Chapter 4

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF KUTTANAD
(2ND HALF OF 19TH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE 1940S)

The 2nd half of the 19th century marks the beginning of a transition of Kuttanad’s imagery based on natural (geological) formation to that based on human interventions through production. An important reason for this transition was the land reforms initiated by the Travancore state. This changed the mode of production (MOP) towards capitalist relations. Around 50 years down the line, Kuttanad came to be known as a paddy land of Travancore. Other geographical divisions of labour like fishing, duck rearing and toddy tapping held a relationship of complementarity with paddy cultivation. The social divisions of labour in paddy production became well-defined through class, caste and gender. The increasing commercial relationship in paddy production gradually marginalised the labourers, paving way for resistance that became very vibrant in the 1940s. The spatial synergies of the social reform movements and the Communist praxis in Kuttanad, created the first agricultural labourers trade union in the country. The organised efforts of the people played important roles in shaping Kuttanad in the times to come.

Introduction

On my way back from Kuttanad to Trivandrum, the lakes drenched in moonlight brought nostalgic memories of childhood. A distinct memory of a moonlit night at my paternal home in Kuttanad … of a song floating from a distant transistor radio, '… kaatadichu kodum kaatadichu kaayalile vilakkumaram kannadachu…' (wind blew, strong winds blew, the way-light of the lake closed its eyes). Kamalasanan (1999: 10) writes of mid 19th century, when Kuttanad had not even imagined land reclamation and when the Vembanad Lake, a large expanse of water stretching from Alleppey to Kochi, had vilakkumaram or way- lights to guide those who ply the waters at night:

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1 The other one being Nanchinaad, which is located in present day Tamil Nadu
strong winds and waves... sometimes impossible to ferry, the waves would smash the ferry to pieces...It was only after cultivation on the lakes began that the intensity of the waves decreased...in some places the old way-lights can still be seen².

Was the moonlight caressing the night or challenging it? And was the song challenging the society as it continued: '...if God has created humans, then there is a question to the God... if devil has created humans, then there is a question to the devil... Why have you thrown us in this bank of gloom?'

Even as nature attracts irresistibly and fills you with tremendous calm, the social bonds created by us and their aftermaths fly around like question marks. Why do these confronting emotions swell up at the same time? We (human beings) have not only been intrigued and attracted by nature, but we have also woven an economy through it. We cultivated large expanses of fields and reaped crops, creating one of the major fusions of labour and knowledge. Through these actions, not only were we shaping nature but also shaping society. The shaping of nature became deeper through greater control of some humans on others who were forced to labour, but not to indulge in the fruits of their own labour.

It is the interaction of humans with nature that makes places, and changes both nature and society; this is a continuous process. The complexities of these processes differ with the specific contexts of ecology and human interventions. These are shaped by the role played by the state, capital, labour, culture and nature in different time-space, and create specific regions, and hence no region is like another. What processes evolved Kuttanad as a region? This is important to be examined in order to understand the links with the ways in which the ecological-social relations continue to be reconstituted in the present times. Why some social spaces are modified in particular ways, and why some continue without much changes, are matters of historical geography.

Across a period of more than one and a half centuries, major changes have recreated the region; sometimes wiping away the dominant logic and relationships and paving way for radically new relationships. Changes are continuous and process-based, and we can identify different phases of Kuttanad's restructuring. Ollman (2003) examines the problem of how to think about change and interaction in the context of Marx's concept of dialectics. In the view which currently dominates the social sciences, things exist and undergo change. The two are logically distinct. History is something that happens to things; it is not part of their nature. Hence, the difficulty of examining change in subjects from which it has been removed at the start (Ollman 2003: 6). He calls attention to Marx's emphasis that "every historical social form

² translation mine
as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence” (Marx 1958: 20)

The identification of the processes of change provides an analytical frame and tool to understand spatial changes. In the identification of different phases, Ollman is recalled for two ways in which such abstractions (in the present case, of phases) can be dealt: one is to abstract the processes involved and the other is to think of these phases as a state or condition, 'more like a photo than a motion picture, or if the latter, then a single scene that gets shown again and again, which removes or seriously underplays whatever changes are taking place... In such cases, the real processes that go on do not get reflected—certainly not to any adequate degree—in our thinking about them' (Ollman 2003: 7). He points out the important commitment of Marx in bringing change itself as the main focus, in the absence of which the outcome would be like the metaphor of the photograph.

Using secondary sources and some primary sources (interviews of senior persons) an attempt is made in the chapter to trace the transitions in socio-spatial processes from the 2nd half of 19th century to the end of the 1950s. The 2nd half of 19th century marks a period of policy shift in the Travancore state that paved the way for change in the mode of production (MOP).

**Mode of production**

The mode of production (MOP) which is an important process in bringing about restructuring of regions, signifies and is defined by the ways in which people earn a living and, which in turn establishes their social relations. This means the way in which people make relations with the environment and with each other, both of which are deeply linked to the production process. The MOP influences the nature of the mode of distribution, the mode of circulation and the mode of consumption. It is not static, instead it keeps evolving even as it maintains its basic structure. It can also begin to break down, in which its basic structure goes through a transition meaning social instability and/ or conflict:

The passage from one mode to another is of the highest theoretical importance...it results from the contradictions in the social relations of production which cannot fail to leave their mark on space...Each mode of production has its own particular space, the shift from one mode to another must entail the production of a new space (Lefebvre 1991: 46).

Jose (1976) observes that Travancore had, in the process of expansion, annexed a large tract of land belonging to rival chieftains and their allies. By mid 19th century, state-owned land accounted for more than three-fourths of all the cultivated land in its territory. A major share of the cultivated land and the whole of the wasteland came under the state, and the tenants were to pay rent to the state. This situation changed in 1865 through the 'Pattom proclamation', in which the state conferred full ownership rights to the tenants of all such state-owned land,
including the right to sell. This curbed the power of the chieftains, a move strategically done to consolidate the powers of the state. The land reforms paved way to create a broad-based class of peasant proprietors. Even as these changes applied to the entire state of Travancore, in some parts of the state this created deeper ecological and social transitions:

The tenancy reform led to the emergence of a class independent peasantry and from among them came a class of capitalist entrepreneurs who opened up plantations in the high ranges and reclaimed land in the backwaters for kayal cultivation in Kuttanad (Jose 1976: 15).

What were the specific contexts that made major restructuring of Kuttanad from the 2nd half of the 19th century? And what were the situations like in the 1st half of the 19th century?

**Socio-Spatial Situations of Kuttanad Desom in the 1st Half of the 19th Century**

'The Memoir of Travancore' by Ward and Conner (1863/1994) is based on the surveys conducted by the authors in Travancore between 1816 and 1820. They provide detailed narrations of Ambalapuzha district, which was known as Kuttanad desom⁴, in terms of natural, spatial and socio-cultural situations. Its areal extent is described as that lying between the districts of Shertalai⁴ in the north, Karthigapally in the south, the coasts in the west, and Changanacherry and Tiruvalla in the east (See Map 4.1)

In a broad sense, the delta region formed by rivers emptying in to the Vembanad Lake is called 'Kuttanad'. Flood waters from Vembanad are drained to the sea through the Cochin estuary. The popular stories behind the name 'Kuttanad', relate to a fire destroying the place which was once covered with wood, and hence came to be known as 'shuttanad' or burnt land. Names of many villages are suffixed with the term 'kari' meaning 'ash' or 'burnt', like Thayankary, Ramankary and Kainakary, or prefixed with the same term, like Karimadi. '...it has by the moderns been more properly designated Kootanad signifying an inundated country' (Ward and Conner, 1863/1994: 167). Kerala State Gazetteer (1986) categorises Kuttanad as region of recent to sub recent sediments:

The sticky black soil is seen in and around the lagoons (kayals) between the shoreline and the midland regions of the state, typically seen in the Kuttanad area...At a number of locations around the southern portion of the Vembanad Lake it has been observed that there are submerged tree trunks embedded in clayey matrix which could possibly indicate the existence of a forest in the recent geological past (Kerala State Gazetteer 1986: 82-83)

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³ ‘desom’ means a country, region or land

⁴ See Chertala in Map 4.1
According to geologists, the Arabian Sea in many places, advanced up to the Sahyadri foothills and brought them under water. The trees of the area were submerged in the process. Due to geological movements, there were upliftment and recession of sea at a later period of time. The impact was of the submerged trees getting uprooted and buried in situ under varying levels of silt to give rise to the low-lying marshy saline lands of Kuttanad. Soils of these areas have vast organic deposits, fossils of timber and shellfish in varying depths (MSSRF 2007).
Except for a thin strip of coastal area of sandy soil and coconuts, the rest of Kuttanad desom was:

...one vast sheet of cultivation, intersected by rivers, canals, extensive water and Poonjah land, with small insulated islands containing the houses of the inhabitants. It is on the whole a watery scenery, both fertile and populous, giving 450 individuals to a square mile (Ward and Conner 1994: 167)

Ward and Conner (1863/1994) narrates the built environment of the desom, reflecting the trade relations of Arabs and Parsees, the trade and colonial impacts of Europeans, and how all these processes were together shaping the landscape. The capital of the district, Ambalapuzha held the remnants of the erstwhile (before 1874) capital of the Chempakacherry Raja, with a temple surrounded by extensive buildings appropriated for the use of the Brahmins. There were apartments for cooking, dancing and fencing, granaries, quarters of Namboodiri priests, and reservoirs of water. But the lower castes were not permitted to reside within the complex. In its vicinity, there were houses surrounded by plantations of coconuts and other productive trees, where the annual festival took place in April, for which the expenses in cash and kind, were defrayed by the administration.

Before Alleppey rose to prominence as a sea port, Poracad was the sea port from which considerable trade took place. Poracad had prominent buildings like the palace of the king of Travancore and of Chempakacherry, a large Konkanee pagoda, Romo-Syrian church, spacious buildings of merchants, remains of a Portuguese fort and factory.

The authors note that Alleppey developed as a prominent port with depot for timber, pepper and other items, under the superintendence of a British officer in the capacity of Commercial Resident. The Grand canal of Alleppey ending in a basin, had facilities for floating timber from the hills, and was filled with produce from the inland like provisions, fruits and vegetables. The western part of the town held houses of the better-off classes like Parsee merchants. In the north of the canal was a protestant mission church. There were three masjids, a mosque, a Latin and two Romo-Syrian churches. The erstwhile house of the Dewan near the palace was converted in to the court. The Hindu temple nearby had extensive accommodation for Brahmins and other devotees. The eastern part was occupied by

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5 Punja refers to the rice growing season extending from October-November to February-March. There are different rice-growing seasons in Kerala. Punja had been the only cropping season in Kuttanad.

6 Going a little back to the history of Travancore, the region was composed of small territories and by the end of 18th century Marthanda Varma had conquered his neighbouring chieftains to form the state of Travancore. Chempakacherry was one of the conquered territories where most of Kuttanad lie. The lands of the chieftains were acquired and converted into state property.
Mapillahs and Konkaneees, both traders with an array of shops. The Arab traders resided in the south-east and the Parsees at the north-west, the southern confines were inhabited by the Tamils, the Portuguese and the Dutch families. At the north end was a poor house, where paupers were fed:

...but this class of unfortunate beings is so great that the place is overrun by them, and several are seen corroding away by inches. The elephantiasis and all the train of morbid leprosies are seen here in every stage of the disorder (Ward and Conner 1863/1994: 169)

**Cultivation Practices in Kuttanad Desom**

The chief produce of Kuttanad was paddy, yielding an annual crop in the months of April and May (termed 'madapoo'). Coconuts, some dry grain, arecanut, mango, jack, betel and pepper were also grown.

Canals are prominent interventions in the landscape of Kuttanad, that serves both irrigation and navigation purposes. Dykes were built in the areas between the canals, and dewatering was done by means of water wheels for paddy cultivation. Because of the water-rich ecology of Kuttanad, the methods and implements of agriculture differed from those of the surrounding districts. The water wheels or the *chakrams* were used to drain off water in to the canals from the fields. These were of different sizes and their spokes increased with their size, and they were worked by 4 to 24 individuals. They also served to water the fields from the canals, and so on from bed to bed, to raise it to different elevations. The *chakrams* were constructed entirely of wood, and their sides were strengthened with nails.

Another instrument widely in use was the *vallathoney*, used to throw up water in to the fields from a lower surface. It is a trough about 10 feet long, and a foot square and deep with a handle at one ends, and is worked by a single individual supported by poles. The third instrument is the plough which is small and made of wood and pointed, 'answering every purpose in a fine light soil over which it is made to pass but once' (Ward and Conner 1863/1994: 176). The buffalo was the most valuable animal for agriculture, being yoked to the plough. Buffaloes can easily procure pasture in watery situations, ‘on the banks of the canals the herdsmen tend them in a small canoe with a long pole, goading them through deep waters’ (Ward and Conner 1863/1994: 174). The next operation is done by a number of people working the fields with spades. The leveling of the fields was done with an instrument called *chavittumaram*, a piece of wood 7 feet long, the lower part cut in the shape of teeth, with a handle above and held perpendicular by the ploughmen, while it is dragged by a single bullock.
Even as large amounts of manure were brought in from neighbouring districts, the situation of Kuttanad was that it was always found to be insufficient. This could be due to the peculiarity of the soil that is highly acidic and often toxic, that continues to be noted as a challenge in the region's cultivation. For instance, Govt of Kerala (1989: 7) notes the high toxic situation of the soil when the field is left dry for some time. The reason is attributed to the dilute acids exuded from decaying vegetable matter which is buried in the soil at depths of 15 to 100 cm. When the surface is dry, capillary action brings up traces of these acids, which get converted in to toxic salts when exposed to the sun. This prevents the plants from absorbing the nutrients in the soil or the fertilizers added by the farmers. Hence it is necessary to remove the acid by leaching with fresh water.

The paddy was first sown in detached beds, and transplanted when they attain certain growth. '...they are taken up, and the roots are exposed some hours, then transplanted in to beds, in to which the water is let, allowing the tops to appear above it' (Ward and Conner 1863/1994: 177).

Some measures were taken to overcome the challenges to cultivation through the ingress of salinity:

That the crops may not suffer from the effects of salt water, impelled by the tide from the Coyenkolum 7 bar at a certain season, the communication is cut off by an embankment, and for the convenience of passengers an establishment is kept up to haul boats over it at Apathetically Cherrau, a short distance from the above bridge (Ward and Conner 1863/1994:175-6)

There were several intermediate watery spaces insularly situated about the cultivation which serve as receptacles for containing water drained off from the fields. This furnishes them at a season when the waters in the canals become brackish due to the tide, '...this mode of retaining the water has an advantage over the fields, irrigated again by the canals as they must of necessity receive the brackish water which is injurious to the crop, in the succeeding year these reservoirs are drained and cultivated, while the fields just reaped take their turn of holding the water, and so reciprocally (Ward and Conner 1863/1994:176)

Kamalasanan (1999) writes of how baskets called puzhukotta were used to collect and throw away the pests from the crops. The fields of standing crops were filled with water, the pests that would then float in the water, was removed by manually collecting them with the puzhukotta, after which the water in the fields was drained off. There were clear divisions of labour on the basis of sex, for instance, pest removal was done by women labourers. The

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7 Kayamkulam (see Map 4.1)
work of ploughing, making of dykes, dewatering and sowing were men's jobs, and transplanting, weeding, and harvesting were women's jobs.

**Geographic and Social Divisions of Labour**

In the specific ecology of Kuttanad, paddy cultivation represents the major geographic division of labour, with the controls of production consolidated in the hands of a few, and the actual labour was done by aggressive slaves:

...the Pooleeans\(^8\) enter the beds to remove all species of grass and vegetable, preparatory to turning up the mud, and the operation of sowing them commences, these embankments are sometimes washed down after the usual overflow, the raising and mending the breaches yearly is attended with excessive labour and fatigue to the Pooleean on whom this duty devolves, he is induced literally to dive with a basket to collect mud and other rubbish growing in the beds to form them, while the indolent Nair\(^9\) looks on but never condescends to aid, in this arduous, and to him degrading task, in some parts where there is a gush of water especially on the sides of rivers, strong files of wood are fixed in to prevent the banks being thoroughly washed away (Ward and Conner 1863/1994: 172).

The poorer classes wander about, just before the tide, for small fish and cockles. We do not get any other descriptions of geographical divisions of labour at those times. How and why does one branch of production become spatially-socia more powerful and well-defined than others? In paddy cultivation, the operations of nature through the complexities described above in which water is drained, stored, the brackish water kept out, land prepared, ploughed, sowing and transplantation done, weeding, removal of pests, harvesting and so on involves operations of organised labour. This was done through slave labour. The ownership of land and the right to operate, were designs that evolved through social structures and state policies that supported them, that maintained the social hierarchy by not allowing access to material benefits to a large number of people. Therefore, in the process of cultivation, which brings forth produce, through intense interventions on nature, there is a simultaneous power concentration over nature and over people by particular group/s of people who would also have linkages and understandings with the state powers. This operation of production and social power was exercised over paddy production (paddy as an important part of diet and of trade to other parts of the state), and not on the other geographical divisions of labour like fishing that continues to be a socially and economically marginal activity in the region. Therefore the questions of land ownership, its linkages with caste and sex, and of the

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\(^8\) Pulayas, who represent the largest dalit community in Kuttanad

\(^9\) who occupied partly the *kshatriya* (soldiers in the king's army) and partly the *kayast* (accounts and book keeping) roles in the caste system
accumulation of surplus production that operated in cultivation, did not emerge much in other productions that only served purposes of sustenance.

**Changes in Land Relations after 1865**

Land relationships in Travancore that evolved over a long period of time consolidated in the 19th century. Apart from the land owned by the state, land was owned by Brahmin families or Nair chieftains and by the temple authorities, and was known as *Brahmaswoms* and *Devaswoms* respectively. Even as Brahmins owned land, they did not constitute a cultivating class. Instead, they obtained rents from the lands they owned, which was cultivated by tenants. The castes of tenants varied in different regions. In Kuttanad they were constituted by the Nairs and the Syrian Christians. They usually leased in land, extending over 10 acres, from the landowners who were called *jannies*. The nature of land relations was instrumental in maintaining the caste hierarchies. People of the scheduled castes could not lease in land:

> The privilege of leasing in land did not extend to the members of scheduled castes- their entry in to the land market as potential tenants was effectively restricted...The actual tillage operations were done not necessarily by the tenants, but by labourers belonging to the scheduled castes and backward communities like the Ezhavas. The scheduled castes were treated as aggrestic slaves tied to the land and transacted along with it by the jannies (Jose 1976: 7).

After the land reform of 1865, the tenants mostly Nair and Syrian Christians, also became land owners.

**Impacts of the World Economy and State Response**

In the second half of the 19th century the land relations and MOP started to change, which were the impacts of institutional reforms of the Travancore state as well as the processes that were happening at the world level. The mid 19th century was a period that was characterised by a notable expansion of the world economy. Rammohan (2006) examines how peripheral zones like Travancore drafted in to the world economy. Even though Travancore was linked to the world market from the 1st millennium, the intensity and scale of 19th century integration broke all records. The highlands were cleared to establish plantations of coffee and tea. Later as rubber cultivation spread to the lower forests in the midlands, it replaced the earlier land use of paddy cultivation in many parts. The ecological aspects of Kerala's highlands coupled with a favorable export market resulted in the growth of commercial crops in Kerala. Paddy was imported for domestic requirements. ‘... the area under commercial crops among which coconut and rubber were the more important ones, increased continually since at least the 1920's (Panikar et al., 1977: 42).
At the same time, the increasing urbanisation through factories like coir mat weaving and coconut oil mills in Alleppey: and the expansion of transportation evolved a situation of increasing demand for rice in the towns. The workers in the factories and public works department lost access to earlier food sources like tubers: 'The workers’ diet became more rice- centric causing the demand to rise’ (Rammohan 2006: 17).

The state response to the need for increasing paddy production in Travancore was seen in the encouragement of land reclamation in Vembanad Lake. The state declared that the reclaimers could become owners of those lands:

Reclamation of shallow backwaters was being carried on for long, but it attained literally deep and vast dimensions only with the state directly encouraging it... Thus was born the rice bowl of Kuttanad (Rammohan 2006: 21).

This marks a transition in historical-geographical materialism that underpins the creation of a territorial complex or region, focusing on paddy cultivation through land reclamation.

**Land Reclamation**

Jose (1976) records that 20,000 acres of *kayal* land were reclaimed in and around Kuttanad taluk. The area lying close to the banks of Vembanad Lake were the first ones to be reclaimed... Land reclamation required the permission of the king\(^{10}\). It was in the western part of Kaavalam panchayat that land was first reclaimed (Kamalasanan 1999: 42)... Coconut logs were cut and used to demarcate and provide a frame that was fixed inside the lake. Bamboo splinters were bound on either sides. The frame of say, four to five feet width thus made, would then be filled with sand and waste. On top of that was laid clayey soil collected from the bed of the lake. This was fixed down by stamping on it till it was sufficiently hardened. Thus bunds were created. The water lying in between the bank and the bund could then be drained out (Kamalasanan 1999: 43-4).

Water was drained by using *chakrams* (water- wheels), each of which was operated by eight to ten persons and often work went on during the night as well. Kamalasanan (1999: 41) notes the crucial role played by the advent of machines in increasing the scale of land reclamation. From 1898 the farmers ventured reclamations of deep waters which became possible with kerosene engines. The physical limitations of operating through the water wheel could allow only shallow- water reclamations. But in 1903 the Madras government (the colonial administration that operated from Madras Presidency) imposed a ban on land reclamations because of sedimentation that detrimentally impacted the port of Cochin. But the ban was

\(^{10}\) of Travancore
lifted in 1912 through a proposal from the Travancore government. Some of the prominent entrepreneurs of reclamation had strong linkages with the state. The Nairs especially took advantage of their links with the state, for instance, Eravi Kesava Panikkar reclaimed land from the mouth of Chennankari River joining the backwaters. People protested as they feared the flooding of their lands due to blocking of the river. The local people filed a case against him... (but) the official chose to side with Panikkar and even hailed his efforts (Rammohan 2006: 30)

For two decades from 1920s onwards reclamation came to a low because of the steep decline in the price of rice. During the depression period between mid 1920s and mid 1930s the price of paddy fell in the world market. As Travancore was closely linked to the world market, the depression had an immediate impact on its economy. It impacted all crops. But the price of paddy during the 1st half of the 1930s was so low that paddy cultivation in Kuttanad and Nanjinad became uneconomic (Prakash 1987: 22)

In 1940 reclamation again gained momentum through the government's 'Grow more food campaign' which sought to increase agricultural production. Rise in the price of paddy during World War 1 made paddy cultivation commercially attractive. By then electric motors had made reclamation faster, cheaper and less risky. Thomas Joseph known popularly as Muricken had organised the most extensive reclamation at Chittira, Marthandam and Rani (see Sketch 3.1 of Chapter 3) totaling to 2000 acres in Kainakary village, who was crowned 'Krishi Raja' during Nehru's Prime minister-ship.

As noted in the beginning of the chapter, Vembanad Lake / the Kuttanad backwaters was vast and deep with strong winds and tides. The technology of land reclamation in such difficult situations owes much to the Pulaya caste:

With all lands in the hands of upper castes and communities, state and temples, Pulayas and other landless castes were forced to live on the peripheral patches of the lord's holdings or to settle in common lands. The silt washed down by rivers often formed new landmass in the backwaters and Pulayas occupied these. Alongside, they reclaimed small

11 Under this scheme kayal lands were notified for reclamation in Blocks, and each Block was named by an English alphabet. Sketch 3.1 of Chapter 3 shows such blocks of land reclamation.

12 For instance, Pallithanam Luca Mathai, who served as a member of Moolam Thirunal of Travancore's Praja Sabha had led the reclamation from 1898 onwards, when he was only eighteen.

13 Paddy cultivation in Travancore had been impacted by the import of large quantities of paddy from other colonial territories to Travancore consequent on the removal of duty on paddy by the colonial government in 1861 (Prakash, 1987; 14)
patches of the river swamps and very shallow portions of the backwater for sustenance cultivation (Rammohan 2006: 24)

Rammohan further notes that the pioneering role of the Pulayas is not often recorded and the credit for land reclamation is bestowed upon the landed farmers who later reclaimed large tracts with the support of the state and capital. Reclamation required much capital; even as the state extended assistance to the reclaimers, capital was often insufficient. Indigenous usury in Kuttanad was the monopoly of a few Tamil Brahmin families from whom the cultivators took loans to meet the expenses of reclamation and cultivation. Beginning from the 2nd decade of the 20th century, at least a small part of the finances could be raised from small banking companies. These were mostly owned and operated by Christians in the towns of Kottayam, Changanacherry and Tiruvalla (Rammohan 2006: 32).

Survival of the lower castes was very much bound to the production from the land, owned by the upper castes. The tragic depth of their suppression can be gathered from Kamalasanan (1999) who notes that human sacrifice was believed to strengthen land reclamation; as part of pleasing the Godly powers. Moreover, the traditions of sexual exploitation of women of the labouring class by landlords was quite prominent.

**Urban Centres Demarcate the Region**

Urban centres developed in the peripheries of Kuttanad as centres of trade. Modern institutions like Banks, schools and colleges were established in these towns. Tiruvalla established the first English medium school of Travancore. Alleppey developed as an important port, which later became an industrial town with the setting up of the coir industry. Changanacherry developed as an important market town, with banking and educational institutions (see Map 4.1 for the location of the towns).

The peripheries of the rice bowl of Kuttanad gave rise to spatial and social functions that were intimately evolving from the material production of rice. At the same time, it is noted that the urbanisation at the fringes was also a process of spatial demarcation of the rice bowl of Kuttanad. Blaut (2003: 100) notes the emergence of incipient capitalism on almost every margin of every feudal region in the world, ‘with particularly high development on inner margins, those which lay between such regions, lacing them together. The larger centers, ordinarily were ports...Foreign trade was the most peripheral of all capitalist activities.’

**Changes in Labour Relationship**

Kuttanad was predominantly a region of single cropping for long because of the ecological limitations evolving from the annual infiltration of salinity. Double cropping came to
Kuttanad much later as compared to other paddy regions in Kerala. But the requirements of labour in Kuttanad’s agriculture even during single cropping was quite high because of its unique ecology. The making of bunds and dewatering of the fields were essential operations to be done before sowing could begin. Dewatering that was done through water wheels could take a whole month for large padashekharams\(^{14}\) even as labourers were employed in shifts during the day and night. There was always a tension around the possibility of the bunds breaking away, hence the farmers employed labourers to keep a vigil over the bunds. Moreover as Jose (1976) observes, owing to very rigorous natural constraints, paddy cultivation in Kuttanad was conducted within a strict time schedule. If the cultivators are not careful about the time of farming operations, they face the risk of flooding or salinity, the two prominent ecological factors that challenge the farmers of Kuttanad.

**The Emergence of 'Attached Labour'**

During the time of cultivation, the whole region needs large numbers of labourers. But in the off-seasons there is not much employment for the labourers. Thus the seasonal nature of the high demand for labourers in Kuttanad led to the formation of the institution of attached labour.

The attached labourer was known by the term, onapanikkaar\(^{15}\) and it implies the work relationship of the labour family with the landlord/tenant for a year against a loan of some amount of paddy and a small amount of money, taken during the time of Onam. They could labour only for that particular landlord for that particular year. The labourers were provided land to set up huts so that they became attached to the farms. Thus they became kudikidappukaar or hutment dwellers of the landlords. For the land lords, this arrangement was convenient as the kudukidappukaar assured the availability of labour during the peak season, and at other times they did sundry household work and laboured in the garden lands of the landlords. Jose (1976) observes that the farmer thus reduces the risk of non-availability of labour during peak season operations and also reduces the labour cost. If not for such an arrangement, labour would tend to demand a higher price during peak seasons. For the labourer, this arrangement offered the prospect of continued employment and assured living

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\(^{14}\) Padashekharam is a term used to imply the polder lands reclaimed from the Lake in Kuttanad. It also means literally ‘a collection of fields’ implying the management of farm activities as a collective process. Prior to the land reforms of 1970s, a padashekharam implied a large land holding, but after the reforms it is more of a collection of fields owned by different persons. It is economical to manage the farm operations like dewatering and harvesting on a collective basis.

\(^{15}\) Onam – the harvest/festival time in Kerala, Panikkaar – Workers/labourers
accommodation. They were given cash advances and pre-requisites at intervals. The consumption requirements of the labourer were at least partially met by the employer as a trade off for rendering their services during the peak season (Jose 1976).

At sunrise the man reached the landlord’s place to do chores like milking cows and cleaning cowsheds, to be followed by farm labour. The woman also joined in a little later, and worked on similar lines. The labourers worked up to 9 or 10 at night and put up with punishments and beatings from the landlord:

> However much he is harmed by the landlord, he has no ill-feeling towards him. His heart is full of sincerity. He is willing to give up even his life for the lord as he is made to believe in the landlord-labourer relationship (Kamalasanan 1999: 33)

The ethos of submission marked the social relationship between the labourers and the landowners/tenants, in which there was no scope for questioning or opposing the social order, its hierarchy, and its unequal wealth and poverty. These social practices were enacted through caste, class and patriarchy, that kept the labourers socially and economically at the margins.

**Transition to Casual Labour**

Land reclamation in Kuttanad increased the scale of agricultural operations, and thereby an increase in the requirements of labour. The labourers who were attached to the farmers (the onapanikkar) became insufficient. Various farming operations had to be done across larger space at the same time. In the peak season, thousands of labourers were required. This enhanced the inflow of migrant labourers from the adjoining taluks to meet the situation of labour shortage. The migrant labourers came in groups and worked for farmers with large land holdings. Usually a headman of the migrant labourers entered in to a contract with the farmer during the lean season after taking advances. The migrant labourers also took care of the post-harvest work like transporting and storing of grains and the drying of hay. These developments gave way to a transition from the earlier institution of attached labour to that of casual labour.

On one hand, the seasonal requirements of labour intensified in Kuttanad, and on the other there were many developments that saw a transition from labour-intensive methods to capital-intensive ones. The arrival of oil engines in Kuttanad displaced labour from the water wheels. In the first phase of arrival of the oil engine, Anglo Indians came to Kuttanad as its operators - they were given respectable remuneration by the landlords as well as benefits like

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16 Translation mine
right to fish that gathered around the pump. A single person operated the diesel-run pump and the drawing away of water therefore required much less labour than was required for operating waterwheels (Kamalasanan 1999). But in the given social control and authority over relations of production, this intervention even though technically eased labour of the working people, did not make the benefits of surplus flow in their direction. As the Anglo Indians were replaced by labourers from the region, the remunerations were reduced.

Another development was the construction of permanent granite walls around paddy fields. This lessened the requirement of labour for bund maintenance and repair before every agricultural season. As a result of these developments, the seasonal nature of labour requirement became heightened. Therefore the need to retain labourers through out the year, as with onapanikkar, became defunct. Jose (1976) notes that due to these transitions, the rural labour market was swelling up, and the organisational changes in Kuttanad's agriculture resulted in a systematic erosion of the existing employment opportunities to the agricultural labourer.

During the inter-war period the price of rice declined. This led many farmers to leave the kayal lands fallow. Sometimes cultivation was done only once in 2-3 years; these fluctuations went on till the mid 1940s when some stability was achieved in paddy cultivation in Kuttanad.

Photograph 4.1: Permanent bunds made of granite at Marthandom on lands reclaimed by Murucken (Kainakary panchayat)
Socio-Cultural and Economic Assertions in Kuttanad

The first half of 20th century saw several struggles take shape in India - the anti-colonial struggles, struggles against caste and exploitation of women, and agrarian struggles influenced by Communism. The entire subcontinent was not directly ruled by the British, there were several Princely ruled states, and Travancore was one of them. The Indian National Congress under the leadership of Gandhi had taken a stand not to intervene in the affairs of the Princely ruled states. That is why a separate formation called the 'Tiruvitankur State Congress' was formed to carry on with the struggles against the princely rule, Diwan-administration and colonial supremacy in Travancore.

In the first half of the 20th century, the socio-economic relations in Kuttanad can be described as:

The landlords-entrepreneurs were Brahmins, Nayars and Syrian Christians; the tenants were, save a few Brahmins, Nayars and Syrian Christians; even the overseers were Nayars or Syrian Christians. Any other caste would have polluted the landlords and tenants. While women could have held titles to the fields17, the organization of cultivation was mostly the senior most male member of the family. Women in the landlord's household mostly attended to gendered activities within and around the home. Ezhava men were engaged in a variety of operations: toddy tapping, fishing, ferrying, and agricultural labour, especially ploughing, and sowing. Their women were mostly engaged in harvesting, threshing, and pounding. The entire work of reclamation was done by men of Pulaya and Paraya castes. Their women were employed in varied agricultural operations that followed (Tharamangalam 1981: 43).

The socio-cultural practices of caste and patriarchy were very complex. The lower castes were restricted from wearing shirts, sporting mustaches, and combing hair. They were banned from participation in boat races that were a very prominent part of festivals in Kuttanad. They were supposed to sit separately for wedding feasts and to keep a physical distance18 from the persons of the upper castes. Labourers were given food (boiled rice along with its water-called kanji) poured into pits laid with leaves. It is to be noted that the caste- and gender-based bifurcations of labour cut across religions. The Syrian Christians kept at bay the newly converted lower caste Christians. Their churches were also different.

Social Reform Movements

In the beginnings of the 20th century, rumblings of resistance were echoing in Kuttanad. ‘Status’, a strong feature of caste-based societies, was attacked through social reform

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17 This mostly refers to the Nair women, who were governed by matrilineal social norms

18 Parambirikkunnu (2007: 43) describes the physical distances that various lower castes had to maintain from 'upper' castes, as Pulayar (slaves) 64 feet, Kaniyan (astrologer) 36 feet, Mukkuvan (fisher people) 24 feet, Kshatriya 12 feet, Nair 24 feet etc.
movements. Kamalasanan notes that *Ezhava* women ‘dared’ to wear the dress (*mundu* with particular type of design on it), which only Nair women wore. Narayana Guru’s teachings and the poems of Kumaranasan against caste atrocities became popular. In 1903 Narayana Guru visited Alleppey and Kottayam and opened up various branches of SNDP\(^{19}\) (Kamalasanan 1999: 50). *Ezhavas* boldly walked the public ways and invited the *Pulayars* for combined meals. ‘Sadhujana Sanghom’, an organization of dalit communities like Parayar and Pulayar, was inspired by the thoughts and activities of Ayyankaali. Kuttanad saw perceptible changes in the body language and behaviour of its labouring people. In the meals given to the labourers as part of their remuneration, they demanded rice drained of water on banana leaves, and not on earthen vessels. There was a perception of status and dignity associated with the type of food that one ate. At the same time, it became possible for *Ezhava* and other backward castes to obtain modern education through Christian mission schools. But their employment scenario was bleak and Dr Palpu organized people for this cause in Travancore.

Even as the social reform movements made remarkable moves in Kerala, their impact on the social relationship of women was a mixed baggage. Dress, dignity and the public distancing were areas where they gained social space. But some existing spaces that were beneficial to women were being wiped out. If the Nairs were matrilineal throughout Kerala, *Ezhavas, Tiyas, Brahmins, Pulayas, Christians and Muslims* practiced matrilineal descent in specific regions. Crucially matrilineal women had permanent rights to property and residence in their natal *taravads*\(^{20}\). However social reforms of the late 19th and early 20th centuries identified patriliney as a key factor in human/individual enterprise, turning the moral criticism against matriliney into an economic rationale (Kodoth 2004). Social reforms were instrumental in transforming institutions and practices, particularly marriage and family in Kerala. Devika (2002) observes that these were built upon entirely new forms of non-reciprocal relations of power between men and women.

**Communist Organisation of Agricultural Labourers**

By 1922 the labourers of the coir factories of Alleppey were organising under the banner of ‘Tiruvitankur Labour Association’. Many of the coir factory workers were drawn from places in Kuttanad like Pallathuruty, Kainakary, Ponga (Kamalasanan 1999: 56). They in turn

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\(^{19}\) Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalanayogam

\(^{20}\) *Taravad* refers to a joint family under matrilineal system. The descent and inheritance of property was traced through the females.
influenced the political thoughts of the agricultural labourers. Kamalasanan narrates the initiatives taken by a Dalit agricultural labourer and the meetings organised at night. They discussed the atrocities of the landlords and the unionisation happening in the town. They were acutely aware of the wrath of landlords upon them as they unionize. The process of political consciousness was initiated through discussions and classes. Kuttanad gradually became a hub of agrarian radicalism. Tea shops and provision shops became the joints for political discussions. In 1939 a meeting was organised at Pallathuruthi at night in a tea shop:

It was a moonlit night. The meeting was very secretly organised, that was the only way that it could be done in those days. If the landlords knew, it would be met with much repercussions...the labourers were scared...even then many young people took part in the meeting...thus in the tea shop of Ummar, India's first union of agricultural labourers was born (Kamalasanan 1999: 57-8).

1939-1945 saw drastic shortage of food because of the Second World War; poverty and death became rampant. During the 2nd World War, the shortage of food headed for a crisis and labourers began to be paid in cash. This created a tremendous problem as they were bereft of the earlier payments of grain; and they could not procure grain during times of shortage. They could not cope up with hunger and disease. Resistance grew - women labourers in Kuppappuram confronted the land lord and demanded rice. In spite of police intervention this struggle succeeded and raised the aspirations of labourers. The union became active in organising relief work and in safeguarding rice from being transported for black-market. By 1942, the union was registered and opened its office at Alleppey (Kamalasanan 1999: 64).

Jose (1976) analyses the agrarian radicalism of Kuttanad in the light of drastic unemployment of agricultural labourers in the 1930s. Paddy cultivation had not attained a sound footing in Kuttanad till the mid 1940s. Rammohan (2006: 34) observes that '...with the formation of agricultural workers' union, the moral reasoning of protection and loyalty gave way to that of class struggle'. Tharamangalam (1981: 3) remarks that mobilization of agricultural labourers has been both difficult and of great significance. Four decades ago they were the poorest, the most illiterate, the least organised, and the most exploited group of people in the region, belonging largely to the untouchable and backward castes, with centuries of tradition of social degradation and deference to their masters. The factory-like fields of Kuttanad, in which literally thousands of people work together, its proximity to Alleppey town, its relatively advanced transportation and communication system, its openness to the outside world and its
high literacy\(^{21}\) which makes the print media a great instrument of mobilization, are important region-specific factors that helped in the mobilisation of agricultural labourers.

As resistance grew, tensions increased and the landlords used their 'goonda' men to confront the labourers who demanded increased wages for women labourers, break for lunch (which was not previously allowed), the abolition of 'onapanikkar' and the establishment of 'wage for labour'. Several youth ruptured their own traditional class-caste positions – as they came back from nearby towns where they attended college education and were influenced by world views that favoured socio-economic change. The landed gentry satirically labelled the labourers' union as 'Pulayar's party'. The Ezhava, the Pulaya and others largely formed the agricultural labourers of Kuttanad. They were organised by SNDP and other organisations, and they came together under the banner of the trade union of the Communist Party of India. Kamalasanan (1999) notes that there was a lot of synergy as the same people struggled for social dignity as well as for wages and improved working conditions.

In independent India, the ruptures caused in the traditional social fabric through struggles saw repercussions by the state through police brutality. Thus new histories of oppression marked the social geography of Kuttanad. The agricultural labourer’s struggles incurred physical and psychological torture of its activists and sympathizers. Several people were killed, handicapped, molested and raped. In 1948 the Communist party and its trade unions were banned in Kerala. The ban was lifted in 1950-51.

**Annual Cropping**

Cultivation was done once in 2-3 years in Kuttanad till the mid 1940s. There does not seem to be a steady pattern, there were times when Kuttanad has been doing annual cropping. Varghese (2002) derives that in the second decade of the 20th century Kuttanad moved towards the idea of annual cropping\(^{22}\). But Rammohan (2006) observes that in the late 1920s, the frequency of cultivation was increased to once in two years'. But the narrations of Ward and Conner attributes annual cropping to have existed in Kuttanad around a century earlier:

\(^{21}\) There are few rural areas in the country with a literacy rate as high as that of Kuttanad: In 1971 literacy rates were 72 for Kuttanad, 70.4 for Alleppey district, 60.4 for Kerala and 29.3 for India. (Tharamangalam 1981: 23)

\(^{22}\) An experimental station was established at Kuppappuram in Kuttanad by the Travancore government in 1916 to examine the possibilities and prospects of yearly paddy crop. It was found that annual cultivation of paddy was possible in Kuttanad. Even though the station could not implement its findings, Kuttanad moved towards yearly cropping (Varghese 2002: 18)
Kutanaad yields but one crop called Madapu, reaped in the latter end of April or May. Rice is the only article sown; it yields about ten or twelve fold. This tract situated so low is liable to suffer from the vicissitudes of the weather more than most other parts, as an unexpected rise of the streams that intersect it, (which a few hours severe rains are sufficient to swell) forcing the slender embankments guarding the crops, frustrates in a moment the hopes of the farmer. The regularity of the seasons however gives here a tolerable security against such accidents (Ward and Conner 1863/1994: 63).

Ward and Conner’s description is of times when Kuttanad had not entered a commercial phase of cultivation and capitalist relations of production. Paddy cultivation largely for subsistence, must have been done every year at least in many parts of Kuttanad. But later as private land ownership gave way to an emerging middle class of commercial paddy farmers, their decisions to cultivate or not at particular time periods were dependent on the calculations of profits. For instance, the inter war period brought down the price of rice and this led to the *kayal* lands being kept fallow, as a conscious decision made by farmers.

**Multiple Geographic Divisions of Labour**

Other than paddy cultivation, a number of geographic divisions of labour had evolved in Kuttanad such as fishing and mussel gathering from the Vembanad Lake, duck rearing and toddy tapping from coconut palms. In most of these cases, they did not develop complex relations with the environment, and did not make complex social structures. On the other hand, the regional processes had developed a relationship of complementarity and dependence among all the geographic divisions of labour.

The non-agricultural geographic divisions of labour do not have a classed structure within them as in the case of cultivation. Nevertheless, they are governed by the logic of caste system emerging from the dominant branch of production and its social relations. Thus they are placed in a relatively lesser status according to occupation and status, in their relative position to the upper castes of agricultural production. The following geographic divisions of labour could be seen in Kuttanad in the 1940s:

Fishing in the fields - After harvest, the waters of the paddy fields yielded a large number of fish and prawns, and the fishers literally reaped a fish 'harvest'. Often the fields were auctioned off after harvest. The landlords took the best of the catch and what was inferred as being of low quality became the share of the lower castes. Fish were in such abundance after the harvest that many of the lesser quality ones were used as manure for coconut palms.

Duck rearing - After harvest the farms were leased out to duck rearers, and the ducks fed on the fallen-off grains and small fish in the waters. Senior persons of lower Kuttanad recall that duck rearers usually came from Mavelikara, Chennittala and other places of upper Kuttanad.
or from neighbouring district of Trissur (see Map 4.1) The duck rearers paid the land lords in kind, they paid meat and eggs in exchange for the use of their land for duck rearing.

Fishing in the Vembanad Lake - as a means of livelihood was done by people of the Dheevara\(^{23}\) and Ezhava castes, and by dalit Christians. Fish was exchanged for other goods through barter system. The selling was mostly done from small canoes that ply the lakes, canals and rivers. Women were involved in the marketing, and the catch also found markets in the town of Alleppey.

Mussel gathering from the Vembanad Lake – The interconnections of fresh water and salt water in the Vembanad Lake make it an ideal place for the breeding of mussels. The meat of mussels became an important part of people's diet. The mussel gatherers dipped themselves in the waters and gathered mussels with their hands from the clayey base of the Lake. These were then cleaned to remove the clay and boiled to separate the meat from the shell, which are then sold in the market. Mussel collection is done by men, whose castes are the same as those of the fisher-folk. There are indications that women were also involved in the collection of mussels.

Toddy tapping from coconut palms- According to the social division of labour, toddy tappers are exclusively men of the Ezhava caste. They were not land owners, and were dependent on the palms on lands owned by the land lords. Apart from serving as liquor, toddy had also been an important part of people's diet. It is drunk at early stages of fermentation, when it does not acquire the liquor quality, and also used in the preparation of several food items.

The above described geographical divisions of labour operate either on rented or on common property like the lakes and rivers. The operators do not own the means of production. Sayers (2007) observes that 'the simplest form of work is that which involves the most immediate relation to nature, is direct appropriation from nature...does not involve transformation of the object in itself. However such work is...intentional, socially organised and usually involves the use of tools or weapons'. In Kuttanad, fishing and the gathering of mussels fall in to this simplest of category. But in breeding ducks and in the tapping of toddy from coconut palms, there is a relatively more complex nature of labour as it involves the active arrangement of environment to meet certain needs. 'We begin the process of freeing ourselves from passive dependence on natural contingency' (Sayers 2007: 438)

In the case of agriculture, by using animal power, by collecting, planting and modifying seeds, by tilling the soil and gathering the crops, 'we no longer take nature simply as it is

\(^{23}\) This is considered as a subset of Ezhava caste
given, we cease to be entirely dependent on the contingencies of what is immediately present in the environment' (Sayers 2007: 437). In modifying nature, there is greater requirement of labour. The greater the independence of production from natural contingency, the greater is the complexity of human labour and resulting social structures.

One of the fundamental difference between the dominant and peripheral productions emerge from the ownership (or lack of it) of the means of production; which in turn extends significant impacts on the spatial and social practices of the region. Through capital investment on the means of production, and increased scales of operation as well as through relationships with the state, paddy production acquired a primacy that has been able to act as the main force of spatial and social dynamics in the region.

Even as a symbiosis of unequal spatial relationship developed between cultivation and the other branches of production, there was also a complementarity developed as these represented the multiple food sources in the region. The peripheral branches produced fish, mussels, toddy and duck as everyday protein requirements in food. These wove in a social-spatial interdependence, like the spatial complementarity between paddy cultivation and (a) duck rearing, (b) fishing in the fields, and (3) toddy tapping. The nature of relationship in each case is very specific and varied, for instance, after the harvest, the waters in the fields that contain a large number of fish were auctioned off to fishers who get an exceptionally good catch. Similarly, the duck rearers occupied the fields after the harvest. In contradistinction to other parts of Kerala, coconut palms in Kuttanad are grown along the fringes of paddy fields, and not as plantations. The landowners take care of both paddy and coconuts. These palms are utilised for their nuts that are an essential ingredient of everyday food and cooking oil, tapped for toddy, and their wood is also used for several purposes.

Conclusion

In 1865, the Princely state of Travancore, through land reforms converted many state- owned lands in to private, individual ownerships. This gave way to a changed MOP, as Travancore transited towards capitalist relations of production. Ambalapuzha district of Travancore, called Kuttanad desom, was a land whose popular imagery highlighted its geological history. But as the changed MOP established commercial relations in Kuttanad, the imagery of the region became redefined through materialism. It came to be known as the ‘rice bowl’ or paddy land of Travancore. Cultivation practices changed and commercial calculations of profits and loss enhanced farmers to decide whether to cultivate annually or only once in 2-3 years.
1865 thus marks the beginning of a 'spatial layering' (to use Massey 1985) in Travancore that led to several changes in social relationships. The underpinning leading to such changes, as Lefebvre (1991) notes is spatial, and in each particular case, the connection between the underpinning and the relations it supports calls for analysis. In the strategies of power consolidation of the state, land reforms succeeded in curbing the spatial holds and accompanying social power held by local chieftains on the state-owned lands of Travancore. What emerged specifically in Kuttanad has additional underpinnings that can be traced to the impacts of imperialism and European capitalism. These processes had already established commercial footholds in Travancore through cash crop plantations in the Western Ghats and industrial production in the plains. Land use shifts to non-food crops on one hand, and increasing demand for rice for industrial workers, deepened the already existing shortage of paddy in Travancore. These aspects led the administration to encourage land reclamation from the Vembanad Lake for paddy cultivation. These moves of the state specifically paved the way for the region formation of Kuttanad.

Land reclamation evolved an intensified relationship with the environment and with society. Paddy cultivation was done in Kuttanad against all natural odds, entrepreneurs with strong linkages with the state were the major agents of land reclamation. A very exploitative social division of labour developed, based on caste-class and patriarchy. As capitalist logic governed production decisions, relationships, and distributional aspects, the story of Kuttanad also became one of increasing deprivations of labour, in which the social practices of caste and patriarchy became emphasised.

Land ownership by the upper caste-class, surplus extractions that economically deprived the labourers, and the practices of caste and patriarchy that were also social and cultural, marginalised the spaces of the labouring dalits, OBCs and women. From the early decades of the 20th century to a climax reached in the 1940s, a spatial layering of resistance by the labouring people reoriented the region. Social reform movements and Communist movements asserted to change the socio-cultural practices, working conditions and wages. The 1940s was an exceptionally vibrant period, that saw violent repercussions by the state and the land owning upper caste-class. As the colonial state gave way to an independent Indian nation in 1947, the internal power structures of the nation were seeing a tumultuous push for change in Kuttanad.

The independent nation was shaped dominantly by the Indian National Congress at the centre, but political trends and assertions differed in different parts of the country. The erstwhile princely states of Travancore and the rest of what was to become the modern state of Kerala, were deeply impacted by Communist thoughts and praxis. How did the political dynamics,
the production relations with ecology, labour and capital, and the impacts of the state, restructure Kuttanad after Indian independence? These would be examined in the proceeding chapter.