KARIVELLOOR VILLAGE; A CASE STUDY

Chapter VI

KARIVELLOOR VILLAGE; A CASE STUDY

The main objective of this chapter is to show how the pattern of women’s labour in an agrarian economy works in a particular village. Since Karivelloor Village had shown all the characters of village economy, it has taken as a case study.

Karivelloor village is situated in the old Chirakkal taluk, about 26 miles north west of Cannanore. In the earlier period, places like Vadakumpad, Puthoor, Kozhummal, Peralam etc. were not included in this village. Later, with the formation of Karivelloor Peralam Grama Panchayat, all these places were included in it (see Map). It shows that from very early period itself, this village was related to agricultural activities. The name itself is related to agriculture. It argues that in the earlier stage this may be a part of Velloor village and due to its prosperity in agriculture, the prefix *Kari*, which means agricultural land, was added to it. The socio-religious factors in this society also prove the agrarian character of this village. The worship of Annapurna and social dining are examples\(^1\).

This village consists of hilly areas and slopes. Palakkunnu, Onakunnu, Chedikunnu, Koolipara, Vettuvankunnu, Kottakunnu etc. were high lands, and Ayathravayal, Varakotvayal, Thottichal, Vellavayal, 

\(^1\) N.V.P. Unithiri, ‘Karivelloorinde Samskarika Paithrukam’ on A.V. Smaranika, 1992, p. 102.
Malapoorvayal, Mundicheeta, Eereeracvayal etc were important low lands suitable for cultivation². During the earlier period, this land was situated at the boundary of Chirakkal Raja and Neelaswaram Raja and later it came under the control of Chirakkal Raja. Kotoor Devaswam, Kutoor Vengayil, Puthoor Devaswam, Valiyeri and some Muslim *janmis* like Talayillattu, Nalupurappatil etc were some of the minor *janmis* in this period.

According to the settlement records (see Table 6.1) a major part of the women landholders in this area belongs to Nayar caste and next comes the Muslims, who were following matrilineal system of inheritance. And most of the agricultural labourers class belongs to low caste. In the previous chapter with the help of settlement registers we had already posed that women landholders in this village were comparatively high. It also shows that here the women were actively participated in labour process and agrarian struggles.

TABLE 6.1

Area of Land Under Women Holders in Karivelloor Desam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Holders</th>
<th>Area Under Settlement</th>
<th>Area Under Resettlement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Choornapallineelamana Adithi Antharjanam</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saraswathi Antharjanam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotoormadathil Savithriyamma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savithri Antharjanam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutoor Vengayil Janakiyamma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valiyeri Chiruthheyi</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puthiyamundilat Radhiyamma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalupurapattil Beetheshu</td>
<td>10.86</td>
<td>7.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalupurapattil Pothiyumma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talayillat Paatha</td>
<td>11.81</td>
<td>3.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talayillat Sarumma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talayillat Aliyumma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangattil Aasumma, Mariyam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppiyadathu Veetukar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Settlement and Resettlement Register of Karivelloor Desam, Chirakkal Taluk

Since an agrarian economy is mainly based on family labour, here women labourers form the main labour power. The women labourers have to perform diverse tasks and most of their labour was an extension of their household activities. Study shows that certain agricultural activities like paddy transplantation etc are the activities that were monopolized by
women labourers that requires long hours of skilled and disciplined labour under scorching sun. In the household also they have to perform certain unavoidable activities like fuel collection etc. for this purpose they are forced to walk greater distance that required some extra hours. The tenants had claim to collect fuel and fodder from the forest but most of these forests were far away. According to some respondents it was the duty of the women to collect fodder and fuel irresponsible of their tenants status. This fuel collection was providing them a meeting place.

The role of village social relations is crucial here and certain factors like caste, class, kinship etc determine women’s labour. Here kudi forms the main source of family labour and both the women belong to the landlord class and agricultural labourers class had to perform their labour inside the kudi and in the agricultural field. Besides this, they were also involved in other non-agricultural activities. The other occupational classes like weavers, blacksmith, carpenters, masons, oil pressers, fishermen etc. were also included in this village.

This village is famous for weaving and from 1948 onwards, the weavers in this area formed their own organization. Most of them were settled in Karivelloor teru. This teru is one of the four important centres of weavers. During the earlier period, primary weaving process was tedious task and it was the women who were engaged in these tasks. Besides weavers, here we can see the presence of oil pressers. It was the women who
mainly transacted the oil. Among the washing class, besides washing, the women labourers also performed as menial labourers in *janmis* house and were also asked to perform certain social customs as well. It was the Ezhavas who were mainly engaged in the cultivation of coconut palms and related works like coconut plucking, toddy tapping and processing. And women among this class played an important role in toddy processing and jaggery making. Likewise, rice husking was another important source of women’s labour.

Another fact is that, when the men belonging to the occupational class remained in the same occupation, the women at the same time acted as helpers of their class and also acted as agricultural labourers. This was one of the important centres of beedi making and majority of them were women. Like wise, coir making also flourished in this area and women were skilled in this work.

The sea coast is 10 kms away from Karivelloor and Mayilvalappu colony is the main centre of fishery class. Besides, from sea, they also captured fish from nearby rivers like Kangirapuzha, Kuniyan etc. among this class, women had played an important role in fish processing. They also acted as transactors. Most of them were transacted from house to house and also in the markets. Barter system prevailed among them and they exchanged it for paddy, pepper, arecanut etc. They had also marketed fish in

the nearby villages like Kodakkad, Cherupuzha, Kankole, Mathamangalam and so on. Saturday markets were famous for 'dry fish'. Onakunnu was the important village market in Karivelloor. Besides fish goods like mat, fodder, basket etc were also transacted in these markets. Thus the markets formed the nerve centre of village in which inter-village contact and sociability took place where women labourers played an important role.

This was the place where radical and national politics took deep roots and wielded considerable influence. We can receive some reference about grass cutting struggle in Peralam during the initial stage of Karshaka Sangham when the janmis had restricted the grass cutting, under the initiative of Karshaka Sangham about 1500 men and women in this village had cut the grass from an area covering from Kodakkad to Puthoor. According to Mannian Veetil Krishnan, one harvesting had also taken place in Kozhummal near Thazhakatmana.

Karivelloor was the place where the first regular unit of Karshaka Sangham in North Malabar was organized. Before the Karshaka Sangham,
other organizations like *Abhinav Bharat Yuvak Sangham* (ABYS)\(^7\) had organization in this soil. Some of the leaders in this village like A.V. Kunjambu had got the opportunity of have contact with revolutionary leaders in jail. And later it led to the formation of ABYS. It is interesting that most of the *Karshaka Sangham* leaders had come forward through ABYS.

We can see that from its very inception itself women were active participants in all these organizations and the leaders were aware of this fact. Before the *Karshaka Sangham* these women were active in *Atmavidhya Sangham* and ABYS and they fought against untouchability and casteism. This was the case of K. Devayani, one of the active *Karshaka Sangham* workers. She belonged to Allepey. She remembers that, in the initial phases she had recited Aryabata Swami's written speeches and later she became the secretary of *Atmavidhya Sangham*. After her marriage with A.V. Kunjambu she shifted to Karivelloor and became an active *Karshaka Sangham* worker\(^8\).

We can see women's participation in the ABYS conferences. The first

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\(^7\) The Abhinava Bharat Yuvaksangam which was organized in Karivelloor in Kasargod district was organized on April, 13, 1934 at Manakkad Vannalakot field at Karivelloor village. It was organized on the basis of Naujavan Bharat Sabha and the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association formed by Bhagat Singh and others. The architects of this organization were A.V. Kunjambu, M.P. Appu, K. Kunjiraman, and others. The Sangham had conducted four conferences within the period of 1939 and when the peasant organizations was strengthened, the sangham was dissolved in 1939.

annual conference of the ABYS was convened at Vannalakot field at Manakkad, Karivelloor on April 5, 1936. The second conference was convened at the Manakkad, Deshiya Vidhyalaya in 1937, and the third conference on April 1, 1938 at Ayathravayal, one of the informants told us that her mother along with other women had participated in that conference at Ayathravayal and she heard from her mother that some one fell in the nearby well at the time of conference

Likewise women’s mass participation can be seen in the Karshaka Sangham also. On January 14, 1939 the fourth annual conference of the ABYS and the second annual conference of the Kasargod taluk Karshaka Sangham was organized at Kodakkad near Karivelloor. On this occasion a women’s conference was also arranged. The annual conference of the ABYS was presided over by A. Kameshwara Rao. The Karshaka Sangham took place under the chairmanship of N.G. Ranga. At that time, Chenan Veetil Lakshmi and P.C. Karthiyayanikutty were the president and secretary of the Mahila Sangham. They along with others had received the leaders from the Cheruvathur railway station

The interdining conducted as part of the Kodakkat conference had shaken the whole village because interdinning with low class people was unthinkable during that period. One of the participants, who was a small

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9 Personal Interview with V.V. Mani daughter of V.V. Unnangamma, Karivelloor, on 2.4.03.

10 Personal Interview with P.C. Karthiyayanikutty, Pilikode on 5.04.04
child during that period still remembers about the interdinning\textsuperscript{11}. She said that the food was prepared at Kunji Krishnan Nair's compound and both men and women had prepared the food. The food was served at Vadakke Valappil. Two of other participants who had sung the prayer song still remembers that song\textsuperscript{12}. In some instances Karshaka Sangham meetings were also conducted under the leadership of women. On October 27, 1935 a meeting of Karshaka Sangham was held under the leadership of M. Karthiyayani Amma at Pallikoval Karivelloor\textsuperscript{13}. Thus when jathas and meetings were conducted in different villages, we can see that women in Karivelloor also actively participated in it.

During second World War, a great famine had engulfed the whole village. The second World War ended with food scarcity and a lot of people died because of cholera. Women became the great victims of famine for a fist of rice they waited for hours in front of the shops\textsuperscript{14}. The exploitation of the janmis increased and they hoarded paddy and illegally transacted it. Besides this, they also decreased the ratio of grains that was given to the peasants as wages.

\textsuperscript{11} Personal Interview with Chennan Veetil Kalyani, daughter of Chenan Veetil Lakshmi, Vellachal, Karivelloor on 24.3.03
\textsuperscript{12} Personal Interview with P.P. Madhavi, Shantha, Vellachal, on 24.3.03.
\textsuperscript{13} Mathrubhumi, November 1, 1935.
\textsuperscript{14} A.V. Kunjambu, 'Karivelloorindekadha' in 50th Anniversery, Karivelloor Smaranika, 1996, P.1.
At this juncture strong demonstrations was conducted by the *Karshaka Sangham* and Communist party against hoarding and black marketing of essential commodities. On the basis of this a supply stores was established and the main aim of this society was to distribute the excess paddy from the *janmis*\(^{15}\). In the first stage, the *Karshaka Sangham* intensified its activities by leading *jathas* to the respective areas presenting their grievances and demands before the *janmis*. And in the later stage they marched towards *janmis* granaries and grabbed the paddy by giving government prices to the *janmis*. This activities varied regionally. In some places they harvested the *janmis* crops, most of the marches had been organized in payyannur, Neeleswaram farkas and in these marches also we can see women's participation.

Most of the *jathas* at last resulted in clashes, and oppressive measures were taken by the landlords. Since the Chirakkal Rajas can survive without the levied paddy from Karivelloor, the tenants had lead a *jatha* to Chirakkal Kovilakam and requested the rajas to levy in the form of cash. Instead the Raja collected the levy in kind and stored it in his granary near Kuniyan river\(^{16}\).

Along with this period, on November 1946, a conference was held at Calicut town hall and this conference gave birth to further activities against

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\(^{16}\) Personal Interview with Thottonveetil Krishnan, Karivelloor on 2.4.03.
hoarding and black marketing. As a part of this, on 17th December 1946, a committee of agricultural labourers was held at the Karivelloor central school and they had decided to grab the paddy from the Chirakkal Raja. For that purpose all the precautionary measures had been taken. Weapons and stones were collected and training was given to volunteers by retired military hands. At last on December 20, 1946, while Ponnan Kumba was cutting grass, she saw the arrival of landlords boats at Kuniyan and had informed the news to others. People from all parts of the village rushed to that spot. Previously the Karshaka Sangham had decided that, if necessary, women should also participate in the struggle. Thus according to that decision a group of women named V.V. Mani, Unnangamma, Paattiyamma, K. Devayani, M.V. Parvathi, Mandiyam Veetil Kalyani, Aithale Veetil Lakshmi, etc. had rushed to the spot with sickles but they were stopped by the men.

Following the paddy grabbing struggle, the life of women labourers became more miserable. After the struggle, all the men had left for underground, or in prison and naturally the whole burden of the family fell on women. Thus, they had to protect their family and the Karshaka Sangham

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17 A.V. Kunjambu, Karivelloorinte... Op. Cit., p. 5; Personal Interview with Thaivalappil Kannan, Peralam on 26.9.02.
19 K. Devayani, Chorayum Kanneerum... Op. Cit., p. 45
at the same time. The experiences of some of the women will reveal this fact.

Neeliyam Veetil Cheriya sustained her family by carrying stone, husking rice and collecting grass and fodder from Cheemeni and Puthoor forests. When her husband Puthiyerdattu Raman went to the jail the burden of the family fell on Cheriya. She carried stone even in the tenth month of her pregnancy. And thirty days after her pregnancy, she went for labour by leaving her new born child under the control of a two year child by locking the house from outside. When the Karshaka Sangham leaders like Payangappadan Kunjiraman, Koliyadan Narayanan, Tengunthara Kuttan, K.V. Sadanandapai, etc. were in underground in the Puthoor forest, she in disguise of collecting fire wood, distributed the packed food among them. While they were taking the food, she climbed a tree and gave signal to them on the approach of the police20.

When her husband Krishnan Master went to jail, the burden of the family fell on Kizakeveetil Lakshmi. She went to work labour in Kanjangad by leaving her child under the control of her neighbours. She told us that because of her over consciousness about her six month child, once she rowed the boat alone and lost her way and at last some other boatmen came to help her21. Likewise, Kuthirummal Chiri sustained her family by engaging in agricultural labour after her husband Thottathil Kunjappu went to jail. In

20 Personal Interview with Neeliyam Veetil Cheriya, Karivelloor, on 31.3.03.
21 Personal Interview with Kizhakeveetil Lakshmi, Kattacheri, on 31.3.03.
those days she had also received the help of party workers also\textsuperscript{22}.

Since her husband had to spent a large part of his life in prison, the police had continuously haunted Pariyarathu Narayani. She sustained herself in those day by leaving her children under the control of her mother and went for fodder collection and also carried stone\textsuperscript{23}. V.V. Mani’s house was one of the shelter of \textit{Karshaka Sangham} and because of that the police continuously haunted her family and destroyed so many household articles and beat her. All these days her husband V.V. Kunjambu was underground. In those days, she had to sustain her family by engaging in agricultural labour\textsuperscript{24}.

Ambileri Lakshmi had protected the \textit{Sangham} workers at Paliyeri Koval and had supplied them food in disguise of cattle rearing and due to this she had suffered police brutality\textsuperscript{25}. K.V. Kunjakkam was the only communist among the congress in the weavers \textit{teru} and had actively participated in all the \textit{jathas} and meetings\textsuperscript{26}. Kukkot Pattumma had secretly

\textsuperscript{22} Personal Interview with Kuthirummal Chiri, Kuthiru, on 31.3.03.
\textsuperscript{23} Personal Interview with Pariyarathu Narayani, Chooladi, 31.3.03.
\textsuperscript{24} Personal Interview with V.V. Sarojini, daughter of V.V. Mani, Karivelloor, on 2.4.03.
\textsuperscript{25} Personal Interview with Ambileri Balakrishna, Son of Ambileri Lakshi, Karivelloor on 2.4.03.
\textsuperscript{26} Personal Interview with K.V. Kunjakkam, Karivelloor on 5.4.03.
supported her only son Ibrahim in his *Karshaka Sangham* activities. Thoton Veetil Laskshmi’s house was one of the important centres for *Karshaka Sangham*. Most of the *Sangham* leaders like Keraleeyan, A.V. Kunjambu, Krishnapillai etc were the visitors of her house and number of *Karshaka Sangham* meetings were held in her house. Her son Thoton Veetil Krishnan was one of the staunch supporters of *Karshaka Sangham*. She had supplied food to Krishnapillai, Keraleeyan, Bharateeyan, P. Kunjiraman, Pattattu Padmanabhan etc. Keeneri Chiri, Padoli Chiri, Thoton Valappil Chiri, Thekkumbadan Madavi etc had lost their relatives due to the struggle and were the worst victims of the struggle.

Kunnummal Sridevi was one of the worst victim of the *MSP* brutality. Since her husband Payangappadan Kunjiraman, one of the *Karshaka Sangham* activists was in underground, the *MSP* had continuously haunted her and she had to seek shelters in different places. A lot of household articles were destroyed, clothes were torn, and kerosine oil was poured in the well. During the struggle, she lost her brother and uncle. Once the police brought her into the police station and beat her with lathi and boot. But the torture

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27 Personal Interview with Kukkot Ibrahim, Son of Kukkot Pattumma, Karivelloor on 2.4.03.

28 Personal Interview with Thotton Veetil Krishnan, Son of Thoton Veetil Lakshmi, Karivelloor on 2.4.03.

29 Personal Interview with Keeneri Janaki daughter of Keeneri Chiri, and with Padoli Chiri, Kuniyan on 31.3.03.
did not deter her from protecting the *Sangham* 30. The police also inserted lathi in her uterus and for long years she had to suffer from bleeding31.

V.V. Unnangamma, was one of the active *Karshaka Sangham* workers and she had participated in the Ayathravayal Conference. She had also engaged in *Mahila Sangham* activities and had worked along with P.C. Karthiyayani Kutty Amma etc. The MSP had haunted her and had captured her son for washing their clothes in the MSP camp32.

K. Devayani’s work *Chorayum Kaneerum Nananja Vazhikal* had clearly depicted the atrocities of that period. She told us that after her husband A.V. Kunjambu was brought to jail, she always had threats from the police. And because of this, she had stayed in different houses. Later this shelter was also denied due to police threats. When no place was left for her, she had spend in a cowshed in a crematory ground near Paliyeri Kovval. She had stayed there with the help of Mandiyan Veetil Kalyani33. M.V. Kalyani had also remembers this incident and she tells us that for one month in spite of police threat she protected Devayani34. M.V. Kalyani had to sustain her family by carrying stone and collecting fodder. She was one of the participants of the


31 Personal Interview with E.V. Kunjikannan, Mathil, on 19.9.02.

32 Personal Interview with V.V. Manikkan, daughter of V.V. Unnangamma, Manakkad, on 2.4.03.


34 Personal Interview with M.V. Kalyani, Karivelloor on 5.4.03.
Vannalakot Karshaka Sangham conference and according to her, it was after the conference that the women in this area began to wear blouse.

These women were active in supplying secret pamphlets and Kudukkon Manikkam, Kuttur Chiri etc were Prominent among them.

This village had also witnessed the Desabhimani mela and the women had responded quickly that, for the mela they had contributed bronze vessels and other household articles. In order to attend the mela, women from distant areas had also led a procession to Karivelloor.

From its very beginning, Mahila Sangham was strong in this area. P.C. Karthiayayanikutty, Vadasseri Kalyani, Chenanveetil Lakshmi, Kalyaniamma, Kadingiyil Narayani, K. Devayani, A.V. Janaki from Peralam were important Mahila Sangham workers and they got educated during the period. A.V. Janaki had also suffered MSP brutalities due to the fact that her brother A.V. Kunjikannan and husband was active Karshaka Sangham workers. The police had even broken her mother's leg. Besides this gundas did not allow them to harvest the crop and graze the cattle. P.C. Karthiayayanikutty was one of the active Mahila Sangham workers in this area. She became the participant of the Kodakkat conference and had participated in the interdinings. She had widely inspired the women in this village through her speeches. Because of her Karshaka Sangham activities, she had threats from the police. Like wise, Kadingiyil Narayani was also one of

35 Personal Interview with Toton Veetil Krishnan, Karivelloor on 2.4.03.
the Karshaka Sangham worker and she belonged to janmi family. Important political leaders became visitors to her house. She had got the opportunity to get modern education, and had also studied Hindi from A.V. Kunjambu. Since her uncle Kadingiyil Ezhuthachan was a staunch British supporter, she had secretly engaged in Mahila Sangham activities and had conducted the meetings when her uncle was not there. She had protected the Karshaka Sangham leaders in her house without knowing her uncle and most of the Mahila Sangham workers like P. Yesodha, P.C. Karthiyayanikutty Amma etc. had also visited the house.

Chenanveetil Lakshmi the president of the Mahila Sangham was also from a janmi family. She had played a major role in organizing the women in this area. She had received traditional education. And important Karshaka Sangham leaders like A.K. Gopalan, Bharateeyan, etc. became the visitors of her house.

The case study of this village shows that both the agricultural labour women and the middle class women had actively participated in all the activities in this village. The agricultural labour women and other women who belonged to occupational class, had to act as the main labour force.

In an agrarian society, knowledge about agricultural activity is essential and those women had a lot of knowledge about it. They were very

36 Personal Interview with Kadingiyil Narayani, Karivelloor on 5.4.03.
37 Personal Interview with Chenanveetil Kalyani daughters of Chenanveetil Lakshmi, Vellachal, on 24.3.03.
much aware of the coming monsoon rains, changes in climate, seeds etc. they also know about measurements. Though centrality of the family and household in their lives cannot be separated, they played a central role in the agrarian society.

In this society certain forms of co-operation have been used by them for cleaning ground, gathering and looking after cattle, for building a new house and so on. Rice transplantation, irrigation etc. would be often done by village teams, including both men and women and neighbouring villages, often without wages. Besides these there were so many occasions in which the agrarian women were being molested by landlords and their assistants. One of the informant told us about an incident. While her mother’s sister was carrying manure for cucumber cultivation, one of the janmi assistants pinched her breast. At that time, she poured a basketful of ashes on to his head. The infuriated assistant destroyed all her household articles and evicted her family from the house. It also shows that since most of their husbands were Karshaka Sangham workers, the police and the janmis always showed their anger towards the women. Most of the women had pointed out that, in most cases it was their children who acted as their protectors from police. And it also shows that even during pregnancy period, they were forced to do hard labour.

Some of them were even brought to the police station. They even

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38 Personal Interview with M.V. Kalyani, Karivelloor on 5.4.03.
inserted lathi in their uterus. But the fact is that even though they were sexually abused and molested they never deviated from their paths.

In the case of middle class women, since most of them belonged to janmi class, they had received the opportunity for education. Besides this, important political leaders became visitors to their house and by hearing their political dialogues and political works they became more politically conscious. In the case of labourer women they came forward when their very existence was questioned. Regarding the middle class women, their area was limited in the Mahila Sangham activities and they never came to the forefront. And their role in the labour process was also limited.

The continuation of women's participation in labour process and socio-economic activities in Karivelloor can be seen even today. The labour proportion according to the 1996 survey is given below:

**TABLE 6.2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labour Participation</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beedi</td>
<td>1222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers and other Government workers</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaving and traditional industries</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick Klin and construction work</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Vikasana Rekha, Karivelloor Grama Panchayat, p. 86.
Thus the case study of Karivelloor village helps to clarify the questions regarding women’s labour that was posed in the previous chapter. It proves that women had emerge as the main labour force and besides that they had emerged as active agents of the struggle.