *avarnas* were forced to use a special language when referring to themselves or their possessions. When speaking of their bodily members, such as an eye or an ear, to a superior, they had to prefix it by epithet 'old' such as an "old eye" (*pazhamkkannu*), "old ear" (*pazhamchevi*). They were obliged to call their children "calves" (*kidakkal*) their silver "copper" and their paddy "chaff" (*patiru*). They were to commence speaking by saying: "Your slave has received permission to observe". (See C.N.Somarajan, n.6, p.105.)

⁹ T.M.Thomas Isaac and P.K.Michael Tharakan, 'Sri Narayana Movement in Travancore', *Social Movement for Development*, ed, S.K.Srivasthava and C.L.Srivasthava, (Chug Publications, Allahabad), 1988, p.157

One of the salient features of the land ownership in Kerala was that unlike in any other part of the country, the rulers or kings had no right over the land held by the people. From time immemorial, the ownership of the land vested in the hands of those who cultivated the land.¹⁰ There was no authority to check the ryots from ploughing and cultivating the land they held.¹¹ The *Janmi* system was a later development in Kerala, the result of a long historical transformation.¹² Its growth and functioning are again interlaced with the caste system. “The system of land holdings reflected the hierarchy of the caste system. All the Namboodiris, some Samanthans and rich Nayers were *Janmis*. A majority of the Nayers were *Kanakkars*. They either cultivated the land themselves or let out in turn to Ezhavas on *Verumpattom* tenure. The channars and other aggrestic serfs worked on a patch of land a *Janmi* or non-cultivating *Kanakkaran* reserved for the maintenance of his family.”¹³ In all the three

¹⁰ Government of Madras, *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee*, Vol. 1 (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1939), p.12.

¹¹ Dr.C.K.Kareem, ‘The Agrarian Relations of Kerala’, *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Volume 4, Part 4 (Thiruvananthapuram, December 1977), p.583.

¹² There were frequent skirmishes and encounters between feudal chieftains and *Naduvazhis*. The anarchy created insecurity in the country. These constant clashes and wars made farming difficult. During this period, the society was passing through a great transformation. The advent of the Aryans made distinct categorisation in the casteless society of Kerala. The *Namboodiris* who stood atop in the caste system were considered as the incarnations of God on the earth. Their properties and the properties of the temples were considered sacred. When the properties of Brahmins and temples had been considered sacrosanct and had been proved safe even in turbulent times, the poor cultivators thought it better to dedicate their lands to a *Namboodiri* Brahmin or to a temple thus escaping from the clutches of the marauders. This dedication was only an imposed or artificially created nominal overlordship and didn’t mean any legal ownership. This was done by the agriculturists for safeguarding their own interests and protecting the crops from the robbers and thieves. At the time of harvest, the agriculturists were prepared to give a share of their produce to that *Janmi* or temple as the case may be. The persons who enjoyed the overlordship also accepted the term most willingly because they received without any labour a share of the produce of that land dedicated to them. Thus the landlordism or *Jenmisambradayam* came into vogue in Kerala through the willing obedience of the cultivators themselves (See, C.K.Kareem, n.11, pp.583-584). Anyhow, as in the case of India, there is no unanimity about the evolution of feudalism in Kerala. In India system of land grants to Brahmins with administrative rights started evidently from the post-Mourya period onwards tended to feudalise the state machineries. “The widespread practice of making land grants in the Gupta period paved the way for the rise of the Brahmin feudatories who performed administrative functions not under the authority of the royal officers but almost independently... Whatever might be the intention of the donors, the grants helped to create powerful intermediaries wielding considerable economic and political power”. (R.S.Sarma, *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta, 1965, p.4).

¹³ M.S.A.Rao, *Social Change in Malabar* (Popular Book Depot, New Delhi, 1957), p.38.

political divisions of Kerala, the socio-economic structure was more or less the same until the advent of the Europeans. On the basis of these factors, we wish to analyse how the socio-economic formation of Malabar differed from the other two – Travancore and Malabar.

Travancore

In the beginning of the 19th century, there existed different kinds of land tenure in Travancore. They may be classified under the following three broad heads,

- 1) *Jenmomvaka*: This includes *Devaswamvaka*, *Brahmaswamvaka* and *Madampimarvaka*.
- 2) *Pandaramvaka* or *Sirkarvaka* : *Pandarapattom*, *Inam*, *Viruthi*, *Thiruppuram* lands came under this category.
- 3) *Pattom free bhumi* : *Edavakai*, *Sree pandaravaka*, *Kandukrishi* belong to this category.¹⁴

The authority of the British power in Travancore was effected through the system of indirect rule. The British authorities didn't meddle with the land relations prevalent in the region but allowed it to continue as it was. The conquest of Marthanda Varma had brought acres of land under state ownership. The lands under state ownership were further enlarged in 1812 when the state in its attempt to curb the power of the local chieftains and to raise the resources to meet the burden of the increased tribute; took over vast tracts of lands of 378 important temples.¹⁵ In subsequent years, lands of 1178 temples were added to this. As part of enhancing the revenue of the state, Government issued a Royal Proclamation in 1818 promoting the cultivation of the wastelands. The Government allowed the enjoyment of possession of

¹⁴ T.C.Varghese, *Agrarian Changes and Economic Consequences: Land Tenures in Kerala, 1850– 1960* (Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1970), pp. 64-69.

¹⁵ Ibid. p.44.

such lands by the cultivators themselves at concessional rates of assessment and recognising their claims for recoupment of the cost of improvements. In 1850, about 60-70% of total lands belonged to *pandaravaka*.

Landlordism and Feudal set up came to an end in Travancore from 1860s onwards. Through the proclamation made by the Travancore government in 1865, “the ryots were conferred ownership rights, heritable, saleable and otherwise transferable, subject only to the obligation of paying the land tax assigned to them.”¹⁶ Important laws, regarding land relations were passed by the Travancore government in successive years. The Royal Proclamation made in 1865, gave full proprietary rights for free exchange to the tenants cultivating the *pandaravaka* lands. This Proclamation is hailed as the ‘Magna Carata of Travancore ryots’.¹⁷ The tenants were encouraged by the government to cultivate the wastelands and forest lands. The Proclamation paved the way for a revolutionary change in the land distribution of Travancore. Besides strengthening the revenue base of the state, the Proclamation created a large body of small peasant proprietors who played an important role in the agricultural development of the state in subsequent period.¹⁸ By 1904, there were more than 5,00,000 revenue paying land holders in Travancore each holding small pieces in quite contrast to the situation in Malabar.¹⁹ Further legislations were made by the Government in subsequent years that made the land relations more favourable to the cultivators. The Acts of 1867 and 1896 extended security of tenure to the tenants of private *jenmom* lands. The Royal Edict of 1829, its repromulgation in 1867 and finally the Travancore *Janmi-Kudiyam* Regulation passed in 1896 protected the tenants

¹⁶ For details see T.K.Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. IV (Superintendent, Government Press, Thiruvananthapuram, 1940), pp.337 – 338.

¹⁷ Government of Kerala, *Report of the Land Reforms Survey in Kerala, 1966-67* (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 1968), p.17.

¹⁸ See M.Kabir, ‘Growth of Service Sector in Kerala: A Comparative Study of Travancore and Malabar, 1901-1951’, Ph D Thesis (University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 2002).

¹⁹ V.Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. 3 (Superintendent, Government Press, Thiruvananthapuram), p.117.

from eviction, declared that the *kanam* tenure was not redeemable, conferred on the *kanam* tenants fixity of tenure and curbed the demands of the *janmis* for exorbitant rents and renewal fees. The latter Act was further amended in 1932 (the *Janmi-kudiyam* (Amendment) Act, 1932) converting all *kanam* tenants of the *janmom* lands into proprietors of such lands. By this amendment, *kudiyans* became the owners of the land subject to the payment of *janmikaram*. About 0.15 million acres of land or six percent of the cultivated area of Travancore, came under the purview of the Regulation.²⁰ Thus in contrast to their counterparts in Malabar, the conditions of the Travancore peasantry were far better.

Apart from many Acts and reforms introduced by the Travancore *Sirkar*, the importance given to the plantation crops marked the beginning of the commercialisation of agriculture. By the policy followed by the Government, even food crops like paddy, tapioca, coconut etc became commercial products in addition to plantation crops like pepper, coffee, rubber, cardamom etc. The Government followed liberal policies of all types so as to increase the agricultural production and its marketing. The state provided not only lands at cheap prices but also physical infrastructure like roads.²¹ Whenever the land was sold and not leased out, the price was one rupee per acre, which was the equivalent of only four days' wages of a cooly employed by the Travancore Public Works Department at that time.²² The Regulations issued in 1818 encouraged the cultivation of waste lands assuring the cultivators the possession of such lands tax free for the first ten years and under light taxation thereafter. Large areas of land were reclaimed from the

²⁰ TC.Varghese, n.14, p.133.

²¹ The efforts of the Travancore Government had received the admiration of even the Madras Government. The Madras Government wrote in 1870-71, "The state has treated the planters with liberality as regards roads, and there is no locality in India where the produce can be sent from the estates to the shipping port with such facility as in South Travancore" (Government of Madras, *Report on the Administration of Madras Presidency, 1870-71* (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras), p.144).

²² M.Kabir, n.18.

swamps and backwaters of Kuttanad for the cultivation of rice. The state provided all the incentives to the fresh reclamation. By the beginning of the 20th century about 5,500 acres were reclaimed.²³

Under the above-mentioned favourable atmosphere, the area under cultivation especially plantation crops marked sharp increase. The area under coffee increased from 9,172 acres in 1865-66 to 16,00 acres in 1875-76. By 1904, the area under tea came to 24,712 acres. The number of registered plantation companies in Travancore rose from 3 in 1905 to 89 in 1945. Between 1855 and 1934, the export of coconuts increased by 5 times, of *copra* by 7 times, of areca nut and turmeric by 4 times, ginger by 9 times, and pepper by 18 times ... The value of pepper exports went up from Rs. 268.7 thousand in 1865 to Rs.1463.3 in 1895, Rs. 2708.1 thousand in 1915 and Rs.5855.8 thousand in 1925.²⁴

The rapid progress in agriculture in Travancore paved the way for social and economic changes in the state. Wages began to increase with increasing demand for labour, and the standard of living rose. The labour of the previously enslaved castes, which had hitherto been regarded almost valueless, became remunerative. Everywhere the landed proprietors were reminded of the necessity of fair and kind treatment towards them.²⁵ The changes that came about in the land relations of Travancore in the 18th century - the confiscation of the lands of *Madampis* and distributing it to *Kudiyans* by Marthanda Varma, the dispensation of arid lands for cultivation, undertaking of Devaswam lands by Col. Munro etc commercialised the land and agriculture in Travancore. Thus private cultivation developed. British

²³ V.R.Pillai and P.G.K.Panikkar, *Land Reclamation in Kerala* (Asia Publishing House, New York, 1965), p. 18.

²⁴ See Government of Travancore, *Travancore Administration Report (Annual)* – Respective years (Government of Travancore, Thiruvananthapuram).

²⁵ S.Mahadeva Nadar, 'Commercialisation of Agricultural Products and the New Economic Order in Travancore, 1860-1900', *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol.7 (Thiruvananthapuram, March-September 1980), p.222.

supervision and flow of foreign capital strengthened commercial plantation crops. Whereas the British dominance in Malabar strengthened the Janmi System. So, the condition of the peasantry there became worse.²⁶

The commercialisation of agriculture and the consequent financial improvement led to the growth of financial institutions including commercial banks and co-operative credit societies. The number of joint stock banks increased from 8 in 1918-19 to 57 in 1926-27 to 270 in 1930-31.²⁷ These banks allowed loans to peasants on the security of land.²⁸ The growth of Co-operative Credit Societies since its inception in 1915 was rapid. Their number went up from 20 in 1916 to 266 in 1927 and to 757 in 1924, to 1555 in 1927 and to 1710 in 1930.²⁹

Till 1860s, Travancore could not boast of a single road fit for transport. The commercialisation of agriculture and resulting development in trade served the way for expansion and growth of transport. The Travancore Public Works Department started functioning in 1860. Thereafter, the growth of transport was at a high pace. The plantation estates which were situated in the eastern hill tracks and extended from extreme north to the south were connected with the port towns in Alleppey and Cochin. The construction of Main Central Road from Trivandrum to Kottayam and a large number of branch roads connecting this road exposed a number of remote villages to outside world. In 1925, the government formed a Road Board and a Road Development Fund especially for the development and maintenance of village

²⁶ Prof. Kosi P.Mathew, '*Karshika Parishkaranavum Vikasana Prasngalum*' (Malayalam), *Social Review Monthly*, (Kozhikode, January 2007), p.26.

²⁷ T.K.Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. 3 (Superintendent, Government Press, Thiruvananthapuram, 1940), p.659.

²⁸ In 1928-29 the Agricultural Credit Societies alone had paid an amount of Rs.20.48 lakh as loans for a total 54,531 applicants. The total amount of loan issued by all Societies together came to Rs.39. 5 lakh (Government of Travancore, *Travancore Banking Enquiry Committee Report* (Superintendent, Government Press, Thiruvananthapuram, 1930), pp.116-117, 126

²⁹ *Ibid.* p.115.

roads.³⁰ Consequently, the length of roads increased accordingly in the state.³¹ The details of annual expenditure of the Government show that the state had given much importance for the development of roads.³²

An important outcome of the above mentioned developments especially the commercialisation of agriculture and growth of roads, was the mobility of the people – both occupational and spatial. Consequently the intimate link between caste and economic position began to loose. Two important communities who were the beneficiaries of this transformation were the Ezhavas and the Syrian Christians. Gradually caste-based Social Reform Movements emerged from different corners of the state towards the end of the 19th century. They stood for radical changes in the social field and their demands were placed before the government. A Royal Re script issued by the government as early as 1817 shows its commitment for the education of its people.³³ The government opened new schools and supported private schools by giving grant-in aid. The budgetary allocation for education in Travancore shows the devotion of the Government in this regard.³⁴ From 0.58 percent in 1862-63 it rose to 3 percent by 1894-95, by 1903-04 to 6 percent, by 1914-15 to 14 percent and by 1924-25 to 18 percent.³⁵ By 1901,

³⁰ T.K.Velu Pillai, n.27, p. 473.

³¹ Length of Roads in Travancore (miles)

Year	Road Length (miles)
1905	2218
1911	2214
1921	2629
1931	3364
1940	3687

Source: Government of Travancore, n.24.

³² Jeffrey Robin notes that between 1860 and 1870 Travancore government obtained Rs. 5,78,000 from the sale of land, taxes and spent Rs. 2,21,000 on roads, road building subsidies to planters and subsidies (Jeffrey Robin, ‘Temple Entry Movement in Travancore 1860-1940’, *Social Scientist*, Volume 4, No.8, March, 1976, P. 97). Government expenditure on roads, which was 0.55 million in 1905 rose to 0.63 million in 1911. From 0.96 million in 1921 it became 1.62 million in 1940 (See Government of Travancore, n.24).

³³ It reads, “The State shall defray the entire cost of the education of its people in order that there might be no backwardness in the spread of enlightenment among themBy diffusion of education they might become better subjects and public servants and...the reputation of the state might be advanced thereby” (Government of Travancore State, *Census Reports of Travancore* (Superintendent, Census Operations, Trivandrum, 1941), p.155.

³⁴ The Diwan of Travancore declared in the late 1850s that at least one percent of the state revenue should be sent on education.

³⁵ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, ‘Education and Socio-economic Change in Kerala, 1793-1947’, *Social Scientist*, Vol.4, No.44 (New Delhi, March 1976), p.28.

Travancore had 1370 schools of which 429 were under the direct management of the State. Besides these there were 2313 indigenous schools, which remained outside the system of inspection and control. "To the lower castes, education became a symbol of eradication of their social deprivation and the most important means for upward social mobility. To the upper castes, education was a means to retention and stabilisation of their social position. The demand raised by each group exerted pressure on the government to expand its educational activities"³⁶. The Government opened 15 Special Schools for Ezhavas in 1895. By 1897 the number rose to 30.³⁷ Within a decade, the number became 480. The Roman Catholics opened 285 Paraya schools by 1904.³⁸ The Grant –in aid Code of 1894-95 was another step towards the education of the backward classes.³⁹

By 1904, the government took the entire cost of primary education of backward classes, the principle of education of all children irrespective of caste, creed, or race is responsibility of the government was also accepted in the same year.⁴⁰ The number of children of backward communities, which was 20, 400 in 1894-95 rose to 43,580 in 1904.⁴¹ When government opened the doors of all educational institutions to children irrespective of caste and creed the response was spontaneous. The number of Ezhava students enrolled in the school of Travancore increased from 23,383 in 1914 to 51,114 in 1918 and the number of Pulaya students, which was only 2000 in 1916 reached 17,753 within a year.⁴² In 1935-36, the government began a scheme of lump-sum grants to pupils belonging to the backward communities. School

³⁶ M.Kabir, n.18.

³⁷ V.Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. 2 (Superintendent, Government Press, Thiruvananthapuram, 1906), p.402.

³⁸ Ibid, p.445.

³⁹ Under this Programme, the government provided grants to low caste children in Special schools under private management. Within two years of its inception, the number of such schools getting aids rose to 150 (V.Nagam Aiya, n.37, p.482.)

⁴⁰ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, n.35, p.33.

⁴¹ V.Nagam Aiya, n.37, pp.460, 472, 482.

⁴² P.K.Gopala Krishnan, *Keralathinte Samskarika Charithram* (Malayalam) (Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1984), p.526.

enrolment increased from 5.88 lakhs in 1930-31 to 7.65 lakh in 1940-41.⁴³ A small movement towards compulsory primary education was made in 1945 by the government.

The spread of education ensured mass participation in the ensuing process. People became more conscious and vigilant especially in matters like healthcare. The syllabi of Travancore schools included even lessons on health care. From Ayurveda and folklore systems of medicine the region began to move to the Western system of medicine. By 1904, Travancore had 54 allopathic medical institutions run by governments – 22 hospitals, 20 dispensaries, 6 weekly dispensaries, 4 by-weekly dispensaries, 1 ‘leper asylum’ and 1 ‘lunatic asylum’; in other words one institutions for every 125 square kilometres and 52,715 of the population and visited annually by 6,23,643 persons.⁴⁴The budgetary share of health care went up from 4.5 percent in 1904-05 to 5.14 percent in 1931 and again to 5.4 percent in 1941-42. By 1948-49, Travancore had 158 government medical institutions – 32 hospitals, 126 dispensaries, and 3378 hospital beds.⁴⁵ Basic structural changes in the land relations and commercialisation of agriculture thus became the catalysts for the social transformation in Travancore.

Cochin

Cochin had its origin as an independent principality immediately after the fall of the Kulasekhara Empire. But its prominence in Kerala politics starts from 16th century onwards after the arrival of Portuguese and the consequent developments in the political history of Kerala. The land relations in Cochin were more or less the same as that of Travancore. In Travancore and Cochin, the land was generally categorized into *Pandaravaka* (belonging

⁴³ Government of Travancore, *Census Reports of Travancore*, (Superintendent, Census Operations, Thiruvananthapuram, 1941), p.155.

⁴⁴ V.Nagam Aiya, n.19, pp.536 and 543.

⁴⁵ Government of Travancore - Cochin, *Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics, Travancore - Cochin 1948-49*, Vol. 1, Part I, Travancore, (Thiruvananthapuram,, 1949), p.416.

to the ruler) and *Puravaka* (privately owned). In both the states, the rulers tried to expand the *Pandaravaka* land by confiscating the lands of their political adversaries.⁴⁶ In Cochin also, dynamic changes took place by the beginning of the 20th century. “Travancore changed over to a region of peasant proprietors, Cochin developed into a tract of peasant proprietors and absentee landlords and Malabar into almost an absentee landlord tract.”⁴⁷ In Cochin, the Settlement Proclamation of 1905 gave full proprietary rights to holders of state owned lands subject to the payment of land revenue. But in private lands tenants were subjected to arbitrary eviction by *janmis*.⁴⁸

The Cochin Tenancy Act 1915, attempted to regulate *janmi-kudiyan* relations. Under the Cochin Tenancy Act of 1938, the *Kanam* tenants got fixity of tenure, who took *kanam* tenants before 1885. The Cochin Tenancy Act of 1936 swapped the 1915 Act and conferred security of tenure on *Kanam*, which originated between 1885 and 1915. However, till the passing of the Cochin *Verumpattomdars* Act 1943, the *Verumpattomdars* were subjected to arbitrary eviction by the *janmis*. Immediately after the formation of the Travancore-Cochin state, two Acts were passed viz. *Kandukrishi* Proclamation of 1949 and the Travancore-Cochin Holdings (Stay of Execution Proceedings) of 1950.

Under the reign of Saktan Tampuran, several measures were adopted towards the commercialization of agriculture. The Raja provided all amenities to the Syrian Christians who were engaged in trade in the urban centers of Cochin. The reforms of Col. Munro in various sectors modernized Cochin. School education developed at an increasing pace since the 1890s. “The most significant fact to note however is that even 1890, when the government had

⁴⁶ E.M.S.Namboothirippad, *Keralam Malayalikalude Mathrubumi* (Malayalam), (Current Books, Thrissur, 1969), p.179.

⁴⁷ T.C.Varghese, n.14, p.217.

⁴⁸ A.Sreedhara Menon, ‘*Kerala District Gazetteers-Ernakulam*’ (Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1965), p.608.

hardly entered the scene of primary education, the literacy rate in Cochin was the highest in India, a fact which bears eloquent testimony to the great services – rendered by the indigenous schools”.⁴⁹ In every village there was a vernacular school. The Western System of Medicine was introduced. For example, Vaccination against small pox was adopted as a state policy under the Diwanship of Nanjappayya.

Malabar

Historically, the name Malabar is the ancient epithet for the so-called Parasuram legend territory stretching from the northern land mark of Mt.Deli to Cape Comorin. Ancient travellers and historians have described the land by various terms such as ‘Malabar’, ‘Malibar’, ‘Manibar’ and ‘Munibar’. It is said, Albiruni (973 – 1048), the medieval Arab traveler, is the first to call the country Malabar. When Tipu Sultan ceded his treaties with the British at Seringapatnam on February 22 and March 18, 1792, the Malayalam speaking territory under Tipu passed into the direct colonial rule. And this northern third of Kerala was made into a separate administrative unit and was made one of the districts of Madras presidency under the name Malabar on 21 May 1800. From that date onwards, the use of the term Malabar was limited to British Malabar. The district that lies on the Western Coast of India stretches from 10° 12’ to 12° 15’ North Latitude and between the parallels of 75° 10” and 76° 50” East Longitude. The British Malabar consisted of a large area of about 6262 square miles and was divided into 18 Taluks and 2222 villages by the beginning of the 19th century.⁵⁰ This northern third of Kerala may be shown as the most suited section of India in assembling the fragments of ancient cultures and societies. Malabar has also in its credit the first place in

⁴⁹ P.R.GopinathanNair, *Education and Economic Change in Kerala* (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 1978), p.49.

⁵⁰ Ward and Corner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar* (Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995), p.1.

India ever trodden by the feet of the mighty Europeans.⁵¹ This old province of Madras Presidency is now roughly consisted of six districts of present Kerala viz. Kasargod, Kannoor, Wayanad, Kozhikode, Malppuram and Palakkad. The observation made by a scholar on Malabar is significant. “In the first place, its development was qualified by its position as an over - the - mountains extension of a largely Tamil province. Secondly, its people were involved in a direct relationship with the British and their political institutions, the district being governed by a system of principal Collectors and Sub - -Collectors”.⁵² “Though Malabar had been a major exporter of a wide variety of agricultural products to Europe for more than two thousand years and consequently exposed to influences from abroad, it still remains an under developed region with a backward agricultural sector.”⁵³

The history of the other two-thirds of the state – Travancore and Cochin – is different. They were princely states. As we noticed in the foregoing discussion, they could retain their distinct identity under their enlightened local maharajas. Because of this historical divergence, the two regions could go far ahead in all spheres of human life in comparison to Malabar. To quote a famous writer, “It may however be made clear that the progress of British Malabar was not so spectacular as that of the princely states of Travancore and Cochin.”⁵⁴ Malabar and its folk suffered a lot under the direct colonial administration, which lasted for about 150 years. “The contrast in policies was particularly sharp as between Malabar under British administration and Travancore which continued to remain a native state till 1947. Cochin presented an intermediate position. The differences would

⁵¹ Vascodagama, the Portuguese navigator, sent by Dom Manuel, the king of Portugal, reached at Kappad near Calicut in May 1498.

⁵² Roland E. Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A Study in Islamic Trends* (Orient Longman, Madras, 1976), p.18.

⁵³ B.A. Prakash, ‘Agricultural Backwardness of Malabar During the Colonial Period: An Analysis of Economic Causes’, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 16, No.181-182 (New Delhi, July 1988), p.51.

⁵⁴ A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History* (S.Viswanathan Printers and Publishers, Private Limited, 2000), p.355.

appear to have had important and identifiable consequences on the rate and pattern of social and economic change in Kerala.”⁵⁵ The remnants of this unpleasant remote past are still being reflected and echoed in every walks of people’s life – political, economical, and even psychological.

The economic conditions in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century were absolutely dissimilar between Malabar on the one hand and Travancore and Cochin on the other. Traditionally, the Malabar land system consisted of four important elements viz.

1. *Janmis* (landlords)
2. *Kanakkar* (cultivating tenants)
3. *Verum Pattakkar* (landless tenants)
4. Agricultural labourers⁵⁶

In between these four classes, there were a number of intermediaries, which made the system more complex and more feudalistic. Prior to the Mysorean invasion, the *Kanakkar* kept their land in possession as a free hold property, which was not reclaimed by the *Janmis* at all. What required was that he had to give ‘*pattom*’(rent) every year and a ‘*polichezhuthu panam*’(renewal fee) after every twelve years. The *Kanakkar* could not be evicted of the land, even if they fail to pay the *pattom*, which was 1/3 of the agricultural produce. Until the Mysorean conquest this system followed without any interruption. Till then, the land revenue had been unknown in Malabar, what existed was a system where by the produce of the land was divided in between different interest groups of land.⁵⁷ The Janmi never felt a proprietary right over the land. It was the Mysore rulers who made key changes in the status quo by introducing land tax. “Still another result of the

⁵⁵ K.N. Raj, ‘Forward’ to T. C. Varghese, n.14.

⁵⁶ See T.C.Varghese, n.14, pp. 51-62.

⁵⁷ William Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. I (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1889), p.605.

Muslim invasion was the introduction of direct taxation of land which did not exist in Kerala until then.”⁵⁸

By surveying the land under cultivation, the Muslim ruler imposed land tax. This taxes in no way affected the peasants. It was imposed on the landlord’s share. It was a heavy blow to the Janmis who had been enjoying one-third of the produce without any physical labour. “The Mysore ‘settlement’ as seen from the British records, was that six-twentieth of the gross produce should go to the state, leaving eleven-twentieth to the cultivators and three twentieth to the landlords...The Mysore system favoured on the whole cultivators at the expense of landlords.”⁵⁹

When Malabar came into the hands of the British East India Company the *Janmis* who had sought asylum in Travancore came back to Malabar. The Company introduced new land system in Malabar and accorded full proprietary rights to the *Janmis*. “The revenue policy introduced by the East India Company after the conquest of Malabar from Tipu Sultan in 1792 had two main characteristics”, says K.N.Panicker, “First it provided for the state’s appropriation of the largest share of produce and secondly, it recognised the *Janmi* as the absolute proprietor of the land.”⁶⁰

Dr.K.N.Raj notices further motivations behind the Company’s implementation of new land system in Malabar. “In Malabar, tenurial policies were influenced both by the British fear at this time of the Muslims (ie. of the Mopplahs, as they were called in Malabar) as well as by Anglo-Saxon notions of proprietary rights (which imposed fewer constraints on those recognised as “owners” than was the case under the customary relationships prevalent in the area until then). The British found it to their interest to drive support from

⁵⁸ K.N.Raj, n.55.

⁵⁹ T.C.Varghese, n.14, p. 18.

⁶⁰ K.N.Panicker ed, *Introduction to Peasants’ Protests and Revolts in Malabar*, (ICHR and People’s Publishing House, New Delhi).

precisely the strata of society that had been adversely affected by the Muslim invasion. Both political exigencies and biases of the British legal system tended to favour those who were in a position to claim ownership of property (the *Janmis* as they came to be called) and those enjoyed inferior rights in the system hitherto prevalent were adversely affected to a corresponding degree.⁶¹ The total outcome of the new land policy was that the traditional norms of 'Janma-Kana-Maryada', the unwritten laws that defined the rights and obligations of the different interests in land, were superimposed by Anglo-Roman juridical concepts. Norms of absolute rights of ownership came into vogue, replacing the customary practice of 'co-proprietorship'.⁶² This was because the British administrators basing their conclusions on the verbal testimony of local informants and upon the meager written records which had survived the Mysore wars decided that a class of land holders called *janmies* had rights roughly equivalent to free-hold proprietors in English land law. This *janmom* tenure, closely identified in pre-British Malabar with high social position, was held almost exclusively by Namboodiri Brahman and Nayar joint families, by temples of which Namboodiris or Nayars were managers, and by the entailed estates of former rulers.⁶³

The land system shattered the traditional land –relationships in Malabar that existed for centuries. It made the non-cultivating owners of lands who had only customary ownership over the land the legal proprietors. The customary *kanam* tenure came to be defined as a twelve year mortgage and *verumpattom* as a mere tenancy at will. One of the consequences of the new land concept was the worst accumulation of land ownership in the hands of a few *janmis*. It may be worth mentioning that out of 1,229,217 acres of total

⁶¹ K.N.Raj, n.55.

⁶² William Logan, .n.57, p.608.

⁶³ Thomas W. Shea, Jr. 'Malabar: A Case Study', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol.19 (Cambridge, 1959), p.514.

land in Malabar, 628,921 acres (about 52%) were owned by 32 Janmis.⁶⁴ The village registers of the settlement conducted in 1900-01 demonstrate the extreme uneven distribution of land in the villages. For example, in Kulathur, a single *Janmi* held 646 acres and 95 cents of land, out of a total of 1214 acres and 47 cents, paying annual land revenue of Rs. 2205 and annas 10 out of a total of Rs. 3949 and annas 11. In the same village, four *pattadars* shared 1 acre and 2 cents and 42 *pattadars* shared 85 acres and 8 cents of land. In Pookkottur village while 20 acres and 14 cents were shared by 33 *pattadars*, 242 acres and 7 cents belonged to a single individual. In Chevayoor village, where 12 *janmis* owned 635 acres and 49 cents and 85 *pattadars* shared 43 acres and 86 cents. In Kottakkal, the entire land belonged to one *janmi*.⁶⁵ What was described by Raja Sir. T.Madhava Rao, by no means an opponent of the principle of Landlordism, as an ‘extra-ordinary... a stringent and systematic monopoly of land’⁶⁶ characterized the land system in Malabar.

Kanakkars, majority of who were Mappilas, could not adapt to the new land policy. They found it as an encroachment over their customary rights imposed by an alien power. The *janmis* on the other hand sought various practices to oppress and exploit the peasantry and avail themselves maximum advantages out of the new land rights accorded by the government. By recognising the *Janmi* as the absolute owner of his holding, and therefore free to take as big a share of the produce of the soil as he could screw out of the soil, the British had, as William Logan claimed, presented him with power which were not customary in Malabar.⁶⁷ As a result the *Janmis* sought to various ways of exploitation. The enhancement of *pattom*, eviction,

⁶⁴ K.N.Panicker, *Against Lord and State: Religion and Peasant Uprisings in Malabar (1826-1921)*, (Oxford University Press, New Delhi).

⁶⁵ Ibid. pp .25-27.

⁶⁶ See Conrad Wood, ‘Historical Background of the Moplah Rebellion: Out breaks 1836 – 1919’, *Social Scientist*, V. 3, no.25 (New Delhi, August 1974), p.48.

⁶⁷ Government of Madras, *William Logan’s Report on Malabar Land Tenures*, Vol 1, Malabar Special Commission (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras), p.17.

‘melcharthu’ (overlease) and increasing of renewal fee were the common ways of oppression and exploitation sought by Janmis.⁶⁸

The new land policy introduced by the colonial administration had serious repercussions in the economic arena of the region. At the beginning of the 19th century, the agricultural yield produced in the region was sufficient to the entire population except for a few who engaged in other activities. But after 1860, Malabar had to import large quantities of rice.⁶⁹ The productivity of land especially paddy field was also quite low. The reasons for the low productivity are quite obvious. The prevalent land tenure system didn’t give any lures so as to increase agricultural yield. As a result, traditional methods of cultivation, absence of modern irrigation etc became the hallmark of Malabar paddy fields. The ownership of waste lands and forestlands were also rested in the hands of Janmis. The recognition of waste lands, cultivable waste lands and forest lands as *jenmam* land had also discouraged expansion of cultivation of crops, especially commercial crops, construction of public irrigation works, and stood as a major obstacle to agricultural development.⁷⁰ When coffee plantation was started in Wayanad one of the problems faced by the European planters was the difficulties in getting lands for plantation, though large areas of lands were available there.⁷¹ Even the government in acquiring the land for public irrigation projects had faced the same difficulty. See the remarks made by the Malabar Tenancy Committee (1940). “One of the obstacles to the state scheme of irrigation is that all land including the beds of rivers, streams and canals, is regarded as private property and the government cannot, therefore interfere with the rights of private owners by

⁶⁸ For a detailed methods of exploitation of the peasantry see, K.N.Panicker, ‘Peasant Exploitation in Malabar in the 19th century’, *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. IX, Part 14 (1984, pp. 155 – 186.

⁶⁹ For details See, Government of Madras, *Statistics of Malabar 1873 - 74* (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras),

⁷⁰ B.A.Prakash, n.53.

⁷¹ W. Robinson, ‘Report on the History, Conditions and Prospects of Taluk of Wynad dt.22nd August, 1857’ (Quoted in B.A.Prakash,n.53).

constructing irrigation works.”⁷² Any extension of cultivation to these lands is to be made with prior permission of *Janmis* who allowed it only under rigorous conditions of tenancy. The tenants who know the *janmis*’ intentions accurately, were not ready to go for a risk. This explains the situation why the area under cultivation in Malabar became smaller than in Travancore at the turn of the 20th century, in spite of the density of population(See the Table 3.1).The result was that in a region where acute unemployment and food shortage existed large areas remained uncultivated.

The wide contrasts between Malabar and Travancore in the early part of the 20th century were astonishing. Majority of the agricultural population in Travancore were owner cultivators whereas Malabar presented a picture of cultivating tenants and field labourers constituting the lion share of the population. The Table 3.1 displays intense variation between the two regions.

1. In both regions the number of people depending on agriculture were more or less same (Malabar 18,24,564) Travancore (18,20,417).
2. However the proportion of agricultural population to total population was higher in Malabar.
3. In spite of higher density of population, the area under cultivation was smaller in Malabar.
4. Since majority of the agricultural population belonged to landless tenants and labourers the distribution of income might have been more unequal in Malabar.
5. While cultivating tenants and farm labourers constituted more than 86% of the agricultural population in Malabar, cultivating land-owners constituted about 63% in Travancore.

⁷² Government of Madras, *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee*, Vol.1 (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1940), p.50.

Table 3.1
The composition of Agricultural
Population in Malabar and Travancore in 1911

Sl.No	Class of people	Malabr		Travancore	
		Number of people	Percentage	Number of people	Percentage
1	Non – cultivating land owners	74,549	4.08	91,305	5.02
2	Non – cultivating Tenants	24,923	1.37	4,456	0.24
3	Cultivating land owners	96,220	5.27	11,63,974	63.93
4	Cultivating tenants	8,21,462	45.02	1,24,067	6.82
5	Farm servants and field labourer	7,62,591	41.80	2,29,809	12.62
6	Growers of special products	44,819	2.45	2,06,856	11.36
	Total	18,24,564 (60.68%)	100	18,20,417 (53.15%)	100
	Total Population	30,15,119		34,28,975	
	Density of Population	520		451	

Source: Census Reports, for the year 1911 of Madras and Travancore.

While the Government in Travancore encouraged and extended alluring offers both to native and foreign planters for commercial cultivation, the land tenure system in Malabar stood in the way of such a change. The observation made by Governor Charles E Trevelyan is significant. “It has now been established that this district (Wynad) is well suited for the production of coffee of a superior description, and that its climate is favourable to the European constitution... There are only two obstacles to the formation of a

strong English settlement in Wynad in this sense – the want of roads, and the great difficulty of obtaining a secure title to land”.⁷³ While a part of the land in Wynad was owned by the state, a major part was in the hands of private individuals. While from 1861 onwards the government began to seek lands in Wynad taluk, the Janmis were reluctant to part with their land. The result was that when as late as 1945-46 the total plantation area under all crops was only just above 50,000 acres in Malabar, it was nearly 1,95,000 acres in Travancore.⁷⁴ Between 1911 and 1951, Travancore region registered a percentage increase of 47.09 in land under occupation.

In the same period in Malabar, cultivated area increased only by 37.4%. Additionally, the occupied area in Travancore formed 73.7 percent of the total land available for cultivation in 1911, and 98.1 percent of the total land available for cultivation in 1951. The corresponding figures for cultivated area as a percentage of the total arable land in Malabar were 59.1 in 1911 and 36.0 in 1951.⁷⁵ The report of T.H.Baber, who spent 25 years in Malabar is an illustration for the fact that even the British officials had been convinced of the high land revenue imposed on Malabar peasantry. “The people are in great distress, compared to what they used to be, owing, I conceive, to over-taxation. I know indeed that the revenues bear exceedingly hard upon them”.⁷⁶ In 1877, the land tax in Malabar was one rupee and six annas as against eleven annas in Travancore.⁷⁷ The four taluks of South Malabar – Ernad, Valluvanad, Palghat and Ponnani – contained 70 percent of the total grain area of Malabar and almost full two-thirds of the land revenue of the district came from these taluks. These were also the areas where the

⁷³ Government of Madras, ‘Minutes by the Governor of Madras Relating to the Tour in the South India Between the 5th January and 6th of March’, Madras, 1860, p.53 (Quoted in M.Kabir, n.18)

⁷⁴ P.K.Michael Tharakan, *Intra-Regional Differences in Agrarian Systems and Internal Migration: A Case Study of Two Farmers from Travancore to Malabar, 1930-1950.*” Working Paper No.194 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 1984), p.8.

⁷⁵ T.C.Varghese, n.14, pp.122-124.

⁷⁶ K.N. Panikkar, n.64, p.18.

⁷⁷ V.Nagam Aiya, n.37, p.141.

rent on the land was the highest.⁷⁸ Even as early as 1800, the Malabar peasantry perpetually depended on trader-cum-money lenders. Buchanan wrote that the peasants of Malabar forced to sell their produce to traders who lent money against the crops in advance under conditions totally unfavourable to them.⁷⁹ The worst hit were the ‘*verumpattakkar*’ who stood at the bottom of the tenurial order.⁸⁰ The opening of commercial markets, which benefited cultivators in Travancore helped only landlords and rich merchants in Malabar. The poor peasants who received cash advances were bound to sell their products to middlemen merchants at a rate of 20 to 30 percent less than the market price.

In giving evidence before the Madras Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, A.K.T.K.M.Namoodirippad, a big landlord of South Malabar, observed, “Small dealers purchase paddy locally and market it in profitable centres. Petty farmers sell their produce to these dealers immediately after harvest time. The prices they get are most often less than the market price because the farmers would be in great demand for money to pay their debt. Well-to do farmers, on the other hand keep their paddy in granaries and sell out only when they can make a decent profit”.⁸¹ Unlike Travancore peasants, those of Malabar, turned to cultivation of commercial crops due to two factors. One, the eviction was more common in wetlands than in dry lands. Second, the income from commercial crops helped the poor peasants to bridge the gap of high revenue and rent in the wet-lands and to keep him at bare

⁷⁸ William Logan, *Report of the Special Commission on Malabar Land Tenures*, Vol.1, Para.31 (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1881).

⁷⁹ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara And Malabar*, (London, 1807), P.134.

⁸⁰ Innes stated that most of the *verupattom* tenants were chronically in debt. They borrowed money in *Karkitagom* on the security of their crop and this was one of the values of the *verum pattom* land (See Innes, *Notes on Malabar Tenancy Legislation* (Madras, 1917). Sathyanathan’s enquiry in 1936 revealed that in the three villages studied by him almost all the tenants were in debt (W.R.S.Sathyanathan, *Report on Agricultural Indebtedness*, (Madras, 1936), pp.38-39).

⁸¹ Government of Madras, *Madras Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, Vol.2 (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1930), p.78.

subsistence. Thus “adoption of commercial crops was thus a defensive mechanism for majority of the Malabar peasants”.⁸²

The policies followed by the British government in the non – agricultural sector were also not favourable. For example the cottage weaving industry that flourished somewhere in South Malabar had to face disaster due to the discouraging policies adopted by the government. The government imported mill – made cotton and the indigenous manual made products could not compete with them. To quote Clemenston, Collector of Madras in 1838, “Malabar has never been famous for manufactures. Coarse cotton is manufactured in Palghat and Temalpooram Taluks and here and there on the coast; the vast quantity of Europe piece goods imported – and which are procurable at very cheap prices – have discouraged this branch of industry, so much so that the poorer class find it more profitable to turn their lands to agriculture.”⁸³

The development of financial institutions in Malabar also differed from their counterparts in Travancore. The first commercial bank in Malabar was started by Appu Nedungadi in 1898. According to the statistics, Malabar had more banks than any other part of the Madras Presidency had.⁸⁴ But unlike in Travancore all the banks were concentrated in urban centres, the clients being mainly urban traders. Again, unlike in Travancore, banks in Malabar had not given loans to peasants probably because of their poverty and insecurity of tenure. The Co-operative societies, an alternative suggested by the government, also was a failure in the sense that ordinary peasants did not get loan. The end result was “every man who has money, instead of depositing in a bank lends it to others on high rates of interest. The landlords, the *Vakils*,

⁸² M.Kabir, n.18.

⁸³ P. Clemenston: *A Report on Revenue and Other Matters Connected with Malabar: dt.31 December 1838*, (Calicut Collectorate Press, 1914), pp.19 – 23.

⁸⁴ For details see M.Kabir, n.18.

the officials or any other class forms no exception to this rule”.⁸⁵ The slow pace of the growth of Plantation agriculture and marketing had its corresponding reflections on transportation facilities also. A network of roads was constructed in Wynad where cultivation of commercial crops was high. In other areas, the charge of constructing roads was with the Local Fund Boards and Municipalities. The paucity of funds and lack of required skill on their part thwarted even the maintenance of existing roads.⁸⁶ A few roads that constructed in Malabar were to suppress the peasant uprisings that broke out at various times in Malabar. The suppression of the outbreaks would naturally lead to a standstill of road building.

The total road length in Malabar increased by barely hundred miles in the course of the first three decades of the 20th century.⁸⁷ The total number of carts in use in Malabar in 1904-05 was 9,707 as against 15,217 in Travancore. The number of motor vehicles introduced in Malabar was also comparatively less at any period.⁸⁸ Passenger buses and goods carrier lorries were rare sight along the rural tracts of Malabar. Out of 1,337 motor vehicles in Malabar in 1931, 723 were light vehicles used by rich people; 163 were lorries used for goods transport chiefly in the urban centres; 453 were buses which operated in urban areas of Calicut, Palghat and Tellichery.⁸⁹

When the commercialisation of agriculture paved the way for the growth of physical infrastructure and the development of social sector in

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Ibid.

⁸⁶ Innes revealed that the local fund roads “leave much to be desired, especially in the Monsoon, and the ruins of great bridges over many rivers attest the chronic impecuniosity of the Local Boards (Innes, *Madars District Gazetteer*, Malabar District, (Madras, 1951), p.271).

⁸⁷

Length of Roads in Malabar, 1901-1951

Year Road length (Miles) 1901 1747 1911 1802 1926 1790 1931 1843 1951 2224

Source: Aiyar, 1933, p.122, Census of India, , Census Hand Book, Malabar District, 1951 (Quoted in M.Kabir, n,18).

⁸⁸ For details, See Directories and Agencies Limited, *Madras Motor Directory*, (Madras, 1931).

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Travancore, where the existence of an economy of small proprietors and tenants with substantial economic independence and sustained interest in the land acted as a dynamic force of socio- economic change its benefits in Malabar were confined to high caste *Janmis* and superior tenants in Malabar. Kerala experienced a continuous process of educational expansion throughout the period of 1793-1947 and at an increasing rate from the second half of the 19th century, the expansion during the latter phase being confined mainly to the southern region of Travancore and Cochin.⁹⁰ The statement made by C.A.Innes regarding the level of literacy in various regions of Malabar reveals the glaring overcast that shadowed the educational horizon of Malabar. “945 Mappilas and 999 Cherumas out of 1000 are illiterate; these two castes between the number form more than 37 percent of the total population. Ernad with Wynad shares the unenviable distinction of the most illiterate taluk in the district. Palakkad where Mappilas are scarce is also one of the ignorant taluks. Ernad with 15 percent literacy among males and 3.3 percent women and Wynad taluk with 15 and 2.2 percent are still the most backward taluks. The general literacy in the area is 15 percent and the rate of female literacy 6.4 percent.”⁹¹ The direction of the Wood’s Despatch that local Governments need not open schools on their own if there “existed a sufficient number of private institutions capable of supplying the local needs of education” gave an excuse for the Madras Government to withdraw from the responsibility of primary education.

The Government introduced a scheme of bringing schools under the inspection and control of the Government through a system of grant-in-aid. Though some of the Thiyyas and Muslims made use of the school system, majority of them who were mere *verum pattakkar* and coolies could not send

⁹⁰ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, *Primary Education, Population Growth and Socio-economic Change: A Comparative Study with Particular Reference to Kerala*, (Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1981), p.28.

⁹¹ C.A.Innes, ‘Malabar’, *Madras District Gazetteer*, ed, F.B.Evans 1933 (Reprinted by Superintendent, Government Press, 1951), pp.295-303.

their children to school due to acute poverty.⁹² Unlike in Travancore, no community-based social reform movements that stood for educational and social uplift of the masses developed in Malabar. The official machinery on the other hand, withdrew from its responsibility giving the entire charge of primary education to Local Fund Boards. But the Boards were not in a position to open new schools due to lack of funds. However, the grant-in-aid programme encouraged a number of private individuals to enter into the field of education and the number of schools increased thereafter. By 1817-18, Malabar had 1340 aided Schools as against 839 in 1909-10.⁹³

One should not think that the increase in the number of schools had a corresponding increase in the number of children. The average strength of pupils per school was as low as 91 in Malabar⁹⁴ as against 131 in Travancore.⁹⁵ In the case of Mappila schools the figure was still lower – 59.6.

In the provision of medical facilities too, Malabar lagged far behind Travancore. In 1860 itself, the Government had declared that only charges on account of European medicines and services of a medical officer and subordinate should be borne by the state and every other items of expenditure should be met through local contributions. Town Improvement and Local Funds Act of 1871 vested the responsibility of health care on Municipalities and Local Fund Board. The financial responsibility of the Central and Provincial Governments in health care was limited to payment of salary of the

⁹² The representation submitted by some of the Mappilas of Ernad taluk before Lord Amphil in 1901 highlights this assumption. The representation states, “ In a poverty stricken community like ours, where the wages of labour are less than a trifle, every child has to help in bringing grist to the parental mill, and every child removed from the field and send to schools represent a loss to the family, so that Mappila parents be persuaded to keep their children at school after they have attained an earning age. The vision of future greatness is obscured by this clouds of present poverty” (Government of Madras, *The Third Tour of His Excellency Lord Amphil G.C.I.E. In the Madras Presidency, Extracts from Madras Mail, Madras* (Madras, 1901), p.124, (Quoted in M.Kabir, n.18).

⁹³ Government of Madras, *Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency* (Annual), (Superintendent, Government Press, 1909-1910 and 1917-18).

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, n.90, p. 144.

IMS Medical Officer and the cost of maintenance of class I hospitals. In 1889, there was only one IMS doctor working in Malabar and the only class I hospital was a 'leper asylum'. By 1902-03, the combined health expenditure incurred by the Provincial Governments, Local Fund Boards and Municipalities together was only Rs.1,82,300⁹⁶, roughly 40 percent of the corresponding figure for Travancore although the population of Malabar was nearly 85 percent of that of Travancore. In 1901, Malabar had only 25 medical institutions (14 hospitals, 10 dispensaries and 1 leper asylum) visited annually by 2.69 lakh persons⁹⁷ as against 48 institutions visited by 4.6 lakh persons in Travancore.⁹⁸ In 1926, the total expenditure on hospitals and dispensaries in Malabar was 296,150.⁹⁹ It was hardly 3 percent of the corresponding figure in Travancore.¹⁰⁰ By 1951, Malabar had 53 allopathic hospitals and dispensaries under the state and 1692 hospital beds. The corresponding figure for Travancore in 1948-49 was 158 and 3,378 respectively.¹⁰¹

In short, the British land policy put majority of the Malabar population in utter poverty and misery. The landlords were mainly Namboothiris and Nairs whereas the tenants hailed from Mappilas and Ezhavas. According to Buchanan, in Malabar a farmer's share of the income from two acres of good rice land was barely sufficient to provide a slave's diet.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ C.A.Innes, *Madras District Gazetteers, Statistical Appendix for Malabar District*, (Madras, 1905), pp.54-64.

⁹⁷ Government of Madras, *Annual Report on Civil Dispensaries in the Madras Presidency, 1901*(Quoted in M.Kabir, n.18).

⁹⁸ Government of Travancore, *Travancore Administration Report 1900-01* (Superintendent, Government Press, Thiruvananthapuram).

⁹⁹ Government of Madras, *Annual Report on Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries in the Madras Presidency, 1926* (Quoted in M.Kabir, n.18).

¹⁰⁰ Government of Travancore, *Travancore Administration Report, 1925-26* (Thiruvananthapuram).

¹⁰¹ Government of Travancore-Cochin, *Statistics of Travancore-Cochin 1948-49, Part 1*, (Travancore, 1949), p. 416-417.

¹⁰² Francis H. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar Vol.2* (Cadel and Davies, London, 1807). pp.477-491.

The Malabar region, which was economically backward at the beginning of the British colonial rule, remained so till they were to leave the land in the middle of the 20th century. Further, under the unfavourable policies of the colonial administration, a gradual shift of the economy from primary to secondary or tertiary sector was clear by its absence. The result was that when the people of Travancore and Cochin region were receiving the news of the formation of the new state in 1950s with a cheering face, a huge section of the population in Malabar was under endless poverty and unemployment.

CHAPTER 4

MALABAR AFTER THE FORMATION OF THE NEW STATE

As part of the decision to organise the states on linguistic basis, the state of Kerala formally came into existence on November 1, 1956. See the lines in the Report of the State Re – Organisation Commission. “The prospective of Kerala State will thus consist of the existing state of Travancore – Cochin less the five Tamil taluks of Thovala, Agastheeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode and Shenkottai plus Malabar district which include the Fort Cochin area, the Kasargod taluk of South Canara district and the Aminidive islands. The state thus constituted will have an area of 14, 980 square miles and a population of about 13.6 million. It will be linguistically homogeneous, about 94% of its population will be Malayalam speaking and the state will be geographically compact. It will be well served from the point of view of communication.”¹The following extract of the Report regarding the addition of Malabar to the new state is also significant. “The main addition to the state will be the contiguous district of Malabar. Physically and culturally, Malabar district is somewhat isolated from the rest of the Madras state. Its problems are different from those of the eastern part of the peninsula. Malabar’s land tenure has special features of its own characterised by a hierarchical system, from the *Janmi* downwards to the *verum pattomdar*. Rubber, coffee, cardamom and plantation and cash crops like pepper, ginger and cashew are important in the agricultural economy of the district. Calicut on the West Coast is the collection centre for the produce exported from Valluvanad, Ernad and Wayanad taluks of Malabar. The district has very little by way of irrigation works. Communication lines connect it closely with the

¹ Government of Kerala, *Report of the State Reorganisation Commission*, (Superintendent of Government Press, Thiruvananthapuram, 1955), p.90.

West Coast.; with its long coast line it is accessible to the same maritime influences of the rest of Travancore – Cochin. Inheritance is generally matrilineal and the population is predominantly (96%) Malayalam speaking.”² The Report has neither concealed nor overlooked the backwardness of Malabar. Further, It has referred to the common fears heard from different corners regarding the future of the new state when Malabar - a backward region - is added to the state of Travancore-Cochin to form the new state.³

The first general election to the Kerala State Legislative Assembly was held in February and March 1957. A Communist Ministry under E.M.S.Namboothirippad came to power. The President dismissed the Ministry under Section 356 of the Constitution on July 31, 1959. Fresh elections were held in February 1960. A Coalition Ministry with Pattom A Thanu Pillai as Chief Minister was sworn in on 22 February 1960. In September 1962, Pattom A.Thanu Pillai was succeeded by R.Sankar as the Chief Minister. The Sankar Ministry resigned office on 4 September 1964. In the Mid-term elections held in 1965, none of the parties got a clear majority. Hence, the President of India dissolved the newly – elected Assembly on 24 March 1965. In the General Election held in 1967, a united front of seven parties bagged major seats and a ministry under E.M.S.Namboothirippad came to power. The E.M.S. Ministry fell in October 1969 and a new Ministry under C.Achutha Menon was sworn in on November 1, 1969. In the General Election held in September 1970, C.Achutha Menon again assumed the Office and his Ministry sworn in on 4 October 1970. In short, during the period 1957 – 1970 five ministries ruled over the new state of Kerala and all the major or minor political parties once or more remained in power.

We have already noticed in the previous chapter that Malabar lagged far behind Travancore and Cochin in all fields. According to the Census of

² Ibid. p. 89.

³ Ibid. pp. 91- 92.

1971, there were 21347375 people in the State. Of these 80,13,117 (37.53%) people belonged to the four northern districts viz. Palakkad, Malappuram Kozhikode and Kannur of former Malabar region (See Table 4.1). The Governments that came to power should have planned and implemented special packages for uplifting Malabar region and re-inform uniform development of all regions of the new state. Unfortunately, such a movement was not undertaken by the governments that came in succession in Kerala. The result was Malabar kept the unenviable position of the most backward region in Kerala in the decades following the formation of the state. Let us examine the socio – economic conditions of the former Travancore, Cochin and Malabar regions on the basis of the official statistics published by various Departments of the Government around the formation of the new state and after a lapse of a decade. The statistics show that the region still remained backward despite the formation of the new state

Table 4.1
District-wise population of Kerala

S.No	District	Area (sq:km)	1971
1	Thiruvananthapuram	2192	2198606
2	Kollam	2491	2412821
3	Pathanamthitta	2642	-
4	Alappuzha	1414	2125722
5	Kottayam	2203	1539030
6	Idukki	5019	765608
7	Eranakulam	2407	2163674
8	Trissur	3032	2128797
9	Palakkad	4480	1685342
10	Malappuram	3550	1856362
11	Kozhikode	2344	2106249
12	Wayanad	2131	-
13	Kannur	2966	2365164
14	Kasaragod	1992	-
	Total	38863	21347375

Source: Government of Kerala, *Economic Review* (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 1972).

Literacy

Literacy is a basic step of any region or community towards education and thereby to civilisation and development. “An important characteristic which distinguishes Kerala from the rest of India is its high level of educational development, the most significant indicator of this achievement being its high literacy rate. In 1971, the literacy rate in Kerala was 60 percent against the all-India average of 29 percent. In fact, this region had begun to

command the leading position in literacy in India long ago, at least as early as 1901.”⁴

The literacy rate of the state in 1961 as understood from the Table (See Table 4.2) was 46.85%. When all the southern districts of the former Travancore - Cochin region stood with a literacy rate not below the state average, the northern districts presented an unhappy picture. Among the northern districts Kozhikode, which stood atop, had a literacy rate of 44.88% as against the State average of 46.85%. A district – wise analysis reveals that literacy rate is the highest in the southern district of Alappuzha (56.90%) and the lowest is in the northern district of Palakkad (33.69%). Literacy rate of all the northern districts was below the state average and not even a single southern district enjoyed such a sad picture. This was the case from the beginning of the century itself. “The differences were, however, very small in 1901. During the five decades from 1901 they steadily widened.”⁵ After a lapse of ten years, when we analyse the literacy rate of the state, district wise the backwardness of Malabar region is found to remain.⁶

⁴ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, *Education and Economic Change in Kerala* (Centre For Development Studies, Trivandrum, 1978), p.24.

⁵ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, *Primary Education, Population Growth and Socio-economic Change: A Comparative Study with Particular Reference to Kerala* (Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1981), p.24.

⁶ The state level literacy rate of Kerala, which was 46.85 percent in 1961 rose to 60.26 percent in 1971. While Alappuzha retained the first position with a literacy rate of 70.25 percent, Palakkad could not throw out the defame of the last place. No northern district could even reach near the state average. Kozhikode, which stood high among the northern districts had only a literacy rate of 57.59 percent (See Government of Kerala, *Economic Review*, (State planning Board, Thiruvananthapuram, 1972), p.136).

Table 4.2**District – wise Percentage of Literates to Total Population in Kerala**

	Percentage of literates	
	1961	1971
Districts		
Thiruvanthapuram	45.30	62.23
Kollam	50.49	63.41
Alappuzha	56.90	70.25
Kottayam	56.56	67.59
Eranakulam	50.58	65.25
Trissur	48.16	61.58
Palakkad	33.69	46.50
Malappuram	34.29	47.74
Kozhikode	44.88	57.59
Kannur	41.29	54.69
All Kerala	46.85	60.26

Source: Government of Kerala, *Economic Review* (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 1972), p.136.

Education

Kerala has to her credit a noble record of educational development, which has easily brought her to the vanguard of the nation and giving her the title of the most educated and literate state of India. In accessibility to educational facilities, there is no urban – rural difference in the state. The state, which is defined by some as a mega city, the villages are networked with educational institutions. Among the Indian states, Kerala ranks first having a Higher Secondary School or College with degree course located within a distance of less than 2 km and has the second largest number of villages having a Middle School and Secondary School next to Haryana (See Table 4.3).

Table 4.3

**No. of Villages (1000) having educational facilities
Located within a Distance of less than 2 kms from the village**

States	Primary School	Middle School	Secondary School	Higher Secondary School	College with Degree Course
Andhra Pradesh	827	537	332	62	24
Assam	848	594	310	116	23
Bihar	650	361	176	35	22
Gujarat	967	435	217	63	21
Haryana	990	811	606	269	3
Karnataka	774	586	246	74	37
Kerala	946	757	576	360	81
Madhya Pradesh	964	413	75	44	11
Maharashtra	1000	567	344	121	22
Orissa	744	475	304	48	23
Punjab	874	598	478	262	35
Rajasthan	976	538	246	66	2
Tamil Nadu	873	538	302	154	2
Uttar Pradesh	973	503	261	226	16
West Bengal	935	477	346	161	17
All - India	885	505	264	124	22

Source: Government of India, *NSS Report on Village Facilities, 58th Round, India* (2002).

The expenditure on General Education, which was 16.83 crores in 1961 – 62 rose to 56.16 crores in 1971 – 72. In the same year, Kerala had spent 31.1% of the total expenditure on education. Among other Indian states, Tamil Nadu, which comes next to Kerala had spent only 20%. There were 10926 schools including Training Schools in 1971 – 72. Of these 6886 were

Lower Primary Schools, 2551 Upper Primary Schools, 1394 High Schools and 95 Basic Schools.⁷ A detailed analysis of the institutions for school education shows immense differences between the southern districts and the northern districts. Though a marginal balance is visible in the case of Primary Schools (2529 Lower Primary Schools in three northern district and 4627 in six southern districts) there was an amazing difference in the case of other Schools. Out of 2551 Upper Primary Schools, the share of Malabar was 1187 Schools. Number of High Schools in Malabar area was 288 out of a total of 1394 Schools in the State (20.65%). Out of 95 Training Schools only a negligible number of 24 (25.6%) was in Malabar.⁸

The scene of higher education and professional education system in the period under discussion was also not up to the mark as far as Malabar was concerned. Arts and Science Colleges dominate the higher education sector in Kerala in addition to a few Professional colleges. The number of Arts And Science Colleges in the state was 119 in 1972. Out of these, Malabar could boast of only 22 colleges (18.485%).⁹ The total number of Training Colleges in the state was 19 in the same period. Of these only 3 colleges belonged to Malabar area (15.78%).¹⁰ In the district-wise number of enrolment of students in Arts and Science Colleges also, glaring inequality is observed. State average of enrolment of students in 1968-69 was 12705.5. Kottayam with an enrolment of 24483 stood high in the state. Kozhikode which ranked first in the enrolment among the northern districts had a student enrolment of 10873 which was also behind that of the state average. Palakkad had only an enrolment of 7058 students. The total number of students enrolled in various

⁷ See, Government of Kerala, *Statistics for Planning, Series 6, Social Services*, (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 1972), P.6.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Government of Kerala, *Economic Review* (Kerala State Planning Board, Thiruvananthapuram, 1972), p.142.

¹⁰ Ibid.p.140.

Arts And Science Colleges in Kerala was 139761. The number of students in Malabar was 20390 (14.58%).

The Technical Education in the state included courses in engineering technology. Industrial Training Institutes constituted the backbone of technical education in the period under discussion. It is very sad to say that the share of Malabar in this sector was more less nil. There were a total of 40 Industrial Training Institutes in the state. Of these only 4 were in Malabar area (10%).¹¹ Out of 17 polytechnics in Kerala, six were in Malabar (35.29%). The total seats in these polytechnics were 2038. Malabar had only 632 seats (31%).¹²

Transport

Good transport infrastructure connecting different villages and towns is essential for the development of any region. Better roads and vehicles are essential for transportation. The transport infrastructure in Kerala mainly consists of roads, railways, air and inland water. The Public Works Department is the main Agency that maintains roads in Kerala. The PWD Roads in the State fall broadly under three categories viz. State Highways (SH), Major District Roads (MDR) and Other District Roads (ODR) .The total length of State Highways in the State in 1979-80 was 2028 Kilometres. Of these, Malabar had a share of only 488 Kilometres (24.06kms). Malabar had 35.37% of Major District Roads (1961 Kilometres out of 5544 Kilometres). Of the Other District Roads, Malabar's share was only 17.08% (1204 Kilometres out of 7049 Kilometres).¹³ The statistics published by the Department of Economics and Statistics shows the number of vehicles on road in 1969 – 70. The total number of vehicles on the roads in Kerala in

¹¹ Ibid, p.142.

¹² Ibid, p.143.

¹³ Government of Kerala, *Statistics for Planning* (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram 1983), p.211.

1969-70 was 78168. Out of these, northern districts had a total of 21264 (27.2%). When Thiruvananthapuram stood first with total vehicles of 15434, Malappuram one of the northern districts, had a poor share of 2101 vehicles.¹⁴ The KSRTC is the largest public sector undertaking, which carries out transport operations in the state. The Corporation operated its bus services to a distance of 153741 Kilometres in 3470 different routes in 1979. It is very pitiable to note that only 326 routes were operating in Northern districts (i.e.9.39% of the total routes).¹⁵

Health

Kerala holds a glorious place in health achievements. All the villages in Kerala are within accessible distance to standard type medical facilities. According to the report of National Sample Survey Organisation, among major Indian states Kerala ranks first in the number of Sub Centres, Primary Health Centres, Community Health Centres, Private Hospitals and Medical Shops located within a distance of less than 2 km.¹⁶ One of the interesting points is that Kerala ranks first among many Indian states in terms of many of the human development indicators because of the rate of development achieved in Travancore – Cochin. Malabar's position, as we saw in the foregoing pages, were equal or near to many of the backward Indian states. The conditions were also not different in the case of health facilities.

The progress of public health is achieved through medical institutions in public, cooperative and private sector. Kerala's medical institutions mainly consist of allopathy, homoeopathy and ayurveda. The total number of medical institutes in the state in 1960 was 356. The share of Malabar was only 106. The average number of beds available per lakh people in the state was 77

¹⁴ Government of Kerala, *Statistics Since Independence* (Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 1998), p.104.

¹⁵ Government of Kerala, n.13, p.218.

¹⁶ For details see, National Sample Survey Organisation, *NSS Report on Village Facilities*, 58th Round (National Sample Survey Organisation, New Delhi).

in the same year. Thiruvananthapuram had an average of 180 beds. Palakkad had only 42 beds. All the northern districts stood far behind the state average. This situation continued after a lapse of 11 years. There were altogether 571 health care institutes in 1971 – 72 and 23386 beds for patients. Malabar region had 202 (35.375) institutes and 6616 beds (28.27%). All the northern districts came only below this level ie. Palakkad (42 beds), Kozhikode (55 beds) and Kannur (50 beds).

Employment and Unemployment

There were 701766 jobs in both private and public sector in Kerala in 1971. Jobs in Malabar region was 206560(29.43%) and in Travancore – Cochin region 495026(70.57%). The second major sector after agriculture in providing employment to the people is the industrial sector. “Kerala which shares 3.7% of the country’s total population, accounts for 3.07% of the number of factories, 3.12% of employment, 2.61% of the fixed capital, 2.56% of gross output and 2.90 of net value added in the factory sector of the country.”¹⁷This was the condition of the whole of Kerala in 1990. The statistics published by the government regarding the district-wise number of registered factories in the state during 1970 shows the backwardness of Malabar. Of the total 3040 registered factories in the state only 901 belonged to Malabar (29.6%belonged to Malabar).¹⁸

Banking

The banking system in a region is ample evidence of the growth and development of the economy of any region. A bank will open its branches only in places where maximum investment is expected. The banks actively participate in the development of an area by providing various types of loans

¹⁷ K.K.Subrahmanian, ‘Development Paradox in Kerala: Analysis of Industrial Stagnation’, *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 15 September 1990).

¹⁸ Government of Kerala, n.13, p.37.

like agricultural loan, educational loan, industrial loan etc. In 1975 there were 1435 Commercial Banks in the state. Of these, the share of Malabar was only 423 (29.47%).¹⁹

The total number of electricity consumers in the state in 1979 – 80 was 1324421. Of these, 366398 (27.66%) were from Malabar. It means that when a bulky share of the population from Travancore – Cochin region was enjoying the fruits of electricity, many people in Malabar were depending on the lamps.

Socio – economic Conditions of Muslims

In the first part of this chapter, we were trying to peep through the conditions of the Keralites in the colonial period and also in the immediate decades of the formation of the new state, which also corroborate the years of the starting of the Gulf migration from the state. As we noted in the introductory chapter, a community wise analysis of the emigrants from Kerala reveals the dominance of Muslim community in all the international migrations that Kerala witnessed. According to the survey conducted by Economics and Statistics Department, 87% of the migrants to the Gulf belong to Muslim community. Even though the present study is of a general nature and not to focus on any particular community, the work will be lacking its focal idea without a particular reference to the community, which sent about

¹⁹ Ibid, p.195.

87 percent of the Gulf migrants. Hence, an investigation into the socio-economic conditions of the Muslims in Kerala before the Gulf migration becomes necessary. So, under this sub – title, a short sketch of the Muslim community in the state is given, so as to comprehend the connection between the migration into West Asia and the socio-economic conditions of the Muslim community. According to the Census of 1991, the total population of Kerala was 29098518. Out of these, 6788364 (23.33 percent) were Muslims. Among these, 69.96 percent belonged to Malabar region.²⁰ What Gleason stated is a true picture of Malabar regarding Muslim population. “Looking at a map there is no area so extensive with so concentrated a Muslim population in all peninsular India as in Malabar”.²¹

Pre-colonial period

The Muslims of Kerala are historically, socially and culturally distinct from their brothers in other states. Kerala had trade relations with the Arab world even before the advent of the Prophet.²² It was through this commercial channel that Islam reached Kerala. Thus, unlike in North India, the arrival of Islam and its expansion in Kerala was through a peaceful means.²³ Adhering to the tenets of the religion, they absorbed many of the cultural elements of Malayalam land.

²⁰ Government of Kerala, *Statistics for Planning* (Department of Economics and Statistics , Thiruvananthapuram, 2001), p.7.

²¹ Henry A Gleason, R. *Religious Communities in India: A Regional Survey*, Fancy Gap Va. , 1946.(Quoted in Roland E.Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A Study in Islamic Trends* (Orient Longman), P. 34)

²² S.Manickam, ‘The Moplahs of Malabar’, *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. 1, (Thiruvananthapuram, January 1974), p.268.

²³ Asghar Ali Engineer, one of the contemporary Muslim thinkers of India writes, “The Kerala Muslims have their own rich culture, religious traditions and social ethos. Islam in Kerala has a different history. Muslims in Kerala did not enter as conquerors or rulers. Thus they were never seen as aggressors. Thus the history of Muslims in Kerala is very different from that of Muslims in the North. Political communalism could strike roots in the north because Muslims were seen as aggressors and having ruled and ‘humiliated’ the Hindus. Though such assumptions are simplistic but could acquire the popular base Islam entered in North India through aggressive expeditions (Asghar Ali Engineer, ed, *Kerala Muslims A Historical Perspective* (Ajanta Publications), p.2.

From the very beginning, the Muslims were a dynamic society. “They could not but work hard in the peculiar land system of Kerala”.²⁴ The ownership of the lands in Kerala, as we already discussed, was concentrated in *Brahmaswam*, *Devaswam*, and *Cherikkal* and they were compelled to live as *verum pattakkar* and *Kanakkudiyans*. “Hard work made them dynamic. From the very beginning, until the advent of Europeans, the whole community made significant contributions to the economic, social, cultural and political life of the region. The resources, especially human resources, provided by its members strengthened the rule of local Maharajas here, enriched the trade and commercial sector and their sweat and strain bloomed in the agricultural lands as rice, coconut, banana etc.”²⁵

Muslims were renowned for certain qualities. Honesty, hard work, liveliness, benevolence etc became their hallmarks. The place of Muslim community in the field of trade was great.²⁶ As a trader community Mappilas spread on the coastal areas and inlands very fast. In the regional markets and commercial centres they got considerable place and received favour and support from Naduvazhis and local rulers.²⁷ Ibnu Batuta writes, “the greatest part of the Mohammedan merchants of this place (Calicut) are so wealthy that one of them can purchase freightage of such vessels as put in there and fit out

²⁴ Prof: T.Abdul Azeez, ‘*Kerala Muslimkalude Charithra Paschathalam*’ (Malayalam), *Chandrika Weekly*, (Kozikode, 9 September 1995), p.8

²⁵ “The Mohammedan coolies, who are superior both in skill and strength to the Hindus, earn higher wages, both because their labour is worth more and because they are more independent. But their usual wages cannot be stated, as they contract for each job. Such works as splitting rocks, digging wells, splitting logs, and other work demanding skill or strength is mainly done by them. They handle tools better than the Hindus. A strong Mohammedan will carry sacks of grain of 8 paras weighing 160 lb a distance of two miles half a dozen times in a day, a Hindu coolie will carry only half a sack” (S.Manickam, n.22, .271).

²⁶ The statement made by Mahuan, the Chinese Muslim, who visited Calicut in the fleet of the Imperial admiral Cheng Ho, in the beginning of the 15th century testifies this, “Many of the king’s subjects are Mahomedans, and there twenty or thirty mosques in the kingdom, to which the people resort every seventh day for worship. On this day, during the morning, the people being at the mosques, no business whatever, is transacted and the after part of the day the services being over, business is resumed”(Quoted in A.Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteer-Kozhikode*, (Trivandrum, 1962), p.85).

²⁷ Dr.K.K.N.Kurup, ‘*Mappila Kala Sahithya Samskarika Parambaryam* (Malayalam), *Vision Forward* (M.S.S.Dubai Unit, Dubai, 2006), p.32.

others like them”.²⁸ The chief of the Kozhikode port was a Muslim, known as ‘Shah Bandhar Koya’. “The big bazars of Kozhikode, Badagara and Thalasseri were built and controlled by Muslims”²⁹. The Portuguese traveller went to the extent of saying, “They (Muslims) are rich and live well ... They hold all the sea trade and navigation in such sort that if the king of Portugl had not discovered India, Malabar would already have gone into the hands of Moors and would have had a Moorish king.”³⁰ They were the great navigators of Kerala who controlled the Arabian coast from Gujarat to Malabar. The names of Kunjali Marakkars were great in history in their naval struggle against the Portuguese. The *pandikasalas* and *gudams* situated in various towns were in their hands. The world famous wood industries that situated on the banks of Kallai river were run and managed by Muslims. In the labour divisions, which require hard physical labour like agriculture, fishing etc they dominated. The legendary *Mappila khalasies*’ contributions in the sectors, which needed physical labour was great.

Colonial Period

All these are, but sweet memories of a glorious past. With the advent of the Portuguese, Muslims lost their dominance in trade and they withdrew inlands. And under the rule of Tipu, trade became the monopoly of the State. By these two incidents, Muslims lost their dominance in the commercial sector. They became *Kudiyans*, *Pattakkudiyans* and *Verum Pattakkudiyans*. “So what we see in Malabar is the gradual decline of Muslims in all fields.”³¹

²⁸ K.P.Padmanabha Menon, *A History Of Kerala*, Vol. I (Government Press, Ernakulam), pp.537 – 538.

²⁹ N.P..Hafiz Mohammed, ‘*Vibhavangal: Vikasanathinte Parimanam* (Malayalam), *Thelicham Annual Issue* (Thirurangadi, 2001), p.70.

³⁰ Durate Barbosa, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, Vol.2 (Haklut Society, London, 1866), p.74.

³¹ Kabeer, ‘*Samooohika Parishkaranavum Muslimkalum*’, *Social Review Monthly*, (Kozhikode, January 2007), p.41.

We already specified that Muslims of Kerala are distinct from their North Indian brothers in several aspects. “Unlike the Muslims of Northern India, they were not the inheritors of a Muslim empire, nor such a legacy. The *Muslim Malayalees* never tasted political power, like North Indian Muslims except in Kannur where there was a petty kingdom ruled by Arakkal family for a period of seven centuries.”³² The conquest of Malabar by Hyder Ali, the ruler of the neighbouring kingdom of Mysore in 1768 and the rule of Malabar by his son Tipu Sultan for a short period was one of the most important incidents that changed the course of the community’s history.

The land reforms introduced by the Mysore ruler had far reaching impact on the economic and social life of Malabar. Firstly, Many Hindu landlords and local chieftains fled to Travancore and elsewhere. Secondly, the Muslims who had been only ‘Pattakkar’s serfs got *Jenmom Right* on the land. Moreover, the Muslim community started to feel an atmosphere of safety and pride under a Muslim ruler for the first time. “When we look back, it can be argued that this was the root of the hostility between the majority and minority communities. The sympathetic Hindu attitude to Muslims was seriously hampered.”³³ When Malabar came in the possession of the British in 1792, the landlords and local rajahs who fled out of Malabar came back. The East India Company introduced a new land system in Malabar and accorded full proprietary rights to the *Janmis*, majority of whom were Hindu landlords. The Muslims felt themselves ousted from the main stream of the society finding every door closed against them. The powerful and often hereditary post of ‘*Adhikari*’(village man) was often in the hands of the biggest local *Janmi* and therefore frequently of a *Namboodiri*³⁴ whilst the ranks of the administration and the judiciary were heavily weighted with Nairs and other

³² N.P..Mohammed, ‘Reflections on Mappila Heritage’ *Kerala Muslims: A Historical Perspective* ed, Asghar Ali Engineer, n.23, p.37.

³³ Ibid. p.40.

³⁴ C.A.Innes, *Malabar*, Madras District Gazetteers, Vol. 1 (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1951), p.103.

high caste Hindus.³⁵The outcome was communal polarisation between caste Hindus who were landlords and Muslims who were landless. The colonial administrators exploited the situation very effectively and the policy of 'Divide and Rule' became the order of the day. Muslims were not to be blamed if they felt that they were cheated both by the foreign rulers and by Hindu brothers. "Shocked by the loss of a sympathetic Muslim ruler, bitter over the re-installation of the old order, and suffering from the reprisals of Hindu rulers and landlords, the Mappilas were unlikely to heed the appeal (of the Government), if they hears it at all."³⁶ The tenants of Malabar, majority of whom were Mappilas took arms and made unconditional struggles against the new set up. The struggles were both against the *Janmi* system and against the British Government who safeguarded the interests of the landlords. The expression of their resentments found shape in a series of outbreaks, the ultimate one being the great Malabar Rebellion of 1921. During the period 1791 – 1921 there were altogether 83 riots in Malabar especially in Valluvanad and Eranad Taluks.

The Rebellion of 1921 was both a tragedy and a turning point in the history of Malabar Muslims, which had a far-reaching socio – economic and psychological effect on the life of the community. In the words of a famous scholar, "The physical effects of the Rebellion were extensive. The total Mappila casualties are unknown, although Mappilas themselves speak up to 10,000 lives lost. An official British source estimates a death toll of 1,000 out of an active 10,000 participants, but another report indicates that by January, 1922, 2,266 Mappilas had already been killed."³⁷

³⁵ See Conrad Wood, 'Historical Background of Moplah Rebellion: Outbreaks 1836-1919', *Social Scientist*, Vol.3, No.25 (Kozhikode, August, 1974).

³⁶ Roland E. Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A Study in Islamic Trends*, (Orient Longman, Bombay, 1976), p.106.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p.147.

The rift that created between the Muslims and the British after the collapse of Mysore rule now reached its summit. An antagonistic attitude towards the British started to take root in the minds of the members of the community. “The price that the Muslims paid for the Rebellion was immense. Muslims were themselves befalling from introversion to withdrawal and from refusal to backwardness.”³⁸ Not only the British rule, but also anything and everything that belonged to the British were branded as anti – Islamic. They despised British Government and British institutions. The English education deemed to be satanic and the English language as the language of the Hell. “The conflict with and hatred towards the British rulers who were trying to persecute and annihilate the Mappilas developed in them a deep hatred towards the English language and education of the English. Th Mappilas dubbed the English language as the language of the Hell and Western education was considered a ‘Passport to Hell’. The result was “they could not but be looked down upon by others.”³⁹ The study of even mother tongue was despised.

Thus the lethargy they showed in the matter of education became the main reason for the backwardness of Mappilas. The community forgot education for long and they had to pay very dear price for that. This was very much in the case of Malabar, one of the most backward regions of Muslim India.⁴⁰ See the words of W.W.Hunter, “Our system of public education, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries and quickened the inert masses with some of the noble impulses of nation, is opposed to the tradition, unsuited to the requirements and hateful to the religion of

³⁸ N.P.Hafiz Mohammed, ‘Kerala Muslimkal: Savishesathakalude Samooham’ (Malayalam), *Farook College Golden Jubilee Souvenir* (Feroke, 1998), p.7.

³⁹ Prof. V.Mohammed, ‘Moplah Education’, *Farook College Annual Silver Jubilee Souvenir* (Feroke, February 1974), p.117.

⁴⁰ S.M.Mohammed Koya, *Mappilas of Malabar: Studies in Social and Cultural History* (Sandhya Publications, 1983), p.78.

Musalman”.⁴¹ The experience of one of the early Muslim reformers is a clear indication of the Muslims’ indifference even towards their mother tongue.⁴² See, the observation of another scholar. “The uncompromising opposition towards the British rulers was the main reason for their apathy and indifference to secular education and Western culture.”⁴³ For this blind anti – British attitude the community had to pay a heavy price. As observed by Miller, “ It seemed clear that the Mappilas could be written off for the foreseeable future as a positive factor in Indian society and Indian Islam.”⁴⁴ “Even though the disturbances were confined to South Malabar, they adversely affected security to life and property and the orderly progress and economic development of the entire Malabar region.”⁴⁵ Colonial penetration represents the single major turning point or break in Malabar Muslims' history, the disruption of existing socio-economic relations bringing about a long period of decline and suffering. On the one hand the Portuguese deprived the community of its political and economic resources, on the other, the British redefined agrarian relations in the post Tippu Sultan Malabar, simultaneously impoverishing Muslim agriculturalists and 'poisoning' their relationships with the Hindu community.

The intense devotion to their religion and the great grip or hold exercised by the religious scholars even in the minute affairs of members of the community is also a noted factor. It is the tradition of Muslim community everywhere to accept religious scholars as guides and advisors both in personal and social life. But unlike in North India, in Malabar where there

⁴¹ Quoted in Dr.A.P.Ibrahim Kunju, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: Their History and Culture* (Sandhya Publications, Thiruvananthapuram), p.251.

⁴² Sanaullah Makti Thangal (1842-1922), thought of publishing a Malayalam periodical and to confirm sufficient number of subscribers he announced a prize of wristwatch by draw to one of the subscribers. Surprisingly enough, he could not get 125 subscribers a minimum number required to start the periodical.

⁴³ Dr.K.T.Mohammed Ali, ‘The Mappilas and Western Education’ *Farook College 40th Anniversary Souvenir* (Feroke,1988), p.242.

⁴⁴ Roland E.Miller, n.36, p.158.

⁴⁵ K.V.Joseph, *Migration and Economic Development of Kerala* (Mittal Publications, New Delhi,1988), p.38.

was an absence of Muslim political leadership the role of the *Ulema* had been manifold and widely approved. “The opportunities for Moplahs achieving a greater degree of independence from the power network linking Hindu *Janmis* and officialdom, would be increased by the existence of a Moplah *Ulema* capable of playing and sanctioning and even a leadership role to the extent that they derived their income from the contributions of the faithful.”⁴⁶ The *fatwas* (legal opinions issued by *ulema*) and the effects it made in mobilising the community during the colonial period is a clear proof for the role of religious scholars among the community members.⁴⁷ Unfortunately the orthodox *ulema* lacked the farsightedness on their part that the uncompromising and blind enmity to the formal set up would be in no way helpful to the future prospects of the community.

The anti - colonial struggle and the consequent state of affairs made their conditions pitiable. “The colonial policies had resulted in the creation of a feudal class *Janmis* who had no interest in cultivation, prevented the emergence of a land market in Malabar and retarded agricultural productivity and expansion in cultivation”⁴⁸. So the problem of an average Muslim was poverty. The application submitted by the Mappilas of Malabar to the Collector of Malabar testifies this. The Application says, “We are not indifferent to education and sending our children to school. The main reason

⁴⁶ Conrad Wood, n.35, p.17.

⁴⁷ Since this study doesn't permit an elaborate discussion on the role of *Ulema* in Malabar politics and their *fatwa* regarding, the following works are suggested for further reading. 1) Shaikh Zainudheen (the Elder) *Tahriz Ahl Al Imam Ala Jihadi Abdat al Sulban al Marghabat fil Jinan al Munqidat min al Niran (Arabic)*, MS. Written in the 16th century. 2) Shaikh Zainudheen, *Tuhfatul Mujahideen*, English Translation, S. Mohammed Hussain, Madras, 1942. 3) K.K.Mohammed Abdul Kareem, *Hasrath Mambram Sayyid Alavi Yhangal* (Malayalam), C.H.Mohammed and Sons, Tirurangadi, 1970. 4) Sayyid Fazl, *Uddat al Umara wal Hukkam li lhanat al Kafarat wa Abdat al Asnam* (Arabic), Egypt, 1273/1856. 5) E.P.Kunhammed, *Veliyancode Umar Qazi Charithram* (Malayalam), Veliyancode, 1987. 6) Qazi Mohammed, *Fath al Mubin* Malayalam Translation .K.K.Mohammed Abdul Kareem, Trichur, 1982. 7) A.M.Pareekutty Musliyar, *Tarjuma Muhimmat al Muslimeen* (Arabic), Tanur, 1921.

⁴⁸ B.A.Prakash, ‘Agricultural Backwardness of Malabar During the Colonial Period: an Analysis of Economic Causes’, *Social Scientist*, Volume 16, No.181-182 (New Delhi, June – July 1988), p.56.

for not sending our children to school is that these children too work to earn our livelihood. If we withdrew our children from work and send our children to school our food will be a problem. When mothers send to work elder children look after the younger ones. If this cancels our total condition will be in peril.”⁴⁹When the British left India in 1947, the Muslims of Kerala, like their North Indian brothers, had become one of the most backward communities. “The adventurous struggles that the community led against the colonial rule were both exciting and suicidal. The community had to give a big price for it.”⁵⁰

Among the circumstances that kept the Muslim community a backward one, the role of the Orthodox Ulemahs cannot be overlooked. These Ulemahs who yielded great control over the illiterate common folk blocked anything and everything that may lead the community to a new age and enable it to move along the period. Instead of taking an open and positive stand towards new ideas, the Ulemahs opposed any new trends fearing that they may shake the very base of the religious structure of the community. It was very unfortunate that a scholar who could read the period was not born in the community. Those who came forward were kept apart due to heresy.⁵¹ So on the one side poverty and on the other side the role of Ulemas made them a backward community. As remarked by an important study, “Exclusion of Muslims from the observations and findings of researchers is a valid testimony for Muslims keeping away from the general awakening of social consciousness and educational activities of the period including the learning of their own mother tongue”.⁵²

⁴⁹ Quoted in Kabeer, ‘*Samoohika Parishkaranavum Muslimkalum*’ (Malayalam), *Social Review Monthly* (January 2007), p.42.

⁵⁰ Dr.C.K.Kareem, ‘*Muslim Pinnokkavastha: Charithra Pariscathalam*’, *Chandrika Weekly* (Kozhikode, 15 August 1998), p.94.

⁵¹ Dr.N.A.Kareem, ‘*Kerala Muslimkalude Vidyabhyasam*’, *Frook College Golden Jubilee Souvenir* (Feroke, 1999), pp 127-130.

⁵² U.Mohammed, *Educational Empowerment of Kerala Muslims: A Socio-Cultural Perspective* (Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, 2003).

Post-colonial period

It is observed by scholars that “Economic development depends 64% on education, 16% on physical capital and 20% on natural capital”.⁵³ Official reports had revealed the intense socio-economic and educational backwardness of Muslim community in the immediate years of the formation of Kerala. The backwardness of the Muslim community in literacy and education has been revealed in the official studies conducted by the state government.⁵⁴ The unevenness of Muslim students in various classes reveals the educational backwardness of the community. The total number of Muslim students in standard I is 1,34,202. In standard V, the Muslim admission is only 46,775 and in standard VIII the number of Muslim students is only 18,085. Surprisingly, the total Muslim presence become very small as 8562 in Standard X.⁵⁵ This drop out rate is very less in the case of other communities.

⁵³ Prof: T.Abdulla, ‘Muslimkal Kooduthal Pinnokkavasthayilekku’ (Malayalam), *Chandrika Weekly* (Kozhikode, 1 – 7 May 1998), p.7.

⁵⁴ Muslims, Christians and Ezhavas form about more or less equal proportion in the population structure of Kerala and compared to the high caste Hindus (especially Nairs and Namboothiris), they do not enjoy much economic social and economic privileges. While 44.68 percent of Muslims were found illiterate, only 31.03 percent were illiterate among Ezhavas and 21.73 among Syrian Catholic Christians (For Details see, Government of Kerala, *A Survey of Caste/Community in Kerala* (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 1970). The study made by one of the scholars comparing the Muslim dominated and Christian dominated taluks revealed that educational backwardness is greater in Muslim dominated taluks than in others (See, P.Abdul Kareem, *Education and Economic Development* (Ashish Publications, Delhi, 1970).

⁵⁵ Government of Kerala appointed a Commission under G.Kumara Pillai (Retired High Court Judge) as Chairman on 8th July, 1964 to study and report which classes of Kerala are entitled to enjoy special provisions of reservation of seats in educational institutions under Article 15 (4) of the Constitution of India. The report published by the Commission became a bonafide record of the social, economic and educational conditions of various backward communities of the state. According to the Report, out of a total population of 30,27,639 in 1961 more than 29,17,00 of Muslims belonged to the low-income group who are socially and educationally backward. The percentage of persons having a house-hold income of Rs. 300 per mensem or above is only 3.64 and of house-holds having 5 acres of land or more 2.39 among the community (Government of Kerala, “Report of the Commission for Reservation of Seats in Educational Institutions, Kerala”, 1965, Pp.50-51). According to the Census of 1961, Muslims form 17.91 percent of the population of the state. Number of students in different standards according to the Report is as follows.

Standard	Number of Muslim Students	Total	Students%	Of Muslims																																							
I	134202	274620	17.98	II	105547	60629	17.4	III	87535	54309	21.6	IV	72370	48437	31.4	V	46775	40827	11.45	VI	33560	35166	19.54	VII	23660	29353	6.06	VIII	18085	24113	9.74	IX	13510	20043	6.74	X	8562	13098	0.65	Total	543806	4005998	13.57

Source: (Government of Kerala, *Report of the Commission for Reservation of Seats in Educational Institutions*

The data shows that when we move to the higher standard, the rate of drop out become higher. The Table 4.4 provides another interesting data. It analyses the ratio of children studying in 10th standard to those studying in 1st standard among various communities in the state. The ratio of High caste Hindus are very high and various Christian communities come next. The position of Muslims is very sad. Their condition is worse than the backward Hindu communities like Ezhavas, Kusava, Vannans and Araya. A study made by a scholar in 1967 reveals the intense backwardness of the Muslim dominated areas in the case facilities for high school education.⁵⁶

(Thiruvananthapuram, 1965), p.125.

A close analysis of the above Table reveals two important facts. First, in all the classes barring first standard the proportion of the percent of the students is lower than the proportion of population. Second, the higher the standards, the less are the number of students. It shows the tendency of dropout on their part. The percent of the number Muslim students in first standard is 17.98. It becomes as low as 6.53 when reaches Tenth. The same Report says that the number of students per thousand population is 2.83. The corresponding number of Ezhavas, another backward community in Kerala is 6.80. The number of persons per thousand who have not completed primary education among Muslims is 829. The corresponding figure for Ezhavas is 707.8 (Government of Kerala, *Report of the Commission for Reservation of Seats in Educational Institutions*, Kerala (Thiruvananthapuram), 1965, p.126. If these were the conditions of School education, one can guess the state of affairs of Muslim community in higher education scene.

⁵⁶ The study divided the taluks of the state into five groups on the basis of the number of high schools for a certain number of people. In the first group there is a high school for population of 5,000 to 10,000. Most of the Christian dominated taluks like Mavelikkara, Kottayam, Changanassery, Thiruvalla, Thodupuzh etc come under this Group. In the second group there is one high high school for a population of 10,000 to 20,000. Most of the taluks in the state come under this group. In the third category there is one high school for a population of 20,000 to 30,000. Muslim dominated taluks like Ponnani, Tirur, Eranad, Perinthalmanna etc come under this category. In the last group there is a high school for a population of 30,000. In this group there are only two hilly taluks – Udumbuchola and Hosdurg. If this is the case of High schools, one can imagine the possibility of colleges (See, C.A.Mohammed, ‘*Vidyabyasa Rangathe Muslim Pinnokkavastha*’ (Malayalam), *Kozhikode District M.E.S.Souvenir* (Kozhikode, 1967), pp.203 – 204).

Table 4.4

Community wise Enrolment of Children in School

Name of Community	Ratio of children of 10th standard to 1st std
Brahmins	1:2
Nair	1:3
Christan(Yacobite)	1:3
Catholics(Syrian)	1:4
Catholics(Lattin)	1:6
Arayan	1:7
Ezhava	1:8
Vannan	1:11
Kusavan	1:13
Muslim	1:16

Source: C.A.Mohammed, '*Vidyabhyas Rangathe Muslim Pinnkkavastha*' (Malayalam), *Kozhikode District M.E.S. Souvenir* (Kozhikode, 1967) p.205.

The situation of the community in the higher level of education both in general and in professional education was very pathetic. In the period 1984-1985, out of the total enrolment of 270368 students in pre-degree, degree and post-graduation classes in various disciplines, only 26,649 were Muslim students. But the number of Christian students was 84686 and others 158033. In other words, the percentage of students in total college enrolment for these three communities were 9.86 per cent, 31.32 percent, and 58.82 per cent respectively.⁵⁷ A detailed study done in the University of Calicut points to this aspect. Out of a total one hundred MBBS seats in Kerala the numbered Muslims that secured selection were always running to single digit during the

⁵⁷ University of Calicut, *Socio-Educational Upliftment of Backward Classes in Malabar Since the Inception of the Calicut University* (Chair for Islamic Studies and Research, 2005), p.18, See also Table 2.15. See also P.Abdul Kareem, n.54.

period 1954-1964.⁵⁸ The same study reveals the utter backwardness of the Muslims in the case of engineering education. “Not only the Muslims lagged behind in respect of actual intake but also the community was in back seats in respect of number qualified applications, percentage of qualified applications on the total of qualified applications”.⁵⁹ The survey conducted by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram also reveals the backwardness of the community with regard to professional or technical education. In the academic year 1961 – 62 there were 4405 students in various polytechnics in the state. Of these the share of Muslim community was 8%. And in the various Engineering Colleges the number of Muslim students was 276. The only Training College run by the Community was Farook Training College in Feroke. Total number of students in the year was 100. The number of Muslims was 5. In the academic year 1961 – 62, the number of Muslim students joined in various colleges in the state was 1850. The number of Muslim students in other professional courses was also not good (See Table 4.5). In short, their position was more backward than the Ezhavas and the Syrian Christians, two major backward communities in Kerala.⁶⁰

Table 4.5
Number of Muslim Students in Professional Courses

Departments	Total Students	Muslims
Pre – agriculture	46	4
Pre – Medical	130	7
Pre – engineering	274	6
Health Inspector Course	103	2
Pre – Dental	15	1
First year Medicine	73	1

Source: P.A.Syed Mohammed, n.61, pp.81.

⁵⁸ University of Calicut, , n, 57, p.15, See also Table 2.9.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p.15, See also Table 2.11

⁶⁰ For Details See, Government of Kerala, n.54.

Under the peculiar socio-political conditions of Kerala, a major share of educational institutions are run and managed by various communities in the state. Whether the ownership of more educational institutions would pave the way for educational upliftment of that particular community is a topic of contention. If we forget that aspect, the conditions of Muslims in this case was also not satisfactory. Major schools were under the management of Hindus or Christians. According to the statistics published by the Department of Education, there were 9710 Schools in the state in 1961 – 62; 2710 schools under Govt. and 7000 Schools run by Private agencies. Of these, the number of Schools run by Muslim management is 653(6.72%).⁶¹ Of the total Lower Primary students, the Percentage of Muslim children was 6.06 (93600 out of a total of 1543594). During the period 1974-1975, out of the grand total of 952 high schools, Hindus constitute 345 and Christians comprise of 464. And the remaining 45 is allotted to Muslims and 98 to other communities. Similarly, the Upper Primary Schools have been allotted to 975, 485, 186, and 93 respectively to Hindu, Christian Muslim and other communities.⁶² In the case of higher education, the community was very backward. In the academic year 1967 – 68, there were 64 first Grade colleges and 42 Junior Colleges in Kerala. Of these, only one First Grade College (1.6%) and 6 Junior Colleges (14.3%) were managed by Muslim community, which constitute about 20% of the state's population.⁶³

One important feature of education in the state is the uneven spread of educational institutions across various regions in the state. On the basis of college education facilities, a study has divided the 55 Taluks in the state into seven categories. In the first category come the taluks where there were no college at all. Most of the hilly taluks of the state such as Devikulam,

⁶¹ P.A.Syed Mohammed, *Kerala Muslim Jama'at Sthithi Vivaranam* (Malayalam) (Kerala Muslim Jama'at Federation, 1962), pp.72.

⁶² University of Calicut, n.57, p.16.

⁶³ C.A.Mohammad, '*Vidyabhyas Rangathe Muslim Pinnokkavastha*' (Malayalam), *Kozhikode District M.E.S. Souvenir*, (Kozhikode, 1967), p.201.

Peerumedu, Udumbuchola, north Wayanad, Hosdurg etc come under this category. One of the Muslim dominated taluk of Ponnani also come in this group. In the second category, there is one college for a population of 5 – 6 lakhs. There is only one taluk in this group – the Muslim dominated taluk of Tirur. In the third and fourth group come all of the Muslim dominated taluks of the state where there is one college for a population of 3 – 4 lakhs and 2 – 3 lakhs people. In short, the study clearly testifies the backwardness of Muslims in the case of higher education. The taluks that have no college or inadequate number of colleges - whether it is in Malabar or Travancore – Cochin area – are Muslim dominated areas.⁶⁴ Another study stressed that, “there is not a single college in 80 miles’ distance between Feroke and Palakkad, which is dominated by Muslim population. The most backward areas in Kerala are Muslim populated areas.”⁶⁵

Performance in SSLC examination is a good indicator of Muslim backwardness in education. Both Muslim community and Muslim-dominated areas showed bad performance in the results. According to the statistics published by the Department of Education about the SSSLC Examination 1982-83, Kottayam district produced the highest number of first class holders i.e. 2780, closely followed by Ernakulam, Trichur and Trivandrum (i.e. 2704, 2647 and 2486 respectively). When community-wise break-up is taken, 1336 Muslim students and 5341 Christian students passed the SSLC in first class. Alleppey district stood first in producing the highest number of first class holders among Muslims, i.e. 428, followed by Ernakulam, i.e. 388. The interesting feature is that in most of the Muslim dominated Malabar region, the performance of Muslim students was poor, a reflection of the general educational backwardness in these areas. It is seen that the total number of first class holders among Muslims account for only 7.61 per cent of the total

⁶⁴ Ibid. See also, University of Calicut, n.57, Table 16, p.19.

⁶⁵ Dr.P.K.Abdul Gafoor, ‘M.E.S Purogathiyil Ninnu Purogathiyilekku’ (Malayalam), *Kozhikode District M.E.S. Souvenir* (Kozhikode, 1967), p.13.

number, while for Christians, the proportion was significantly higher, 30.45 per cent.⁶⁶

Public Service

Kerala's psyche has a tendency that people see education as a means to enter government services. People in Kerala, especially backward communities like Ezhavas, Muslims etc had conducted many struggles for proportional opportunities and equal representation in Government services. Governments had appointed several Commissions to study and submit reports to the Governments. The State Government approved a Budget for the finance year 1961 – 62 showing 47.25 income and 54.01 as expenditure. A major portion of the income in the state budget is spent for salaries of the employees. And proportion in the government jobs is also regarded as an indicator of the development of a community. An elaborate study covering the whole Kerala about various aspects of the Muslim community shows the representation of Muslims in the State Services. According to this data there were a total of 93654 employees in the state services before 1960. Of these the Muslim employees were only 7626 i.e. a percentage of 8.14 only.⁶⁷ More than 2000 men were selected to Government services after 1960. The number of Muslims was only 181.

Economic Conditions

⁶⁶ University of Calicut, n.57, p.17; See also P.Abdul Kareem, n.54.

⁶⁷ The data regarding the number of Muslims in the government services is based on an answer given by the Chief Minister in the Legislative Assembly. It lists the total posts and the posts held by the Muslims in 52 various government departments. In the Government Secretariat total posts were 1476 and the number of Muslims was 73 (4.94 percent). In the Public Service Commission, out of a total 128 posts, the figure of Muslims was (7.03 percent). In the Judiciary the community's share was 284 out of 4866 (5.83 percent). In the revenue department, Muslims held 652 posts out of 11076 (5.88 percent). In the Medical department, out of a total 887 posts Muslims were employed in 57 posts (6.42 percent). In the transport department, their share was 307 (5.07 percent) out of 6050. A separate analysis of the number of employees in the Government Secretariat, Trivandrum, also shows the pitiable conditions of Muslim community (See P.A.Syed Mohammed, n.61). There were about 1441 employees working in the Secretariat in 1960. Muslim employees were only 64(4.4%). The number employees drawing a salary above 200 rupees in the state was 4283. Muslims among them were only 196 (4.57%)(For details see P.A.Syed Mohammed, n.61)

After education, a major factor for the backwardness of Muslims in Kerala was their economic distress. Kumara Pillai Commission has pointed to this aspect also. Among the Muslims, those who earn an amount above 300 rupees per month were only 3.64%. Likewise the percentage of Muslims who owns five acres of land is only 2.39%.⁶⁸

In the state, the primary source of income was agriculture. In total 1635 villages, 53.6% people were depending on agriculture for their livelihood. Average land owned by a person in Kerala was below 30 cents (See Table 4.8). The Survey conducted by Kerala Muslim Jama'at in 2885 *Mahallu*⁶⁹ the financial position of the Muslims depending on agriculture was as follows. About 4% of the people were self-sufficient; 32% were low-income group; the remaining 64 % were living under acute poverty.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Quoted in P.S.Habeeb Mohammed, IAS, '*Muslimkalude Vidyabhyasa Purogathi*' (Malayalam), *Kozhikode District M.E.S. Souvenir* (Kozhikode, 1967), p.42.

⁶⁹ A *Mahallu* is a Muslim village attached to and the under jurisdiction of a *Juma Masjid* (Congregational Mosque). When the Jama'at conducted its survey in 1960 – 61 there 2885 Mahallu Jam'at in Kerala

⁷⁰ P.A.Syed Mohammed, n.61.

Table 4.6
Distribution of Land in Kerala

Character of possession	Number	Muslims
1 Acre and below	1803731	21953
1 to 5 Acres	757943	1967
5 to 10 Acres	153844	608
10 to 15 Acres	51134	429
15 to 25 Acres	45861	378
25 to 50 Acres	26576	171
50 to 100 Acres	8779	62
100 to 200 Acres	2760	47
200to 500 Acres	940	32
500 to 1000 Acres	255	8

Source: P.A.Syed Mohammed, n.61, p.81.

The results of a survey conducted in former Travancore region are important to note. The survey report divided the people into 7 categories on the basis of economic capacity. The place of Muslims is in the third category having less income. The proportion of Muslims in the highest income group is comparatively less (See Table 4.7). If the conditions of the Travancore Muslims were this much retarded, one can guess the conditions Muslims in Malabar.

Table 4.7**Economic Conditions of various Communities**

Community	Below 60 Rupees	Rs 61 - 120	Rs 121 - 180	Rs 181 - 300	Rs 301 - 480	Rs 481 - 840	Above Rs 841	Total
Brahmins	5.1	15.1	12.0	21.0	16.1	13.5	17.2	100
Nair	18.3	33.6	18.3	15.4	7.9	4.1	2.4	100
Ezhavas	23.5	42.0	18.0	10.4	3.2	1.3	0.8	100
Other Hindus	15.6	34.0	21.7	15.5	7.1	3.5	1.8	100
Scheduled Castes	27.6	45.5	15.3	8.1	1.9	0.5	1.1	100
Christian	18.1	33.8	18.8	13.7	5.6	3.2	1.8	100
Muslim	20.3	39.1	18.1	12.9	5.2	2.7	1.8	100
Other Communities	20.5	39.	18.1	12.9	5.2	2.7	1.7	100

Source: Quoted in (P.A.Syed Mohammed, n.61, p.8).

The Survey conducted by Muslim Jam'at reveals the average income of each Muslim family in Kerala (See Table 4.8). In India the average personal income during this period was 288.8 rupees. In Kerala it was 200 rupees. The lowest personal income in Kerala during this period was RS.75. When we compare this figure with that of the Muslims, the backward position of this community can be easily detected. The land reforms made the conditions of Muslims more worse, according to one scholar. Before 1968 the number of landless Muslims were 32.62 percent. In 1986 the percent increased and became 37.0. Those who have two acres of land in 1968 was 8.83 percent. After land reforms, the percent of those who have one acre of land was 2.⁷¹

Table 4.8

⁷¹ NS Survey 1968 and 1986 (Quoted in Prof.K.M.Bahaudheen, 'Kerala Purogathiyil Gulf Malayalikalude Panku' (Malayalam), *Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 09 November 2005).

Income Statement of Muslim Families in Kerala

No.of Families	Monthly Income
2	Above Rs.100
4	75
8	65
15	50
20	40
26	30
21	15
4	12

Source: Source: P.A.Syed Mohammed, n.61, p.93.

Industry is next to agriculture in providing employment for the people. There were about 2, 200 registered working factories in Kerala in 1960. 168400 people were working in these factories. Of these, about 30 factories were under the Government. The percentage of Muslims working in government owned factories were below 5%. No Muslim was working in managerial posts. When thousands of people were working in these factories, the number of Muslims were 945. In the plantation industries, there were 129979 workers. Muslims were only 5%. In the cottage industries and coir industries the proportion of the community was marginal.⁷²

Two important sectors, where majority of the Muslims found work were beedi making industries and fishing – two most ignored and low income-drawing sectors. In the beedi making industries about 3.5 lakhs people were working. Many Muslims were working in this zone. The average wage for beedi making in 1960s was rupees 1.88 for 1000 beedies. The industry, which needs no physical movement for the labourers finally results in deterioration of health and diseases like tuberculosis and rheumatism. Another important sector, where a large section of Muslims found

⁷² P.A.Syed Mohammed, n,61.

employment was fishing. Here, more than 8 lakhs of Keralites found their means of livelihood. About 4 lakhs (50%) of this poor section were from Muslim community. In the long coastal line of Malabar that extends from Fort Cochin to Manjeswaram majority of the fishermen were from Muslim community. For about four months in the monsoon season, these people had to sit indoors struggling with starvation. The literacy rate among this group was 6%. In short, the socio-economic conditions of Muslim community in the decade immediately after the formation of the state were far from satisfactory. The remark made by a scholar regarding the Malabar Muslims is worth mentioning. “Naturally, any option for improving the economic conditions was absent. No wonder, they were the first to avail any opportunity that arose for migration to distant lands.”⁷³

⁷³ K.V.Joseph, *Migration and Economic Development of Kerala* (Mittal Publications, New Delhi. 1988), p.38.

CHAPTER 5

ARABIAN GULF BEFORE the Oil Boom

It is well known that the Gulf nations of the Middle East play an important role in the world economy today and also is a major place of interest for the world nations from the political and diplomatic point of view. The factor behind this development is not far to seek. In the words of a scholar, “By an accident of geography and geology, the eight countries of the Persian Gulf, with a combined territory of 1.7 million square miles (about the size of the western United States) and according to the estimate of 1996 with a total population of about 106,200,000 people - Of which only 962,400 are citizens - (roughly equivalent to Nigeria), sit atop the largest underground pool of oil in the world, some 65 percent of the world’s”.¹ By 1970’s, limitless financial resources flowed into the hands of the Arabs but their populations were too small and lacked the training and experience to undertake the massive and urgent tasks of nation-building. The only answer was to import foreign labour, and it was soon organized on an arduous scale.

The Arab Gulf states are unique in the world in their reliance on imported labor. In 1995, expatriates reportedly comprised 90 percent of the work force in the United Arab Emirates, 83 percent in Qatar, 82 percent in Kuwait, 69 percent in Saudi Arabia and 60 percent in Bahrain. In the mid-1990’s, up to 40 percent of Saudi Arabia’s annual oil revenue was repatriated to other countries in the form of remittances for foreign labor.²

“The rise of the Gulf to global importance has been an affair of the past three decades before that the region tended to be seen as something of a

¹ Gray G.Sick and Lawrence G.Potter eds, *The Persian Gulf of the Millennium: Essays in Politics, Economy, Security and Religion* (St. Martin’s Press, New York, 1997), p.7.

² Ibid. p.9.

back water both by westerners and by other Middle Easterners”.³ We hope that this chapter which approach six Gulf nations (excluding Iran and Iraq) from the perspective of their social and economic conditions that existed before the beginning of international migration will provide some useful insights into the incentives that attracted millions of foreign labour force including those from Malabar to this region.

Towards the close of the 19th century the entire region on the shore of the Persian Gulf with a few exceptions passed into the hands of the British. Britain followed a clearly outlined policy aimed at preserving her exclusive position in the Gulf and preventing any outside interference in the Gulf and entered into treaties with the sheikhs of various regions.⁴ The rulers in exchange for protection agreed to surrender their external sovereignty.⁵ Thus, in the first half of the 20th century the region contained ‘a string of small and traditionally-run Arab states which were effectively under British suzerainty.’⁶ “The economic and social scene was equally rudimentary. There was virtually none of the infrastructure normally regarded as necessary. There were no roads, no motorized transport, no hospital, no electricity, no running water, indifferent housing and rudimentary shopping facilities in the main towns. In short, society in the Gulf states before the advent of oil was very simple, very traditional and very conservative”.⁷

³ R.I.Lawless ed, ‘The Gulf in the Early 20th Century: Foreign Institutions and Local Responses’, Occasional Paper Series, No.31 (University of Durham, England, 1986), p.2.

⁴ Treaties were signed between Britain and the Sheikh of Bahrain in 1820, 1880,1892; with the Sheikh of Qatar in 1868 and 1916; the Sultan of Muscat and Oman in 1891; the Sheikhs of Trucial Oman (Abudhabi, Dubai, Sharja, Rasal Khaima, Ummul Quwain Ajman and Fujaira) in 1892, the Sheikh of Kuwait in 1899.

⁵ “They undertook not to enter into any agreement or correspondence except through the British Government , not to permit the residence of any foreign agent except with British consent and also not to cede, sell or mortgage any part of their respective territories except to the British government” (Ian Seccombe and Richard Lawless, ‘The Gulf Labour Market and the early oil Industry: Traditional Structures and New Forms of Organisation’, Occasional Paper Series, No.31 (University of Burham, England, 1986), p.93.

⁶ R.I.Lawless, n.3, p.4.

⁷ J.B.Bannerman, ‘The Impact of the Oil Industry on Society in the Arabian Peninsula’, Occasional Paper Series, No.31 (University of Burham, England, 1986), p.78.

Prior to the discovery of oil, the small population of the Persian Gulf area was predominantly rural, comprised of nomads and semi-nomads working the land, and fishermen along the coast. The small urban populations were engaged in trading on routes that extended as far afield by sea to Southeast Asia and East Africa, and by land into the Levant and North Africa. Overall, the Gulf area population lived off a traditional subsistence economy, and was in a particularly poor state after the collapse of the pearl industry in the 1920s. The main occupation of the people living in the coastal area before 1920s was trade in pearls. It was estimated that more than 74, 000 men were working in pearling at the turn of the century.⁸ In the mid-1920s the introduction of cheap Japanese cultured pearls led to the decline of this industry.

Labor migration is not new to the Gulf region, which has a long history of international trade across the Indian Ocean and economic activities connected with the *Hajj*. In addition, there has been considerable internal migration within the Gulf coast region. However, migration for wage employment is a recent phenomenon. Since the establishment of the oil industry in the 1930s, the Gulf area has been a magnet for large numbers of migrant workers, coming from other Arab countries and from Western Asia and the Indian subcontinent to work both in the developing oil industry, and in the growing service sectors.

Oil was first discovered at Masjid-i-Suleiman in South West Persia in 1908 and the first oil company – Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APCO) was formed in 1909. Bahrain was the second region to be blessed with the oil reserves. The discovery was in 1932. Thereafter, the attention of the whole world was turned to the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf.

⁸ Ian Seccombe and Richard Lawless, n.5, p.96.

Bahrain

Bahrain is an archipelago of 33 islands in the Southern Persian Gulf. It has a total area of 707 square kilo metres. It was in Bahrain Oil was first discovered after Persia in 1932. Its net earning from oil leaped from \$68 million in 1972 to \$ 528 million in 1977. By the last of 1970s, the state entered a phase of dynamic developmental ventures like construction of roads, schools, hospitals, airport, electric power and water supply. However “Bahrain’s labour supply during this period has been insufficient to meet the demands of these areas of investments, the expansion of its social services, and the growth of its trade”.⁹

Bahrain has a commercial tradition of thousands of years. Compared with other neighbouring Gulf countries Bahrain’s revenue from oil was not so high. The annual income per capita of nationals in 1970 was \$195, compared with \$3,599 for Kuwait and \$6,368 for Qatar.¹⁰ As early as 1932, Bahrain’s wells produced about 84 barrels per day. By 1940, the average output per day had been raised to 19,380 barrels, and reached a maximum in 1970 of 76,640 barrels, per day.¹¹ Since Bahrain was the first nation to develop oil refining, the other nation especially Saudi Arabia depended Bahrain for refining petroleum. The discovery of large reserves of natural gas raised Bahrain’s oil-based revenue. In 1975, Natural gas reserves in the country were estimated to be between 8,000 and 11,000 billion cubic feet.¹²

The human resources of the nation before 1970s were not remarkable. In 1971, out of a total work force of 60,300, the number of migrants were 22,350 (37.1%). But the developmental projects drew in a large number of

⁹ Myron Weiner, ‘International Migration and Development; Indians in the Persian Gulf’, *Population and Development Review*, 8, No.1 (New York, March, 1982), p.16

¹⁰ J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, *Arab Man Power: The Crisis of Development* (St..Martin’s Press, New York), p.163.

¹¹ Government of Bahrain, *Annual Report 1973-1974, Bahrain Petroleum Compny*, Bahrain, 1975 (Quoted in JS.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.163).

¹² J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.164.

migrants and by 1976 both their number and percentage increased. The total number of labourers in the year was 76,990 and the migrant's share was 30,180 (39.2%). Indian migrants, which was 3,790 in April 1971(16.9 %) increased to 13,200 (33.2%) in June 1977.¹³ The Ten Thousand Scheme, a programme initiated by the government in 1980, to train ten thousand Bahraini nationals for positions currently held by expatriates show how much Bahrain depend on expatriate labour.

Kuwait

Kuwait is situated on the north –western coast of the Persian Gulf. The country is bordered on the north and north-east by Iraq, on the east by the Persian Gulf, and south by Saudi Arabia. Its total area including some islands is 17,818 square kilo metres. Petroleum was discovered in Kuwait in 1938, but not extracted until 1947. The oil era actually started in late 1940s and early 1950s due to the Second World War. The country became fully independent on 19 June 1961 when the protection of Britain ended. Its small national population and extraordinarily high gross national product as a result of its high oil production (2.5 million barrels a day, about a tenth of the output in the Middle East) combine to give Kuwait the worlds highest per capita income. It was \$17,100 in 1979 well above that of the United States (\$10,630), and even well ahead of Saudi Arabia (\$7,280).¹⁴

The major influx of migrant workers to Kuwait has been a function of both internal and external factors and conditions. Internally, the fundamental factor has been the lack of sufficient manpower in a constantly growing economy. While the supply of local manpower was limited, both in quality and quantity, in the traditional economy prior to the discovery of oil, so too

¹³ Government of Bahrain, *Census 1971* (Statistical Bureau, Ministry of Finance and National Economy, Manama, 1971).

¹⁴ The World Bank, *The World Development Report, 1980* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1981), p.135.

was demand. With the beginning of oil exploitation in 1940s and the need to develop a modern economy, the demand could no longer be met by the local supply, creating the need for the import of foreign labor.¹⁵

During the 1950s, the continued flow of foreign workers into Kuwait resulted from the heavy labor demand in the growing construction sector, the expanding consumer market, and the rapidly growing government bureaucracy. After the “oil boom,” the pace of economic development was accelerated, resulting in an expansion of the government sector, ambitious industrial development plans, rapid expansion of the physical infra structure, and a marked increase in the standard of living. Because of its small population, Kuwait was forced to attract foreign workers, and it did so with great speed by providing for easy entry to the country.

The most important pull factor for the foreign workers in Kuwait was economic. Kuwait offered higher salaries than did most countries in the Middle East, including the other oil-exporting countries in the Persian Gulf. Moreover, consumer goods were relatively inexpensive, since VAT (Value Added Tax) was not imposed in Kuwait. Consequently, Kuwait attracted large numbers of workers from other Arab countries and from Southeast Asia seeking employment in Kuwait in order to acquire consumer goods. Another major pull factor was the free health care and education services available to all residents in the country, including the accompanying family members of the foreign workers. After the Gulf war, however, these services were no longer provided to foreign workers

According to the ruling Sheikhs, the oil was a national asset and they decided to share the revenue with the citizens through the provision of free

¹⁵ Onn Winkler, ‘Demographic Developments and Population Policies in Kuwait’ (The Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel, August 1998), pp. 36-39.

and compulsory social services.¹⁶ The expansion of social services, construction projects and launching of new industries called for the imported labour force. The demographic development in Kuwait from 1960s shows the importance of foreign population in Kuwait. An analysis of Kuwait's population shows the dominance of foreigners from 1960s. Most of Kuwait's industry is manned by expatriates, and in a sense Kuwait has exchanged one kind of dependence (on oil) for another (on expatriates).¹⁷

The crude activity rate (number of active persons divided by total population) amongst the Kuwaitis was only 18.8 percent in 1970. During this period Kuwait embarked on five-year development plan comprising a total of \$15 billion.¹⁸ Despite the government's serious efforts, about 44.6 percent of Kuwaitis were illiterate in 1975. The developmental activities that started since 1950s got a sudden boost since 1973 after the oil price hike. Kuwait's development plan allocation for the period 1976-1981 was \$15,289 billion.¹⁹ Total employment in the country rose by 63,000 between 1970 and 1975 at an annual rate of 4.7 percent. Kuwait Census in 1975 shows that the share of Kuwait's labour in two important sectors was very low. In manufacturing sector the share of Kuwaitis was only 9 percent; and in construction 5.5 percent was their share.²⁰ "There is no question that without the assistance of migrants, Kuwait would still have a largely undeveloped economy".²¹

In less than ten years after the beginning of the export of oil, the Kuwaiti population already enjoyed free health services which few other countries in the Middle East were able to provide. The results were soon evident. Whereas in 1949, there were only two hospitals with a total of 200

¹⁶ Onn Winkler, n.15.

¹⁷ J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.33.

¹⁸ The Times, "Focus on Kuwait", 12 July, 1977(Quoted in J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10 p.36)

¹⁹ Ibid.p.11.

²⁰ Government of Kuwait, *Census 1975* (Ministry of Planning, Kuwait, 1976), Table 14, p.39 (Quoted in J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.45).

²¹ J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.53.

beds, by 1962 there were eight governmental hospitals, and by 1983, there were 15 with about 5,500 beds. By 1992, there was one hospital bed for every 347 persons. While in 1960, the physician per capita ratio in Kuwait was 1:1,210, it had fallen to 1:590 in 1980, and to 1:551 by 1992. The nurse per capita ratio had also declined, from 1:270 in 1960, to 1:220 in 1990.

The high rates of natural increase of the Kuwaiti national population, an ongoing process for more than four decades, has resulted in a wide base of the age pyramid. In 1970, the percentage of the population below the age of 15 was 49.4, increasing slightly to 49.5% in 1986.

One result of the high proportion of the young in Kuwait's population is the low rate of labor force participation. In 1957, the work force rate of the nationals was 30.6%. Those of non-nationals was 69.4%. The work force rate went on decreasing and those of non-nationals went on increasing. After 40 years, the rate of nationals and non-nationals was 16.3% and 83.7% respectively (See the table 5.1).

Table 5.1

Kuwait – National and Non-National Work Force 1957 – 1996

Year	Nationals	%	Non-Nationals	%	Total
1957	24,602	30.6	55,686	69.4	80,288
1965	43,018	23.3	141,279	76.7	184,297
1970	65,369	27.0	176,827	73.0	242,196
1975	91,844	30.2	212,738	69.8	304,582
1980	107,760	21.9	383,749	78.1	491,509
1985	126,410	18.9	543,975	81.1	670,385
1990	118,00	13.9	731,00	86.1	849,00
1995	172,385	17.0	843,344	83.0	1,015,729
1996	176,329	16.3	907,234	83.7	1,083,563

Source: Onn Winkler, n.15, Table-8, p.40.

Oman

Oman is situated on the south-eastern coast of the Arabian peninsula. It is bordered on the north by the Gulf of Oman, on the east and south by the

Arabian Sea, on the south-west by the Republic of Yemen, on the west by the 'Empty Quarter' of Saudi Arabia and the north-west by the United Arab Emirates. Oman has an area of about 309,500 square kilometres. Before 1970, Oman was one of the more isolated and under developed countries of the world.²² The overthrowing of Sultan Said ibn Taimur by his son, the present Sultan, with the help of the British, marked a new era in Oman's history. The development of oil production in Oman in 1967 and the change of Government in 1970, initiated a new era in the country's modernization.²³ Under the new government, a series of developmental projects were triggered throughout the country. Important industrial units were started in cement, petro-chemicals, glass making, oil refineries etc. New roads and pipelines were built. Since much of the Omani labour force is engaged in agriculture, and many educated Omanis had left the country and above all since Oman's educational system was under developed, there was a shortage of trained manpower in the country. "The pace of development has been too fast here. But the people here are unprepared. They want consumer goods, no education".²⁴ Sultanate of Oman ranks eleventh in the League of Middle Eastern Oil Exporters. Before 1970, that is during the reign of Sultan Said ibn Taimur, Oman and Muscat was under stagnation and the region was isolated from other Gulf states and the even the movement of the people outside the region was restricted.²⁵ Regarding the population of the country, early seventies lacks paucity of data. Various studies have put different figures. According to one estimate, the estimated number was 435,000.²⁶ Another study has put the figure as 550,000.²⁷

²² Myron Weiner, n.9, p.19.

²³ Ibid.p.20.

²⁴ Ibid. p.21.

²⁵ For details, See, I.Skeet, *Muscat and Oman: The End of an Era* (London, 1974).

²⁶ Whitehead Consulting Group, *Sultanate of Oman: Economic Survey* (London, 1972).

²⁷ J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, *The Sultanate of Oman: Economic Development, The Domestic Labour Market and International Migration* (ILO, Geneva, 1978), Pp.3-6.

Till 1970, the educational system of Oman was traditional in the sense that people received only learning in Quran and Islamic *shariah* in village-based *Khuttab* schools. The only institutions that provided modern education were three government primary schools, some secondary teaching in Muscut, Matra and Salala and an American Mission school which provided limited elementary education.²⁸

Oman, though considered as one of the Arab Gulf states, it is in reality different from other Gulf states in terms of population, area and oil revenue. Oman ranks about eleventh in the League of Middle Eastern oil exporters. In 1967, the export of petroleum was only 20.9 million barrels. In 1975 it increased to 124.8 barrels. The rapid growth of development triggered under the Sultan Qaboos and the booming economy was with the help of imported labour. In 1975, out of the total 207,700 employment in Oman 70,700 (34.0%) were expatriates.²⁹ Of these 26,000 labourers were from India.³⁰ Unlike other GCC countries, the dependence on expatriate labour is remarkable in the case of Oman, for two reasons: (a) Oman is not really a capital-rich country; and (b) Oman is itself a labour exporter.³¹ The reason for this heavy dependence on migrant labour may be because of two reasons. First, the inexperienced and poorly qualified indigenous labour force to meet the challenges. Second, with small oil reserves and falling revenue the people and the government still keep the aspirations of a highly wealthy oil sheikhdom.³²

²⁸ J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.178.

²⁹ J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, *International Migration and Development in the Arab Region* (International Labour Office, Geneva, 1980), p.132, Table.8..

³⁰ Ibid.p.148, Table.32

³¹ S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p, 62.

³² J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.29, p.60.

Qatar

It is a peninsula, which is bordered on the south by Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. It has an area of about 11,427 square kilo metres. Oil was discovered in 1937 but the export was started in 1949 only. According to the census of 1970, Qatar had a population of 111,133 persons. Of these only 45,000 (40.5%) were Qataris.³³ The level of literacy in 1970 was very low in this country. About 57.4 percent nationals in the age group of 20-29 were illiterate. The percentage of the age group of 30-39 was 81. The older the age group, the more was the percentage of illiteracy.³⁴ Out of the total of 1,066 male teachers, only 190 were Qataris. Of the total 1,106 female teachers only 372 were Qataris.³⁵

In 1975, the daily petroleum production of Qatar was 439000 barrels per day.³⁶ The revenue increase of the country was at a high pace since 1973. In 1970, it was \$480 million. In 1977, it rose to \$2,270 million, a fivefold increase. In 1972 the assumption of power by Sheikh Khalifa bin al-Thani marked the beginning of various constructional and social activities in the country.³⁷ The oil price hike of 1973 gave Qatar a great chance to put immense capital in various infrastructures required by the country. The state entered a phase of industrialization in both oil and non-oil ventures. In 1973, the minister for finance and petroleum, Sheikh Abdul Aziz Khalifa al-Thani, announced an expenditure of \$1,500 million on industrial projects, to broaden the base of economy.³⁸ The project included both heavy and light industries

³³ Government of Qatar, *Census 1970* (Ministry of information, Qatar, 1970), Table 13.

³⁴ Ibid. Table 9.

³⁵ Government of Qatar, *Annual Report 1976/1977* (Ministry of Education, Doha, 1978), p.81 (Quoted in J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.61).

³⁶ J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.29, p.62.

³⁷ Manoli Abdullah Haji, Madappalli, Vatakara, Kozhikode, one of the early migrants we interviewed, revealed the backwardness of Qatar before 1960. When he reached in Qatar in 1954, he says that any one who knows 'abcd' would get white collar jobs. He was the chief clerk in the State Engineering Department at a salary of Rs.450 per month. He also revealed that the only one concrete building in Doha was a hotel named 'Bismillah Hotel' managed by one Hamza from Kasrgod.

³⁸ S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.66.

like cement, fertilizer, gas liquids plant, petro chemicals, steel, bricks, tiles, paper tissues, paints, detergents, cosmetics, PVC products, batteries, car, tyres, glass products etc. This industrial development required a significant number of labour for which the country had no option but to rely on supply from outside Qatar. For example, the total employment available in the country in 1975 was about 66,000 of which the Qataris were only 12,500 (19 per cent).³⁹In 1975, out of a total work force of 53,716, Indian contribution was 16,000 (29.8 per cent).

Saudi Arabia

The country is bordered on the north by Jordan, Iraq and Kuwait; on the east by the Persian Gulf and Qatar; on the south-east by the UAE and Oman and on the south by the Republic of Yemen and on the west by the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba. It has an area of 2,240,000 square kilo metres. The oil was discovered in Ad Damman in 1938. The Arab American Oil Company (ARAMCO) soon after. The country has the largest reserves of petroleum (26 percent) in the world. “Saudi Arabia, in terms of geographical area, oil reserves and production, population and economy, is on an entirely larger scale than the other Gulf states”.⁴⁰ The total population of Saudi Arabia in 1974/75 was 6,154,940. Of these the nationals were 4,592,540 (74.6 per cent). Number of total employment during this period was 1,799,800. Of theses the nationals were only 1,026,400 (57.0 percent).⁴¹The kingdom’s share in world’s oil production was 14.5 per cent in 1976. During this period the Kingdom’s oil output was 8.6 million barrels per day.⁴² The educational level of the people was very pathetic in 1974. According to one study, out of a total 3,836,183 persons 2,540,499 were illiterate (66.2 per cent). The illiteracy rate

³⁹ Ibid. p.68.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p.92.

⁴¹ Ibid. p.97.

⁴² Government of Saudi Arabia, *Annual Report 1977* (Saudi Arabia Monetary Agency, Riyadh, 1977), Table, 12, p.125.

among the females was 81.3.⁴³The *Development Plan 1975-80* envisaged a detailed plan for economic and social development. Total expenditure planned was \$41.2 billion. The aims are: to achieve a high rate of economic growth; to exploit the mineral resources of Saudi Arabia; to achieve independence from oil as a source of national income; to develop the kingdom's infrastructure and to develop human resources. "But the more serious drawback than the financial cost was the lack of infrastructure and manpower to execute parts of this plan".⁴⁴

United Arab Emirates

UAE is a federation of seven independent states lying along the coast of Arabian peninsula formerly called the Trucial States (from the perpetual maritime truce signed with Great Britain in 1853). It is bordered on the north by Qatar, and the Persian Gulf, on the East by the Gulf of Oman, and on the south and west by Saudi Arabia. The area of UAE is 83,600 square kilometres.

In 1968 the United Kingdom announced its decision (reaffirmed in March 1971) to end the treaty relationships with the seven Trucial Coast states and to withdraw British military forces from the area. In March 1968, the Trucial Coast states joined Bahrain and Qatar (which had also been under British protection) to form the Federation of Arab Emirates, but Bahrain and Qatar seceded from the federation in 1971, opting for independence. In July 1971, six of the Trucial States (Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Al Fujayrah, Dubai, Sharjah, and Umm al Qaywayn) agreed on a federal constitution for achieving independence as the United Arab Emirates. Ras al Khaima joined the Emirates later.

⁴³ J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, 'The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Libyan Jamahiriya: The Key Countries of Employment', World Employment Programme Working Paper, ILO, Geneva, 1979 Table 20, P.61.

⁴⁴ J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.104.

Now the United Arab Emirates is a federation of seven Emirates: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm-al-Quwain, Ras al-Khaimah, al-Fujairah. The federation was established in 1971, a mere nine years after oil began to be exported. Until then, the Emirates had no boundaries, no roads, no newspapers, no telephones, and no electricity.⁴⁵ In a short time, oil has made the United Arab Emirates one of the richest countries in the world. In 1980, the United Arab Emirates was rated the wealthiest country in the world with a per capita GNP of US\$28'000 — in fact, closer to US\$100'000 per citizen.⁴⁶ “Oil income accounted for 88 per cent of total Government revenue over the period 1975–85”.⁴⁷ Oil has given the United Arab Emirates the opportunity to break regional and international records in urban development and economic growth. Today, Abudhabi, the most important emirate of the UAE has some 9.5 percent of the world’s proven oil reserves and around 5 percent of the world natural gas reserves.⁴⁸

The UAE is perhaps the best example of a capital-rich state suffering from severely limited indigenous human resources, but experiencing spectacular economic growth.⁴⁹ First school in UAE (then Trucial States) was established in 1953 in Sharjah by the combined efforts of Kuwait and United

⁴⁵ The descriptions made by the early migrants show how Dubai in those days was. Manoli Abdullah Haji, Madapplai, Vatakara, Kozhikode, who reached in Dubai in 1954 after spending a few months in Qatar revealed that the only one concrete building in Dubai city was a hotel named ‘Qadar Hotel’ managed by one Keralite. All other buildings were *jopadas* (buildings made of palm leaves and palm branches). He also says that the only one doctor in Abudhabi who treated the patients was a veterinary doctor. There was not a single Post Office in all UAE (then Trucial State). The Post Office was in Bahrain and the mail came from there would be kept in front of a shop. People have to go through these heaps of letters to get for theirs. M.K.Khalid Haji, Vengoor, Malappuram another migrant, who reached Dubai in 1958, said that there was not even a single toilet in the city either for Arabs or for non-Arabs. They used the sea banks for their primary needs. See also, Michael Tomkinson, *The United Arab Emirates* (Hammamet, Tunisia, 1975); See also, Abdullah Omran Taryan,, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates: 1950-1985* (Groom Helm, London, 1987).

⁴⁶ Rima Sabban, ‘United Arab Emirates: Migrant Women in the United Arab Emirates, The Case of Female Domestic Workers’, Genrom Working Paper No.10, Series on Women (Gender Promotion Programme and Migration, ILO, Geneva), p.2.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Engineer Hazem H.Qawasmeh, *Abudhabi: Population, Economy and Development*, (Environment Agency, Abu Dhabi, March 2006), p.16.

⁴⁹ J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, n.10, p.72.

Kingdom. Kuwait paid for the teachers and materials, the UK for the building. Until UAE could afford the expense this support continued. This alone reveals the quality of manpower in the Trucial States before the oil boom. This limited exposure to modern and technical education abated the proportion of experienced and educated nationals in the Trucial states.

Among the indigenous work force in 1968, only 13 per cent had formal education.⁵⁰ In 1975, total employment in the UAE was 296,516.⁵¹ Of these indigenous workers were only a small minority (15 per cent). In 1970, educated females represented only four per cent of the population; in 1993, the proportion had reached 80 per cent.⁵² Before 1960, there were few hospitals and the population relied on traditional folk medicine.⁵³ The country was endowed with a high level of “pull factors” for foreign migrants and so its economy was becoming almost fully driven by migrants. The nationals were only concentrated in the federal sectors.⁵⁴

The United Arab Emirates attracts both male and female migrants. Since the mid-1980's, female migrants have increasingly dominated the influx of workers, especially in the area of domestic work and personal services, in roles previously fulfilled by men in United Arab Emirates society. In the United Arab Emirates, a domestic worker (or *bishkar*, in the local language) was traditionally a man but may now be a woman as well. The United Arab Emirates grants an average of 300 visas every day to domestic helpers. Official Ministry of Interior statistics reported that 116,083 visas were given

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.74.

⁵¹ Government of UAE, *Census 1975* (Ministry of Planning Abu Dhabi, 1976).

⁵² Rima Sabban, n.46, p.12.

⁵³ Engineer Hazem H. Qawasmeh, n.48, p.30.

⁵⁴ The 1995 Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) report on the United Arab Emirates sees this dominance as a major risk to internal stability: “One of the potential threats to internal security is the minority status of the indigenous population. Despite efforts to redress the balance by introducing programs to employ more United Arab Emirates nationals, this problem is not going to go away and is likely to get worse” (Economist Intelligence Unit, 1995–96, Country Profile, United Arab Emirates, London, p.7).

to domestics in 1999. An average of three domestic servants is reported to be working in each United Arab Emirates household.

As revealed in the foregoing discussion, the indigenous labour available were not resourceful enough to meet the developmental projects triggered by the ruling Sheikhs in their countries especially after the oil boom. Naturally, Gulf became an eldorado for the unemployed people of Kerala who had already a tradition in migration to Malaysia, Ceylon, Burma etc and who had a cultural and commercial affinity with the Arabia and the Arab people. A large number of workers from India especially from the northern parts of Kerala reached the Arab Gulf through informal channels sacrificing their life against the adverse conditions both on journey and on arrival. In course of time, this small movement became a big flow the effects of which became great catalysts of the socio-economic and cultural transformation of the nation in general and the state of Kerala in particular.

CHAPTER 6

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS AND INDIA

“To study a banyan tree, you not only must know its main stem in its own soil, but also must trace the growth of its greatness in the further soil, for then you can know the true nature of its vitality. The civilization of India, like the banyan tree, has shed its beneficent shade away from its own birth place ...India can live and grow by spreading about not the political India but the ideal India.”¹

In the previous chapter we have analysed the distinct socio – cultural and economic features that distinguished Malabar from the other two – thirds of the state – Travancore and Cochin. In the present chapter, we intend to examine the various streams of International migrations that India witnessed in the past. The migrations from Kerala and Malabar are part and parcel of migration from India. It started and developed along with the migrations from other parts of the country. So, a brief general look into the migratory traditions of the country is attempted here.

The extract cited in the beginning of this chapter is taken from a letter written by Tagore to C.F. Andrews. In this letter, Rabindranath Tagore depicts the role of Overseas Indians, who are now living in more than a hundred nations. On 10th August 1972, the then Deputy Minister Surendra Pal Singh, speaking in the Lokh Sabha stated that about 3,400,000 people of Indian origin were settled abroad.² A report of the Canadian Indian Times published on 1 September 1980 said that the people of Indian origin are scattered through the world and that these people have accepted citizenship in

¹ See Hugh Tinker, *The Banyan Tree: Overseas Emigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1971), p.1.

² Ibid, p.11,

as many as 91 countries.³ This figure is about half of that of overseas Chinese and about 8 times more than that of overseas Pakistanis.

Background

In the early years of the 19th century the tropical and sub – tropical colonies of European powers witnessed wide expansion and consequent production of cash crops especially plantation crops such as sugar, tea, coffee, rubber etc.⁴ The situation called for a large workforce. Since the region was sparsely populated and the indigenous people engaged in some traditional occupations, the labourers were recruited from outside, mainly Negroes from Africa.⁵ For years, sugar cultivation in these colonies of Britain solely depended on imported slaves. The crisis that began by the abolition of slave trade in 1807 reached its summit in 1834 when slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire.⁶

The Act of Emancipation passed by the British Parliament had involved certain clauses so as to meet the exigencies that the emancipation may cause. These include:

- 1) The liberated slaves will be the apprentices to the old masters for a period of six years.
- 2) During the period of apprenticeship, the old masters will educate the slaves how to lead a free life.

³ Prakash C Jain, 'Indians Abroad: A Current Population Estimate', *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 20 February 1982), p.299.

⁴ For example, in Mauritius, the production of sugar which was 1 million lb in 1809 rose to 24 million lb in 1824. In the years between 1825 and 1829, the average annual production was 42 million lb. i.e. an annual increase of more than 100 per cent. In other colonies also, production increased sharply.

⁵ The number of slaves working in Mauritius was 87,352 in 1815 and 80,000 in 1819.

⁶ When the Act passed in 1833 and made it a law in the following year, a slave population of around 665,000 were freed in British Caribbean alone (See B.W.Higman, *Slave Population of the British Caribbean 1807 - 1834* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1984)). The slave population of the British West Indies declined from 800,000 to 650,000 between 1808 and 1830 (Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830-1920* (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1974), p.1).

- 3) The apprentices are obliged for 40 hours of unpaid work for their old masters each week.
- 4) A stipulated amount will be granted by the government as compensation to slave owners.

As a matter of course, the clauses in the Emancipation Act, especially apprenticeship did not work properly. Conflict arose between the emancipated slaves and their old masters. Much of the former slaves withdrew from the plantations. In essence, the apprenticeship was a half way point between slavery and freedom. The former masters on their part made the apprentices work hard during the hours of bounded labour. The slave apprentices on the other hand demanded exorbitant wages after the promised forty hours of work. There was also an ego problem. The planters could not adapt with these freed people who were once their slaves, and liberated slaves could not forget the bitter experiences at the hands of their old masters. The total outcome was a big shortage of labour in various sugar plantations. The picture is vividly depicted in the words of Governor Higginson. “The almost total absence of the emancipated race from plantation is a striking feature in our social economy. They took various profession from cultivation to poultry farming.”⁷ “For a time, planters attempted to keep the ex – slaves labouring on estates through many means, including offers of huts, provision grounds and wages”.⁸

The offering of high wages and the introduction of new machineries by some planters to meet the challenge did not prove successful. The only alternative was to import labour from outside. The first move towards this direction was made by Jamaica by importing labourers from various North

⁷ *Royal Commission Report*, pp 76 – 77 (Quoted in Panchanan Saha, *Emigration of Indian Labour 1834-1900* (People’s Publishing House, New Delhi, 1970), p.7

⁸ Steven Vertovec, ‘Indian Indentured Migration to the Caribbean’, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed, Robin Cohen (Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.57.

European countries. Due to several reasons, the experiment turned out to be a failure. A new venture was tried by exporting Negro workers from various African countries. But from the very beginning, this move also proved to be disappointing.

The planters now thought of China and India, two Asian countries having abundant manpower to meet their demands. There were many difficulties in procuring Chinese labourers in addition to high cost of their importation. So, the remaining option was India. “ The Indians, on the other hand, had a disciplined culture adapted to tropical agriculture, and they were willing to work. The huge Indian population was an inexhaustible reservoir of manpower, sufficiently advanced to be ready to migrate but insufficiently backward to accept cheap terms. India was under the British, whose empire controlled most of the tropical lands where plantation agriculture was practised. Under these circumstances it was only natural that an exodus from India should arise at the time of it did”.⁹Mr.Crawford in his Minute points out the qualities of Indian labourer in the following words, “From all the inconvenient prejudices of Hindustan, they are wholly free. But “they must be paid the full value of their labour, or otherwise there will no making anything of them. In a word they must be treated with the same consideration as any class of British labourers. If they are not, they become inevitably discontented, disorderly and roguish.”¹⁰

Thus started the emigration of Indian labourers first to West Indian colonies of Trinidad, Jamaica, and Guiana followed by Mauritius. Slowly South Africa, Fiji, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya etc also became their destinations. This only means a steady flow of migration. Even before that Indians were working in various parts of the world. For example even as early as 1790

⁹ Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan* (Russell & Russell, New York), p.102.

¹⁰ C.O 318/160 1 September 1843. Memorandum of I. Crawford in Respect of Chinese Immigration into the West Indies (Quoted in Panchanan Saha, n.7, p.16.)

there were 1000 Indians settled in Malaysia.¹¹ In the initial stage, the recruitment was mainly from tribal areas. The ‘hill coolies’ as they were called, mainly hailed from various districts of Bengal Presidency. Gradually the recruitment was extended to other parts of the country.

Types of Migration

On the basis of historical analysis, the international migrations occurred so far in India can be broadly classified under two heads i.e. ‘assisted migration’ and ‘unassisted migration’. Five major international migrations that took place in India and which are mentioned below come under one of these two categories.

1. Indenture System of Migration

It was an assisted system of migration carried out under the patronage of British government. “Under the Indenture System, a prospective employer of labour placed an order with a recruiting agent based in India for the supply of a stipulated number of labourers. The recruiting agent thereupon sent his subordinate contract – men into the villages and picked the required number of men. These men, on signing a contract, were said to be under ‘indenture’ to the employer for a period of five years. This meant that they did not have the right to change their employer or employment. At the end of this period, they could be re-indentured for a further five years, or released from the indenture”.¹² It was the indenture system that supplied most of the Indian labourers to Malaysia, Burma and Ceylon in the second half of the 19th century. It was the so – called ‘Push factors’ probably had more to do with migrants’ decision to indenture themselves abroad than did the ‘pull factors’

¹¹ Kernial Singh Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya* (Cambridge University Press, 1969), p.47.

¹² Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Indians in Malaysia and Singapore* (Oxford University Press, 1970), p.11. For a detailed account of indenture system of migration See, Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Migration 1830-1920* (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1974).

of promised opportunities.¹³ “The transportation *en masse* of Indians through the indenture system was a direct consequence of British penetration into the entire economic and social fabric of Indian society. The introduction of landlordism, excessive revenue demands, commercialisation of agriculture, change in rent in kind to cash, decline of indigenous handicrafts, discriminatory taxation on Indian goods, and persistent famines and pestilence were among the many reasons for migration, which offered the only avenue of hope to many.”¹⁴ Nagapatnam was the chief port of departure and the labourers recruited were mainly South Indians. Towards the close of the 19th century, the system came under vehement criticism from various corners. The British Collector of Tanjore called it a regular system of kidnapping.¹⁵ The speech made by Gopala Krishna Gokhale, the popular Indian leader in the Imperial Council, while introducing the motion for the abolition of indenture system summarises the attitude of Indian nationalism towards the system.

Under this system, those who are recruited bind themselves, first to go to a distant and unknown land, the language usage and customs of which they do not know, and where they have no friends or relatives. Secondly, they bind themselves to work for an employer to whom they may be allotted, whom they do not know, and who does not know them, and in whose choice they have no voice. Thirdly, they bind themselves to live there on the estate of the employer, must not go anywhere without a special permit, and must do whatever tasks are assigned to them, no matter however irksome those tasks may be. Fourthly, the binding is for a certain fixed period, usually five years, during which time they cannot voluntarily withdraw from the contract and have no means of escaping from its hardships, however intolerable. Fifthly, they bind themselves to work during the period for a fixed wage, which

¹³ Steven Vertovec, n.8, p.59.

¹⁴ Ravinder K.Thiara, ‘Indian Indentured Workers in Mauritius, Natal and Fiji’, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed, Robin Cohen (Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.63.

¹⁵ Sinnappah Arasaratnam, n.12, p.13.

invariably is lower and in some cases very much lower than the wage paid to free labour around them. And sixthly and lastly and this is to me the worst feature of the system, they are placed under a special law, never explained to them before they left the country which is in a language which they do not understand and which imposes on them a criminal liability for the trivial breaches of the contracts, in place of the civil liability which usually attaches to such breaches. Thus they are liable under this law to imprisonment with hard labour, which may extend to two and in some cases to three months, not only for fraud not only for deception, but for negligence, for carelessness – will the Council believe it? – for even on impertinent word or gesture to the manager or his overseer.¹⁶

Justice J Beamont, a former chief Justice of British Guiana described the indenture as “a monstrous rotten system, rooted upon slavery, grown in its stale oil, emulating its worst abuses, and only the more degenerated because it presented itself under false colours, where as slavery had the brand of infamy written upon its forehead.”¹⁷ S.N.Banerji, when asked to become the Chairman of the ‘British Guiana and Fiji Emigration Committee’, said “we cannot assent to any form of colonization or emigration to any British colony except upon the basis of civic self respect. Once assured that equal rights for Indians existed in regard to public, municipal, legal and commercial matters in British Guiana... he (Gandhiji) would not oppose any scheme of free colonization”.¹⁸ The system, which became increasingly unpopular, was completely abolished in 1920, immediately after the First World War.¹⁹ After the abolition of this system migration to Malaya, Burma and Ceylon continued under other names.

¹⁶ Quoted in Kingsley Davis, n.9, p.104.

¹⁷ Kernial Singh Sandhu, n.11, p.76.

¹⁸ Hugh Tinker, n.6, p.364.

¹⁹ The speech made by S.H.Fremantle, spokesman of the government during the discussion of the motion moved by Gokhale reveals the attitude of the government to indenture system. He said, “They will not thank Gokhale for the attempt...to cut away the ladder to becoming proprietors of land and self-respecting citizens of this empire” (Hugh Tinker, n.18, p.320).

As a device of labour recruitment, the system was full of abuses sufficient to be termed as half way stage between slavery and free labour.²⁰ It enabled the employer maximum exploitation of the labourer in the cases of wages, time of work, type of work, renewal of indenture etc. “During the eighty years of its existence, the system of indenture, which formally survived from 1830 to 1916, was responsible for the transportation of over one million Indians who provided the necessary cheap labour required for the global development of British capitalism”.²¹ Though notorious, as the first system that made thousands of Indians reach foreign lands, it paved the way for future migration.

2. Kangani System

Towards the end of the 19th century, a new form of labour recruitment system was developed first to Srilanka, then to Malaya and Burma. Migrants under this system hailed mainly from Tamil and Telugu districts of Madras Presidency. The name was derived from the Tamil word ‘Kangani’ which means headman or overseer. “It received its name because of the peculiarly important role of the Kangani, or headman, who was both recruiter and field foreman. Sent by an employer or association of estate owners to bring back his friends, neighbours and relatives in his home district, the Kangani overtook to provide food, clothing and transit for the recruits in connection with the overseas trip. Frequently, he was empowered to discharge their local debts or to leave money with their relatives. Considerable responsibility rested on him to choose the right sort of recruits and as compared with indenture, there was a better chance that whole families or neighbourhood groups come together.”²² One effect of this method of securing Indian labour was to encourage the transplantation of Indian culture to a new region. In

²⁰ Kingsley Davis, n.9, p.104.

²¹ Hugh Tinker, n.6.

²² Ibid.

Ceylon and Malaya, the South Indian coolies acquired a paternalistic security that they did not have in India. It enabled him to live with his own community among neighbours and relatives from his homeland, without greatly disturbing his native customs.²³ As the 1931 Census declared, “Ceylon is no more foreign to Trichinopoly labourer than Madras.”²⁴ Emigration under this system reached its peak in the late 1920s; between 150000 and 160000 were departing from Madras every year of whom about half came from the depressed classes, the untouchables.²⁵

Though Kangani System was far better in many respects from indentured system, it was also not without abuses. Soon the system became the targets of ill will of many humanitarians. National leaders of India raised hue and cry for the abolition of Kangani System. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, the Indian liberal leader in the Central Legislative Council, who was sent to Malaya to investigate the conditions of Indian labourers recommended the abolition of Kangani System.. He called the system the labourers’ ‘concealed obligation to the Kangany, which will act to his disadvantage’.²⁶ The Government of India abolished all assisted migration including the Kangani System in 1938.

3. Free Migration

The above-mentioned two migrations – indentured and kangani – were state assisted labour migrations. As coolie migrations they brought only discredit to the country.²⁷ The information availed from the earlier assisted migrants about the chances in the tropical lands paved the way for a new stream of unassisted migration. The new developments in the economy and

²³ , Kingsley Davis, n.9, p. 104.

²⁴ Census of India, 1931, Vol 14, (Madras), 1932, Part 1, Report, P. 83.

²⁵ Hugh Tinker, n.1, p.6.

²⁶ VS Srinivasa Sastri, ‘Report on the Conditions of Indian Labour in Malaya, February, 1937’, Proceedings of the Federal Council (1937) C. 75 – 103 (Quoted in Hugh Tinker, n.6).

²⁷ K.V. Joseph, *Migration in Kerala, 1920-1960* (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvanthapuram, 2000), p.30.

society like educational development, change in style of life, acquisition of new skills from foreign lands etc also gave a boost to people to think of moving freely. “An army of petty contractors, merchants, bankers, shopkeepers, and pedlars followed the indentured and assisted labourers.”²⁸ This new stream of unassisted migration that developed after the decline of indentured and kangani system of migration was mainly to Burma, Malaya and Ceylon. “Whereas in 1920 about 88 percent of Indian labourers entering Malaya were recruited, in the middle of 1930s less than a percent were.”²⁹ The free individual labourers included mainly dockers, miners, construction workers, cooks and household labourers. Trained and educated migrants held posts in clerical, administrative and technical fields.

A stream of semi-skilled workers also migrated to East Africa. Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister praised the commitment of Indian labourers in the following words. “ It was the Sikh soldiers who borne the honourable part in the conquest of the East African countries. It is the Indian trader who penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man would go or in which no white man could earn a living has more than anyone else developed the early beginning of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication.”³⁰ The educated migrants proved to be invaluable in the clerical and technical services of colonial governments and Indian Sikhs were sought after to fill such positions as Policemen, caretakers, and guards.³¹ In the 20th century, there was a continuous flow of commercial migrants from India to Ceylon, Malaya, Burma, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, the Persian Gulf States, Hongkong and Fiji.³² In contrast to the earlier labour migration non – labour

²⁸ Kingsley Davis, n.9, p.105.

²⁹ Ibid.p.104.

³⁰ Quoted by Find lay Shiras, in *Indian Migration* in Walter F. Willox: *International Migration*, Vol. 2, Interpretation (Gorden Reach Publications, New york, 1969), p.598.

³¹ M.C.Madhavan, ‘Indian Emigrants: Numbers, Characteristics and Economic Impact’, *Population and Development Review*, Vol 11, No.3 (New York, September 1985), p.460.

³² Ibid. p.461.

migrants fared better, and some groups even prospered.³³The free migration got a temporary setback from the Worldwide Depression of 1930s. The migration which again got acceleration towards the end of thirties got a permanent impede by the break up of Second World War. The aftermath of Second World War saw the independence of all these countries. The new emigration rules passed there paved the way for the evacuation of the migrants there. The newspapers and the rulers were engaged in the discussion of their rehabilitation.³⁴

4. Professional Migration

The emigration of Indians having professional and technical qualifications started after the Second World War. This new migration flow was towards the advanced nations of the West, mainly, the United States, Canada, United Kingdom and Australia. Like any other international migration from the country, information on this migration is also scanty. The studies already made were based on the immigration statistics available in these countries. Nearly 750,000 Indian emigrants have become permanent residents in developed countries, with the United Kingdom accounting for 44 percent of that inflow, the United States for 26 percent, Canada for 14 percent, Western Europe (excluding United Kingdom) for 11 percent, and Australia for 5 percent.³⁵ A scholar has made an elaborate study regarding the trends in the international migration of Indian professionals to these industrialised countries.³⁶ A fourth country to which a significant number of

³³ Ibid. p.460.

³⁴ The labour minister of Kerala said that till 31st July 1969 168 families and 3068 persons have returned from Burma and the government has spent Rs. 18.37 lakhs for their rehabilitation. From Ceylon 280 families have reached. Government has spent 1.79 lakhs for their rehabilitation (Report, 'Niyama Sabha Chodyotharangal', (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 18 October, 1969).

³⁵ M.C.Madahavan, n.31, p.462.

³⁶ The study is by Deepak Neyyar, *Migration, Remittances and Capital Flows, The Indian Experience* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1994). According to this study, when the number of Indian immigrants in the USA and Canada increased after 1960s, that of UK decreased drastically. Of the total immigrants in the USA, the share of Indians was negligible before 1960s. During the period 1951-60, Indian immigrants constituted about 0.1% in this

Indians migrated was Australia. The share of Indian immigrants to the total immigrants in Australia in 1990 was 4.25. It rose to 5% in 1999.³⁷

5. Gulf Migration

Fresh pastures with abundant job opportunities opened up before Indian migrants in 1970's. The destinations were the small oil – rich Arabian states that line the Persian Gulf – Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. The Indo-Arab relations have a history that dates back to the dawn of history and which have its historical base on trade and also on mutual cultural exchanges and population mobility. Many literature, historical references and travellers's accounts speak of the extensive contact that existed between Arabian peninsula on the one hand and India on the other. This relationship remained stable throughout history probably because of the indirect geographical closeness between Arabia and India since the two regions are situated on the either sides of the Indian Ocean.

Since the late nineteenth century, the Gulf was strongly linked to this region both politically and economically as the major decisions concerning the Gulf regions was taken in India by the British Government in India and the currency that was in circulation in the region was Indian rupee. This age long relationship was further strengthened by the oil-boom that was launched in 1970s.

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country. During the period 1981-90, it rose to 3.6%. Of the total immigrants in Canada, the share of Indians was 0.2% in the period 1951-60. It rose 5.9% On the period 1981-90. On the other hand, the proportion of Indians in UK declined drastically from around 20% during the 1960s to about 10% during 1980s.

³⁷ See Ravi Srivastava, 'An Overview of migration in India, its Impact and Key Issues', *Regional Conference on Migration Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices in Asia Seminar Paper* (Dhakka, 22-24 June, 2003).

The economic progress and social development that the Gulf Arab states witnessed in the last three decades has few parallels in history. Viewed from any parameters of human development - level of literacy, health care, transport and communication, standard of living – the attainments made by these people are astonishing.

The international migration to the Arab world has its initial start in 1930s when economic growth began in the Arab world, thanks to the discovery of crude oil. But the large-scale migration has been a response to the demand for labour force in the oil-rich states, when the rulers of these nations triggered an era of ambitious development programmes to transform the small states into welfare society.

The statement made in one of the articles on migration is significant. “In history the Arabs got lucky draw in two occasions. One, the advent of Islam in the 7th century A.D. Second, the explosion of oil price in the 1970s”.³⁸ The ruling Sheikhs in the Gulf states with flooded treasuries at their disposal reaped from the oil business especially after the explosion of oil prices in 1973 – 74 decided to share the petro – dollar with their own denizens through the process of industrialisation and development.³⁹ “The Gulf states share common strategies: they have each decided to share the wealth with their own population, through the expansion of social services and Government employment, to diversify their economy by industrial investment

³⁸ Rafeeq Thiruvallloor, ‘*Nattil Parkkatha Prarthana Mozhikal*’ (Malayalam), *Musliminte Kerala Model* (Rahmaniyya, Katameri, 2007), p.94.

³⁹ The extent of the increase in the price of crude oil since the beginning of 1973 is clear from the following table.

Table Showing Posted Prices on Typical Crudes

Price (Dollar per Barrel)	Name of Crude	1 st January 1973	16 th October 1973	31 st January 1974
Persian Gulf	Arabian Light	2.59	15.11	19.65
Abudhabi	Murban	2.65	4.04	5.12
Mediterranean and Africa	Arabian Light	3.45	17.14	19.64
Libyan		3.77	8.92	18.76
Nigerian		3.56	18.31	10.69
Venezuela	Oficiana	3.47	7.80	21.24

Source: S.Manoharan, *The Oil Crisis*, (S.Chand & Company, New Delhi, 1974), Chapter V.

and to erect modern infrastructure – airports, roads, communication networks”.⁴⁰ This development drive called for immense labour force of all types. The Gulf States, with their small size of population had little choice but to depend on other countries. Nowhere in the Arab world have societies experienced such massive labour shortages satisfied not through open migration but through the use of temporary imported workers.⁴¹ Young age structure and low female participation made the labour force participation very low. Moreover, the skill of the available indigenous labour force was very poor.⁴² In the beginning, these small capital-rich Arab states looked to the low-capital Arab states in their neighbourhood. From Egypt mainly and from Lebanon and Syria came educated professionals like doctors, teachers and civil servants.

But when the demand increased, the neighbouring Arab states could not supply sufficient qualified labour force required by them. At the same time major South Asian countries like India and Pakistan were ready to provide adequate work force at low cost than the Arab nations could. There were inexhaustible reservoirs of human resources of all types. Moreover, the remuneration offered was higher than those prevail in the home countries. As development plans and technical demands changed, the labour-importing countries welcomed more highly-skilled South Asians from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.⁴³ Thus the above mentioned pull factors in the Arab Gulf matched with the push factors in the sending countries such as the high employment and Low wages paved the way for Gulf migration.⁴⁴ “The

⁴⁰ Ibid. p.3.

⁴¹ Myron Weiner, ‘International Migration and Development. Indians in the Persian Gulf’, *Population and Development Review*, Vol.8, No.1 (New Yoork, March,1982), p.2.

⁴² A detailed sketch of the Gulf Nations at the time of migration is given as a separate chapter.

⁴³ L.Huan Ming Ling, ‘East Asian Migration to the Middle East: Causes, Consequences and Considerations’, *International Migration Review*, Volume XVIII, No.1 (New York, Spring, 1984), p.21.

⁴⁴ The following Table showing the proportion of migrants to total population even as early as 1975 will reveal how much the Gulf nations depended on imported workers.

National and Migrant Population in the Gulf, 1975.

relationship was one of complementarity between the labour-short and capital-abundant Arab region and the labour-abundant and capital-deficient countries of Asia.”⁴⁵ Thus, the migration to the Arabian Gulf that started along with the discovery of oil, continues with more vigour and speed even today.

CitizensMigrantsTotalStateNo.PercentNo.PercentTotal
 PopulationKuwait472,00047.4523,00052.6995,000Bahrain
 (1976)224,70076.170,50023.9295,000UAE200,00030.5456,00069.5656,000Qatar60,00038.09
 8,00062.0158,000Oman550,00079.1145,00020.9695,000Total1,506,70053.91,292,50046.12,7
 99,200 Source: J.S.Birks and C.A.Sinclair, *Arab Manpower: The Crisis of Development*
 (St.Martin’s Press, New York, 1980); Myron Weiner, n.41, p.3.
⁴⁵ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, *The Asian Migration to the Arab World: Migration from Kerala*
(India) (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 1986), p.6.

Emigration Rules in India

Emigration is the act of leaving one's native country or region in order to settle in another country permanently or temporarily for different purposes. Accordingly, governments of various nations stipulate certain rules and regulations regarding the departure of their nationals. These are called emigration rules or emigration laws. Three Ministries and their various departments in India involve in the matters regarding the emigration of its citizens – Ministry of Labour, Ministry of External Affairs and Ministry of Home Affairs. And regulation of external labour migration flows from the country are governed according to the provisions of the Emigration Act of 1983.

The most important office as far as emigration is concerned is the Office of the Protector of Emigrants under the Ministry of Labour. This Office is empowered to by law to regulate the deployment of Indian nationals seeking employment abroad. The main intention behind the state intervention in the emigration is to ensure safety of its nationals in all levels. This is achieved mainly by setting minimum employment standards and verifying employment contracts, regulating recruitment through licensing the agents, issuing emigration clearances for certain categories of migrants, especially those considered less able to protect their own interests and handling public grievances related to violation of employment contracts and recruitment abuses.

Another wing concerned with the emigration in India are the Indian Embassies and Consulates in various countries which are under the Ministry of External Affairs. They are responsible for monitoring and reporting on the conditions of Indian nationals and liaising with the government authorities abroad on various matters concerned with the migrants. The Ministry of External Affairs also addresses current issues that may affect the migrants

during bilateral diplomatic negotiations especially with major destination countries. The Immigration Department under the Ministry of Home Affairs is another Office that deals matters relating to emigration. This office is responsible for the exit of Indian nationals. By investigating complaints against the recruitment abuses, the Police Department under the Home Ministry also play an important role in the emigration process.

First Emigration Rule

The earliest international labour movement from India, as we noted, seems to have taken place from the southern parts of the country in the last decades of the eighteenth century. This was towards the Straits Settlements, then to Tenasserim Provinces and to Ceylon. The first official intervention with regard to international migration was reported in 1830, when Joseph Argand, a French merchant, carried some 130 merchants to Bourbon.⁴⁶ The government of India permitted the departure on condition that each man has to appear before the Magistrate of Calcutta and declare that he went voluntarily.⁴⁷ The second state-known migration was towards Mauritius in 1834 immediately after the abolition of slavery in British colonies. Hereafter the government started to regulate the migration. When 40 coolies intended to migrate to Mauritius the government of India asked the intending migrants “to appear before a Magistrate to satisfy him of their freedom of choice and knowledge of circumstances of the case”. However the government didn’t impose any penalty for the unregistered emigrants.

The Government of Mauritius in 1836 asked the Government of India to look into the conditions of the voyage of emigrants and ensure the safety of the emigrants in the trip. The Government of India, on the other hand, took this opportunity to ask the Government of Mauritius to give some accounts on

⁴⁶ Geoghegan, *Note On Emigration from India* (Government of India, Calcutta, 1873), p.1.

⁴⁷ The contracts looked liberal on paper. The contract was for a term of five years. A monthly salary of eight rupees and ample dietary was offered.

the conditions of Indian migrants in that colony. The Government of Mauritius published its report in December 1836. At the same time, the Indian Government had asked the Law Commission to study the conditions of Indian emigrants. Two members of the civil service – Messrs. Parry woodcock and T.C.Scott who had recently visited Mauritius also submitted a report on the conditions of emigrants in that colony. The Law Commission also submitted the report in the same year. The result of all these proposals was the Act V, 1837, which became law on the 1st May of that year.

The important provisions of the Act were

- 1) No emigrant to be received on board ship without a permit.
- 2) Before grant of permit, both parties to appear before the officer authorised to grant permits with a memorandum of the contract.
- 3) Contract to be determined after five years.
- 4) Officers to examine the parties.
- 5) And if satisfied, to endorse the memorandum of contract.
- 6) If a vessel carries more than 20 emigrants, measures to be taken to ensure proper accommodation, food and medical attendance.
- 7) Unless these are satisfactory, permit not to be given.
- 8) A register is to be kept for each emigrant.
- 9) A fee of one rupee is to be levied on employer for each emigrant.
- 10) Clear – cut penalties were marked out for breach of rules.
- 11) Contracts with seamen or menial servants were exempted from the operation of the Act.
- 12) The Superintendent of Police, Calcutta, was appointed the officer in charge.

This was the starting of indentured migration from India first to Mauritius and then to different of Tropical and sub-tropical lands. During the period 1834-1910, over half a million indentured migrants entered Mauritius.⁴⁸

In the beginning, the Act was observed and applied only in the Fort William. However, by the Act of XXXII of 1837, which was passed on 20th of November of the same year, the law was extended to Madras and Bombay provinces also.⁴⁹ An important incident in the history of Indian emigration was the agitation by the abolitionists in England against Indian emigration. Its echo reached in India and the provincial governments were directed to withhold permits for vessels carrying emigrants to West Indies and to appoint committees to consider the whole question of emigration, its abuses and their remedies. Immediately, the prohibition was extended to other colonies also. Committees were appointed in each province to look into the alleged abuses attending emigration. The Calcutta Committee acknowledged the alleged abuses⁵⁰, though the report of each member was different. The Minute of the sixth member, Mr.J.P.Grant, is the most valuable document in this respect.⁵¹ His important findings and recommendations were:

- 1) The evils, which had attended the emigration were casual and are preventable.
- 2) Emigration to Mauritius to be opened without delay.

⁴⁸ Ravinder K.Thiara, 'Indian Indentured Workers in Mauritius, Natal and Fiji', *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed, Robin Cohen (Cambridge University press, 1995), p.63.

⁴⁹ The extension of the law to the Madras Presidency was a big boost to the migration dreams of the people of Malabar. The official documents during this period contain references regarding migration from this region of Kerala. The report of the collector of Malabar to the Madras Council on 11 July 1938 mentions clearly about the Malabareans' migration to Mauritius (See, Panchanan Saha, n.7, pp.9-16, p.46). Another scholar writes that it was from the Malabar coast that coolies were taken to Ceylon and Mauritius in the early days (Hugh Tinker, n.6, p.55).

⁵⁰ Since no serious emigration existed from Bombay, the Bombay Committee didn't report any such abuses from that side. The Madras Committee also didn't contribute anything of value.

⁵¹ For more details regarding (See, Geoghegan, n.46).

- 3) At each port of embarkation a Protector of Indian Emigrant might be appointed.
- 4) For due control of masters and owners of emigrant vessels Imperial legislation is needed.
- 5) Government of India only to allow emigration to colonies where it was assured the emigrant would enjoy freedom and protection from wrong.

The Governor General and his Council declined to allow any relaxation of the existing law till the matter was considered by the Parliament. Though the Report was taken before the House of Commons, ultimately the matter was left to be settled by the Colonial Office in consultation with the Board of Control and Court of Directors. After a long discussion with the Government of Mauritius and detailed deliberations, on 2nd December was passed the Act XV, 1842. Afterwards a series Acts related to emigration were passed in India at various times.

Various Rules and Acts passed between 1834 and 1922 regarding emigration from India when recruitments were made to foreign lands under state – assisted migration systems viz. Indenture and Kangani system of labour recruitment. So the laws were mainly aimed at protecting the migrants from “force and fraud and securing his health during the passage and upon arrival”.⁵² As time passed, the number of Indians abroad increased and a number of unforeseen problems sprang up which were harmful to the Indian citizens abroad and disgraceful to Indians as a nation.

The process of international migration during the colonial period in the form of indentured labour mainly to the British and French colonies came to an end by the end of the First World War. The manpower outflows from India thereafter governed by the Emigration Act of 1922. The Act of 1922 which

⁵² Kingsley Davis, n.9, p.105.

attempted to consolidate and renovate previous regulations, “was a partial transition from Laissez – faire to a much stricter form of legal control.”⁵³ According to this Act, migration of unskilled workers were not allowed. Only skilled workers were permitted to go abroad through licensed recruiting agents under the rules and regulations of the Act. The intending migrants had to get clearance from the Protectors of emigrants at the ports of embarkation after signing employment agreement in standard forms prescribed by the Government which stipulated the terms and conditions of employment binding on both the migrant and the employer. “These forms underwent revisions from time to time in the light of experience by migration authorities in the settlement of claims and disposal of complaints.”⁵⁴ Other important provisions of the Act were

- 1) Persons below eighteen years of age, have to migrate accompanied by parent.
- 2) Women to migrate accompanied by a relative over eighteen years.
- 3) The Governor General in Council could suspend emigration to specific countries if he thinks it essential.
- 4) Recruiting has to be made in the hands of a responsible official appointed by the government of the recruiting country.
- 5) Any person emigrating or attempting to emigrate except in conformity with provisions of the Act was punishable with a maximum fine of 50 rupees, and person inducing another to emigrate was subject to a maximum penalty of 500 rupees.

⁵³ Kingsley Davis, n.9, p.106.

⁵⁴ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, ‘The Process of Migration’, *Indian Migration to the Middle East: Trends, Patterns and Socio – Economic Impact*, ed, B.A.Prakash (Spell bound Publications, Rohtak, 1998), p.38.

- 6) The Emigration Commissionaire of each country to which emigrants were to go was solely responsible for all the recruitment transactions carried out in the name of his government.
- 7) The Emigration Commissionaire was responsible for information about his country, for all recruitments by his staff and for appointment of emigration agents and inspectors.
- 8) Any person desiring to emigrate was required to apply for permission of the local government of the port from which the emigrant was to depart.
- 9) A copy of the permit, if granted, was to be forwarded to the Protector of Emigrants at the port of embarkation, who issued a recruiting certificate after ascertaining that each emigrant had received in writing a full explanation of the period of his engagement and the general conditions in the country of destination.

The oil price – hike of 1973 opened up vast opportunities for unskilled labourers in various Gulf countries. The provisions of the Act proved to be a big handicap for the gulf migrating aspirants. To exploit the situation at its maximum the Government of India sought to several measures. Emigrants who find jobs through own efforts were exempted from payment of required security deposits; Protectors were instructed to issue emigration clearances within 78 hours after the receipt of the required documents. New passport offices were opened in different parts of India. Moreover to help the unskilled and semi – skilled workers, to fulfill their migration dreams, Government relaxed the provisions of the 1922 Act in 1976 by suspending the operative part of the law. This relaxation of the emigration rules created chaotic atmosphere in the entire spheres of international migration especially West Asian migration from India. The consequences of this measure was very

serious. “In the legislative void thus created, private, unlicensed recruiting firms and agencies mushroomed. Complaints about malpractices by such firms and agencies increased ... Several thousands of persons opted to emigrate without valid passports and employment contracts under the aegis of middlemen and touts. Hundreds of complaints about exploitation of Indian workers abroad appeared almost daily in the media.”⁵⁵ In 1979, the Supreme Court of India gave directions as to how proceed with the migration in the absence of an emigration rule. It was in this context the Indian Parliament passed a comprehensive Emigration Rule – the Emigration Act of 1983. It came into force on December 30, 1983.

The Emigration Act of 1983 consists of 8 chapters and 45 Sections dealing with various matters on the subject. Chapter I of the Act - Preliminary, includes title, extent, application, commencement and definition of various terms related to migration. According to the Act “emigrate” or “emigration” mean the departure of out of India of any person with a view to taking up any employment (whether or not under an agreement or other arrangements to take up such employment and whether with or without the assistance of a recruiting agent or employer) in any or place outside India.⁵⁶

It defines work as

- i) any unskilled work, including any form of industrial or agricultural labour;
- ii) any domestic service;
- iii) any service, not being service in a managerial capacity in any hotel, restaurant, tea – house or place of public resort;

⁵⁵ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, *International Labour Migration Statistics in India* (UNDP/ ILO, ARTEP, New Delhi, 1993), p.3.

⁵⁶ Government of India, *The Emigration Act, 1983 with Rules*, (Law Publishers (India) Private Limited, Section 2 (f), p.2.

- iv) work as a driver of a truck or other vehicle, mechanic, technician or skilled labourer or artisan;
- v) work as an office assistant or accountant or typist or stenographer or salesman or nurse or operator of any machine;
- vi) work in connection with, or for the purpose of , any cinema, exhibition or entertainment;
- vii) any such work of a professional or of any other nature as the Central Government may, having regard to the need for the protection of citizens of India, who may be employed in such work outside India and other relevant circumstances, specify by notification.

Provides that the Central Government may, if satisfied that it is necessary so to do having regard to the conditions of service applicable with respect to employment in any of the afore – mentioned categories of work or any sub – category there of, whether generally or in relation to any particular country or place and other relevant circumstances, declare by notification that such category of work or sub – category of work shall not be deemed to be work within the meaning of this definition.⁵⁷

Chapter 2 deals with Emigration Authorities. It consists of 6 Sections. Appointment of Protectors of Emigrants, their duties, starting of Emigration Checkposts, appointment other Emigration officers and staff are the main topics of this chapter.

Chapter 3 is about registration of recruiting agents and terms and conditions of registration. This chapter has 6 Sections.

Chapter 4 is about permits for recruitment by employers. It is divided into 6 chapters. Section 16 states, “Save as otherwise provided by or under

⁵⁷ Ibid Section 2 (o), p.3.

this Act, no employer shall recruit any citizen of India for employment in any country or place outside India except –

- i. through a recruiting agent competent under this Act to make such recruitment, or
- ii. in accordance with a valid permit issued in this behalf under this chapter”.⁵⁸

Chapter 5 deals with Emigration Clearance. Section 22 of the Act states that no citizen of India shall emigrate unless he obtain under this chapter from the Protector of Emigrants authorisation in the prescribed manner and form (such authorisation being hereinafter referred to as emigration clearance) for emigration.⁵⁹

Chapter 7 has 5 Sections dealing with Offences and Penalties.

Chapter 8 consists of 17 Sections and deals with miscellaneous things.

The emigration rules have been subjected to vehement criticisms from various corners. A state like Kerala whose main industry is the export of manpower is suffering from the red tap emigration formalities. This had led to undesirable trends like corruption, bribery etc in the concerned departments.⁶⁰

The discussion on emigration will be incomplete without a reference to passport. Passport is a modern development. It was after the First World War passport in its modern sense introduced. Passport is a document of nationality and identity usually granted only to person who is a national of the issuing country for identification and protection when travelling abroad. The first Passport Act in India was passed in 1967. The Passport Act of 1967 (Act No. 15 of 1967) as it is called is an “Act to provide for the issue of passports and

⁵⁸ Ibid Section 16, p.10.

⁵⁹ Ibid section 22(1), p.11.

⁶⁰ For details See, M. Ayishath Suhra, ‘Chavittikkettal’ (Malayalam), *Mthrubhumi Weekend Magazine* (Kozhikode , 24 November 1985).

travel documents to regulate the departure from India of citizens of India and other persons for matters incidental or ancillary thereto.”⁶¹ Before this, there existed in India another Act related to passport. The Passport (Entry into India) Act, 1920 (Act No. 34 of 1920) was an Act to take power to require passports of persons entering India. Section 2 of the Act 1857 defines passport as document which, by its nature and purpose, is a political document for the benefit of its holder. It recognises him as citizen of the country granting it and is in the nature of a request to the other country for his free passage there. There can, therefore, be no doubt that a passport is a document of importance for travel abroad and is of considerable value ⁶²to its holder. Section 3 says that no person shall depart from, or attempt to depart from, India, unless he holds in this behalf a valid passport or travel document.

In short, India was the major supplier of human resource among the Asian countries from the time of assisted indentured migration that started in the second half of the 19th century to the present Gulf migration. And at the very time the country started the human export, the government has started to supervise the process. The purpose of this official interference was to systematize the process of international migration and to make it hitch less and non-exploitative.⁶³

⁶¹ Government of India, *The Passports Act, 1967 with Passport (Entry into India) Act, 1920 and Passport Rules, 1980* (Law Publishers Private Limited), p.1.

⁶² Ibid. Section 2, p.4.

⁶³ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, ‘The Process of Migration’, *Indian Migration to the Middle East: Trends, Patterns and Socio-economic Impact*, ed, B.A.Prakash (Spell bound Publications, Rohtak, 1988), p.39.

CHAPTER 7

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS FROM MALABAR

As we learnt from the foregoing discussion, millions of people have been emigrating from different parts of India to foreign countries since the second half of the 19th century. But the volume of human mobility to foreign lands was not uniform throughout the country. While some regions sent more migrants, the participation of some other regions was meagre. Notwithstanding, some places had no migratory tradition till the beginning of the 20th century. In this massive human exodus that took place in the 19th and 20th centuries, what was the position of Kerala in general and Malabar in particular? And what is its position in the current migration trend? According to some scholars, Kerala had been a net in-migrating state till very recently and that net out-migration of Malayalees is only a recent phenomena.¹ Kerala, which was a net in-migrating area prior to 1931, became a net out-migrating area after that date with the volume of net out-migration increasing with every decade. During 1951 – 61, Kerala experienced an in-migration of about 108,000 and an out-migration of 393,000.² Today, as far as Kerala is concerned, migration is undoubtedly its most productive “industry”, “employing” nearly 2 million persons directly and 7 – 8 million family members indirectly.³

¹ K.C.Zachariah, ‘Migration and Population Growth in Kerala’, *Population Growth in Kerala*, ed, R.S.Kurupu and K.A.George (Demographic Research Centre, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, , Thiruvananthapuram, 1965), p.109.

² Raju Kurien, ‘Pattern and Effects of Migration from Kerala: A Study of Two Villages in Kerala’, M Phil Thesis (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram), p.2.

³ K.C.Zachariah et al, ‘Socio-Economic and Demographic Consequences of Migration in Kerala’ Working Paper No. 303 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, May 2000), p.46.

“Until Kerala was formed, out-migration of *Malayalis* was confined to the Malabar area, which had been part of the Madras Presidency directly under British rule”.⁴ But at the very time India started the labour export, its waves were started to notice in Kerala also.⁵ The situation of two recruiting centres that opened in Malabar for indentured labour and *Kangani* system emigration and the absence of such a centre in the Travancore – Cochin region shows the ascendancy of Malabar over Travancore and Cochin in the early international migration from the state. Though, migration from Kerala under indenture system was meagre, the official reports available, mention only the name of Malabar. The indentured system of semi slavery did not attract the Kerala population significantly probably because of its great sense of independence and higher levels of literacy than those of the Tamil population.⁶ The Census Reports of Travancore and Cochin till the beginning of the 20th century do not contain any references on large-scale emigration. The Census Reports of Madras Presidency speaks the migration of 22 persons from Malabar to Mauritius, 64 persons to Burma and 247 persons to Ceylon. Other official evidences also speak of migration from Malabar with a limited scale.⁷ But the official figures seem to be wrong. From other contemporary

⁴ K.C.Zachariah et al, *Dynamics of Migration in Kerala: Dimensions, Differentials and Consequences*, (Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2003), p.13.

⁵ Report on Indian Labour Emigrating to Ceylon and Malaya states, “To further limit advance expenses, to avoid the necessity of placing money in the Kanganies hands before they leave for India and to watch and control the operations of Kanganies generally, the Planter’s Association of Ceylon in 1904 established the Ceylon Labour Commission at Trichinopoly. The Commission has in India 29 agencies grouped in four circles..... One of the 29 agencies was **Palghat** under the Head-quarter circle”(N.E.Marjoribanks and A.K.G.Ahmad Thampi Marakkayar, *Report on Indian Labour Emigrating to Ceylon and Malaya*, Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1917Page 7). The Report again states, “At Madras and Nagpatnam emigration offices have been established by the colonial government under the charge of their officers.....There were also fourteen recruitment officers stationed at various places. They are Waltair, Bezwada, Gudur, Tanjore Manapparai, Erode, Katpadi, Tindivanam, Nagpatnam Trichinopoly, Kodikkanal Road, **Tirur**” (p.30).

⁶ Kernial Singh Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya* (Cambridge University Press, 1969).

⁷ Out of the total number of 2,94,919 migrants returned from different countries to Madras Presidency in 1906 only 1283 were to Malabar district. Similarly, out of 2,84,431 migrants returned, the share of Malabar was only 837 in 1907. The actual number of emigrants shipped from Malabar to Fiji was 43 out of 874 from the Presidency in 1906 and 5 out of 796 in 1907. The number was 24 out of 1,45,751 to Ceylon in 1906 and 19 out of 1,40,190 in 1907”(Quoted in K.V.Joseph, *Migration and Economic Development of Kerala* (Mittal Publications, 1988),

documents we can assume that Malabar had actively taken part both in the indentured system and Kangani system of migration. The report of the Principal Collector of Malabar to the Madras Council on 11 July 1838 says, “During the last week of June, Mr. Tyack came to this station and his people (who receive a rupee for every coolie (procured) succeeded in prevailing upon a number of *chermar* (slaves of the soil) to proceed to Cochin for the purpose of being embarked for Mauritius”.⁸The Principal Collector even feared “if natives of Malabar are permitted to be thus allured, it will prove injurious to the agriculturists and as a matter of course, to the revenues of government.”⁹ These official statements were made in 1838.

The Report of the Principal Collector mentions the alluring offers made by the recruitment agencies. Many people had been tempted by the attractive offers of the agents and had been getting ready for emigration. If the British officials hailed the enthusiasm of the Malabar people for emigration and even feared that it may weaken the very base of the economy, that also in the first half of 19th century, the number of emigrants, no doubt, might not be ten or hundred. Because of this reason alone, the reliability of Census Report regarding the number of emigrants from Malabar is questionable.

p.60.

⁸ General Department (Emigration), 28 November, 1838, Nos. 9 – 16 (Quoted in Panchanan Saha, *Emigration of Indian Labour 1834-1900* (People’s Publishing House, New Delhi, 1970, p.46)).

⁹ Ibid.

Table 7.1**Composition of Indian Population in Burma in 1931**

Linguistic Group	Males	Females	Total
Tamil	118659	65448	184107(17.76)
Telugu	124483	36157	160640(15.49)
Oriya	57247	3435	60682(5.85)
Bengali	242415	134579	376994(36.37)
Hindi	145589	46978	192567(18.57)
Punjabi	20639	7270	27909(2.69)
Gujarathi	12511	5195	17706(1.70)
Malayalees	11343	875	12218(1.17)
Others	2648	1070	3718(0.35)
Total	735534	301007	1036541(100)

Source: Census of India, 1931, Vol.II, Imperial Tables, Table XV, Languages.

As the Table 7.1 shows, out of a total of 1036541 Indian immigrants in Burma, the Malayali share was 12218 in 1931 i.e. a percent of 1.17. The official statistics of Travancore and Cochin say that the emigrants from these regions to Burma were 816 and 239 respectively in 1931.¹⁰ That is, out of 12218 migrants only an insignificant 1055 (about 9 percent) were from Travancore and Cochin. The Census Reports of 1921 has also revealed the dominance of Malabar.¹¹ As noted by Nalini Ranjan Chakravarti, there were 3,205 ‘Malabaris’ and 9,441 *kakas* (Moplahs) in Burma.¹² Thus in Burma, it seems that emigrants from Malabar outnumbered the combined strength of those from Travancore and Cochin. The lion shares of migrants were from Malabar. Further, most of the migrants numbering more than 9000 were Mappila Muslims. They have been predominantly workers either in the estate

¹⁰ Census of India 1931, Cochin Part I, Reports, Special Migration Table; Census of Princely State of Travancore 1931, Part I, Report, Special Emigration Table

¹¹ In 1921, the number of migrants from Travancore was only 255 and from Cochin 155.

¹² Nalini Ranjan Chkravarti, *Indian Minority in Burma* (Oxford University Press, 1971).

or non-estate sectors, the latter consisting of dock and construction workers, miners and factory hands.¹³ The opinion of Adrian Mayer is significant here. According to him the starting of posh – type building in Malabar is the contribution of the Kerala migrants to Burma.¹⁴ In the 1940s, in a small town of Namtoo, there was a Malayali organisation named ‘Namtoo Malabar Muslim Jama’at’.¹⁵

Table 7.2

Linguistic Composition of the Indian Population in Malaya and Singapore

Sl. No.	Linguistic Groups	Number of Persons Belonging to different linguistic Groups in India			
		1921	1931	1947	1957
1	Tamils	387,500	514,778	460,985	634,681
2	Malayalees	17,190	34,898	44,339	72,971
3	Telugus	39,986	32,536	24,093	27,670
4	Punjabis	15,451	-	30,952	N.A
5	Others	10,043	-	-	20,000
	Total	470,180	621,847	599,616	755,322

Source: Kernial Singh Sandhu, n.6, p.207.

Under the indenture system, about 122,000 Indians emigrated to Malaya between 1866 and 1910. There are no official documents regarding the share of Keralites among the emigrants during this period. Anyhow, the indentured migration to Malaya was essentially a South Indian phenomenon.¹⁶ The migration of Indian labour to Malaya after the abolition of Kangani

¹³ K.V.Joseph, n.7, p.55.

¹⁴ Adrian Mayer, *Land and Society in Malabar*, (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1952), p.175.

¹⁵ K.K.Aboo, ‘Oru Thirichu Varavinte Katha’ (Malayalam), *Kuwait Kerala Muslim Cultural Centre Relief Fund Souvenir*, Issue 2 (KMCC, Kuwait, 1980) p.140.

¹⁶ Sinnappa Arasartnam, *Indians in Malaya and Singapore* (Institute of Race Relations,1970). See also Kernial Singh Sandhu, n.6.

system was on 'free' basis. South Indians, mainly people from Malabar and the Coromondal coast, formed the majority of emigrants of non-labour categories such as professionals, commercialists and teachers. The vast majority of them consisted of salesmen, peddlers, petty entrepreneurs, traders, shopkeepers, and street vendors. The category of professional and clerical emigrants consisting of clerks, administrators, technicians, teachers and doctors also came from South India.¹⁷

In 1977, there were 24,000 *Malayalis* in Singapore, which was part of Malaya and most of the hired workers for the construction of Singapore naval base were *Malayalis*.¹⁸ As is understood from Table 7.2, the *Malayali* migrants in Malaysia was 34, 898 in 1931. The special migration Table collected with Census of 1931 says that in 1931 there were 2485 Cochin-born persons in Malaysia.¹⁹ The Special Emigration Survey of Travancore says that the number of persons emigrated from Travancore to Malaya was 4338 in 1931.²⁰ The sum total of the two is 6823. If we deduct this number from 34989 the balance will be migrants from Malabar ie. 28075. So, in Malaya also the overwhelming majority of migrants were from Malabar. Sinnappa Arasaratnam has noted the dominance of Malabar Muslims among the *Malayalis* in Singapore.²¹

As far as *Malayali* migrants to Ceylon is concerned, no separate number is available for Malabar but the contemporary works spoke sufficiently about the presence of Malabar people.²² There were 4259 'Travancoreans' in 1921²³ and 9618²⁴ 'Cochiyans' in 1931 in Ceylon. During

¹⁷ K.C.Zachariah et al, n.4, p.13.

¹⁸ Raju Kurien, n.2, p.1978

¹⁹ Census of India 1931, Cochin Part I, Special Migration Table

²⁰ Census of Princely State of Travancore 1931, Part I, Report, Special Emigration Table

²¹ Sinnappa Arasaratnam, n.16.

²² See A.K.Gopalan, *In the Cause of the People's Reminiscences* (Orient Longman, Bombay, 1973).

²³ Census of India 1921, Vol.XXV, Travancore, Part I Report (Government Press, Trivandrum, 1922), p.28.

²⁴ Census of India, 1931, Cochin, Part I Reports, Special Emigration Table.

the pre – independence period, the emigrants from Kerala were largely from Malabar region only.²⁵ Among the Malayalis in Ceylon, emigrants from the Malabar region outnumbered the combined total of those from Travancore and Cochin. The Moplah Muslims of Malabar constituted a high proportion of the non-estate workers in Ceylon.²⁶ They also engaged themselves as retail distributors, hoteliers, peddlers, and petty shopkeepers.²⁷ Half a century back, a big section of Muslims in Kerala were living depending on foreign countries. In that period, there was not a single Muslim dominated area not without money or parcel from Rangoon or Indonesia.²⁸

Gulf Migration

Kerala’s relation with the Arab world has a story dating back to pre-Christian era. Semitic religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam reached Kerala coast at the same time its appearance in West Asia. The pioneer missionaries were the merchants who had trade relations with the people of Malabar and who used to visit the various ports on the West coast of Kerala.²⁹ “It was from the traders and travellers who reached from Arabia that we frame much of the history of Kerala from 9th to 15th century.”³⁰ Commercial settlements of Arab merchants had sprung up in different places in the region. Merchants

²⁵ Sushantha K Banerjee et al, ‘Has Emigration Influenced Kerala’s Living Standards? A Micro – Level Analysis’, *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, May 4, 2005), p.1755.

²⁶ K.C.Zachariah et al, n.4, p.52.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 52.

²⁸ C.H.Mohammed Koya, ‘Muslim Samudayam Abhimukeekarikkunna Prasnangal’ (Malayalam), *Kanur District Muslim Educational Souvenir* (Kannur, 1966), p.33.

²⁹ Syed Shihabudheen Imbichkoya Thangal, ‘Kerala-Arabi Bandham’ (Malayalam), *Bahrain K.M.C.C.Malappuram District Committee Souvenir* (Manama, 1997), pp.15-18.

³⁰ Velayudhan Panikkasseri, ‘Keralavum Arabi Nadukalaum’ (Malayalam), *Vision Forward*, (M.S.S.Dubai Unit, August 2006), p.52.

from Kerala, on the other hand, crossed the Arabian Sea and exchanged Indian goods with the Arabs. “The Arab ports like Aden, Socrota etc were the *ultima Thule* of the Indian sailors during the ancient past.”³¹

Migrants to the Middle East are different from their counterparts who migrated to the industrialised countries in many aspects – educational qualifications, work experience, household economic status and nature of migration itself. Migration to the industrialised countries, though almost entirely of a permanent nature and composed professionals, technicians and highly qualified and competent managerial and administrative personnel, takes place without any policy intervention by the Government.

Migration of workers to the Middle East countries, which is by and large of purely temporary nature, takes place under provisions of Emigration Acts, which lay down conditions of recruitment, passage from India and terms and conditions of work abroad.³² Majority of the Gulf migrants are young in age. According to one study a major portion of the migrants were unmarried at the time of their first migration.³³ Unlike the migration to the advanced countries of the West, they return after a temporary period of employment. Majority of the migrants are of low educational qualifications. Since the families of most of the migrants live in Kerala, a huge amount of money reach here by way of external remittances. Another characteristic of

³¹ Dr.K.V.Joseph, *Migration from Kerala 1920 – 1960* (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 2000), p.67.

³² P.R.Gopinathan Nair, ‘Incidence, Impact and Implications of Migration to the Middle East from Kerala (India)’, *To the Gulf and Back: Studies on the Economic Impact of Asian Labour Migration*, ed. R.Amjad, (ILO/ARTEP, New Delhi). 1998, p.3.

³³ See E.T.Mathew and P.R.Gopinathan Nair, ‘Socio-Economic Characteristics of migrants and Migrants Households: A Case Study of Two Villages in Kerala’, *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 15 July 1978).

the Gulf migration is that from the very beginning males dominated over the females. Hence, more than a million women live here as temporary family heads discharging the duties of both females and males.

Genesis of Migration

As indicated earlier, migration to the Arabian Gulf as is understood today, has been related with the oil – boom. It was in 1932, in Bahrain, a small place in the Middle East that oil was first discovered. The oil – digging on a small scale thus started in 1930's. The following decades witnessed the exploration of the same mineral in various places on the coast of Arabian Gulf. There started the legendary story of the Gulf countries - a story of evolution from camel to Cadillac. Small unnoticed places on the coast of Arabian Gulf were transformed into nations ranking first in terms of physical development.

By the creation of Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO), the country started the digging of oil commercially and attracted labourers from different parts of the world including India. India's connection with Bahrain is very old. As early as 2000 B.C Bahrain – or Dilmun, as the island then called – was an important commercial centre linking Mesopotamia with Indus valley. Ships from Dilmun carried gold, ivory, timber and lapiz lazuli from India to Babylon, shipped copper from Oman to Mesopotamia in return for woolen goods and vegetables, and sold local pearls and dates.³⁴ In addition, in the first half of the 20th century Bahrain was a British Protectorate under the Government of India. Naturally, the first migration of the Keralites to the Arabian Gulf in connection with the oil-boom was to Bahrain. Indians accounted for nearly 94.3 percent of the total clerical and technical employees , and 91.1 percent of the total artisans employed in the case of a leading oil

³⁴ Myron Weiner, 'International Migration and Development: Indians in the Persian Gulf', *Population and Development Review*, 8, No.1 (New York, March 1982), p.16.

company , Bahrain Petroleum Company in 1949.³⁵ According to one estimate, about 1000 *Malayalis* were working in Bahrain in 1958.³⁶

By the establishment of Kuwait Oil Company (KOC) in 1946 and the related activities in that country, migration of Indians and also *Malayalis* started to that place. Indians accounted for 85.6 percent of the total clerical, foreman and technical staff of the company in 1949.³⁷ Kuwait Oil Company was a prominent employer of migrants from Kerala. There were about 500 – 600 Malayalees in Kuwait in 1948.³⁸ The relation of India with Oman was deep rooted during the colonial period and it had a cultural and trade dimensions. The dominance of Indian merchants in the 19th century economy of Oman was widely acclaimed. “By 1856”, writes the historian Robert Landen, “few products were exchanged in the Omani empire ... without an Indian merchant being employed in the transaction in some capacity.”³⁹ The trade relation of India with the emirates of the present UAE, especially Dubai and Abudhabi has a long history. About 3,000 merchant families were living in Dubai even before the present oil boom. The merchants had created an Indian Association as early as 1941.⁴⁰ Migration to Qatar had also started in 1940s. By 1955, a few hundred Keralites had been employed in the newly discovered oil fields in Qatar under the Petroleum Concessions Limited. The bulk of the Keralites population in Doha in the 1970s consisted of petty traders, oil

³⁵ S.K.Sasikumar, ‘Trends, Patterns and Characteristics of Indian Labour Migration to the Middle-East During the Twentieth Century’, *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, Vol.38, No.2 (New Delhi, 1995), p.292.

³⁶ K.C.Zachariah et al, n.4, p 64.

³⁷ S.K.Sasikumar, n.35, p292.

³⁸ Ibid p.65

³⁹ Robert G.Landen, *Oman Since 1856: Disruptive Modernization in a Traditional Arab Society*, Princeton University Press, 1967, p.134 (Quoted in Myron Weiner, “International Migration and Development: Indians in the Persian Gulf”, *Population and Development Review* 8, No.1 (New York, March, 1982, P.19).

⁴⁰ Myron Weiner, n.34, p.13.

company workers and clerical staff. There were also a few doctors and engineers.⁴¹ Though migration to Saudi Arabia was also related to the oil boom, there were Indians (and of course Keralites) in Saudi Arabia even as early as 1940s. A scholar states that in 1940s there were Keralites working in the Arabian American Oil Company in Dahrán in Saudi Arabia.⁴²

In 1967 and 1973, the Arab OPEC (Oil Producing and Exporting Countries) members flexed their political muscle by raising oil prices in response to war with Israel. “The price hike of oil in 1973 and consequent earnings of large revenue had accelerated a process of industrialisation and social change in West Asian countries necessitating the services of large number of foreign workers.”⁴³ When the attention of the whole world was attracted towards West Asia, Kerala who had already commercial relations with the region could not keep aloof from the trend. A handful of Keralites migrated to Arabian coast to try their fortune. Thus, migration to the Middle East, which started in 1970’s with a few thousands assumed large proportion in subsequent years.

The pioneer migrants from Kerala especially from Malabar reached Arabia not through legal channels ie. with travel documents such as passport or NOC.⁴⁴ On the contrary, most of the migrants prior to 1975, emigrated through clandestine agencies, which were regularly transporting people to Arabia collecting amounts of varying nature.⁴⁵ A survey conducted by

⁴¹ K.C.Zachariah et al, n.4, p 66.

⁴² See, C.Kondapi, *Indian Overseas, 1838-1949* (Oxford University Press, 1951).

⁴³ B.A.Prakash, ‘Gulf Migration and its Economic Impact: The Kerala Experience’, *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 12 December, 1998), p.3209.

⁴⁴ K.P.K Tharuvai Haji, ‘*Yathrakkidayile Dhukkam*’ (Malayalam), *Kuwait Kerala Muslim Cultural Centre Relief Fund Souvenir*, Issue 2, (KMCC, Dubai, 1980), p.152.

⁴⁵ Among the twenty one early migrants interviewed by us, all went by illegal channels i.e. through Launches (Arabic Dhows) or ships. For a detailed and distinct experiences of the earlier migrants, their life in the Gulf, work conditions etc , See Various issues of the *Gulf Malayali* published from Bombay in the seventies and the eighties.

a scholar among the earlier migrants found that 30 percent of them had gone through such agencies.⁴⁶ Voyage in this way was very hazardous and many of the Gulf aspiring youngsters had lost their life during the trip due to starvation and sea – sickness.⁴⁷ In the launch accident near Sharjah in 1973 about 155 *Malayalis* had lost their lives.⁴⁸ “It was relatively low

⁴⁶ See P.R.Gopinathan Nair, n.32. See also Ammar Keezhuparamaba, *Marubhumiyaile Mazha Meghanaqal* (Malayalam), (Falcon Books, Kozhikode), pp.37-39.

⁴⁷ In the course of the study, we could interview twenty early migrants from all the five districts of Malabar except Wayanad, all of whom went abroad by launches or ships without any legal documents. Their journey was hazardous and full of sufferings. The narrations made by some of them would reveal how dangerous and hazardous those journeys were. Paredath Kammu Haji, Valakkulam, Kottakkal, Malappuram, one of the early migrants interviewed by us revealed that the fare of the launch was not uniform. The agencies collected different amounts from different passengers. He also said that three of the co-passengers died on the launch due to starvation and consequent sickness. Those who managed to reach near Fujairah coast (now Fujairah is one of the Emirates in UAE) had to suffer a lot. P.K.Moidu, Edacheri North, Kozhikode said that he had to wander about one month through the jungles of Arabia during which a sort of bugs bit and he lost his full skin. Yaqoot Haji, another early migrant from Vailathur, Tirur, Malappuram said that their team which consists of 35 *Malayalis* had to climb 13 big hills for three days after which they all fell on the ground due to hunger and starvation. They all thought that their end was near but fortunately a man appeared and saved them. He still thinks that it is none other than an angel sent by the God himself. K.P.Mohammed Kutty, Kainikkara, Tirur, Malappuram revealed that normally a launch will reach Arabian coast within six or seven days from Kozhikode or Mumbai. But due to engine trouble, their journey took one and a half month to reach Dubai during which water and food were exhausted and the trip became a miserable one. The migration of C.H.Aboo, Chokli, Thalasseri, Kannur is also an adventurous one. He migrated to Dubai by land through Baluchistan to Goxer. The entire journey was by foot. It took about two months to reach this place. From there, he went to Khorfokkan (a place in UAE) by launch.

Kallan Hasan Haji, a native of Puthanathani, Malappuram district who migrated to Mumbai in 1953 and was running a tea-shop there in 1950s and 1960s, revealed important information regarding this type of migration. He was an agent under whom more than two hundred and fifty Keralites went to Dubai by launches without any legal documents. Many of the earlier migrants of Malappuram who are now in good position went to Dubai under the mercy of this man.

⁴⁸ We interviewed Moyikkal Hamza, Vengad, Malappuram, one of the survivors of this tragedy. He talked in detail about the accident. Only thirty seven persons could be identified. An after effect of this tragedy was that an Organisation under the name Indian Relief Committee was formed, leaders of which were earlier migrants in Dubai. C.H.Aboo, Chokli who migrated to Dubai in 1960 and also one of the founder leaders of this organization talked about the activities done under this committee. As a result of their work, all the survivors got Indian Passports and Dubai government issued free visas for this people. And luckily, as a result of this tragedy, another 13000 thousands migrants who reached Dubai without passport got Indian passport (See also

financial but extremely at high physical and psychological costs.”⁴⁹ The individuals were ready to bear the risk of travelling in country-made launches, without any valid documents, mainly because of two factors: Economic pressures at home and the massive demonstrative effect of the amount of wealth brought by the returnees.⁵⁰ During those days the newspapers in Kerala were filled with the news of these clandestine recruitment.⁵¹ Today, Kerala has become part of the Gulf countries, if not geographically and politically but very much so economically, socially and culturally. What happens in the Gulf countries have their repercussions in Kerala; and what happens in Kerala have in turn, their repercussions in the Gulf countries.⁵²

Number of Emigrants

One of the major problems one faces with regard to Gulf migration is the absence of a reliable database with regard to the number of people involved in this process. The official source of statistics is the data provided by the Protector General of Emigration (PGE), Ministry of Labour of the Government of India. But the data provided by the Protector General’s office is partial due to the following reasons.

- 1) A number of categories of emigrants are exempted from their list since they are permanently exempted from emigration clearance requirement and a few others are exempted by the authority of the Protector General.

Appendix V)

⁴⁹ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, *Enhancement of Household Capacity in the Post Migration Phase Kerala (India)*,p.42.

⁵⁰ S.K.Sasikumar, n.35, p.292.

⁵¹ See for example the titles of the news stories such as, ‘Dubayilekku Purappetta 77 Perum 6 Agentumarum Kastadiyil’, *Mthrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 21 October 1969); ‘Dubai Yathrakkarane Pidi Koodi’, *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 8 November 1969).

⁵² K.C.Zachariah et al, n.3, p.1.

- 2) A large number of migrants belonging to different states obtain emigration clearance from the Protectorates other than their states like Mumbai and Delhi and data on emigration clearance granted are available only according to Protectorates and not on state-wise basis.
- 3) Some persons cancel the migration after they obtained the emigration clearance and their figures are not excluded from the list.
- 4) Migrants going through extra-legal channel do not appear anywhere.

Then, other reliable sources are certain studies and reports based on sample surveys conducted by governmental as well as non-governmental agencies.

An important study in this connection is the one, conducted by the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram. It has calculated the number of migrants both from India and from Kerala in continuous years starting from 1973 to 2003. In 1973 when migration was in its initial phase the number of Keralites in the Gulf countries was 34000 (17.26% of total Indian emigrants). Till 1981, the percentage Kerala emigrants out of the total Indian emigrants was below sixteen. From 1981 onwards it rose tremendously and when we reach 2000, the share of Kerala rose to 11.04 lakhs i.e.35.75% of total Indian emigrants.⁵³

⁵³ K.P.Kannan and K.S.Hari, 'Kerala's Gulf Connection: Emigration, Remittances and their Macroeconomic Impact 1972 – 2000', Working Paper No. 328 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, March 2002), p.27.

Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram has conducted many surveys on various aspects of migration from Kerala. The latest one is 'Report on Activity Status of Migrants and Returnees, May 2003'. The survey covered 1.29 lakh households in the state, which is more than 2 percent of the total households. The survey results contained various elements related to migration – number of households in each district, employment, per capita expenditure, distribution of migrants according to religion, sex, countries of destination, marital status, general as well technical education, employer status, utilisation of earnings, various details of return migrants etc.

District-wise distribution of migrants shows that maximum number of migrants is from Malappuram district. There are 238970 emigrants in Malappuram (17.27% of total emigrants). Of the total 1383597 emigrants from the state, Malabar sent 614193 persons (44.38) Travancore-Cochin's share was 769405 (55.62). While Malabar's share of migrants to total population was (4.54%) the Travancore – Cochin's share was only (4.2%) only (See the Table 7.3).

Table 7.3

District wise Distribution of Migrants

District	No. of Migrants	%
Thiruvananthapuram	144289	10.43
Kollam	131837	9.53
Pathanamthitta	93842	6.78
Alappuzha	89437	6.46
Kottayam	70418	5.09

Idukki	12608	0.91
Eranakulam	79313	5.73
Trissur	147661	10.67
Palakkad	67911	4.91
Malappuram	238970	17.27
Kozhikode	118883	8.59
Wayanad	6797	0.49
Kannur	135102	9.76
Kasargod	46530	3.36
Total	1383597	100.00

Source: Government of Kerala, *Report on Activity Status of Migrants and Returnees* (Directorate of Economics & Statistics, May 2003), p.68.

Another important finding is that out of the total migrants, 15.72% i.e. 2.18 lakhs are females. The interesting thing with regard to sex wise analysis is the predominance of Travancore-Cochin region in the number of female migrants and the relative low participation of Malabar. When the former Travancore – Cochin area contributes 81.01 % female migrants Malabar's share is only 18.99% (See table 7.4).

Table 7.4

District wise Distribution of employed Migrants according to sex

District	Male		Female	
	No	%	No.	%
Thiruvananthapuram	118064	11.10	5276	6.92
Kollam	106001	9.96	7709	10.11
Pathanamthitta	51322	4.82	10582	13.88
Alappuzha	61273	5.76	8025	10.52
Kottayam	32663	3.07	13219	17.33
Idukki	6574	0.62	3042	3.99
Eranakulam	50668	4.76	9829	12.89
Trissur	122684	11.53	4096	5.37
Palakkad	58329	5.48	1531	2.01
Malappuram	198204	18.63	3529	4.63
Kozhikode	102710	9.65	4783	6.27
Wayanad	5629	0.53	743	0.97
Kannur	111719	10.50	2806	3.68
Kasargod	38030	3.57	1094	1.43
Total	1063869	100.00	76265	100.00

Source: Government of Kerala, *Report on Activity Status of Migrants and Returnees* (Directorate of Economics & Statistics, May 2003), p.69.

As regards the country wise analysis, the maximum number of migrants is in UAE followed by Saudi Arabia. Of the total 1084650 Keralites in Arab Gulf nations, 515833 (47.55%) are from Malabar region and the remaining 568817 (52.45%) are from southern districts (See Table 7.5). A notable finding of the survey is that total migrants from Kerala to countries other than Arabian Gulf is 44123 persons. Of these only 6657 (15%) migrants belong to Malabar region. The remaining lion share 37466 (85%) belong to southern districts (See the Table 7.5)

Table 7.5
Country wise Distribution of Migrants

County	Tvm	Klm	Pta	Alp	Ktm	Idk	Ekm	Tsr	Pkd	Mlp	Kkd	Wyd	Knr	Kgd	Tot persons
UAE	51353	30368	1991 3	1938 1	1069 9	215 9	1597 8	54998	1975 6	68438	31163	903	58613	2575 1	409473
Sudi Arabia	39337	54954	1750 8	2604 4	1399 1	348 3	2475 6	30621	2553 5	10910 2	27958	393 0	25721	5419	408359
Oman	14418	12449	5291	6662	3858	107 9	4257	12438	4346	6803	7939	372	8522	1640	90074
Bahrain	5381	5001	4858	4795	2160	392	4100	9942	2420	3376	17899	106	8470	1939	69739
Qatar	2664	2865	1924	1767	1080	491	2733	10890	3803	5984	12376	531	6028	1243	54379
Kuwait	3970	4167	4666	4896	3189	687	3259	5045	1926	3836	8087	266	3793	1839	49626
USA+Other American	2665	2500	5099	3735	7201	589	2996	1148	988	563	838	0	987	597	29906
Other Asians	731	313	385	404	514	147	473	649	445	2916	197	159	312	149	7794
Singapore/Malaysia	1097	313	529	303	669	49	420	749	296	409	394	156	935	298	6567
Other Europeans	522	156	577	505	1595	540	999	400	49	0	197	0	156	149	5845
Africans+UK+Australia	1201	626	1154	807	926	0	526	999	296	306	444	0	988	99	8372
All countries	12333 9	11371 2	6190 4	6929 9	4588 2	961 6	6049 7	12677 9	5986 0	20173 3	10749 2	637 3	11452 5	3912 3	1140134

Source: Government of Kerala, *Report on Activity Status of Migrants and Returnees* (Directorate of Economics & Statistics, May 2003)

Remittances

Remittances may be considered as the litmus test of migration benefits. They involve both cash and kinds received by the migrant households. Unlike the migration to the Western world including USA and countries of Western Europe, which is in a sense a “semi permanent” migration at least in terms of economic returns, the migration to the Gulf is a “systematic temporary” labour migration where the economic ties remain. Regarding remittances also there are no accurate statistics, since the remittances include money sent through illegal channels and also besides cash various articles - clothing, ornaments, jewellery, electric and electronic gadgets received by the households. Because of many reasons there are unavoidable errors and omissions in the balance of payments (BOP) data on private transfers.⁵⁴ Anyhow, scholars have made different calculations on the topic. In 1983 studies have been made on the assessments of remittances by assuming a certain proportion of Kerala workers in the total Indian workers abroad.⁵⁵ The same method was followed by two other scholars in 1989⁵⁶ and 1997⁵⁷. Another attempt was by a group of scholars of Centre for Development Studies through a survey of sample households throughout the state. The Kerala Migration Study undertaken by Centre for Development Studies made an estimate of the total cash remittances received by Kerala households during a 12 – month period in 1998 as Rs. 35,304 million. The same study estimated the total remittances (cash plus goods) as Rs. 40,717 million or 10.7 per cent of SDP.⁵⁸ The amount is 3 times what the state had received by way

⁵⁴ Anand G. Chandavarkar, ‘Use of Migrant Remittances in Labour Exporting Countries’, *Finance and Development*, Vol.17, No.2 (Washington DC, June 1980), p.37.

⁵⁵ I.S.Gulati and Asoka Mody, ‘Remittances of Indian Migrants to the Middle East: An Assessment with special reference to Migrants from Kerala’, Working Paper No.182 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 1983).

⁵⁶ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, n.32.

⁵⁷ T.M.Thomas Isaac, ‘Economic Consequences of Gulf Migration’, *Kerala’s Demographic Transition: Determinants and Consequences*, ed, K.C.Zachariah and S. Irudaya Rajan, (Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1997).

⁵⁸ . K.C.Zachariah et al, n.3, p22.

of budget support from the Central Government. It was about four times the export earnings from the state's seafood industries (Rs. 1000 crore approximately) and 7 times that that from export of spices from the state (Rs 570 approximately), the two most acclaimed export sectors in Kerala.⁵⁹ For a detailed comparison see the Table 7.6

Table 7.6

External Remittance: a Comparative analysis (In crores)

Indicators	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
External Remittance	13652	14438	15732	17362	18465
Net State Domestic Product	53552	62557	63715	73049	83783
Per capita Income	16062	18262	19951	22668	25764
Revenue income	7198	7942	8731	9056	10634
Aid from Central Government	1991	2218	2202	2590	2653
Government Expenditure	5855	9263	8679	8528	10029
Debt of the state Government	15700	20178	23919	26950	31060
Income from export of cashew	1317	1878	1153	965	1217
Income from export of fish	817	1142	1046	951	995

Source: P.Suresh, '*Keraleeyar Puram Natukalil Paniyedukkumbol Sambhavikkunnath*' (Malayalam), *Sasthragathi Monthly*, (Kozhikode, November 2006), p.17.

The study has identified inter – community variations and inter – regional variations in the volume of total remittances. Malappuram stands

⁵⁹ Ibid. p.46.

atop with 17 percent of the total remittances. While Muslim community received 47 percent of the total remittances Nairs got about 9 percent. However, as far as the remittances per emigrant is concerned, Latin Christian emigrants got the highest. An average Latin Christian sent Rs. 33 thousand per year while the average remittance per Muslim emigrant was Rs. 24 thousand only.⁶⁰ A different method was adopted by another scholar in 1994.⁶¹ Two other scholars made a detailed estimate of the foreign remittances to the state from 1972 – 2000. The study reveals tremendous growth of the state's foreign remittances in the period. According to them, the total remittances to the state in 1972 – 73 was 8.31 crores which was 0.27% of NSDP (Net State Domestic Product). Thereafter it rose tremendously though with little variations and in 1999 – 2000 it became 14157.88 crores which was 22.63 percent of the NSDP of the state. Both NRI deposits and remittances in kind increased and showed immense growth.⁶²

A latest study published by Centre for Development Studies on Kerala migration has estimated an annual foreign remittance of 13,815 crores in 1998 – 2000 (See Table 7.7). Of these, the share of the Gulf countries is 12640 crores.⁶³

⁶⁰ Ibid. p.22.

⁶¹ T.N.Krishnan, 'Foreign Remittances, Consumption and Income', Seminar Paper, International Congress on Kerala Studies (AKG Centre for Research and Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 27 – 29 August 1994).

⁶² For details See, KP.Kannan and K.S.Hari, n.53, p.10.

⁶³ K.C.Zachariah et.al, 'Gulf Migration Study: Employment, Wages and Working Conditions of Kerala Emigrants in the United Arab Emirates', Working Paper No.326 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, March 2002), p.26.

Table 7.7

Annual Remittances to Kerala during 1998 – 2000

Country of Origin	Remittances (in Crores)
Saudi Arabia	5333
United Arab Emirates	3757
Kuwait	1232
Oman	1100
Qatar	628
Bahrain	590
Others	1175
Toatl	13815

Sorce: K.C.Zachariah et.al, 'Gulf Migration Study: Employment, Wages and Working Conditions of Kerala Emigrants in the United Arab Emirates, Working Paper No.326 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, March 2002), p.71.

Causes of Migration

There is no unanimity among scholars regarding the causes of migration from Kerala. Different studies have made different assumptions on this aspect of the problem. As stated earlier, Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, has conducted various studies on migration. The Centre located the root cause of migration from the state in the 'Kerala Model of Development'. "At the origin we postulate that the root cause of migration was the Kerala model of Development – a vibrant social sector co – existing with a stagnant productive sector."⁶⁴ From the analysis of migration process from the state, they have identified four important elements in the Kerala Model of Development contributing to migration from Kerala.

⁶⁴ K.C.Zachariah et al, 'Impact of Migration on Kerala's Economy and Society', Working Paper No.297, (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, October 1999), p.27.

- 1) The rapid decline in mortality and the resulting demographic expansion.
- 2) Stagnation in the agricultural sector in Kerala following the wage hikes and agrarian and other reforms of the 1960s introduced without the necessary follow up reforms such as agricultural mechanisation.
- 3) The accelerated development in the education especially the education at higher levels.
- 4) The failure of the economic organisation in the state to expand employment in the Secondary and Tertiary Sectors.⁶⁵

Another study made by Agro-Research Centre, Madras in Chavakkad village in Thrissur district lists high density of population in the state, shrinking labour absorption in agriculture and sluggish rate of industrial growth and high percentage of education coupled with inadequate employment avenues as the important reasons for the vast exodus towards the Arabian Gulf.⁶⁶

Still another study finds some other pushing factors for the genesis of migration from the state. One is the increasing man-land ratio. The increase in arable area increased the man-land ratio, which reached 7.36 persons per hectare in 1971, the highest in India. Secondly, stagnant industrial sector failed to provide significant employment opportunity to the people of the state. The high level of literacy and education and the consequent huge backlog of educated unemployed are the third reason.⁶⁷

Thus, different studies show different reasons for the migration. The causes that they raise for the migration are only partially true. The Kerala

⁶⁵ Ibid. pp. 27 – 29.

⁶⁶ Agro-Economic Research Centre, 'Impact of Foreign Remittances on the Economy of a Rural Area in Kerala', *Agricultural Situation in India*, Vol.37, No.7 (October 1982), p.451.

⁶⁷ Raju Kurien, n.2, p.9.

Migration Study treats the various elements in the Kerala Model as factors that generated and accelerated migration from Kerala. This does not seem to be true or at least partially false in the case of Gulf migration. An objective analysis reveals that the factors related to the ‘Kerala Model of Development’ and economically motivated and traditionally quoted ‘push pull’ forces are alone not sufficient to explain the background setting and consequent flow of migration to the Gulf nations. Over and above, one must also examine other social conditions of the period at the beginning of migration and cultural elements inherent in the community that took part in migration.

Kerala Migration Study sees the development in education especially at higher levels as one of the foremost causes for the migration. This finding is questionable on the basis of the official data published by the government. The Report of the Economics and Statistics Department reveals that 42.08 percentage of the emigrants from whole Kerala have only an education of Upper Primary level. Graduates among the migrants are only 9.60 percent. As far as Malabar is concerned, the position is very pathetic. 58.64 percent migrants have studied only up to Upper Primary level. Malappuram, which ranks first in the number of migrants has 63.59 percent migrants having upper primary level of education (See Table 7.8). Though, Separate community based statistics on migrants’ education level is not available, on the basis of other evidences it is certain that Muslim migrants are the most backward in the matter of general as well as technical education. The data published by the Economics and Statistics Department is based on a survey started in 1998 and published in 2003. Hence the information about the migrants is the latest and not belonging to early phase of migration.⁶⁸ The level of technical education

⁶⁸ The findings of some Micro level studies in the early phase of migration are interesting to note. A study conducted by B.A.Prakash in Chavakkad village of Trissur district in 1978 shows that 9 percent of the migrants were illiterate. 46 migrants had only primary education (B.A.Prakash, ‘Impact of Foreign Remittances: A Case Study of Chavakkad Village in Kerala’, *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, July 8 1978), p.1108). Another study found 7.6 percent illiterates, 38.4% having a schooling of 4 years but less than 8 years and 23.8% having a schooling of 8years but less than 10 years (ET.Mathew and P.R.Gopinathan Nair,

among migrants is very pitiable. Among the migrants about 80.83 percent had no technical education. Among the total migrants of 614193 in Malabar 495288 (80.64%) had no technical qualification.

The views expressed by the scholars at the Centre for Development Studies are correct in other small scale migrations that originated from Travancore – Cochin area. As we already noted, most of the migrants to USA and other advanced European countries and Australia were educated persons. In previous migrations also, educated people of Southern districts of the state had actively taken part. For example in Malaya, the white collar jobs such as civilian clerks, Junior officers in Government Departments, clerks and other officers in the European plantations were mainly recruited from Ceylon Tamils. A network of schools started by Christian missionaries produced hundreds of educated men in Travancore and Cochin. So what we see later is that bit by bit, these posts were taken over by the people of Travancore and Cochin. “Similar to the well-organised school system of Jaffna in Ceylon, there were extensive higher education facilities in the princely states of Travancore and Cochin producing the most literate, linguistic group in India. From 1920s, Malayali educated men migrated to Malaya, tending to concentrate in the private sector, in the lower grades of clerical employment in the European firms and employment.”⁶⁹

Table 7.8

Distribution of employed Migrants According to General Education

District	Illiterate	Below primary	Lower Primary	Upper Primary	SSLC	PDC	Graduate and
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n.28, p.1143). The study conducted by Commerce Research Bureau reveals that about 10 percent of their study are illiterate and 40 percent are below matriculates (Commerce Research Bureau, ‘Emigration, Inward Remittance and Economic Development of Kerala, Report of a Survey’, (Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Bombay, 1978, p.7)). Our interviews with the earlier migrants revealed that at the time of migration, most of them were illiterate. Those who could read and write had no formal education. And it was afterwards, many of them learnt the ability to read.

⁶⁹ Sinnappa Arasaratnam, n.16, p.34.

							Above
Thiruvananthapuram	1045	1411	4702	33330	52233	16508	13112
Kollam	521	2292	6615	31149	50266	12918	9949
Pathanamthitta	241	144	481	6686	26791	16498	11063
Alappuzha	303	252	1817	12265	33413	11962	9287
Kottayam	51	309	412	3601	12962	15894	12654
Idukki	98	245	540	1766	2600	2943	1423
Eranakulam	631	478	2102	11248	20131	16399	9408
Trissur	649	1598	9941	35766	52101	14336	12388
Palakkad	395	2766	8594	22472	16101	4248	5285
Malappuram	3632	6394	40459	77798	56622	10946	5882
Kozhikode	2022	4191	16420	40384	29339	8333	6805
Wayanad	106	372	1168	2283	1752	319	372
Kannur	468	1975	12367	37153	40946	11640	9977
Kasargod	696	2088	7159	15659	9893	1740	1889
Total	10857	24615	112776	331560	406150	144684	109493

Source: Government of Kerala, *Report on Activity Status of Migrants and Returnees* (Directorate of Economics & Statistics, May 2003), p.73.

Another factor in the Kerala Model attached to the incentives of migration is the demographic expansion. It is true that the population explosion and the consequent unemployment is one of the causes of migration from the state. But the assumption that the more the growth of population in a region, the more the number of migrants, is not based on a true data. According to the Census of 1981, in decadal growth of population Wayanad district ranked first in the state. The second and third positions went to Malppuram and Idukki districts respectively.⁷⁰ It may sound ironical that

⁷⁰ Government of Kerala, *Statistics for Planning – 1993* (Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram), p.7.

among all the districts, Wayanad sent the least percent of migrants (0.49%) to foreign lands. Idukki stands second (0.91%) (See Table 7.3).

So, the reasons for migration to the Arabian Gulf are to be sought somewhere else. Two important features of the Gulf migration noted by every studies, are the region as well as the religion wise concentration.⁷¹ To put it briefly, Malabar and Muslim community are the main contributors of Gulf migration. Here, we have to recollect that in all the earlier international migrations barring the professional migration to the advanced countries of the world that took place in the 19th century and early part of the 20th century, the dominance was in the hands of Malabar and Muslim community. The ascendancy of Malabar in the migration lies in historical, cultural, economic, social and religious reasons.

Historical antecedents of migration in any place or society themselves are apparently one of the important causes for future migration. “So long as there are people to emigrate the principal cause of emigration is further emigration. Other circumstances operate as deterrents or incentives, but within this attitudinal framework.”⁷² As we already discussed, thousands of Malabar Muslims had migrated to various foreign countries like Malaya, Singapore, Burma etc. When these colonies got independence, the new governments there, framed new immigration rules and most of the migrants had to come back. This migration experience and the connection with the travelling agencies there helped them to look for new destinations.⁷³ “The tradition of migration acts as a ‘social force’ and an element which may not

⁷¹ K.K.N.Kurup and E.Ismail, *Pravasikalude Oru Vamozhi Charithram* (Malabar Institute of Research and Development, Kozhikode, 2005), p.53.

⁷² Peterson, ‘A General Typology of Migration’, *Readings in the Sociology of Migration*, ed, C.A.Janeen, (Pergamon Press, 1970).

⁷³ Four of the earlier migrants interviewed by us said that they had previous emigration experience. Paredath Kammu Haji, Valakkulam, Malappuram had migrated to Pakistan and had spent ten years there. Kasthurikkari Moosa Haji, Vellikulangara, Nadapuram had also migrated to Pakistan before. P.K.Moidu Haji, Kannookkara, Vatakara had been a migrant to Mumbai before. V.P. Ummer Haji, Kodumunda, Pattambi was also an emigrant to Pakistan.

have an economic reason to migrants are drawn into it”.⁷⁴ Apart from that, the loyalty of the earlier migrants to their employers provided further opportunities to their friends and family members to obtain employment in the Gulf.⁷⁵

Muslims of Malabar had age long trade relations with the outside world especially with the Arabs. Many of the Muslims living in the coastal belt were in constant touch with them for several centuries through trading and matrimonial relations.⁷⁶ This was another favourable factor for migration. The migratory nature inherent in the genetic roots of the people of coastal area is acclaimed by a famous writer.⁷⁷ It is to bear in mind that all the states in India or all the districts in Kerala had not taken part in the migration from the beginning. “Region which had earlier experience of international migration or communities which had affinity of some type or other with the Arab world must have been the harbingers. Other communities, other regions and other countries must have joined the process later in the light of the experience of the pioneers.”⁷⁸

“One of the noteworthy characteristics is that minority communities like Muslims and Christians and backward communities like Ezhavas constituted the major proportion of the emigrants. Caste Hindus like Nairs and Brahmins are rare. The Brahmins who occupy a high place in the social hierarchy, are next to nil.”⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Aurora, G.S, ‘The New Frontiersmen: A Sociological Study of Indian Immigrants in the United Kingdom’, *Popular Prakashan*, (Bombay, 1967), p.67.

⁷⁵ S.K.Sasikumar, n.35, p.296.

⁷⁶ N.P.Mohammed, ‘Kerala Muslimkalude Samskarika Paschathalam’ (Malayalam) , *Riyad K.M.C.C. Kozhikode District committee Souvenir* (Riyad, 2002), pp.59-62.

⁷⁷ Shihabudheen Poithumkadavu, ‘Driverum Cheriyoru Pailotalle Sir’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 8 – 14 June, 2008), p.21.

⁷⁸ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, *Asian Migration to the Arab world: Migration from Kerala, (India)*, (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 1986), p.7.

⁷⁹ Commerce Research Bureau, n.68, p.6)

This aspect of the migration denotes two important points. First, the emigration at its initial phase was a hazardous job done at the risk of the emigrants' life. It was both adventurous and the result was uncertain. The caste Hindus who did not have any tradition of hard physical labour or enterprising venture naturally didn't go for a risk. Muslim migrants, "however, in respect of work experience and earning status marginally better than others. This was quite expected because Muslims in general drop out from school at a relatively low age and took to every sundry economic activities in fishing, trading and other petty business."⁸⁰ Second, the migration was an escape from the existing socio - economic conditions that existed in Malabar.

As we noted earlier, in all the international migrations barring the professional migration, the control was in the hands of Muslims and Malabar. Where as in the migration to the advanced countries of the West as we noted earlier four – fifth of the migrants were from Travancore-Cochin region. "A distinctive characteristic of emigration to the Gulf countries is a near absence of highly qualified manpower in the flow, in sharp contrast to the emigration to the advanced countries of the West."⁸¹ Yes, when emigration to the advanced countries was a matter of the highly educated in Kerala, the emigration to the Gulf was the concern of low educated or even illiterate. So, in sharp contrast to the views expressed by the previous studies, one of the incentives of the migration from Malabar was not the progress in education but the relative backwardness.

The religious and ethnic connections have also played a dominant role in the migration to West Asia. "When faced with general economic pressures

⁸⁰ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, (1986), n.76, p.19. Quoting Max Webber Dr.K.K.N.Kurup shows this as the example for the influence that religion plays in the industrial development of a region (Dr.K.K.N.Kurup, *Pravasikalude Oru Vamozhi Charithram*, n71, p.53).

⁸¹ C.Radhakrishnan and P.Ibrahim, 'Emigration, Inward Remittance and Economic Development: With Particular Reference to the Emigration from Kerala to Persian Gulf Countries', *Manpower Journal*, Vol.13, No.4 (New Delhi, January – March 1981), p.19.

to migrate, individuals tend to choose countries that have close relationship with them”.⁸² Muslim community in Kerala is an eternal symbol of Kerala’s contact with West Asia. There were among Mappilas of Malabar, both the descendants of the Arabs through local women and the converts among the local people.⁸³ So it is quite natural that Muslims became the pioneers in migration to West Asia. “Transnational economic, political and historic linkages between sending and receiving countries are important determinants when understanding how migrant flows are constituted.”⁸⁴

A very significant point with regard to Gulf migration is that the migrants heavily concentrated in the coastal districts of the state – Thiruvananthapuram, Trissur, Malappuram, Kozhikode and Knnur and the hilly districts such as Wayanad and Idukky have very low concentration. “The concentration of Gulf migrants in Kerala may be linked to its prior experience in migration and the close ties the coastal pockets of the region have always had with the Arab countries. There, incidentally, is a remarkable coincidence not only in the regional concentration but also in the pattern of Gulf migration to that of the earlier Ceylon-Malaysian migration.”⁸⁵ Similar view has been expressed by another scholar. “In addition, people of Kerala, particularly of the coastal belt, have rich experience and tradition of migration to other countries such as Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, Mauritius and The West Indies. The trading and matrimonial relationship that the Muslims of Kerala

⁸² Takeyuki Psuda, ‘The Motivations to Migrate: The Ethnic and Socio – Cultural Constitutions of the Japanese – Brazillian Return Migration System’, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol.48, No.1 (Chicago, 1995), p.8.

⁸³ Syed Mohideen Sha, *Islam in Kerala* (The Muslim Educational Association , Trissur, 1975), p.3.

⁸⁴ Takeyuki Psuda , n.80, p.8 (The migration of Brazillian ‘Nikkeijin’ to the distant land of Japan is an example for this aspect of migration. Instead of moving to the nearest advanced and industrialised countries, Brazillians opted to migrate to Japan. This explains the impact of historical connections and linkages between Brazil and Japan. The migration of Malabar Muslims to West Asia has close resemblance to this migration.

⁸⁵ T.M.Thomas Isaac, n.57, p.22

have maintained with the Arab world for several centuries in the past also provided an additional favourable factor for migration”.⁸⁶

We do not underestimate the factors like low man – land ratio, severe unemployment etc as enlisted by the above mentioned studies in accelerating the migration process from the state. But when we take Malabar and Muslims in particular, this alone would not explain the point. As observed by an eminent scholar, migration is the outcome of extreme social pressure experienced by the people of Kerala.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, n.32, p.24.

⁸⁷ Prof. M.N.Vijayan, ‘*Nammude Rosham Gulfilinnu Kondu Vnnathalla*’ (Malayalam), *Chandrika Weekly*, (Kozhikode, 28 August – 3 September, 2004), p.7.

CHAPTER 8

SOCIETY IN TRANSITION-I

The state of Kerala came into being in the first decade of the second half of the twentieth century, a period so spectacular in the developmental history of humanity. The period witnessed amazing changes- both negative and positive- in the economic, social, scientific, demographic and environmental spheres all over the world. These changes came about within a short span, for similar changes it took thousands of years before. For example, the world population reached 250 crores in 1950. It took thousands of years to reach this number. But to add an additional 250 crores it took only 37 years. To put it another way, the world population reached 500 crores in 1987. Developments in various branches of knowledge such as information technology and computer science, bio-technology, space research etc were surprising. The age witnessed the development of specialization of all branches of knowledge.

Migration to the Arabian Gulf from Kerala also took place during this period. Keralites began to go across the Arabian Sea in large numbers to the Persian Gulf following the oil price hike and the consequent boom in oil production in the early 1970's. Since then, the region started to feel the affluence of external remittances, the impact of which is being observed in almost all sectors of people's life. One of the great economists and the present Finance Minister of Kerala is of the opinion that the change that reflects in Kerala in the standard of consumption among the people and in the basic character of the state's economy is because of the external remittances from the Gulf.¹ A scholar looks on the impact of Gulf boom like this, "The Gulf

¹ Dr.T.M.Thomas Isaac, 'Kerala Vikasanam Annum Innum' (Malayalam), *Sastragathi Monthly*, (Kozhikode, November 2005), p.16.

migrants make the same changes as made by the commercialization of agriculture in the social and educational sector in the 19th century”.² A Souvenir of an expatriate organisation based in Abudhabi and published in the early phase of the Gulf migration wrote, “In a society, whose evolution and development is unpredictable, what changes would effect the torrents of Gulf money are also unpredictable”.³ When the state started to enjoy a windfall external income for two decades, the impact started to be more evident. After 26 years, another souvenir of another expatriate organization wrote. “Gulf money paved the way for ideological and physical changes in the state. Our life was exposed to fundamental changes. *Malayali* walked ahead of all Indian states in the fields of education, health, food, communication, dress, residence etc”.⁴ Voice of Islam briefed the impact of migration in the following words, “The economic betterment and the latent optimisms opened the eyes to the facts of thatched buildings turning to terraced mansions, the hues and cries of starving children turning to the perennial music of radios and tape recorders, the nasty smell of unhygienic surroundings turning to the smoothing of fragrance of sprays”.⁵

According to one study, in 1971, which was the early phase of Arabian migration, Kerala got Rs. 400 crores as external remittances.⁶ A study made in the Gulf pockets in 1970s shows that in the initial phase of the Gulf migration itself evidences of the bulging external remittances were visible everywhere in the state.⁷ The bank deposits in Malappuram district registered

² Pro.K.M.Bahaudheen, ‘Kerala Purogathiyil Gulf Malayalikalude Panku (Malayalam), *Madyamam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 09 November 2005).

³ Kunhikkannan Ponnath, ‘Gulf Malayalikal Innathe Pothu Jeevithathe Engane Swadeenikkunnu’ (Malayalam), *Abudhabi-Malayali Samajam Souvenir* (Abudhabi, 1981), p.136.

⁴ P.T.Kunhimohammed, ‘Ayudhamillatha, Nakkilathavarude Porattangalkkayi Kathorkkuka’ (Malayalam), *Pravasam 2007*, (Kerala Pravasi Sangam, 2007), p.13.

⁵ Report, ‘Problems of Indian Emigration to West Asia’, *Voice of Islam* (15 January 1980), p.10.

⁶ Raju Kurien and Dilip Thakkore, ‘Gulf Money in Kerala: Coping with the Problems of Plenty’, *Business India* (Mumbai, 25 June –8 July 1979), p.22.

⁷ For instance, in Varkala, the deposits of Scheduled Commercial banks shot up from Rs. 74 lakhs in December 1972 to Rs.335 in December 1976. During the same period, in Thiruvalla,

a threefold expansion compared to two-fold expansion for the state in the course of the period 1975-1980.⁸ It is a common sense matter that the migration and the consequent remittances would have its own role- both positive and negative- in all the changes that the state witnessed in the last quarter of the twentieth century. We would like to confess at the outset that Gulf boom is not the only cause behind all the social and cultural transformations that Kerala witnessed in the last quarter of the twentieth century. And since social change and cultural transformation are not simple processes, it involves the interaction of many factors and Gulf migration and the consequent remittances are only one among them. So, in all the below mentioned transformations Gulf boom is not the sole determinant but one among the many catalysts.

Migration to the Gulf and the consequent remittances has been the base of subsistence for thousands of households in the state since its inception in 1970s. How, do the migrants and their families back home use the considerable sums of remittances which flow back to the country of origin, and what are the impacts of these capital flows on individual, household and community development? According to one scholar, "Since mid-1970s, the factor which had the greatest impact on regional economy, especially on labour market, consumption, savings, investment, poverty, income distribution and economic growth has been the Gulf migration and migrant remittances".⁹ Studies made on the developmental aspects of Kerala have revealed the comparative progress that the state made in various fields. The Central Statistical Organisation used 22 parametres including a) railway (within 5 kilometres) b) metalled roads (within 2 kilometres) 3) Post office (within 2 kilometres) etc to assess the development of rural areas in various

bank deposits increased from Rs.377 lakhs to Rs. 975 lakhs. In 1976, these deposits were growing at an annual estimate rate of 58% in Varkala and 46% in Thiruvalla compared to 28.5 in the state as a whole (Raju Kurien and Dilip Thakkore, n.6, p.22)

⁸ I.S.Gulati and Ashok Modi, 'Remittances of Indian Migrants to the Middle East: Assessment with Special Reference to Kerala', Working Paper 182 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, November 1983), pp.32.

⁹ B. A.Prakash, 'Gulf Migration and its Economic Impact: The Kerala Experience', *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 12 December 1998), p.3209.

states of India. According to their reports in 16 items Kerala is ahead of other states.¹⁰

Social Structure

Migration to West Asia opened the doors of modern world towards the caste based and hence closed society of Kerala. In Kerala, where birth decided the social status of a person, even certain dresses, food items, houses, occupations etc were prerogatives of the high castes. For example, those who were lower to Nayars, were proscribed sandals, umbrellas and some types of jewellery.¹¹ In southern parts of the state, the right to cover the breast was limited to high caste women and the low caste women who violate this unwritten rule were punished. The distinguishing features in appearance and dress were sufficient to identify the individual by his caste.¹² . That is, until recently, the social status of a person in the state was determined by caste. Afterwards, we noticed education and the consequent profession also becoming the measuring scales of one's social status. Today, one can hardly identify a person by his external appearance alone, to which caste or community he belongs. In this transformation, the social reform movements and western education had played great roles. The closing decades of the 20th century witnessed the consumption also becoming the yardstick to gauge one's social status.

The perception that the economic development will accelerate the change in social dignity accelerated the migration.¹³ Before the Beginning of Gulf Migration, the government employees were the section who enjoyed

¹⁰ See M.A.Oommen, 'Keralathinte Purogathi: Oru Thirinju Nottam' (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 14 June 1987), p.34.

¹¹ Robin Jeffrey, *The Decline of Nayar Dominance: Society and Politics in Travancore 1807-1908* (Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976), p.58.

¹² A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteer, Trivandrum* (Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1962), p.299.

¹³ N.P.Hafiz Mohammed, 'Vibhava Seshi Vikasathinte Parinamangal' (Malayalam) *Thelicham Varshikappatippu* (Tirurangadi, 2001), p.76.

high status in the society. By the mid-seventies, this section lost prestige and the new Gulf migrants gained high status. *Malabar Malayali* got an international outlook and insight. Gulf money resulted in the emergence of new social groups. The emergence of a new elite section played a great role in the reconstruction of the Kerala society and advent of new social and economic problems. The persons lived in the lower strata rose to the high strata of the society. The traditional elites could not adapt it. It led to many social tensions. “Money brought power with it. The lure for power developed. It was a necessary result of the migration.”¹⁴ Not only in the state politics but it is vivid in the regional politics and religious organisations. Several villages in Kerala where a number of migrants concentrated, started to show the break of the old caste based social hierarchy and the migrant house holds have started to receive more attention from political and religious functionaries. People generally move to improve their social and economic standing. In this sense, migration can be considered as a means of human resource development. According to P.R.Gopinathan Nair, “Such an atmosphere is producing ripples of change in an otherwise relatively stagnant economy and highly structured society. The outlook of the emigrants’ families is one of optimism and supreme unconcern about the inflationary tendencies unleashed by their spending sprees. Because of their large incomes can they are confident, meet any increase in price levels, they leave other level sections of the population deeply disturbed. Landlords and cultivators are disturbed that the new rich are toppling the established order, and that their own economic importance in society is eroded. The worst hit are the fixed income earners and the poor, who find it increasingly difficult to meet both ends meet”¹⁵ According to one scholar, “Even culturally and socially, this new found wealth will not mean any substantial social improvement. The ostensibly

¹⁴ P.Suresh, ‘*Keraleeyar Puram Nadukalil Paniyedukkumbol Samhavikkunnath*’ (Malayalam) *Sasthrgathi Monthly* (Kozhikode, November 2006).

¹⁵ Raju Kurien and Dilip Thakkore, n.6, p.25

positive effects of the inflow of Gulf money are only temporary because money alone cannot solve our problems. To put the money that is received to proper use, the recipients of the money should have the required education and skill, both of which are terribly lacking in the case of most of the emigrants. Moreover, one whole generation of the adolescent population of the state is being “spoilt” by the influx of Gulf money. On the one hand, the lower class people if they emigrate can now aspire for many of the luxuries that in previous days used to be the exclusive prerogative of the upper class. Because of this many youths are setting their hearts upon going abroad neglecting their education. On the other hand, those who stay on here and continue with their studies feel frustrated when they find that it is difficult to get job here, or that the jobs that they get do not fetch as much money thus making them skeptical about the use of education. As a result in many localities the relations between these two groups of people are strained and often emigrant households are isolated”.¹⁶ “A vast majority of the migrants to the Gulf are under-educated or semi-literate. They are now subject to demonstration effect and follow the consumption habits of the rich”.¹⁷ Migration is disruptive in many ways and a major disruption involves the flow of large sums of money into economies that were previously monetised only slightly if at all. The resulting changes in financial status and perhaps class structure can lead to the demise of traditional mutual assistance patterns. Gulf money became the milestone in the social transformation in Kerala where existed a social system based on land ownership and caste system. The labourers and working group had to prostrate before the landlord. The migration and the Gulf money ended this dependence and the value of labour was approved by the society.¹⁸

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ P.V.Rajeev, ‘Impact of the Gulf money on the Kerala Economy’, *Yojana* (New Delhi, 1 June 1980), p.19.

¹⁸ C.V.M.Haneefa Faizi, ‘*Desadanakkrude Desathudippukal*’ (Malayalam), *Pravasam 2007* (Kerala Pravasi Sangam, Kozhikode, 2007), p.31.

“Gulf money has played a major role in restructuring the Kerala society, at a rate never before experienced in the state. From the bottom five percent of the income ladder, some of the Gulf NRKs have gone up all the way to the top five percent, transcending family background, caste or creed.”¹⁹

In Kerala, several villages sprang up with concentration of Gulf migrants. A state where caste determined the social status of a person now changed its concept of social hierarchy. The state witnessed the change of social power structure from the high castes to the new-born Gulf migrants. In several Gulf pockets, the remittance-receiving community started to receive more attention from political and religious heads. “Unlike other types, Gulf migration offered to some the chance of rapid and vast accumulation of wealth by village standards. Gulf migrants cannot settle away but must, sooner or later return home where their new found wealth and access to consumption may dramatically alter their status and their relationships with others, and offer them the chance to forge new identities”.²⁰

Consumption

Kerala, which stands unique in many socio-economic, demographic and geographic characteristics among other Indian states, has started to show manifestations of some new trends in the social scenario especially after 1970s. Firstly, new consumption pattern among different sections of the society. The following remarks made by a study is significant. “As a result of migration, the change from irregular daily cash income to a steady flow of income for defined period, howsoever temporary, seem to make a major impact on the household economic status. The regularity of the flow and the

¹⁹ K.C.Zachariah and S.Irudaya Rajan, ‘Gulf Revisited: Economic Consequences of Emigration from Kerala Emigration and Unemployment’, Working Paper 363 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, September 2004), p.50

²⁰ Filippo Osella and Caroline Osella ‘Migration, Money and Masculinity in Kerala’, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 6, No.1, (London, March 2000), p.119.

quantity of the cash income that accrues to the family change the consumption and spending pattern of the household.”²¹ Various micro-level studies conducted in the early phase of the Gulf migration revealed that the remittances had helped to improve the food consumption. See the findings of a study conducted in 1987. “We have seen that majority of the emigrant households were poor before emigration. Lower income groups that achieved new levels of affluence naturally engaged themselves in conspicuous consumption. Emigrants’ exposure to the living habits of other nationals in the immigrant country also accelerated the process of acquiring different varieties of consumer durables. The leading firms engaged in the production of consumer items resorted to sales promotion by advertising even in local Malayalam media for influencing the members of the emigrant family”.²²

A study conducted in the beginning of 1980s revealed that Malappuram whose per capita domestic product was 19 percent below the state average had better position with regard to consumption. Malappuram, which ranked lowest among all in terms of per capita domestic product showed its per capita expenditure on food is slightly higher than the state average.²³ “Therefore, remittances can be considered to have helped raise the standard of food consumption from what would have prevailed in their absence in a poor district”.²⁴

But the following years witnessed the appearance of some new trends in the consumption behaviour of the people. Various rounds of consumer expenditure data collected and published by National Sample Survey Organisation and most of the consumer studies based on this data show that the new consumption pattern that grew in Kerala is similar to that of the

²¹ Leela Gulati, ‘Migration and Social Change in Kerala: Progress and Paradox’, *India International Centre Quarterly* (Summer – Monsoon, New York, 1998), p.195.

²² A.M.Ravindran, ‘Impact of Gulf Money: With Particular Reference to Chowghat, Trichur District in Kerala’, Ph D Thesis (Cochin University of Science and Technology, 1987), p.114.

²³ I.S.Gulati and Ashok Modi, n.8, pp.32-33.

²⁴ Ibid. p.33.

consumption pattern of the developed nations. It has been found that Keralites spend a large share of their income to the consumption of consumer durables and luxuries. A still interesting thing is that this consumption is not to satisfy any basic human needs but to quench some of the hidden social needs. “In the changed socio-economic scenario, consumption achieved new dimensions both in the quantity of things consumed and the kind of consumption resulted. Consumption largely meant for secondary household needs gained popularity”.²⁵ A sort of consumption that shows a tendency of shifting from essential needs to the satisfaction of secondary needs for a better standard of living and as a means of vertical social mobility is observed in the state. People spend more for the purchase of cosmetics, expensive footwear, superfine clothing, electronic gadgets, sophisticated housing materials and others.

The descending pattern in the consumption expenditure incurred on aggregate food items and the rising level in the case of non-food aggregate further strengthens the perception that Kerala is becoming a consumer society exhibiting true consumerist characteristics.²⁶ The index of consumer expenditure in Kerala, which was similar to the national level in 1973-74 rose to 25 percent above the national average by the year 1986-87.²⁷ Again Kerala’s rank in the consumption level hierarchy among other Indian states has reached the second position from the tenth in the said period.²⁸ According to the report of 60th round of National Sample Survey Organisation that relates to the period January-June 2004, Kerala had the highest monthly Per capita Consumer Expenditure (MPCE).²⁹ The average consumer expenditure in

²⁵ R.Surya Murthy, ‘Emergence of Consumerism in Kerala’, Seminar Paper, International Congress on Kerala Studies (AKG Centre, Thiruvananthapuram, 27-29 August 1994), p.15.

²⁶ Ibid. p.16.

²⁷ T.M.Thomas Isaac and S.Mohana Kumar, ‘Kerala Elections, 1991: Lessons and non-lessons’, *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 23 November, 1991), p.2693.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ A special feature of this survey by NSSO is that they used the conventional method of 30 days recall reporting and 7 days recall reporting in respect of certain food items viz. edible oil, egg, fish and meat, vegetables, fruits and spices, beverages and processed foods, pan, tobacco

Kerala and all India were very close during the early 70s. However, from the late 70s, the average consumer expenditure of Kerala gradually surpassed the all India level both in urban and rural sectors. The percentage variation while in the urban sector stood at 8.4 percent compared to all India level in 1983-84, it was 29.5% in rural sector. The rising trend continued in all the following rounds and reached a peak level of 77 percent in the rural sector during 2003 (59th round) and 32% in urban sector during 2000-01 (56th round).³⁰ Another interesting trend is the decline in the share of food in total expenditure over the past several rounds. The share of expenditure on food items exceeded non-food items in the rural sector of Kerala till 55th round. In 1983 (38th round) MPFE (monthly per capita food expenditure) was 59.4 and MPNFE (monthly per capita non-food expenditure) was 40.6. In 1993/94 (50th round) MPFE was 56.8 and MPNFE was 43.2. In 1999/00 (55th round) MPFE was 51.1 and MPNFE was 48.9.³¹ However in all other rounds excepting the 58th round (where the difference is very little i.e. 50.23 and 49.77 respectively) nonfood items has shown a higher share. Whereas, at all India level share of expenditure on food items exceeded nonfood item in all rounds in rural sector. In urban sector in Kerala, the share on nonfood item exceeded food item much earlier than in the rural sector i.e. from 46th round. But at all India level the trend changed only after 55th round.³² According to Engels, any noticeable rise in consumption can be due to an analogous rise in income. But the

and intoxicants. The conventional method was in line with the practice of past rounds in which all items of food as well as pan, tobacco, and intoxicants were used. The schedule used for this type is referred as type 1 while the other was referred as 2. In both the schedule Kerala remained the highest. It is Rs.990.22 according to schedule type 1 and Rs.1058.54 according to type 2 as against the national average of RS.564.70 and Rs.616.57 respectively for rural sector. As in the rural sector in urban sector also Kerala holds the highest position among the major states.(Rs. 1371.51 according to schedule type 1 and Rs.1403.89 according to schedule type 2 as against the national average of Rs.1060.16 and Rs.1149.52 (See, Government of Kerala, *Economic Review* (Planning Board, Thiruvananthapuram, 2006) p.409, Appendix S291-S294.

³⁰ Ibid. p.410.

³¹ K.Pushpangadan, 'Remittances, Consumption and Economic Growth in Kerala : 1980-2000', Working Paper Series 343 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, March 2003), p.27.

³² Government of Kerala, n.29, pp.410-411.

statistical figures of Kerala do not conform to this. The per capita income of the state was Rs.3,054 as against Rs. 3,835 of India.

Since Kerala stands behind the national average in terms of per capita income, the reason for this consumerist tendencies is to be sought somewhere else. This new consumption pattern that developed in the state since 1970s corroborates the years of Gulf migration. According to a latest study conducted by Centre for Development Studies, the annual external remittances to Kerala for 2006-2007 was estimated as Rs. 24525 crores.³³ Almost all the micro-level studies conducted among the Gulf migrants have revealed the consumerist tendencies of the Gulf migrants. A study has found out that the expenditure on consumer durables of the migrant households is three times higher than the non-migrant households.³⁴ Another study conducted in 1979 revealed that about three-fourth of the remittances were spent on consumer items.³⁵ Commerce Research Bureau, a Bombay based 'Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy' made an elaborate study in different districts where migrants' concentration is large. The findings of this study also revealed the consumerist tendencies of the migrants.³⁶ A detailed study made by an eminent scholar on various aspects of migration revealed that bulk of the remittances was utilized on consumer items.³⁷ A state wise study conducted by Centre for Development Studies has also pointed to the consumerist tendencies of the migrants. "Conspicuous consumption is a hall

³³ K.C.Zachariah and S.Irudaya Rajan, 'Migration, Remittances and Employment: Short-Term trends and Long-Term Implications' Working Paper Series 395 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, December 2007), p.38-39

³⁴ Leela Gulati, n.21, p.156.

³⁵ P.Ibrahim, 'Impact of West Asian Remittances on the Economy of Kerala', *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol.6 (March-June 1979), p. 236.

³⁶ The Report says, "We have collected information about the asset structure of the emigrant households as on December 31, 1977... Investment in land, buildings and jewellery occupy the major chunk of the total investment. Expenditure on consumer durables as cars, refrigerators, radio sets and tape recorders are also reported (Commerce Research Bureau, *Emigration, Inward Remittance and Economic Growth of Kerala: An Overview* (Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy, Bombay), p.11. For details see Table 15 of Page No.25 of the same report.

³⁷ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, *Asian Migration to the Arab World: Migration from Kerala (India)*, (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 1986), pp.51-52.

mark of an emigrant, especially a Kerala emigrant. Emigrants become accustomed to the use of many new durable consumer goods while abroad. Since many of these goods used to be unavailable locally they brought them on return home. Most of these goods are now locally available, and the higher purchasing power of migrant households enables them to acquire these goods more frequently and effortlessly than non-migrants could”³⁸. The items to live luxuriously like television, refrigerator, Video set, washing machine, motor pumps, cars etc are sold comparatively more in Kerala. Of the total cars sold in India, 5.4% are in Kerala.³⁹

This consumerist behaviour among the migrants has its reflections in the society. The non-migrants who possess not much income as the migrants try to imitate the migrants. Hence the ownership and possession of certain consumer items became a symbol of social dignity and honour. Inevitably consumers got themselves exposed to new consumables. Durables of various kinds gained some social appeal and consumers began to display a fancy for them.⁴⁰ When the consumer goods industries have not developed in Kerala, things were imported from other states. More than 85 percent of the commodities consumed in Kerala were imported from other states. High levels of per capita consumption coupled with lack of entrepreneurship within has made Kerala the happy hunting ground of multi-nationals and manufacturers from other parts of the country. As per the latest finding arrived at by the NSSO, Kerala topped in per capita consumer expenditure at Rs.9,843,55 in

³⁸ The study made a comparative analysis among migrants and non-migrants on the basis of the possession of consumer durables. Possession of 23 different household consumer durables (HCDs) was analysed to see where the migrant households stand vis-à-vis non-migrants households. For easy comparison, an index of the possession of HCDs was calculated for each migrant group and for the emigrants by duration of emigration. The index was 32 for migrants and return emigrants. For the non-migrant households, the index was only 15 (K.C.Zacahariah et al, ‘Impact of Migration on Kerala’s Economy and Society’, Working Paper No. 297 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, October 1999), p.21.

³⁹ Dr.K.V.Joseph, ‘*Gulf Panam Keralthinte Vikasanathinu Uthakanam*’ (Malayalam), *Malayala Manorama Daily* (Kozhikode, 15 August 2000); See also, N.S.Biju Raj, ‘*Nilakkunna Ennappanam Nilavidunna Keralam*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 15 May 2000).

⁴⁰ R.Surya Murthy, n.25, p.31.

1999-2000, improving from the eighth position in 1972-73 and second position in 1993-1994. Unofficial estimates also show that Keralites who form nearly 3.5% of the country's population, consume almost 10 percent of the goods produced in the country.⁴¹

According to a paper brought out by a scholar of the Institute of Enterprise Culture and Entrepreneurship Development, Kochi, the state is increasingly depending on products imported from neighbouring states and also abroad. The mushrooming growth of shops that are exclusively meant for foreign articles are a common sight even in the remote villages of Malabar. Among the goods imported from outside the state, ready made garments with a share of Rs.412.31 crore tops the chart, followed by medicines with Rs. 405.73 crores. The share of some other goods are sarees (Rs.365.09 core), washing soap and other washing products (Rs.355.87 core), toilet soap (Rs.269.91 croe), cloth for shirt, pyjama, salwar etc (Rs.224.86 croe), hair oil, shampoo and hair cream (Rs.174.46 croe) and tooth brush and paste (Rs.149.66 croe). He also states that the reason for the growing consumption is the remittances flowing into the state and not the income generated within. Kerala benefits by remittances from NRKs amounting to Rs.30,000 crores a year , forming 25% of GDP of Kerala. Every resident Keralite gets about Rs. 10,000 per year. This enormous amount is being spent on conspicuous consumption. Kerala's consumption items like liquor, meat, cosmetics, jewellery etc is more than three times the average of comparable communities in India.⁴²

⁴¹ Report, Business Line (Internet Edition), 15 December 2003.

⁴² Ibid. The statement made by the South Asian Migration Study is also significant. "Kerala has emerged as the hottest place to sell new products from all over India and even from abroad. There is hardly a day when one is not woken up from one's seists by a smart looking sales person to sell/demonstrate a 'new product. Some of the Keralites, especially house wives fall easy prey to these smart guys. In the course of few years, Kerala households have ended up possessing all the necessary and even unnecessary wares, much of which are not products of the state. Not only are the goods made in other states; they are transported to Kerala in trucks belonging to non-Keralites and by non-Keralite drivers" (K.C.Zachariah and S.Irudaya Rajan, n.19, p.53).

This typical consumption behaviour, that grew and developed in modern advanced countries and which got the name consumerism is said to be the product of industrialization. But in Kerala, the development is not as a result of industrialization. Life in West Asia and the consequent remittances has its role in the changing pattern of consumption and the transformation of the caste-ridden society into a modern one. A *Malayali* working in the cosmopolitan cities of the Gulf is always in touch with the lifestyles of almost all nationalities and is getting sufficient knowledge about the new tastes and trends. Life abroad, where new consumer items are marketed make the Keralites to modify their current tastes and preferences. Along remittances, migrants bring these new trends in life style to their families and villages.⁴³

A related development in the state that has been acquiring new dimensions is the growth of advertisements in the medias especially after 1970s. The audio – visual as well as the Newspaper medias in the state is filled with advertisements of various commodities, especially consumer durables. It was by 1970s that Japan started to advertise its products in the newspapers and magazines of Kerala. These advertisements created a longing for multinational products among the people of the state who were not familiar with those goods before. Thus the medias became the catalysts of the consumerist tendencies that developed in Kerala with the advent of external remittances from the Gulf.⁴⁴

The increasing rate of advertisements is related with the growing consumerist culture among the people. It may be argued that advertisement is doing its duty of boosting the distribution of goods and services. It is only

⁴³ In the mid seventies and eighties, or more clearly before the introduction of New Economic Policy by the Indian Government and by the globalisation, migrants used to bring with them all the foreign made consumer items with them (See, N.M.Navas, '*Malayaliyude Pettikalil Nirayunnath*' (Malayalam), (Kozhikode, *Arabiayile Sulthan*, August 2000), p.7

⁴⁴ B.R.P.Bhaskar, '*Madhyamangal Roopappeduthunna Keralam*' (Malayalam), *Ormappusthakam* (Calicut Press Club, Kozhikode, 2006), p.78.

peripheral.⁴⁵ People of Malabar with unprecedented material affluence, is on the path of seeking maximum physical pleasures. This mentality is carefully exploited by the marketing forces. A distinct feature of consumerism is the presence of secondary and false needs. Advertisements through its various symbols has been creating these artificial needs and stretching its hands into the thoughts and discretionary power of human beings, there by creating a society which is outer – controlled. The ethics of people of Malabar, especially in Gulf pockets, has transferred from production ethic to consumption ethic.

Kerala is the most globalised state in India. Five percent of the Keralites live abroad. In no other state in India this much bigger expatriate community can be seen. Naturally their global touch will surely reflect in their life here.⁴⁶The magnitude of the migratory stream and the windfall remittances are such that they create their imprint and impact on the prevailing culture. An important change visible in the field of consumption is the substitution of “global” for the “local” even in the remote corners of the state. Started in the early 1990s and termed as New Economic Policy, the economic liberalization, reduction of tariffs and duties on imported goods, privatization of many industries etc opened the era of globalization of the Indian economy, in the realms of both production and consumption. But even before that the Gulf pockets of Kerala had started to disclose the manifestations of a global culture. A short hand way to show the advent of globalisation is the presence of a group especially in the Gulf pockets imitating a global culture or more accurately the western culture. The remarks made by a study is significant. “With the increase in remittances and the consequent increase in disposable income at the household level, consumerist

⁴⁵ P.K.Rajasekharan, ‘*Parasyangalude Saamoohya Prasakthi*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 20-26 January 1981), P.9.

⁴⁶ C.Sarath Chandran, ‘*Videsathu Parkkunna Midukkan Malayali*’ (Malayalam), *Malayala Manorama Daily* (Kozhikode, 27 August 2004).

tendencies have reached alarming proportions in Kerala. People back home have no qualms, to spend money earned by their relatives abroad on festivals and celebrations on ornaments and jewellerys on costly apparels and various other items of conspicuous consumption. Rabid spending was reflected most in housing, acquisition of modern house-hold gadgets and fancy house-hold durables”.⁴⁷The most important change is in the value sense of the people. Little by little the society is moving to a western life style. The remarks made by a study conducted in Malappuram is significant. “The study area once showed its resentment to western culture and the education system they introduced. But the constant contact with the outside world and different cultures broadened their outlook and made their mindset totally changed so as to embrace the new atmosphere”.⁴⁸

The goods that are purchased by the people are more for showing the social status than for satisfying the basic needs. This is true in every article that the Keralites use today.⁴⁹ Keralites began to cross the Arabian Sea in large numbers to the Persian Gulf following the boom in oil production in the early 1970’s. Through this mass movement to the Gulf and its modern amenities, the people of Kerala have been incorporated to its, social, cultural and material vicissitudes. “Huge, upscale flat complexes now pepper the landscape, marketed as fashionable housing for Gulf returnees and for others who can afford them, leading to dire predictions about the consequences of a new “flat culture”. In villages, televisions, refrigerators, motorcycles, and new houses proclaim a family’s Gulf connections. This incorporation into the transnational traffic of labour and money has produced a cultural politics of

⁴⁷ KC.Zachariah and S.Irudaya Rajan, ‘Gulf Revisited: Economic Consequences of Emigration from Kerala Emigration and Unemployment’, Working Paper 363 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, September 2004)

⁴⁸ M.P.Abdullah, ‘Trends, Causes and Consequences of Consumerism in Kerala’, Ph D Thesis (University of Calicut, February 2008), p.115.

⁴⁹ C.Sharad Chandran, ‘*Veru Muriyunna Samskaram*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 9- 15 June 1996), p.7.

globalization within Kerala”.⁵⁰ The storm has also started to blow over the food vessels of each and every middle class Malayali. When a univocal food culture turns the taste and food systems upside down, we lose our old tastes, our indigenous kitchen and the taste of the *ammi* (grinding stone). Now the local food culture is alienated and the multi-national corporates dominate the kitchens of our state.⁵¹ Now the items in the food that the Keralites consume daily are not of the surrounding areas; they are coming from far and wide travelling thousands of kilometers. According to a study conducted in America, the food items that an average American uses daily must have traveled 2500 kilometres.⁵² Social scientists call this ‘food distance’ – the distance between dining table and food articles. The same trend is developing in Kerala especially in the Gulf pockets.

The destruction of regional food system creates far-reaching consequences in the society. It destroys the taste of food. As in other areas, different places in the state contribute different taste to the world of food. Any food prepared in different parts of the state is in different tastes and styles. The evolution of the regional food system to a centralised one increases the price of food articles and the frozen food leads to serious health and moral problems. When the products of an area and the food there are in correlation, people can avail food at reasonable rate that also from walkable distance. When the food is prepared by machines instead of kitchens, possibility for contamination is more. The fast food culture is slowly leading to food imperialism. Through this fast food, people eats without knowing even the situation of its preparation and the ingredients used.

⁵⁰ Ritty Lukose, ‘Consuming Globalisation: Youth and Gender in Kerala’, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 38, Issue 4 (January 2005), p.924.

⁵¹ P.A.Vasudevan, ‘*Adukkala Charamavum Mumbu*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 20 – 26 August 2006), p.21.

⁵² *Ibid.* p.22.

According to K. Sivaraman, Vice President, World Gold Council, the annual use of gold in India is 825 tons. Of this 38-40 percent is flowing to south India.⁵³ According to another report, the country consumes an estimated amount of 800 tonnes of gold every year and its total market value is worth around US\$ 10 billion. The demand for this yellow metal is so much so that in 1925 the value of 10 grams was eighteen rupees. In 2003 it became 6,235 rupees.⁵⁴ In the percapita consumption, Kerala stands in the first position among all Indian states.⁵⁵ According to the estimate of World Gold Council, the annual use of gold by Keralites is 50-60 tons.⁵⁶ The annual growth of gold consumption is 10 – 12 percent. Multi-national gold merchants have their shops even in the small towns of Kerala. Out of the three lakhs jewelleries in India, 8000-10,000 are in Kerala. In Koduvally, a small town in Malabar, which is only the head quarters of an Assembly Constituency there are about 150 Jewelleries. The annual growth of jewelleries in Kerala is 3-5 percent.⁵⁷ According to the market rate of January 2006, people of Kerala possess gold worth Rs.3.5 lakh crores.⁵⁸ Fraudulence of various types is common in the gold business.⁵⁹ The circular issued by the Kerala Gold and Silver Merchants Association to its members testifies this.⁶⁰ The mentality of the Keralites are

⁵³ Radha Krishnan Narippatta, 'Thilakkamerunna Swarnam' (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 19 December, 2005).

⁵⁴ Report, 'Gold: The Glittering is now Better', *Sunday Express*, (Kozhikode, 15 February 2004).

⁵⁵ "Gold is the most saleable commodity in the state after food and cloth", Says Rafi Antony, President, Jewellery Manufacturers Association (K.M.Bbasheer, 'Ella Ponnnum Ponnano' (Malayalam), *Siraj Daily* (Kozhikode, 18 July 2006-23 July 2006).

⁵⁶ Radha Krishnan Narippatta, n.53.

⁵⁷ Radha Krishnan Narippatta, n.53.

⁵⁸ P.Prabhakaran, 'Sakthi Prapikkunna Manha Loham' (Malayalam), *Sasthragathi Monthly* (Kozhikode, January 2006), p.53.

⁵⁹ For different types of fraud taking place especially in the Gulf pockets See M.K.M.Jafar, 'Thattippil Chinthunna Gulf Panam' (Malayalam), *Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 29 November 2004- 03 December 2004).

⁶⁰ The circular reads, "Greediness is the worst emotion that mislead people. Many actions of the people are aimed at appropriating the whole world. These types of people who are living in the world of illusion would listen only to the words of flatterers. They won't listen to the wise. This is a strange disease. Some gold merchants have got this disease. The merchant community has to gain strength to defend this terrific danger". According to P.Tcheriyan Palathara, Association President, in the jewellery business field cheating and fraudulence is more that necessitated this circular (K.M.Bbasheer, n.53).

clear in these words, “When price decreases demand for that commodity will be less. But this theory is not applicable to the people of Kerala in the case of gold”.⁶¹This craze for this yellow metal has serious socio-economic implications in the Kerala society.⁶² Micro level studies have connected this increasing growth of jewelleries with the Gulf migration. Jewelleries are growing in the state like mushrooms. Making of ornaments which was the job of certain castes is the story of the past. Jewelleries are being opened in the Gulf pockets the migrants being the owners.⁶³

In short, Gulf boom seemed to have produced dangerous consequences on Kerala society. Those who peruse the socio-cultural transformation in the state will definitely notice the evolution that has been taking place in the Gulf pockets especially after 1970s. The young generation in Malabar has taken ‘pleasure at any cost’ as the motto of their life. The community is passing through a phase of dynamic cultural transformation marked by clear agenda of hedonism and non-concern and non-involvement in social problems. Various sections of the society – politicians, religious leaders, media persons etc are not exceptions to this consumerist trend. The increasing number of crimes, sex scandals, aggressive activities of quotation gangs, demonstrative tendencies in social customs like marriages, increasing use of liquor and drugs, the high handedness of middle men in any type of dealings etc give death knell to the age-old cultural traditions of Kerala which are well rooted in high social value of moral ethics and mutual co-operation. A social atmosphere is being created in Malabar and also in the whole state which is characterised by a pseudo material affluence. In creating such a society, the demonstrative tendency imported by the Gulf migrants has a great role. What

⁶¹ Ardra.A, ‘Pollunna Manha Loham’ (Malayalam), *Desabhimani Daily* (Kozhikode, 27 May 2006).

⁶² K.C.Varghese, ‘Pongachathinte Thongalukal’ (Malayalam), *Varadya Madyamam* (Kozhikode, 30 April, 1995).

⁶³ K.K.N.Kurup and E.Ismail, *Pravasikalude Oru Vamozhi Charithram* (Malabar Institute for Research and Development, Kozhikode, 2005), p.64.

we see in Malabar is a tendency of emulation. The non-migrants and the low income people emulate the life style and consumption habits of the migrants and the rich for which they resort to various undesirable means and ways.

Morality

A very pitiable development in the state for the last few years is the strange craze that the people exhibit towards the consumption of liquor. One or two decades back, the long queues that the usual sights in Kerala were before the ration shops and Maveli stores. Today their place was taken over by the outlets of Kerala State Beverages Corporation. Even the small towns of Kerala suffer from road jam on special days like New Year, Onam, X'mas etc by the wild hustles of drunkards. The medias of the state are full of news on this development of the state.⁶⁴ Though the use of alcohol and drugs is one of the important problems the whole world faces today, the trend that the state showing in this sector is alarming.⁶⁵ Kerala has become the number one state in the per capita consumption of liquor at 8.3 litres. Punjab stands second with 7.9 litres. The newly released alcohol map by the then Union Health minister claims that the people in Kerala drink the most liquor per capita in the country. The minister's statement unveils the real situation, "Earlier, only villains used to drink alcohol. Now the heroes are drinking all the times".⁶⁶ India is one of the 13 countries that use more liquor in the world and Kerala stands first in the per capita consumption of alcohol among all Indian states.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Titles of selected reports appeared in the news papers are interesting to note, Report, '*Kudiyanmar Podichathu 3000 Kodi*' (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 13 February 2007); Report, '*Keralam Kudiyanmarude Nadu: Kudichu Theerthathu 3000 Kodi*' (Malayalam), *Deepika Daily*, (Thrissur, 20 February 2007); Johnson Poovanthuruthu, '*Keralam Kudiyanmarude 'Kudi*' (Malayalam), *Deepika Daily* (Thrissur, 25 June – 30 June 2007).

⁶⁵ The observation made by a Malayalam Daily is significant. "Liquor consumption and drug has an history that dates back to human history. But alcoholic items could not get a gentle colour before as it is today" (C.KAbdurahiman, '*Lahari Aasakthi: Keralathinu Kalidarunnu*' (Malayalam), *Varthamanam Daily* (Kozhikode, 22 December 2006).

⁶⁶ The statement is by Ambumani Ramdas (See, IBN Live, 29 April 2008).

⁶⁷ Jaleel Edavarad, '*Madyapanamarude Keralam*' (Malayalam), *Chandrika Daily* (Kozhikode, 07 November 2006).

The annual increase of drunkards in Kerala is 20%. According to one estimate, before 20 years, the drinking habit among the children of the state started at the age of 19. In 1990, it became 17. In 1994 it became 14. Now it is 10 years.⁶⁸ Kerala stands first in the use of drugs and alcohol among the students.⁶⁹ According to one report, the state is spending rupees 5670 crores for food articles annually and the expenditure on liquor is 3670 cores. Annual increase on liquor consumption is 525 crores.⁷⁰ Another study reveals that annual expenditure on alcohol in the state is 12000 crores.⁷¹ If this is true an average Malayali spends double the amount of food articles for liquor.

Kerala State Beverages Corporation is the official agency that produces and markets foreign liquor in the state. The Corporation had only a few outlets in the state before 2000. Major share of the outlets had been given on rent and run by private agencies. So the statistics before 2000 is available only for 15 outlets all over Kerala. The statistics about its sale before and after 2000 collected by us from its head office in Thiruvananthapuram is shocking. The figures show that the state is moving fast towards the position of the 'State of Drunkards' in India. Another interesting trend is that in the consumption of liquor, the northern parts of Kerala shows dominance. In 1984-85, the total sale in the 15 outlets of Kerala was Rs.592.79 lakhs. In 2000-01 the sale was Rs.12870.13 lakhs. It means that within 16 years the percentage of increase in the sale was 2171.1%. That was surely a record. In the period 2001-02, the total sale was Rs.89140.68 lakhs in 320 outlets all over the state. After six years the sale increased to Rs.208416.68 lakhs. In other words the percentage of increase was 133.8. In short, as a study points

⁶⁸ Johnson Poovanthuruthu, 'Kuttikkudiyannar Perukunnu' (Malayalam) *Deepika Daily* (Thrissur, 27-30 June).

⁶⁹ Report, "Keralam Madya Lahariyil" (Malayalam), *Varthamanam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 23 January 2007).

⁷⁰ Leela Menon, 'Oru Kodi Madyapanikal' (Malayalam), *Madyamam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 09 April 2006).

⁷¹ K.Sree Kandan, 'Kudichu Mudikkunna Kerala' (Malayalam), *Desabhimani Weekly* (Kozhikode, 19 November 2006), p.14.

out within ten or fifteen years there took place a revolution in the alcohol industry in the state.⁷²

The link of alcohol consumption and the Gulf boom is evident from the statistics. In the above period, in eight outlets of Malappuram district (Malappuram, Ponnani, Thirur, Prappanangadi, Perinthalmanna, Manjeri, Wandoor and Nilambur), one of the northern districts, where majority of the Gulf migrants live, the percentage of increase was 144.41. In one of the Beverages outlets in Thirur (shop number 182), one of the most Gulf migrants concentrated areas in the state, the percentage of increase during this period was 197.75. In another outlet of Thirur (shop number 327), the sale increased from 299.66 lakhs in 2003-04 to 776.98 lakhs (159.28% increase within four years). (Detailed figures are given as Appendix III). According to the statistics of the Excise Department the annual consumption of foreign liquor in Kerala is 10 crores litre and that of toddy is 30 crores litre. Illegal sale of liquor is also 30 crores litre.⁷³ The studies on alcohol consumption reveal that there are generally four levels of alcohol drinking: social drinking, heavy drinking, problem (harmful) drinking, without being dependent on alcohol and dependence (addiction). Each level increases the risk to health and safety. The current trend in the sale is an indicator that the state is moving to the last stage where the people are being addicted to liquor day by day.

Although there is no official statistics with regard to the use of drugs by the migrants and their relation with its business, the reports from Gulf countries are alarming. Many *Malayalis* were beheaded in Saudi Arabia for exporting drugs.⁷⁴ Majority of those beheaded are from Malabar area.⁷⁵

⁷² Jaleel Edavarad, '*Madyapanmarude Keralam*', n.67.

⁷³ K.Sreekandan, n.71, p.14.

⁷⁴ The number of *Malayalees* who were beheaded in three years are as follows. In 1998 one, in 1999 eleven and in 2000 ten. Hundreds of Keralites are in Jails in various Arab countries (Nellikuth Haneefa, '*Mayakku Marunnumayi Kolakkayarilekku Oru Yathra*' (Malayalam), *Pravasi Doothan* (Kozhikode, May 2002), pp.12-17.

⁷⁵ All the persons who were beheaded in 2000 are people from Malabar. In the list of 2001, eight out of ten are the people from Malabar area. For details, see Appendix V.

Occasionally, news appears in Medias about the death punishments extended to Malayalis in Gulf countries.⁷⁶ A study reveals that Malabar area is the centre of smuggling of narcotics. Those who engaged in the smuggling of gold before, turned to this business as the chances became less in the gold import.⁷⁷ A study observes that Malappuram, the district, which sent more migrants to the Gulf is an international centre of narcotic smuggling.⁷⁸ The study conducted by one of the popular newspapers in Kottakkal, an important Gulf pocket in Malappuram, revealed the link of Gulf money to alcohol and drugs.⁷⁹ The news coming in the medias are clear indications that drugs use is increasing in the state.⁸⁰ The observation made by a writer is relevant. “Before twenty years the drug was not there in the world of the children. The only bad habit was a smoking that also from behind the screen. Today it has reached in Kerala from the western world”.⁸¹

An important study states that alcohol consumption is associated with 80% of suicides, 50% of murders, 80% of deaths from fire, 40% of road traffic accidents, 30% of fatal road traffic accidents and 15% of drowning.⁸² Though micro-level surveys on health, consumption and lifestyle

⁷⁶ Report, ‘Saudiyal Malayaliyude Thala Vetti’, *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 13 June 2000); Report, ‘Vadha Sisksha Kathu Kazhiyunna Hameedineyorthu Kudumbam Kezhunnu’, *Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 2 October 2002); Report, ‘Qataril Malayali Yuvavinu Vadha Siksha’, *Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 2 December 2006); Report, ‘Mayakku Marunnu Kadathu: Saudiyal Oru Malayaliye Koodi Vadhichu’, *Madyamam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 22 March 2001); Report, ‘Kathirippu Vridhaviyayi: Shajahante Vadha Siksha Nadappakki’, *Madyamam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 23 January 2001). Report, ‘Qataril Malayalikkud Vadha Siksha’, *Madyamam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 19 March 2002).

⁷⁷ K.S.Sumesh, ‘Keralathile Puthiya Big Business: Mayakku Marunnu’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Daily*, (Kozhikode, 24 June, 2001).

⁷⁸ Nellikkuthu Haneefa, ‘Malappurathe Mayakku Marunnu Kadathu Lobiyude Keniyil Petta Gulf Malayalikal’ (Malayalam), *Kerala Sabdam Weekly* (Kollam, 10 September 1999), p.18-22.

⁷⁹ Report, ‘Kottakkal Criminalukal Thjavalamakkunnu’ (Malayalam), *Madhyamam, Daily* (Kozhokde, 11- 15 March 2000).

⁸⁰ See some titles of the Popular Malayalam News Paper reports: Report, ‘Mayakku Marunnu Mafia: Jayililaya Makante Mochanam Kathu Vrdda Dampathikal’ (Malayalam), *Madyamam Daily* (Kozhokde, March 21, 2001); Report, ‘Keralam Antharashtra Mayakku Marunnu Kallakkadathu Kendramavunnu’, *Madhyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 28 November 1996).

⁸¹ C.Sharad Chandran, n.49, p.8.

⁸² Ashworth M and Gerada C, ‘ABC of Mental Health: Addiction and Dependence-II, Alcohol, *BMJ*, 315 (7104), Pp 358-360, 1997, (Quoted in Franz Schwarz, Christian Korbel and

occasionally include questions on liquor consumption, the result may not be correct. The respondents may hide the real fact and answer wrongly or under-report the consumption due to shame.

Total number of road accidents in Kerala in the period 1978-79 was 7018. When we come to 1999-00 the number rose to 34387 (The percentage of increase was 389.98). The number of persons killed in the same period was 1057 and 2590 respectively (increase is 116.6%). Number of persons injured in the same period was 7514 and 47860 respectively (536.94% increase).⁸³ In 2003-04, the number of killed and injured again increased. The figure was 2905 and 48640 respectively.⁸⁴ The studies conducted by the Alcohol and Drug Information Centre found that 40 percent of the accidents in Kerala are due to the drivers' alcohol consumption.⁸⁵ The studies conducted by National Transportation Planning and Research Centre (NATPAC) says that one out of four that drive vehicle in Thiruvananthapuram city between six and nine in the evening are drinking alcohol.⁸⁶ This is true to all cities and places in Kerala. The newly released alcohol map released by Union Health Minister states that Kerala tops the list of road accidents in the country and the report makes no hesitation in linking them. The tendency to drive fast will be more among the drunkards. In special occasions like marriage it has become an established custom in Malabar to entertain the friends with liquor on the previous night of the marriage day.⁸⁷

Johannes Klotz, "Alcohol Related Mortality among men in Austria 1982 – 2002 and the Importance of Qualification and employment", Vienna Institute of Demography Working Papers 2/2008, P.10).

⁸³ Government of Kerala, *Statistics for Planning* (Department of Economics and Statistics Thiruvananthapuram, 1988), Table 7.10, p.178; See also Government of Kerala *Statistics for Planning* (Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 2001), Table 7.8 (a), p.346.

⁸⁴ Government of Kerala, *Statistics for Planning*, (Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 2005), Table 12.9 (c), p.310..

⁸⁵ Johnson Poovanthuruthu, n.68.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ On this matter, we made a secret investigation as part of the research in one of the villages of Malappuram district. It was surprising that out of the 25 marriages that we selected for study in 16 marriages the groom treated their friends with liquor. It was also revealed that the co-operation of the friends on the day of marriage depended on this.

The number of suicide cases in the state in 1990 was 5501. In the period 1999 it rose to 9778. Within nine years the percentage of increase was 77.74.⁸⁸ According to the statistics published by the Crime Record Bureau of the Police Department, the suicide rate in Kerala is three times than the national average. Annually 25 persons out of one lakh commit suicide every day in Kerala.⁸⁹ The studies of Kerala Mental Health Authority say that 32 persons out of one lakh commit suicide every day in the state. The global rate is only 14.5 per one lakh.⁹⁰ According to one social scientist, who is associated with Maithri Counselling Centre, says that the figures about suicides are often misleading. There is no data available about those who have failed in their attempt to kill themselves. It is said that about 10 times as many as those who commit suicide are those who failed in such attempts and continue to live with different degrees of physical, mental and social disabilities.⁹¹ If suicides, crime rate and alcohol consumption rate were to be taken as indicators of mental health, Keralites fared very badly.

According to a study conducted by Pravasi Bandhu Welfare Trust, Sharjah, 40 Malayalis committed suicide in UAE alone in 2003. In 2004, the number was 74 and in 2005, eighty persons killed themselves. In 2007, number of Malayalis who committed suicide in UAE was 100. According to this study, the reasons behind the increasing suicide was depression that arising out of financial problems. The study says that the families of the migrants spend extravagantly without knowing the actual financial conditions of their migrants. In most cases, the migrants do not let their relatives know their financial situations. The result was the economic depression that leads to

⁸⁸ Government of Kerala, *Statistics for Planning* (Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 2001) Table 15.10, p.544.

⁸⁹ Report, *The Indian Express Daily* (Kozhikode, 16 October 2005).

⁹⁰ Johnson Poovanthuruthu, n.68.

⁹¹ R.Gopakumar, 'Vibrant Kerala: Suicides' Own Country', *Deccan Herald* (Banglore, 11 November 2007).

suicide.⁹² The statement made by a scholar after a detailed study of health status of the Keralites deserves special mention. “The most tragic picture is the alarming rise in suicides deaths in our state. Eight per cent of death is from suicides. If we add on accidents and violence, it will rise to 13 per cent and jump to second place among important causes of deaths”.⁹³

A famous writer has noted the relationship between this increased alcohol consumption and apoliticism developing in the state among the youth especially after eighties.⁹⁴The alcohol addicts are prone to many diseases. Cancer, blood pressure, heart diseases, mental diseases etc are more in the alcohol addicts.⁹⁵ A study conducted by the psychiatry Department, Calicut Medical Colege among the drug addicts admitted in the Medical college Hospital reveals that use of drugs and alcohol has increased among the adolescents. Among the patients, 50 percent started using narcotics between 10 and 25 years of age.⁹⁶ Alcoholism in the state has started to lead the young generation in Kerala from reality to a world of illusion. It has started to lead the *Malayali* to an imaginary world of apoliticism, spirituality and communalism. An alcohol addict is playing his role in creating the curtain of the degenerated neo colonial modernity. To celebrate everything and to ignore everything that is serious. This is the culture that is developing in Kerala.⁹⁷ If the state enjoys first position in suicide, women abuse and road accidents the main role is that of alcohol.⁹⁸

⁹² K.V.Shamsudheen , ‘*Gulf Malayalikal Enthu Kondu Athmahathya Cheyyunnu?*’ (Malayalam), *Dhanam Fortnightly* (Kochi, 31 December 2007), p.15.

⁹³ C.R.Soman, ‘The Time Bomb that Tricks: The Future of Kerala’s Health’, *Kerala Calling* (Thiruvananthapuram, January 2004), p.28.

⁹⁴ Shihabudheen Poithumkadavu, ‘*Driverum Cheriyoru Pilottalle Sir*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 8 – 14 June 2004), p.23.

⁹⁵ Dr.C.J.John, ‘*Madyapanam Rogamavumbol*’ (Malayalam), *Desabhimani Weekly* (Kozhikode, 19 November 2006), p.20.

⁹⁶ See Jaleel Edavarad, n.67.

⁹⁷ K.N.Ganesh, ‘*Madyasakthi, Colonial Adhunikatha, Buddhi Jeevitham*’ (Malayalam), *Desabhimani Weekly* (Kozhikode, 19 November 2006), p.26.

⁹⁸ K.K.Rahulan , *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 14 September 2007).

The news appearing in the Medias since the eighties regarding the migrants and their activities reveal that though a generalization is not possible a trend of devaluation in the life of the people is observed in various circles. The material boom that spread out by the Gulf migration seems to have produced dangerous consequences on the social and cultural life of both migrant and non-migrant communities here. Youngsters seem to have become hedonic in their attitude. In the public programmes like *Ganamela*, annuals of clubs and other social organizations, football tournament etc now held in Malappuram, this cultural change is observed everywhere. All the programmes become the venue for the violent competitions of different alcoholic gangs. Youngsters even lose their life and seriously injured in these incidents. The report prepared by one of the popular magazines in Kerala revealed the role of Gulf money behind this. “Many clubs working in Malappuram are under the pseudo gentlemen and whose members living under the coolness of Gulf money. The money earned through hard physical labour by brothers or fathers are behind the genesis of these adolescent gang whose nickname is *Shukoor sundaranamar*”⁹⁹. “Very often, they resort to undesirable means for achieving their objectives. Money making ‘at any cost and by whatever means’ seems to have become the accepted philosophy of economic life. A kind of ‘mammon worship’ is found to have re-emerged in the society”.¹⁰⁰ Different kinds of frauds to earn money are taking roots in the Gulf pockets and focusing the migrants and their relatives especially the less educated women. One among the many frauds that appropriated money was money chain companies.¹⁰¹ Accordingly, ruthless exploitation of fellow

⁹⁹ For a detailed report See Nellikkuthu Haneefa, ‘*Malappurathe Kalikkalanga Kolakkalanga Marunnu*’ (Malayalam), *Kerala Sabdam Weekly* (Kollam, 16 March 2008), pp.30-33.

¹⁰⁰ M.P.Abdullah, n.48, p.180.

¹⁰¹ For details See, M.K.M.Jafar n.59.

beings is no longer considered a 'sin'.¹⁰² The reports appearing in the medias shows what menial ways some of the migrants resort to earn money.¹⁰³

The observation made by an eminent scholar regarding sex racket is significant. "The whole operation acquired the dimensions of an organized industry with the Gulf boom and the explosive growth of the visual medias post-1990. With these twin developments, 'mobile' providers became common, servicing clients both 'in-house' and in places of his choice".¹⁰⁴ News coming from different parts of the state reveals the link of the sex racket and Gulf migration.¹⁰⁵ A major field where the sex racket held their grip is the field of Album making, a new trend developed in Malabar in the new millennium. It is said that more than three hundred music albums are being produced every year in the state. Out of these 200 albums are produced in Malabar. One of the aim behind the album is sexual abuse. The girls who act in the albums are reaching in the hands of sex racket.¹⁰⁶ The study made by a popular daily in Malayalam has brought to light the systematic arrangement and strong net working of the sex racket which includes

¹⁰² M.P.Abdullah, n.48, p.181.

¹⁰³ For details see, the following reports . *Gulfil Ninnu Lkshangalumayi Mungiyavarkkethire Kesu Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 22 January 2002); *Pathu Laksham Dirhamumayi Malayali Dambathimar Mungi, Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 19 March 2002); *Nalpathianju Laksham Kabalippichayalkkethire Nadapadiyayilla, Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 18 June 2002); *Saudiyl Lakshangalumayi Malayali Mungi, Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 15 September 1998); *Qataril Lakshangalumayi Mungiya Malayali Arrestil* (Madyamam Daily, (Kozhikode, 12 August 1991); *Panapaharana Kesile Malayali Kudumbathode Mungi, Madyamam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 12 February 2003); *Pathu Laksham Dirhamumayi Malayali Abudhabiyil Mungi, Madyamam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 23 January 2001); *UAE Yil Oru Vyapari Koodi Mungi Madyamam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 18 August 1999); *Net Workingilude Thattiya Lakshangalumayi Malayali Mungi, Madyamam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 5 September 2006)

¹⁰⁴ C.Gouridassan Nair, 'The Name of the Game: Exploitation', *The Hindu*, (15 November, 2004).

¹⁰⁵ See Cherukara Sunny Luckose, 'Thattippinum Peedanathinum Irayayi Oru Yuvathi Koodi', (Malayalam), *Kerala Sabdam Weekly*, (Kollam, 6 June 1999), p.8; Ajayan Ochanthuruthu, 'Penvanibha Kendrathil Ninnu Athbuthakaramayi Rakshappetta Yuvathi', *Kerala Sabdam Weekly*, (Kollam, 6 June 1999), p.14; Y.S.Jayakumar, 'Kuwaithil Pen Vanibha Kendrathil Ninnu Rakshappetta Sthreeye Abhayam Nalki Peedipichu', *Deepika Daily* (Thhrissur, 5 June 2004).

¹⁰⁶ See the Report, 'Albangalude Maravil Van Penvanibha Racket', *Siraj Daily* (Kozhikode, 03 May 2008).

suppliers, owners, transactors and managers.¹⁰⁷ The study made by another Malayalam daily has also substantiated this.¹⁰⁸ An important development with regard to Gulf migration is a tendency of fraud in every sector. In the case of passports, visa, money transaction, certificates, and all type of documents the Gulf *Malayali* takes illegal routes.¹⁰⁹ The connection between the fake passport lobbys and drug exporting mafia are strong.¹¹⁰ The longing to become rich fast make them seek short routes. Cheating, sex racketing, smuggling, drugs, fake visa stamping etc are the common ways sought to become rich. It is common with the migrants to sink from the Gulf cheating the friends and sponsors.¹¹¹ The observation made by a writer regarding the crimes committing by Malayalis in the Gulf is significant. “It is very serious that a native *Arabi* is afraid of a foreigner who came there seeking job to drive alone and to keep money when goes to market”.¹¹² Various forms of corruption had crept into the society. Fraud, cheating, forgery, bribery, influence peddling, and similar offences have got boost.

There are no two opinions that the increasing use of alcohol and narcotics will lead to many social evils. The alcohol and drug addicts in their need for money, may turn towards various anti-social activities and be agents of smuggling or tube money or members of theft groups or quotation groups.

¹⁰⁷ Pradeep Pillai and Others, ‘*Chati, Mamsakkachavadam*’ (Malayalam), *Malayala Manorama Daily*, (Kozhikode, 15 June 2005); See also, Bevinja Abdulla, ‘*Pravasi Nilavili Nilakkunnilla*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 03 April 2008).

¹⁰⁸ Nisar Olavanna, ‘*Chiraku Karinha Swapnangalumayi Madangiyavar*’, *Chandrika Daily* (04 - 07 November 2000).

¹⁰⁹ A famous Dubai based Malayalam journalist writes that a secret agency works in UAE in the name Kasrgod Embassy doing all works of illegal transactions. He writes, “There is an Embassy in UAE , without a flag or an ambassador or an Embassy building – Kasargod Embassy. Thousands have escaped by the help of this Embassy, by the certificates they issued, they got promotion in jobs, family status visa...” (See, Ammar Keezhuparamba, *Marubhoomiyile Mazha Megangal*, (Falcon Books, Kozhikode, 2004), pp.76-78.

¹¹⁰ Nellikkuth Haneefa, ‘*Vyaja Passportil Adangiyirikkunna Duranthgal*’ (Malayalam), *Pravasi Doothan*, (Kozhikode, December 2002), pp.16 – 21. See also, *Kerala Sabdam Weekly* (Kollam,10 October 1999).

¹¹¹ Nellikkuth Haneefa, ‘*Lakshangalumayi Mungunna Malayalaikal*’ (Malayalam), *Pravasi Doothan* (Kozhikode, November 2002), p.19.

¹¹² Mohammed Kakkad, ‘*Gulf Malayalikalum Perukunna Kutta Krithyanglum*’ (Malayalam), *Chandrika Daily* (Kozhikode, 29 March 2008).

All these anti-social groups have become very active in the state especially in the Gulf pockets. What is pitiable is that these anti-social groups and their muscle power are widely used by the political parties and even by various religious groups in the state.

According to the statement by the Home Minister of Kerala, *havala* transaction of about 10, 000 crores are reaching annually in the state.¹¹³ Various studies conducted in Malabar area have found that youngsters are widely used as carriers of tube money. Youths are easily attracted to this *havala* mafia as the offers to the carriers include mobile phone, motor bike, home theatre, music albums and many other items which has become essentials of a consumer society like Malabar.¹¹⁴ Today it has started to threaten the very law and order situation in the area.¹¹⁵ The roads and highways of Kerala have become the scene of murders and violence in connection with *havala* business.¹¹⁶ Before the introduction of new economic policy the agents of tube money in the Gulf used to purchase gold, electronic articles and other items and exported to Kerala through ships. In late 1970s and eighties the youngsters of Gulf pockets ran the business these smuggled articles. Thus this illegal money transaction that started by 1970s or by the beginning of Gulf migration had a simple role of increasing the inflation in the state in its early phase.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ See Report, *Havala 10,000 Kodi* (Malayalam), *Thejas Daily* (Kozhikode, 25 July 2007).

¹¹⁴ Saleem Ideed Thangal, '*Kodali Veezhunna Malabar*' (Malayalam), *Thejas Daily* (Kozhikode, 24 July – 27 July 2007).

¹¹⁵ When the *havala* business became very profitable competition and the consequent rivalry developed. *Havala* groups started to betray each other. Many notorious underworld criminals have made Malappuram as their centre of work as the *havala* mafia started to use them widely. Safvan, the 18 year old boy who was killed near Edappal in May 2008 was the victim of the rivalry between Kodually gang and Vengara Gang (See the report, '*Potti Mulakkunna Panam; Padarunna Paka*' (Malayalam), *Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 22 May 2007)). In the murder of Safvan, the person who was caught was Kodali Sreedharan, One of the notorious criminals of Kerala.

¹¹⁶ For details see, Waheed Zaman, '*Havalayude Highway*' (Malayalam), *Varthamanam Daily* (Kozhokde, 26 July 2006 – 28 July 2007).

¹¹⁷ M.Riju, '*Chora Manakkunna Kuzhal Money Transfer*' (Malayalam), *Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 22 May – 26 May 2007).

Gulf migrants and their money have become the prime element of corrupting the public departments even without their knowledge. The studies made by one of the national newspapers in Kerala have revealed how Gulf money have corrupted the customs office, emigration office, passport office, registration office etc where the migrants contact usually.¹¹⁸ The emigration offices in Kerala have become the centers of corruption and bribery. It is said for each emigration clearance the Office imposes 6000 to 7000 thousand rupees.¹¹⁹ The emergence of a new section called ‘middlemen’ or ‘brokers’ in all fields – marriage proposal, real estate etc – accelerated this corruption which was already spread in the state. Various departments that are expect to help the migrants like Department of Emigration, Embassy etc are exploiting them maximum.¹²⁰ The problems that are facing the migrant community abroad are lot.¹²¹

Social Relations

The Gulf migration and the consequent material boom have brought about modern amenities into the houses. The construction boom that accompanied the Gulf money replaced the traditional thatched or tiled houses from the Gulf pockets. These new houses are equipped with all modern facilities. Bathrooms are attached to bedrooms. Washing machines are provided in the bathrooms. Gas-connections are taken for cooking. The

¹¹⁸ For details See, G.Sekharan Nair, ‘*Vilavu Thinnunna Velikal*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 2 – 6 October 1985); Vechoochira Madhu, ‘*Gulf Swapnangale Vida*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 9 – 11 February 1988); K.Abdullah, ‘*Gulf Swapnangale Vida*’ (Malayalam) *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode 12 – 19 February 1988); G.Sekharan Nair, ‘*Akkarappacha*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode 12 – 25 January 1987); Radha Krishanan Narippatta, ‘*Sambathika Thakarchayude Kanappurangal*’ (Malayalam), *Gulf Voice* (Kozhikode, January 1999), p.21; R.Abhilash, ‘*Emigration Thattippukal*’ (Malayalam), *Kerala Kaumudi Daily* (Kozhikode 28 May 2005 – 30 May 2005); Pradeep Pillai, ‘*Marunattilekku Mafia Vazhi*’ (Malayalam), *Malayala Manorama Daily*, (Kozhikode)

¹¹⁹ Biju Chandrasekhar, ‘*Emigration Niyamathinte Maravil Udyogastha Agency Lobi Lakshangal Koyyunnu*’ (Malayalam), *Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 26 May 2004).

¹²⁰ Razak Orumanayoor, ‘*Pravasi Prasnam*’ (Malayalam), *Chandrika Daily* (Kozhikode, 01- 06 August 2001).

¹²¹ K.P.Vijaya Kumar, ‘*Gulf Swapnam Asthamayathinte Thudakkam*’ (Malayalam), *Thejas Daily* (Kozhikode, 01-07 September 2006).

confession made one of the popular writers of Kerala testifies the dynamic changes in Kerala. “Before 15 years I publicly said that flats won’t be built in Kerala. I believed that *Malayalis* cannot live without touching soil. But I was mistaken. Within these 15 years hundreds of flats were built in Kerala. *Malayali* proved that he could live without touching soil”.¹²² With the spread of modern telecommunication facilities almost all the houses got phone connections. Televisions and cassette players are ready for entertainment. Various studies conducted about the impact of Gulf migration have revealed the ascendancy of the migrants’ houses over non migrants in the possession of modern facilities.¹²³

The result of all these are that the social relations in the villages had turned upside down. When all facilities are there inside the houses, peoples rarely come out of their houses. Traditionally men used to assemble casually in some common places and used to spend their leisure time. Village women took bath, collected water, collected fuel wood together from a common place. There they shared their feelings, knew the hot news of the village. Children used to play indigenous games in the evening. But the new life style made them live apart from their fellow beings in one and the same village. The old social centers like banks of rivers, wells and ponds where women used to communicate each other became stories of the past. The huge walls built around the houses kept them apart from the outside world.

The Gulf remittances, no doubt has led the society to one, which is controlled and steered by money. Studies conducted by various agencies in the Gulf pockets have substantiated this. The social gatherings like marriages,

¹²² M.N.Vijayan, ‘*Malayalikk Mattangalere – Ellam Athivegam*’ (Malayalam), *Mangalam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 3 March 2007).

¹²³ In a study conducted in 1999, about 54 percent of the emigrant households had a television set each, about 40 percent of the emigrant households owned refrigerators (See KC.Zacahriah et al, n.36, p.22); Another study reveals that an index of the value of the house of a typical emigrant was 7.05 compared to 4.30 of a non-migrant (KC.Zacahriah et al, ‘Socio-Economic and Demographic Impact of Migration in Kerala’, Working Paper No303 (*Centre for Development Studies*, Thiruvananthapuram, May 2000).

meetings, local festivals, tournaments, annuals etc have lost their social meanings where local people shared their skills, labour and co-operated each other and now they have become the stages for arrogance and show of money and social status.¹²⁴ One of the widely discussed issues in the present Kerala society is the social and political problems created by the 'new rich' (*Gulf Panakkar*). No doubt, Gulf money has reshaped the social structure of Kerala. Those who were at the bottom of the income ladder have gone up all the way and reached the upper level in all the nooks corners of Malabar. Naturally, this sudden transformation of the minority community and the related showing in the social activities is not liked by others. This has created social tension and resentment. A few years back, the then chief minister A.K.Antony, made a statement which was subjected to severe criticisms from many corners and he was accused of even anti-minority. The statement was that the minority communities in Kerala were cornering 'undue benefits' using their political and economic clout gained through Gulf remittances. A recent study conducted in Malappuram revealed that many splendid activities especially those related to ceremonies and which were once the means of the royal families to show their eminence and affluence in the society have now undertaken by the 'newly rich'. It is found that twenty house holds of the selected villages together spent a total amount of Rs. 1,84,75,000 for marriages during the year 2006. The survey again reveals that 212 families together spent an amount of Rs.7,41,000 as special expenditure during festivals. Again 26.7 % spent Rs.1,92,000 on reception. Surprisingly, the expenditure on education incurred by 38 house holds was 14,68,302 rupees only. How ever the total telephone bill of 223 families was Rs.44,85,960.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Report, '*Kanneerilodungunna Kallyana Melangal*' (Malayalam), *Madhyamam Daily* (30 September- 4 October, 2006).

¹²⁵ M.P.Abdullah, n.48, pp.154-155. According to the South Asian Migration study, more than half the population of Kerala is Hindus, about 56 percent. However among the emigrants from Kerala, only 31 percent were Hindus. Muslims constitute less than 25 percent of the total, but as much as 44 percent of the migrants were Muslims. About 20 percent of the population was Christian, but as much as 25 percent of the emigrants belong to this community. The inevitable consequence of this proportion are visible not only in state politics, but also in local politics,

According to one study, a good percent of the personal computers and cell phones in Kerala are not used. They are only for show.¹²⁶ The piece of advice made by one of the famous Malayalam writer is significant in this context.¹²⁷ The observation made by one of the studies is thought provoking. “The drunkards of Kerala are the best indicator of a disintegrated society. The reports that alcoholism is increasing in Kerala is signal of this danger. This anarchic culture has big role in creating a generation that lost self confidence and self will. The meditation centers, human gods, devotion marketing centers, fortune diamond sellers, computer astrologists, fake astrologists that appeared in Kerala are the signs of a society that lost their self strength”.¹²⁸

The piece of advice given by a famous Malayalam writer to the Gulf migrants in early eighties is also worth mentioning. He said, “ Earning money should not be your aim; it should be the means. Money is the means to achieve a great goal. Unfortunately we forgot this”.¹²⁹ A call made in one of the souvenirs of a Gulf organization is also significant. “The social evils against which we fought yesterdays are coming back in other forms. We should not lose the achievements attained by the struggles made by the reformative organizations and the farmers and communist parties. Superstitions, ill beliefs are haunting us with the support of imperialist powers. Land reforms, universal education, public health, decentralization of power, complete literacy and many other sectors where the state stood ahead of other states now threatened by infectious diseases, environmental pollution.

religious organization etc (K.C.Zachariah and S.Irudaya Rajan, n.19, p.51).

¹²⁶ Surendran Chunakkara, ‘*Keralam: Upabhokathavu Enthariyunnu?*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, (Kozhikode, 27 September-03 October 1998), p.34.

¹²⁷ The statement was made by Sakkariya, one of the eminent writers in Malayalam. In one of the conferences in Dubai, he said to the Gulf Malayalees. “You please stop sending money to Kerala and stop destroying the state”. (Sakkariya, ‘*Chila Dubai Visesangal*’ (Malayalam), *Kala Kaumudi Weekly*, (Thiruvananthapuram, 18 November 2007), p.1680.

¹²⁸ Surendran Chunakkara, n.124, p.34. See also, M.N.Karassei, ‘*Athmavu Poypokumbol*’ (Malayalam), *Arabiyile Sulthan* (Thiruvananthapuram, 25 February 2005), pp.88-89

¹²⁹ Madambu Kunhukkuttan, ‘*Ezham Kadalinu Akkareyullavarodu*’ (Malayalam), *Abudhabi Malayali Samajam Souvenir* (Abudhabi, 1980-81), p.73.

Communal powers and colonial powers are trying to withdraw the people from the agricultural sector and lead them to the consumerist culture.”¹³⁰

Almost all the studies have pointed to the hard working nature of the Gulf migrants. “More significant have been the changes in the attitude to work. They now value more the importance of hard work, work discipline and scientific temper. The influence of migration experience on widening of the horizons of interest and broadening of perspectives has also been significant and positive”.¹³¹ “They (Gulf migrants) did not flinch from tasks for which they had little competence or experience, but accepted them with cool courage and assiduously acquired the required skills and expertise. In several cases, it was a matter of sheer struggle for survival. Persons with little knowledge of cooking acquiring skills in culinary arts to the entire satisfaction of employers and clientele and unskilled workers turning overnight, as it were, into pipe fitters, plumbers and mechanics, were not rare”.¹³²

But it has one more side. A tendency that has been developing in the Gulf pockets is the growing tendency of laziness among ex-migrants and the non-migrants who are the close relatives of migrants. “An undesirable tendency that is noticed among the relatives of the migrants is the laziness that is putting pressure in their life. There is no gender difference in this matter. Those who were actively working in the labour sector before, have ceased their work since the migration of their kith and kins. The young generation in the migrant families are sitting idle in their houses. The work participation in Gulf dominated areas is lower than the other places”.¹³³

¹³⁰ Manajakkulam Narayanan, ‘Keralappiraviyude Anpatham Varshikavum Pravasikalude Pankum’ (Malayalam), *Pravasam 2007 (Kerala Pravasi Sangam, 2007)*, p.49.

¹³¹ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, n.37, p.6.

¹³² P.R.Gopinathan Nair, ‘Enhancement of Household Capacity in the Post – Migration Phase in Kerala’, Paper (UN Meeting at Bankok, 17-19 December 1987), p.17.

¹³³ P.Ibrahim, ‘Kudiyethathinte Sishtam’(Malayalam), *Chandrika Weekly* (Kozhikode, 28 August – 3 September 2004), p.11. See also, Akbar Kakkattil, ‘Marunattilekkulla Kathukal’ (Malayalam), *Salala Kerala Muslim Cultural Centre Souvenir* (Salala, 2000), P.71.

Another scholar has expressed the same views regarding the Gulf migration.¹³⁴

According to one estimate there are about 700 *Malayali* organisations in UAE alone.¹³⁵ Almost all the political parties have their cultural units in the Gulf. These and other hundreds of organizations, most of which are formed even *Grama Panchayat* and ward levels are actively undertaking various activities including financial aid to patients, marriages, construction of houses and many other things. It has become a tendency among the natives to depend the Gulf migrants for everything. The relatives of the migrants think that migrant families are well-off and turn to them for any financial help including hospitalisation, marriages, education, house construction etc. This has also become one of the reasons for the laziness of the people. Occasions of declining the help required by the relatives and natives results in unhappy situations and this alone may lead migrant families to become the topics of gossips. The study conducted by the Department of Economics, Mahe, Pondichery University found that the Gulf boom has created some unhealthy trends especially among the children of Gulf migrants. Laziness, shortage of attendance in schools, indiscipline etc are some. The same study reveals that the ambition of most of the migrants' children was to become a Gulf migrant. The second option was to be a cricket player. Only a few expressed their interest to be doctors or engineers. Surprisingly none of them wanted to be an I A S officer. The attitude of the youths towards work that require physical labour is not an encouraging one.¹³⁶ The remarks made by the world famous Indian journalist after visiting Muscat should be an eye-opener to each and

¹³⁴ N.P.Hafiz Mohammed, n.12, p.76.

¹³⁵ A.M.Mohammed, '*Keralathinu Veliyile Keralam: Gulf*' (Malayalam), *Madyamam Annual* (Kozhikode, 2007), p.281. Interviews with the leaders of the expatriate organizations revealed important facts about the relief activities undertaken by each. P. Ismail Kunju Haji, General Secretary, Sunni Centre, Muscat said that the centre was giving a fixed amount for all the applicants as assistance to house constructions and girls' marriages. T.C. Ashraf, President, Kerala Muslim Cultural Centre, Muscat also disclosed various relief ventures undertaken by the organization.

¹³⁶ Ibid. p.12.

every migrant. “It was not about the hard work or the sweat shed by the *Malayalis* in building this city on a magnificent manner I am thinking. Why this exceptional calibre that they cannot copy to their motherland”?¹³⁷. A famous scholar has observed the link between this laziness and Gulf money. “Flocks of unemployed youths are usual sights in every places in Kerala. They are not ready to do any work. Physical works are done by peoples of other states. This is a big problem. It is connected with the economic system developed in Kerala. Possibility for production is nil and the chances for external remittances are more. It was in this situation this culture developed”.¹³⁸ The observation made by a famous thinker is significant. “Our culture is to live in Kerala creating an atmosphere and palatial houses not congenial to Kerala, without eating Kerala food, without wearing Kerala dresses and without speaking Kerala language”.¹³⁹

Health, Education and Employment

An important domain where the Gulf money has its imprint is health. The state could achieve coveted achievements in the health that vie with the developed nations even before the Gulf boom¹⁴⁰. Various health indicators have given Kerala reputation as the healthiest state in India.¹⁴¹ Various policies of the government and wide and free health facilities provided by the government were responsible for this achievement. Modern treatment that

¹³⁷ This is the statement made by Kushvant Singh, the popular journalist of India (C.Sarath Chandran, n.46).

¹³⁸ Dr.K.N.Panicker, ‘*Saamoohika Mattathinte Puthiya Vegangal* (Malayalam), *Madyamam Weekly Onappathippu* (Kozhikode 2008), pp. 19-20; See also , K.P.Nirmal Kumar, ‘*Vattunna Viyarppinteyum Vilayatha Nanyathinteyum Kalam*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 08 August 2004), pp.8-13.

¹³⁹ Surendran Chunakkara, ‘*Kerala Samskaram Engane*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 4-10 October 1998), p.16.

¹⁴⁰ In the infant mortality rate, sex ratio, death rate, birth rate, longevity, doctor-patient ratio etc Kerala is far ahead of the national average and near or equal to the developed nations. The death rate in India is 8.10, that of Kerala is 6.40 and that of America is 6.10. Infant mortality rate in India is 63, Kerala is 10 and America is 8. Longevity of males and females respectively is 64 and 65, Kerala is 74 and 76 and that of America is 78 and 80 (Quoted in Dr.B.Iqbal, ‘*Keralam Janakeeya Arogyathilekku*’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 11-17 June 2006), p.9.

¹⁴¹ C.R.Soman, n.93, p.26.

rivals the developed countries is now available in Kerala. The Union Health Minister Ambu Mani Ramdas has appreciated the development of Kerala in the health sector.¹⁴²

But recently, some disturbing trends threaten the very basis of the accomplishments that Kerala gained in the past. An alarming trend is that the public health system is slowly getting alienated from the people. According to one study, only fifty per cent of the people especially from the lower income groups seek medical help from the government hospitals.¹⁴³ Privatisation of health sector is the related development that weaken the public health sector. Official data regarding private medical institutions in the state before 1986 is not available. Anyhow, the combined medical facilities in the state before 1986 is dealt in detail in the previous chapter. There we saw that Malabar area was far behind the southern parts of the state in the matter of medical facilities. But the surveys conducted by the Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, show the dynamic growth of private medical institutions since mid seventies in Kerala. In this development, Malabar area showed a good performance. Number of private institutions in the state in 1986 was 9663. In 1995 it increased to 12618. In 2004 it again rose to 12918.¹⁴⁴ Number of inpatients treated in 1995 was 35.66 lakhs. In 2004 it became 44.89 lakhs. It means an increase of 25.88%.¹⁴⁵ According to the survey conducted by the government in 1986, the place of Malappuram is twelfth in the case of private allopathic hospitals.¹⁴⁶ But, Malappuram, where majority of the migrants are concentrated came to eighth place according to the second survey. But as far as the income of the private medical institutions

¹⁴² Minister says that the treatment expenditure in the state is only 20 percent of that of the developed nations (Report, *Malayala Manorama Daily*, Kozhikode, 14 November 2005).

¹⁴³ B.Iqbal, 'Kerala's Health Sector : Crying for Cure', *Kerala Calling* (Thiruvananthapuram, May 2006).

¹⁴⁴ Government of Kerala, *Report on Survey of Private Medical Institutions in Kerala-2004* (Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 2006), p.3.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. p.13.

¹⁴⁶ Government of Kerala, *Report of the Survey of Private Medical Institutions in Kerala, 1986* (Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 1986).

are concerned the district has fourth place next to Eranakulam, Thiruvananthapuram, Thrissur and Pathanamthitta.¹⁴⁷ In a small municipal town of Perintalmanna, Malappuram district, there are about 45 private hospitals.

The growth of private medical institutions in the state can be attributed to the inflow of external remittances from Gulf countries.¹⁴⁸ Many studies have observed the dramatic development observed in the Gulf pockets is the attitudinal change in treatment habits. Migrants' dependents show a craze to private hospitals in treating their ailments. Even for minor diseases, they like to be admitted in private hospitals. A study made by a popular newspaper revealed that women prefer to get admitted in private nursing homes even months before the date of delivery.¹⁴⁹ In the words of a famous doctor and social activist, "Kerala is moving to a situation like in America where all modern facilities available but by the fully privatization of the health sector, forty lakhs people have been denied even the primary treatment".¹⁵⁰ "The average expenditure on health care per household is higher among the non-resident Keralites families than among the non non-resident Keralite families".¹⁵¹ A study has found that Private medical expenditure is the highest in Kerala among Indian States.¹⁵² The expansion of allopathic medical care institutions in the public sector has been exceeded by that in the private

¹⁴⁷ Government of Kerala, n.144, p.160.

¹⁴⁸ Government of Kerala, *Report of the High Level Committee on Social Infrastructure and Services*, (State Planning Board, Thiruvananthapuram, 1984), p.69. The trend in Malabar is such that one of the sectors where the NRKs invest their money is the health sector. And again, migrants and their relatives are the main promoters and beneficiaries of private health industry. Chekku Mohammed Haji, who went to Dubai in 1958, and one of the earlier migrants we interviewed is the owner of Moulana Super Specialty Hospital, Perintalmanna. Ai Shifa Hospital, another Super Specialty Hospital in the same city is also the contribution of NRKs. Dr.Azad Mooppan, the Managing Director of Malabar Institute of Medical Sciences, Kozhikode is also a non- resident Keralite..

¹⁴⁹ Report, 'Swapna Bhoomiyil Ninnulla Mdakkam - 5' (Malayalam), *Malayal Manaorama Daily*, (Kozhikode, 27 February 1986).

¹⁵⁰ Dr.B.Iqbal, n.143.

¹⁵¹ K.C.Zachariah and S.Irudaya Rajan, n.47, p.22.

¹⁵² P.G.Panicker, 'High cost of Medical care in Kerala: A Tentative Hypothesis', *Economic and Political Weekly*, (Mumbai, June 6, 1992), p.1180.

sector, according to the result of a recent Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad study.¹⁵³

The facts brought out by a study made by one of the popular news paper in Kerala throw light to the inner corners of private hospital industry. Starting private hospitals is one of the most profitable industries especially in the Gulf pockets. According to nonofficial statistics, 96 percent deliveries are taking place in hospitals nowadays and of these 62 percent are in private hospitals and 22 percent are caesarean. International statistics show that possibility for caesarean is only 10 percent. The development of private hospitals has pushed the government health sector back. In 1960-61 number of beds in public sector was 13,000. I 1970-71 it was 20,000. In 1980-81 it was 29,000. In 1986 it increased to 36,000. But between 1986-96 the number of beds increased was only 2000. Now it is below 40000. On the other side the private sector registered great progress. In the public sector the increase of beds was 2000. In the private sector it increased from 49,000 in 1986 to 67500 in 1996. The percentage of increase in the public sector was 5.5 percent whereas in private sector it was 40 percent. Number of hospitals, doctors, and para-medical staff also increased very much (See the Table 8.1)¹⁵⁴. More than fifty percent of the private hospitals in the state are unauthorized.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ For Details See, Kannan K.P et al , *Health and Development in Rural Kerala* (Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishath, Thiruvananthapuram).

¹⁵⁴ See also, Ibraheem Kottakkal, 'Athuralayangalil Arogyakkachavadam' (Malayalam), *Madyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 15 December 1998 – 24 December 1998).

¹⁵⁵ Government of Kerala, *Report on Survey of Private Medical Institutions in Kerala-2004* (Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 2006).

Table 8.1
Private Health Sector (Allopathy)

	1998	1995	Growth Rate
Hospital with Beds	1,864	1,958	5.0
Hospital Without Beds	1,701	2,330	37.0
No.of Beds	49,030	67,517	37.7
Doctors	6,345	10,388	63.7
Para medical staff	13,921	25,526	81.4

Source: Human Development Report, NCAER 2000 (Dr.B.Iqbal, n.140, p.11).

Though health facilities have developed very much, some undesirable trends have been noticed in the health sector. Studies have found that death profiles patterns of Kerala and USA presenting striking similarities. While 52.8 and 46.5 percent of males and females die due to heart disease in Kerala the corresponding figure of USA are 47.9 and 47 (See Table 8.2). Except in cancer in all other diseases Kerala and USA show astonishing resemblances.

Table 8.2
Patterns of Death: USA and Kerala (1996-2001)

Name of Disease	Kerala		USA	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Infectious Diseases	5.9	6.3	6.8	6.7
Cancer	8.3	10.8	24.4	22.3
Heart Diseases	52.8	46.5	43.9	47
Suicides/Accidents	12.5	10	9.1	3.9
Lung Diseases	5.7	7	6.3	5.9
Others	6.5	7.9	8.0	4.5
Unaccounted	8.3	11.5	-	-

Source: C.R.Soman, n.93, p.27.

Diseases like Blood pressure, Diabetes, cancer, coronary disease etc are increasing.¹⁵⁶ “The emergence of silent epidemic of life style diseases poses disastrous consequences for our state. The prevalence of diabetes mellitus and high blood pressure in Kerala is much higher than the reported estimates in the West”.¹⁵⁷ Most of these diseases are the outcomes of the wrong food habits that the people follow.¹⁵⁸ These lifestyle diseases are more in Kerala than Indian average (See Table 8.3).

Table 8.3
Rate of Diseases (Kerala and India)

Disease	India	Kerala
Blood Pressure	589	1433
Diabetese	221	980
Heart disease	385	914
Mental Illness	132	283
Cancer	43	39

Source: Human Development Report, NCAER 2000 (Dr.B.Iqbal, n.140, p.10).

Recent surveys conducted in different categories of people in Kerala revealed that one out of three adults in Kerala is hyper tensive. Hyper tension, the insidious killer contributes to heart attacks, stroke and kidney failure in addition to eye complaints. The alarming increase in heart attacks and strokes in Kerala is partly the contribution of high prevalence of hyper tension in our society.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ These ailments are known as the ailments of the rich. All these are connected with the life style of the people.

¹⁵⁷ C.R.Soman, n.93, p.27.

¹⁵⁸ Dr.B.Iqbal, n.143, p.10.

¹⁵⁹ C.R.Soman, n.93, p.28.

An interesting feature that has emerged recently in Kerala is the alarming increase in overweight and obesity. Overweight and obesity are indicators of increasingly indolent society. Obesity is a risk factor for heart attack, hyper tension, breast cancer, diabetes and joint problems. In other words, most of the life style diseases that we mentioned earlier are woven into the fabric of overweight and obesity that exist in our society. Recent studies in urban and rural Kerala reveal that fifty per cent of women in Kerala frankly obese.¹⁶⁰ Studies conducted by Centre for Survey Research and Management Services, Kochi have revealed the increasing rate of life style diseases especially heart diseases among the Gulf migrants.¹⁶¹

It is found that the rate of disease has increased. Rate of affecting disease in the state in 1974 was 71 only. In 1987 it became 206.¹⁶² A study conducted in Kozhikode district reveals that the rate of disease is high in migrant families especially the Gulf migrant families. Fat added food, over eating, lack of physical exercises, loneliness etc are observed to be the factors for this phenomena.¹⁶³ Increase in number of bakeries, fast food centers are noticed in Kerala since eighties. “Local tea shops were turned into broasted chicken homes”. This remark made by a journal truly reveals the situation.¹⁶⁴ One of the strange features that is noticed is that these life style diseases are spread both among the rich and the poor and the treatment of these diseases take a long period and a big amount.¹⁶⁵ According to a study conducted by

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ T.N.Sugatahan et al, ‘Mortality excess from heart Disease and Injuries Among Gulf Expatriates with Special Reference to Kerala’, *Demography India*, Vol29, No.2 (New Delhi, 2000),pp.201-210. See also, T.N.Sugathan and K.Sankara Narayana, ‘Increased trend in Heart Diseases and Accident Among Keraltes Gulf Expatriates’ Seminar Paper, 5th IEA eastern Meditaerranean Regional Scientific Meeting (Safat, Kuwait, October 2000).

¹⁶² Dr.P.Ibrahim, n.133, p.12.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ V.P.N, ‘Muslim Samooham Orathma Parisodhana’(Malayalam), *Thejas fortnightly* (Kozhikode, 1-15 November 2008), p.13.

¹⁶⁵ Joy Elaman, ‘Keralathinte Arogyam: Nayamo Nadapadikalo?’ (Malayalam), *Sasthragathi Masika*, (Kozhikode, November 2005), p.77.

Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad, 39.63% of the family budget is spent for treating diseases in Kerala. In 1987 it was only 7.18%.¹⁶⁶

As in various areas of social development the achievement of Kerala in education is also remarkable. According to the Census of 2001, the literacy rate of the state is 90.29% as against the national rate of 65.38%. Since the Gulf boom, attitude of the parents towards education has shown a diverse turn. Almost all the studies have pointed towards this. As far as education is concerned, changes are of positive and desirable type. The education of girls also has got primary importance.¹⁶⁷ The experience at abroad and exposure to different people and their cultures have broadened the minds of an average Keralite and their visions about education of their children and their future got a positive turn. A study reveals that 80 percent of the migrants have at present higher aspirations than before about the education of their children. Nearly 88 percent now look forward for securing for their children high status in society.¹⁶⁸ “Emigration has an impact on the amount that the households spend on education. The average expenditure per Non-resident Keralites household was Rs.7731 and that per non-non-resident Keralites was RS.6143.¹⁶⁹ Two important trends are observed in the educational arena since 1980s in the state. First, Educational institutions that provide vocational courses and training which help to find jobs in the Gulf started by various agencies all over Kerala. The courses include construction related courses like aluminium fabrication, lift operation, motor operation, machine operation, fire and safety, computer hardware and software, animation, tailoring, plumbing, welding, various paramedical courses etc. As one scholar opined this has

¹⁶⁶ Dr.B.Iqbal, n.143.

¹⁶⁷ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, n.37, p.63.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p.156.

¹⁶⁹ K.C.Zacharia and S.Irudaya Rajan, n.47, p.21.

resulted in a qualitative change in the vocational educational system in Kerala.¹⁷⁰

The educational institutions of Kerala comprise both government and private. The private institutions are either aided or unaided. The unaided institutions include both recognized and unrecognized ones. A trend observed recently in the state is mushrooming of unaided educational institutions both recognized and unrecognized. Almost all the studies have pointed towards the migrant's desire of sending their children to schools other than public ones viz. either English Medium or recognized or unrecognized unaided schools. The recent statistics reveal the increasing number of unaided schools and the number of children in them. Number of children in the unaided recognized schools in 1965-66 was only 19945. In 2001-2002 the number became 263072 where as in government school the figure 1749191 and 1770883 respectively. In aided schools it was 2398700 and 3068083.¹⁷¹

An official study conducted in 2008 reveal that there are 2646 unrecognised schools in the state. Out of 2646 unrecognised schools 2189 schools are English medium schools and only a nominal one following mother tongue as medium of instruction. The number of students in these schools is 3,12,443.¹⁷² On analysing the district wise number of unrecognized schools, Malappuram, the high Gulf migrants concentrated district, has the highest number of unrecognized schools next to Thiruvananthapuram. Again the district wise analysis reveals that Malappuram district has the highest number of schools having residential facilities. Ironically, Kottayam, one of the most educated and the most literate districts in the state do not have a single school having such facility. Again, Malappuram ranks first having the

¹⁷⁰ BA.Prakash, 'Gulf Migration and its Economic Impact The Kerala Experience', *Economic and Political Weekly* (December 12 1998), p.3211.

¹⁷¹ O.M.Sankaran, '*Pothu Vidyabhyasathinte Ara Noottandu*' (Malayalam), *Sastrapathi Monthly* (Kozhikode, November 2005), p.73.

¹⁷² Government of Kerala, , *Report of Survey on Unrecognized Schools in Kerala* (Economics and Statistics Department, Thiruvananthapuram, 2007).

highest number schools having pucca buildings. Though these unaided institutions have contributed much for the educational progress of the region it has a reverse side. A study conducted about the mushrooming of unaided institutions expressed that this trend may prove to be extremely detrimental to the poor and downtrodden and may become very difficult to reverse.¹⁷³ “The state Planning Board has already predicted that as much as 3000 uneconomic schools will have to be closed and 50,000 teachers rendered unwanted by 2001. The Board estimated a fall of 16.77 lakh children in the school age group by 2001. 580 schools were identified as uneconomic schools... It is ironic that as many schools are facing closure, there is a mushrooming of recognised schools”.¹⁷⁴The studies foresee inherent danger in the proliferation of unaided schools especially English Medium Schools.¹⁷⁵

The migration influenced the unemployment in the state in two different ways. No doubt, it has helped to decrease the unemployment in the state. Eighteen lakhs Keralites work in the Gulf countries means thirty six lakh employment opportunities arise; eighteen lakhs in the place of destination and another eighteen lakhs in the place of origin. Various business and industrial establishments started by the Non-resident Keralites had also decreased unemployment. “Migration provides a significant safety valve for India’s unemployed, most notably from the state of Kerala”.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Thomas Uzuvath and T.P Kaladharan, ‘Mushrooming of Unrecognised Schools and their Impact on the General Education System- A Micro Level Study’, Seminar Paper, International Congress on Kerala Studies(A.K.G.Centre, Thiruvananthapuram, 27 – 29 August 1994).

¹⁷⁴ M.KGeorge, ‘Crisis in the Kerala Model of Development: Educational Paradoxes’, Seminar Paper, International Congress on Kerala Studies (A.K.G.Centre, Thiruvananthapuram, 27 – 29 August 1994), p.3

¹⁷⁵ Report, ‘*Malayalam Marikkunnu*’ (Malayalam), *Malayala Manorama* (Kozhikode, 20 August 1996). Some expatriate organizations even run and manage English medium schools and colleges with all modern facilities. E.K. Moideen Haji, General Secretary, Sunni Youth Centre, Al Ain, said that they were running one English Medium School (Grace Valley Public School, CBSE Affiliated) near Kadampuzha and one college (Fathima Zahra Women’s College) Thirurangadi.

¹⁷⁶ Myron Weiner, ‘International Migration and Development: Indians in the Persian Gulf’, *Population Development Review*, No.8 (March 1, 1982), p.5.

But, “the unemployment in Kerala increased double fold in the period 1999 – 2004. In 1999, the number of unemployed in the state was 12.14 lakhs. In 2004, it rose to 23.89 lakhs. The unemployment of men increased to 67 percent and that of women to 128 percent. The rate of unemployment which was 11.2 percent in 1999 rose to 19.2 percent in 2004”.¹⁷⁷ The unemployment in the state is the unemployment of the educated. It is ironical that the external remittances coming to Kerala becomes a catalyst for generating unemployment in the state. The important factor that influences education is money. The Gulf money has helped in increasing the number of educational institutions and the peoples’ demand for education. “Rising wages in a context of growing unemployment is apparently paradoxical”.¹⁷⁸ Migration and the consequent remittances have affected the labour market from three different angles. Firstly, about two million people’s emigration created a lacuna on the supply side, especially in the agricultural sector and construction sector. Secondly, windfall remittances and the consequent expansion of various sectors generated high demand for various categories of workers. Another point that the beneficiaries of these remittances here live happily without doing any job. Meanwhile, some of the occupations such as masonry, carpentry etc which were traditionally held by certain castes were broken and members of other castes and communities came.

A very interesting outcome of the Gulf migration is that this out migration from the state in turn led to another flow of in migration into the state. A big flow of workers from the other states of the country began to flow to this tiny state especially to Malabar seeking employment. “As soon as a contractor takes up a contract for any construction or road work, he appoints an agent to recruit workers not only from neighbouring states, but also from

¹⁷⁷ P.Suresh, n.13, p.13.

¹⁷⁸ P.R.Gopinathan Nair and P.Mohanan Pillai, *Impact of External Transfers on the Regional Economy of Kerala* (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, August 1994), pp.21-22

states as far away as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. In any construction sites, the lingua franc is not Malayalam but Hindi, Bengali or Tamil... for the in migrant workers from other states, Kerala for all practical purposes their promised land, the Gulf".¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ K.C.Zachariah and S.Irudaya Rajan, n.19, p.60.

CHAPTER 9

SOCIETY IN TRANSITION II

Family

It is very important to distinguish at the outset, one of the distinct characteristics of Gulf migration from other important international migrations that witnessed by the world. In the ancient migrations, the entire family was moving with their movable properties. Even in other contemporary parallel international migrations from the state, especially to the countries of the West, to a greater extent the entire family is moving more or less in a permanent way. Here, in the Gulf migration an individual leaves and the rest of the family remains. “It is important to distinguish at the outset the situation when an individual migrant leaves and the rest of the family remains from that when an entire family moves as a unit. In situations where an individual moves and the rest of the family remains, there is a host of possible consequences for the remaining family or household unit which are often ignored.”¹

Further, in the Arab Gulf migration from the state, the out-migrant is a young adult and probably the household head. A study on the Gulf migration from the state reveals that the emigrants are overwhelmingly male (93 percent) with a high concentration of young workers. Almost eighty percent of the current emigrants are in the age group of 25-44 years.² Another study revealed that more than two-third (67.16 percent) are aged less than 30 years at the time of migration.³

¹ A.S. Oberoi, ‘Migration, Urbanisation and Unemployment’, *World Employment Programme* (ILO, Geneva), p.51.

² Sushant K Banerjee et al, ‘Has Emigration Influenced Kerala’s Living Standards? A Micro – Level Analysis’, *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 4 May 2005), p.1756.

³ A.C.K.Nambiar, ‘In Search of Green Pasture: Myth and Reality of Gulf Migrants Workers’, *Manpower Journal*, Vol.XXXIII No.4 (January – March 1998), p.40.

More than twenty lakhs people's exposure to outer world and about one million women's loss of a male umbrella and their lonely life for years with windfall remittances at their disposal have more social implications in the family as far as the region is concerned. The implications are manifested on four levels – migrants, wives, children and parents.

Most important impact observed on the migrants is the total alienation from the family and society.⁴ A migrant is compared to a milking cow or a burning candle living for others.⁵ “The Gulf bachelor living in the flats away from his family, relations, social life etc are like burning candles”.⁶ In a sense, *Gulf Malayali* kept his dreams in dead room for the comforts of his family. Throwing away his entity, he also sleeps in the dead room. His only asset is a bed of three feet wide and six feet long. In this short space, he doesn’t get enough time to fill himself. Seeing his executive dress, others think that he is happy. Keeping this outward grandeur, he guards the life which is an orphaned dead body.⁷ The families left behind including parents, wives, children and other relatives look at their migrants as mere financiers or providers of the family. Migrants on the other hand, try to compensate their physical absence with more remittances which further emphasise their role as a milking cow.

⁴ M.T.Nilambur, ‘*Verukal Nashtappetta Pathikar*’(Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekend Magazine* (Kozikode, 24 November 1985).

⁵ The observation made by one of the renowned expatriate writers in one of the Gulf Souvenirs in the early eighties expresses the emotions of an average Gulf *Malayalee*, “Worries and sufferings disappeared. Changed the landscape of the state... but the problems of the *Gulf Malayalee* whose money effected all these are still unsolved. Whether it is in emigration office, passport office, customs office or air travel he is an alien. The *Gulf Malayali* is not deserved to enjoy the privileges of non-resident Indians. He is a second-class citizen in customs and aeroplanes. Even to fulfill reasonable things, he has to give bribery. In taxis and shops in Kerala, Gulf people have special rates. He has to give compulsory donations to various organizations... in short, *Gulf Malayali* is a strange creature both in his country and abroad” (Kaniyapuram Sainudheen, ‘*Gulf Malayalikalum Chila Prasnanglum*’ (Malayalam), *Abudhabi Malayala Samajam Sovenir* (Abudhabi, 1981), p.18.

⁶ Chandra Prakash, M. *Plavilakal Swapnam Kanunna Pathumma* (Malayalam), (Current Books, Thrissur, 2002), p. 27. To our questions whether they would prefer their fathers return home permanently, many of the children replied that they prefer their fathers to continue working in the Gulf.

⁷ Babu Baradwaj, *Pravasiyude Kurippukal* (Malayalam), (Olive Publications, Kozhikode, 2000), pp. 280-289.

Long life in the hot desert awards him a number of diseases. After spending his youth in the Gulf, he returns back alienated from the society, contracting many diseases and in many cases leaving many liabilities partially fulfilled.⁸ The findings of an important study conducted by the Centre for Survey Research and Management Services (CSRMS), Kochi, reveals some of the shocking facts with regard to the Gulf migrants. The study conducted a comparative survey among the Gulf expatriates from Kerala, Gulf nationals and all other expatriates regarding the mortality due to heart disease and injuries. The study was based on the data on age, sex, nationality and causes collected from published reports relating to Bahrain, Kuwait and UAE. The data on expatriates from Kerala were collected from the death certificates of the deceased accompanying the bodies at the three international airports in Kerala – Thiruvananthapuram, Kochi and Kozhikode. The period of study was 1989-1998. Some undesirable changes have developed among the migrants. Among males, heart disease and injuries other than traffic accidents were found to be considerably higher among the Gulf expatriates compared to the Gulf nationals. These differences became more prominent while comparing Kerala expatriates with Gulf nationals. The proportional mortality (PM) percent for heart disease among Kerala expatriates in age group 15-44, 45-59, and 60+ was found to be 34, 53 and 45 compared to 3, 14 and 18 for the UAE nationals and 18, 45 and 36 for the Kuwaitis respectively. Similarly, the PM for accidents other than traffic was much higher in age group 15-44 for the Kerala expatriates (25%) compared to UAE (4%) and Kuwait (18%) nationals. Similar findings were also observed among female expatriates in the Gulf. Disease of circulatory system was found to be the most frequent cause of death, responsible for more than two-fifth

⁸ Among the return migrants interviewed by us, majority of them are suffering from sugar and pressure complaints. Many of them are bald headed. They also revealed that their head had got grey even before thirty five years.

of the deaths (42.6%), followed by accidents, injury and poisoning including burns and self-inflicted causes (34.2%). The disease relating to heart alone are responsible for a quarter of deaths. While 15% of the deaths are due to traffic accidents, nearly one-fifth of the deaths are caused by other accidents, injury and self-inflicted causes including hanging. The deaths due to the above two causes are found to be much in excess while comparing with permanent Gulf residents as well as the residents in Kerala.

A detailed study conducted by a famous writer who is also a counselor has brought to light many problems especially psychological, of the migrants.⁹ In the initial stages of the migration, majority of the migrants were married males. In those years of 1970s and 1980s, when communication was only through letters, the separation and the related questions that piled up in the mind had created mental tensions, which unfurled in the form of many symptoms.

From abroad, he acquires many skills other than related to his job. Long years' stay in a multi-cultured and multi-faceted society has also given an average *Gulf Malayali* migrant many skills which otherwise he cannot gain. Language proficiency is the most significant one. An average *Gulf Malayali*, whose education is below Secondary Level become proficient in languages other than his mother-tongue. He speaks Arabic and Urdu fluently. A majority speaks English also. Cooking is another skill. There won't be a single person among the migrants who doesn't know cooking.¹⁰

The changes noticed among the wives are arising out of three important factors - physical absence of their males, handling of windfall

⁹ N.P.Hafiz Mohammed, '*Akkare Ikkare*', *Madhyamam Annual* (Kozhikode, 2008), pp.176-192.

¹⁰ Ammar Keezhuparamba, '*Ee Adukkala Purushanu Swantham*'(Malayalam), *Arabiayile Sulthan* (Thiruvananthapuram, August 2000), p.36.

external remittances and management of household in the absence of the husband. The diverse changes effected by these, include emotional and mental problems, dealings with various social institutions, acquisition of various new skills and taking up additional roles.

In the traditional family system of Kerala, father, mother, husband, wife, and children had their own roles and statuses in the family structure. For every person in the family there were roles, which were assigned traditionally and followed without interruption. In majority of the Malabar family, mothers take care of the family; perform household works such as cooking, washing, cleaning etc. The traditional role of the males was working outside and earning money. Major decisions regarding the family were also taken by father. The migration of the males and the consequent new configuration of the family impose new duties and charges for the members left behind. More than two million Keralites work in West Asia means at least ten lakh households have female heads. It means that at least from seventies until the development of modern tele-communication facilities in the late nineties, major decisions in the Gulf migrant families were taken over by women without even consulting with males abroad. Further, in a traditional Kerala family, parents and children were expected to behave each other in certain ways, which were acknowledged by social norms. This also got changes since the children started to earn abroad and old parents stayed at home taking care of their off springs.

Gulf migration and the consequent remittances have redefined the statuses and roles of various members in the family. “The foreign experience and exposure to diverse cultures and civilizations has broadened the vision of the respondents in respect of the sharing of household duties and responsibilities and financial management with spouses and other members of

the household.”¹¹ On the one hand, the women left behind had to make major adjustments and on the other hand they had to take upon themselves greater responsibilities in the absence of their males. A type of networking of interdependence is growing up in their absence. “The need for help and guidance is greatest in the period immediately after the migrant’s first departure for West Asia because she has to start handling matters and taking decisions that she probably never took before. The matters range from daily shopping to investment of funds, from day-to-day care of children and taking them to doctors in the event of a sickness to the extent and type of schooling for each of the children”¹². As wives started to manage things alone, it was undoubtedly a revolutionary change in the male-headed society of Kerala especially among the Malabar Muslims where wives had no role except cooking and washing. The independent life made them more self-reliant and confident. Social gatherings like marriages, parties etc. are one of the venues of socialization. Since males are abroad, women have begun to attend these functions which increased the opportunities for establishing new relationships and thereby the means more socialisation. So the Gulf migration, no doubt, did more than any other factor including the works of reformative organisations in the transformation of women, especially Muslim women in Malabar.

The need to communicate with their males convinced them the importance of education. The anxiety to know their husbands’ whereabouts contributed more to their general awareness. “Given the fact that a husband or son is working abroad, women of the migrant households take an interest in international news, particularly news of West Asia... As a result, the general awareness of developments around the world is considerably better in the

¹¹ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, *Asian Migration to the Arab world: Migration from Kerala (India)* (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, March 1986), p.64.

¹² Leela Gulati, *In the Absence of their Men: The Impact of Male Migration on Women* (Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1993), p.113.

migrant households as compared to non-migrant households.”¹³ “With the passage of years, as wives learn to manage things on their own, they tend more and more to take independent decision on many matters and in the process want to be less and less dependent on relatives. They also gain in confidence so as to live independently.”¹⁴ The huge remittances sent by the migrants compelled the females to deal with financial institutions like banks, post offices etc. The social status of the women who are handling the remittances independently, automatically increased. “A healthy wind of social change is blowing across the entire rural areas of Kerala, thanks to a considerable extent, to the impact that the migration phenomenon has had on women’s status in society in this state”.¹⁵

Autonomy and empowerment of women are two important concepts that widely discussed in Kerala. Taken all the parameters of women’s empowerment in Kerala, Gulf migration and the consequent changes contributed much in accelerating women’s progress towards a new society. Observatio made by a study regarding this, is worth mentioning. “More important than the visible economic benefits to the gulf wives, but partly as a result of them are the subtle changes in the women’s self confidence and in their ability to get things done in the man’s world. Loneliness yes, mental strain yes, hard work yes, minor problems with in-laws and children yes, but at the end of the day, they would have developed an inner capacity to get things done, not only within house holds but also in the community. The ISD booths and the internet cafés in every corner of the state have come handy to prevent the problems of loneliness from getting out of hand. The husband is physically away but his helping hand is close by just at the other end of

¹³ Ibid.p.135.

¹⁴ Leela Gulati, ‘Coping With Male Migration’, *Economic and Political Weekly* (31 October 1987), p.Ws. 42.

¹⁵ P.R.Gopinathan Nair and P.Mohanan Pillai, *Impact of External Transfers on the Regional Economy of Kerala* (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, August 1994), p.25.

communication line. The husband's absence, increased economic resources at their disposal, and the ability to communicate with her men whenever needed all have become instrumental in transforming the shy dependent girls into self confident autonomous managers with status that is equal to those of any men in the neighbourhood. They get a larger vision of world around them. The subtle transformation that has taken place among the Gulf wives would have a more lasting imprint on the Kerala society than any material changes which migration has brought about."¹⁶ "In the long run, the transformation of these one million women would have contributed more to the development of a kerala society than all the temporary euphoria created by foreign remittances and the acquisition of modern gadgetry"¹⁷

The external remittances reaching at the hands of the women and the possibility of disposing a higher income raises the prestige in the society. "A woman belonging to a nuclear family seems to stand a greater chance of becoming independent than a woman belonging to an extended family dominated by the parents-in-law."¹⁸

Windfall remittances at the disposal and the absence of husbands have its impact on the work participation of women in Kerala. A study on migration shows not only that wives of emigrant husbands were on average better educated but a significantly higher proportion of them (84%) reported being housewives than the proportion of all women (60.9%).¹⁹ Female work participation rates (WPRs) in Kerala have been among the lowest in India and declining. In the 1991Census ranks Kerala 22nd among the states with respect to female participation. According to the NSSO data female work

¹⁶ K.C.Zachariah et al, 'Socio-Economic and Demographic Impact of Migration in Kerala', Working Paper No.303 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, May 2000), p.45.

¹⁷ Ibid, p.1.

¹⁸ A.S.Oberai, n.1.

¹⁹ K.C.Zachariah et al, *Dynamics of Migration in Kerala: Dimension, Differentials and Consequences*, (Center for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 2000).

participation rate hover between 20 percent (urban) and 23 percent (rural) according to 50th round of NSSO for 1993-94 compared to male WPRs of 56 percent (urban) and 54 percent (rural). While male work participation rates have remained steady (in rural areas) since 1977-78 (32nd round) or turned mildly upwards in urban areas, female WPRs have declined consistently, more so in rural areas and it is only between 1987-88 (43rd round) and 1993-94 that female urban WPR has increased; however the rural WPRs declined further. Interestingly, the latest Round of the NSSO relating to the year 1999-00 reveals a constancy in the female WPRs both in the urban and rural areas.²⁰

The physical separation of the married couples results in personal and emotional problem. The physical separation of the couples for two or three years, affect the women both mentally and physically. Most of the husbands leave abroad immediately after the marriage. Wives who are not accustomed to the duties once discharged by their husbands are baffled when all these responsibilities reached their hands. Apart from this, the sheer separation depresses them a lot. This will be particularly true for those who are newly married and have nothing much to preoccupy them for the most of the time. In a joint family, this may be low compared to nuclear families, where they have a chance to share their feelings.

The absence of husband for a long period and huge remittances at the disposal has generated some other undesirable tendencies among Gulf wives. “One million women about whom we speak are the managers of millions of rupees flowing to the state every day. Most of them are uneducated. Tendencies to imitate the life styles of the affluent families in the neighbourhood, to use the ornaments and dresses introduced in advertisements, spending more on occasions like marriages and other social

²⁰ Mridul Eapen and Praveena Kodoth, ‘Family Structure, Women’s Education and work: Re-examining the High Status of Women in Kerala’, Working Paper No.341 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, November, 2002), p.27.

functions, offering complements and gifts to friends and relatives as part of demonstration of wealth and prestige are noticed among the Gulf women. The women are the absorbers and distributors of a vulgar consumerism and the consequent culture in the state.²¹

The migration study in 1998 estimated that a million married women (1 out of 8 in the state) is living away from their husbands.²² In the beginning, the communication was through letters. The emotional strains of separation, uncertainty of job, etc make them turn more to religion. Studies conducted in the Gulf areas have revealed the birth and growth of new *jarams* (the burial sites of the holy persons), *siddhans* (Holy persons) etc to migration and the consequent remittances.²³

The migration and the consequent material affluence resulted in both desirable and undesirable changes among children. Father is away from their children. Once in two or three years they make a short visit. Absence of father's care creates two types of results in children. Firstly, anxiety of the Gulf migrants about their children. Their mental growth disturbs the parents. Their absence leads to extended love and affection towards the children. The fathers who are not getting a chance to spend their time with their children is compensated by giving them whatever they needed. Their wishes and aspirations are fulfilled immediately by their parents, The overall result is that the migrants' children are in need of nothing. This creates in the children a

²¹ K.Saradmoni, 'Consumerist Life-Styles are Emerging', *Mainstream* (25 April, 1987), p.26.

²² K.C.Zachariah et al, n.16, p.1

²³ Malappuram, where majority of the migrants belonged is the centre of these fake holy persons. These persons exploit the problems and tensions of the migrants' wives effectively. They are manipulating the tensions of the women which are termed as 'Gulf Syndrome' by the psychiatrists. Majority of the migrants' wives are usual visitors of these fake persons (See, Report, '*Arabi Manthrikam Thottu Hitech Manthravadam Vare*'(Malayalam), *Madhyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 25 September 2006). See also, Filippo Oseella and Caroline Oseella, 'Migration and the Commodisation of Ritual: Sacrifice, Spectacle and Contestations in Kerala, India', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 37, 1 &2 (New Delhi, 2003), pp.110-139.

concept that they would get whatever they wished. “They are not ready to adapt with ‘No’ and ‘Don’t’”.²⁴

The absence of the migrants away from home and the sudden affluence experienced by the family may induce the children of a migrant family to develop attitudes and habits which are most damaging to their future. Under-protection and inadequate supervision due to father’s absence affect the children both emotionally and mentally. Lack of physical and emotional nurturing from father’s side creates stress and loss of self esteem and the children feel a sense of abandonment. The studies conducted in the Gulf pockets have revealed that children of the migrant families, especially among the males, become disinclined towards education and resort to various anti-social activities. Instead of going to schools, they indulge in various anti-social activities and create problems for respective families.²⁵

Kerala is a land, where unemployment problem is very acute, especially among the educated. The unemployment of the educated on the one hand and the migration of the less educated and the consequent material affluence they acquired on the other hand has created an antipathy towards education not only among the migrants’ children but also among the non-migrants’ children.²⁶ The young generation in the Gulf Pockets especially the

²⁴ Anu warrier, ‘*Gulf Malayalee Ennal*’ (Malayalam), *Sasthragathi Monthly* (Kozhikode, November 2006) p.23.

²⁵ During the course of our discussions with the wives of Gulf migrants this aspect has been disclosed. Most of the women revealed that, of all the difficulties, that arise as a result of their husbands migration, the hardest one is the caring and supervision of their children, especially male children. They complained that their sons were not staying in their grip. From our analysis it is understood that misleading of children is more among the poorer and uneducated families and also where there are no immediate male relatives to look after and guide the children. In the case of relatively better of and educated families, the children are sent to standard educational institutions where they get proper guidance and advice.

²⁶ This is a strange sight in Kerala, especially in the migrant centers. Those who are highly qualified in the state are on the margin of poverty due to lack of employment. On the other hand, lakhs of less educated who migrated to Gulf achieves material prosperity and leading a life equal to any affluent societies of the world. This is an eye-opener to the children living in Kerala. A wrong notion that the education is meaningless and unnecessary has developed in their mind. Instead of thinking of achieving higher degrees and qualifications they foster the thought of taking passports and going abroad.

dependents of the migrants give more importance to money and ignore education. Money and gifts from abroad leads the children to manifest a sense of materialistic value, ignoring moral aspects of life and even not thinking the sweat that shed behind the money. This is a usual sight in Malabar.²⁷ This negative impact on the children of the migrants is common in all the migrant exporting countries.²⁸

The children of adolescent period in the migrants' houses would normally spend the money on behalf of family in the absence of other elder males.²⁹ Usual dealings with money develop in them a habit of eating outside, treating friends and many other ways of squandering money. This spending habit without knowing the real value of money and the hard labour behind it will lead to far reaching effects in the future. The symptoms of the coming danger have started to show their heads in the society. The growing trend in liquor consumption is a real indicator of the future danger. Another trend that has become part and parcel of the society that also disrupted the life style of children is the presence of Visual Medias.³⁰ The spread of television have

²⁷ CV.M.Hneefa Faizi, '*Desadanakkarude Desathudippukal*' (Malayalam), *Pravasam 2007* (Kerala Pravasi Sangam Souvenir, Kozhikode, 2007), p.31.

²⁸ A study on the impact of labour migration on Bangladesh says, "Unemployment among educated youth from land-owning, middle-class families appeared in the region that is now Bangladesh about 100 years ago, yet this group today continues to look for desk-bound, salaried public sector jobs, sometimes ignoring alternative opportunities available. As the preferred types of jobs have become scarce, they have focused their attention on Middle East jobs. Large numbers of such aspirants fail in securing these jobs after incurring financial losses, and tension arises in the family and the society as everyone blames everyone else. Attention is being diverted from normal activities like studies, office work, and farming to the pursuit of overseas employment, often through very dubious methods. Even in marriage negotiations, overseas employment is increasingly becoming a bargaining point" (A.M.A.H.Siddiqui, 'The Economic and Non- Economic Impact of Labour Migration from Bangladesh', *Asian Labour Migration: Pipeline to the Middle East*, ed, Fred Arnold and Nasrah M Shah (West View, London, 1986), p.249.

²⁹ During our study, we met many adolescent children of migrants' houses. Most of them are studying at high school classes. A casual attempt was made to check the amount they are having in their pockets. The finding was surprising. Most of them were having amounts not less than Rs. One hundred with them. Some of them were having even Rs. five hundred and one thousand .

³⁰ From the interviews made with the children we could make out the impact of visual medias on children. Most of the children watch TV an average of 3-4 hours daily. Apart from this, they have watched almost all the old Malayalam films in VCD.

created many ethical issues in the society especially among the migrants' children.³¹ This has adversely affected their studies and changed their attitude of life. The reports come in the newspapers that the adolescent children are familiar with alcohol and blue cassettes point to a great threat that the state has to face in the near future.

A detailed study made by a scholar has revealed that there was a strong desire on the part of the migrants to send their children to English Medium Schools. The experience abroad and contact with and exposure to various people and their cultures have broadened the visions of the migrants. An important study made in Kerala reveals the attitudinal changes on the part of the migrants in the matter of their children's future. More than 80 percent of them have at present higher aspirations than before about the education of their children. Nearly 88 percent now look forward to securing for their children high status in society. Not only have they high desires and hopes for educational social and employment status of their children the vast majority (94 percent) are now willing to grant to children more freedom to choose their career also.³² The same study states that three-fourths of the migrants were willing to grant the same level of freedom and opportunity to pursue education and choose career to daughters and children alike. Migrants had also expressed their concern about the health of their children.

The fourth section in the family that has been affected by migration is the grand parents or elderly. Their role and status in the changed socio-economic situation has altered and damaged. Though their economic and financial security has improved a lot, they are not mentally satisfied. The grandpas and grandmas had enjoyed a honourable position in olden days. In the migrant families children are earning and in major cases cash is sent in the

³¹ Nissar Said, '*Nagnathayude Aagolavathkaranam*' (Malayalam), *Arabiyile Sulthan* (Thiruvananthapuram, August 2000).

³² P.R.Gopinathan Nair, n.11, p.156.

name of migrants' wives. She takes the decision and spends accordingly. The migration and the consequent remittances led to the power transfer from the hands of grandparents to the younger generations. Grand parents were reduced to the position of a caretaker of their son's off springs.³³ From the much honoured position of a family *Karanavar* whose words were the final ones in the family their status was degraded to the rank of a family servant whose main duties were to carry the school bags of the grand children to the vehicles, purchasing fish from the market etc.³⁴

Environment

Among other factors, the *Gulf Malayalees*, especially the rich among the Gulf migrants and the remittances they send back are knowingly or unknowingly becoming the forces or promoters of environmental degeneration in the state. Before analysing the impact of external remittances on the environment, a short glimpse into the geography of Kerala is to be made. The description made in the draft of the 'Environment Policy 2007' published by the government of Kerala about its geographical uniqueness is significant. "Due to the inherent nature of geography, climatic conditions and ecological characteristics, the environment systems are very fragile here. The biological system of the state could be considered among the richest in the whole world. It has all three maximally productive and bio-diversity wise richest eco systems in the world namely the tropical rain forest, the coastal fresh water and brackish water wet lands and the coastal marine coral reefs. All these three systems are compressed within a width of 50 kms".³⁵

³³ It has now become a custom among the grand parents who are too old to travel long distances even to go abroad at the time of their daughter in-laws delivery to look after them (See N.P.Hafiz Mohammed, n.9, p.176.).

³⁴ From our discussion with the elderly this point was clearly, unfurled. The words of one of the *Karanavar* goes like this, "Sir, we are well in the sense that we are getting posh food in time, monthly health check up in super hospitals, recognition in the society ... but we have to depend her (daughter in law) for everything; she decides all".

³⁵ Government of Kerala, *Environment Policy, 2007* (Draft) (Department of Environment, Thiruvananthapuram, 2007), p.3.

Geographically, Kerala has its own uniqueness, which exercises its influence on almost all factors in the state. The state is a narrow edge hemmed in between the Western Ghats on the East and the Arabian Sea on the West. Geographically, the region is divided into three natural divisions viz, the highland that lies 76 metres above the sea level, the midland, which is situated between 76 metres and 7.6 metres above the sea level and the coastal land the height of which is below 7.6 metres of the sea level. The north-west distance is 360 kilo metres and the average width is 70 kilo metres. That is, from the angle of environment, it is a marginal land. A region having 45 degree slope and comprising a highland, a midland and a narrow coast make it an edge.³⁶

The state, which is situated in the hot Monsoon zone is significant in the volume of forests. In 1860, about 75 percent of the state's total area was forest. The forests of Kerala are blessed with biological diversity. No other state in India can boast of such a variety of plants. The state that covers 1.27 percent of the country's total area comprises about 22 percent of the total plants and animals. It was this variety of plants that inspired the Dutch Governor to write a big volume on the plants of India.³⁷ These forests are the sources of about 44 rivers and their hundreds of tributaries which made the

³⁶ The physical description of Malabar is not different. "The district (Malabar) consists of a narrow strip of lower land along the coast of the Arabian Sea, the slopes of the Western Ghats up to their crests... the coastal strip is some 20 miles wide in the north and increases to about 50 miles further south... the crests of the Ghats are from 6,000 to 7,000 feet above the sea, and over 8,000 feet when they rise into the Nilgiri Plateau... numerous rivers have hollowed out for themselves long valleys to the coast, where, backed up by the sand brought by the littoral currents, they discharge into a line of backwaters... further inland, the greater part of the coastal strip is dotted over with hills which form no well-marked ranges and vary in height from 8,00 to 2,000 feet.. Theses often have level summits and are usually separated by narrow and fertile valleys drained by numerous rivulets... the hills of the district are made up of mostly of quartzose gneiss. On the lower slopes towards the west laterite derived from the weathering of the Gneiss is met with amidst ridges and bosses of the parent Gneiss, whilst still lower down near the sea board, at an elevation of about 15 to 200 feet the laterite is more abundant and the Gneiss more rare. The laterite is of terraced variety... it is the commonest building material in Malabar" (See Statistical Atlas, Malabar).

³⁷ This is *Hortus Malabaricus*, the great botanical work that was compiled under the patronage of Admiral Van Rheedee. The book which was published from Amsterdam between 1678 and 1703 consists of 12 volumes and about 7200 pages. The book includes description of a number of plants in Kerala.

state evergreen. They provided water throughout the year and kept the country fresh and blooming all through the year. 77900 million cubic meter water flows through this rivers per year. Though the state occupies only 1.2% area of the country it possess 5% water resources of India.³⁸ The rivers of Kerala are abundant with sands. Though the state is not as rich as other states in the deposits of minerals, rocks of various types are spread through out the region. Laterite rocks are widely spread in Kerala. The hills and uplands of the state are covered with these types of rocks.

Kerala is also blessed with marshy lands and paddy fields. These marshy lands and paddy fields, which are connected to rivers and streams have important environmental significance. These served the purpose of big natural water tanks that kept huge volumes of water in the monsoon season and stored the same for summer. They played great role in the climate of the region as it made the surrounding area mild and pleasant. The topography of Kerala is also conspicuous with numerous mountains and hills.

The consequence of a minor disturbance on this type of sensitive land will be high. The people of this type of land face greatly the environmental threat. The rise of sea water due to global warming may devastate the coastal plains, increased deforestation results in soil erosion and landslides in highland. Demolition of wet and moist areas makes the midland barren. Thus kerala faces a big environmental threat.

The pattern of distribution of residential houses in the state is basically different from other states of the country. The residential houses in the state is scattered everywhere in contrast to other states where they are concentrated in one place in a village. The agricultural lands in the other states are away from the people's dwellings whereas in Kerala the peoples' dwellings and the

³⁸ Prof.M.KPrasad, *Haritha Chinthakal* (Malayalam) (Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad, Kochi, 2004), p.98.

agricultural lands are one and the same. It is in this perspective that we have to assess the impact of Gulf boom on the environment of the state.

An important development after 1970 in the state is the evident boom in the construction activities. Among all the surface level evidences of Non-resident Keralites (NRK) remittances, the most projected one is the construction boom. Big houses are the symbols of Gulf Villages.³⁹ All micro and macro-level studies made on the use of Gulf remittances have disclosed the importance given to the assets in buildings. According to one study conducted in 1978, about three-quarters of the expenditure by the migrants was taken by land purchase and house construction.⁴⁰ Another micro-level study conducted in the same period in Chavakkad village in Trichur district, tells about the construction boom in the village. Out of 95 houses 32 were brand new modern houses constructed within a period of five years.⁴¹ Another study conducted in 1982 reveals that migrants' first concern was construction of dwelling houses and second was acquisition of land.⁴² The same study regretted that number of terraced houses had gone up considerably and of thatched houses declined.⁴³ The study conducted by the Department of Economics, University of Calicut stated that a major share ie. 56.48 percent was utilized for the purchase of land, house construction and house repair.⁴⁴ A

³⁹ The study conducted by a popular Malayalam daily reports, "Big houses are the symbols of Gulf villages. In Chavakkad, the 'Mini Gulf' of Kerala, people used to build structures of aeroplanes, ships and falcon birds (the national symbol of the UAE) atop of the houses as symbols of affluence. Rooms in the houses were made on the basis of the numbers in the family (Pradeep Pillai and Others, 'Yathra, Madakka Yathra' (Malayalam), (Malayala Manorama, 18 June 2005).

⁴⁰ E.T.Mthew and P.R.Gopinathan Nair, 'Socio-Economic Characteristics of Emigrants and Emigrants' Households: A Case Study of Two Villages in Kerala', *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 15 July 1978), p.1150.

⁴¹ BA.Prakash, 'Impact of Foreign Remittances: A Case Study of Chavakkad Village in Kerala', *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 8 July 1978), p.1110. Our interview with Manoli Abdullah Haji, one of the early migrants disclosed that on his first return, his first concern was building a house. In 1960, he built an elegant house spending three lakh rupees as early as 1960.

⁴² Agro-Economic Research Centre, 'Impact of Foreign Remittances on the Economy of a Rural Area in Kerala', *Agricultural Situation in India*, Vol.37, No.7 (October 1982), p.452.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ A.C.K.Nambiar, n.3, p.44.

latest study has also found the same trend being continued among the migrants.⁴⁵ “Land prices have shot up due to intense land speculation by migrants eager to build their “Gulf houses”. Huge, upscale flat complexes now pepper the landscape, marketed as fashionable housing for Gulf returnees and for others who can afford them, leading to dire predictions about the consequences of a new “flat culture”⁴⁶.

In short, “House construction activities in Kerala economy took a sudden upturn in the recent past particularly since the mid-seventies. The upturn appears to have had its peak level in the late seventies and/or early eighties. ‘Housing booms’ have been found to be, in general economic booms. However high level of housing investment independent of general economic improvement in the economy as a whole either before or after seems to be the experience perhaps unique to Kerala”.⁴⁷ The Department of Economics and Statistics, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram conducted a survey in 1987 covering 1,467 migrant households, 690 non-migrant households and 411 households with Gulf returned persons. According to this survey, the migrants utilized 21 percent of the remittances for improving or purchasing land and 36 percent for constructing or improving buildings excluding current consumption.⁴⁸ A person who travels from one end of the state to the other end can see a chain of beautiful and elegant mansions especially in the Gulf migrants concentrated areas. This is a rare sight of Kerala, which is conspicuous by its absence in other Indian states. It is doubtful whether any village even in the advanced countries of the

⁴⁵ According to this study, construction of own house has been reported as the most preferred choice of investment among the migrant households. Around 58 percent of the households invested the remittances in the construction of their own house and the proportion has further increased to 72 percent in case of long duration migration (Sushant K Banerjee et al, n.2, p.1760.

⁴⁶ Ritty Luckose, ‘Consuming Globalisation : Youth and Gender in Kerala’, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 38, Issue, 4 (January 2005), p.924.

⁴⁷ Gopikkuttan, G, ‘House Construction Boom in Kerala: Impact on Economy and Society’, *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 15 September 1990), p.2083.

⁴⁸ Government of Kerala, *Report of the Survey on the Utilisation of Gulf Remittances in Kerala* (Department of Economics and Statistics, 29 September 1987).

world can boast of this affluence in the residential facilities. “Not only the outward grandeur of the houses but the migrants decorated the inner portion by providing a life style which compete the life styles of any modern societies of the world”.⁴⁹

This Gulf related construction boom is more concentrated in Northern region of the state.⁵⁰ The findings of a study regarding the Muslim migrants, majority of whom belong to Malabar area is important. “A major sector in which emigration seems to have had a very significant effect is housing. About 22 percent of the houses in the sample were categorized as “luxurious” or “very good” in 2004.... There were large differences in the quality of houses occupied by the three religious groups. The proportion of luxurious or very good houses was 18.3 percent among the Hindus, 25.8 percent among the Christians, and as much as 28.7 percent among Muslims. This is one area in which Muslims stand much ahead of other religious groups... about 58.3 percent of the houses of the NRKs in 2004 were either luxurious or very good. Among the non-NRKs the corresponding proportion was only 17.1. The difference is as high as 41.2 percentage points.”⁵¹ A number of studies have pointed out that a boom in construction sector has appeared in Kerala after 1970s.⁵²

The tendency observed in the various sections and steps of construction is the consumerist style, which employs serious repercussions on

⁴⁹ K.P.O.Rahmatullah, ‘*Gulf Prathisandiyum Malayaliyude Bhaviyum*’, (Malayalam), *Kalakaumudi Weekly* (Thiruvananthapuram, 1990), p.30.

⁵⁰ T.P.Gangadaran, ‘*Namukku Parkkan Concrete Kadukal*’, *Mathubhumi* (Kozhikode, 29 October 1999).

⁵¹ K.C.Zachariah and S.Irudaya Rajan, ‘Gulf Revisited: Economic Consequences of Migration from Kerala Emigration and Employment’, Working Paper Series 363 (Centre for Development Studies Thiruvananthapuram, September 2004), p.42.

⁵² For details See, K.N.Harilal, ‘Kerala’s Building Industry in Transition: A Study of the Organisation of Production and Labour Process’, MPhil Dissertation (Centre for Development Studies Thiruvananthapuram, 1986); Gopikkuttan, G, ‘Housing Boom in Kerala: Causes and Consequences’, PhD Thesis (University of Kerala, 1988); Gopinathan Nair, P.R, ‘Incidence, Impact and Implications : Migration to the Middle East from Kerala (India)’, Working Paper No.12 (Asian Development Programme, ILO-ARTEP, New Delhi, 1988) ; Gopikkuttan n.47, p.2085.

the very life of the Keralite. A latest study conducted in Malappuram reveals that the number of members in the house and the requirements of the family were normally neglected in the decisions as regards the number of rooms and total plinth area of houses. The study observes that the very concept of 'house' has thoroughly changed in the region from that of dwelling places to pleasure resorts. In many areas of the state, housing - its size and style – has become an object of competition and a 'mark' of distinction.⁵³ The study reveals that this tendency is extensively found among the low income earning and unskilled emigrants.⁵⁴ As one of the writers observe, "NRIs which include NRKs are heavily investing their savings in real estate. They are not just buying and selling, they are constructing palatial houses, as it is a very status symbol in Kerala. That is why they stay in terrible conditions in the Gulf for decades to keep that dream alive".⁵⁵

The relationship between construction and Gulf boom is evident from the change in the district wise proportion of houses since 1970. In 1971 Ernakulam district had the highest proportion (70 percent) of durable houses and Trivandrum the lowest (22 percent). But in 1980 Trichur turned out to be the district with the highest proportion (79 percent) and Alleppey with the lowest (59 percent). Apart from Trichur, the other districts which improved their relative positions were Cannanore, Malappuram, Palghat and Trivandrum".⁵⁶ This relative improvements in the case of Northern districts are very much conforming to the Gulf boom.

The huge mansions built by the migrants across the rural landscape of Kerala have created many environmental problems. Before the Gulf boom, majority of the houses in the state were traditional type – either thatched ones

⁵³ M.P. Abdullah, 'Trends, Causes and Consequences of Consumerism in Kerala', PhD Thesis (University of Calicut, 2008), p. 158.

⁵⁴ Ibid.p.160.

⁵⁵ Ramesh Menon, 'Kerala's Development Paradox', *India Together* (23 March 2008).

⁵⁶ For details See, Gopikkuttan, n.47, Pp 2083-2084.

or tiled ones. Concrete houses are new to Kerala, which made its presence felt after 1970. The predominant materials used in traditional houses like tiles, mud-mortar, dried grass, coconut palms, timber, stone, rubble etc were congenial to the environment of Kerala and their use was only on a limited scale. Within a decade since 1970, the construction sector in the state underwent radical changes both in the quality and items of materials and design of houses in the state.⁵⁷ “The spending extravaganza is also found in the case of the materials used for the construction of the houses. The materials that are under use have undergone rapid changes from traditional materials to modern materials”.⁵⁸ According to official statistics traditional materials used for roof declined from 74.1% in 1961 to 25.2% in 1991 and again to 11.2% in 2001. Likewise the use of non-durable material for wall was 63.7% in 1961 and 35.4% in 1991 and 30.4% in 2001. The houses built in 2001 used mud, brick and stone by 26.1% and cement, mosaic and tiles by 72.8%.⁵⁹

This transition in the building sector resulted in great impact on the environment of Kerala.⁶⁰ The area covered by house and premises are comparatively larger in Kerala. The large courtyard together with the excessive plinth area consumes a major portion of cultivable land in the state.

The required factory made materials - cement, iron rods, tiles, electrical goods, sanitary ware etc are imported from other states. But the traditional materials such as bricks, sands, laterites, gravels, woods etc are

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ M.P.Abdullh , n.53.

⁵⁹ For details see, Government of Kerala, *Economic Review* (Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 2004).

⁶⁰ The statement made by one of the scholar incorporates the whole situation. “The onslaught on the natural resources is increasing day by day. The ever-weakening productive systems and the consumerist tendencies throwing Kerala to the ditch of utter destruction. The natural resources of Kerala cannot satisfy the militant needs of 10 or 20 percent of the people. Filling the watersheds and paddy fields huge mansions were built. Mining the sands, we made the rivers dead like. Shaving the eastern hills we made the rivers and rains reaching the sea within hours”. (See Prof.K.Sreedharan, ‘Anpathu Varshathe Kerala Vikasanubhavangal Tharunnathenthuthu’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, (Kozhikode, 17-23 December 2006), p.74.

procured locally. Large-scale procurement of these items has started to pose great threats to the environment. One of the first requirements of the new housing boom that started by the Gulf migrants was the acquisition of a new plot of land in a proper place. The studies made on the land markets in Kerala have pointed to the trading of small house plots on a massive scale in the period after 1970s.⁶¹ Kerala, where the land-man ratio is very low and since the supply of land being inelastic availability of proper house plots become rare. In such circumstances, paddy fields and marshy lands adjoining to urban areas are filled, hillocks are levelled and turned to housing plots. A micro-level study conducted in selected villages in Kerala has attested this aspect.⁶²

The paddy fields, marshy lands and hillocks of Kerala are under the process of great transformation. The booming construction industry that triggered after the Gulf boom in the state and also the consequent urbanisation have made these lands especially those adjoining the roads and towns objects of great commercial value. The hillocks are excavated and levelled and the nearby paddy fields and water bodies are filled up with soil excavated from these hillocks. The JCBs, the ubiquitous excavators are the usual sights in the Gulf pockets of Malabar. The Conversion of agricultural lands and forests, as well as reclaiming of wetlands, for construction purposes and infrastructure is usual sight of Kerala in 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. This has led to many environmental problems in the state. Recent studies that highlight the threat posed by intensive excavation activities in various parts of Kerala in the last two decades note that a substantial proportion of the state's hills landscape has been destroyed and carted away to fill low-lying lands for construction. Recent micro-level studies conducted by *Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad*

⁶¹ See Mathunny Varghese, M, 'Land Market in Kerala: A Case Study of an Urban Periphery', MPhil Thesis (University of Kerala, 1984).

⁶² The study conducted in selected villages in Chavakkad Taluk in Trichur district bears references to this. The original text reads like this, "In one of the selected villages, some amount of diversion of paddy lands to coconut plantation was observed owing to increase in agricultural labour. Similarly, in another selected village conversion of agricultural land into house sites was observed." (Agro-Economic Research Centre, n.42, p.453).

reveal that since 1987 over 50% hillocks in panchayats and municipal towns included in a survey have been subjected to excavation and earth removal activities; among them 10-15% suffered extreme extreme loss, if not complete destruction.⁶³

The *Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad* conducted a survey in eight of the fourteen districts in Kerala. The district wise data shows that compared to the southern parts of Kerala, the north has witnessed a heavier assault on its land despite the rate of commercialisation and industrialisation being much faster in the south. Compared to the north where the survey found 58% of hillocks destroyed, the loss in the south was less at around 32%. In fact, the two districts that witnessed the most destruction are Kannur and Malappuram both in Malabar. In Kannur, the survey examined 33 *Garama Panchayats* and two municipal areas that had as many as 196 paddy fields and 163 hillocks. Of these paddy fields, 146- a whopping 81.6% had already been filled up either to plant cash crops, for commercial activities and to build houses etc. The study included areas with a minimum height of ten metres and a base of 1390 hectares under the category of hillocks. Of 163 such hillocks identified in the study, as many as 94 (57.67%) had been affected by various levels of excavation. According to this study, 68 hillocks had lost as much as 25% of their total area, while another 12 suffered a 25-50% loss; 14 had lost over 50%.⁶⁴

Filling the low lands including paddy fields poses great threat to the storing of ground water. The study conducted in the Pattambi Rice Research Institute reveals that if all the three types (seasons) of farming such as *Virippu*, *Mundakan* and *Puncha* are utilized in one hectre of land, two crores

⁶³ N.P.Chekketty, 'Kerala's Vanishing Hillocks', *Info Change News and Features* (October 2008).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

of litres of water are percolated into the underground.⁶⁵ This study shows the fearful effect that the aggradation of paddy fields that make to the underground water. A study conducted by the Department of Underground Water has also brought out this point. The study says that water table in the state is fearfully lowering. Up to five years back, tube wells in the state could get water at a depth of 200 feet. Now the average depth is 300 – 350 feet. The study fears that in a near future this depth will be 700 – 1000 as in Tamil Nadu.⁶⁶ The aggradation of marshy lands including paddy fields and the degradation of hills are the major causes for this phenomena.⁶⁷ When the paddy fields are filled, the ponds and wells situated in fields are also filled. Big concrete mansions are built on these places. The surroundings of the buildings are also cemented obstructing the very little chance for water sinking into the ground. When the number of houses increases usage of water also increases. A joint survey conducted by the Central Ground Water Board and the State Ground Water Department estimates the number of open wells in the state as four million, roughly one well for every eight to ten persons.⁶⁸ According to the then Union Minister for Water Resources, in fifty blocks the water has come down in the state.⁶⁹ When the water table lowers people can't not get water from the ordinary wells. The result is the increase of tube wells in the state.⁷⁰

The rivers of Kerala face serious threat from excessive, indiscriminate and uncontrolled mining of sands. According to a statistics published in 2001, the volume of sands collected from the rivers of central and south Kerala are 7

⁶⁵ Dr.C.George Varghese, 'Keralathile Nelkrishi: Chila Athijeevana Prasnangal' (Malayalam), *Satragathi Monthly* (Kozhikode, December 2007), p.33.

⁶⁶ According to this study, 70% of the paddy fields in the state disappeared within ten years (Report, 'Bhoogarbhha Jala Nirakku Bhayanakamayi Thazhunnathayi Padhanam', *Madhyamam Daily* (Kozhikode, 26 March 2007).

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ T.Nandakumar, 'Study Finds Imbalance in Ground Water Availability', *The Hindu Daily*, (22 October 2005).

⁶⁹ Report, 'Keralathil 50 Blockukalil Bhoogarbhha Jalam Kuranhu', (Malayalam), *The Mathrubhumi Daily*, (Kozikode, 23 July 2006).

⁷⁰ Ibid.

to 69 times more than the sands naturally deposited per year (See the Table 9.1).

Table 9.1
Sand mining (Various Rivers)

Rivers	Annual sustainable collection of sands (Cubic meter)	Sands collected per year (Annually)
Chalakkudy	7810	1,50,000
Periyar	50708	31,10,000
Muvattupuzha	41827	3,30,000
Manimala	4200	4,70,000
Pamba	17883	4,60,000

Source: *Visala Kochiyude Vahaka Seshi Padhana Report – 2001*(Quoted in Dr.R.Ajaya Kumar Varma, “*Paristhith: Keralam Engottu*”(Malayalam), Satragathi Masika, November 2005, P.83).

The situation in the rivers of Malabar are also not different. According to a study conducted by *Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad* in Kannur district, the average daily sand mining in the important sites of Valapattanam river is alarming (See Table 9.2). The study shows that daily sand mining in the Valapattanam river is 3025 cubic metre and annual extraction is seven lakh fifty thousand cubic metre.⁷¹ Bharatappuzha, or Nila as it is fondly called, the longest river in Kerala, is in the way of rapid and steady destruction due to unregulated sand mining for the last few decades. A river that provides drinking water for about 175 villages for a population of over 5.9 lakh rural area and 1.73 lakh in urban area spreading over three districts of Palakkad, Trissur and Malappuram for about 209 kilo metres is barely a trickle in the summer months and filled with shrubs and needs creating the feeling of

⁷¹ Sreejith Paithalen, ‘*Malabarile Manaloottu Kendrangal*’ (Malayalam), *Malayalam monthly* (Kozhikode, April 2005), pp.29-30.

garden than that of river.⁷² Another important river in Malabar, Chaliyar suffers from excessive sand mining. According to the reports, there are 125 sand mining sites in Chaliyar, the fourth largest river of Kerala.⁷³

⁷² The documentary produced by Shahid Kuttippuram sheds light on the pathetic condition of the river Nila.

⁷³ Report, *Mathrubhumi Daily*, (Kozhikode, 11 January 2009). Also See, M.A.Rahman ed, *Chaliyar Athijeevana Padhangal* (Malayalam) (*Chaliyar Samrakshana Samithi*, Vazhakkad, 2008).

Table 9.2
Sand Mining (Valapttanam River)

Place	No. of katavu	No.of Load
Pappinisseri	5	25
Kolasseri	4	250
Anthoor	4	35
Mayyil	4	40
Chengalayi	4	70
Kuttiattor	1	10
Koodali	3	20
Sreekandapuram	2	15
Irikkur	2	15
Mattanoor	1	20
Kizhur-Chavassrei	2	125
Payam	4	5
Achan Kunnu	3	3
Aralam	3	2

Source: Sreejith Paithalen,n71.

Sands play significant role in retaining the resourcefulness of rivers. The sand that has been accumulated above the cracks of the earth's crust has a dominant role in recharging the underground water.⁷⁴ "For the last 20 years our rivers suffer from this (Sand mining). When Gulf money transformed into concrete jungles the demand for sand increased very much in 1980s and 1990s. Each *Grama Panchayat* in Kerala started to auction their river beds to sand contractors".⁷⁵ Studies conducted by agencies such as Centre for Earth

⁷⁴ In the beginning, the mining of sands was limited to the rivers only. When this became inadequate *sand mafia* has turned to the banks of rivers. This has serious implications as far as the environment is concerned.

⁷⁵ P.S.Gopinathan Nair, '*Paristhithi*' (Malayalam), *Keralam 2000* (Malayalam), ed, T.N.Jayachandran (Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2000), p.154. See also, P.S.Gopinathan Nair, '*Keralathile Nadikalude Avastha*' (Malayalam), *Chaliyar Athijeevana Padhangal* (Malayalam), ed, M.A.Rahman (Chaliyar Samrakshana Samithi, Vazhakkad, 2008), pp.11-21; N.K.Sukumaran Nair, *Manalozhiyunna Puzhakal Jalavum* (Malayalam), *Chaliyar Athijeevana Padhangal* (Malayalam), ed, M.A.Rahman (Chaliyar Samrakshana Samithi, Vazhakkad, 2008), pp.47-53; A.Bijukumar, *Keralthile Nadikalum Pristhithi*

Science Studies have found that riverbanks are cut deeply for generating new sand mining sites. Indiscriminate sand mining has brought the riverbed below sea level, adding to the ecological problems affecting the water level in wells on the embankments has fallen considerably, more so after the monsoon. When the sands removed from the banks of rivers hydraulic gradient increases drastically. The chances for recharging of wells around the river disappear. This is the situation of almost all rivers in Kerala.⁷⁶ Research done on the lifeline of the rivers points out that removal of sediments and creation of deep pits by way of mining sand would lower the water table.⁷⁷

Indiscriminate sand mining has led to the drying and collapsing of adjoining wells; lowering water table; salination of water; lowering productivity of soil; collapsing of river banks and changing the course of river. Medias of Kerala are full of reports on sand mining and related issues. The sand mining has gone to the extension that without satisfying with the sands in the rivers the greediness make the people deepen the ponds and breaking small and big rocks and mixing them in water to extract sands.⁷⁸ Features are being published, discussions are being held and reports are being recurred in various medias on the various aspect of this issue.⁷⁹ The popular poetess points to the danger that the environment of the state faces, “The rivers that await the death are the ignominy of Kerala. Reasons are many. Deforestation, lose of soil, sand mining, fettering of rivers, over exploitation of ground water, filling of fields, degradation of hills filling of ponds,

Pranangalum (Malayalam), *Chaliyar Athijeevana Padhangal* (Malayalam), ed, M.A.Rahman (Chaliyar Samrakshana Samithi, Vazhakkad, 2008), pp.40-46; V.R.Krishna Aiyer, ‘*Nadikalum Manalum Janangalude Athijeevanavum*’ (Malayalam), *Paristhithi Darsanam* (Malayalam), ed, Prathapan Thayatt (Haritham Books, Kozhikode, 2008), pp.22-32.

⁷⁶ U.Chandrasahsan, ‘*Varandu Kondirikkunna Keralam*’(Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 10 March 1996), p.31.

⁷⁷ Report, ‘Illegal Sandmining Thrives in the Periyar’, *The Hindu Daily* (Kozhikode, 10 March 2008). See also, K.Siji, ‘*Jeeva Jalathinu Manushyan Thanne Bheeshani Srishtikkumbol*’ (Malayalam), *Varthamanam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 1 September 2007).

⁷⁸ Nissar Nandan Kizhaya, ‘*Keralathinte Manal Vishappu Theerunnilla*’ (Malayalam), *Varthamanam Daily* (Kozhikode, 04 August 2007).

⁷⁹ See R.Samban, ‘*Puzhakalum Poozhikalum Mafia Kaikalil*’ (Malayalam), *Desabhimani Daily*, (Kozhikode, 18 February 2008);

breaking of rocks, widespread concrete, wastage of water, in addition throwing of waste including plastics to the rivers”.⁸⁰ When the construction boom made sand a costly material, mafia started to develop surrounding it.⁸¹ This environmental degeneration occurs not only in Malabar but in the Gulf pockets of central and north Kerala also.⁸² In addition to the environment problem, the new ‘concrete culture’ has resulted in various other changes also. The traditional thatched or tiled houses of Kerala had kept the balance of temperature inside the house. The newly built concrete houses have only momentary comfort. The main agenda behind it is arrogance and outward beauty.

Another problem related to construction is the cutting of rocks and degradation of hills. To make up the paucity of sand, rock powder is being used. According to one estimate 50,000 ton rock powder is produced daily in 2500 crushers in the state.⁸³ Also rocks are cut for construction of buildings. Thousands of quarries, where laterites and granites are cut are the usual sights in the state. The result is the manual aggradation and degradation of the land and the serious harm made to the topography of Kerala. A study conducted by the Department of Atmospheric Science, Cochin University of Science and Technology, has found that the aggradation of paddy fields and the degradation of hills in the state are responsible for the low rain in Kerala.⁸⁴ In the highlands and midlands of Kerala, fearful sights of this assault on land can be seen. A famous scientist and environment activist of Kerala has pointed out to the adverse impact of the aggradation and degradation of low lands and

⁸⁰ Sugatha Kumari, ‘Enikku Pedi Thonnunnu’ (Malayalam), *Kerala Kaumudi Daily* (Kozhikode, 05 June 2007).

⁸¹ R.Samban, n.79.

⁸² For more details, See, Saji James, ‘Kuttanadine Thakarkuuna Mannu Mafia’ (Malayalam), *Malayalam Monthly* (April 2005), pp. 26-28.

⁸³ Dr.R.Ajaya Kumar Varma, ‘Paristhithi: Keralam Engottu’, *Satragathi Monthly* (Kozhikode, November 2005), p.84.

⁸⁴ Report, ‘Padam Nikathi Kunnidichu Mazha Peyyathakki’, *Kerala Kaumudi Daily* (Kozhikode, 5 May, 2008).

hills.⁸⁵ The col lands that spread from Nedumbasseri to Ponnani and situated in the three districts of Ernakulam, Trissur and Malappuram face serious threat. These col lands that play great roles in agriculture, fishing and also water conservation are also the acquifers of Bharatappuzha and Chalakkudi river.⁸⁶

The knocking down of hills by earthmovers and excavators are usual sights in the Gulf pockets today. The laterite midland hills, which are the sources of many rivers and streams are now in the way of destruction. “An estimated 1,000 truck loads of earth from demolished hills are being transported every day in Kannur district, each load weighing five tones of soil”.⁸⁷ Trucks and tipper lorries carrying soil and pieces of granites and laterite rocks shuttling up and down the urban as well as rural roads of Malabar is a usual sight. According to environmentalists in the region, the midland hills have become the source of big business involving builders, land developers and contractors who purchase privately owned mid land laterite hills and coastal wet land plots at cheaper rates. The hills are reclaimed by demolishing them and wet lands and paddy fields by filling them with the soils from these hills.⁸⁸ Thus this results double damage to the nature.

⁸⁵ C.R.Neela Kandan says that in conserving water, in retaining the biological diversity of the earth's surface, in controlling the direction of the wind and maintaining the micro climate of a region, hills and mountains have big roles. Though Kerala is only 10 degree away from equator, the prevailing South west Monsoon winds, nearness to the sea, the existence of hundreds of water bodies and marshy lands raises the humidity of the atmosphere and make the climate mild and pleasant. When we construct concrete buildings by filling the fields and marshy lands, the outer cover of the soil is lost. The plants and trees become extinct. The result is that insolation comes directly to the surface of the earth and soil loses its moisture content. The result is land becomes barren, atmosphere becomes hot and again plants become low. This is a vicious cycle.(CR.Neela Kandan, ‘*Manninte Maranam*’ (Malayalam), *Malayalam Monthly* (April 2005), p.25.

⁸⁶ See Dr.P.S.Panicker, ‘*Kol Nilangal Sarva Nasathilekku*’ (Malayalam), *Varthamanam Daily* (Kozhikode, 18 August 2007).

⁸⁷ The statement is by Bhaskaran Velur, General Secretary of Society for Environmental Education , Kerala (SEEK) (See, Mohammed Nazeer, ‘Demolition Changes Midland Landscape’, *The Hindu* (5 May 2005).

⁸⁸ Report, *The Hindu Daily* (14 June 2007).

According to one report, nearly half a dozen laterite hillocks near Thalasseri are in the process of being razed to the ground. A portion of a big hill facing the Iritty town has been brought down. The work of demolishing the laterite hills at Chuzhali and Chiravakku near Talipparambu is in progress. A hillock at Sreekantapuram has also been exposed to the threat.⁸⁹

In short, “NRI has clear role in destroying the confused ecological system of Kerala”.⁹⁰ Exploitation of natural resources to support the new construction boom such as quarrying and excavation of sand, gravel and building materials at large scales, and over extraction of water have contributed to degradation of the natural support systems and irreversible loss of non-renewable natural resources and the disappearance of natural diversity, in addition to severe environmental problems, the full effect of which will be visible only in the distant future. The view expressed by a scholar is significant. “Environment culture is that of cooperation and tolerance. It is the totality of actions and counter actions between different animals and animals and their environment. The actions and counter actions of various elements of the environment – biological, material, social, and cultural – maintains the balance of environment. But unfortunately, man interferes here violently and leads to its imbalance. Each element in the nature has their role. But for man, widens his place and narrows the sites meant for others. This is invasion and not cooperation”.⁹¹

To put it in brief, Kerala, the God’s own country is recklessly being transformed to a concrete jungle replacing the hillocks, paddy fields and other low lands. This is verily a slip from the tradition. In the early ages, human activities in nature were centred around a few things. Primitive man collected

⁸⁹ Mohammed Nazeer, n.87. For a detailed account of hill demolition in one of the areas of Kannor district, see, M.Jayarajan, ‘A Socio-Cultural and Ecological Study of the Midland Laterite Hillocks along Kavvai River Basin’ (Centre for Development Studies, March 2004).

⁹⁰ Dr.K.M.Abdul Khader, ‘Keralathinte Paristhithi Thakarchayil Pravasikkum Panko?’ (Malayalam), *Sasthra Gathi Masika* (Kozhikode, November 2006), p.32.

⁹¹ Dr.A.Achuthan, ‘Paristhithi Samskaram’, *Varthamanam Daily*, (Kozhikode, 21 July 2007).

food articles from nature. After the invention of agriculture, cultivation was practiced on a limited scale; materials for houses were also procured from nature. Even in the modern period and until a few years back, his activities in nature were limited. Traditionally, Keralites have not considered their life distinct from their environment. They had realized that their life and environment are inter related and inter dependent.⁹²The present generation being tempted by consumerist culture and capitalist mentality see their environment through commercial eyes and make it a marketing commodity. This tendency is not a matter to be ignored. This is actually a change in philosophy of their life, a change in culture, a change in attitude towards the environment. The satirical statement made by a popular scientist and environmentalist is significant here, “The only society on the earth that thinks that they can live without soil may be *Malyalis*. For *malayali*, who stands with the peoples of the developed nations in terms of physical indicators of life, soil is dirt or stain... *Malayalis* who doesn’t use what he produces and doesn’t produce what he uses thinks that market is enough to sustain the life; and sufficient money to purchase... High lands and midlands of Kerala are vivid with the frightening scenes of leveling hillocks and high lands. Soil is the commodity having highest market value in the state. A society that live by selling soil won’t survive long”.⁹³

Like construction boom, the state also faced a vehicle boom since 1970s. “The major investment channel for the migrants has been ‘motor

⁹² The following *Adivasi* song prevalent among the *Irulars* in Attappadi testifies this.
Manne Nambilelayya Maramirukku
Marathe Nambilelayya Kombirukku
Kombe Nambilelayya Ilayirukku
Ilaye Nambilelayya Poovirukku
Poove Nambilelayya Kayirukku
Kaye Nambilelayya Pazhamirukku
Pazhathe Nambilelayya Namirukku
Namme Nambilelayya Nadirukku.(Tree depends on soil; trunk depends on tree; leaf depends on trunk; flower depends on leaf; seed depends on flower; fruit depends on seed; we depend on fruit and country depends on us).

⁹³ C.R.Neelakandan, n.85, pp.136-139.

vehicles' is well known in Kerala. The increase in the number of motor vehicles has been phenomenal during the past decade and the bulk of this increase is attributed to investments made by the migrants and their households".⁹⁴ As early as the period "between March 1977 and October 1978, the number of motor cars registered in the state increased by about 5,000- nine cars a day. Marikar Motors, Trivandrum the sole distributors for Ambassador cars in Kerala sold about 690 cars through their seven outlets in 1976-77 and this number jumped to almost 1,600 and then to more than 1,800 in the next two years. According to Sales Manager of the firm, the demand was more than this and they could not meet it because of lack of supply."⁹⁵ According to the State of Environment Report 2005 (SoER, 2005) automobiles increased 20 times during the last three decades in the state.⁹⁶ In 1957-58 there were only 16174 vehicles in Kerala. As on 31/03/1999 it rose to 17.06 lakhs. In other words in 1958 there were a total of 150 vehicles for a population of one lakh. In 1999, it rose to 5530. In 1960, the distance between two vehicles in the roads in Kerala was 1 km. In 2000, it is only 30metres.⁹⁷ Total number of vehicles in the state was 19345 in 1958-59. It rose to 1328619 in 1996-97.⁹⁸

Number of vehicles in Malappuram in 1969-70 was only 2101. In 1996-97 it rose to 81584. In 2005-2006, the number increased to 276347. In the district-wise growth of vehicles in Kerala, the highest index is that of Mlappuram (901). The state index is only 550.⁹⁹ In Kozhikode, the number was 2724 in 1958-59. It rose to 115604 in 1996-97.¹⁰⁰ The increase in number

⁹⁴ P.R.Gopinathan Nair, n.52, p.28.

⁹⁵ Raju Kuien and Dilip Thakore, 'Gulf Money in Kerala: Coping with the Problems of Plenty' *Business India* (25 June –8 July, 1979), p.25.

⁹⁶ Report, 'Acute Water Crisis Awaits State', *The New Indian Express Daily* (Kozhikode,16 October 2005).

⁹⁷ P.S.Gopinathan Nair, n.75, p.162.

⁹⁸ Government of Kerala, *Statistics Since Independence* (Department of Economics and Statistics, Thiruvananthapuram, 1998). p.104.

⁹⁹ Government of Kerala, *Economic Review* (State Planning Board, Thiruvananthapuram, March 2007),

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

of vehicles reveals its relation with the Gulf boom. When we take the number of vehicles in 1981 and 1997, first position goes to Pathanamthitta (increase was 34 times) and second place goes to Malappuram (12 times), two Gulf migrants districts.¹⁰¹ A survey conducted in 232 houses in Malappuram district disclosed that 97 percent of them have at least one vehicle of their own, 112 house holds (49.56%) have at least two vehicles and the house holds with more than two vehicles are 33 (14.6%).¹⁰²

Vehicles play an important role in the air pollution. It also plays its own role in the sound pollution. The increase in the number of vehicles has caused in degrading the quality of air in Kerala. It has led to the increase in temperature.¹⁰³

Another development which is visible in the state is the growth of urban centers. The growth of urbanization, which was below the all-India level during the period 1901-1981, showed a high growth in the immediate decade after this. The urban growth rate during 1981-91 was 60.89 as against the national rate of 36.19. According to the 1981 estimates, the state fell under the most urbanized areas along with Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Punjab. The composite index of urbanization of these states was +2.0 while that of Kerala was +3.24.¹⁰⁴ Unlike other states, Kerala lacks rural urban distinction and it is very difficult to mark where town ends and villages start in the state. Some social scientists have even defined Kerala as a mega city. Urbanisation has its own impact on the consumption habits of the people. The urbanization makes the concentration of consumer goods and accessibility and proximity to anything will create artificial needs and a psychological

¹⁰¹ Surendran Chunakkara, 'Keralam Engane Kachavadam Cheyynnu'? (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 09 August 1998), p.21.

¹⁰² M.P.Abdullah, n.53.

¹⁰³ In the state, temperature has been consistently increasing since 1961 (The New Indian Express, n.96).

¹⁰⁴ R. Ramachandran, *Urbanisation and Urban Systems in India*, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1981), p. 131.

motivation towards its possession. It has also to be noted that urbanization in Kerala which overtook the national average has never been part of industrialization contrary to what happened in many Indian states where urban areas formed and developed around industrial centers.¹⁰⁵ The way of life followed by the rural people are different from the urban residents in many ways. The attitude of the people in rural areas towards consumption, entertainment, work, family, education etc may be different from the residents of cities and towns. The dynamic urbanization in the state has led to the depletion of wet lands. A recent study by the State Council for Science, Technology and Environment has found that rapid urbanization and consequent development of infrastructure have taken a heavy toll on the wet lands.¹⁰⁶ The rapid urbanization has serious implications on environment.¹⁰⁷

Kerala is well suited for the cultivation of various crops including paddy since the region is having fertile soil and enough water. During the time of the formation of the state and before, the production of rice in the state was not so bad. Unfortunately, agriculture, the backbone of Kerala economy, has been showing the symptoms of decline since 1970. “In agriculture, there has been an all-pervasive stagnation, especially from the mid-seventies when there was a decline in output in the case of paddy, tapioca, banana, coconut, cashew and arecanut”.¹⁰⁸ “The percapita food grain production in Kerala (average of the triennium of 1989-92) was just 38 Kg compared with the all India average of 203 kg. During this period, Kerala, which has 3.4 percent of the country’s population according to the 1991 census produced only 0.6

¹⁰⁵ R.Surya Murthy, ‘Emergence of Consumerism in Kerala’, Seminar Paper, International Congress on Kerala Studies (A.K.G.Centre for Research and Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 27 – 29 August 1994), p.24.

¹⁰⁶ Report, ‘Urbanisation Causing Wet Land Depletion’, *The Hindu Daily*, (21 November 2003).

¹⁰⁷ Joji Kuttummel, ‘Ngaravalkaranam Keralathil’ (Malayalam), *Satragathi Monthly*, (Kozhikode, July 2005), pp.33-35.

¹⁰⁸ CT.Kurien, ‘Kerala’s Development Experience: Random Comments about the Past and some considerations for the future’, International Congress on Kerala Studies Seminar Paper, (AKG Centre, Thiruvananthapuram, 27-29 August 1994), p.9.

percent of the country's food grains. It must be noted that Kerala is unique in this respect. It is the only state in the country where during the past two decades 1970-73 to 1989-92 food grains production declined at an annual rate of 1.09 percent. What is even more significant is that much of this happened in the decade of the 1980s when the annual rate of decline was 2.06 compared to the previous decade when it was only 0.2 percent. This has been a rather sudden development.”¹⁰⁹

The total area under paddy in 1975-76 was 884969 hectares. In 1998-99 it reduced to 352631 hectares. It means the area reduced to 39.8 percent “The average per capita food grains production in the state in the triennium 1969-70 to 1972-73 was only 62 kg compared with the all India figure of 186 kg. However, in the two decades preceding it, 1951-71, food grain production in the state had grown at 3.0 percent per annum above the rate of growth of population at that time of 2.3 percent per annum and these figures were very similar to the all India figures of 3.0 percent and 2.1 percent respectively.”¹¹⁰ But Kerala was producing only 40% rice required by the state.

The state, which was producing 40% of the fish products before 1960 is now producing only 19%. “The crisis of the state, especially of the goods producing sectors, could be seen as an outcome of the process of structural adaptation of the regional economy to the migration-remittances boom.”¹¹¹ The area under food grain has come down from 960,000 hectares in 1970-71 to 593, 000 hectares in 1990-91. The fall of paddy alone was from 875,000 hectares to 560000 hectares. The share of cultivators in the total workforce has also come down from 17.8 percent in 1971 to 13.06 in 1981.¹¹² The share of

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, pp.17-18.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p.18

¹¹¹ K.N.Harilal and K.J.Joseph, ‘Stagnation and Revival of Kerala Economy: An Open Perspective’, Working Paper 305 (Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, August, 2000), p.4.

¹¹² C.T.Kurien, ‘Kerala’s Development Experience: Random Comments about the Past and Some Considerations for the Future’, Seminar Paper, International Congress on Kerala Studies (A.K.G.Centre for Research and Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 27 -29 August 1994), p.20).

agricultural workers (cultivators and agricultural labourers) in the work force of the state, 37.8 percent in 1991 is the lowest among the major states and much lower than all India figure of 66.5 percent.¹¹³ The major transformation that Kerala's economy has been experiencing during the past few decades is due to the change over of a predominantly agrarian society where production of food grains was for long mainly for consumption into one where most people now purchase food grains and many other items of food. It is really a socio –economic transformation of enormous significance.¹¹⁴ By implementing the land reforms the government had expected great spurt in agricultural sector. However, production of all almost all major crops with the exception of rubber suffered an absolute decline between 1975-76 and 1986-87. Similarly, industrial performance from the mid-70s has also been dismal.¹¹⁵ In Malappuram, where majority of the migrants belonged, this was surprising. In 1975-76 the area under paddy was 92953 hectares. In 1998-99 it was reduced to 23818 hectares. It means the production was reduced to a percent of 25.6. In Kozhikode, another northern district, the reduction was from 63965 to 15642 (24.4%) In Kannur, the reduction was from 98289 to 13878 (14.1%).).

Gulf migration and the consequent material boom have played a major role in this transformation effecting it in more than one way. Firstly, migration caused for the withdrawal of thousands of persons from various labour sectors of the state including agriculture. There has been a movement of people away from agriculture. This led to a decline in the availability of agricultural workers. Since the Gulf migrants are young, and the hard-working, their loss might have resulted in the low productivity of the crops. This has undoubtedly affected agricultural output and incomes. Though, in

¹¹³ Ibid, p20.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p.21.

¹¹⁵ T.M Thomas Isaac and P.K. Michel Tharakan ' Kerala Towards a New Agenda', *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, 5-12 August, 1995), p.1994.

Kerala, where chronic unemployment exists for several decades it had little outward impact on the overall labour market. Secondly, the feeling that rice cultivation is a profitless business is connected with the rising demand for land especially near the motorable roads. The land brokers were waiting the Gulf people who were ready to buy suitable sites for high price. Almost all the studies have shown that one of the important items that the migrants purchased with their remittances is the land. “The offices of Sub Registrars became the centres of corruption during this season”.¹¹⁶ An interesting point to note here is that the migrants’ demand is not the land for cultivation but for the construction of houses. The area of land per capita in Kerala is one of the lowest in India (0.4 hectares). When suitable house plots are not available, agricultural lands are continuously reclaimed for construction of houses. To purchase paddy lands for low price and filling them to build houses is a fashion in the Gulf pockets.¹¹⁷ “The increasing flow of Gulf money made the land an object of Speculative business. The result was that land reached in the hands of a group who had no interest in agriculture.”¹¹⁸ Thirdly, the construction bonanza that triggered as a result of the remittance boom diverted the available workers to the construction sector where the wage became higher. The observation made by a study is significant. “Attracted by huge wage differentials and better working conditions, rural labourers collectively migrated from the farming sector causing a dearth of agricultural labourers. The wage of agricultural labourers had to be raised for retaining sufficient number”.¹¹⁹ This in turn resulted in the wage hike for agricultural labourers. Kerala is the number one state in India where the wage of the agricultural labourers are the highest. But the number of agricultural labourers

¹¹⁶ Radha Krishanan Narippatta, ‘Sambathika Thakarchayude Kanappurangal’ (Malayalam), *Gulf Voice* (Kozhikode, January 1999), p.21.

¹¹⁷ Surendran Chunakkara, ‘Keralam Engane Krishi Cheyyuunnu’? (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 20 September 1998), p.8.

¹¹⁸ Prof: Kosi P.Mthew, ‘Karshika Prasnavum Vikasana Prasnanangalum’ (Malayalam), *Social Review Monthly* (Kozhikode, January 2007), p.26.

¹¹⁹ M.P.Abdullh, n.53, p.106.

are still decreasing.¹²⁰ Fourthly, the external remittances made the relatives of the migrants here more hedonistic resulting in laziness and non-involvement in works that needs physical labour. Fifthly, due to the wind fall remittances at their disposal the farmers and their relatives deliberately choose to keep out of the farm work.

A study has argued that the crisis of the commodity producing sectors witnessed during the period since mid seventies could be attributed to the 'resource movement' and 'spending effect' associated with remittance boom.¹²¹ The study says that the remittance boom from the Middle East that followed the quadrupling of oil prices in 1973 appears to have induced almost the same kind of structural changes as envisaged by the core Dutch disease model in Kerala.¹²²

¹²⁰ See K.V.Joseph, 'Gulf Panavum Karshika Vethanavum' (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi weekly* (Kozhikode, 5 February 1984).

¹²¹ K.N.Harilal and K.J.Joseph, n.111.

¹²² Dutch Disease Economics is named so after the experience of Netherlands in the 1960s, when the country experienced the boom of natural gas discoveries. The more the Netherlands developed its natural gas production, the more depressed its manufacturers of traded goods became. Later, various scholars applied the Dutch disease model to explain the effects of booms arising from different exogenous shocks. The Dutch Disease syndrome is explained in terms of two symptomatic effects of an export boom, viz. the 'resource movement effect and the 'spending effect'. The expansion and increased profitability of the booming sector would draw the mobile factor out of other sectors and bid up its price. The resulting contraction of non-booming tradable sectors due to the heightened competition for factors of production is referred to as the 'resource movement effect'. The spending of the extra income from the export boom would tend to bid up the prices of non-tradable goods vis-a-vis tradable goods leading to a real appreciation and erosion of competitiveness of the tradable sector. The spending effect refers to the contraction of non-booming tradable sectors on account of the real appreciation. The tendency for the prices of factors of production non-tradables to increase cannot but adversely affect non-booming tradable sectors which are exposed to external competition. To see its various applications see, Lindert, *International Economics*, (AITBS, New Delhi, 1986), pp 99-100; Kamas Lind, 'Dutch Disease Economics and the Colombian Export Boom', *World Development*, Vol.14, No.9, 1986, pp.1177-1198; Fardmanesh, 'Dutch Disease Economics and the Oil Syndrome: An Empirical Study', *World Development*, Vol.19, No.6 (1991), pp.711-717, Norio Usui, 'Policy Adjustment to the Oil Boom and Their Evaluation : The Dutch Disease in Indonesia', *World Development*, Vol.24, no.5, 1984, pp.887-900, Thimothy S. Nyoni, 'Foreign Aid and Economic Performance in Tanzania' *World Development* , Vol.26, no.7 pp.1235-40., 1998.W.M.Corden, 'Blooming Sector and Dutch Disease Economics: Survey and Consolidations', *Oxford Economic Papers*, 35 (November 1984), pp-359-80, Van Wijnbergen, 'Inflation, Employment, and the Dutch disease in oil exporting countries: a short run Disequilibrium Analysis', *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol.19, No.2,(1984), pp.233-250.

However, the international Congress on Kerala Studies has acclaimed the contribution of Gulf remittances in alleviating the crisis that the Kerala Model faces since 1970S. “The economic crisis has been camouflaged by the inflow of remittances from the Gulf region. Fortunately, for Kerala, the migration to the Gulf began to pick up from mid-70s precisely the period when the downward trend in the regional economy became visible. At the peak the remittance inflows constituted as much as a quarter of the state domestic product. With the inclusion of the remittances per capita income in Kerala would be higher than the national average.¹²³ “Since it is often the young, the better educated and the ambitious who are motivated to leave the rural areas, their loss may result in the average quality of the origin areas’ labour force.”¹²⁴

Art, Literature and Architecture

The architectural monuments of a country or a society is the best exposure of its cultural legacy. The architectural design, the materials used, inner and outer decorations are also the aspirations and visions of the society that build these monuments. Mosque or *Masjid* in Islam is not a prayer hall alone. It is a symbol of Islamic culture and Muslim presence in a place. There are mosques in almost every vicinity of the world where there is a sizeable collection of Muslim population. An important feature of Mosque architecture all over the world is that more or less it follows a uniform structural style, though a slight variation can be seen here and there. This architectural style is known as Saracenic Style. But the mosques built by the Muslims of Kerala till the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, was not of the Saracenic Style of architecture or of Indo – Saracenic style that developed by the imperial or provincial school in Northern India. It was influenced by the local

¹²³ T.M.Thoamas Isaac and P.K. Michael Tharakan, n.115, p.1996.

¹²⁴ A.S.Oberoi, n.1, p.55.

temple architecture rather than the Saracenic Style. The reason for this uniqueness is not far to seek. The construction of both temples and mosques were done by local artisans before whom the models of places of worship were only temples or theatre hall (*koothambalam*) and these models were adopted for all new situations. According to a scholar the Cranganore Mosque, believed to be the earliest in Malabar, is an austere lofty two storeyed building with tiled roof on wooden planks. Its outer wall or *prakara* is built on *adhistana* of *pratibandha* type similar to any Hindu temple of the region probably due to the employment indigenous carpenters and Masons who knew only the Hindu style of architectural construction.”¹²⁵ Another scholar says “The typical Muslim Mosque of Kerala remained through the centuries as a small symbol of the total identity of the Muslims with Kerala life and culture as well as their immunity from the Islamic influences elsewhere in the country.”¹²⁶ At Thanur, Malappuram, the *Jama Masjid* has a gate built in the manner of temple *gopuram* covered with copper sheeting. The Arabic tradition of simplicity of plan had perhaps combined itself with the indigenous construction techniques giving rise to the unique style of mosque architecture not found anywhere else in the world.¹²⁷

The Gulf boom gave a serious blow to this cultural diffusion that Kerala kept for centuries since the construction of the first mosque in Kodungalloor.¹²⁸ This unique architectural style that kept the Kerala mosques

¹²⁵ V.Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual, II* (Trivandrum 1906), Pp.110.

¹²⁶ A.Sreedhara Menon, *Cultural Heritage of Kerala* (S.Viswanathan, Printers and Publishers Private Limited, 1996), p.155.

¹²⁷ Balgopal T.S.Prabhu, ‘Kerala Architecture’, *Essays on the Cultural Formation of Kerala*, ed, P.J.Chериан (KCHR, Thiruvananthapuram).

¹²⁸ K.T.Manu Musliar, General Secretary, *Samastha Kerala Islam Matha Vidyabhyas Board*, the organization that runs more than 9000 *madrassas* all over Kerala, links this transition with the Gulf boom. During our interview with him he revealed that this was effected by two means. First, the contact of the Keralites with the Arab world opened the architectural styles of the mosque through out the Arab World before them and they copied them to their native land. Secondly, many of the mosques now built in Kerala are sponsored by the Arab citizens. The sketch and plan of the mosque to be built are to show them before sanctioning the fund. Prof. T. Abdul Azeez (Late), Former President of Kerala Nadwathul Mujahideen revealed that it was the increasing number of Muslim organizations behind the proliferation of mosques. According to him there the role of gulf money behind the proliferation of Muslim

distinct are however in the process of replacement since the Gulf boom.¹²⁹ “The use of arcuated forms, domes, minar-minarets of the imperial school of indo-islamic architecture are being projected as the visible symbols of Islamic culture. Similar mosques are coming up all over Kerala in the modification of old mosques in the last decade”.¹³⁰ Now, the mosques with indigenous style are few in the state. Mosques are being built with minarets and domes. Another serious aspect with regard to mosque is the abundance of mosques. For each section of Muslims separate Mosques are built.

The impact of migration on literature is also significant. Gulf migrants and their life abroad, the conditions of the families left behind, the impact of the remittances they sent etc. have enriched the Malayalam language and its literature from various dimensions. Migrants from Kerala engage in various literary and social activities abroad.¹³¹ Almost all leading Malayalam daily newspapers are being published from the Gulf countries; *Malayalam News* from Saudi Arabia; *Varthamanam* from Qatar; *Gulf Madhyamam* from five Gulf nations and *Middle East Chandrika*, *Deepika International*, *Siraj* and *Malayala Manorama* from the United Arab Emirates. Malayalam may be having the sole credit of the only regional language in the whole world that crossed national boundaries and put its imprint in other countries and among other people. The credit for this growth of the language goes to Gulf migrants. The presence of a strong media that are being published in the name and for the *Gulf Malayali* both from Kerala and abroad are strong evidences for the

organizations in the state.

¹²⁹ A study conducted among the Gulf migrants in Mahi has pointed towards the role of Gulf migrants in transforming the architectural style of mosques in Kerala (See K.K.N.Kurup and E.Isamil, *Pravasikalude Oru Vamozhi Chithram* (Malabar Institute for Research and Development, Kozhikode, 2005), p.59).

¹³⁰ Balgopal, T.S. Prabhu, n.127.

¹³¹ For detailed reports regarding the literary and artistic activities of the earlier migrants in the Gulf, See various issues of the journal, *Gulf Malayali* published from Bombay in 1970s 1980s. Another development to be noted that some expatriate organizations run and manage book publications wings in the stage. E.K. Moideen Haji, General Secretary, Al Ain Sunni Youth Centre told us during the interview that they are running Al Majlis Publishers in Tirurangadi which has published a number of books in Malayalam including Quran translations.

role of Gulf money in this sector and also the interest that the non-resident Keralites' show in reading. A number of Journals are being published exclusively for the Gulf expatriates.¹³² The current journals of Malayalam are vivid with articles on various aspects of migration and the problems of migrants. With a few exceptions like *Malayala Manorama* and *Mathrubhumi* which were started before the Gulf boom, almost all other leading news papers, periodicals and TV channels are bound to the Gulf money for their birth and survival.¹³³ A number of novels, short stories and articles have been published on migrant and their life. The life in the Gulf made the *Malyali* multi-linguistic. The illiterate and the less educated among the migrants speak Arabic, English, and Urdu fluently.¹³⁴ Many popular writers in Malayalam live and write from Gulf countries.¹³⁵

From the very beginning, the Gulf migration has become the theme of Malayalam Cinema. It was M.T.Vasudevan Nair, the '*Jnnan Peedham Laurette*' of Malayalam literature, first told the story of Gulf migrants. His film *Vilkanundu Swapnangal* tells the story of a Malayali Valluvanadu youth Gulf migrant. '*Visa*', one of the Malayalam films released in early eighties and directed by Balu Kiriyaath tells the story of visa racketing. '*Varavelppu*', another Malayalam movie directed by Sathyan Anthikkadu, tells the story of a return migrant. The film is a real illustration of how an average Malayali sees a Gulf migrant. It depicts the vicious cycle of politics, labour unionism that

¹³² Prominent among them are *Pravasi Doothan*, *Arabiyale Sulthan*, *International Malayali and Gulf News*. *Manasi* and *Mayoori* are two journals exclusively for women. *Take one* is a Malayalam Film Journal published from Dubai.

¹³³ According to one report, sixty five percent income of the Malayalam channels except Amrita, India Vision and Surya are from the Middle East. And the survival of the dailies like Siraj, Thejas and Madyamam are bound to Gulf money. For a detailed description on this aspect, see, Ahmed Shareef, '*Madhyamangal Maranna Malayali*', *Pravasi Doothan*, (Alappuzha, January 2007, pp. 8-10. See also Report, '*Madyamangalum Chooshakarakunnuvo.?*', *Pravasi Doothan* (Alappuzha, January 2007), pp.12-14.

¹³⁴ During our discussion it was revealed that most of the Gulf Malayalis speak Arabic and Urdu fluently. A few speak English also.

¹³⁵ TV.Kochu Bava (late) (UAE), Satrugnan, N.T.Balachandran (Oman), Methil Radhakrishnan, Karunakaran (Kuwait), Babu Baradwaj (Saudi Arabia), M.A.Rahman (Qatar), P.K.Parakkadavu, Surab (UAE) and many popular and unpopular writers of Malayalam contributed a lot in developing the *Pravasi* literature.

any man may face when starting a business in Kerala. It also passively reveals why the Gulf migrants do not invest money in Kerala. P.T.Kunhimohammed, who is also an ex migrant has directed the film *Garshom*. The word itself means 'migration' in Hebrew language. Other popular films that deal with Gulf migration as the theme are *Akkare* directed by K.N.Sasidharan, *Arabikkatha* directed by Lal Jose and *Perumazhakkalam* directed by Kamal. A number of Malayalam films have taken the story of migration and the related issues as their theme. Tele films that deal with Gulf migration and connected matters are also large in number.¹³⁶

Gulf migrants and the money they sent have also played negatively on the artistic and cultural arena of the region. The Kerala villages of 1960s and 70s were bright with colourful cultural entertainments like annuals of village clubs, annuals of public libraries, football tournaments etc. If a drama is staged it was written, directed and acted by the villagers themselves. It was a creation of their entire unity and work. The football players were also the village people. Today these programmes have lost their entire meaning. The cultural programmes now held in Malabar are staged by professional teams and sponsored by migrants or their relatives.¹³⁷

Muslim Community

The social transformation and cultural change is well manifested in the life of Malabar Muslims, the largest migrant community since 1970s. As any other society, the Malabar Muslims believed and boasted of a distinct and high cultural base that they directly bequeathed from the prophet and his immediate disciples. Cultural security is important for any society when alien moves and life styles threaten the very social base. But culture is conditioned

¹³⁶ During our study, we could come across sixty five video films that tell the story of migrants and their families produced after 2000.

¹³⁷ M.N.Karasseri, '*Athmavu Poypokumbol*' (Malayalam), *Arabiayile Sulthan* (Thiruvananthapuram, 25 February 2001).

by the socio – economic and environmental factors specific to each period. With the acquisition of new concepts disseminated through education, journey, mass media, contacts with others etc the culture may get change and transform.

Anyone who studies the social history of Malabar Muslims may find some central aspects that underline the very social life of the people. First, the influence of the *Ulemahs* (the Islamic scholars). Unlike the sister communities like Hindus or Christians, the Muslim community of Malabar adhered to the guidelines and injunctions issued by the *Ulemahs*. This influence is evident in any political or social movement of the past. Second, the prominence given to Islamic education or the so called theology. There were systematic arrangements attached to mosques in every '*Mahals*'(a village affiliated to a congregational mosque) for the study of Islamic theology. Third, the Muslims were very vigilant in retaining their cultural identity and any slight of assimilation was taken seriously.

But as we indicated in the previous lines, the contact with others through various channels may shake this cultural base. This is what has been happening in Malabar since 1970s. Malabar, especially the migrant community has been passing through a phase of dynamic social and cultural transformation, thanks to the onslaught of petro – dollar. This cultural diffusion, which is known as 'Gulf Culture' has been spreading like a virus net work into every elements of people's life. The doors of Arabian Gulf which were opened before the Keralites in 1970s were a divine blessing especially for the middle class sections of the people of Malabar who had been suffering from serious socio – economic evils that we discussed in the third and fourth chapters of the present study. "Gulf culture is sufficient enough to raise challenges to the economy and culture of the area. It is high time for those who thought that the Gulf money is an asset to the country to

correct their views. Truth is often stranger than myths.”¹³⁸To a certain extent, the members of any community may defend the entry of new ideas and try as much as possible to keep away from forsaking the established customs and lifestyles. But once the resistance breaks, the alienation will be fast. Malabar has been experiencing this stage of cultural evolution in the past three decades. Apparent changes are visible in every walks of people’s life. The life – styles once pioneered by the Gulf migrants are soon copied by the non – migrants and becomes the accepted pattern of the whole society. Thus when 20th century bids farewell and the new century starts, Malabar, which was unrivalled in many respects is adding new features to its uniqueness. Present day Malappuram is a proto – type of old Bagdad city where on the one side existed Islamic educational centres and on the other side all immoral activities.¹³⁹

Gulf migrants have been playing the role of catalysts of social reformation among the Muslim community for the last thirty years in Kerala. The observation made by a popular Malayalam writer is significant. “Gulf money played the same role among Muslims as Sri Narayana Guru among Ezhavas. No Muslim scholar or organization could modernize the Muslim community so deeply as Gulf money”.¹⁴⁰ Gulf money, undoubtedly, has been the single most dynamic factor that contributed more, to lead the tradition bounded community to modernity and thereby helping to withstand the new challenges of the time. To quote Dr.M.G.S.Narayanan, “However the advent of petro-dollar boom in the Gulf area gave these people (Muslims) an unexpected chance to become junior partners in modernization. They were employed in large numbers in the Gulf and earned money which could be

¹³⁸ R.Ramachandran Pillai, ‘*Gulf Jeevitham Sambathika Samskarika Prasnangal*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Daily* (Kozhikode, 11 September, 1985).

¹³⁹ U.P.A.Rahman, Kilinakkode, ‘*Malappurathinte Varthamanam Ethra Bhayanakam*’ (Malayalam), *Thelicham Monthly* (Tirurangadi , February 2006), p15.

¹⁴⁰ Shihabudheen Poithumkadavu, ‘*Driverum Cheriyoru Pilotalle Sir*’ (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly* (Kozhikode, 8 – 14 june 2004), p.23.

used as capital and they also began to appreciate modern education, medicine, travel and many other modern amenities of life ... This is another historical channel through which modernisation came to Kerala... the tiny, overpopulated, underdeveloped southern state on the west coast of Indian peninsula is geographically and politically part of India, but economically and culturally very much part of affluent society of West and West Asia.”¹⁴¹

In the early decades of the twentieth century, almost all the communities of Kerala witnessed the impact of social reforms. In every social reform movements that Kerala witnessed in the past, the role of the educated middle class has been acknowledged by everyone. But the role of the reformers and the impact they made in the Muslim community were significantly different from the sister communities. Firstly, the reform movements among the Muslims were confined to southern districts where the number of Muslims were insignificant.¹⁴² Secondly, the reformers like Vakkom Abdul Khader Moulavi were branded as radicals and they could not make any significant move among the majority orthodox sections. “But the reform movements led by progressive *Ulemahs* best exemplified by Vakkom Moulavi never became the main stream of the Muslim community, particularly in Northern Kerala, where the sullen Muslim Peasantry weighed down by the successive defeats of their numerous revolts against the British, adopted more and more self-defensive in-ward orientation. The conservative *Ulemas* throttled any attempt at reform and even shunned modern education”.¹⁴³ Thirdly, “Muslim reformism had to deal with the aftermath of the 1921 Mappila rebellion, which confirmed to many the anti-Islamic nature

¹⁴¹ M.G.S.Narayanan, ‘Gods and Ancestors in Development’, *Rethinking Development: Kerala’s Development Experience*, ed, M.A.Oommen Vol.1 (Institute of Social Sciences, Concept Publishing Company)

¹⁴² For example, Vakkom Abdul Khadir Moulavi, the most renowned Muslim reformer of the time belonged to Vakkom, a place in Travancore. The activities of the communal organizations he founded on the pattern of Ezhavas and Nairs like *Travancore Muslim Mahajana Sabha and Chirayinkil Taluk Muslim Samjam* were also confined to Travancore area.

¹⁴³ T.M.Thomas Isaac and P.K Micahel Taharakan, n.115, p.2000.

of British rule. In reaction, rural Muslims distanced themselves from modern education, privileging Arabi-Malayalam over English, and even over written Malayalam. For the traditionalist *ulemah*-in whose practices and orientations the majority of Kerala Muslims recognize themselves—generalized opposition to Islamic reformism was extended to a rejection of all forms of education promoted by the latter”.¹⁴⁴ In other words, outside the limited sphere of the educated urban middle classes and reformist *ulemah*—for whom modern education increasingly stood for the whole project of modernization and reform—attempts to introduce “English” education were viewed with suspicion, or rejected outright.¹⁴⁵

The community that lagged behind others in human development indexes especially education is now striving to access what it has lost in the past, thanks to the material affluence contributed by the Gulf migration. “In this rush towards intellectual development, the role of the migrants is most important. The relationship between private interests and public good, the advancement of business while apparently working for the “upliftment” of the whole community, unfolds in these entrepreneurs’ efforts to link the need for education to reform and future progress of Kerala Muslims. And they do not just talk about education: they promote and build schools, colleges, and universities in both Kerala and the Gulf through various private trusts or charitable organizations. If necessary, funds are raised by appealing to the sensitivities of specific Muslim audiences in both Gulf and Kerala. Potential Arab donors are presented with the chance of bestowing benevolent generosity to support “backward” Muslims’ development and participating in the renaissance of Islamic culture and values. Kerala Muslims, especially Gulf migrants, are offered the chance of doing good for the community”.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Filippo Osella and Caroline Osella, ‘Muslim Entrepreneurs Between India and the Gulf’ , *ISIM Review*, (The Netherlands, 19/Spring 2007), p.8.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

A community and its most influential *ulema* that once opposed to the modern education, especially of girls, now becoming the catalysts of sweeping changes.¹⁴⁷ It may seem paradoxical that the Malappuram district Committee of *Samastha Kerala Jamiyyathul Ulema* who once renounced female education as *Makrooh* (not allowed by religion) is running a college exclusively for imparting modern education to its females.¹⁴⁸

A new trend is visible in the education sector among the Muslims especially after 1970s. Muslim educationists in cooperation with their *ulema*, took on the banner of modern education and social reform, building schools and colleges where science was taught alongside religious subjects.¹⁴⁹ Related trend is the proliferation of educational complexes in various parts of Malabar.¹⁵⁰ Throughout Malabar, number private educational institutions run and managed by Muslims increased especially after 1970s. For example, there were only 10 orphanages in Malappuram district in 1960. In 1970, the number of orphanages rose to 17. In 1985, the number again rose to 35. In 1995 the number became 60. Similar increase is observed in the case of other

¹⁴⁷ *Samastha Kerala Jamiyyathul Ulema*, the most influential organization of Muslim religious scholars passed a resolution to the effect that teaching the art of writing to the females is 'sarail makrooh' and hence was not permitted by Islam (See, *AL Bayan Arabi Malayalm Masika* (1930), 1, pp.4 -5.

¹⁴⁸ In the course of our interviews, Ramla Ambalakkadavu, Principal, 'Wafi College for Girls' said that in the 'Wafi College for Girls' which is functioning under the auspices of *Samastha Kerala Jamiyyathul Ulema* in Valancheri, 300 girls are doing their college studies. She also added that food, accommodation, tuition and everything is free in the college and the main sponsors are Gulf migrants.

¹⁴⁹ This is a new trend in the community. A number of educational institutions that imparts higher learning to the children are being started all over Malabar with systematic syllabus and coordinated leadership. The first of it was started in Chemmad, Malapuram in 1984 as *Darul Huda Islamic Academy*. Now under this institutions, 35 colleges are working all over Malabar. All these institutions are affiliated to the College in Chemmad and following the same curriculum and method of study. After twelve years of study, the institutions award the title 'Hudawi' in Islamic theology and MA Degree in English literature. Two thousand and four hundred students are coming out every year from these institutions. Another scheme is 'Wafi' colleges. Started in Valanchery in 1990, it has a chain of 33 colleges all over Malabar. In the course of our discussion, Abdul Hakeem Faizi, Rector, Wafi Colleges said that after a term of seven years *Wafi* institutions will award 'Wafi' Degree in Islamic theology and B.A. Degree in English literature. Apart from these a number of institutions are working with their own syllabus. An important point to note is that the cost of education including food and accommodation in all these institutions are free. The Rector added that the institutions are run with the benevolent contributions from the Gulf expatriates.

¹⁵⁰ By educational complexes, we mean many institutions in a single campus viz. schools, orphanages, vocational institutes, Arts Colleges, Arabic Colleges, Boarding Madarasas etc.

institutions. For example the number of Arabic Colleges in 1960 was 15. In 1995, it became 58. Similar growth is visible in other districts of Malabar also.¹⁵¹

Though Gulf boom has pushed the community a little bit forward, a close analysis of the reports published by various agencies and findings put forward by important studies reveal that the community still remains behind other communities in various levels of education.¹⁵² According to the figures collected in 1990s, the presence of Muslim pupils at Lower Primary levels has been found to be 27.6 per cent and that at the Upper Primary level 27.78 per cent.¹⁵³ Both these figures are above their population level (24.7 per cent) in the state. Their presence at High School level was 17.79 per cent, which is much below their population level.¹⁵⁴ The details with regard to the Muslim number in various professional courses in recent years say that the community is represented poorly. This again tells that the total number of Muslim enrolment is not in proportion to total Muslim population. Out of total 5848 engineering seats in 2000 their number was 345 (5.89 per cent) only. In 1999, it was 201 out of 4284 (4.69 per cent) and 220 (5.56 per cent) out of 3952 in 1997. Another interesting finding is that while 70 percent of the Muslim proportion belongs to Malabar districts, the Muslim engineering students are only 158 out of 345 in 2000, only 88 out of 201 in 1999 and only a small 27 students out of 220 in 1997 from Malabar. In the year 2000, total seats available for MBBS courses are 623 out of which Muslims constitute 50. The grand total seats for courses including BDS, BSc Nursing and MLT were 857 and the Muslim representation was only 69 (8.05 per cent).¹⁵⁵ The picture

¹⁵¹ For Details See Aboobacker Baqavi Malayamma, *Mahallu Directory* (SAHEEA, Kannur, 2005); Qasimul Qasimi, *Kerala Muslim Vidyabhyasa Directory* (Najmul Huda Publications, Velliparamba, 2002); C.K.Kareem, ed, *Kerala Muslim Directory, Statistics and Directory*, Vol. III (Malayalam) (Kochi, 1991)

¹⁵² See, K.K.N.Kuruppu and E.Isamil, *Pravasikalude Oru Vamozhi Charithram* (Malabar Institute for Research and Development, Kozhikode, 2005), p.60.

¹⁵³ C.K.Kareem, ed, *Kerala Muslim Directory, Statistics and Directory*, Vol. III (Malayalam) (Kochi, 1991), p.676.

¹⁵⁴ U.Mohammed, *Educational Empowerment of Kwrala Muslims: A Socio-Cultural Perspective* (Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, 2003), p.51.

¹⁵⁵ University of Calicut , *Socio-Economic Upliftment of Backward Classes in Malabar Since the Inception of the Calicut Unversity* (Chair for Islamic Studies and Research, University of

regarding the community in other professional courses like BHMS, BAMS, B Sc (Agriculture), B V Sc & AH, BFSc, BSc (Forestry) and Btech (Agricultural Engineering) is exactly the same as that of the engineering and medical admissions.¹⁵⁶In short, though external remittances have led to the material affluences of the Malabar region and the largest migrant community to a greater extent, relative changes have not taken place in the higher levels of education. A recent report published by the central government also shows that their share in the government services is not in proportion to their population.¹⁵⁷

Calicut, March 2002), pp.27-29.

¹⁵⁶ For details see Ibid. pp.28-33.

¹⁵⁷ The Commission appointed by the Central Government under Justice Rajindar Sachar published its report in November, 2006. According to this report, the share of Muslim population in Kerala is 24.7%. But their share in the state employment is only 10.4%. In the high posts of Judiciary their share is nil (For details regarding the conditions of Muslims in Kerala, see Government of India, *Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community: A Report* (Prime Minister's High Level Committee, New Delhi, November 2006), pp.369 – 374).

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Studies on Arab Gulf migration from Malabar on an historical angle are nil, even though causes for this mass human exodus are well rooted in the socio-economic and cultural history of the region. Further, the windfall remittances, sent by the migrants back, have created a material affluence in the migrants concentrated areas termed as Gulf boom. This material affluence that started by 1970s has been clearly playing its role in reconfiguring the region's socio-cultural structure. This second aspect was also not subjected to a serious study by any discipline. So, the present study is an attempt in this direction. The major questions that we tried to examine are the following. (1) The reasons for the dominance of Malabar over Travancore and Cochin in the various international migrations that the country witnessed and especially the Gulf migration. (2) The impact that the migration and the remittances have had on the socio-cultural transformation of the region.

Our enquiry into the reasons for the dominance of Malabar region in various international migrations revealed the intense socio-economic dissimilarities between Malabar on the one side and Travancore and Cochin on the other. The differences in the administrative nature of the Malabar from the other two are the basic reasons for these differences. While Travancore and Cochin, as princely states enjoyed royal benevolence, Malabar under the direct colonial rule lagged far behind in development and prosperity. The different land relations that existed in the three political units also contributed for this difference. While cultivating tenants and farm labourers constituted more than 86% of the agricultural population in Malabar, cultivating land owners constituted about 63% in Travancore. The commercialization of

agriculture under the alluring offers of the Travancore government paved the way for financial development of the state. This economic growth in turn resulted in the development of the secondary and tertiary sectors. Banking, transport, education and health sectors showed great improvement. And also it helped in raising the status of the downtrodden classes and birth of reformation organizations. Similar changes occurred in Cochin also.

The land tenure system stood in the way of such a change in Malabar. The commercialization of agriculture that developed in Malabar benefited only the high caste Hindus and superior tenants in Malabar. When Travancore and Cochin showed tremendous progress in all the three sectors, Malabar under the unfavourable policies of the colonial rule a gradual shift of the economy from primary to secondary or tertiary sector was clear by its absence.

After the formation of the new state, all the major and minor political parties of the state remained in power at least once in the state. The governments should have planned and implemented special packages for the development of Malabar. Unfortunately, no government took any serious interest towards this. The result was that the region remained in the wretched position as it was. In the percentage of literacy, number of schools and colleges, professional institutions, health facilities, means of transport, employment opportunities and banking facilities the six northern districts – Palakkad, Malappuram, Kozhikode, Wayanad, Kannur and Kasargod – and its population of 80,13,117 (37.53 percent of the state total) remained below other southern districts and even state average.

In the history of international migration from the country, the share of Kerala was more or less nil till 1930s. The namesake presence was that of people from Malabar. Though the Census statistics regarding the share of Malabar in the indentured and *Kangani* migrations lists only a few persons,

other official documents speak vividly of Malabar's presence. In the free migrations that followed the assisted migrations to Malaysia, Burma, Singapore and Srilanka, the migrants from Malabar outnumbered the combined strength of Travancore and Cochin.

In the present two ongoing international migrations, one interesting aspect has been noticed. In the professionals' migration to the West, major share has been contributed by the southern districts. Where as the migrants to the Arab Gulf hailed chiefly from Malabar. This finding smashes the notion that migration to West Asia is the result of the Kerala Model Development and the consequent development of higher education from the state since the major migrants came from the educationally backward northern districts. About half of the migrants from Kerala have only an education of upper primary level. Malappuram that ranks first in the number of migrants has 63.59 percent migrants having upper primary level education. About 80.83 percent had no technical education. Another distinct feature of the Gulf migration is the religious make up of the migrants. Majority of the migrants hailed from Muslim community. The peculiar socio-economic conditions of the region coupled with the cultural, ethnic and religious connections of the community involved are main reasons behind the genesis of migration to the Gulf.

The external remittances work both positively and negatively on the family, society, environment and art and architecture of the region. In a place, where birth decided the social status of a person, the life style and consumption became the measuring scale of one's social status. The state in general and Gulf pockets in particular, has started to show manifestations of new consumption pattern since 1970s. A sort of consumption showing the tendency of shifting from essential needs to the satisfaction of secondary needs is observed. Growing higher share of the non-food items than the food

items is another trend. A related development that is observed is the increasing amount of advertisements in the Medias about various consumer items both durable and non-durable articles. At least even one decade before the implementation of the New Economic Policy and the consequent formal globalisation of the country, the Gulf pockets of the Malabar region had started to substitute 'global' for 'local'. This trend is visible in every sector including dress, food, entertainments etc.

A very pitiable phenomenon in the state and especially in the migrants' concentrated areas is the change in the value sense of the people. The huge remittances and the consequent affluence have made people hedonistic in their attitude. The state has become number one in the per capita consumption of liquor. In this development, the northern districts stand ahead of the southern districts. The statistics available about the sale of the liquor by the Kerala State Beverages Corporation shows the extreme craze that the people of Malabar especially the Gulf pockets show. The increasing road accidents and suicides reported from the state are also to be read with this increasing alcoholic consumption and hedonistic life style. The death sentences awarded to the people of Malabar and especially to the people of Malappuram district in various Gulf countries in connection with the export of drugs are the manifestations of a society that is ready to do anything for amassing money. The links of the sex rackets with the Gulf boom are also noticed. Systematic arrangement and strong net working of the sex rackets and their link with the visa rackets and album producers are also observed.

The ever-expanding business of tube money and *hawala* has started to threat the very law and order situations of the region. In corrupting the public offices especially the Emigration office, Passport Office Registration Office etc the Gulf money has played a big role. The emergence of new 'middlemen' or 'brokers' in every transaction has accelerated this corruption.

The physical facilities that increased by the remittance boom made the houses of the migrants more or less well furnished and self sufficient in terms of basic requirements. The facilities that were once available out door (eg., bathing facility, fuels, means of entertainments) are now accessible indoor. This made the chances of coming out less especially of the housewives. Social relations in the villages thus turned upside down as the people's contact became less. The social gatherings like marriages, local festivals etc that were once the venues of people's cooperation and mutual love have become the scenes of demonstration of wealth.

A tendency that has been developing in the Gulf pockets is the growing tendency of laziness especially among the migrants' relatives. The work participation in the Gulf areas is lower than the other places. It has become a tendency among the relatives and also the natives to depend on the migrants for anything and everything.

An important development that is observed after 1980s is the growth of private health institutions and the weakening of public sector. In the growth of private medical institutions the achievement of Malabar is relatively better. Migrants and their relatives show a craze to be treated in private hospitals. Though health facilities have developed very much, some undesirable trends have been noticed. The rate of disease in the Gulf pockets has increased. Life style diseases like blood pressure, diabetes, cancer, coronary diseases etc are increasing.

Three important aspects of the Gulf migration have been observed. Unlike other parallel migration from the state, in the Gulf migration the migrants move from the country leaving their family behind. Secondly, most of the migrants are young adults and probably the household head. Thirdly, they send a huge amount whose main manipulators are women, who are less educated and having very little managerial skill. The implications are

observed on four persons in the family – migrant himself, wives, children and parents. Long life in the desert diffusing the youth hood he comes once in two or three years like a migratory bird. The total alienation from the family and society is the net outcome.

The effect of migration on the women left behind is borne out of three factors – physical separation of their males, handling of money and management of household in the absence of the males. Gulf migration and the consequent changes have redefined the statuses and roles of various members in the family. In the traditional male-headed society of Muslim Malabar, the management of the affairs by women has raised their prestige in the society. Being the wife of migrant, she started to show more interest in education and understanding things. In short, Gulf migration helped empowering the women, a dream that used to be fondled by lovers of social change. The physical separation has also its mental and physical impact on women. The huge remittances at their disposal have also generated some undesirable tendencies among women.

The absence of father from home for two-three years has caused undesirable changes in behaviour in the children. The over pampering of parents, sufficient money at disposal etc have made many migrants children go astray. The disinclination of children towards study, squandering money etc has been noted. The onslaught of visual Medias, use of cell phones, personal computers etc are performing their own roles in devaluating the children. The elderly or the grand parents are not satisfied in the present set up. Though migration boom has made their life secure in terms of health, food etc they feel that their well respected position in the society has been reduced and they are mere care takers of the in-laws and grand children.

A very important development that is observed along the Gulf boom is the large-scale construction activities. A major share of the remittances, the

migrants spend for constructing palatial residential houses. This craze for posh concrete buildings has adversely affected the sensitive topography of the state. Since the man-land ratio is the highest in the state, supply of land plots for construction purpose is limited. In such a situation, paddy fields and marshy lands are filled and turned to housing plots. To fill these low lands soil from the adjoining hills are brought and a number of hillocks are levelled. Thus the construction activities play the role of a double-edged sword. The filling of low lands and levelling of high lands has serious environmental effect. Studies have found that the ground water level is fearfully lowering in the state. A relative problem is the excessive mining of sand from the rivers. This has been doing maximum harm to the very existence of various rivers in the state. Apart from sand mining quarrying of granite and laterite rocks are serious issues related to construction activities.

One of the major investment channels of the Gulf migrants is motor vehicles. The increase in number of motor vehicles is well noticed in the Gulf pockets. It has been found that the increase in the number of motor vehicles in the last three decades of twentieth century is twenty times.

Gulf boom has accelerated the rate of urbanization in the state. The growth of urbanization which was below the all-India level during 1971-81 shows a high development in the immediate decade. It exceeded the national average in the last decade of the last century. Unlike other states, urbanization in Kerala is not a development related to the growth of industries.

Agriculture, especially cultivation of rice showed a big decline since 1970s. This decline is observed in other important labour sectors including fishing. Migration caused this in many ways. The flow of about two million people to the Arabian Gulf means their withdrawal from their respective labour sectors which resulted in the shortage of experienced labourers in the related sectors. The lack of experienced labourers increased the wages of

labourers. The levelling of paddy fields for building houses reduced the size of agricultural lands. The huge external remittances made the non-migrants who are the relatives of the migrants more hedonistic and indifferent to work.

An important outcome that is observed is the social transformation that is taking place among the Muslims, the largest migrants contributing community. The contact with the outside world and the huge external remittances at hand, the community has started to show great change in the social and cultural outlook. Gulf money is the single most dynamic factor behind the transformation of this tradition-based community to a modern one. Gulf money is playing the same role among Muslims what Sri Narayana Guru played among Ezhavas. The orthodox Muslim organizations that once vehemently opposed to the western education and educating the girls are now the owners of huge educational complexes which consist of Womens' colleges that provide English education.

The migration boom has given a death knell to indigenous architectural style of the mosques in Kerala. The Gulf money and also the migrants contact with the Islamic world changed their architectural concept which replaced the indigenous style with the saracenic style. Migration and consequent development have become themes for writers and artists. Books, films, songs etc are being brought out accordingly.

In a nutshell, the Malabar region especially the migrants' pockets are undergoing a period of immense change from the economic, social, cultural and religious stand points. These changes involve both beneficial and negative from the developmental angles. The material affluence evident in these regions is mainly derived from the external remittances rather than any sustainable growth of the state's economy. So it has only a limited life span and the euphoria it creates will not last long. Keeping this in view, in-depth studies should be made.

GLOSSARY

<i>Adhikari</i>	:	Village Officer
<i>Ammi</i>	:	Grinding Stone
<i>Brahmaswamvaka</i>	:	Belonging to Brahmins
<i>Brahmin</i>	:	The Priestly Caste in Hinduism
<i>Cherikkal</i>	:	Crown Lands; Royal Properties
<i>Cherumar</i>	:	A Low Caste Aggrestic Slave
<i>Devaswam</i>	:	Pertaining to Hindu Temple
<i>Devaswamvaka</i>	:	Belonging to Hindu Temples
<i>Edavakai</i>	:	Free-hold Estate Hold by the Former Travancore Chieftains
<i>Ezhava</i>	:	A Caste Group Belonging to the Backward Category
<i>Fatwa</i>	:	Legal Opinion of a Recognised Muslim Jurist or Scholar
<i>Ganamela</i>	:	Musical Programmes
<i>Gudam</i>	:	Store House
<i>Inam</i>	:	Service Tenure
<i>Jaram</i>	:	Tomb of Holy Persons
<i>Jenmi</i>	:	Hereditary Owner of Land in Kerala
<i>Jenmom</i>	:	Hereditary Proprietorship in Land
<i>Jenmomvaka</i>	:	Belonging to <i>Jenmom</i> Tenure
<i>Kakas</i>	:	Mappilas
<i>Kanakkar</i>	:	Those who hold Land on Kanam Tenure
<i>Kanam</i>	:	Peculiar Malabar Land Tenure based on Mortgage or Lease
<i>Kandukrishi</i>	:	Farm Lands of the Ruler of Travancore
<i>Kol</i>	:	Shallow Parts of Backwater near Cochin
<i>Kudiyan</i>	:	Tenant
<i>Kuravas</i>	:	Inhabitants of <i>Kurinji</i> Land
<i>Kurinji</i>	:	One of the Five Natural Divisions of Ancient Tamilakam; Hilly Land
<i>Kurumber</i>	:	Inhabitants of <i>Mullai</i> Land
<i>Madampi</i>	:	a Non-Brahmin Chief
<i>Mahal</i>	:	Muslim Village Attached to a Mosque
<i>Mappila</i>	:	Malabar Muslim
<i>Maravar</i>	:	Inhabitants of <i>Palai</i> land

<i>Marudam</i>	: One of the Five Natural Divisions of Ancient Tamilakam; Lower Courses of Rivers
<i>Melcharthu</i>	: Overlease; Usually with a view to evict a tenant
<i>Mullai</i>	: One of the Five Natural Divisions of Ancient Tamilakam; Wooded Land
<i>Mundakan</i>	: Paddy Sown in the Malayalam Month of <i>Kanni</i>
<i>Namboothiri</i>	: Malayali Brahmins
<i>Nayar</i>	: An important Caste Group of Kerala. They were Warriors in the Medieval Period
<i>Neydal</i>	: One of the Five Natural Divisions of Ancient Tamilakam; The Coastal Belt
<i>Paatadar</i>	: One who takes Land on Lease
<i>Palai</i>	: One of the Five Natural Divisions of Ancient Tamilakam; Dry Water less Region
<i>Pandaramvaka</i>	: Belonging to the State
<i>Pandarapattom</i>	: Non-favourable Tenure of Government Sort Lands on which full Rate of Land Revenue is Charged
<i>Pandikasala</i>	: Store House
<i>Paradavar</i>	: Inhabitants of <i>Neydal</i> Land
<i>Paraya</i>	: Low Caste Aggrestic Slave
<i>Pattom</i>	: Rent Share of the Produce of Land
<i>Pulaya</i>	: Same as <i>Cherumar</i>
<i>Puncha</i>	: Paddy Harvested in the Malayalam Month of <i>Medam</i>
<i>Shariah</i>	: Islamic Theology
<i>Siddhan</i>	: Holy Person
<i>Sirkarvaka</i>	: Belonging to Government
<i>Sri Pandaramvaka</i>	: Belonging to the Temple of Sri Padmanbhaswami
<i>Taluk</i>	: Revenue Sub Division of a District
<i>Ulemah</i>	: Scholars of Islamic Theology; Plural form of the 'Alim'
<i>Vellalar</i>	: Inhabitants of <i>Marudam</i> Land
<i>Verum Pattakkudiyam</i>	: One who holds Lands on <i>Verum Pattom</i>
<i>Verum Pattom</i>	: Simple Lease Mostly Held by Tenants-at-Will
<i>Verumpattom</i>	: Tenancy-at-Will
<i>Viruthi</i>	: Service Tenure of Travancore

Appendix – III
Sale/ Income of the Outlets of the Kerala State Beverages Corporation
(1984-85 to October 2007)

Sales / Income of Liquor Outlets (In Lakhs)																		
Sl.No.	FLW Shops	84-85	85-86	86-87	87-88	88-89	89-90	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	96-97	97-98	98-99	99-2000	2000-01
1	Trivandrum	49.65	80.25	85.06	157.44	10.94	57.73	110.01	157.80	259.14	413.24	442.28	642.82	534.86	820.29	1267.72	1293.86	1342.08
2	Quilon	40.83	46.47	42.07	86.54	7.02	30.06	71.31	96.39	149.50	230.00	266.18	426.47	491.74	647.50	903.78	1107.09	1371.73
3	Pathanamthitta	33.04	31.94	53.84	65.72	7.46	32.18	53.66	67.14	96.22	151.89	189.38	341.33	433.11	547.32	734.16	873.41	1028.77
4	Aleppy	31.75	36.79	59.69	89.39	3.75	37.76	50.28	63.55	93.32	155.08	215.24	391.72	374.30	416.53	648.05	734.49	875.94
5	Kottayam	58.34	81.70	99.13	156.56	10.02	43.33	75.84	111.13	154.28	241.38	309.35	519.90	583.39	796.91	1050.63	994.77	1089.25
6	Ernakulam	65.33	108.37	115.82	159.58	1.69	40.08	85.03	105.30	193.07	340.88	408.09	704.16	588.33	673.94	861.09	940.99	1175.72
7	Cochin	36.12	52.70	39.05	55.53	5.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
8	Thodupuzha	61.11	72.24	82.28	118.72	5.75	0.00	38.81	51.41	80.01	132.74	198.91	404.79	376.27	611.03	882.35	844.95	867.74
9	Palghat	45.95	46.25	40.17	62.03	5.10	24.27	30.52	40.35	63.14	111.87	158.04	237.98	358.93	401.90	437.99	524.46	611.71
10	Trichur	40.68	52.09	37.58	52.05	16.23	11.91	24.47	34.56	58.56	132.74	188.30	440.39	445.05	649.24	708.12	754.93	811.17
11	Cannanore	34.83	45.05	65.69	84.29	6.71	15.69	34.27	38.79	60.13	135.68	224.74	414.77	367.79	579.41	816.59	870.75	935.95
12	Malappuram	30.42	43.47	39.14	49.09	3.81	13.67	26.53	40.40	55.50	92.41	147.25	191.93	241.30	279.54	352.16	410.24	464.63
13	Calicut	29.90	51.75	71.33	85.72	11.75	27.68	49.68	77.56	113.08	199.66	295.08	536.78	504.14	598.67	720.55	843.73	964.39
14	Kalpetta	34.84	44.67	60.63	74.14	5.30	30.78	55.28	67.88	88.38	136.45	155.13	227.96	301.86	378.62	511.15	641.11	640.82
15	Kasargode						13.49	42.40	60.78	90.08	141.82	191.93	335.31	355.95	460.77	590.01	632.47	690.21
	Total	592.79	793.75	891.48	1296.81	100.78	378.63	748.09	1013.04	1554.42	2615.83	3389.89	5816.30	5957.01	7861.66	10484.34	11467.28	12870.13

129.43
 1230.9
 995.73
 844.19
 1020.91
 1110.39
 505.63
 565.76
 710.19
 901.12
 432.21
 934.09
 605.79
 676.32
 1227.7
 34

MLA: 1527%

2171%

Source: Head Office, Kerala State Beverages Corporation, Sasthamangalam,
 Thiruvananthapuram

Sl. No	PLACE	SHOP No:
Attached to NDD WH		
1	Parassala	1
2	Neyyattinkara	2
3	Kattakkada	4
4	Vattiyoorkkavu	11
5	Ambalamukku	14
6	Nedumangad	19
7	Balarapuram	231
8	Thirupuram	232
9	Malayinkeezhu	233
10	Aryanad	235
11	Kaliyikkavila	287
12	Vellarada	288
13	Pappanamcode	289
14	Vembayam	292
15	Palode	293
16	Peringadavila	342
17	Vithura	344
Attached to ATL WH		
18	Overbridge	TVM-OLD
19	Mukkola	3
20	Kovalam	6
21	Pazhavangadi	8
22	Pettah	10
23	Bakery Junction	13
24	Varkala	15
25	Killippalam	16
26	Kazhakkuttom	17
27	Mangalapuram	18
28	Kilimanoor	22

29	Sreekariyam	234
30	Kallara	236
31	Chirayinkeezhu	237
32	Mannanthala	290
33	Pothencode	291
34	Kallambalam	294
Attached to KLM WH		
35	Kollam	KLM-OLD
36	Kadappakkada	24
37	Chinnakkada	25
38	Kottamukku	26
39	Kavanad	27
40	Parippally	28
41	Punthalathazham	29
42	Eravipuram	30
43	Anchalummodu	31
44	Kundara	32
45	Chadayamangalam	33
46	Chathannoor	34
47	Sasthamcottah	38
48	Kottarakkara	39
49	Kadakkal	40
50	Ayoor	43
51	Kottiyam	238
52	Chavara	239
53	Oyoor	241
54	Anchal	243
55	Thevalakkara	295
56	Ezhukon	296
57	Puthoor	297
58	Valakom	298
59	Nedumancavu	351

Attached to PTA WH		
60	Pathanamthitta	PTA-OLD
61	Pathanapuram	41
62	Punalur	42
63	Kannamkara	46
64	Kozhenchery	47
65	Ranny	48
66	Mallappally	49
67	Adoor	51
68	Pandalam	52
69	Bharanikkavu	240
70	Pattazhi	242
71	Konni	244
72	Chittar	245
73	Kodumon	247
74	Kulanada	299
75	Perunad	353
Attached to TVLA WH		
76	Karunagappally	36
77	Oachira	37
78	Thiruvalla	50
79	Edathuva	62
80	Chengannoor	64
81	Mannar	65
82	Mavelikkara	66
83	Kattachira	67
84	Kayamkulam	69
85	Podiyadi	246
86	Kollukkadavu	251
87	Edappon	300
88	Thakazhy	301
89	Vouvakkau	345

Attached to ALPY WH		
90	Alappuzha	Alpy-OLD
91	Aroor	53
92	Cherthala	54
93	Cherthala	55
94	Kalar code	57
95	Mullakkal	58
96	Pichu Iyyer Jn.	59
97	Kalavoor	61
98	Ramankary	63
99	Harippad	68
100	Thuravoor	248
101	Muhamma	249
102	Nedumudi	250
103	Thrikkunnapuzha	346
Attached to KTM WH		
104	Kottayam	KTM-OLD
105	Karukachal	70
106	Changanasserry	71
107	Kanjirappally	73
108	Erumely	74
109	Mundakkayam	74A
110	Chingavanam	75
111	Kottayam	76
112	Kottayam	77
113	Y.M.C.A Road	78
114	Nagambadam	79
115	Old Boat Jetty	80
116	M.L Road	82
117	Kuravilangad	84
118	Palai	85
119	Erattupetta	87

120	Vaikkom	88
121	Peruva	89
122	Kumarakam	252
123	Pallikkathodu	253
124	Kidangoor	254
125	Ramapuram	255
126	Thengana	282
127	Manimala	302
128	Kaduthuruthi	303
129	Pulikkal Kavala	304
130	Thalayolaparambu	305
131	Vakathanam	306
132	Kollappally	338
133	Uzhavoor	357
Attached to TDPA WH		
134	Thodupuzha	TDPA-OLD
135	Thodupuzha	90
136	Moolamattam	92
137	Munnar	93
138	Munnar	94
139	Rajakkad	96
140	Kattappana	97
141	Elappara	99
142	Walladie	100
143	Vandiperiyar	101
144	Kumali	102
145	Pambaranar	103
146	Karimanoor	256
147	Thadiyampadu	257
148	Devikulam	258
149	Pooppara	259
150	Anakkara	260

151	Upputhara	261
152	Rajakumari	307
153	Murikkasserry	308
154	Baison Valley	309
155	Thankamony	310
156	Karimkunnam	311
157	Kanjikuzhi	312
158	Mankulam	313
159	Anachal	314
160	Koviloor	339
161	Kovilkadavu	340
Attached to TRPA WH		
162	Thripunithura	TPRA-OLD
163	Poothotta	106
164	Edappally	110
165	Kaloor	112
166	Kadavanthara	113
167	Pachalam	117
168	Vyttila	118
169	Shanmugham Rd.	119
170	Pettah	120
171	Lizy Junction	121
172	Pipe Line Junction	122
173	Mulathuruthy	124
174	Iyyattumukku	125
175	Padivattom	126
176	Koonanthai	127
177	Thripunithura	128
178	Thoppumpady	130
179	Karuvelippadi	131
180	Fort Cochi	132
181	Palluruthi	133

182	Pandikkudi	134
183	Puthenkurisu	140
184	Piravam	143
185	Kumbalangi	317
Attached to ALUVA WH		
186	Kuruppumpadi	105
187	Vazhakkulam	111
188	Kolenchery	114
189	Kezhakkambalam	115
190	Athani	116
191	Pattimattom	123
192	Ankamali	136
193	Aluva	137
194	Parur kavala	138
195	Perumbavoor	139
196	Kavilnada,varapuzha	141
197	Muvattupuzha	145
198	Kothamangalam	146
199	Kothamangalam	147
200	Kaladi	262
201	N. Parur	263
202	Vadakkekkara	315
203	Puthenvelikkara	316
204	Manjapra	318
205	Cherrai	347
206	Ramamangalam	355
Attached to TSR WH		
207	Thrissur	TSR-OLD
208	Nayarangadi	148
209	Peringavu	149
210	Mannuthy	150
211	Sakthanthamburan	151

212	Poothole	153
213	Kokkala	154
214	Mundupalayam	155
215	Shornur Rd.	156
216	Chalakkudy	157
217	Irinjalakkuda	158
218	Guruvayoor	161
219	Cherppu	264
220	Kodali	265
221	Pazhayanoor	266
222	Mala	319
223	Kodakara	320
224	Amballoor	321
225	Vadanappally	322
226	Thriprayar	323
227	Edamuttam	324
228	Mullassery	325
229	S.N.Puram	326
230	Thirur	327
231	Koratty	341
232	Mundoor	348
233	Oloor	356
Attached to PKD WH		
234	Palakkad	PKD-OLD
235	Chittor	163
236	Kollengode	165
237	Koduvayoor	166
238	Nenmara	167
239	Palakkad	168
240	Palakkad	169
241	Olavakkod	170
242	Palakkad	171

243	Thanavu, Pkd	174
244	Kolappully	176
245	Pattambi	177
246	Kuzhalmannom	178
247	Alathur	179
248	Mannarcadu	180
249	Kongad	267
250	Walayar	268
251	Cherpulassery	269
252	Koppam	270
253	Thrithala	271
254	Vadakanchery	272
255	MagalamDam	328
256	Pathirippala	329
257	Puthussery	330
258	Sreekrishnapuram	331
259	Malappuram	MLP-OLD
260	Ponnani	181
261	Perinthalmanna	184
262	Vandoor	188
263	Nilamboor	189
264	Edakkara	332
265	Edappal	333
Attached to KZD WH		
266	Kozhikode	KZD-OLD
267	Thirur	182
268	Parappanagadi	183
269	Kozhichena	186
270	Manjeri	187
271	Feroke	190
272	Kozhikode	191
273	Karikkamkulam	193

274	Puthiyangadi	194
275	YMCA Cross Rd.	195
276	Kallai Road	196
277	Chakkorathkulam	197
278	Eranjipalam	198
279	Kunnamangalam	199
280	Thiruvambadi	200
281	Thamarassery	201
282	Perambra	204
283	Vadakara	205
284	Ramanattukara	273
285	Mukkom	274
286	Payyoli	275
287	Kalpetta	WND-OLD
288	Vythiri	207
289	Kalpetta	209
290	SulthanBattery	210
291	Meenangadi	211
292	Pulpally	212
293	Mananthavadi	213
294	Kavumannam	276
295	Ambalavayal	277
296	Panamaram	278
Attached to KNR WH		
297	Kannur	KNR-OLD
298	Thalassery	214
299	Chakkarakallu	215
300	Dharmadam	216
301	Koothuparambu	217
302	Kannur	220
303	Kannur Town	221
304	Pudhiyatheruvu	222

305	Payyannur	225
306	Manathana	279
307	Pazhayangadi	280
308	Cherupuzha	281
309	Ulikkal	334
310	Sreekandapuram	335
311	Kasargode	KSRD-OLD
312	Kumbala	226
313	Kasargode	227
314	Kanjangad	229
315	Nileshwar	230
316	Badiyadukka	283
317	Uduma	284
318	Vellarikundu	285
319	Kalikkadavu	336
320	Manjeswaram	337

The Income of the Corporation from the Liquor outlets from the date of
Inception to October 2007, Year wise (In Lakhs)

Sl. No.	SHOP No.	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007 April to Oct
Attached to NGD WH								
1	1	770.29	968.12	807.06	668.24	623.74	821.16	568.87
2	2	417.09	534.83	632.92	638.97	751.96	957.41	571.09
3	4	0.00	440.09	528.47	620.72	660.84	812.74	491.07
4	11	439.92	539.26	520.45	587.30	665.86	786.19	521.31
5	14	387.04	445.46	390.09	452.66	487.95	549.31	368.29
6	19	661.85	701.12	700.73	786.73	845.27	1046.68	683.52
7	231	253.86	532.39	565.66	656.60	697.06	877.65	595.47
8	232	213.90	440.24	483.68	582.85	489.79	587.34	395.49
9	233	186.82	333.96	325.77	373.20	413.17	503.58	336.35
10	235	103.48	189.82	184.01	215.29	246.72	409.54	329.87
11	287			337.47	457.26	380.49	590.26	402.60
12	288			258.97	419.82	452.92	628.48	403.38
13	289			287.35	496.51	562.61	660.87	432.84
14	292			210.03	376.82	421.32	518.87	316.67
15	293			222.17	361.05	388.62	522.07	338.26
16	342							61.09
17	344							29.63
Attached to ATL WH								
18	TVM-OLD	576.18	422.53	414.40	548.03	568.65	616.56	355.61
19	3	513.53	555.96	663.00	734.56	788.28	966.79	608.37
20	6	317.55	397.39	420.56	487.39	506.22	602.03	347.66
21	8	614.74	821.22	826.08	947.33	1024.44	994.72	675.80
22	10	433.79	474.13	514.12	572.55	675.30	797.67	533.49
23	13	392.54	363.10	403.15	623.25	798.46	802.76	513.76
24	15	468.71	578.39	617.40	727.88	814.00	922.88	516.85
25	16	458.63	590.22	574.87	579.54	790.99	902.31	596.22
26	17	600.28	678.70	708.27	788.26	936.34	1065.45	695.96
27	18	344.04	437.72	445.13	505.02	534.80	616.12	406.28
28	22	486.62	491.45	555.57	653.66	667.51	779.16	494.48
29	234	174.41	370.65	417.48	504.11	611.48	667.98	409.91
30	236	241.79	427.65	437.43	453.39	552.21	688.44	416.82
31	237	290.34	521.77	608.91	726.37	764.30	806.53	517.56
32	290			174.48	332.54	368.52	427.19	309.56
33	291			229.29	409.24	448.39	530.18	359.76

Sl. No.	SHOP No.	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007 April to Oct
34	294			274.33	500.93	577.81	688.31	458.48
Attached to KLM WH								
35	KLM-OLD	475.28	312.10	391.11	525.54	508.56	495.92	302.72
36	24	337.46	393.17	460.75	508.87	559.69	663.61	446.94
37	25	348.34	460.13	413.95	413.53	463.54	515.10	333.50
38	26	418.37	508.77	528.25	570.38	649.76	811.43	543.52
39	27	502.86	518.85	544.75	568.41	675.82	817.55	558.24
40	28	271.70	507.88	561.45	712.83	688.10	755.58	487.60
41	29	360.92	432.79	457.01	525.25	618.99	767.77	538.27
42	30	273.12	442.26	530.76	622.91	638.52	700.30	451.90
43	31	454.92	456.88	502.31	528.57	650.53	736.39	478.89
44	32	542.83	690.09	717.61	849.37	918.81	1038.15	648.65
45	33	287.74	218.10	254.11	306.49	358.43	424.58	270.09
46	34	529.01	446.83	463.76	549.71	636.08	709.18	448.01
47	38	0.00	250.75	300.43	284.05	332.03	460.80	321.73
48	39	674.98	758.44	771.35	850.62	1023.94	1229.57	785.14
49	40	445.52	394.05	458.49	525.28	551.96	696.85	446.37
50	43	551.62	462.17	501.47	547.04	628.80	654.66	409.46
51	238	287.10	552.76	645.37	666.91	778.06	904.21	617.60
52	239	393.66	556.03	530.75	575.05	676.98	720.56	453.91
53	241	281.35	413.83	504.49	632.85	612.73	702.34	458.35
54	243	293.87	513.19	569.43	668.64	787.58	982.11	606.24
55	295			263.57	442.11	536.46	658.48	388.52
56	296			192.42	387.81	436.77	499.37	351.38
57	297			262.45	441.78	525.94	637.61	393.98
58	298			200.74	375.22	471.28	591.03	404.95
59	351							10.87
Attached to PTA WH								
60	PTA-OLD	448.55	449.59	405.49	468.19	435.08	520.30	376.42
61	41	421.42	453.65	473.19	566.12	705.14	908.76	580.51
62	42	550.00	702.77	721.28	713.93	841.30	1058.47	637.23
63	46	317.11	285.96	309.21	314.84	375.68	481.69	333.19
64	47	588.32	590.87	589.03	608.61	578.07	765.41	524.55
65	48	470.83	548.16	582.50	699.38	784.18	961.86	628.90
66	49	309.16	303.29	328.57	381.29	469.53	603.16	440.36
67	51	549.13	510.55	512.24	578.47	720.10	880.47	531.98
68	52	452.36	549.21	487.85	487.99	556.39	620.60	423.03

Sl. No.	SHOP No.	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007 April to Oct
69	240	431.78	775.09	710.27	725.47	877.26	1117.57	695.15
70	242	165.14	231.76	233.58	229.35	279.98	407.15	262.82
71	244	222.63	343.27	360.08	428.34	533.19	720.90	437.62
72	245	54.65	76.32	110.65	159.04	153.90	219.10	133.30
73	247	162.41	264.20	301.28	363.37	446.91	605.11	380.39
74	299			133.26	308.58	368.63	427.21	265.34
75	353							1.71
Attached to TVLA WH								
76	36	800.82	1023.08	1050.15	1067.31	1298.00	1452.27	881.60
77	37	557.07	629.28	685.37	767.79	948.95	1197.87	707.63
78	50	651.94	620.31	610.70	686.71	737.64	852.35	575.21
79	62	276.66	304.35	268.55	303.37	374.04	417.56	275.70
80	64	597.35	604.48	593.67	673.43	699.77	747.67	485.28
81	65	370.38	385.70	380.74	408.25	453.65	551.73	337.10
82	66	665.85	665.45	677.37	741.83	853.38	962.36	584.82
83	67	624.64	639.03	585.45	585.87	766.97	937.24	596.31
84	69	612.03	638.09	688.18	699.94	838.38	998.66	631.66
85	246	161.20	261.34	266.39	265.18	342.61	432.20	319.61
86	251	158.88	224.10	194.88	193.66	245.04	316.57	208.46
87	300			150.70	203.25	248.26	328.44	242.79
88	301			81.26	135.17	146.84	175.98	127.85
89	345							157.11
Attached to ALPY WH								
90	Alpy-OLD	482.15	494.98	531.73	637.17	624.74	572.24	363.74
91	53	482.67	593.38	621.11	780.40	1012.40	1197.79	741.34
92	54	646.66	720.51	771.31	857.20	939.61	1121.81	776.97
93	55	0.00	459.13	669.43	726.33	939.80	1145.85	745.77
94	57	408.41	482.90	526.37	621.48	786.43	1014.11	666.57
95	58	464.86	503.27	575.56	614.17	695.62	778.95	526.77
96	59	446.58	480.23	526.54	588.89	614.02	620.17	361.57
97	61	533.48	595.32	615.68	692.78	787.03	939.64	609.15
98	63	228.80	225.31	240.65	296.32	343.39	412.09	273.30
99	68	0.00	440.58	593.48	649.12	927.14	1150.66	655.61
100	248	268.29	481.24	496.93	571.98	706.12	956.97	644.99
101	249	268.17	438.37	478.17	559.41	653.59	785.53	535.05
102	250	108.46	200.68	219.80	286.14	337.52	442.90	313.47
103	346							64.57
Attached to KTM WH								

Sl. No.	SHOP No.	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007 April to Oct
104	KTM-OLD	541.81	402.86	374.70	384.12	362.94	377.01	251.20
105	70	400.67	444.03	449.51	485.89	593.10	723.71	465.72
106	71	657.90	833.33	898.56	1018.49	1177.42	1357.53	833.96
107	73	385.53	390.74	435.46	475.57	600.01	713.32	432.10
108	74	199.11	228.94	272.37	335.40	431.26	575.76	368.33
109	74A	280.91	348.25	400.12	484.91	625.18	826.51	526.60
110	75	379.04	453.80	449.52	494.75	575.08	684.72	477.98
111	76	260.18	275.53	256.39	314.30	341.51	352.38	239.80
112	77	198.91	269.17	292.36	327.92	328.97	360.82	232.36
113	78	375.63	337.72	330.14	364.73	381.54	382.75	243.46
114	79	402.29	519.72	536.87	591.77	766.44	967.39	651.23
115	80	208.15	225.66	221.24	231.59	279.94	317.69	222.43
116	82	283.73	293.89	235.95	274.01	320.12	380.24	258.11
117	84	412.19	407.91	414.28	453.71	531.06	655.43	440.49
118	85	356.28	356.34	382.59	450.67	500.70	698.62	426.16
119	87	293.21	345.99	398.27	489.68	606.19	751.02	486.72
120	88	508.82	570.68	547.40	589.98	606.92	741.18	501.02
121	89	347.83	402.97	414.30	487.01	599.55	710.82	465.43
122	252	134.60	219.73	230.02	306.44	377.20	484.05	312.57
123	253	138.87	240.50	267.68	295.09	368.73	473.03	332.20
124	254	226.58	369.77	407.10	478.70	659.98	843.56	546.50
125	255	109.40	181.01	224.44	274.76	348.33	419.10	276.86
126	282			83.33	228.26	264.85	353.67	301.34
127	302			77.41	181.92	211.27	234.13	233.06
128	303			244.15	420.96	547.62	669.36	476.16
129	304			154.03	262.73	341.88	433.17	296.90
130	305			235.34	393.32	471.23	637.04	440.83
131	306			205.31	374.72	488.34	596.53	397.73
132	338						84.75	216.94
133	357							23.38
Attached to TDPA WH								
134	TDPA-Old	463.66	374.36	394.93	493.32	523.50	613.03	406.46
135	90	282.31	348.72	448.23	483.76	580.68	675.85	409.57
136	92	199.63	220.13	252.90	312.80	382.71	472.22	284.43
137	93	235.13	326.22	344.14	382.88	310.47	385.91	358.72
138	94	413.48	443.68	457.54	515.78	621.41	700.15	243.88
139	96	304.37	296.12	211.82	201.30	221.79	285.81	202.33

149.37
293.54
272.59
150.78
286.67
-18.56

Sl. No.	SHOP No.	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007 April to Oct
140	97	430.94	465.01	496.24	557.31	658.89	777.74	488.20
141	99	214.51	207.73	208.50	229.96	281.74	350.42	219.24
142	100	82.05	72.32	77.14	84.69	88.74	90.81	54.30
143	101	152.02	188.21	208.77	237.66	239.72	282.34	181.87
144	102	279.53	285.40	336.86	335.26	453.63	585.52	363.53
145	103	116.59	126.03	130.29	128.93	153.45	182.95	110.93
146	256	104.76	209.56	248.47	294.15	376.05	493.24	312.39
147	257	167.06	261.59	229.19	228.59	284.87	351.60	242.33
148	258	29.82	66.87	70.40	66.16	85.67	303.52	227.71
149	259	164.19	324.02	274.69	223.89	208.88	221.74	139.75
150	260	186.63	326.86	366.68	337.86	375.25	461.56	292.25
151	261	66.35	115.08	136.88	164.39	189.16	247.33	162.71
152	307			138.08	180.69	190.81	231.06	145.51
153	308			94.35	171.67	186.96	251.04	170.79
154	309			48.44	75.69	74.84	90.03	56.29
155	310			62.24	104.16	106.62	148.81	103.08
156	311			106.55	173.98	235.04	318.40	218.76
157	312			60.25	96.36	114.92	166.18	116.82
158	313			31.66	51.03	71.33	92.89	63.94
159	314			72.25	148.66	197.75	247.10	156.97
160	339						17.57	43.24
161	340						64.45	139.08
Attached to TRPA WH								
162	TPRA-Old	495.15	439.45	477.44	611.79	774.56	695.97	490.65
163	106	135.24	221.10	243.94	376.80	646.65	811.81	558.61
164	110	326.74	512.36	547.74	612.83	772.70	883.35	579.55
165	112	225.35	451.27	448.79	299.73	376.22	432.55	294.44
166	113	232.24	321.34	311.87	329.25	450.89	491.43	300.48
167	117	253.33	356.45	337.04	435.47	614.82	708.81	475.15
168	118	342.32	427.31	406.70	470.87	619.63	732.01	459.03
169	119	132.89	406.38	401.83	517.43	643.23	798.42	499.84
170	120	471.42	435.50	459.01	516.14	721.80	856.22	536.10
171	121	293.95	357.40	357.30	429.69	486.59	555.93	387.58
172	122	250.11	465.33	462.57	501.23	583.56	657.76	436.86
173	124	198.43	545.74	605.27	632.61	756.20	968.39	641.62
174	125	219.66	331.62	331.88	409.51	545.00	551.67	371.86
175	126	348.51	418.39	482.53	595.72	755.45	840.93	532.40

246.81

Sl. No.	SHOP No.	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007 April to Oct
176	127	390.22	519.66	514.03	581.92	738.11	883.29	560.65
177	128	463.63	527.71	585.70	690.62	777.25	883.01	595.29
178	130	176.80	266.07	265.05	284.80	431.40	608.52	394.66
179	131	278.41	396.99	382.45	457.44	507.34	553.48	377.55
180	132	293.94	313.20	393.35	427.51	515.11	570.15	352.69
181	133	427.98	549.02	469.82	507.77	648.83	748.53	496.87
182	134	453.09	419.63	429.53	464.14	551.09	554.73	344.56
183	317			256.84	400.67	530.29	640.20	467.61
Attached to ALUVA WH								
184	105	181.87	467.84	540.65	585.60	783.00	957.92	394.70
185	111	196.87	261.51	305.01	388.66	480.70	629.34	0.00
186	114	172.46	296.83	355.76	389.17	539.94	689.89	626.12
187	115	152.69	318.74	353.87	398.92	542.77	691.68	437.93
188	116	341.32	327.78	353.51	446.41	583.18	661.85	468.87
189	123	200.26	187.21	263.12	306.20	415.49	555.08	477.79
190	136	783.88	823.28	781.60	917.37	1029.10	1183.77	416.17
191	137	543.21	614.09	653.73	759.85	868.95	1023.46	398.95
192	138	0.00	358.48	486.38	513.84	575.61	732.13	741.16
193	139	881.43	889.88	870.62	953.91	1213.51	1371.44	652.88
194	140	459.75	404.79	410.40	460.39	575.12	695.48	518.60
195	141	590.76	563.37	628.12	750.34	904.01	1081.91	907.58
196	143	576.54	656.96	714.21	720.97	883.35	1119.26	690.05
197	145	460.86	474.55	482.45	561.11	720.68	869.63	566.27
198	146	368.40	462.27	552.01	600.05	712.65	986.72	638.17
199	147	386.47	480.89	615.89	721.50	914.88	1010.09	643.17
200	262	483.17	785.32	892.91	986.60	1203.28	1392.11	895.59
201	263	591.91	888.33	1065.94	1078.39	1196.98	1498.45	923.23
202	315			287.65	549.16	674.46	836.46	526.67
203	316			175.47	271.42	361.19	460.83	317.58
204	318			305.96	480.56	601.48	763.85	504.83
205	347							185.22
206	355							9.45
Attached to TSR WH								
207	TSR-Old	404.63	379.19	349.95	432.24	488.45	534.20	333.82
208	148	674.35	766.62	728.98	732.69	802.61	895.84	590.44
209	149	574.31	440.25	430.17	524.36	692.21	847.75	564.23
210	150	325.79	660.48	793.00	851.94	1094.67	1327.90	852.80

Sl. No.	SHOP No.	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007 April to Oct
211	151	520.06	753.08	735.99	751.03	700.22	777.21	510.91
212	153	572.14	553.65	598.52	651.48	816.00	895.26	547.11
213	154	375.09	377.60	330.57	393.66	464.76	521.22	322.41
214	155	362.69	453.25	441.50	482.87	570.55	623.78	403.66
215	156	386.50	418.62	387.13	323.25	421.03	542.52	408.60
216	157	923.51	1091.86	1123.42	1317.61	1751.21	1987.76	1238.25
217	158	641.55	833.61	830.23	986.58	1129.10	1192.61	733.97
218	161	616.86	821.30	839.65	826.41	1003.16	1159.59	671.73
219	264	267.11	485.83	467.94	532.30	744.39	821.53	524.13
220	265	182.23	360.71	358.82	417.52	550.05	700.01	454.12
221	266	179.85	347.94	408.91	455.30	546.43	674.80	440.39
222	319			265.39	499.62	659.59	810.24	495.86
223	320			286.46	515.74	612.92	772.87	512.43
224	321			469.04	728.37	859.36	1014.95	624.75
225	322			281.44	474.91	613.64	708.03	454.58
226	323			237.92	431.00	577.07	707.41	472.14
227	324			113.66	283.75	430.83	491.93	345.44
228	325			117.54	369.02	492.38	579.05	371.66
229	326			152.81	325.24	637.46	790.29	537.78
230	327			299.66	484.45	640.28	776.98	508.57
231	341						156.25	442.93
232	348							138.63
233	356							10.64
Attached to PKD WH								
234	PKD-Old	639.00	521.61	540.16	610.33	643.61	689.60	455.45
235	163	483.56	474.95	545.27	593.46	653.91	783.77	564.80
236	165	430.56	456.08	488.59	563.49	679.46	859.87	551.51
237	166	367.44	363.94	366.98	439.95	508.35	605.70	403.30
238	167	497.22	513.98	580.10	654.39	763.18	870.02	532.70
239	168	444.65	433.21	436.83	379.96	515.61	529.45	360.92
240	169	255.66	394.21	380.89	338.42	348.91	440.48	305.80
241	170	481.93	410.37	418.56	454.12	516.65	577.65	388.35
242	171	227.40	217.34	195.33	282.23	284.66	303.58	241.39
243	174	202.14	312.62	347.42	375.21	438.71	497.47	317.61
244	176	199.23	282.79	292.35	328.77	433.18	495.40	394.91
245	177	220.24	241.67	236.44	286.74	314.06	367.90	259.90

Sl. No.	SHOP No.	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007 April to Oct
246	178	398.78	369.05	364.01	391.78	504.53	623.55	412.61
247	179	464.18	411.33	435.52	492.33	532.09	645.49	437.70
248	180	257.21	363.85	428.78	512.54	629.74	783.24	498.56
249	267	117.71	220.17	252.25	293.68	363.63	482.04	326.44
250	268	222.07	410.36	360.96	330.54	325.29	406.02	261.91
251	269	67.60	164.59	162.27	201.51	273.80	343.31	237.28
252	270	42.81	142.24	197.21	243.95	284.85	359.64	229.99
253	271	101.12	192.73	181.33	186.12	254.14	333.36	226.26
254	272	289.19	571.44	687.82	760.83	835.13	1034.27	687.10
255	328			99.62	175.94	236.04	455.27	336.38
256	329			125.37	236.03	269.48	377.07	293.86
257	330			201.02	383.00	490.44	580.06	392.95
258	331			78.02	134.66	183.55	256.27	188.11
259	MLP-Old	363.23	332.74	320.36	326.96	384.72	442.20	265.64
260	181	648.39	802.90	846.65	923.52	1089.07	1290.55	789.74
261	182	421.70	624.38	735.97	893.94	1128.47	1255.63	478.05
262	183	445.12	460.71	498.09	561.55	713.72	804.36	383.63
263	184	259.36	435.92	482.68	542.59	626.93	737.26	436.61
264	186	0.00	329.99	417.17	515.37	607.93	693.40	321.44
265	187	259.12	433.26	431.24	447.57	588.66	721.86	343.19
266	188	50.03	293.06	302.83	338.23	423.97	578.93	382.63
267	189	421.71	478.35	460.98	504.55	593.99	734.99	516.81
268	332			160.60	273.46	352.04	478.94	790.57
269	333			245.33	394.92	438.51	518.09	507.72
Attached to KZD WH								
270	KZD-Old	807.44	831.14	840.02	756.10	761.92	822.86	449.51
271	190	740.19	743.51	831.93	919.24	1081.00	1198.20	724.88
272	191	550.64	522.87	526.44	601.56	685.14	774.44	483.57
273	193	497.09	492.01	533.25	588.59	762.40	861.89	560.21
274	194	422.59	523.33	568.07	705.23	864.91	1015.54	617.40
275	195	551.85	460.79	457.89	532.92	638.44	712.52	494.13
276	196	690.46	947.85	984.30	1022.30	1148.23	1285.28	830.74
277	197	438.28	412.72	415.64	514.04	735.47	859.03	614.04
278	198	284.42	368.22	393.34	476.37	595.51	715.40	523.65
279	199	341.16	444.96	486.53	547.65	599.96	769.02	546.40

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7.75

80.70

184.26

116.12

178.58

57.16

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833.91

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477.9

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Sl. No.	SHOP No.	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007 April to Oct
280	200	360.61	339.14	366.59	419.86	457.54	585.50	389.16
281	201	345.28	399.95	446.39	513.77	619.67	781.61	539.60
282	204	331.49	333.45	383.18	451.48	631.07	760.48	502.77
283	205	561.90	615.86	646.01	730.32	990.54	1051.09	672.05
284	273	234.34	457.01	550.13	652.27	817.93	1070.73	711.75
285	274	14.51	206.40	359.60	406.49	484.10	645.81	449.12
286	275	68.93	291.79	339.45	379.74	479.51	580.48	382.21
287	WND-Old	390.59	298.15	327.49	372.98	403.06	668.66	434.51
288	207	137.15	151.29	180.16	203.28	231.49	298.49	204.31
289	209	210.05	276.27	291.11	326.27	336.35	170.08	123.78
290	210	529.77	478.05	503.61	573.52	662.37	793.01	521.90
291	211	250.76	282.47	317.37	356.07	415.98	500.59	304.84
292	212	224.94	239.34	218.31	268.75	357.63	463.19	329.29
293	213	479.18	525.68	572.80	704.71	784.95	896.80	582.31
294	276	63.28	160.72	170.86	215.27	255.30	381.34	261.36
295	277	79.79	179.91	220.59	242.61	270.87	354.83	285.53
296	278	161.09	262.25	288.65	321.92	389.07	508.00	348.97
Attached to KNR WH								
297	KNR-Old	653.61	530.16	536.54	577.27	746.19	872.41	567.82
298	214	275.54	373.68	331.32	332.89	425.30	469.60	286.33
299	215	134.14	251.67	296.78	350.14	481.32	541.80	360.89
300	216	87.03	157.18	169.56	197.86	284.18	338.56	213.85
301	217	380.29	423.30	453.31	503.28	681.23	810.47	501.29
302	220	393.01	476.98	519.98	557.61	743.06	841.92	554.62
303	221	453.04	348.43	367.50	426.62	500.87	575.48	386.85
304	222	565.07	655.18	620.88	656.10	866.52	1020.97	666.15
305	225	672.96	728.94	716.68	811.17	960.29	1165.82	777.99
306	279	152.37	310.51	374.20	448.45	494.37	693.28	449.91
307	280	226.40	355.52	421.65	486.86	604.42	675.25	441.64
308	281	172.50	282.85	378.67	481.95	548.97	708.01	504.05
309	334			227.06	381.96	384.77	512.77	368.49
310	335			244.28	385.97	520.61	708.10	529.26
311	KSRD-Old	398.70	375.06	389.11	414.83	430.09	493.30	325.85
312	226	166.75	167.57	196.08	219.50	205.24	251.30	168.15
313	227	227.88	238.73	264.49	295.66	281.33	297.01	214.84
314	229	428.73	508.73	531.29	632.00	766.35	929.67	630.10
315	230	470.84	517.04	491.60	522.98	617.59	773.81	551.68

71-19
117-62
-19-02
47-68
99-62
105-91
87-15
502-62
344-74
215-25

278-07
161-34
-29-97
263-24
249-83
238-25
417-62
318-06
275-04
346-91

Sl. No.	SHOP No.	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007 April to Oct
316	283	79.12	134.75	150.94	175.56	162.41	186.46	131.92
317	284	232.10	383.41	424.67	516.76	594.28	689.61	486.12
318	285	104.90	177.23	228.09	301.96	318.17	394.55	273.88
319	336			292.15	519.36	681.20	813.39	532.50
320	337			41.55	39.51	122.00	180.72	162.25
TOTAL		89140.68	109507.41	125578.81	146863.66	174251.47	208416.68	156678.52

119276
(133.8%) ✓

Appendix - I

Early Emigration Rules (India)

INDIAN EMIGRATION.

INTRODUCTORY.

When I returned from leave in 1871, I found that several cases connected with the emigration of labor from India, of much interest and importance were either under consideration or likely soon to press for decision. The most prominent were the questions of the condition of emigrants in Réunion and in British Guiana. Under these circumstances it appeared to me that it would be useful to compile a general history of the facts of emigration and of the policy pursued by the Government of India in regulating or controlling the flow of labor across the sea. I therefore began to have papers collected in May 1871; the task has, however, proved somewhat heavier than I expected, and this note has taken nearly two years to finish. Imperfect as it is, it has involved a good deal of labor, for I have had to read a great mass of papers, which, when examined, yielded little of interest in comparison with their bulk. Indeed, in some cases I may be thought to have retained too much detail. In getting materials for the second part, I have been much helped by Dr. Grant, the Protector of Emigrants at Calcutta. Indeed, without his kind assistance, that portion of the note would have been very meagre indeed.

I divide this note into three parts. In the first I propose to trace the course of policy pursued by the Government of India in regard to emigration, as illustrated by the laws and regulations framed in India, or by the changes in the mode of dealing with Indian immigrants on the part of the several colonies which (when cognizant of them, for this was not invariably the case) it approved, or at any rate accepted, tacitly or otherwise. In the second part I will enter upon the facts of emigration as it affects the country and the emigrants themselves. In this part I will put together such information as is attainable in regard to the numbers emigrating, their sexes and ages, the tracts from whence they have been drawn, the classes and religions to which they belong, the mortality on the voyage, the number of return emigrants and the amount of their savings, and the like subjects. In the third part I will endeavour, from the imperfect materials at hand, to sketch the present condition of Indian laborers in the several colonies to which they have emigrated.

PART I.

The earliest emigration seems to have taken place from the southern portion of the continent. A Tamil exodus to the Straits Settlements had begun before the end of the last century. And soon after the conquest of the Tenasserim Provinces labor began to flow thither from the other side of the Bay of Bengal. The emigrants to the Straits Settlements were employed both as domestic servants and as agricultural laborers. In Burma the sphere of employment was confined to that of domestic service and the miscellaneous labor of mercantile ports. It is probable that Ceylon, too, from the date of its European colonization, attracted labor from the south of India. But emigration across the Bay has hitherto been uncontrolled, while, as regards Ceylon, no sooner was the fact of the flow of labor thither ascertained, than emigration was, under certain guarantees on the part of the Colonial Government, freed from the prohibition to which it had for eight years been, in point of law, liable, but which had never been enforced. There is, therefore, no exact record of the number of natives of India who have emigrated in these directions; but it is very considerable, especially in the case of Ceylon. Recent papers shew that for the 10 years ending 1869 an average number of 65,000 persons (of whom nearly 50,000 were adult males) emigrated annually from Madras to Ceylon. The average number returning in each year was upwards of 48,000. According to the latest accounts from Penang, there were in that settlement 25,000 natives of India out of a population of 150,000.

— Captain Birch, then Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, in his evidence before the Emigration Committee of 1838, said that he believed emigration to Mauritius and Bourbon to date from about 1819. But he admitted that he could not speak positively, and I have found nothing to show that such emigration commenced so early. The first instance I have traced belongs to the year 1830,* when a French merchant, by name Joseph Argand, carried some 130 artisans to Bourbon, the Government of India having, on view of the ordinances in force and the contracts made with the emigrants, permitted the departure of the latter, conditionally on each man appearing before one of the Magistrates of Calcutta and acknowledging that he went voluntarily. The contracts, which were for a term of five years, looked liberal enough on paper, Rupees 8, in addition to an

* Dr. Mouat, however, thinks the emigration began soon after 1826.

Source: Geoghegan J. *Note on Emigration from India*, Government of India, Calcutta, 1873 (Regional Archives, Kozhikode)

ample dietary, being fixed as the minimum monthly wage; but in 1832 a petition was received from two of the emigrants complaining that their wages had not been paid. Government, however, after consulting Mr. McFarlan, the Police Magistrate,—who remarked that “it was possible enough the men might be claimed as slaves,”—came to the conclusion that the complaint was not a serious one, and recorded a resolution to the effect that the complainants had been “fully warned of the nature of their contracts, and that Government was under no obligation to bring them away from Bourbon in consequence of their disappointment.”

It is not clear whether other emigrants to Bourbon followed. But the abolition of slavery in British colonies in 1834 was what gave the first great impetus to emigration. The sugar-planters of Mauritius were not slow to perceive that India was their best recruiting ground, and a shipment of about 40 coolies seems to have reached that island in August 1834.*

Subsequent complaints from these emigrants, and orders thereon.

First attempt to regulate emigration.

The only control which it was at first attempted to exercise over this emigration was, as in the case of Bourbon, to require intending emigrants to appear before a Magistrate, to satisfy him of their freedom of choice and knowledge of the circumstances of the case. The contracts were for five years, and generally stipulated for Rs. 5 a month, in addition to liberal rations and clothing, as the wages of an adult male.

Inasmuch, however, as there was no penalty for deporting emigrants unregistered, no accurate figures of this emigration are, from the nature of the case, attainable. But as well as I can ascertain, between August 1834 and May 1837, at least 7,000 emigrants left Calcutta for Mauritius. Of these not more than 200 at the outside were women. Nearly Dhangars, Kols or Santhals. About 100 men and eight women seem to have left Bombay for Mauritius during the same period.

Unregistered emigration.

Estimated number of emigrants from August 1834 to May 1837.

The Government of Mauritius in 1836 called attention to the necessity for some regulations to ensure the well-being of emigrants on the voyage; but the whole question had already been referred to the Law Commission, in connection with a project of law then under consideration for the protection of Natives generally leaving India by sea. The opportunity was, however, taken to ask the Government of Mauritius for some account of the condition of the Indian laborer in that colony.

First legislative regulation of the traffic.

Report on emigrants in Mauritius, December 1836.

The reply from Mauritius, dated 15th December 1836, is to the following effect:—

The introduction of free labor from India is reported, as far as the experiment had then been tried, to have been attended with very complete success, laborers and employers seeming in general mutually satisfied with each other, misunderstandings arising only from temporary stoppage of articles of subsistence which the master agreed to supply, but which were not for the moment procurable, not from any discontent with the situation in which the Indians found themselves placed, their labor or general mode of treatment. The hours of labor were generally regulated by express contract; where this was not the case, from sunrise to sunset, with two and sometimes three hours for meals, constituted a day's work. The Governor was of opinion that the hours should always be expressly stipulated. The laborers lived under the general laws of the colony, an attempt at special legislation having been disallowed by Her Majesty's Government; but an ordinance was under consideration to give District Magistrates a limited jurisdiction in police and civil cases, with a view to prompt settlement of differences between masters and servants. His Excellency also sent a copy of instructions to persons applying for permission to import labor (for it is to be remarked that permission was necessary) and to persons employing emigrants. These inculcate—(a) the selection of real agricultural laborers; (b) the recruitment of a suitable proportion of women; (c) careful medical inspection; (d) the limitation of advances of wages; and (e) careful measures for the supply of rice. The second circular addressed to employers urges the exact performance of contracts in regard to food, clothing, punctual payment of wages, observance of hours of labor, and other points. With regard to the point (c), Sir W. Nicolay would have medical inspection and vaccination made compulsory. His Excellency would also have the agreements bind employers to provide a return passage, to supply specified daily rations and clothing, and it was requested that agents applying to export labor should be called on to produce their permission from the Mauritius Government, and that the police at the port of embarkation should send to that Government nominal returns with full particulars of all emigrants shipped. Sir W. Nicolay also advocated an inspection previous to sailing of each emigrant ship, in order to ascertain the identity of the emigrants on board and the absence of fraud or force in shipping them.

* It was on the first of this month that slaves passed by Act of Parliament into the position of “apprentices.”

It is to be remarked, however, that this care for the welfare of the cooly was a thing of recent birth in the Mauritius, for in November 1835 two ordinances had been passed bearing so hardly on the immigrant and tending so decidedly to reduce him to the level of a slave that they were disallowed by His Majesty in Council. As remarked by Mr. (now Sir) J. P. Grant, in a paper we shall have to notice presently, in a colony so lately a slave-holding one, this was but natural.

Reports were also received from two members of the Civil Service,—Messrs. Parry Woodcock and T. C. Scott,—who had recently visited Mauritius. These may be considered on the whole confirmatory of the views and statements of the Government of Mauritius; at the same time they clearly pointed out that the system required regulation in certain respects.

Views of the law Commission as to the regulations necessary.

The opinion of the Law Commissioners will be gathered from the following extract from their report to Government:—

“On the whole, the Commissioners are of opinion that with respect to emigrants to British or foreign settlements beyond sea, no legislation is advisable, except what may be required for the purpose of supporting precautionary arrangements, such as have been already made, to prevent undue advantage being taken of the simplicity and ignorance of those persons. With this view, a law might be framed by which any Magistrate, within whose jurisdiction the port or place of embarkation may be situated, should be empowered to cause the attendance before him of any natives of India who, he may have reason to believe, are about to emigrate to any British or foreign colony beyond sea, under contracts of service, and enacting that no contract of this description shall be held valid unless certified by the Magistrate to have been assented to by the native parties to it, with a full understanding of its provisions.

The Magistrate at port of embarkation to ascertain that emigrants understood terms of contract and were free.

“The Commissioners think it would be advisable to authorize by the same law the refusal of a port clearance to any vessel taking away such natives, until the contract has been inspected and certified. It also occurs to them that it may be expedient to authorize a like refusal in any case in which it shall appear that proper provision has not been made for the suitable treatment of the emigrants during the voyage. In offering these general suggestions, the Commissioners wish it to be understood that they are not prepared to frame, without further enquiries, the draft of a law containing, in all the requisite detail, the rules which would be necessary to carry them into effect. The Commissioners also desire to add that it would, perhaps, be an improvement on the precautionary steps which have been heretofore taken, if the Magistrate were required to furnish, in every instance, to the Government a copy of the contract under which the emigrants go, and if the Government made it a rule to transmit a copy to the Government of the colony. The Magistrate, of course, ought to take care, on behalf of the emigrants, that all the necessary conditions are distinctly stated in the contract. In the case brought to the knowledge of the Commissioners by the papers before them, of natives of India who went to Bourbon, it appears that the rates of wages to be paid were not specified. If care be taken to ascertain that every essential point is provided for in the engagements; that all the conditions are fully understood and freely agreed to by the emigrating natives; that sufficient provision is made for their suitable accommodation and sustenance during the voyage; and that a copy of the engagement is, in every instance, transmitted to the Government under which they are to live, it does not appear to the Commissioners that there is anything more which the Government of this country can reasonably be expected to do for the protection of that class of persons.”

Steps to be taken to ensure provision for the suitable treatment of emigrants during the voyage.

The Magistrate to see that the contracts specify all the conditions of engagement.

The result of the deliberations of Government was Act V, 1837, which became law on the 1st May of that year. Its provisions are to the following effect:—

The result of these proposals. Act V, 1837: its provisions.

Section 1.—No native making a contract of service to be performed outside* “said territories” is to be received on board any vessel at any place within the territories subject to the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal without an order from the Governor of said Presidency, or a permit from an officer authorized by the Governor to act in that behalf.

2. Before the grant of such permit, the native and the person with whom he contracts, or his agent, must appear before the officer and produce a memorandum of the contract (in English and the mother-tongue of the native, or some language understood by him); the memorandum to specify the nature, the term, and the wages of service.

Before grant of permit, both parties to appear before the officer authorised to grant permits, with a memorandum of the contract.

* This would apparently have put emigration from Bengal to Madras on the footing of emigration to a colony not subject to the Government of India.

3. Contracts are to be determinable on the expiration of one term not exceeding five years, or of successive terms not exceeding five years each, and to contain a stipulation for re-conveyance of the native to the port at which he embarks.

4. The officer is to have power to examine the parties and to explain the terms of the contract to the native.

5. If satisfied that the native understands the contract, and desires to fulfil it, the officer and, if satisfied, to endorse the memorandum of contract. note is to constitute the permit and to be delivered to the native to be kept during service.

6. If more than 20 emigrants embark on the same vessel, the officer is empowered to summon the person in charge of such vessel and to examine him as to "accommodation," food, and medical attendance provided for emigrants, and to inspect, or cause to be inspected, the vessel itself.

7. He is not to grant permits unless satisfied that "accommodation," food, and medical attendance are sufficient for health.

8. A register is to be kept of each emigrant, specifying name, period of contract, date of permit, destination, and vessel in which embarked.

9. A fee of one rupee for each permit granted is to be levied from the employer, or his agent.

10. The penalty for breach of Section 1 on the part of the master of any vessel is a fine of Rupees 200, or 30 days' imprisonment, for every native allowed to embark without permit.

11. Contracts with native seamen, or menial servants, are exempted from the operation of the Act.

The Superintendent of Police, Calcutta, was appointed the officer to grant permits, and certain rules were laid down for his guidance. They were brief and informal. They required—

(1) that due notice should be given of an intention to ship emigrants;

(2) that the dietary noted below* and five pints of water should be shipped for each laborer for every day of the voyage—the length of the voyage to Mauritius being estimated at from 40 to 65 days, according to the season of the year;

(3) that a medical officer, European or native, with a sufficient supply of medicines, should accompany each ship;

(4) that not more than one laborer for every 1½ tons of actual tonnage should be carried; and

(5) that agreements should specify the name of the employer, the estate whereon the laborer was to be employed, the hours of labor and refreshment, the wages, rations, and clothing allowed.

The Act, as passed, it will have been observed, applied only to the Presidency of Fort William, although the Government of Madras had, in a letter which must have reached Calcutta before the passing of the Bill, advocated the inclusion of that Presidency.

However, as the Governments both of Madras and Bombay subsequently urged the extension of the measure to their territories, recourse was had to fresh legislation, and Act XXXII of 1837 was passed on the 20th of November of that year. It repeals Act V, 1837, and re-enacts it for the whole of the territories of the East India Company; making it further incumbent on the officer granting permits to register the names of the parties with whom contracts are made, of the agents of such parties as appear by agent, and of the masters of vessels on which emigrants are permitted to embark. The additional clause was intended to prevent the transfer of coolies as chattels from one employer to another,—an abuse which had been pointed out by the Government of Mauritius, but to which the chief Police Magistrate of Bombay had particularly called attention.

Additional particulars to be registered; object of this provision.

* Rice	...	...	...	...	14	chataks.
Dál	...	...	...	...	2	"
Ghi or oil	...	...	...	...	½	"
Salt	...	...	...	...	¼	"
Turmeric	...	...	...	...	½	"
Onions	...	...	...	...	½	"
Tobacco	...	...	...	...	1	"

of bringing the process of recruitment under some form of control had long become manifest.

In Madras the practice had been introduced, with the consent of the Agents, of requiring recruiters before commencing operations in any district to obtain the countersignature of the Magistrate to their license, and of bringing intending emigrants before a Magistrate previously to their leaving the district in which they were recruited. And rules to this effect were embodied in the Madras revised code of 1861. In Bengal the attention of Government had been specially called to this part of the system by Mr. Beyts, Protector of Emigrants at Port Louis, who had been deputed by the Colonial Government to enquire into the practical working of emigration in India. Mr. Beyts' suggestions were in the main approved by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Government of India, and were very closely followed in the subsequent legislation. The points of deviation, when of any importance, will be noticed when we come to consider the law in detail. Pending legislation, however, the Government of Bengal was authorized to adopt Mr. Beyts' rules as slightly modified by the Lieutenant-Governor, so far as they could be enforced without express sanction of law. Under Mr. Maine's third head, the legislation for the control of depôts is almost entirely new. They are not mentioned in the laws before passed, nor in the Calcutta rules. They are briefly noticed in the Madras rules of 1861. Doubtless the legislation embodies the practical experience gained. On the important point of a medical inspection, the law had already been anticipated at Calcutta by executive action. The necessity for a definition of the duties of the Protector had been forcibly illustrated in 1860 by the case of the *Tyburnia*, in which the Secretary of State called for a report on the circumstances attending the embarkation of emigrants. A very unsatisfactory explanation was given by the Calcutta Protector, and it was clear that his supervision was lax in the extreme. It became evident that a separate officer must be appointed Protector, and this was at once done. The duties had, till then, been performed by the Master Attendant with the aid of an Assistant Protector, who was also 3rd Assistant Master Attendant. The registration fee was at the same time revived throughout India. But only eight annas was to be charged on each immigrant above 5,000 recruited in any one year. With regard to the definition of the Protector's duties, the Government of Bengal submitted a report from the committee which had recently sat, and their recommendations, as modified on some points by the Lieutenant-Governor, have been embodied in Act XIII of 1864.

Depôts. Duties of the Protector. Case of the *Tyburnia*.

On Mr. Maine's 5th and 6th points no further remarks are necessary, and I pass to the provisions of the law, which received the assent of the Governor General on the 18th March 1864.

Analysis of the law.

Act XIII of 1864.—Section 1 clears the ground by making an absolute *tabula rasa*, as far as emigration to British Colonies is concerned. All previous laws on the subject of emigration are repealed, except Acts XLVI of 1860 and VII of 1862 relating to French Colonies. Section 2 is a section of interpretation. The only definitions of importance are those of the words "emigrant," "emigrate," and "British India." The change introduced in the definition of "emigrant" and its cognate verb will be seen by comparing Section 2, Act XXIV of 1852, with the corresponding clause in the Act of 1864:—

Preliminary. Definition of "emigrant" and "emigrate."

Section 2, Act XIII of 1864.—The word "emigrate" shall denote the departure of any native of India out of British India for the purpose of laboring for hire in some other place; and the word "emigrant" shall denote any native of India under engagement to emigrate.

Section 2, Act XXIV of 1852.—The departure of any person out of the territories under the Government of the East India Company by land or water, is emigration from the said territories within the meaning of Act XIV of 1839, and of this Act.

The definition of "British India" is only noticeable, because it excludes the Straits Settlements. This exclusion had unforeseen results when these colonies came to be removed from the control of the Government of India.

Section 3 re-enacts the exemptions in regard to (a) emigration to foreign settlements on the mainland; (b) emigration to Ceylon; and (c) sailors and menial servants, contained in Section 3, Act XXIV of 1852, Section 1, Act XIII of 1847, and Section 3, Act XIV of 1839, respectively. It also puts Native States in the same position as foreign settlements on the mainland of India.

Section 4 declares emigration lawful to the British Colonies of Mauritius, Seychelles, Natal, Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and St. Kitts; and to the Danish Colony of St. Croix. Doubtless the intention was to maintain the *status quo* in respect to colonies other than French. But it seems to have been overlooked that, though the necessary legislation had been carried through in the case of Seychelles, the supplementary notification had never been issued. So far therefore, as that dependency was concerned, the Act did effect a change in the law.

Sections 5, 6, and 9 are new. They enable the Governor General in Council from time to time by notification to permit emigration to any other places, provided that such notification shall contain a declaration that the Governor General in Council has been duly certified that sufficient arrangements have been made for the protection of emigrants, and

Re-enactment of exemptions. Migration whither lawful. May be permitted, under certain conditions, elsewhere.

legalise contracts for labor to be performed in such places. Section 9 requires the probable length of the voyage to be notified.

Section 7 restricts emigration to the ports of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. This was the existing law. The change proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal that Government should have power to open other ports was not approved.

Section 8 fixes the probable length of voyages. No change is here introduced.

Sections 10 and 11 provided for the nomination of Agents by the colonies concerned and confirm the existing Agents. These sections practically re-enact those portions of the previous law which bear on the subject.

Section 12 re-enacts the prohibition against Agents being remunerated otherwise than by a fixed salary. In 1861, the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary for the Colonies, had suggested that, in the case of the smaller colonies at any rate, the prohibition might be rescinded. It was urged that emigration was under much better control than in 1842, when the prohibition was first enacted, and that there being no such rule in regard to French Colonies, British Colonies were placed at a disadvantage. The Government of India, with the assent of the Secretary of State, thought that the rule might be safely rescinded, the appointment of Agents being, however, as in the case of French emigration, made subject to the approval of the local Government. This correspondence would appear to have been overlooked at the time of amending the law, though the matter was specially noticed by the Emigration Board in reviewing the draft Act. Recently the report of the British Guiana Commission brought to light the fact that since 1854 the Agent for that colony had been partly paid by a capitation grant, and it was discovered that the same was the case in regard to Jamaica. Steps have been taken to put an end to what, as the law stands, is an illegal form of remuneration.

Section 13 enables each of the three local Governments concerned to nominate a Protector, and, with the sanction of the Supreme Government, to assign him salary and establishment. The local Governments are also empowered to remove such Protectors. This is somewhat of an expansion of Section 2, Act XXI of 1843, and corresponding sections in subsequent Acts.

Section 14 forbids a Protector, without the permission of the local Government, to hold any other office, or follow any other profession or occupation. This clause was introduced because it had been found in 1860 that the combination of the duties of Master Attendant and Protector had led to the very perfunctory performance of the protectorate work. Section 15 confirms existing Protector.

Section 16 declares that, besides the special duties assigned to him, the Protector shall generally protect and aid all emigrants and inspect return emigrants, and enquire into their treatment both in the colony and on the voyage. The previous laws in no way defined either the general and special duties of the Protector. All he was required by law to do was to countersign emigrants' passes.

Section 17. The appointment of a Medical Inspector of emigrants at each of the three ports of embarkation, which is authorized by this section, was also a suggestion of the Bengal Committee, and had, in fact, been acted on before it thus obtained express legal sanction.

Sections 18 and 19 require the establishment of a depôt for every colony, each such depôt to be licensed by the Protector; the license not to be in force for more than a year, and a fee of Rupees 10 to be paid for every license. The necessity for a separate depôt for each colony had been shewn in 1862, when complaints had been made of the recruiters for one colony kidnapping those enlisted for another. The section requiring the emigrant to be at once brought before the Protector was also meant to meet this evil.

Section 20 requires both Protector and Medical Inspector to visit each depôt at least once a week, and to examine into the state of the depôt and the manner in which emigrants are "lodged, fed, clothed, and otherwise provided for and attended to." Section 21 binds the Medical Inspector to report the unsuitability of any depôt, or any case of oppression or neglect of emigrants.

Section 22 constitutes Protectors and Medical Inspectors to be "public servants" within the meaning of the Penal Code.

Section 23 makes it incumbent on Emigration Agents and all persons connected with emigration depôts and emigrant vessels to give the Protector and Medical Inspector every facility for inspection, examination, and survey, and to afford them all reasonable information.

Sections 24—29 regulate the operations of recruiters, who now first receive express legal recognition. The Protector is empowered, on the application of an Emigration Agent, to license so many fit persons as he may deem necessary, to be recruiters of laborers. The license, on which a fee of Rupees 10 is payable, is to be in force for one year, and is to specify the colony for which the recruiter acts. Licenses may be withdrawn for misconduct. Each recruiter is to wear a badge and not to recruit before obtaining the countersignature upon his license of the Magistrate of the district, or the Magistrate of a Presidency town, according to his circle of operations. The Magistrate, however, must countersign, provided the license is in force. The Mauritius authorities had protested, but in vain, against the power of licensing recruiters being entrusted to the Protector instead of to the Agent.

Sections 30—35. These sections require the recruiter to appear with his laborers before the Magistrate of the district if he recruits in the mofussil, and before the Protector if he recruits in a Presidency town. The Magistrate or the Protector then, as the case may be, is bound to examine each intending emigrant, and if he appears to understand the nature of his engagement, and to be willing to perform the same, the Magistrate or Protector is to register his name, his father's name, his age, his village, the depôt for which he is bound, and "the rate of wages and period of service, if any, agreed upon between the emigrant and the recruiter." A copy of the entry in the register is to be furnished to each emigrant. If the Magistrate or Protector be of opinion that the intending emigrant does not understand the nature of the engagement, or has been induced by fraud or misrepresentation to enter into it, he is to refuse to register his name. The Mauritius Government protested loudly against this clause. A fee of one rupee is payable on each emigrant registered, and copy of every registration is to be forwarded by the Magistrate of a district in the interior both to the Protector and the Emigration Agent concerned; when the Protector registers, by him to the Agent.

Sections 36—40. Emigrants are to be taken with as little delay as possible to their depôt, being attended either by the recruiter or by some person appointed by him and approved by the Magistrate, and being provided with food and lodging during the journey. Their arrival at the depôt is to be immediately reported to the Agent and Protector. The Medical Inspector also is to make an immediate examination of each emigrant. If satisfied that the emigrant is in a fit state of health to emigrate, the Medical Inspector is to certify the fact to the Agent, if satisfied of his unfitness, to the Protector. In this latter case, or if any irregularity shall have occurred in the recruitment of any emigrant, the Protector may direct the Agent to pay a reasonable sum to enable such emigrant to return to the place where he was registered, and if the Agent refuse, the Protector may pay the amount and recover from the Agent. If not at the time fit to travel, such emigrant may further be kept in the depôt at the expense of the Agent till he is fit to return. These provisions deviate slightly from Mr. Beyts' scheme. He had proposed that the recruiter should be bound personally to accompany the intending emigrants, and advocated a central depôt at Calcutta as well as a depôt at Rániganj. These details of his plan were not approved of.

Sections 41—43. Within 48 hours of arrival at depôt each emigrant is to be personally examined by the Agent, in presence of the Protector, as to whether he has been properly fed and otherwise properly treated on his journey, and the copy of the register in his possession is to be examined. Unless the Agent, with the consent of the Protector, repudiates the contract entered into by the recruiter, the Protector and Agent or the Agent only, as the case may be, shall countersign the copy of the register. If the Agent, without the consent of the Protector, refuses to be bound by the contract he is liable for the expenses of the laborer back to the place of registration, and the Protector may institute a suit for damages for breach of contract; and in such suit the contract shall be binding on the Agent. After the examination above described, the Agent is to deliver to each emigrant, who has been pronounced by the Medical Inspector fit to emigrate, a pass stating his name and age and his father's name, and certifying that he is in a fit state of health to emigrate. The Protector, if satisfied that the necessary enquiries have been made, is to countersign each pass. This pass so countersigned was required by the old Acts XV of 1842, XXI of 1843, and XXI of 1844.

Section 44. An emigrant refusing or neglecting without sufficient cause to embark is not to be forced on board; but may be prosecuted under Section 492 of the Indian Penal Code.

Section 45 regulates the season of emigration. With regard to places east of the Cape no restriction is imposed, the law continuing unchanged. With respect to colonies west of the Cape, the open period for emigration from all three ports was extended to that laid down in the Convention with France, viz., from 31st July to 16th March, both days exclusive. The Government of Jamaica had in 1861 pointed out that, as the law stood, British colonies were placed at a disadvantage. The season was thus lengthened by a month and-a-half at Calcutta and Madras; by two months and-a-half at Bombay as regards the larger West Indian Colonies. But no emigration from Bombay to the West Indies has as yet taken place. A proviso was also added exempting "vessels using steam-power" from the rule. The change in the open period and the reservation in favor of steamers were both made in order to assimilate the law applicable to British colonies to that in force for French settlements west of the Cape.

Section 46 requires every emigrant ship to be licensed. Such license can only be issued on a certificate by the Protector of Emigrants to the effect that the vessel is in all respects suitable for the conveyance of emigrants; and such certificate can only be issued after survey by a competent person "with a view to ascertain her sea-worthiness, the extent and nature of her accommodation for emigrants, and that she is properly ventilated and supplied with all requisite tackle." In consideration of the license, the master executes a bond, in duplicate, binding himself and his owners in a penal sum of Rupees 10,000 to conform to the several conditions in this Act provided. The principle of the section was not new, but it lays down more precisely the points to be certified before issue of a license.

Section 47 relates to the space to be provided. It requires that, either between decks or in cabins on the upper deck firmly secured and entirely covered in, a space, having in every part a height of not less than 5½ feet, shall be devoted to the exclusive use of emigrants. No compartment is to take more than one adult emigrant for every ten superficial and for every seventy-two cubic feet. The hospital is to be separate and distinct; women and children are to occupy a compartment separate from that of single men. An emigrant over the age of ten years is to count as an adult, and two children from one to ten as one adult. This section introduced some change; but as it was afterwards modified, a connected narrative of the legislation on the point will be given when we come to Act VI of 1869.

Section 48 requires every ship to carry good and wholesome provisions in such quantity and of such kind as prescribed by any rule framed under Section 63: fuel for cooking the same and a supply of water properly stored, at the rate of seven gallons per week for every emigrant, a properly qualified European or native surgeon, and medicines or other stores according to rule. If a vessel intends to stop at any port to water, the water shipped shall be for the estimated voyage to such port; and if she carries a Normandy's distilling apparatus, a reduction may be allowed in the quantity shipped. Both Protector and Medical Inspector are made responsible for seeing personally that the provisions of this section are complied with. The changes here introduced are—(1) the increase of the quantity of water from five to seven gallons; (2) the making it essential to carry a qualified surgeon; and (3) the distinct definition of the duties of the protective officers. The section lays down some very minute rules as to storage of water, but does not adopt the suggestions of the Government of Bengal (of which, however, approval had been expressed in 1862), that the full compulsory supply should be carried in iron tanks, and that every vessel should be bound to carry a Normandy's distilling apparatus.

Section 49 requires an extra double blanket to be provided for emigrants sailing to colonies west of the Cape between 1st March and 15th September. This provision is borrowed from Article 63 of the Convention with France.

Section 50 requires the master of every emigrant vessel to obtain, before clearing out, certificates from the Protector and Agent to the effect that the provisions of the Act and the rules prescribed under Section 63 have been complied with.

Under Section 51 the Protector is bound to ascertain from the report of the Medical Inspector, and by personal communication, that every emigrant is "in good health, and not incapacitated for labour by old age, bodily infirmity, or disease." If the Protector believes any emigrant unfit to undertake the voyage, he may stay his embarkation. The Protector is also to see that each emigrant has a copy of his registration. This section does not seem altogether consistent, either with itself or with the expressed views of the Government of India. It was held by that Government, in concurrence with the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, that the Protector should confine his enquiries to the fitness of the emigrant for the voyage. And, indeed, the section, though it enjoins upon the Protector to enquire into the emigrant's fitness for labor, does not empower him to stay embarkation,

except on the ground of unfitness for the voyage. The point was noticed, but after the Act had passed, by the Emigration Board. Their remarks were much to the above effect.

Section 52 requires the Protector to explain to emigrants "in a general way" the Protector to explain provisions of the Act to emigrants. provisions of the Act, "so far as they are likely more immediately to affect them."

Sections 53 and 54. The Emigration Agent prepares five copies of a list specifying, as accurately as may be, the names, ages, and occupations, and fathers' names of the emigrants about to embark. These Lists of emigrants, and mode of their disposal. he makes over to the master of the vessel. The master and the Protector compare the list with the passes delivered up by the emigrants as they come on board, none being admitted without such pass. If the lists are correct, the master signs them. Two he delivers to the Protector, who signs both and returns one. Two he delivers to the Agent, who signs both and returns one. This latter is given up at the port of debarkation by the master, who also is bound to return to the emigrants their passes.

Sections 55-57 require the Customs Officer or pilot, whichever is last on board, to call over the roll and note any discrepancies, as also to sign a declaration that to the best of his belief no additional emigrants have been received on board, and that the Act has been generally observed. The muster roll and declaration are to be forwarded to the Protector. These sections are originally meant for Calcutta only; this is clear from Section 14, Act XV of 1842, whence the provisions are adopted; but is not specified in the Act. They were afterwards repealed as useless checks. By Section 58 the Protector is bound to send a correct and detailed list of all emigrants embarked in any vessel to the proper authority at the port of debarkation.

Sections 59 and 60 require every vessel to sail within 24 hours of embarkation of the first emigrant, and every vessel sailing from Calcutta to be in tow of a competent steamer.

These provisions of Sections 59 to 59 were dictated by experience as more effectual means of checking clandestine embarkation of additional emigrants. Section 60 was to diminish the risk of cholera, to which ships long in dropping down the river were found very liable.

Section 61, which requires two copies of the Act and Rules, together with translations, to be kept on board, is borrowed, with modification, from Section 10 of the Order in Council embodied in Act XV of 1842.

Section 62 merely reproduces Section 4, Act XXII of 1862, allowing vessels bound for the Seychelles to do quarantine at Mauritius, and in that case giving laborers the option of taking service in the latter island.

The Governor General in Council empowered to make rules-- Section 63 authorises the Governor General in Council to make rules--

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) as to proportion of women and age of children shipped; | (1) to regulate the proportion of women and the age below or above which children shall not be taken; |
| (2) as to provisions and clothing; | (2) to prescribe the kind, quality, and quantity, of provisions to be carried, and the allowance of food and water to be issued daily, and the nature and amount of clothing to be supplied; |
| (3) as to medical care of emigrants in depôt and on board ship; | (3) to provide for the medical care of emigrants at the depôts and on the voyage; |
| (4) as to medicines; | (4) to prescribe the drugs and other stores to be carried; |
| (5) as to ventilation, cleanliness, and boats; | (5) to provide for ventilation and cleanliness of emigrant vessels, and for their being furnished with a sufficient number of suitable boats; |
| (6) as to medical record of voyage; | (6) to provide for a full medical journal being kept by the ship's surgeon; |
| (7) and generally to provide for the well-being of emigrants. | (7) and generally to provide for the security, well-being, and protection of emigrants. |

Such rules are to be published in the *Gazette of India*, and to have the same force and effect as if contained in the Act. Experience had shewn that it was necessary to expand the list of objects for which rules might be framed given in the previous Acts.

Sections 64-67 re-enact, with some unimportant verbal changes, Act XIX of 1856, vesting in the Governor General in Council the power of suspending emigration to any place where proper measures have not been taken for the well-being of the emigrants, and of revoking any such suspension. One of

the conditions, the violation of which by the colonial authorities empowers the Government of India to suspend emigration, is the provision of a return passage. The Government of the Mauritius protested against the enforcement of this condition, the claim to back passage having been formally waived in 1853, but no notice seems to have been taken of the point, and, though the condition was nominally binding, back passages from Mauritius have not been given till the present Governor discovered the flaw, and, under orders from Earl Kimberley, a return passage will now be provided.

Section 63 refers to the mode of bringing fees to account. I may take this opportunity of putting together such notices as I have found of the methods followed from time to time in order to relieve the revenues of India from any charge on account of emigration. At first the colony of Mauritius paid a lump yearly sum of Rupees 8,000. This being found insufficient to cover the charges, Act XV of 1842 authorised the levy of a fee of one rupee on every emigrant shipped. In April 1844 Government decided that the fee should not be levied at the time of embarkation, but that the total of fees due should be debited to Mauritius at the end of the year. In 1851, however, the expenses were found to be less than the fees levied, and the Mauritius Government elected to pay the actual charges. As for the West Indian colonies, each Presidency prepared its account of charges incurred, and submitted it to the Home Government for settlement. In Calcutta, a fee of one rupee per head was levied on emigrants to the West Indies and credited to a "West India Emigration Fee Fund," and against this a proportion of the expenses of the Protector of Emigrants was debited. In total charges were debited, no fee being levied. In January 1859 the Financial Department directed that the levy of a fee should be done away with, and each colony charged through the Home Government with its *pro rata* share of the cost of the protectorate. But this plan did not work well, and the fees were re-imposed in 1861 or 1862, and when the Medical Inspector was appointed, his salary was charged to the "Emigration Fee Fund." We shall see that the fund afterwards became bankrupt and the maximum of the fees leviable had to be raised.

Sections 69-78 and 80 contain the penalties for breaches of the various preceding injunctions of the Act. Section 81 permits prosecutions to be instituted on information laid at the instance of an Emigration Agent or a Protector of Emigrants, or an officer specially appointed *pro hoc vice*, before the Magistrate of the district or a Magistrate of police according to the nature of the offence charged. The same section further lays down the mode of procedure in case of non-payment of any fine imposed. By Section 82 the local Government can authorize any person vested with the powers of a Magistrate, as defined in the Code of Criminal Procedure, to perform the duties and exercise the powers conferred by the Act upon the Magistrate of the district.

Section 79 gives Customs Officers and Pilots the same powers for the prevention of offences against the Act, as may be exercised by the former class for the prevention of smuggling.

Section 83 repeals so much of Section 8 of Act XLVI of 1860 as allows a fee on license of ships. In other respects the provisions of the Act relating to emigration to French colonies are expressly maintained, Sections 19-41, inclusive, of the Act of 1864 being, however, made applicable to recruitment for such colonies.

The exemption of vessels in the service of the Lords of the Admiralty and Her Majesty's vessels is repeated, and the Act is declared to come into force from the 1st July 1864.

Commencement of the Act.

Soon after the passing of the Act, rules were passed for each of the three ports of embarkation. The Calcutta rules mainly followed those already in force, with the addition of a set of rules regulating recruitment and care in depôt, which were mainly a repetition of clauses of the Act. There were also some changes in the dietary of a somewhat unaccountable nature. Thus emigrants to Mauritius were given 4 oz. more rice per diem than emigrants to the West Indies, and changes were made in the proportion of the various condiments, as also in the scale of dry provisions, which, in the absence of any explanation by the Government of Bengal, are not easy to understand. Nor would it be now worth while to make enquiry, as the Calcutta dietaries have since been very carefully revised.

The Madras rules also in the main preserved the *status quo ante*, even to retaining the water scale of five gallons a week, which, under the new Act, was illegal,—a point overlooked when sanctioning the rules.

In Madras;

The chief changes were in regard to recruiting and depôts.

In Bombay.

The Bombay Government did not adhere to the old Calcutta rules which it had before accepted, but submitted a new code, which, though considered inferior in arrangement and comprehensiveness to the Calcutta rules, was duly notified. As emigration from Bombay ceased immediately afterwards it would serve no practical purpose to analyse the rules in detail.

Appendix – V
Keralites beheaded in Saudi Arabia for exporting drugs
(2000-2001)

- 1) Sadaqathullah (27), Puthanpally House, Kunnappally, Perintyhalamanna, Malappuram (Passport Number: R-540332);
- 2) Aboobacker (34), Maniyarum Kunnath house, Chazhiyattiri, Pttambi, Palakkad (Passport Number: H-605564);
- 3) K.Cheeku (42), Karalikkodu House, Ozhukur, Mongam, Malappuram (Passport Number: X-023040);
- 4) Shareef (38), Othaya Mangalathu House, Mythra, Areacode, Malappuram (Passport Number: T-60941; 5) Basheer (34), Choklamthodika House, Muttippalam, Malappuram (Passport Number: A-533191);
- 6) Ahmaed Kabeer,(32), Pambodan House, Areacode, Malappuram (Passport Number: A- 0572157);
- 7) Asraf (39), Verukulasserri, Pattambi, Palakkad (Passport Number: T-419135).
All these persons are from Malabar.
- 8) Ani (38), Palakkappalli House, Thaikkodam, Thrippunithura, Eranakulam;
- 9) K.P.Gafoor, Kizhakke Pallthu House, Mappattukara, Kulukkallur, Palakkad;
- 10) Mohammedali, Pozhuthana, Vaithiri, Wayanad;
- 11) Santhosh, Rajendra Vilasm House, Pothan Kodu, Thiruvananthapuram;
- 12) Abdu Razaque Faizi, Cheriyan House, Alanallur, Palakkad;
- 13) K.Mohammed, Mangalathu House, M.E.S.College Post, Mnnarkkad, Palakkad;
- 14) Mohammedali, U.K.Manzil, Kappad Post, Chovva, Kannur;
- 15) K.Musthafa, Vengra, Malappuram;
- 16) Asraf, Kunnathu House, Nediyrrippu, Kondotty, Malappuram;
- 17) C.Azeez, Thangal Roadu, Kuttichra, Kozhikode (Ibid, p. 12-17).

Source: Pravasi-Doothan Monthly, Alappuzha (May 2002).

Appendix - IV

Keralites Drowned in the Launch Accident, Sharjah (1973)

- 1) N.C.Sulaiman, P.O.Thirunelloor, Via. Puvathoor, Thrissur.
- 2) P.P.Jalal, Thalayi, Thalasseri.
- 3) V.P.Yusuf, O.V.Road, Thalasseri.
- 4) N.P.Aboobacker, Pllinte Mayyil, Near Saidar Palli, Thaklasseri.
- 5) Kooveri Mammu, Near Saidar Palli, Thalasseri-6.
- 6) C.M.kunhammed, Edathatta Hose, Edodi Mukku, Vatakar-3.
- 7) C.Moideen Kunhi, Chinnikkal House, Kdappuram, Thrissur.
- 8) V.C.Kareem, Vayalil House, Kunntahur, Vengara, Kannoor.
- 9) K.Unnikrishnan, Karuppath House, Kadampuzha, Valancheri, Malappuram.
- 10) V.Alavikkutty, Vettikkadan Huse, Kadampuzha, Valancheri, Malappuram.
- 11) Moohammed Haji, Thankar Street, Bombay-8.
- 12) Mohammed Kutty, Thankar Street, Bombay-8.
- 13) Mohammed, s/o Abdul Kader, Kannothe, Chavakkad.
- 14) Kunhi mon, s/o Pareed, Kannothe, Chavakkad.
- 15) M.Mohammed, Thanaka Stree, Bombay-8.
- 16) Kaniyathodi Mohammed Kutty, Randathani, Kottakkal.
- 17) K.C.KoYA, Kuttippuram, Kottakkal.
- 18) N.K.Mohammed, s/o Ahmed, Mattool North, kannur.
- 19) Moideen Kutty, Nariyan Chooliyil House, Cherukulamba, Kodur, Malappuram.

- 20) P.Hameed, Pichan House, Chengottoor, Kottakkal.
- 21) P.Mohammed, s/o Mulla Saidali, Randathani, Kottakkal.
- 22) Chembooty Mohammed Kutty, Randathani Variyath, Kottakkal.
- 23) Mani Kolathur, Mulla Pazhanji Mele Puthan Veedu, Kolathur, Uchkkada, Thiruvananthapuram.
- 24) Mohammed Ummer, c/o Fathima T.Kalanthar, Iqbal Chal, Somovar Petta, Bombay.
- 25) Azeez Abdurahiman, c/o Babu, Kolivada, Thana, Bombay.
- 26) P.M.Pareed, Brahmakulam, Guruvayoor.
- 27) P.M.Moidu, Ayish Manzil, Thalayi, Thrissur.
- 28) Abdul Khader, Kannur.
- 29) Kamal, kappad, Kannur.
- 30) Kader, Theruvath, Kasargod, Kannur.
- 31) Mabdul Kader, Acham Valappu House, Vellur, Payyannur.
- 32) Basheer, Cheraman Thiruthu, Puthan Kurichi, Thiruvananthapuram.
- 33) Basheer, Vadakke Pulivilakam, Puthan Kurichi, Thiruvananthapuram.
- 34) Musthafa, Vandarathoppu House, Cheraman Theru, Puthan Kurichi, Thiruvananthapuram.
- 35) Viswambaran, Near Edavilakam Huse, kMurukkum Puzha, Thiruvananthapuram.
- 36) T.M.Ibrahim, T.T.Road, Kannur.
- 37) Moorthy, Kottayam.

Source: Chandrika Daily, 22 June 1974.





P.K. Moidu Haji

Address : Edachery, Nadapuram

Age : 64

Year of Migration : 1970

Total Years in the Gulf : 39



B. Abdul Azeez

Address : Theruvath, Kasaragod

Age : 72

Year of Migration : 1971

Total Years in the Gulf : 30



P. Saidalavi Musaliar

Address : Makkaraparamb, Malappuram

Age : 68

Year of Migration : 1971

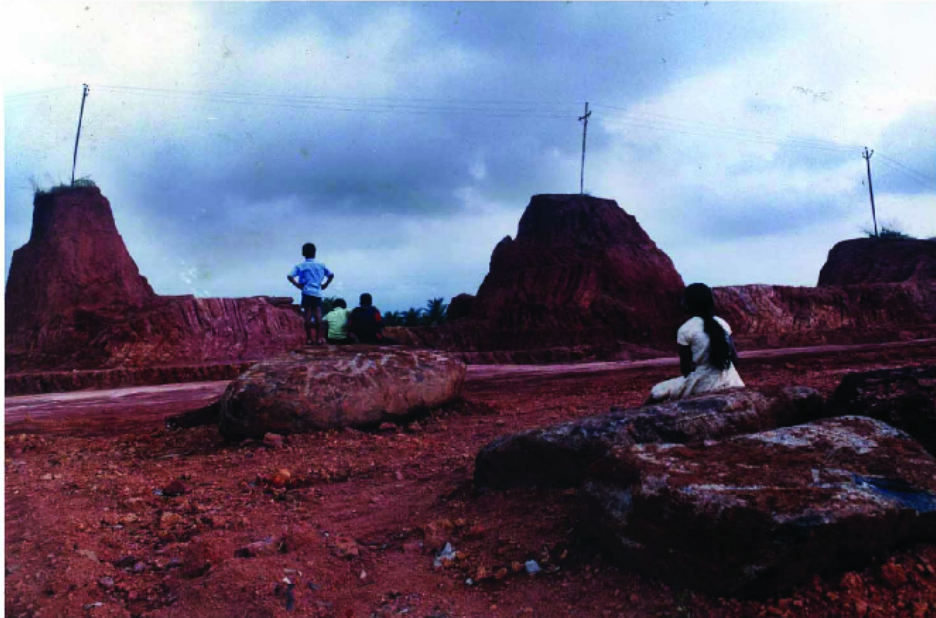
Total Years in the Gulf : 34

GCC Nations



Mosques Before the Gulf Boom







K.P. Muhammed Kutty

Address : Kainikkara, Tirur

Age : 71

Year of Migration : 1969

Total Years in the Gulf : 25



S.K. Muhammed

Address : Peringadi, New Mahe

Age : 71

Year of Migration : 1970

Total Years in the Gulf : 25



P. Kammu Haji

Address : Valakkulam, Kottakkal

Age : 71

Year of Migration : 1970

Total Years in the Gulf : 24

Gulf Houses in Mabalar





Appendix - II
Early Migrants Interviewed for the Study



Manoli Abdulla Haji

Address : Madappally, Kozhikode

Age : 83

Year of Migration : 1954

Total Years in the Gulf : 27



Chekku Muhammed Haji

Address : C/o Moulana Hospital,
Perinthalmanna

Age : 82

Year of Migration : 1958

Total Years in the Gulf : 34



M.K. Khalid Haji

Address : Vengoor, Perinthalmanna

Age : 84

Year of Migration : 1959

Total Years in the Gulf : 50



V. Aboobacker

Address : Chappanangadi, Kottakkal

Age : 68

Year of Migration : 1972

Total Years in the Gulf : 26



T. Saidu Haji

Address : Ealamkulam, Perinthalmanna

Age : 65

Year of Migration : 1972

Total Years in the Gulf : 30



M. Hamza

Address : Vengad, Valancherry

Age : 54

Year of Migration : 1973

Total Years in the Gulf : 37



MALABAR





C.H. Aboo

Address : Chokli, Thalassery

Age : 71

Year of Migration : 1960

Total Years in the Gulf : 35



V.P. Ummer Haji

Address : Kodumunda, Pattambi

Age : 71

Year of Migration : 1961

Total Years in the Gulf : 35



P.K. Moidu Haji

Address : Kannookkara, Vadakara

Age : 67

Year of Migration : 1962

Total Years in the Gulf : 47



P.V. Mukundan

Address : Chombala, Mahe

Age : 73

Year of Migration : 1967

Total Years in the Gulf : 31



Muhammed Nooh Abdul Khader

Address : Theruvath, Kasaragod

Age : 71

Year of Migration : 1968

Total Years in the Gulf : 32



K.E. Pokku

Address : Ayisha Manzil, Mahe

Age : 65

Year of Migration : 1968

Total Years in the Gulf : 34



K. Moosa Haji

Address : Vellikulangara, Nadapuram

Age : 72

Year of Migration : 1963

Total Years in the Gulf : 36



P. Yaqoot Haji

Address : Vailathur, Tirur

Age : 73

Year of Migration : 1966

Total Years in the Gulf : 30



P.K. Abu Haji

Address : Edachalem, Kuttippuram

Age : 66

Year of Migration : 1966

Total Years in the Gulf : 36

Filling Paddy Fields-Scenes from Malabar



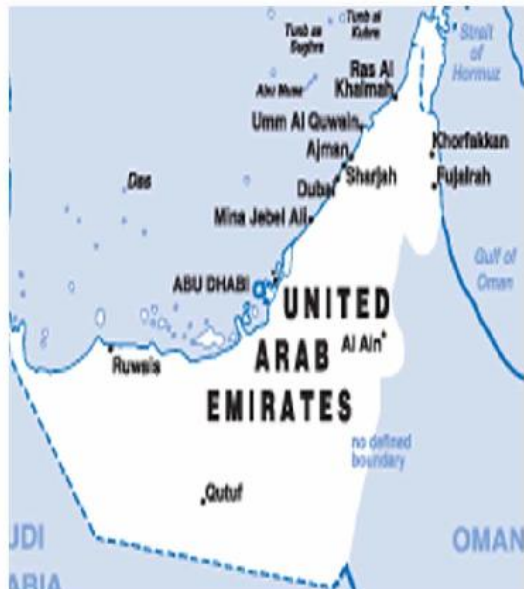
Mosques After the Gulf Boom





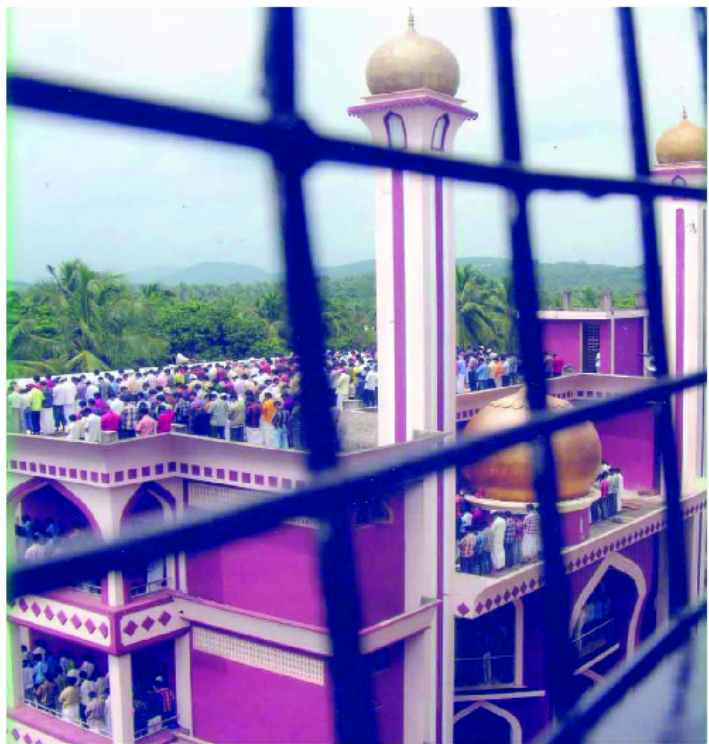
Sand Mining- Threatens Riverine Life





Rivers in Kerala - Some Summer Views







Vanishing Hillocks - Malabar

